The Class Reunion – An Annotated Translation and Commentary on the Sumerian Dialogue *Two Scribes*

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The Class Reunion – An Annotated Translation and Commentary on the Sumerian Dialogue *Two Scribes*

By

J. Cale Johnson and Markham J. Geller

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

To Åke Sjöberg

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Acknowledgments

The preliminary work that served as the basis for this edition of *The Class Reunion* began in 1988, when M.J. Geller was on sabbatical leave at the University of Pennsylvania and prepared a *Partitur* of 'Two Scribes', based on first hand examination of the tablets, and read through it in weekly seminar meetings with Åke Sjöberg and Jacob Klein. After a lapse of more than two decades, when it was apparent that no work on this text was in an advanced state of preparation, the two authors decided to prepare an edition based on this *Partitur*. The transliteration and translation were hammered out during weekly meetings in 2012 and 2013, while the introduction and commentary were initially drafted by Johnson in the summer of 2013 and then extensively revised over the following year. As can only in part be seen from the frequent mention of his publications in these pages, Sjöberg's own understanding of the text (as recorded in Geller's notes) has continued to influence the interpretation of this material offered here.

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I would also like to thank my wife Grace and daughter Abigail for their love and support throughout the preparation of this volume.

J. Cale Johnson
Berlin, April 2015

Abbreviations

A	tablet siglum, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
Aa	lexical series; see MSL 14
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden 1959–1981)
Akk	Akkadian
AnOr	*Analecta Orientalia*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
Archaic Lu	lexical series; see R.K. Englund and H. Nissen, *Die lexikalischen Listen der archaischen Texte aus Uruk* (Berlin 1993), pp. 69–85
Archaic Officials	lexical series; see R.K. Englund and H. Nissen, *Die lexikalischen Listen der archaischen Texte aus Uruk* (Berlin 1993), pp. 86–88
AUAM	tablet siglum, Andrews University Archaeological Museum
BM	tablet siglum, British Museum, London
BWL	W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford 1959)
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago
CBS	tablet siglum, University Museum in Philadelphia (Catalogue of the Babylonian Section)
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative <http://cdli.ucla.edu/>
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTMMA	Corpus of Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
DCCLT	Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/>
Dialogue 1	The composition edited in this volume
Dialogue 2	Dialogue between Enki-hegal and Enkita-lu (ETCSL 5.4.02)
Dialogue 3	Dialogue between Enki-mansum and Girini-isag (ETCSL 5.4.03)
Dialogue 4	Dialogue between Two Women (A, ETCSL 5.4.04)
Dialogue 5	Dialogue between Two Women (B, ETCSL 5.4.05)

Diatribe A	Diatribe against Usani (ETCSL 5.4.10)
Diatribe B	Engardu the Fool (ETCSL 5.4.11)
Diatribe C	He is a Good Seed of a Dog (ETCSL 5.4.12)
Ea	lexical series; see MSL 14
Edubba A	Schooldays (ETCSL 5.1.1)
Edubba B	Scribe and his perverse son (ETCSL 5.1.2)
Edubba C	Advice of a supervisor to a younger scribe (ETCSL 5.1.3)
Edubba D	Scribal Activities (ETCSL 5.1.4)
Edubba E	Instructions to a Scholar (ETCSL 5.1.5)
ETCSL	Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk>
Gen	Genitive (case)
Hg	lexical series, HAR.gud; see N. Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition* (Münster 2014), pp. 363–366
Hh	lexical series, HAR.ra = *ḫubullu*; see N. Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition* (Münster 2014), pp. 149–157
HS	tablet siglum, Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena
IB	excavation siglum, Ishan Bahriyat, Isin
IM	tablet siglum, Iraq Museum, Baghdad
ISET	S. Kramer, M. Çig & H. Kizilyay, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Sumer edebi tablet ve parcalari / Sumerian Literary Tablets and Fragments in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul* (Ankara 1969/1976)
Izi	lexical series, izi = *išātu*; see MSL 13
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
Lazy	Lazy Slave Girl (ETCSL 6.3.c); see B. Alster, *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer* (Bethesda 2005), pp. 370–371
LH	Laws of Hammurapi = Codex Hammurapi; see M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 2nd edition (Atlanta 1997), pp. 40–41
LL	Laws of Lipit-Ishtar; see M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 2nd edition (Atlanta 1997), pp. 23–35
Lu = *ša*	lexical series, Lu = *ša*; see N. Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition* (Münster 2014), pp. 159–166
Lu Azlag	lexical series, Lu-azlag; see N. Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition* (Münster 2014), pp. 159–166
Malku	lexical series, *malku* = *šarru*; see I. Hrůša, *Die akkadische Synonymenliste malku = šarru* (Münster 2010)
MEE	Materiali epigrafici de Ebla

MSL	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon / Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon; SS = Supplementary Series
N	tablet siglum, University Museum, Philadelphia (Nippur)
N-T	field numbers of tablets excavated at Nippur (in Chicago and Baghdad)
NBGT	lexical series, Neo-Babylonian Grammatical Texts; see MSL 4
Ni	tablet siglum, Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul (Nippur)
NSGU	A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* (München 1956–1957)
OBGT	lexical series, Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts; see MSL 4
Obv	Obverse
Ox	Laws about Rented Oxen; M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 2nd edition (Atlanta 1997), pp. 40–41
P+<number>	numbers assigned to individual cuneiform tablets at CDLI
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania
Proto-Ea	lexical series, see MSL 14
Proto-Lu	lexical series, see MSL 12
PSD	The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*
Rev	Reverse
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archaologie*
ROM	tablet siglum, Royal Ontario Museum
SEM	F. Chiera, *Sumerian Epics and Myths* (Chicago 1934)
SEpM	Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany; see A. Kleinerman, *Education in the Early 2nd Millennium BC Babylonia* (Leiden 2011)
Sidu	series of proverbs; see E. Frahm, "The Latest Sumerian Proverbs" (S.C. Melville and A.L. Slotsky, eds., *Opening the Tablet Box: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Benjamin R. Foster* [Leiden 2010]), pp. 155–184
SLFN	J. Heimerdinger, *Sumerian Literary Fragments from Nippur* (Philadelphia 1979)
SLTN	S. Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul* (New Haven 1944)
SP	Sumerian proverb collections; see B. Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* (Bethesda 1997)
SpTU	Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk

STH	M. Hussey, *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum* (Cambridge, Mass. 1912–1915)
Sum	Sumerian
Term	Terminative (case)
TIM	Texts in the Iraq Museum
TuM NF	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection, Neue Folge
UET	Ur Excavations: Texts
UM	tablet siglum, University Museum, Philadelphia
YBC	tablet siglum, Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In this volume we offer an edition of a Sumerian literary dialogue that has often been designated as *Two Scribes, Streit zweier Schulabsolventen* or *Dialogue 1*. In the hope of differentiating it from other similar materials, while at the same time providing a more concrete handle for it, we have taken the liberty of retitling it *The Class Reunion*. The text consists of alternating speeches between two interlocutors, in which each speaker seeks to belittle his opponent, but there is an added twist as well. Several clues within the text suggest that the interlocutors in this text are actually old friends from their days in the Old Babylonian academy, otherwise known as the Edubba. The phrase "Hey, schoolboy! (Let's have it out) like in the old days" {dumu é-dub-ba u_4 ul-la-àm}, in the first line of the composition, suggests that these old school buddies have met up again many years after leaving the Edubba. Since in our own day this type of situation often occurs in the context of class reunions, we have attempted to encode these contextual factors in the title of the composition.

Although definitive attribution of particular speeches to one or the other of the two speakers is not always possible, we have sought to identify thematic continuities in the alternating speeches and there is good reason to infer that the two old classmates entered rather different lines of work after leaving school. We hypothesize that one of the two remained within the Edubba as a teacher and we refer to him as the Professor, while the other speaker seems to have become an administrator or manager, as was the fate of the vast majority of Edubba students, hereafter termed the Bureaucrat. It is, of course, no accident that nearly all of those who graduated from the Edubba followed one of these two career paths. As we will see in a moment, *The Class Reunion* was in all likelihood one of the texts that was studied late in the advanced curriculum and one might suspect that it was meant as a rare moment of self-conscious reflection on professional life for Edubba students who would soon be entering the workforce.

One of the ironies that would not have escaped those who were about to graduate was that nearly all of them would spend their professional careers as administrators or bureaucrats rather than littérateurs. As a rule, once the students left the Edubba, they would have made relatively little use of the vast body of Sumerian literature that they had so dutifully memorized, copied and recopied over the decade or so of schooling that they had endured. This fact, symbolized by the hundreds of thousands of administrative documents

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that were produced in the short history of the Ur III state, represents the ever present ideological challenge of the scribal schools and *The Class Reunion* was presumably meant to allude to this ideological tension in a humorous way in order to make it more palatable to both sides of the argument. Because this goal is largely achieved through attempts at humor, in as far as possible, we have aimed in our translation to make some of the humorous elements of the text available to readers with no knowledge of Sumerian.

The Position of *The Class Reunion* in the Old Babylonian Curriculum

We believe, on the basis of a number of different pieces of evidence, that the text originally consisted of between 135 and 137 lines, all of which have been located within our edition even though some lines cannot be fully reconstructed. On the basis of the alternating speeches between the two human protagonists (the Professor and the Bureaucrat) and the occasionally ribald humor to be found in the text, Civil assigned it to the subcategory "Dialogues and diatribes" (5.4.*) in his widely used catalogue of Sumerian literature (now mostly known as the framework for the ETCSL project). Civil lists eight texts under this category, of which only two have been edited in a widely accessible edition (marked in bold below).

5.4.1 A dialogue between two scribes (Dialogue 1)
5.4.2 A dialogue between Enki-hengal and Enkita-lu (Dialogue 2)
5.4.3 A dialogue between Enki-mansum and Girini-isag (Dialogue 3)
5.4.4 A dialogue between two women (Dialogue 4)
5.4.5 A dialogue between two women (Dialogue 5)
5.4.6 A diatribe against Usani (Diatribe A)
5.4.7 A diatribe against Engar-dug (Diatribe B)
5.4.8 He is a good seed of a dog (Diatribe C)

It should be kept in mind, however, that the two diatribes edited by Sjöberg (5.4.7 and 5.4.8 in Sjöberg 1972) are not dialogic in format and, instead, consist of one-sided streams of abuse directed at a single target who does not respond. This was presumably the reason why Civil differentiated between "Dialogues" and "Diatribes" in his catalogue: the Dialogues numbered 1–5 are all organized on the basis of alternating speeches between two human speakers, while Diatribes A–C ostensibly take place within the same kind of discursive environment, but present a single speech from one of the two interlocutors in isolation.

The Civil/ETCSL catalogue juxtaposes this group of texts, all of which reference a discursive environment in which two human protagonists are locked in a verbal duel (even if the diatribes only present one turn from such a dialog), to five other subcorpora under the general heading of "scribal training literature," including Edubba Literature (5.1.*, six compositions), Debates (5.3.*, eight compositions), Songs and Related Compositions (5.5.*, seven compositions), Wisdom Literature (5.6.*, six compositions) and Other Scribal Training Literature (5.2.*, 5.7.* and 5.9.*, seven compositions). In terms of the formal characteristics of its genre, *The Class Reunion* is closely related to other texts that are organized in a dialogue format such as the "Dialogues" (5.4.1–5.4.5) but also the "Disputations" (5.3.1–5.3.7, see below) and especially the text known as *Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn* (Sjöberg 1973, Edubba B = 5.2.1), *The Advice of a Supervisor to a Younger Scribe* (Civil 1985; Edubba C = 5.1.3), and Edubba D (Civil 1985; Edubba D = 5.1.4). More so than the other Edubba texts, however, *The Class Reunion* closely resembles the formal structure of the Disputations, in particular the alternation of speeches that are roughly eight to ten lines long, in which subsequent speeches are largely concerned with commenting on the immediately preceding speech.

The Old Babylonian catalogues of Sumerian literary texts (excluding those that refer exclusively to liturgical materials) probably mention our text on at least four occasions, although only one of these entries is explicit and certain. In *The Nippur Catalogue* (N2; UM 29-15-155; ETCSL 0.2.01) we have a clear reference to the composition in line 52 {ĝá-nu ga-na ga-ab-sá-sá-dè-en}, in the midst of the densest and most complete listing of Edubba materials, disputations, dialogues and diatribes:

The Nippur Catalogue 50–62 (N2; UM 29–15–155; ETCSL 0.2.01; Vanstiphout 2003: 19–21)

50	**me-šè-àm ì-du-dè-en**	**Edubba A? (ETCSL 5.1.1)**
51	**ĝá-nu ki-ĝu$_{10}$-šè**	**Edubba C (ETCSL 5.1.3)**
52	**ĝá-nu ga-na ga-ab-sá-sá-en-dè-en**	**Dialogue 1 (ETCSL 5.4.1) = *The Class Reunion***
53	u$_4$ ul ur$_{11}$-ra$^?$	The Farmer's Instructions (ETCSL 5.6.3)
54	me-ta-àm àm-⌜du$^?$-un$^?$⌝	Edubba B (ETCSL 5.1.2)
55	me-ta-àm àm-di-di-in	Dialogue 5 (ETCSL 5.4.5)
56	eme-gi$_7$ e-⌜zu$^?$-ù$^?$⌝	Edubba D (ETCSL 5.1.4)
57	a-na-àm á áĝ-ĝá	Edubba R (ETCSL 5.1.6)
58	**di$_4$-di$_4$-lá u$_4$-da**	**Dialogue 2 (ETCSL 5.4.2)**
59	**eĝer dub-me-ka**	**Dialogue 3 (ETCSL 5.4.3)**

60	x x lú líl-lá	Diatribe B? (ETCSL 5.4.11)
61	⌜dím⌝-ma-ni ús-a-ni	Diatribe A (ETCSL 5.4.10)
62	a du_{10}-ga ur!-ra	Diatribe C (ETCSL 5.4.12)

As lists of incipits go, this list is indeed rather misleading, since as Kramer had already pointed out in 1961, five of these compositions actually begin with the very same phrase {dumu é-dub-ba} (in bold above, although Kramer's claim vis-a-vis Dialogue 2 may need to be revisited), and the "incipits" given in this section often occur in the second half of the first line (as in our text) or even several lines after the start of the text. In the interest of clarity, the five texts that ostensibly begin with {dumu é-dub-ba} are listed below in the order used in Kramer 1961 (the element cited in *The Nippur Catalogue* is underlined below, while shared elements are in bold):

1. "Schooldays" (Edubba A):
   dumu é-dub-ba u_4-ul-la-àm me-šè-àm ì-du-dè-en
2. "Colloquy between an ugula and a Scribe" (Edubba C):
   dumu é-dub-ba u_4-ul-la-àm ĝá-nu ki-ĝu_{10}-šè
3. "Disputation between a lú-IM and a Scribe" (Dialogue 1 = *The Class Reunion*):
   dumu é-dub-ba u_4-ul-la-àm ĝá-nu ga-na ga-ab-sá-sá-dè-en

*4. "Disputation between Enki-ta and Enki-ḫegal" (Dialogue 2)
   dumu é-dub-ba u_4-ul-la-àm a-na-àm á-áĝ-ĝá

5. "Disputation between Enki-mansi and Girni-išag" (Dialogue 3)
   dumu é-dub-ba u_4-da eĝir dub-me-ka a-na-àm ga-ab-sar-en-dè-en

Although we do not have full editions of all five of these texts, Kramer seems to be mistaken in reconstructing {dumu é-dub-ba} as the initial phrase of Dialogue 2: one of the more accessible manuscripts for Dialogue 2 (Ni 4398 = ISET 1, pl. 147) clearly has {di_4-di_4-lá u_4-da} as its first line, so until further evidence becomes available, only four compositions seem unequivocally to begin with {dumu é-dub-ba}. Once we remove Dialogue 2 from the list, it quickly becomes apparent that the first three compositions actually have the entire first half of their first line in common, namely {dumu é-dub-ba u_4-ul-la-àm}, which as Kramer correctly recognized, probably corresponds to our own use of the term 'alumni'. Because the first half of the first line of each of these three compositions is identical, *The Nippur Catalogue*, reasonably enough, refers to them using the second half of their initial lines: {me-šè-àm ì-du-dè-en}, {ĝá-nu ki-ĝu_{10}-šè} and {ĝá-nu ga-na ga-ab-sá-sá-dè-en} in lines 50–52. These are the

first three lines in the section of the Nippur Catalogue wedged in between *The Temple Hymns* at the end of the preceding section in line 49 and *The Farmer's Instructions* in line 53.

Once these three texts are recognized as a distinct subset that involve alumni in some way, it then becomes possible to identify three other references to this group of three texts in other textual inventories from the Old Babylonian period.

Ur Catalogue UET 5, 86 (U1), lines 21–25

21. u_4 $eš_5$-bar-kíĝ
22. u_4 ul-la (= The Farmer's Instructions)
23. má TE níĝ KA DÙ
24. dumu é-dub-ba
25. šà ^{gi}pisaĝ $murub_4$ e-lu-um

Ur Catalogue UET 6, 123 (U2), lines 32–35

32. di_4-di_4-lá u_4-da (= Dialogue 2)
33. 3 dumu é-dub-ba
34. x x x NI ÍL
35. u_4 ul-la ur_{11} (= The Farmer's Instructions)

Yale Catalogue YBC 16317 (Y2), obv. lines 5–9

5. bur-šu (= Ishbi-Erra E)
6. ⌜dumu⌝ é
7. dumu é
8. dumu é
9. nam?

Given the summary enumeration in UET 6, 123, viz. "three (different texts with the incipit) {dumu é-dub-ba}" as well as the three distinct lines in YBC 16317 with the abbreviated form {dumu é}, we assume here that the single entry that reads {dumu é-dub-ba} in UET 5, 86 is an abbreviation of {3 dumu é-dub-ba} and that in each of these three instances the texts in question are *Schooldays* (= Edubba A), Edubba C and our text, *The Class Reunion* (= Dialogue 1). In both of these Ur catalogues the three {dumu é-dub-ba} texts occur in proximity to *The Farmer's Instructions* and in UET 6, 123 Dialogue 2 immediately precedes the three alumni texts.

This somewhat discrepant array of metadata was already recognized by Robson in her work on House F in Nippur and, in fact, the second section

of Robson's "House F Fourteen" consists precisely of the three alumni texts under discussion here alongside *The Farmer's Instructions* and Edubba B (Robson 2001: 55).

House F Fourteen
F1 Debate between Sheep and Grain
F2 Cursing of Agade
F3 Dumuzi's Dream
F4 Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld
F5 Instructions of Shuruppak
F6 Debate between Hoe and Plough
F7 Shulgi Hymn B
F8 Deeds and Exploits of Ninurta
F9 Ur Lament

F10 Schooldays (Edubba A)
F11 Edubba C
F12 *The Class Reunion* (= Dialogue 1)
F13 Farmer's Instructions
F14 Edubba B

Of course the primary reason why Robson breaks her House F Fourteen into two groups is that items 10–14 occur at the end of *The Nippur Catalogue* (lines 50–54) and as a more or less self-contained group in the two catalogues from Ur and the one from Yale cited above, while the first nine entries in her Fourteen occur in the middle of the *The Nippur Catalogue* (lines 17–21, 25–26 and 32 in UM 29-15-155 (N2), but 11–18 and 26 in *The Louvre Catalogue*). Again, since the second part of Robson's Fourteen are entirely omitted as a group from *The Louvre Catalogue*, it is best in our view to see these two subsections within Robson's House F Fourteen as two distinct subcorpora.

In his recent discussion of catalogue texts such as these, Delnero describes the entry in UET 6, 123 (U2), viz. {3 dumu é-dub-ba}, as a 'summarizing entry' on par with statements like {11 lugal} also in UET 6, 123 (U2), or {10 ù-ne-e-du$_{11}$ ^{d}šul-gi} in AUAM 73.2402 (B4) (Delnero 2010: 46–47). But as the similarities between the group of three {dumu é-dub-ba u$_4$-ul-la-àm} entries in *The Nippur Catalogue* and the three other catalogues mentioned above make clear, these three {dumu é-dub-ba} entries always refer to the same three compositions and, therefore, represent something more than an *ad hoc* way of designating three compositions that happen to have been juxtaposed on a particular Mesopotamian shelf. In other words, these various pieces of evidence strongly

suggest that *Schooldays, Edubba C* and *The Class Reunion* (= Dialogue 1) were regularly treated as a demarcated subcorpus that we might even designate 'alumni literature', viz. texts from the Edubba that offer *nostalgic* reflections on school life. The way in which these three texts dealing with alumni are referenced and catalogued in the lists of incipits that we normally term 'catalogues' is structurally distinct from the other summarizing entries that Delnero describes, since it does not summarize preceding entries in the same list; instead, it is better to speak of them as abbreviated entries, since in the other relevant list from Ur we do not have {3 dumu é-dub-ba} but rather, simply {dumu é-dub-ba}.

Delnero has also argued quite forcefully in recent years that texts such as these were "neither curricular catalogues nor canonical lists, but inventories that were kept to facilitate the storage and retrieval of specific tablets."[1] In doing so, Delnero is returning in large part to the position of van Dijk, as Delnero himself acknowledges.[2] The rejection of the catalogues as abstract, schematic representations of the curriculum does not preclude their use as indirect evidence for the stucture of the curriculum, however. Since the three alumni texts all begin with the same three words {dumu é-dub-ba u_4-ul-la-àm}, they would have been put together in a group or filed on the same shelf regardless of how the tablets were organized, but the regular juxtaposition of the three alumni compositions to *The Farmer's Instructions* and Dialogue 2 in both Nippur and Ur suggests that this larger group of texts was recognized in antiquity as a subset of related compositions in the Old Babylonian curriculum.[3] Moreover, the fact that the author of *The Nippur Catalogue* actually *avoids* using their incipits, so as to forestall their conflation, shows that *The Nippur Catalogue* is focused on the identification of particular compositions rather than simply listing the contents on a given shelf. Put somewhat differently, if we are looking for shelf-lists like those known from Boğazköy, ancient Hattusha (see Dardano 2006 and Gordin 2011: 188–191 for recent discussion), catalogues like UET 6, 123 (U2), or *The Yale Catalogue* fall more easily into that category, since they simply repeat the incipit of the alumni tablets three times

1 Delnero 2010: 47.

2 van Dijk 1972, 333, n. 3, apud Delnero 2010: 40.

3 This is also largely supported by the archaeological evidence assembled in Robson 2001. There she notes that the five texts in the second section of the House F Fourteen are, not surprisingly, regularly attested in House F. The close association between the three alumni texts and *The Farmer's Instructions* in the catalogues from Ur also suggests that *The Farmer's Instructions* was a regular part of scribal training in Ur, even though only one manuscript is known from Ur (and that probably not from No. 1 Broad Street, see Civil 1994: 11–12).

or mark the presence of three identical incipits with the number three. Yet even here the catalogue preserved in UET 5, 86 (U1) is remarkable in that it *does not* indicate the presence of three distinct tablets with the same incipit; it simply includes a single entry for {dumu é-dub-ba}. The various different ways in which the three alumni compositions were noted and the fact that they are regularly found in juxtaposition to *The Farmer's Instructions* and Dialogue 2 suggest that the Old Babylonian catalogues are not a homogeneous group of texts and that each of the individuals who drew up these lists had their own principles of organization in mind.

Even if we recognize the direct role of these literary "catalogues" in tracking physical tablets in the context of a personal tablet collection or school library,[4] this does not mean that they cannot serve as indirect evidence for the position of particular kinds of texts within curricula, real or imagined.[5] The very fact that the Disputation and Debate literature forms a very coherent and explicitly demarcated section at the end *The Nippur Catalogue*, while these texts are entirely absent from *The Louvre Catalogue* already signals that these lists were not simply shelf inventories in a narrow sense. In our view it is significant that these texts are located at the end of *The Nippur Catalogue*, immediately after a section that ends with *The Kesh Temple Hymn, Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (including The Spell of Nudimmud and the invention of writing) and *The Temple Hymns*, all with links to the earliest strata of Sumerian literature. Moreover, texts such as *The Class Reunion* or Edubba D seem to make direct reference to their own contents in passages that explicitly refer to known subcorpora:

The Class Reunion 3–5 and 48–50
3. mu didli zi-ga nam-dub-sar-ra
4. níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na zà lú *šu*-ka-šè
5. ì-sar eĝir-bi gú mu-e-dù

4 Delnero's point about the initial lines of extract tablets, which are not always identical with the incipits, is particularly relevant to this point (Delnero 2010: 47).

5 The question of native genres and their role in the catalogues has been dealt with at considerable length; see, for example, Vanstiphout 1999 and Tinney 1999; see Cooper 2006 and Michalowski 2006 for a contextualization of ritual lamentation and the genres associated with it within both professional and institutional contexts in early Mesopotamia. For a recent summary of the role of knowledge in Old Babylonian institutional contexts, see Michalowski 2012.

(3) Each excerpted line in the scribal arts. (4) From the *ṣâtu* lists to the lú = *ša* list, (5) you write them out. But afterwards, you treat them with contempt.

48. nam-dub-sar-ra ḫé-bí-šid ki-bi li-bí-ib-gi$_4$
49. níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na zà lú *šu*-ka-šè ì-sar-ra
50. eme-gi$_7$-šè eme-zu si nu-ub-sá

(48) Even when you parrot a classic, you cannot place it in the curriculum. (49) (When) you write out the *ṣâtu* lists as far as the lú = *ša* list, (56) you can't even get your tongue around the Sumerian.

Edubba D 11–14 (Civil 1985: 69)

11. [dub] ⌜ki-en-gi ki⌝-uri-ke$_4$ a-a me-me-ta
12. [x x x]-šè ì-šid ù ì-sar
13. ⌜mu⌝ didli ^{d}inanna-téš-ta
14. en-na níĝ-zi-ĝál-edin-na zà lú *šu*-ka-šè ì-sar

(12) You recite and recopy (11) the tablets written in Sumerian and Akkadian from the a-a me-me list (viz. Syllable Alphabet B) (12) to the . . . . (14) You write out (13) various lines from the Inanna-teš list (viz. a list of personal names) to the *ṣâtu* lists as far as the lú = *ša* list.

The phrase {níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na zà lú *šu*-ka-šè} "to the *ṣâtu* lists as far as the lú = *ša* list" is one of the most difficult to interpret in the entire text. In the lexical tradition the term {níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na} is equated with Akk. *ṣâtu*, whose meaning seems to evolve a great deal during its millennia of use: it originally seems to mean 'word list', but in the latter phases of cuneiform it increasingly comes to mean 'commentary'. Since written commentaries do not seem to exist in the Old Babylonian period, it would be anachronistic to simply translate {níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na} as 'commentary' (see Frahm 2011: 41). The term {níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na} itself literally means 'living creatures of the steppe', but given its use as a label for a distinct part of the curriculum, we must assume that it is operating in a metaphorical or second-order way and designates a particular phase in the curriculum or level of literary practice.

The context in which {níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na} occurs in *The Class Reunion* is as an abbreviated version of the more detailed context in Edubba D 11–14, where the specific phraseology that surrounds the term actually tells us a great deal. In the Edubba D passage the primary contrast is between elementary sign and personal name lists and the advanced lexical materials designated with {níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na}. This is made explicit in Edubba D through the use of a "from . . . to" {. . . -ta en-na . . .} construction. Then within the overarching category of

{níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na}, Edubba D goes on to state that the general area of {níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na} is written out "up to the edge of the lú = *ša* lists" {zà lú *šu*-ka-šè}. This phraseology suggests that the bilingual Lu lists represent the last component of the {níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na} materials. Veldhuis has recently delineated the different Lu lists and draws a clear distinction between Old Babylonian Lu = *ša* and Lu Azlag:

> Old Babylonian Lu = ša is a list of words for titles, functions, and professions, interlaced with all kinds of words that are added by association. Only a tiny fragment of a bilingual version has been identified, but there are several exemplars with occasional Akkadian glosses in smaller script. . . . Old Babylonian Lu = ša shares several characteristics with the acrographic lists . . ., in particular with Old Babylonian Izi. These similarities include the format of the text (mostly unilingual, occasionally with translation glosses, rarely bilingual), and its organization through thematic and graphic attraction.
>
> The list Lu-azlag . . . also provides terms for human beings but is very different from Old Babylonian Lu = ša in almost all other respects. Most exemplars are bilingual and all entries begin with lu_2, man or person, which either functions as a determinative or as a word. The opening entry, lu_2 = *ašlāku* (fuller) refers to a profession that is well attested in literary and administrative texts. On the whole, however, terms for professions are exceedingly rare in Lu-azlag, which concentrates on physical characteristics (including illnesses), psychological states, and human activities. (Veldhuis 2014: 161–162)

Although our passage ostensibly refers to the incipit of Old Babylonian lu = *ša, The Class Reunion* draws extensively on both of these traditions, and in fact sequences of rare terminology that appear in Lu Azlag also appear in *The Class Reunion*. As a working hypothesis we presume here that the passages in both *The Class Reunion* and Edubba D that use {níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na} as a rubric are referring to texts such as Old Babylonian Lu = *ša*, Lu Azlag and also acrographic lists such as Old Babylonian Izi.[6]

These advanced lexical compendia were the most likely arenas in which otherwise divergent lexical entries could be brought together in order to explain philological concepts and semantic fields, but they also seem to have played a central role in the self-conceptualization of scholars within the cuneiform tradition of the Old Babylonian period. The hypothesis that we pursue in the

6 Jay Crisostomo has recently completed a dissertation on Old Babylonian Izi (Crisostomo 2014) under the supervision of Niek Veldhuis.

balance of this introduction is that the descriptions of social roles and human behavior that we find in texts such as Old Babylonian Lu = *ša* and Lu Azlag served as the primary arena for the formation of scholarly identity in the Old Babylonian period and also a privileged domain for self-awareness and reflection on the place of scholastic activities in the context of Old Babylonian society as a whole. If we are correct in our belief that texts such as *The Class Reunion* and Edubba D were studied at the end of the advanced curriculum of cuneiform studies in the Old Babylonian period, this would also agree with the heavily citational character of *The Class Reunion*, which must be seen as a text built up out of numerous citations drawn from the length and breadth of the lexical tradition, but deriving above all from the lists concerned with social positions and human behavior (viz. Old Babylonian Lu = *ša* and Lu Azlag). In order to elucidate the special role of *The Class Reunion* within the Old Babylonian curriculum as well as its emphasis on self-awareness and scholarly identity, we first turn to some general anthropological models for the role of ribald dialogue and verbal dueling in adolescent socialization. This provides us with a good cross-cultural framework, but it is our belief that *The Class Reunion* is actually a more sophisticated type of literary text that only takes the social context of the Old Babylonian schools as its point of departure. Building on Boyarin's recent use of Menippean satire as a model for understanding self-reflection in the scholasticism of the Babylonian Talmud (2009), we argue that Edubba materials such as *The Class Reunion* played much the same role in Old Babylonian period Mesopotamia.

Modeling Insult, Verbal Abuse and Moral Judgement

Cross-cultural studies of insult, slander and verbal duels have often—especially in the older literature—located these practices in two distinct social contexts, both of which are related to the socialization of adolescents: on the one hand, the exchange of ritual insults between adolescent males, and on the other in the context of weddings (in many cultures, the most important socialization process for adolescent females). The now classic treatment of this phenomenon, from both an ethnographic and linguistic point of view, is Labov's work on "Rules for Ritual Insults," which was originally a separate study of the phenomenon, but eventually came to act as the "case-study" in his landmark *Language in the Inner City: Studies in Black English Vernacular* (Labov 1972; see Lee 2009 for subsequent work in this area). Nonetheless, we find the emphasis that is often put on the adolescent character of verbal dueling in the anthropological literature quite misleading. Valentina Pagliai, to whose work on the Tuscan *Contrasto* we will turn below, has actually argued *against*

using adolescent rites of passage like these as a prototypical environments for verbal duels (Pagliai 2009). Instead, Pagliai focuses on the performative character of disputations as a form of verbal art. Thus we adopt here Pagliai's definition of a verbal duel as a point of departure:

> a genre of argumentative language that entails exchanges between two persons, parties, or characters that challenge each other to a performative display of verbal skillfulness in front of an audience (Pagliai 2009: 63)

Obviously the Sumerian dialogues can be made to fit into such a definition, but the central preoccupation of *The Class Reunion* was not the trading of insults *per se*, but rather a display of both philological prowess and the valorization of scholastic knowledge in the guise of oratorical debate.

In order to dispel the image of unkempt teenagers lobbing invective at one another, we turn here in particular to Judith Irvine's discussion of the role of verbal abuse in culturally specific systems of moral judgement (Irvine 1992). Irvine argues against earlier discussions of verbal abuse such as Edmund Leach's "Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animals Categories and Verbal Abuse" (1964), in which Leach defined obscenity as follows:

> Broadly speaking, the language of obscenity falls into three categories: (1) dirty words—usually referring to sex and excretion; (2) blasphemy and profanity; (3) animal abuse—in which a human being is equated with an animal of another species (Leach 1964: 28)

And indeed we do occasionally find this kind of material in *The Class Reunion*:

The Class Reunion, lines 10–12, 37, 76 and 93

10. lú-tumu ú-ḫúb ĝéštu lá-a
11. ĝìš-e gu-du kéš šir dili tu-lu
    (10) You windbag! Deaf and dumb, (11) a penis stuck up your ass, with only one testicle hanging down! (sex?, physical deformity)
12. me-zé gíd nundum ḫur íb kud gu-du ku-da
    (12) Big-jowled, fat-lipped half-assed cripple! (physical deformity)
67. kiši$_4$-a ak ĝá-nu lú še$_{10}$ sila-ta bar-bar
    (67) Come on, convict! the one who removes detritus (lit. excrement) from the street.
70. ní-su-ub lú-tumu dím-ma ^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi
    (70) (You are) a raving idiot with the mind of an ape (equation with animal)

87. é diĝir èš didli-ka ì-du$_8$ gudu$_4$-bi ù-sá igi-bi-ta a-ra-ab-dag en-nu-ùĝ a-ra-ak-dè

    (87) In each of the shrines of the temple, while the porters and priests are sleeping, they sleep with one eye open and keep watch because of you. (theft from temple = sacrilege/blasphemy)

On the whole, however, obscene materials like this are relatively infrequent in *The Class Reunion*. For this type of obscenity there are other sources in Sumerian literature such as *The Disputation between Bird and Fish* 124, which includes the choice line {šáḫ is-háb še$_{10}$ ní-bi gu$_7$-gu$_7$ saĝ šu bí-in-du$_{11}$-ga} "Swine, rascal, gorging yourself upon your own excrement, you freak!" (translation ETCSL). But then again various animals are known to scavenge feces, so even this line (ostensibly addressed to a fish) must be seen as descriptive rather than explicitly obscene. If, however, we turn from Leach's definition of obscenity to Irvine's much broader definition of insult, the materials in *The Class Reunion* come much more clearly into view.

Rather than attempting to define insults according to their semantic content or a supercharged version of speech act theory (see Fleming 2011), Irvine notes quite correctly that any utterance (or even the odd gesture) can function as an insult in the appropriate social and discursive context. The most transparent of the examples cited by Irvine are simple *ad hominem* attacks that describe a physical or behavioral characteristics of the addressee (Irvine 1992: 108):

yaa woogurló	You're hunchbacked
nyaw ngga	You're ugly
ab saaci ngga	You're a thief
yaa di borom digé fomm	You're a master at promise-breaking

This type of insult is very similar to the great bulk of the material in our text. The key phrase that organizes much of our text {lú-tumu} is actually equated with Akk. *sarru* 'liar' in the lexical tradition (though translated differently above) and the mildly obscene quote from lines 10–13 above also fits into this category. Here are some other examples of this type:

38. bar-za èn bí-in-tar ur$_5$-gen$_7$ dumu lú al-gi-na nu-me-en

    (38) Your temperament has been investigated and it turns out that you are not a reliable fellow.

60. lú-tumu lul du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ ra-gaba ki bad-rá

    (60) You windbag! Speaker of lies like a foreign envoy.

68. galam ḫu-ru-um uš$_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar
    (68) Lamebrain, always drooling.
81. udun báḫar-ra-ka gur$_4$-gur$_4$-re-da-zu-ne
82. gú-murgu-zu-ta zà-gu-du-zu-šè
83. zú-kéš sim$_x$(GIG)-ma ab-ta-si-si
    (81) (You look like) you've been rolled around in the potter's oven. (82) From stem to stern, (83) the vertebrae are completely covered with blemishes.
93. ní-buluĝ$_5$ a-šà-ga ĝen ^{kuš}a-ĝá-lá šu-šè lá
94. lú ḫuĝ-ĝá eĝir kar-kid-da-ka-ke$_4$
    (93) (You are like) a fat man going to work in the fields with his sack hanging down. (94) The day-laborer, (following) in the wake of the prostitute.

Irvine then goes on to argue that "verbal abuse involves evaluative statements grounded in specific cultural systems of moral judgment" (Irvine 1992: 109), and in the context of the scribal school we see this 'moral judgment' exercised with respect to two domains for the most part: the lack of diligence and the poor quality of scribal skills, if we express these domains negatively.

Diligence and the quality of scribal practice, particularly in the context of a scribal school, are closely linked to each other: diligent students, constantly requesting extra homework or more difficult assignments will tend to excel, while those seeking to do as little work as possible usually fall behind. This is the 'moral' environment in which the scribal training materials come into existence and it is hardly surprising that negative judgments of each addressee's diligence and consequently his individual scribal ability form the core of nearly all of the speeches in *The Class Reunion*. This is seen most clearly in the following statement, in which the Professor puts a plea for less classwork into the mouth of his interlocutor, the Bureaucrat. Very nearly the same phraseology appears in both line 27 and line 131.

The Class Reunion 27 and 131
27. a-šà ḫa-ma-tur é-šè ga-ba-an-ĝen
    (33) (You say:) "Let my field be small, so that I can go home early!"
131. dub ḫa-ma-tur ul$_4$-la-bi ga-ab-til
    (131) (You say:) "Please let me have a small tablet, so that I can finish quickly."

By putting these words in the mouth of the Bureaucrat, the Professor portrays him as lazy and, as a consequence, describes him as a poorly-trained, low-quality scribe. In fact the vast majority of the insults throughout *The Class*

Reunion are organized in these terms as direct descriptions of the poor quality of the addressee's scribal abilities. The examples of this type of statement in *The Class Reunion* are too numerous to reiterate them all here, but see lines 5, 8, 47–55, 127–135. As will be evident later on, however, these critiques of the addressee's diligence and scribal proficiency tend to show up in large clusters in lines 47–55 and lines 127–135, both of which are lengthy speeches from the Professor that are directed against the Bureaucrat. These speeches dominate the text as a whole and it is largely on the basis of this contrastive distribution of verbal attacks, specifically linked to scribal abilities, that we see the Professor as a teacher who remained in the school after graduation in contrast to the Bureaucrat, who graduated and then took up an administrative post outside of the Edubba.

The specific discursive form of the two statements in lines 27 and 131, viz. the attribution of a quotation to someone else as a way of displaying their character or disposition is characteristic of a type of Sumerian proverb that Alster has described as a Wellerism, a proverb that "consist[s] of two parts, the quotation of an utterance, and a description of the situation in which the utterance was said, normally including identification of the speaker" (Alster 1997: xv [vol. 1]). Elsewhere Alster clarifies the function of these Wellerisms as follows:

> The most outspoken form of a proverb containing quoted discourse is the Wellerism [such as] "A lamentation priest hurled his son into the water: 'Let the city build like me, let the people live like me!' " (SP 2.99). As in this case, most of the Sumerian examples cause the speaker to reveal himself as self-conceited, pompous, haughty and unrealistic; so apart from the mere pleasure of presenting the joke, these proverbs indirectly teach a social lesson (Alster 1996: 10).

In making this statement, however, Alster confirms one of the most important features of the type of 'insult' that Irvine and many other ethnographers have described, namely the social function of proverbs in admonishing or chastising wayward students. And while Alster himself focuses almost exclusively on the household in his discussion of the "inculcation of society's values" (Alster 1997: xxvi–xxvii [vol. 1]), one of the key functions of the scribal training literature was to locate social value in the practice of the {é-dub-ba-a} rather than the student's familial home {é ad-da}.

A number of ethnographers and linguistic anthropologists have emphasized the key role of proverbs in the context of criticism: even though cross-culturally proverbs are frequently used for various forms of criticism and insult, they also tend to depersonalize the discursive interaction in which they occur. The replacement of first and second person pronouns with references

to prototypical or proverbial characters in the third person allows for rather harsh criticism, without opening up the speaker to criticism of him- or herself, and can often defuse otherwise tense situations. Irvine presents us with a simple example from her work on Wolof society.

Borrowing a radio in Wolof (Irvine 1992: 109)
K (request to borrow a radio)
JTI (refusal, in which I claim I need to listen to the news very soon)
K (moving off) *borom tubéy, ku ko nyaanee sol.*

Quoted proverb *borom tubéy, ku ko nyaanee sol*
= When somebody asks for trousers, their owner puts them on

As Irvine explains, the person abbreviated here as K "draws on a standardized, epigrammatic piece of ancestral wisdom, irreproachable in itself, to call me (as we might put it) a dog-in-the-manger—someone who claims to need something just to keep others from having it." The key however to the use of the proverb in this interaction is that it speaks directly to the social context, but is profoundly indirect, referring to neither speaker nor addressee. As Irvine puts it, this "dissociat[es] speaker from author, and dissociat[es] addressee from target" (Irvine 1992: 128). In other words, the beauty of using a proverbial utterance (rather than a direct verbal attack) in criticizing a wayward youth is that it removes the first and second person pronouns from the picture, or if they are present, it frames them within quotations that prevent them from referring directly to speaker or addressee.

Other than the two Wellerisms in lines 27 and 131, which are quite distinctive in the entire text and were in all likelihood meant to act as landmarks at the center of the Professor's two most important speeches, the proverbs quoted in *The Class Reunion* show a good deal of variation in their use of second person pronouns and consequently their level of directness: some proverbs explicitly refer to the addressee, while others do not. The known proverbs that can be more or less transparently identified in *The Class Reunion* are as follows:

Proverbs incorporated into *The Class Reunion* (lines 14–15, 36–39, 53, 66–67, 98–99)
14. (lú-tumu) uman-e gada ba-an-lá ((SP 7.29))
15. nim-saḫar-ra kid-aš-rin-na ba-e-si
(14) (You windbag! You are) linen stretched out for a flea, (15) a reed-mat woven for the flies,

30. gùd uman-na kíĝ ba-an-sa$_6$-ga ((Lazy 7))
31. ^{túg}níĝ-dára-ni a-gen$_7$ ba-ab-naĝ-ĝá ((Lazy 8))
32. níĝ-u$_4$-bi-ta nu-mu-e-da-sá-e ((Lazy 14))
33. nam-tar eĝir-ra-ka mu-da-ab-sá-e ((Lazy 15))

(30) Can any good work be done in a nest of lice? (31) How can he get a drink in his underwear? (32) You cannot compare things from the good old days. (33) You can only compare it with what will happen in the future.

47. šu-zu ka-zu nu-ub-da-sá ((SP 2.40))

(47) You hand is not equal to your mouth!

60. (lú-tumu) lul du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ ra-gaba ki bad-rá ((SP 2.72))
61. gu$_4$ sa ab-kud-kud ^{ĝiš}šudun nú-nú ((CBS 3811))

(60) (You windbag!) Speaker of lies like a foreign envoy. (61) Oxen, with their sinews cut, lie down still in the yoke.

92. al-ĝen al-zal kíĝ-e ba-an-lá ((parody SP 3.125))
93. ní-buluĝ$_5$ a-šà-ga ĝen ^{kuš}a-ĝá-lá šu-šè lá ((SP 22 vi 11–14))

(92) The time has come and gone, and the results are lousy. (93) (You are like) a fat man going to work in the fields with his sack handing down.

The reference to "Lazy" is an abbreviation for *The Lazy Slave Girl*, a short composition that appears in several different proverb collections, but see SP 21 Sec. A 16 (Alster 1997: 256–258 [vol. 1]) for Alster's synthetic edition. Lines 60–61 and 92–93 present us with proverbs in which no explicit second person pronominal reference occurs. This point should be underlined, since our translations often include second personal pronominal elements in order to help readers unfamiliar with Sumerian to better understand the text such as "You windbag!" as a translation of {lú-tumu} or parenthetical comments like "(You are like)…." Strictly speaking, however, examples like these do not draw an explicit comparison to the addressee. Like Keith Basso's well-known study of Apache *'ágodzaahí* 'historical tales' as a means of critiquing adolescents (Basso 1996), these Sumerian proverbs simply describe a scene, a scene that the addressee must then infer is meant for him or her.

Other proverbs quoted in *The Class Reunion* do, however, include second person pronominal elements and we can easily infer that these addressee-focused pronominal elements are meant to refer directly to the addressee in *The Class Reunion*. The most famous of these addressee-directed proverbial utterances is undoubtedly {šu-zu ka-zu nu-ub-da-sá} "your hand does not equal your mouth," and with the two second person possessive pronouns in sequence at the beginning of the line, we can be fairly sure that it was meant as a direct verbal attack on the scribal abilities of the addressee in the context of schooling (presumably spoken by a teacher or upperclassman to a younger

student). The two other proverbs that are quoted in the text are more difficult to categorically describe as either "direct" or "indirect". The partial quotation of *The Lazy Slavegirl* in lines 30–33 largely functions indirectly and the only second person element is in line 32, where the addressee is warned against drawing comparisons between the golden days and today, hardly a direct condemnation like "your hand does not equal your mouth" {šu-zu ka-zu nu-ub-da-sá}. Moreover, the verbal morphology of the first of the proverbs (SP 7.29 in lines 14–15) can be analyzed as involving second person pronominal elements, although the later Akkadian translation of these lines is resolutely third person in orientation: *ana par-šá-'-i ki-tu-u ta-ri-is-*⌜*su*⌝ / *ana la-am-ṣa-ti* / *i-aš-rin-na ma-ḫi-si* "linen is stretched out for a flea. The . . . basket is filled for the fly" (translation Alster).[7] Overall, therefore, with the clear exception of {šu-zu ka-zu nu-ub-da-sá} "your hand does not equal your mouth," the proverbs quoted in *The Class Reunion* tend to be rather indirect and to fit into the cross-cultural use of proverbs described above.

Even more than its citation of proverbs, however, the defining feature of *The Class Reunion* as a work of verbal art is its constant use of entries drawn from lists of professional titles and personal characteristics (Old Babylonian Lu = *ša* and Lu Azlag) as the raw material for its composition. Lists of professions first come into existence in the Late Uruk period (ca. 3300–3000) and are roughly contemporary with the origin of writing itself, but it should be kept in mind that there is no genetic relationship between the Late Uruk lists of professions (Archaic Lu and Archaic Officials) and the Lu lists that provided the raw material for our text.[8] The original purpose of these lists of professional titles (both Archaic and Old Babylonian) was to bring a semblance of order to the social institutions at the heart of Mesopotamian society, and

7 The verbal form in line 15 {ba-e-si}, for example, should probably be analyzed as an example of the so-called local prefix *-e- (Yoshikawa 1977 [republished 1993: 252–267]; Attinger 1993: 240–247; Jagermsa 2010: 476–485), an analysis that would give us a straightforward third person form. Note, however, that Yoshikawa's original proposal (verbal infix *-a- as a marker of the locative) in combination with Attinger's suggestion that Ur III forms in *-a- correspond to certain Old Babylonian forms in *-e- is sufficient for our purposes here: Ur III {ba-a-si} (see Yoshikawa 1993: 258, for Ur III parallels) corresponding to Old Babylonian {ba-e-si} in our text. This should not be interpreted as an endorsement of the much more elaborate form of the local prefix hypothesis now found in, for example, Jagersma's chapter on local prefixes (Jagersma 2010: 465–486).

8 These lists are known as Lu lists due to the occurrence of the term {lú} 'person' at the beginning of the first entry, although in some lists such as Lu Azlag every entry in the list begins with {lú}.

they undoubtedly retained this function throughout the history of cuneiform culture.[9] They also, however, came increasingly to function as vehicles for self-conscious reflection on society at large and the institutions through which the scribal elite moved on a daily basis. As the richest and most complex form of Mesopotamian *Listenwissenschaft*, literary debates such as *The Class Reunion* represented the formal endpoint of the curriculum, where we would logically expect a reflexive moment (and we have suggested above that the known catalogues of Sumerian literary texts also support such a conclusion).

These different lines of evidence suggest that the Lu lists may have served as a model for institutional hierarchies within Old Babylonian society, but for a student in the Edubba, they may also have functioned at a more symbolic level. At least according to the ideology presented in *The Class Reunion* and other Edubba materials, the student who could master the most difficult of the lexical materials, viz. the lists of professions and its paratexts, earned through this mastery a professional position among those included in the very same list of professions. In order to highlight the role that the Edubba materials may have played in the development of scholarly self-awareness and identity, we would like to turn to the rabbinic academies of Sasanian Mesopotamia, which display a particularly rich set of similarities to the Edubba.

Recognizing Institutional Roles: The Grotesque in the Old Babylonian Edubba

The rabbinic academies of Sasanian period Mesopotamia have emerged in recent years as a unusually rich model for understanding how written textualities interact with oral commentary in institutional contexts. It was in these academies that the Mishnah, in combination with a complex stratification of oral commentary, was eventually concretized as the Babylonian Talmud (hereafter the Bavli). Even if separated from the Old Babylonian Edubba by two and a half millennia, in the rabbinic academies that produced the Bavli we see the same constellation of written infrastructural compendia (the Mishnah), embedded within an oral, dialogic context (the oral precursor to the Bavli) that we also find in the Old Babylonian Edubba (see Elman 2005 and Secunda 2013 for Sasanian background of the Bavli and Becker 2006 and 2010 for the similar institutional context of Syriac scholasticism in Mesopotamia).

9 See Veldhuis 2014b: 159–166, for an excellent introduction to the Old Babylonian lists; for the Late Uruk lists, see Johnson 2015a.

As Rubenstein (2003) convincingly argues, the latest, anonymous stratum of the Bavli (the Stammaim) could only come into being in the institutionalized context of the Sasanian period rabbinic academies, where the older, Amoraic system of isnad-like, teacher-student chains of attribution would no longer be necessary. As we will see in a moment, the institutional context of the rabbinic academies left a number of distinctive marks on the Bavli, and among these we would like to focus on the role of grotesque exaggeration in marking scholarly self-consciousness and the recognition of institutional roles, which seems to be characteristic of both the Old Babylonian Edubba and the Sasanian-period rabbinic academies.

Although we are on much less certain ground in speaking of the institutional context of the Old Babylonian Edubba (see George 2005, for a sober yet thought-provoking discussion of the mismatch between the imagined Edubba and its archaeological reality in the Old Babylonian period), one decisive feature of the Edubba materials such as *The Class Reunion* is the surprising degree to which they are constructed out of existing lists of professional titles and personal characteristics. This is analogous to the role that the Mishnah plays as a source in the formation of the Bavli (or alternatively the role of the Avesta in the Zoroastrian Zand), and so it is probably significant that the most important source for individual lines or phrases in *The Class Reunion* is the list of unflattering professions and personal characteristics (e.g., brewer, liar, loudmouth, etc.) known as Lu Azlag.

Lu Azlag A	(corresponding line in *The Class Reunion*)
21. lú ^{kaš}kúrun-na	(line 66)
29. lú ní-su-ub-ba	(line 70)
33. lú tumu	(lines 10, 14, 25, 37, 45, 56, 60, 64, 70, 88 and 106)
65. lú téš tuku	(line 121)
115. lú níĝ dím-ma	(lines 70 and 134)
133. lú gù ra-aḫ	(lines 62 and 117)
138. lú zé-za	(line 120)
149. lú zu-a	(line 102)
150. lú ^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi	(line 70)
161. lú nú-nú-a	(lines 61, 64, 71, 106 and 117)
164. lú inim bala-bala	(line 107)
182. lú še ur$_4$-ur$_4$	(line 86)
195. lú garadin du$_6$-ul-du$_6$-ul	(line 41)
272. lú en-nu-ùĝ	(line 87)
318. lú du$_{14}$ mú-mú	(line 42)

319.	lú ĝéšbu	(lines 44 and 78)
331.	lú mú-da	(line 111)
335.	lú $uš_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar	(line 68)
338.	lú pe-el-lá	(line 121)
359.	lú ĝissu è-dè	(line 104)
372.	lú nu-til-la	(line 92)
376.	lú saĝ gi_4-a	(line 116)
377.	lú dab-ba	(lines 43 and 119)
395.	lú uḫ zé-zé	(line 56)
422.	lú àra-àra	(line 57)
429.	lú sa	(line 79)

This list only refers to the better known Lu Azlag A and is partially reconstructed (although the reconstructions are not marked here; see the DCCLT edition), but the crucial fact is that much of the vocabulary that served as the building blocks for *The Class Reunion* was derived from Lu Azlag. Although Lu Azlag was not by any means the only lexical source for *The Class Reunion*, it was clearly the most important one.

This is not the place to launch a full scale study of humor in Classical Sumerian literature (see Foster 1974, Milano 2004, Veldhuis 2006, Dietrich 2009 and Worthington 2010, for some points of departure), but it is nonetheless clear that both Lu Azlag and *The Class Reunion* are operating with the type of carnivalesque, grotesque depictions that Bakhtin made famous in his study of Rabelais (Bakhtin 1965). And while it is tempting to see this type of material as humorous for its own sake, we feel that the primary purpose of this type of literature was not mere entertainment, but rather as a vehicle for critical reflection on the social position of different types of scribes and scholars within the Edubba itself and Old Babylonian society more generally. The use of over-the-top, grotesque representations to plumb the depths of social identities, particularly social identities that involve a significant intellectual component, has been recently investigated in exemplary fashion in Daniel Boyarin's *Socrates and the Fat Rabbis* (2009). Although we do not agree with Boyarin's central hypothesis, namely that "Hellenistic" materials such as Lucian's humorous parodies of Greek philosophical discourse served as one of the key inspirations for the more humorous elements in the Bavli, Boyarin also focuses on two other aspects of the Bavli that can be applied to the Old Babylonian Edubba: (i) the construction of written dialogue as a fictive, grotesque representation of ordinary scholastic dialogue and (ii) the use of grotesque depictions to offer a self-critique of perceived weaknesses in the social institution in which these grotesque depictions come into existence.

The fictive and anonymous character of *The Class Reunion* corresponds in a number of ways to the grotesque biographies of great sages that are scattered throughout the Bavli. But the similarities are structural as well, for just as elements from the proverb collections and Lu Azlag were used to build up the dialogical structure of *The Class Reunion*, much the same process can also be recognized in the formation of the Bavli.

> Although the "fiction" of the Talmud is that these are the records of living conversations that actually took place, it is clear, rather, that they are the product of artfully constructed rhetorical composition practices that make use of existing halakhic sayings in order to construct the dialectic, which is glued together with connective materials, questions that various sayings are made as if to answer, and contradictions made up out of originally independent sayings. This is the specific authorial "hand" that has taken the utterances (*memrot*) of the *amora'im* and turned them into conversations and especially dialectics, in large part by juxtaposing them one to the other (even if the speakers were continents and centuries apart). These anonymous authors have also frequently added questions to which the utterances were allegedly an answer, objections that they allegedly refute. All of this connective material that builds the dialectic of the sugya out of the *memrot* is called (traditionally and by scholars) the *stam* or *stamma*. (Boyarin 2009: 143)

At the height of the Old Babylonian renaissance—and it must be remembered that if we can speak at all of renaissance in connection to cuneiform literature it is only the Old Babylonian period that merits such an appellation—the primary arena within which the issues of voicing and citation play a significant role is exactly and almost exclusively the Edubba literature, viz. texts like *The Class Reunion*.[10] The crucial point for understanding both the "over the top" biographies found in the Bavli as well as the characters portrayed in *The Class Reunion* is that the use of unbelievable or inappropriate imagery for the description of august scholars such as these is not meant as a form of realism and has nothing to do with Barthes notion of a 'reality effect' (1968). Instead,

10 Probably the best starting point for readers unfamiliar with the Bakhtinian approach that Boyarin adopts is Bakhtin's 1986 paper ("The Problem with Speech Genres"), which focuses on how the primary speech genres of everyday life are incorporated into second-order genres such as the novel. See also the fascinating discussion of citation and citationality in Nakassis 2013.

the extreme and often unfavorable depictions found in both Talmudic biographies and the Edubba literature is actually meant to highlight problematic or disquieting features of intellectual life within these institutions.

Boyarin has taken Menippean satire, perhaps best epitomized in the Hellenistic period writings of Lucian of Samosata, as a model for understanding how the hyperbolic "realism" of the Talmudic biographies can be made sense of. As Boyarin puts it, "Menippean satire is an internal critique by intellectuals of their own intellects and intellectual practices as a means to truth and the betterment of human society" (Boyarin 2009: 230) and we have attempted to follow a similar line here. The most important case-study in *Socrates and the Fat Rabbis* is undoubtedly the justifiably famous tale surrounding the life of Rav Kahana. The story begins with a scene that one might only expect in a modern-day horror film:

> A certain man wishes to point out the straw of his neighbor [to the Sasanian officials]. He came before Rav. He [= Rav] said to him: Do not show it! Do not show it! He [= the certain man] said: I will show it, I will show it. Rav Kahana, who was sitting before Rav, tore out the man's windpipe. Rav read over him the verse "Your sons have fainted; they lie at the head of every street, like a wild bull caught in a net" [Isaiah 51:20]. "Just as with this wild bull that once it has fallen into the net, one does not have mercy on it, so also the property of Israel, once it has fallen into the hands of the gentiles, no one has mercy on it." (Baba Qamma 117a–b, apud Boyarin 2009: 186–187).

The point of the story is that "a Jew defiantly intends to point out property of a fellow Jew to the authorities, who would surely confiscate it" and as a result (or so the logic of the passage goes) he can be killed as a collaborator. The account is entirely fictional, but in order to avoid capture Rav Kahana flees to Palestine, where he enters the academy of Rabbi Yohanan, and thanks to his superior dialectical skills bests Rabbi Yohanan himself. The story goes further, with Rabbi Yohanan killing Rav Kahana and then resurrecting him, but for Boyarin the key to the story is actually its hyperbolic character:

> What I think has been not noticed—not least by me—until now is how over the top the story is, even as a representation of such conflict and hierarchical structure. . . . My argument is, then, that the grotesque and harshly self-critical biographical legends, when read together with the "serious" incorporated genres of halakhic dialectic, legal story, and uplifting

> aggada, produce a dialogical text, a text that both advances its program and recognizes its failure (the failure of all human endeavor—shades of Kohellet), precisely the kind of mixed bag that we find in such as Lucian and Petronius, that is in the literature called Menippean . . . . (Boyarin 2009: 189–191)

Mutatis mutandis we should recognize that the grotesque, "over the top" character of Edubba materials such as *The Class Reunion* plays much the same functional role in the fabric of the Old Babylonian Edubba that the grotesque biographies of illustrious rabbinic authorities play in the Bavli. The serious labor of the Old Babylonian Edubba was the inculcation of the cuneiform writing system in all its intricacy and the memorization of the bulk of Sumerian literature. Yet Edubba texts such as *The Class Reunion* represent the opposite moment—delivered to the students as they were nearing the end of the advanced curriculum. Just as the story of Rav Kahana reflects on the institutional contexts and sociological situations in which the study of the Bavli took place in Babylonia and did so through the use of fictive, exaggerated social interactions, we see much the same in *The Class Reunion*. It is precisely the extreme character of the altercations between the Professor and the Bureaucrat in *The Class Reunion* that mark them as boundary-delimiting exercises in scholarly self-reflection. The Professor and the Bureaucrat were, therefore, not meant as realistic depictions of two individuals who had attended the Edubba in their youth, but rather as a cautionary tale about the social forces that could easily drive students of the Edubba apart as they took up professional offices in different parts of Old Babylonian society.

Rites of Institution

We have taken the title of this section from Michael Lempert's ethnographic work on the formal disputations that represent one of the central institutional practices of Tibetan Buddhism. In itself the particular brand of Tibetan Buddhism practiced in the monasteries in exile such as Sera Monastery in the South Indian town of Bylakuppe does not speak to the Sumerian texts of the Old Babylonian Edubba; however, Lempert's analysis of the highly formalized and textually oriented debates that are central to the schooling that takes place the Sera Monastery link together three phenomena that are central to our efforts to make sense of Sumerian debates and disputations:

(i) a literary genre that is built around the dialogue format, (ii) the replacement of the usual shifters (contextually determined elements such as pronouns and demonstratives) of ordinary dialogue with references to a fixed and memorized textual corpus in the context of a highly constrained interactional ritual, and (iii) the central role that this oral-written hybrid interaction plays in sustaining the school environment as an institution. While the investigations of Assyriologists working within the Curricular Approach (Hallo, Michalowski, Tinney, Veldhuis and Delnero, among others) have outlined certain aspects of these three phenomena such as the structure of the curriculum and its alignment with the major chronological phases of education within the Edubba, they have not attempted to reconstruct the micro-sociology or interactional aspects of the activities of the Edubba.

The opening act of the Tibetan Buddhist debates in Lempert's description is essentially a test of the Defendant's ability to locate a short snippet of the canonical text-corpus, uttered by the Challenger, in its proper co-textual and thematic co-ordinates in the text-corpus as a whole. In Lempert's "close reading" of a debate concerning the "three jewels" in which Buddhists take "refuge," namely "the Buddha, his teachings, and his religious community" (Lempert 2012: 58), the debate begins with the Challenger citing three syllables from the end of a line that is drawn from one of the standard textbooks used in the monastery. Of course the Challenger does not cite chapter and verse, but in this case merely quotes the three syllables themselves. As Lempert describes it:

> In this debate, [the Challenger] drew the fragment from Khedrup Denpa Dhargye's (1995) *General Meaning Commentary* on Maitreya's *Clear Ornament of Realization*, a textbook used during the Perfection of Wisdom course of studies .... The defendant must now identify the clauses from which the syllables were torn and cite the complete line with fidelity. If the defendant fails to identify the correct sentence from which the syllables were torn, or if he hesitates, the first taunt—a chorus of *yo phyir* . . .—is likely to ring out across the room. (Lempert 2012: 61).

The mechanics of this opening move in the debate can be sketched out here in short order. The passage from the curriculum that the Challenger is quoting reads as follows:

> dang po de med na / skyabs su ʻgro ʻdod kyi blo mi ʻbyung / phyi ma de med na skyabs yul log par **ʻgyur ba'i phyir**

> Since if [one] lacks the former, a mind desiring refuge will not arise. If [one] lacks the latter, [one] will **end up turning away** from the objects [of] refuge. (mkhas-grub 1995: 196–197, apud Lempert 2012: 62)

The dialogue itself reads as follows in Lempert's transcription and translation:

(1)	Challenger:	**'gyur ba'i phyir** zer°	[the text says] "**because one will come**"
(2)	Defendant:	'a	ah?
(3)	Challenger:	**'gyur ba'i phyir**	"**because one will come**"
(4)	Defendant:	**'gyur ba'i phyir**	"**because one will come**"?
	Defendant:	*log par* **'gyur ba'i phyir**	[the line] is **because one will come** *to turn*
		yin da	*away, so take note!*
(5)	Challenger:	'm	(minimal response)
(6)	Defendant:	skyabs yul log par **'gyur**	[it says] "**because one will come** to turn
		ba'i phyir zer	away from the objects of refuge"

Here we see the defendant mentally sorting through the different places in the textual corpus, looking for relevant occurrences of the phrase **'gyur ba'i phyir** "because one will come" and in his first answer in (4) he manages to identify part of the co-occurring source text, namely *log par* "to turn away," but only after another moment of mental processing (and a definitive lack of response from the Challenger) does he manage to produce the entire line: skyabs yul log par **'gyur ba'i phyir** zer "[it says] "**because one will come** to turn away from the objects of refuge" (the additional material is underlined here). Since the Defendant is on the hot seat and must defend his knowledge of the textual corpus, the ability of the Defendant to identify the correct passage from memory demonstrates this minimum threshold of knowledge and establishes a common ground for the rest of the debate.

Obviously we have no ethnographic descriptions of how cuneiform texts were used in the Old Babylonian Edubba (other than the heavily idealized descriptions in the Edubba texts themselves), but certain types of texts within the available Old Babylonian materials do speak to how written textualities meshed with orally produced speech genres. Foremost among the textual evidence for how knowledge of written texts played a role in the micro-sociology of the Edubba is undoubtedly the end of *The Class Reunion*, where the Professor speaks against his old classmate the Bureaucrat:

The Class Reunion, lines 131–137
Professor:
131 dub ḫa-ma-tur ul_4-la-bi ga-ab-til
132 ki-gub-ba-ni ú-gu i-ni-in-dé
133 ki-tuš-a-ni ì-bir-bir-re
134 dím-ma ab-ta-šub-ba gù ab-ta-$giri_{11}$-da
135 a-ba-àm gù e-ra-an-dé-ma
136 a-na-zu al-ĝál-ma du_{14}-šè im-ta-an-è
137 gub-ba lú-tumu ga-ba-al ḫé-mu-e-dù nam-mu-dù-dù-e-en

Professor:
(131) (You [= the Bureaucrat] say:) "Please let me have a small tablet, so that I can finish quickly. (132) He [= the Bureaucrat] always loses his place. (133) He mixes up his contexts. (134) Having rejected all reason, he makes nothing but (senseless) noise. (135) Who would even recite for you? (136) What is it about you that leads to quarreling? (137) Stop, you idiot, even if you have a reason to fight, you really shouldn't.

The implication of the Professor's statement is clear: his opponent, the Bureaucrat, sought in his student days to do as little scribal work as possible ("Please let me have a small tablet, so that I can finish quickly") and as a result was not capable of correctly following a text or locating textual fragments in the broader curricular system of the Edubba. Moreover, because the addressee is supposedly unable to correctly carry out the type of basic textual manipulations that were the central project of the Edubba, the Professor claims that no one would even recite a text to him and that this in turn led to quarreling. Elsewhere in *The Class Reunion* we find statements such as "Even when you parrot a classic, you cannot place it in the curriculum" {nam-dub-sar-ra ḫé-bí-šid ki-bi li-bí-ib-gi_4} (line 48). Clearly the social practices in the Edubba were much more narrowly focused on the production and recitation of cuneiform tablets than the modern debates among the Geluk sect of Tibetan Buddhism, yet here at the end of *The Class Reunion* we see again an oral stratum of discursive interaction in the form of recitation, a discursive practice that presupposes the basic ability to follow and manipulate written textualities.

There is, however, one piece of evidence vis-a-vis the Edubba debate literature that may suggest that "citation hunting" may also have played a significant role in the Old Babylonian Edubba as well, namely texts such as N 6281 (manuscript K′ in our edition). As first pointed out in Civil's "On Some Texts Mentioning Ur-Namma" (Civil 1985b), some materials from the Old Babylonian

Edubba occasionally write only the first word or two of a well-known (and obviously memorized) part of the curriculum. Civil himself, having ruled out the possibility that these texts "might contain the text of broken parts of a [source] tablet" (Civil 1985b: 37), simply states that "[t]he purpose of such tablets would seem to be purely mnemonic," although without reconstructing a specific social practice within which mnemonic techniques were used, it is difficult to get a handle on what led to the creation of these texts.[11] Civil describes three examples of this practice at some length: the first (3 N-T 575 = IM 58563) covers lines 196–316 of the royal hymn Šulgi B, while the two other examples stem from the debate literature, namely a manuscript of *Winter and Summer* 253–298 (A 165) and our manuscript K′ (N 6281), which devotes most of its length to another, unknown composition, but at the end also includes the first ten-line section from *The Class Reunion* in the form of abbreviated lines (marked in bold and underlined in the following extract).

The Class Reunion 1–11 (with location in manuscript K′ [N 6281] in brackets)

1 **dumu é-dub-ba-a** u_4-**ul**-la-**àm** / **ĝá-nu ga-na** ga-ab-sá-sá-en-dè-en (Rev i 12)
2 **tukum-bi nam**-dub-sar-ra ì-zu a-na-àm ì-šid (Rev i 13)
3 **mu didli zi-ga** nam-dub-sar-ra (Rev i 14)
4 **níĝ-zi-ĝál** edin-na zà lú šu-ka-šè (Rev i 15)
5 **ì-sar eĝir-bi** gú mu-e-du (Rev i 16)
6 **a-rá igi diri** níĝ-ka_9 saḫar ĝar-ra zà-bi-šè ì-zu (Rev ii 1)
7 **ka inim-ma** nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke_4-ne (Rev ii 2)
8 (omitted in manuscript K′)
9 **ĝá-nu gaba-ri-ĝu_{10}**-uš gub-ba in-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-til (Rev ii 3)
10 **lú-tumu** ú-ḫúb ĝéštu lá-a (Rev ii 4)
11 **ĝiš**-e gu-du kéš **šir** dili tu-lu (Rev ii 5)

These ten lines represent a discrete section of *The Class Reunion* (with line 11 acting as an abbreviated catchline) and the same may also be true of the abbreviated extract from *Winter and Summer* 253–298.[12] If so, it may be

11 Delnero (2012) has recently investigated the general role of memorization in the Old Babylonian Edubba, but he does not posit any specific social practices underlying the memorization process and does not revisit Civil's discussion of these tablets.

12 With so few parallel examples, it is difficult to gauge the significance of the abbreviation in line 11, but it is interesting that the catchline (line 11) differs from the preceding lines in that it does not give the beginning of the line, but rather two key terms, viz. 'penis' (written with $GIŠ_1$) and 'testicle' {šir}, both of which are partially iconic.

significant that the line that immediately precedes lines 253–298 in *Winter and Summer*, namely line 252, begins with {lú IM} (here as part of the phrase {lú ní sed_4-da}), which is the same leitmotif that organizes *The Class Reunion*; the passage then ends with Summer accepting Enlil's judgement that Winter is the victor. Again, in the absence of ethnographic evidence, it is difficult to posit specific social contexts for ritually structured oral speech genres that interacted with written forms of textuality; nonetheless, the occasional appearance of textual subsections abbreviated in this way may be taken as some indication that one social practice in the Edubba was roughly analogous to the citation exercise that regularly forms the first act in the Tibetan Buddhist debates described above.[13]

The goal of the Buddhist debates, as Lempert emphasizes, is not really to correctly respond to each challenge with a narrowly denotational response to a literally formulated challenge, but rather to exhibit a particular unflappable demeanor that is seen as emblematic of the monastic ideal. In other words, even perfect memorization of the standard textual corpus is not enough: the Defendant should also embody the expected behavioral practice of Buddhist monks, itself modeled on the behavior of the founder of the religion, the Buddha himself. Likewise, the Edubba literature as a whole makes it rather explicit that the ideal pursued by the students of the Edubba was not simply technical proficiency in the writing and reading of cuneiform texts. The ideal scribe was also meant to maintain a particular type of physical and social demeanor that seems to have been associated with the kind of overwhelming diligence and perfectionism with respect to textual documentation and replication that bureaucratic organizations typically require. The nature of this physical demeanor is not very clearly described in our text, yet it can be found elsewhere in Sumerian literature as, for example, in Lugalbanda's description of the Anzu bird.

The Return of Lugalbanda 120–124 (Vanstiphout 2003: 142–143)

120 pa-zu an-na sa àm-ši-im-lá-lá-en nu-mu-[...]
121 ki-šè umbin-zu am kur-ra šilam kur-ra ^{ĝiš}és-ad$^{!}$-àm ba-nú
122 **murgu-zu dub sar-sar-re me-en**
123 ti-ti-zu ^{d}niraḫ dar-a me-en
124 šà-sù-zu $kiri_6$ sig_7-ga u_6-e gub-ba me-en

(120) "Your wingspan is a net stretched acrosss the sky; it cannot [...]
(121) On the earth your talons are a trap laid for the bulls and cows of

13 On ritualized forms of discourse and its links to questions of performativity, see Silverstein 1993; 2005; Agha 2007; Mertz and Yovel 2009; Silverstein 2009.

> the highland; (122) **Your spine is straight enough to write tablets;** (123) Your breast is Nirah parting the waters; (124) As to your back you are a verdant garden, a wonder to behold" (translation Vanstiphout)

In line 122, at the very center of this apostrophe or *waṣf*, we find the presumably straight "spine" of a scribe as "he copies tablets" used as a cultural ideal (note as well the discussion of "backbone" or "spine" in line 82). This statement must go back to a widespread cultural model of scribal demeanor and behavior.

Thanks to the labors of Konrad Volk we have a wonderfully detailed description of scribal habitus, which if only for the sake of the vocabulary, we reproduce here in the original (the numerous citations that stand behind each of the attributes have been omitted):

> . . . er sollte, als äußeres Zeichen seines Standes, seßhaft sein, nicht in Abhängigkeit stehen, unverschuldet, und, noch besser, reich sein, nicht arbeitsscheu, säumig oder faul, sondern strebsam, gepflegt, geschickt, zuverlässig sein, Anstand—auch wenn nicht naturgegeben—, Ehrgefühl und gute Eßsitten haben, gebildet, maßvoll sein, kollegial handeln, Konflikte lösen können und sich vor allem niemals selbst loben (Volk 2000: 21–23)

Taken literally, the figures depicted in the *The Class Reunion* and Volk's description of scribal habitus cannot easily be harmonized and we must infer that our text is not operating as a straightforward literal description of scribal behavior. If we frame *The Class Reunion* exclusively as a satire, however, we are in danger of seriously misrepresenting the nature of text. As Wilcke (1992), among others, already recognizes, texts like *The Class Reunion* are indeed satiric, but we would like to suggest that it is not merely satiric. Instead, it seems to go to great lengths to valorize philological detail, sometimes even at the expense of the values of the elite social classes. Simplifying somewhat, several recent discussions of cuneiform literacy (Volk 2000; Adams 2009; Veldhuis 2011; Michalowski 2012) are basically ready to conflate the elite values of the gentlemanly class of Old Babylonian period Mesopotamia and the goals of the scribal art as a discipline. And undoubtedly we must assume that any reputable 'scribe' {dub-sar}, even those at the bottom of the profession, would have been seen as a member of the {lú} / *awīlu* class, as defined in the Codex Hammurapi for example. That being said, however, there are passages in *The Class Reunion* that seem perfectly willing to treat the sacred cows of

the {lú} / *awīlu* class as the butt of a good joke. One particularly telling example is the discussion of the 'oven of humanity' {^{im}šu-rin-na nam-lú-ùlu^{lu}} in line 72. In several discussions of cuneiform literacy, 'humanism' {nam-lú-ùlu^{lu}} has taken on an emblematic role in descriptions of the elite values fostered by the Edubba, and a number of authors have cited texts like *The Class Reunion* as negative examples of gentlemanly deportment (Volk 2000; Steinert 2012: 110–113; Veldhuis 2014a: 31–32).[14] But the bawdy joke in which the term {nam-lú-ùlu^{lu}} finds itself in line 72 (see the commentary for a detailed explication) might well be taken as evidence of an implicit criticism of a highfalutin humanism, perhaps even representing a significant split between the values of elite urbanites and the values promulgated within the highest levels of scribal practice.

Intratextual Commentary and the Genesis of Scholastic Values

Rather than relying on non-Mesopotamian comparisons or occasional moments of intertextual allusion, we would like to walk through a relatively transparent example of an intratextual chain within *The Class Reunion* itself. While *written* commentary in all its splendor was not a central preoccupation of Mesopotamian literati prior to the end of the second millennium BCE, we must infer that oral commentary was ever-present. In light of the huge achievements in both mathematics and literary creativity in the Old Babylonian period, any reasonable account of Old Babylonian scholasticism must see the copying of lexical lists as an *infrastructural* practice rather than the pinnacle of scholastic achievement.[15] As long as we keep the fictional, hyperbolic and ideological character of *The Class Reunion* in mind, we can also use it as evidence for the micro-social practice within the Old Babylonian Edubba.

Unlike the *inter*textual allusions that are scattered throughout the text, the *intra*textual references within *The Class Reunion* form more-or-less explicit chains of intratextual links, in which one or two lines in each interlocutor's speech comment on and often extend a specific theme in the preceding speech of the other interlocutor. This rather specific form of debate is well known

14 Veldhuis rightly speaks of this as a 'non-example' since the {lú} / *awīlu* class is so difficult to identify in the Old Babylonian period (Veldhuis 2014: 32). For an extended discussion of how this type of paralinguistic semiosis is central to the generation of cultural categories and types, see Agha 2007.

15 The infrastructural role of the lexical lists is only briefly alluded to here, but it is the central theme in the discussion of 'infrastructural compendia' in Johnson 2015b.

from other historically unrelated cultures, as seen in particular in the work of Valentina Pagliai on the Tuscan *Contrasto* (Pagliai 2000; 2009; 2010), but the various debate genres and their contexts of occurrence within the the cuneiform tradition have also been discussed at considerable length (Bóttero 1992; Vanstiphout 1990; 1992; 1999; Volk 2000; Ponchia 2007; Volk 2011).

The Class Reunion, lines 61, 64, 71, 106, 117
Bureaucrat:

61. gu_4 sa ab-kud-kud ^{ĝiš}šudul$_5$-a **nú-nú**
"Oxen, with their sinews cut, **lie down** still in the yoke."

64. saĝ lú-tumu udun báḫar-ra-ka **nú-nú**
The windbag **sleeps** with his head in the potter's kiln.

Professor:

71. é nu-tuku e-sír-ra **nú-nú**
(You) have no home, **lying** in the street.

Bureaucrat:

106. lú-tumu saĝ gú ne-ka **nú-nú**
You windbag, you **rest** your head on the edge of the stove

Professor:

117. lú gù ra-aḫ šà dè-ka **nú-nú**
The loudmouth **lies** on the ash heap,

None of these five lines occur in sequence, but each ends with the Sumerian expression {nú-nú} 'lying down' and, as we will see in a moment, this repetition of the same term at the end of each line 'confirms' in some sense a series of intratextual puns that run through these lines. The first line in this chain, the Bureaucrat's citation of the proverb 'Oxen, with their sinews cut, lie down still in the yoke' is a quotation of a known proverb, even attested on a schoolboy's lentil-shaped tablet (CBS 3811), but the rest of the chain appears, at first glance, to be a product of free improvisation. The Bureaucrat invents a comic image of a potter sleeping with his head in the kiln (64), the Professor points to the relative poverty of such a figure (71), the Bureaucrat returns once again to the same theme with the image of the Professor resting his head at the edge of a fire (106) and the Professor ends with the image of the Bureaucrat on an ash heap (117).

The pun that sets the entire sequence in motion occurs in line 64, when the Bureaucrat introduces /udun/ as a pun on the word /šudun/ in the proverb that he quoted earlier in the same speech in line 61. The two terms {šudun} 'yoke' and {udun} 'kiln' have nothing in common semantically or thematically, but they differ by a single phoneme in Sumerian (/š/ vs. Ø). And while {šudun}

came pre-packaged, as it were, in the proverb that the Bureaucrat quotes in line 61, it is likely that the Bureaucrat has chosen to introduce {udun} into line 64 because of a secondary pun in Akkadian. The Akkadian equivalent of the leitmotif {nú-nú} is *utūlu* 'to lie down' and *utūlu* is a phonological minimal pair with the Akkadian form of {udun}, namely *utūnu* 'kiln' (/l/ vs. /n/). The next link in the chain is the Professor's response in line 71, where he picks up on the phrase {lú-tumu} 'liar, thief' in line 64 and replaces it with {nu-tuku} in line 71. This reiterates the phonological contrast between *utūlu* and *utūnu* in line 64, with its contrast between /n/ and /l/ and the sequence of three /u/ vowels, while at the same time making fun of the imagery in line 64: if you have to put your head in a kiln (presumably in order to stay warm), then obviously you're 'homeless' {é nu-tuku} and have to 'lie down in the street' {e-sir-ra nú-nú}. In line 71 there are also two secondary puns: {é} 'house' puns on {e} in {e-sir-ra} 'in the street' and {nu}, the negation particle, puns on the leitmotif that organizes the chain, namely {nú-nú} 'lying down'.

As the subsequent lines in the Professor's speech make clear, however, the Professor has fully comprehended the intricacies of the Bureaucrat's act of poetic invention in line 64.

The Class Reunion, lines 72–74
Professor:

72. ^{im}šu-rin-na nam-lú-ùlu^{lu}-ka zì-munu$_4$ i-ni-bàra-bàra
(You are) beer-mash flour spread out in the oven of mankind.
73. ^{dug}útul ar-za-na ^{im}šu-rin-na-ta e$_{11}$-da-zu-ne
As you are taking the *arzana*-soupbowl out of the oven,
74. ba-e-dè-gaz tu$_7$ al-bíl-la-ta
You get killed by the boiling soup.

As the repetition of {^{im}šu-rin-na} in lines 72 and 73 as well as the repetition of the TU$_7$ sign in lines 73 and 74 make clear ({útul} in line 73 and {tu$_7$} in line 74), the Professor has identified two distinct ways of extending the Bureaucrat's initial foray. Line 72 introduces a near homonym for {udun} 'kiln', namely {^{im}šu-rin-na} 'oven', which not only puts back into play the /š/ whose omission in line 64 set the chain in motion, but also incorporates the IM sign as the determinative in {^{im}šu-rin-na}; IM is the same sign that forms the most important leitmotif in the text as a whole:, viz. {lú-tumu(IM)}, in combination with {lú}. More importantly, having recognized the allusion to Akk. *utūlu* 'to lie down' in the Bureaucrat's introduction of {udun} 'kiln' into the dialogue, the Professor goes one step further and brings in an even more precise phonological equivalent to Akk. *utūlu* 'to lie down', namely {^{dug}útul} 'tureen'

in line 73. The artistic challenge at this point in the text is for the Professor to come up with a way of producing a reasonably coherent text that uses both {^{im}šu-rin-na} 'oven' and {^{dug}útul} 'tureen', while at the same time continuing the general theme of the chain, viz. {nú-nú} 'lying down'. The Professor seizes on a rather involved example of sexual innuendo: the 'oven of mankind' {^{im}šu-rin-na nam-lú-ùlu^{lu}-ka} presumably refers to the womb of an otherwise unspecified female partner, the tureen filled with hot soup refers to the male member of the addressee and the description of the addressee spilling the *arzana* soupbowl on his Achilles tendon, as he is taking it out of the oven, is probably describing *coitus interruptus* (see the commentary to these lines for a more detailed discussion of the imagery).

This type of minute, intratextual work is the central preoccupation of *The Class Reunion* and we have good reason to suspect that it was also one of the most important discursive practices within the Old Babylonian Edubba. And if we want to link this kind of philological practice to a social or institutional class, we are not going to get very far arguing that this type of behavior was characteristic of Old Babylonian social elites generally, the gentlemanly society that has been discussed in recent work from Adams (2009) and Veldhuis (2014a). Even at a relatively simple level of analysis, it is rather clear that only relatively advanced students of the Edubba (and certainly not elites who had only gone through the earlier phases of the full curriculum) would have been able to understand the close-fought philological work taking place in these texts. Simply put, an uninformed or uninitiated reading of the Professor's speech in lines 70–78 would have been largely incomprehensible:

The Class Reunion, lines 70–78
70. (You are) a raving idiot with the mind of an ape.
71. (You) have no home, lying in the street.
72. (You are) beer-mash flour spread out in the oven of mankind.
73. As you are taking the *arzana*-soupbowl out of the oven,
74. You get killed by the boiling soup.
75. Your Achilles tendon and heel get scalded.
76. You're snacking straight out of a basket of raw greens,
77. While stealing fish from the fisherman's basket.
78. Every day, your facial features are contorted from being crushed in a death-grip.

Yet as soon as we recognize that the entire speech consists of a series of nodes within different intratextual chains (lines 71–74 commenting on line 64 in the

preceding speech, line 75 setting up a new topos that will, in turn, be elaborated further in line 107), the narratological chaos at the surface, denotational level of the text is easier to comprehend. The seemingly incomprehensible first line in the Professor's speech in line 70 ({ní-su-ub lú-tumu dím-ma $^{ugu}ugu_4$-bi} "(You are) a raving idiot with the mind of an ape"), for example, is referring back to the context in the Lu Azlag lists in which {nú-nú} makes its appearance (corresponding lines in *The Class Reunion* are in parentheses in the left hand column):

	Lú Azlag A 148–164 (DCCLT edition)		
(124)	**148. lú ⌜kal⌝-la**	**[*wa-aq-rum*]**	**a precious man**
	149. lú [zu-a]	[*mu-du*]-*ú-um*	a knowledgable man
(70)	**150. lú [$^{ugu}ugu_4$-bi]**	**[*pa-gu*]-*ú-um***	**a monkey (minded) man**
	151. lú ⌜si⌝-[sá]	[*i*]-⌜*ša*⌝-*rum*	a righteous man
	152. lú ⌜si⌝ [sá]	[*pa*]-⌜*tu*⌝-*ú-um*	an open (minded) man
	153. lú ní [te]	[*pa*]-⌜*ar*⌝-*du-um*	a frightened man
	154. lú ní [te]	[*pa*]-⌜*al*⌝-*ḫum*	a fearful man
	155. lú ní ⌜te⌝-[te]	[*pa-al-la*]-*ḫu-ú-um*	a paranoid man
	156. lú [x]	[x]-⌜x⌝-*nu-ú*	a . . . man
	157. lú a ⌜naĝ⌝-[naĝ]	[*ša*]-⌜*tu*⌝-*ú-um*	a drinker
(103)	**158. [lú niĝ$_2$-gu$_7$-gu$_7$]**	**⌜*ak*⌝-*ki-lum***	**an eater**
	159. [lú kaš sè-sè-ke]	⌜*ša*⌝-*ka-ru-ú*	a beer drinker
	160. [lú nú-a]	*ni-i-lum*	an inebriated man
(*)	**161. [lú nú-nú-a]**	***na-a-a-lum***	**a playboy**
	162. [lú sig-ga]	*en-šum*	a weak man
	163. [lú kalag-ga]	*da-an-nu-um*	a strong man
(107)	**164. [lú inim bala-bala]**	***mu-ta-wu-ú***	**a talkative man**

In this small section of some seventeen entries, there are four lines that are directly referenced in *The Class Reunion* and no less than six entries that involve the reduplication of a bare verbal root (te-te, naĝ-naĝ, gu$_7$-gu$_7$, sì-sì, nú-nú, and bala-bala). Invoking a laundry list of human ills from paranoia to overindulging in drink, food and sex, it seems fairly clear that the Professor is not only scoring philological points against the Bureaucrat, but also pointing to the somewhat unsavory associations of the bare, reduplicated verbal forms that organize the preceding speech from the Bureaucrat.[16]

16 The equation between {nú} and Akk. *nayyālu*, which basically means 'to lie down', can be taken in various ways, but at least in Akkadian, the Gtn stem, which would have been

As we attempt to differentiate scholastic values from those of the elite sectors of the society more generally, it is noteworthy that the Professor's response in lines 70–78 is not simply an example of pure buffoonery, but rather amounts to an aesthetic critique. The preceding speech from the Bureaucrat was really a laundry list of comedic images, each of which involves a reduplicated verbal root.

Line-end reduplications in *The Class Reunion*, lines 62–68
62. . . . zi-ir-zi-ir
63. . . . zal-zal
64. . . . nú-nú
65. . . . til-til
66. . . . gu_7-gu_7
67. . . . bar-bar
68. . . . bar-bar

The actual semantic content of these lines fits nicely with the perspective of a mid-level manager in that each line describes the specific activity of a non-elite 'profession' or social role, although in nearly all cases that of the lowest ranking position within a particular area of activity: an ox-herder in line 62, a fishmonger in 63, a potter's assistant in 64, a merchant's assistant in 65, a brewer in 66, a convicted slanderer in 67 and the village idiot in line 68. These are precisely the social characters that we might expect the Bureaucrat to encounter in daily life, but perhaps the Professor traveled in more rarified circles. The point, however, is that at least part of the Professor's critique seems to have focused on the poor aesthetics of selecting a series of images on the basis of such as an unsophisticated linguistic form (lines ending in a reduplicated verbal root). Not surprisingly, in his response the Professor also makes use of reduplication, but in a more aesthetically sophisticated way. Again this type of aesthetic criticism—admittedly almost impossible to prove definitively nearly four millennia after the fact—would only have been comprehensible to fully initiated members of the *scholastic* elite.

Translating Scholastic Values into Social Histories

If we want to see how the interaction between the Professor and the Bureaucrat in *The Class Reunion* and the specifically scholastic values that it intimates

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the most straightforward equvalient of the reduplication form {nú-nú}, seems to have a sexual connotation in some circumstances.

translate into specific institutional or social positions within Old Babylonian society, we first need to look at the social contexts in which texts such as *The Class Reunion* might have been performed and fully appreciated. In the standard 'debate' literature (texts like *The Debate between Hoe and Plough*, or *The Debate between Winter and Summer*), two non-human entities face off in an almost philosophical evaluation of the relative merit or worth of each of the protagonists. It has long been suggested that a festive occasion may have served as the social context for these 'philosophical' debates (Vanstiphout 1990: 281–286; Vanstiphout 1992b, especially 17, n. 72). Unlike these philosophical debates, with their more or less explicit context in decidedly official banquets, dialogues like *The Class Reunion* presuppose no such context. As a rule, Edubba texts like *The Class Reunion* do not include the formal components that might allow us to postulate a banquet as their expected context, they do not conclude with a judgement from a superordinate entity like Enlil or Shulgi and their emphasis on scribal virtues would probably not have been meaningful to non-scribal elites.

Beyond the kind of direct and/or indirect allusions to a banqueting context that we find in the philosophical debates, *The Class Reunion* often references banquets of one kind or another, but invariably as a type of activity in which the interlocutor *tends* to participate rather than as the context in which the scholastic dialogue itself takes place. We already saw some of these in lines 72–74 that we looked at earlier. The same theme reappears in a passage from the Bureaucrat's speech in lines 98–109, namely lines 98–102, in which the Bureaucrat mocks the {kaš-dé-a} feasts that the Professor presumably attends.

The Class Reunion, lines 98–102
Bureaucrat:

98. é lú diĝir kaš-dé-a-ka ù-du-dè-en
    Every time you go to a feast on behalf of the gods,
99. eĝir lú kaš dé-a-ka ba-an-ku$_4$-re-en
    You come in right behind the host.
100. ugu-za imḫur$_4$ ab-sìg-sìg-ge-dè
    The foam hits you on the forehead,
101. gú-zu ki-a ù-ba-e-ni-in-ĝar
    When you've stretched your neck to the ground.
102. ní-zu šu nu-zu-a a-ra-ab-kára
    You denigrate yourself without knowing it.

Even if the attribution of these lines to the Bureaucrat is called into question, the simple fact that one of the interlocutors can attack the other for participating in precisely the kind of banquets in which philosophical debates

like *The Debate between Bird and Fish* were staged strongly suggests that *The Class Reunion* should not be situated in the same type of context.[17] Moreover, since the vast majority of the inter- and intra-textual links that organize *The Class Reunion* would only have been recognizable by those with a substantial amount of advanced training in cuneiform, the only reasonable context for a text like *The Class Reunion* would have been in the Edubba itself.

But if the kind of philological or scholastic debate that we find in *The Class Reunion* only took place within an Edubba or some other exclusively scholastic context, how would mastery of the intricate linguistic and philological structure of a text like *The Class Reunion* translate into macro-social realities such as entrance into a profession or advancement within an institution of one kind or another (academy, palace or temple)? Stated in somewhat more abstract terms, how would successful performance of the type of discursive interaction portrayed in *The Class Reunion* translate into concrete social achievements? For the vast majority of scribal trainees, their work in the Edubba presumably resulted in a relatively secure position as a manager or bookkeeper, at least in the heyday of the Ur III period. The simple assumption that reigned throughout much of the earlier history of Assyriology was that (i) the scribal schools were the only place where cuneiform writing could be learned, (ii) all students passed through roughly the same curriculum, and (iii) a straightforward meritocracy was in operation within its walls: the most proficient scribal trainees were destined to be either elite members of professions or teachers within the Edubba itself, while the vast majority of average students would fill their days as bookkeepers and administrators. In recent years, however, the very idea of literacy in cuneiform has been redefined and the assumption that every 'scribe' {dub-sar} would necessarily have passed through the same curriculum, particularly in the Old Babylonian period, has been called into question (Wilcke 2000; Charpin 2004; Veldhuis 2011; Michalowski 2012). In a recent discussion of 'levels of literacy,' for example, Niek Veldhuis has argued for three distinct types of literacy: functional, technical and scholarly. Since 'scholarly' literacy is the most relevant for our purposes here, let's turn for a moment to Veldhuis's definition:

17 This point is already made quite clearly in Vanstiphout 1992b, where he writes that "... the correct and precise term for 'quarrel', Sum. du_{14}-mú, is rarely used in the real disputations, but is widely used in some 'Dialogues'. For these reasons I cannot accept Alster's and van der Toorn's view of the very close relationship between the (abusive) Dialogues and our Disputations. The relationship seems to me more a matter of formal properties on the discourse level only" (Vanstiphout 1992b: 17, n. 72).

> Scholarly literacy involves knowledge of all the ins and outs of the cuneiform writing system and its history. Functional literacy and technical literacy are skills in reading and writing different types of text. Scholarly literacy refers primarily to the knowledge of the writing system for its own sake, collecting all possible and impossible readings of each sign and sign combination and studying the history of its use and palaeography. Scholarly literacy exhibits the pride of the scribes in their craft, emphasising and even increasing the complexity and demonstrating the joy of discovering rare and unusual features of the system. (Veldhuis 2012: 74)

This division of labor within the scribal arena fits very nicely into the model of intellectual production that Parmentier has sketched out in his work on comparative semiotics.

Having surveyed several of the most dominant theoretical descriptions of semiotic work or 'economies of the sign', Parmentier argues for a three-fold model of the division of semiotic labor, viz. (i) non-elites, (ii) elites and (iii) esoteric specialists, in which these three types of labor correspond to clearly demarcated hierarchical positions within a given society (Parmentier 1997: 87; see also Johnson 2013a: 38). As Parmentier describes them, "the first group operates largely according to unreflective *habitus*; the second group establishes official *doxa*; and the third group provides intellectualized rationalizations or even innovative deconstructions of the society's semiotic activity" (Parmentier 1997: 87, the terminology is basically derived from Bourdieu—see Johnson and Johnson 2013 for a discussion). It is easy enough to map these three transcultural categories into what we know about Ur III and Old Babylonian society and we would like to suggest that all three groups make an appearance within *The Class Reunion*. As noted above, the Bureaucrat often seems to portray the menial positions within various areas of socio-economic activity as his subordinates (viz. the discussion of ox-herders, fishmongers and the like in lines 62–68) and these individuals—referred to but not included in the discussion—clearly belong to the 'non-elite' sector of society. Both the Bureaucrat and the Professor necessarily belong to the elite sector of society in some way, simply in virtue of the fact that they are able to participate in an interaction like that described in our text. Although we can readily imagine that the Bureaucrat has had some success outside of the Edubba (and consequently can certainly be thought of as having 'establishe[d] official doxa' within an administrative role), the aesthetic critique that the Professor directs at the Bureaucrat makes it quite clear that the Bureaucrat does not belong to a 'group provid[ing] intellectualized rationalizations . . . [of] society's semiotic activity'. Thus in much the same way that the Bureaucrat sets himself apart

from the subalterns that he manages, the Professor sets himself apart from the Bureaucrat, largely on the basis of his intricate knowledge of the scholastic materials like *The Class Reunion*.

The class of 'esoteric specialists' within the Mesopotamian Edubba may even have had a native designation of its own, if some recent discussions of the expression {dumu é-dub-ba-a}, literally 'son of the Edubba', can find a broader empirical basis. Michalowski argues in a recent discussion of literacy and the transmission of knowledge in Mesopotamian contexts that

> It is noteworthy that a new scribal title appears during the Old Babylonian period: *mār bīt ṭuppāti*, written dumu . é . d u b . b a . a, literally "child of the school establishment." According to Landsberger "the title was restricted to scribes of the royal administration, especially military scribes". If the *bīt ṭuppi* / *ṭuppāti* (é . d u b . b a . a) was not just any schooling establishment, but only one that taught the full expanded cursus, including judicious selections from the Sumerian literary corpus, then one might speculate that the general term *ṭupšarrum* (d u b . s a r) referred to anyone who had mastered cuneiform well enough to use this skill in the bureaucracy, but that only those who had mastered the fuller literary and lexical course of study were entitled to be a *mār bīt ṭuppāti* (Michalowski 2012: 53).

In an addendum, Michalowski goes on to doubt his own suggestion due to variability in the use of {dumu é.dub.ba.a} in Old Babylonian Sippar. Tanret has demonstrated that in Old Babylonian Sippar an ordinary 'scribe' {dub-sar} could be qualified with designations of particular social activities or sectors such as {érin}, {di-ku$_5$}, {lukur} or {zà-ga} (Tanret 2004: 56). When scribes in Old Babylonian Sippar shifted from the standard {dub-sar} title to {dumu é-dub-ba-a}, however, they were no longer associated with a particular type of administrative activity, but rather seem to have a superordinate role as auditors or advisors. As Tanret formulates it:

> The significance of this must be that one could be a scribe (dub.sar) of the priestesses, of the soldiers/workmen, of the judges etc. but that the dumu.é.dub.ba.a title implied an added respectability which was incompatible with any further specification, something we tried to render through out proposal to translate this title as master scribe which would not allow any complement either. (Tanret 2004: 56)

Tanret also emphasizes that this change in nomenclature and social status may have been associated with a {dub-sar} taking on the additional responsibility

of teaching or apprenticing a young scribe, and this would certainly agree with our designation of the interlocutor in *The Class Reunion* who remains within the academy as 'the Professor'. More generally, the association of the Bureaucrat in our text (presumably only a {dub-sar}) with economic variability and an imperfect command of Sumerian literature lines up quite well with Tanret's picture of Ur-Utu as a wealthy senior *gala*-priest {gala-mah} who completed the basic curriculum of a {dub-sar}, but not the full 'graduate program' that we might expect for a {dumu é-dub-ba-a} (see Tanret 2004: 44–48; 2012; van Koppen 2012).

Even the role of the term {dumu é-dub-ba-a} in *The Class Reunion* is rather striking in that the entire phrase appears in conjunction with the abstract marker nam-*. The base phrase {dumu é-dub-ba-a} not only occurs at the beginning of the first line of all three of the alumni compositions, but also in our line 53 as follows:

The Class Reunion, line 53
Professor:

53. ka inim-ma nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ka šu-zu íb-ši-in-tùm
You hand out the watchwords of the scribal fraternity.

Crucially, the grammar at work in this line seems to require that the abstract marker *nam-, which often designates distinct professions and other subcultural formations, must be applied to the entire phrase {dumu-é-dub-ba-a}, yielding {nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a}. This phrase should refer to a social class of 'sons of the Edubba' rather than, say, a sonship of the Edubba (see the commentary to line 53 for an extended discussion) and consequently {nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a} would obviously be an ideal candidate for a native designation of esoteric specialists within the academy and would contrast with the far larger class of qualified scribes {nam-dub-sar}.

Perhaps the most difficult question, vis-à-vis the Old Babylonian scholasticism that we see in *The Class Reunion*, is how the distinctive forms of scholastic value that were generated through the discursive practices described in *The Class Reunion* could be 'cashed out' in the form of a teaching job or student fees. As Veldhuis makes clear in his recent overview of Mesopotamian intellectual history, the Neo-Babylonian period has emerged as the privileged test bed for evaluating links between developments within intellectual history and the social and economic networks that supported this kind of work. Surprisingly enough, it appears at least in these much later periods of time that there was no direct connection between scholastic value and economic remuneration:

> Michael Jursa (2013) has argued recently that the prebendary priests were not the top-earners of the period. They belonged to the elite, but their wealth paled in comparison to that of merchant families such as the Egibis. They derived their power and influence not so much from wealth, but rather from their connections to god, city, and king. As Caroline Waerzeggers has shown (2003), the fate of prebendary families was inextricably connected to larger political developments and those families that fell out of favor may suddenly disappear from the archival record (Veldhuis 2014: 24).

It is not entirely clear how much of this model can be carried over to the Ur III or Old Babylonian period, but thanks to the materials from Old Babylonian Sippar, it seems likely that a mere {dub-sar} (in the sense of a level of academic qualification rather than a description of an occupation) such as Ur-Utu could easily be much more wealthy than a {dumu é-dub-ba-a} such as Ur-Utu's likely teacher Šumum-liṣi (Tanret 2002; 2004; 2012; van Koppen 2012). The contrast between a {dub-sar} like Ur-Utu and a {dumu é-dub-ba-a} like Šumum-liṣi seems to correspond to the fact that the Bureaucrat in *The Class Reunion* seems to have been subject to economic vicissitudes that did not affect the Professor. In lines 39–40, for example, the Professor seems to invoke the possibility that an unsuccessful manager might be held personally responsible for shortfalls, as we know was the case with Ur III managers (Englund 1991: 267–268):

The Class Reunion, lines 39–40
Professor:

39. é ad-da-za-ka šà-gal iti-da kaš zì-munu$_4$ še-ta-àm nu-ub-diri
    In your father's house there is no more than a month's provision, whether it is beer, malt-flour or barley.
40. ama-zu-šè šu bala ak-àm
    Even trading in your own mother.

CHAPTER 2

Synthetic Text and Translation

The Professor's Initial Salvo (P1 — lines 1–8 — pp. 91–102)

1	dumu é-dub-ba-a u_4-ul-la-àm ĝá-nu ga-na ga-ab-sá-sá-en-dè-en	Hey, schoolboy! Let's have it out like in the old days.
2	tukum-bi nam-dub-sar-ra ì-zu a-na-àm ì-šid	If you are trained in the scribal arts, what does it amount to (in the end)?
3	mu didli zi-ga nam-dub-sar-ra	Each excerpted line in the scribal arts,
4	níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na zà lú *šu*-ka-šè	The *ṣâtu* lists up to the lú = *ša* list,
5	ì-sar eĝir-bi gú mu-e-dù	You write them out. But afterwards, you treat them with contempt.
6	a-rá igi diri níĝ-ka_9 saḫar ĝar-ra zà-bi-šè ì-zu	You learn the calculation of multiplication, reciprocals, accounts and volumes up to the hilt.
7	ka inim-ma nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke_4-ne	As for the formulae of student life,
8	ga-ab-šid-en-dè-en diri-zu-šè ì-zu	Let's recite them. Everyone knows them better than you!

The Bureaucrat's Interjection (B1 — line 9 — pp. 102–103)

9	ĝá-nu gaba-ri-$ĝu_{10}$-uš gub-ba in-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-til	Come on! Just try to oppose me! I will put an end to your insults.

The Professor's Provocation (P2 — lines 10–13 — pp. 104–113)

10	lú-tumu ú-ḫúb ĝéštu lá-a	You windbag! Deaf and dumb.
11	ĝìš-e gu-du kéš šir dili tu-lu	(You have) a penis stuck up your ass, with only one testicle hanging down.
12	[me]-zé gíd ⌜nundum⌝ ḫur íb kud gu-du ku-da	Big-jowled fat-lipped half-assed cripple.
13	ĝe$_{26}$-e-gen$_7$-nam al-dím-me-en	You only *act* like me!

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The Bureaucrat's Linen-for-a-flea Speech (B2 — lines 14–24 — pp. 113–126)

14	lú-tumu uman-e gada ba-an-lá	You windbag! (You are) linen stretched out for a flea,
15	nim-saḫar-ra kid-aš-rin-na ba-e-si	A reed-mat woven for the flies,
16	šáḫ ^{túg}ú-tu-gu-um al-tuku$_5$-tuku$_5$	Striking the batten (against the loom) for a pig,
17	am-si munu$_4$ sig$_7$-sig$_7$ al-bàra-ge	The greenmalt spread out for an elephant,
18	ka$_5$-a ^{dug}útul-ta ab-ta-bar	A fox coming out of the tureen,
19	lulim á-gu-ḫu-um al-sig-ge	A stag dressed up in a sash,
20	ur-bar-ra-ke$_4$ ⌜siki⌝ al-peš$_6$-a	A wolf tufting out the wool,
21	^{d}nin-ka$_6$ [x x] ⌜x x x ta⌝-si-si	A mongoose . . .,
22	⌜zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé?}$⌝-[^{eḫ} tur . . .] ⌜x x⌝	A little piglet . . .,
23	⌜x⌝ [. . . . .] -re	. . .
24	⌜x-gi⌝-a šurim-ĝá-ke$_4$ ka nu-gu$_7$-da	. . . toward the . . . of the dung/bedding,

The Professor's Lazy-slavegirl Speech (P3 — lines 25–33 — pp. 127–139)

25	lú-tumu ì dug ì-íb-ḫul	You idiot! The oil spoils the jug.
26	SU-bi níĝ-ĝál-la é níĝ-gur$_{11}$-ra an-⌜ḫul⌝	. . . into the warehouse,
27	a-šà ḫa-ma-tur é-šè ga-ba-an-ĝen	(You say:) "Let my field be small, so that I can go home early!"
28	túg ba-da-an-til túg siki ba-ni-in-du$_8$	Although he was finishing the garment, he ended up making it into felt.
29	ì ^{dug}sílim-ma ba-da-an-til ér-ba bí-in-šeš$_4$	He finished up the oil in the jug, but then shed tears over it.
30	gùd uman-na kíĝ ba-an-sa$_6$-ga	Can any good work be done in a nest of lice?
31	^{túg}níĝ-dára-ni a-gen$_7$ ba-ab-naĝ-ĝá	How can he get a drink in his underwear?
32	níĝ-u$_4$-bi-ta nu-mu-e-da-sá-e	You cannot compare things from the good old days.
33	nam-tar eĝir-ra-ka mu-da-ab-sá-e	You can only compare it with what will happen in the future.

The Bureaucrat's Beer-without-dregs Speech (B3 — lines 34–36 — pp. 139–145)

34	a nu kaš nu duḫ nu dida nu zì nu zì-milla nu túg nu ^{túg}níĝ-dára nu	(But look at what you've produced:) No water, no beer, no roughly-ground flour, no beer-wort, no flour, no *milla*-flour, no garment—not even a loincloth!
35	an-šè la-ba-te-ĝe$_{26}$-en ki-šè la-ba-te-ĝe$_{26}$-en	You do not approach the heavens, nor do you approach the earth.
36	kaš tuku duḫ nu-tuku zì tuku in-bu$_5$-bu$_5$ nu-tuku	How can you have beer without the dregs? Flour without the chaff?

The Professor's Trading-in-your-mother Speech (P4 — lines 37–45 — pp. 145–161)

37	lú-tumu za-e ĝá-gen$_7$-nam inim gaba-ri ba-ab-sum-mu	You windbag! You went through exactly the same exercises as me.
38	bar-za èn bí-in-tar ur$_5$-gen$_7$ dumu lú al-gi-na nu-me-en	Your temperment has been investigated and it turns out that you are not a reliable fellow.
39	é ad-da-za-ka šà-gal iti-da kaš zì-munu$_4$ še-ta-àm nu-ub-diri	In your father's house there is no more than a month's provision, whether it is beer, malt-flour or barley.
40	ama-zu-šè šu bala ak-àm	Even trading in your own mother.
41	ḫuluḫ du$_6$-ul-du$_6$-ul-e ^{túg}níĝ-dára búr-búr-re	You hide your fear, but loosen your loincloth.
42	du$_{14}$ mú-mú e-sír-ra ù-ba-gub	Inciting quarrels, when you stand in the street,
43	lú ka-piriĝ dab$_5$-ba ga-ba-al in-né-dù	You even pick a fight with the diagnostician treating you.
44	lú-bi ĝéšbu aškud-ta un-šár-šár šà-ga-na ab-šed$_7$-dè	When he's got someone in a headlock, only then does he cool off.
45	lú-tumu a-na-aš-àm diri-zu-šè níĝ ab-gur$_4$-re-en	You windbag! Why do I take things more seriously than you?

The Professor's Parrot-a-classic Speech (P5 — lines 46–58 — pp. 161–176)

46	di ì-du$_{11}$ eĝir-bi-šè nu-mu-un-til-e	You state your case, but afterwords never reach a decision.
47	šu-zu ka-zu nu-ub-da-sá	Your hand is not equal to your mouth!
48	nam-dub-sar-ra ḫé-bí-šid ki-bi li-bí-ib-gi$_4$	Even when you parrot a classic, you cannot place it in the curriculum.
49	níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na zà lú *šu*-ka-šè ì-sar-ra	(When) you write out the *ṣâtu* lists as far as the lú = *ša* list,
50	eme-gi$_7$-šè eme-zu si nu-ub-sá	You can't even get your tongue around the Sumerian.
51	a-rá ḫé-šid zà-bi-šè nu-zu	When you recite your times tables, you can't even make it to the end.
52	igi diri ḫé-du$_8$ ki-ús nu-ra-ab-dab$_5$	When you're figuring out a reciprocal, the first step in the calculation never even occurs to you.
53	ka inim-ma nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ka šu-zu íb-ši-in-tùm	You hand out the watchwords of the scribal fraternity.
54	èn nu-ra-tar šu-na ma-ni-íb-sum-mu	You volunteer (information) on *my* behalf, without even being asked.
55	šu nu-sa$_6$ ki nam-dub-sar-ra gù nu-ra-dé-e	Your handwriting is so bad that no one can even recite for you in the school room.
56	lú-tumu uḫ-ta zé šà-ĝar-ta úš	You windbag! Picking (at yourself) because of the lice, which are (nearly) dead from hunger,
57	níĝ-ur$_5$-ra uḫ ur$_5$-da ĝen-na ur$_5$-ra me-te-zu	Going along picking nits from a bald head—debt suits you.
58	gaba-ri-ĝu$_{10}$ me-en	You are my rival.

The Bureaucrat's Kiln Speech (B4 — lines 59–69 — pp. 176–192)

59	a-na-aš-àm ĝá-e gaba-ri-zu nu-me-en	Why shouldn't I be your rival as well?
60	lú-tumu lul du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ ra-gaba ki bad-rá	You windbag! Speaker of lies like a foreign envoy.
61	gu$_4$ sa ab-kud-kud ^{ĝiš}šudul$_5$-a nú-nú	Oxen, with their sinews cut, lie down still in the yoke.

62	gu_4 gù ra-aḫ bir-bir-re-ta zi-ir-zi-ir	After scattering the lowing oxen, he gets more and more worried.
63	géme šu-ku_6 ĝiš-ba-an-e u_4 zal-zal	The fishmonger spends her days (counting) bushel baskets.
64	saĝ lú-tumu udun báḫar-ra-ka nú-nú	The windbag sleeps with his head in the potter's kiln.
65	šagan-lá kù dam-gàr-ra-ka til-til	The assistant who squanders the boss's money.
66	lú ^{kaš}kúrun-na zì-$munu_4$ gu_7-gu_7	The brewer who always eats the malt-flour.
67	kiši$_4$-a ak ĝá-nu lú $še_{10}$ sila-ta bar-bar	Come on, convict! the one who removes detritus from the street.
68	galam ḫu-ru-um $uš_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar	Lamebrain, always drooling,
69	a-na-gen_7-nam za-e ĝá-da mu-da-ab-sá-e	How is it possible that you compare yourself to me?

The Professor's Oven-of-mankind Speech (P6 — lines 70–78 — pp. 192–207)

70	ní-su-ub lú-tumu dím-ma $^{ugu}ugu_4$-bi	(You are) a raving idiot with the mind of an ape.
71	é nu-tuku e-sír-ra nú-nú	(You) have no home, lying in the street.
72	^{im}šu-rin-na nam-lú-ùlu^{lu}-ka zì-$munu_4$ i-ni-bàra-bàra	(You are) beer-mash flour spread out in the oven of mankind.
73	^{dug}útul ar-za-na ^{im}šu-rin-na-ta e_{11}-da-zu-ne	As you are taking the *arzana*-soupbowl out of the oven,
74	ba-e-dè-gaz tu_7 al-bíl-la-ta	You get killed by the boiling soup.
75	^{uzu}ma-sìla sa-sal-zu su-a ab-síl-síl	Your Achilles tendon and heel get scalded.
76	^{gi}gur nisi-ga-ta zú e-da-ra-aḫ	You're snacking straight out of a basket of raw greens,
77	^{gi}gur šu-ku_6-da-ka ku_6 mi-ni-ib-kar-kar	While stealing fish from the fisherman's basket.
78	u_4 didli ĝéšbu da-kum-ta igi-$giri_{17}$-zu al-gu_4-gu_4-ud	Every day, your facial features are contorted from being crushed in a death-grip.

The Bureaucrat's Barley-roaster Speech (B5 — lines 79–90 — pp. 208–227)

79	ga-ab-sa$_{10}$ ganba lú še sa-sa-a	In the market place, the barley roaster is (his own best) customer.
80	lú ní-su-ub-ba-gen$_7$ igi-zu-ta ab-ta-kar-kar-re-en-dè-en	We flee from you as if you were a lunatic.
81	udun báḫar-ra-ka gur$_4$-gur$_4$-re-da-zu-ne	(You look like) you've been rolled around in the potter's oven.
82	gú-murgu-zu-ta zà-gu-du-zu-šè	From stem to stern,
83	zú-kéš sim$_x$(GIG)-ma ab-ta-si-si	The vertebrae are completely covered with blemishes.
84	^{gi}pisaĝ ninda kurum$_6$-ma lukur-e-ne-ke$_4$ ù-mu-un-šub-bé	When you drop off the offering basket of the priestesses,
85	géme lukur-ra al-tur-tur-re-eš-àm	The priestesses' scullery maids tear it to shreads.
86	igi-zu zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé\text{-}eḫ}$ tur-gen$_7$ àm-ur$_4$-ur$_4$-re-dè-eš	Your expression is as if (you were watching) them rooting it up like piglets
87	é diĝir èš didli-ka ì-du$_8$ gudu$_4$-bi ù-sá igi-bi-ta a-ra-ab-dag en-nu-ùĝ a-ra-ak-dè	In each of the shrines of the temple, while the porters and priests are sleeping, they sleep with one eye open and keep watch because of you.
88	lú-tumu saĝ ka-bi nu-gu$_7$	You windbag! (You're) a slave whose mouth never (gets the chance) to eat.
89	šà-gal-la-ni-šè kuš$_7$ kalam-ma niĝin	He wanders in the slums, (looking) for his sustenance,
90	a-na-aš-àm in nu-zu-a-ĝu$_{10}$ mu-un-dúb-dúb-bé-en	Why do you (think you can) hurl insults at me, without me noticing?

The Professor's Face-to-face Speech (P7 — lines 91–97 — pp. 227–238)

91	a-ga-ĝu$_{10}$-šè na-an-gub-bé-en igi-ĝu$_{10}$-šè in-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-til	Up to now you've been standing behind my back, but I want to put an end to your insults face-to-face.
92	al-ĝen al-zal kíĝ-e ba-an-lá	The time has come and gone, and the results are lousy.
93	ní-buluĝ$_5$ a-šà-ga ĝen ^{kuš}a-ĝá-lá šu-šè lá	(You are like) a fat man going to work in the fields with his sack hanging down.

94	lú ḫuĝ-ĝá eĝir kar-kid-da-ka-ke$_4$	The day-laborer, (following) in the wake of the prostitute,
95	^{gi}gur ú de$_5$-ga mi-ni-íb-íl-íl-i	Who carries the basket for gleaning the profits,
96	u$_4$ buru$_{14}$-ka á-zu šà-gal-zu nu-ub-da-sá	Even at harvest time, your wages don't match your hunger.
97	kíĝ-ta ba-záḫ ganba-ka šed$_{15}$ du$_{11}$ ba-gub-bé-en	You escape from work and then stand around making noise in the market place.

The Bureaucrat's Feast-of-the-gods Speech (B6 — lines 98–109 — pp. 238–258)

98	é lú diĝir kaš dé-a-ka ù-du-dè-en	Every time you go to a feast on behalf of the gods,
99	eĝir lú kaš dé-a-ka ba-an-ku$_4$-re-en	You come in right behind the host.
100	ugu-za imḫur$_4$ ab-sìg-sìg-ge-dè	The foam hits you on the forehead,
101	gú-zu ki-a ù-ba-e-ni-in-ĝar	When you've stretched your neck to the ground.
102	ní-zu šu nu-zu-a a-ra-ab-kára	You denigrate yourself without knowing it.
103	níĝ-gu$_7$-ù-da šu pap-ḫal-la ab-zi-zi-i	The roving hand plunders what is meant to be eaten.
104	é-me-eš KA ĝissu niĝin	The summer makes gossip circulate in the shade.
105	u$_4$ šed$_7$-da KA gaba u$_4$-da niĝin	The cold day makes the gossip circulate in the sunshine.
106	lú-tumu saĝ gú ne-ka nú-nú	You windbag, you rest your head on the edge of the stove,
107	bala-bala-e-da-zu-ne á-šu-ĝìri kud kuš-a ab-síl-síl	When you turn around, (you are) a cripple peeling off his own skin.
108	é bùr-bùr dun du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$	Whether breaking into a house or digging a ditch,
109	a-na-aš-àm ga-ba-al mu-un-dù-dù-e-en	Why do you have to cause a fight?

The Professor's Ash-heap Speech (P8 — lines 110–119 — pp. 258–275)

110	in mu-e-dúb-ba-ĝu$_{10}$ su-ĝá nu-ĝál	The insults that you hurl at me don't stick.
111	ĝá-nu e-sír-šè è-mu-da	Come on! Come out to the street with me!
112	lú zu-ne igi ḫé-mu-e-du$_8$-uš-àm	Let those who are in the know get a look at you!
113	na-ĝá-aḫ me-en eĝir inim-ma-zu nu-e-zu	You're a rube, you don't even know what is behind your own words.
114	lú sikil dù-a me-en níĝ-nam nu-e-zu	You're insulting, you don't know anything.
115	is-ḫab di-da nu-taka$_4$-taka$_4$ me-en	You are the one who never leaves behind speaking foolishly.
116	lú saĝ gi$_4$-a inim-ma la-ba-an-dab$_5$-bé-àm	You're all blocked up, you just don't get the gist of things.
117	lú gù ra-aḫ šà dè-ka nú-nú	The loudmouth lies on the ash heap,
118	lú šà-ĝar-ra ninda kar-kar-re	The starving man hoards bread,
119	lú dab$_5$-ba ^{gi}pisaĝ é diĝir-re-e-ne-ke$_4$ saĝ-búr-bi nu-un-na-kal-e	The prisoner is not impressed by the splendor of the temple coffers.

The Bureaucrat's City-quarter Speech (B7 — lines 120–124 — pp. 275–284)

120	zé-za gù dé-dé-e dag-gi-a a-ra-lù-lù	Shouting in your indignation, the city quarter makes you run amok.
121	lú pe-el-lá téš tuku-tuku nu-zu	Debased and unabashed,
122	lú kára-ga níĝ-úr-ra gu$_7$-gu$_7$	The scorned man who consumes his own assets.
123	lú saĝ-DU-a dumu lú nu-zu	The numbskull doesn't even know his own father.
124	ki-ma-an-zé-er lú kal-la nu-zu	The stubborn man doesn't recognize the slippery slope.

The Professor's Aide-de-camp Speech (P9 — lines 125–137 — pp. 285–300)

125	ur-saĝ gub-ba šu-bi-šè lá-a	A handicapped aide-de-camp,
126	ì-gub nu-mu-un-ge-en ì-tuš li-bí-in-sa$_6$	When on active duty, he can't get it right, when on reserve, he doesn't get any better.
127	ì-šid ba-e-ul$_4$-e-en ì-sar šu íb-ta-an-ùr	When he reads something out, you want to hurry him up, when he writes something, he smudges it all up.
128	níĝ im-sar-re gù nu-ub-ta-dé-e	Whatever he writes he cannot recite.
129	dugud-bi ab-sar-re šu-ni al-zu-ḫu-ul	He writes with great difficulty (as if) his hands were palsied.
130	šid-da-aš la-ba-ab-du$_7$ sar-re-da me-te-bi in-nu	Not only is he not meant for reading, he's hardly a paragon of writing.
131	dub ḫa-ma-tur ul$_4$-la-bi ga-ab-til	(You say:) "Please let me have a small tablet, so that I can finish quickly."
132	ki-gub-ba-ni ú-gu i-ni-in-dé	He always loses his place.
133	ki-tuš-a-ni ì-bir-bir-re	He mixes up his contexts.
134	dím-ma ab-ta-šub-ba gù ab-ta-giri$_{11}$-da	Having rejected all reason, he makes nothing but (senseless) noise.
135	a-ba-àm gù e-ra-an-dé-ma	Who would even recite for you?
136	a-na-zu al-ĝál-ma du$_{14}$-šè im-ta-an-è	What is it about you that leads to quarreling?
137	gub-ba lú-tumu ga-ba-al ḫé-mu-e-dù nam-mu-dù-dù-e-en	Stop, you idiot, even if you have a reason to fight, you really shouldn't.

CHAPTER 3

Textual Criticism and Methodology

In this chapter we briefly describe the tablets that we used in this edition, focusing in particular on those tablets that we have collated in preparation for this volume. We then provide an overview of the different number of lines that occur in particular columns of the multicolumn tablets and the prism as well as the coverage and extent of the available extract tablets. We also offer some limited comments on textual criticism and our methodology for selecting between manuscript variants.

This edition was based on a preliminary *Partitur* or score transliteration of nearly all of the known manuscripts that M. Geller produced in the 1980's on the basis of a direct examination of the tablets in Philadelphia. Although the sigla used by Geller, which we have largely maintained in this edition, were derived from the sigla used in the edition that M. Civil prepared for the Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary, we would like to emphasize here that Geller's preliminary edition was not based on Civil's working edition. We have striven to arrive at an edition of the text on the basis of direct examination of the available witnesses rather than attempting to update an existing, samizdat edition.

Individual Manuscripts

A—UM 29-16-53 (P256661)—lines 1–17, 35–58, 85–105, 128–137

Height 117 mm, Width 90 mm, Depth 34 mm. Two column tablet that originally contained the entire composition, perhaps with the lines originally distributed as follows: Obv i = 1–34 (34 lines), Obv ii = 35–68 (34 lines), Rev i = 69–105 (37 lines), Rev ii = 106–137 (32 lines). The norm in this tablet is to mark sectional divisions with a double ruling, where the second horizontal ruling in each pair serves as the guideline, on which the signs of the following line are hung. Thus there are clear rulings of this type after Obv i 9 (= line 9 in our reconstruction), after Obv i 13 (= our line 13), after Obv ii 2 (= our line 36), after Obv ii 11 (= our line 45), rev i 14 (= line 97 in our reconstruction), and then rev ii 11' (= line 137 in our reconstruction). The ruling after Rev i 2' (= our line 86) is not actually a sectional ruling: although deeper that the surrounding single rulings, the signs hang from this line, showing that it is a guideline and not an actual ruling. The

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CDLI catalogue suggests that this manuscript is joined to Ist Ni 4207 (ISET 2, 86 = our manuscript H) and Ist Ni 9604 (ISET 2, 88 = our manuscript B′) and possibly to Ist Ni 2322 (SLTN 113, our manuscript S), as originally proposed by Steve Tinney at some point in the 1990's. But we have not been able to confirm these long distance joins (UM 29-16-53 is in Philadelphia, the rest in Istanbul), so we have not adopted them in our apparatus (see the discussion of *Editions* below, however).

B—UM 55-21-315 (P257384)—lines 1–15, 84–96, 122–137

From a cast available in Philadelphia, so no measurements taken. Fragment of a two column tablet that originally contained the entire composition. Clear double rulings are present after Obv i 10 (= our line 9) and Obv i 14 (= our line 13), but there is no evidence for sectional rulings on the reverse. On the obverse there is one line that indents the second half of the line, namely Obv 3 (= our line 2). Our first line is treated as two distinct lines (no indentation) in Obv i 1–2. Only one or two signs are preserved at the beginning of each line on the first column on the reverse (right side) and in two places (Rev i 5 and Rev i 9) we have an indented second line (corresponding to lines 87b and 91 in our reconstruction). This might favor the separation of our line 87 into two lines in the edition, as in nearly every manuscript we have (only manuscript P from Ur seems to treat our line 87 as a single line, although even there the indentation is at the broken end of the reverse and it is difficult to confirm where exactly the indentation takes place). The only sectional ruling that we might have expected on the reverse, namely Rev i 9 (= our line 91), is not marked in the part of the tablet that is preserved, but may have been omitted due to the indented line at Rev i 9. The last line in Rev ii (= our line 137b) is followed by a single ruling at the bottom of Rev column ii (visible on the cast, but not in the CDLI image of this tablet). This endline—in combination with the position of lines in the right hand column on the reverse—shows that Rev i (right column on the reverse) probably ended with either line 96 or 97 in our reconstruction, and consequently, that the last column in this manuscript (Rev ii on the left) must have contained approximately 40 lines of text, while the preceding columns probably had 32 or 33 lines each. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that the lines in the last column on the reverse are squeezed together tightly as the scribe sought to fit the entire composition in. One reasonable reconstruction might go like this: Obv i 1–32 (32 lines), Obv ii 33–65 (33 lines), Rev i 66–97 (32 lines), and Rev ii 98–137 (40 lines). See our discussion of manuscript N and the prism Z′.

C—BM 54723 (P283763)—lines 1–9, 39–58, 96–115

Two column tablet that originally contained the entire composition, with originally about 38 lines per column for the first three preserved columns, but only 22 lines in the last column. One plausible reconstruction of the distribution of the lines would be as follows: Obv i = 1–38 (38 lines), Obv ii = 39–75 (37 lines), Rev i = 76–115 (40 lines), Rev ii = 116–137 (22 lines).

D—Ist Ni 9715 (P343546)—lines 1–14, 36–46

A single column extract tablet that originally covered the first 45 lines of the composition; the 46th line follows a double ruling and is clearly a catchline. Kramer's copy locates sectional rulings after Obv 9 (= our line 9) and Rev 2′ (= our line 37), which is the only indented line in the fragment. We have not personally inspected this tablet, and although it is likely joined to manuscript S′ (Ist Ni 9581, ISET 1, 205, pl. 147), we have treated the two fragments separately in the *Partitur*. See the discussion of Vanstiphout 1987 below.

E—Ist Ni 4208 (P343735)—lines 1–5, reverse unclear

A small fragment with the first five lines of the composition on the obverse, and a single line preserved on the reverse. The location of the line on the reverse is unclear, but if it corresponds to line 44 or 45, both of which start with {lú}, the double ruling that follows this line on the reverse suggests that the original tablet was a 45 lines extract tablet like manuscript D. We have not personally inspected this tablet.

F—3 N-T 905, 201 (P356262)—lines 2–8, 12–14

Height 49 mm, Width 23 mm, Depth 28 mm. The tablet is quite rounded and must have had very short lines, hence the numerous indentations such as Obv 4′ (= our line 6), which is not a very long line. From the shape of the tablet, it is quite clear that the extract originally began with line 1 of our composition. There is an extra large space after Obv 4′, which probably represents an indented second half of our line 6. On the reverse a double ruling follows Rev 3′ (= our line 13), where we expect a sectional ruling, but if this is separating a catch line, viz. Rev 4′ (= our line 14), from the rest of the text, it may not be criterial. A single ruling follows Rev 4′ (= our line 14) at the end of the abstract. We cannot be sure whether the scribe was separating a catchline from the rest of the text or making a sectional division, since in these instances the two concepts would coincide. Here the original extract tablet must have consisted of the first 13 lines of our text, which correspond to the first two or three speeches depending on whether line 9 is treated as an interjection from the Bureaucrat.

G—Ist Ni 4073 (P343741)—lines 10–17, 41–51, 89–95, 128–131

Fragment from the center of a two column manuscript that originally contained the entire composition. Without any edges or other information, it is unclear how the lines were distributed on the original tablet. There are two sectional rulings visible in Kramer's copy: after Obv ii 5′ (= our line 45) and after Rev i 3′ (= our line 91).

H—Ist Ni 4207 (P256661)—placement of first column unclear, 53–66, 73–88, 108–131

Two column tablet that originally contained the entire composition. If we assume that Tinney's long-distance joins are correct (manuscripts A + H + S + B′), then this would be, roughly speaking, the bottom left part of the same two column tablet as manuscript A, which would represent the upper right part of the tablet. Due to the extensive damage to the obverse of the tablet (according to Kramer's copy), we have not used the first column on the obverse in our reconstruction. The more legible lines in the remaining three columns roughly align with the structure of manuscript A, but any clarity as to the distribution of lines in the first column will have to depend on a re-examination of the original.

I—3 N-T 904, 160 + 3 N-T 908, 312 (P356223)—lines 26–34, 47–51

Height 57 mm, Width 67 mm, Depth 32 mm. Upper left piece, but a number of lines missing before the first preserved line on the obverse. It is unlikely to have been a two column tablet, but rather was probably an extract tablet that began with our line 14. Although the tablet format is similar to manuscripts F and I, certain signs are written differently: KA in F Obv 5′ as opposed to KA in I Obv 8′, MU with four *Winkelhaken* in F Obv 1′ as opposed to MU with six *Winkelhaken* in I Obv 8′. Manuscript I Obv 4′ has an indented second half of the line, and the indentation is rather deep. No evidence for indentations or sectional rulings on the reverse of the excerpt, but a double ruling marks the end of the extract.

J—3 N-T 927, 522 + 3 N-T 927, 512 + UM 55-21-382 (P257221 and P356571)—lines 25–40, 44–54

Height 106 mm, Width 77 mm, Depth 34 mm. Basically the same style tablet as manuscript I, but with significantly smaller writing. It is an extract tablet running from the first line of the Professor's speech in our line 25 through line 54. There is a double ruling after Obv 9 (= our line 33), a clear single ruling (deeper and more prominent than surrounding guidelines) after Obv 13 (= our line 37)

and an indented second half of line Obv 15 (= our line 39). On the reverse, there is a double ruling following Rev 2′ (= our line 45). Both Rev 5′ and Rev 6′ (= our lines 48 and 49) each have an indented second half of the line. There is also a double ruling on the left edge of the tablet (perpendicular to the direction of the edge itself) that would follow Rev 10' (= our line 52) if it could run across the break on the left side of the reverse. Rev 11' (= 53) is also indented. The last line on the reverse is Rev 12′ (= our line 54), which is followed by a single ruling. Thus the original extract had lines 25 through 54, which amounts to a 31-line extract, when we take into consideration that this manuscript includes line 52a. It is consequently noteworthy that on the upper edge above the obverse, we find the number 31, namely 3(U) 1(DIŠ), which is probably the total for the number of lines in the extract.

K—HS 1536 + HS 2646 + HS 2809 + HS 2814 (P345638)—lines 33–39, 69–84, 85–100, 124–133

Height 100 mm, Width 92 mm, Depth 24 mm. Lower half of a two column tablet that originally contained the entire composition. After the copy that appears in TuM NF 3, 43, was published, van Dijk made three additional joins (adding HS 2646 + HS 2809 + HS 2814) and produced a copy of the joined fragments. We have included a new copy of this tablet by Luděk Vacín, which we have also checked against the original in Jena, in the plates at the end of the volume. It is fairly clear from the remaining lines that the first column on the obverse (left) and the first column on the reverse (right) each contained 39 lines, the second column on the obverse had 45 lines with the remainder in the second column on the reverse. This amounts to the following distribution: Obv i = 1–39 (39 lines), Obv ii = 40–84 (45 lines), Rev i = 85–123 (39 lines) and Rev ii = 124–137 (12 lines). This somewhat odd distribution of the lines in the columns leads to the numerous tightly crammed lines at the bottom of the second column on the obverse and extremely spread out lines in the last column. Note that 39 + 39 + 12 = 90, so the scribe is probably attempting to fit a three-tablet edition, with 45 lines per tablet (see the colophon to manuscript Y from Ur), into the four columns of a two-column tablet.

L—Ist Ni 4194 (P343762)—lines 35–41, 42–49

The lower right corner of an extract tablet that originally covered lines 25–54 like manuscript J, but of course it is impossible to be certain.

M—Ist Ni 9850 (P343509)—lines 38–45, 65–74

Fragment from the left side of an extract tablet, but it is unclear what lines the extract tablet would originally have covered.

N—CBS 13387 (P268467)—lines 45–65, 66–88

Height 127 mm, Width 58 mm, Depth 33 mm. Bottom right edge of what was originally a two-column tablet that covered the entire composition. Given the distribution of the lines, the two-column format was probably very much like manuscript B, viz. Obv i 1–32 (32 lines), Obv ii 33–65 (33 lines), Rev i 66–97 (32 lines), and Rev ii 98–137 (40 lines). Manuscripts B and N do not overlap, but it is not clear whether or not they were part of the same tablet in antiquity. See also the discussion of the prism, manuscript Z′. After Obv i′ 15′ (= our line 57) there is a particularly deep single ruling that may have served as some kind of section divider between lines 57 and 58, but the prominence of this ruling may simply indicate that Obv 16′ (= our line 58) is the final line of the speech. Unlike the type of double rulings that clearly function as sectional rulings in manuscripts like A B and J, this type of deeply impressed single ruling may have functioned somewhat differently, but in light of the fact that no unambiguous sectional ruling appears elsewhere in this manuscript (and no double ruling is used anywhere in the text), it is at least unlikely that the ruling between lines 57 and 58 was meant as a section division.

O—Ist Ni 2771 (P345247)—lines 46–57, 59–70

A twenty-five line extract tablet running from line 46 through line 70. If we were to assume that the last line is a catchline (although it should be emphasized that there is no ruling before the last line in Kramer's copy), then the extract would also corresponds to the Professor's speech in lines 46–58 followed by the Bureaucrat's speech in lines 59–69. There are traces of a sectional ruling at the end of the preserved lines on the obverse, namely after Obv 12 (= our line 57); see manuscript R below for further discussion. Three lines indent the second half of the line: Obv 3 (= our line 48) and Obv 8 (= our line 53) and Obv 10 (= our line 55).

P—UET 6/2, 155 (P346240)—lines 50–69, 70–87

Originally an extract tablet that covered the middle third of the composition. If we were to take the three tablet edition with 45 lines per tablet described in the colophon of manuscript Y (also from Ur) as a model, this tablet could easily have been the second tablet of such an edition running from line 45 through line 90. The marginal notation, viz. 4(U) 9(DIŠ), at the bottom of the obverse, however, suggests that the extract consisted of 49 lines rather than 45 lines. There are sectional rulings following Obv 11 (single ruling = our line 58) and Obv 22 (double ruling = our line 69), and Rev 9 (single ruling = our line 70). The only line that seems to have involved indentation is Rev 17 (the last preserved line on the reverse = our line 87).

Q—Ist Ni 9865 (P343750)—lines 56–62, 100–101

An extract tablet covering 45 or 46 lines, viz. lines 56–101, depending on whether the last line was thought of as a catchline or not. No evidence of sectional rulings or indented lines, and the selection of lines in the extract seems to be largely arbitrary.

R—CBS 7099 (P262138)—lines 58–62

Height 22 mm, Width 48 mm, Depth 23 mm. Small fragment from the upper right corner of an extract tablet. There are only two manuscripts that include a sectional ruling in the vicinity of line 58, the first line of this extract: manuscript O from Nippur seems to locate a sectional ruling after line 57, while manuscript P from Ur clearly locates one after line 58. This might suggest that Nippur and Ur located the change in speaker in a slightly different location and that—in Nippur at least—line 58 would have been the first line of the Bureaucrat's speech that runs through line 69. If so, this tablet probably extracted the Bureaucrat's speech in lines 58–69 or perhaps the Bureaucrat's speech as well as the Professor's response in lines 70–78. The script size and tablet format are roughly the same as manuscript N, but it cannot be part of the same tablet.

S—Ist Ni 2322 (P256661)—lines 62–68, 69–73

The lower right corner of a two-column tablet that originally included the entire composition. This was one of the fragments that Tinney suggested should be joined to manuscripts A + H + B′ and, in fact, the distribution of the lines agrees with the distribution found in manuscript A: Obv i = 1–34 (34 lines), Obv ii = 35–68 (34 lines), Rev i = 69–105 (37 lines), Rev ii = 106–137 (32 lines). There is a sectional ruling after line Rev 2 (= our line 70), which agrees quite well with the starting point of the Professor's speech in lines 70–78.

T—3 N-T 903, 104 (P356174)—lines 70–76, 88–91

Height 61 mm, Width 51 mm, Depth 27mm. Upper right hand corner of an extract tablet that originally covered lines 70–90, with line 91 marked as a catchline. Manuscripts T U and V all extract the same set of lines and all treat line 91 as a catchline. The only apparent ruling is after Rev 3′ (= our line 90) and at the end of the abstract after Rev 4′ (= our line 91), but since Rev 4′ indents the second half of the line, the two lines that appear to exist between these two rulings are actually a single line and the ending of the extract tablet is formally equivalent to the usual way of marking a catchline at the end of an extract tablet. There are also a few numerical signs that follow the catchline in this tablet, apparently 1(GÉŠ) 3(U), which would correspond to 90. Then in a separate line

there is a distinct AŠ, although the rest of this line is missing. The number 90 tells us that the line before the catch line was line 90, as in fact our reconstruction suggests. Other than these three extract tablets (T U and V), which suggest implicitly that the Bureaucrat's speech ends with line 90, the only other evidence for a change of speaker near lines 90–91 is the sectional ruling following line 91 in manuscript G. It is possible, of course, that the sectional ruling in manuscript G is mistaken, perhaps based on misinterpreting the catchline in extract tablets like these as the final line of the extract.

U—3 N-T 923, 503 (P356553)—lines 70–72, 91

Height 27 mm, Width 54 mm, Depth 27 mm. Small fragment from the upper edge of an extract tablet. Like manuscripts T and V, this extract tablet originally covered lines 70–90. The only evidence of ruling or indentation is a single ruling after the last line of the extract, but again like manuscript T, our line 91 is broken over two lines (or a single indented line) in Rev 1′–2′; since the preceding line is missing, it is not possible to tell whether a single ruling preceded Rev 1′, as was the case in manuscript T.

V—3 N-T 919, 461 (P356516)—lines 70–82, 84–91

Height 91 mm, Width 67 mm, Depth 30 mm. Like manuscripts T and U this tablet is an extract of lines 70–90. On the obverse, the absence of a guideline from Obv 3′–4′ (= our line 73) and also from Obv 5′–6′ (= our line 74), suggests that both of these passages were actually indented lines. The same seems to hold true for Obv 11′–12′ (= our line 78). Like the other extract tablets for this section, our line 91 is split into two lines (Rev 11′–12′) and the end of the extract is followed by a single ruling. The fact that the three manuscripts T U and V all extract lines 70–90 (with line 91 as a catchline) in combination with the alignment of these 21 lines with the speeches from the Professor and the Bureaucrat respectively may also provide a link to the three tablet edition with 45 lines per tablet, as outlined in the colophon of manuscript Y from Ur, since the second tablet of such as series would have ended with line 90.

W—N 3553 + N 3607 (P278625)—lines 75–87, 98–108

Height 83 mm, Width 69 mm, Depth 35 mm. Extract tablet that originally covered lines 75–107. The upper left corner is preserved, so it is fairly clear that Obv 1′ is equal to our line 75, even though only traces from the first sign are preserved. The final line of the extract proper is Rev 10′ (= our line 107), which is followed by a double ruling and then the catchline, namely Rev 11′ (= our line 108). This extract does not align with any other editions or speeches in our composition, but rather seems to be organized around the similarity between

line 75 ({^{uzu}ma-sìla sa-sal-zu su(SU)-a ab-síl-síl}) and line 107 ({bala-bala-e-da-zu-ne á-šu-ĝìri kud kuš(SU)-a ab-síl-síl}). There is also a double ruling following Obv 4′ (= our line 78), which represents a sectional ruling that is well attested in other manuscripts. The heavy single ruling following Obv 12′ (= our line 86) is not a sectional ruling, but rather was probably meant to indicate that the following line, viz. Obv 13′ (= our line 87), was a long, indented line (hence the empty space in Obv 14′).

X—3 N-T 908, 296 (P356351)—lines 76–79, 86–87

Height 33 mm, Width 50 mm, Depth 25 mm. Fragment from the middle of a column, so it is difficult to guess the shape of the original tablet. Like manuscript K it has {šu-peš-da}, not {šu-HA-da}. For the most part, no evidence for rulings or indentations in the fragment. On the reverse, however, there is a particularly deep guideline or single ruling following Rev 2′ (= our line 86). As in a number of the manuscripts, including manuscript W above, this may be meant to communicate to the reader that the following Rev 3′ (= our line 87) is exceedingly long and occupies several lines of text on this fragment.

Z—UM 29-15-996 (P256618)—lines 93–110, 111–129, 137

Height 93 mm, Width 68 mm, Depth 36 mm. Approximately two-thirds or three-quarters of the third tablet of a three-tablet edition of the text. Script size and tablet format are similar to manuscripts J and W, for example. Although the beginning of the obverse is missing, there were probably three or four more lines at the beginning of the obverse and seven or eight more cramped lines at the end of the reverse. It is noteworthy, for example, that the last line of the composition (our line 137) had to be written on the left edge. This suggests that the tablet probably started with line 91 and ran through the end of the composition. If manuscript X′ is actually the upper edge of the obverse, then we clearly have the third tablet of a three-tablet edition as described in the colophon of manuscript Y. There are no clear indications of sectional divisions and only one indented line in the preserved parts of the tablet, namely Rev 9′ (= our line 119). The guideline following Obv 17′ (= our line 109) is particularly deep and our edition does locate a change in speaker at that location in the text, but given the general absence of sectional divisions from this manuscript, the prominent single ruling following Obv 17′ should not be used as the decisive piece of evidence for this change of speaker. The Sippar manuscripts C and B′′ provide much stronger evidence for a change in speaker at this point in the text.

A′—3 N-T 900, 15 + 3 N-T 900, 27 + 3 N-T 901, 57 (P356090, P356101, P356129)—lines 101–109; 110–119

Height 54 mm, Width 57 mm, Depth 25 mm. The bottom half of a single column extract tablet. If we infer that nine or ten lines are missing from both the top half of the obverse and the bottom half of the reverse, this would give us an original extract tablet running from our line 91 through approximately line 129, but it is unlikely that this manuscript represents the third tablet of a three tablet edition with 45 lines per tablet. There are no sectional rulings in the preserved part of the tablet, but there are at least two lines that indent the second half of the line, namely Obv 7′ (= our line 107) and Rev 10′ (= our line 119).

B′—Ist Ni 9604 (P256661)—line placement of obverse is unclear, 124–137

This fragment from the left column of a two-column tablet that originally contained the entire composition was included in the long distance join with manuscripts A H and S that Tinney proposed in the 1990's. We have not been able to re-examine the original tablet and have relied on Kramer's copy in ISET 2. Due to the extensive damage to the obverse of the tablet, we have not attempted to include the obverse in our *Partitur*.

C′—UM 55-21-325 (3 N-T 434, P257249)—lines 73–81, 85–91

Height 69 mm, Width 59 mm, Depth 33 mm. The center of a very rounded extract tablet that may originally have included approximately 30 lines total, but since both the top and the bottom are missing from both sides of the tablet, it is difficult to know which lines it originally included. There are no clear sectional rulings, but two guidelines are inscribed much more deeply than their neighboring guidelines: the ruling after Obv 6′ (= our line 77) and the one after Rev 2′ (= our line 86). The deeply impressed guideline or single ruling after Rev 2′ does not correspond to a change of speaker according to our reconstruction of the composition, but rather it was probably deeply impressed in order to clearly mark the separation between two longer lines that involved indented sublines, namely Rev 2′ (= our line 86) and Rev 3′ (= our line 87). The first of these (Rev 2′) leaves an extremely long indentation and includes only the verbal suffix in the second half of the line (in proximity to the rest of the verb at the end of the first half of the line), while the second (Rev 3′) is the extremely long line 87 in our reconstruction, which is broken into three separate lines in this manuscript, only the third of which is indented. This is comparable to the indentation pattern for this line in manuscripts B and K, in which the first

and second elements are not indented, but the third element is. Other than these two indented lines on the reverse, there are also two other indented lines on the obverse, namely Obv 7′ (after the deep guideline on the obverse) and Obv 9′ (= our line 80). Like the long indentation in Rev 2′, the indented part of the line in Obv 9′ also includes just the verbal suffix at the end of a deeply indented line.

D′—IM 58616 (P356807)—lines 73–80, 81–90

From a cast at the University Museum in Philadelphia, so no measurements taken. The bottom half of an extract tablet that may originally have covered lines 65 through 95, although this is only a very rough estimate. If it was an extract of lines 70–90, like manuscripts T U and V above, then there are only three lines missing from the top of the obverse and one or two lines missing from the bottom of the reverse. There is apparently a single ruling at the bottom of the obverse, but this may be an artifact of the casting process. Other than this somewhat suspect single ruling, the only other possibility for a ruling is a deeply incised guideline following Rev 5′ (= our line 86): as in many other tablets covering this section of the text, the guideline for our line 87 seems to be impressed more deeply than surrounding guidelines. There are at least four lines that have an indented second half, namely Obv 1′ (= our line 73), Obv 6′ (= our line 78), Obv 8′ (= our line 80), Rev 4′ (= our line 84) and Rev 7′ (= our line 87b–c). The indented line in Obv 8′ separates the verbal suffix from the rest of the verb, but the indented line in Rev 4′ is particularly unusual in that it locates the verbal root {sub-[x]} in the indented line.

E′—IM 58540 (P356760)—lines 28–37, 113–120

From a cast at the University Museum in Philadelphia, so no measurements taken. This is the bottom left corner of a tablet that originally had two columns and contained the entire text of the composition. The first column on the obverse ended with our line 37, while the second column on the reverse began with our line 113, so the most parsimonious way of apportioning lines to columns is as follows: Obv i = 1–37 (37 lines), Obv ii = 38–74 (37 lines), Rev i = 75–112 (38 lines) and Rev ii = 113–137 (25 lines). This distribution of lines over columns is very similar to manuscript C, except that in manuscript C a few lines are shifted from the fourth column to the third: Obv i = 1–38 (38 lines), Obv ii = 39–75 (37 lines), Rev i = 76–115 (40 lines), Rev ii = 116–137 (22 lines). The only clear sectional ruling in the preserved parts of the tablet is the double ruling after Obv 6′ (= our line 33), which corresponds to a change of speaker in our reconstruction of the text. There may be a second sectional ruling after Obv 8′, but the lines are too damaged and crammed together to make any deci-

sion possible. There are a number of lines in the preserved part of the tablet that indent the second half of a line, namely Obv i 2′ (= our line 29), Obv i 7′ (= our line 34) and Rev 7′ (= our line 119).

F′—IM 58528 (P356739)—lines 118–128, 129–137

From a cast at the University Museum in Philadelphia, so no measurements taken. The tablet is the bottom half of an extract tablet, but it is difficult to determine from the cast alone how many lines have been lost from the top of the obverse. There is no clear evidence of sectional rulings in the text, although one guideline following Obv 10′ (= our line 127) does seem to be inscribed more deeply than the other guidelines, but there is no reason to interpret this guideline as an indication of a change of speaker. There are six lines that indent the second half of the line: Obv 2′ (= our line 119), Obv 9′ (= our line 126), Obv 10′ (= our line 127), Rev 1 (= our line 129), Rev 2 (= our line 130) and Rev 9 (= our line 137).

G′—Ist Ni 9967 (P343523)—lines 115–120

Fragment from the center of a column, although the small size of the fragment makes it quite difficult to say what kind of tablet it might have come from.

H′—YBC 6713 (P357302)—lines 14–24

This small extract tablet is in landscape format and seems to correspond to the Bureaucrat's speech in lines 14–24. The colophon, however, states that it is a 10-line extract ({mu 1(U)-kam}), which might suggest that it was meant to cover only lines 14–23 (on the obverse) and that the first line on the reverse is a catchline. It is noteworthy that the prism, manuscript Z′, seems to have a somewhat different order for the various animal metaphors listed in this section of the composition. Moreover, since we have so little evidence for lines 22–24, we cannot be certain whether the Bureaucrat's speech ended with line 23 or line 24.

I′—3 N-T 905, 196 (P356257)—lines 123–130

Height 57 mm, Width 35 mm, Depth 20 mm. This is a small fragment out of the center of a column and contains no indication of sectional rulings or indented lines. It is unclear what type of tablet or edition it derives from.

J′—N 2625 (P277705)—lines 4–10

Height 42 mm, Width 32 mm, Depth 25 mm. This tablet is a small fragment from the upper left edge of a tablet. Given the small careful script, it probably originates from a large two-column tablet that may have contained the entire

composition. There is a clear sectional ruling after Obv 6′ (= our line 9), whose location agrees quite well with numerous other sources.

K′—N 6281* (*P280046*)*—lines 1–11

Height 79 mm, Width 53 mm, Depth 26 mm. This manuscript begins with a different, as yet unidentified composition that occupies the obverse and the first half of the first column on the reverse (right side). As Civil first noted (1985: 40), the beginning of our composition (lines 1–7 and 9–11, line 8 is omitted) are contained in Rev i 11–16 and Rev ii 1–5. As discussed at length in the Introduction to this volume, for the most part only the first word or two from each of these lines is written out, although the abbreviation of line 11 picks out the two key terms from the line ({ĝiš} 'penis' and {šir} 'testicle') rather than the first couple words. It is noteworthy as well that the first line of the composition according to our reconstruction is broken up into two distinct lines in this short extract, which strongly suggests that some scribes conceived of our line 1b {ĝá-nu ga-na ga-ab-sá-sá-en-dè-en} as a distinct line 2, but this treatment of line 1b could also stem from its use as the incipit for the composition in certain catalogues. See again the Introduction to this volume.

L′—UM 29-13-216* (*P255205*)*—lines 1–12, 31–34

Height 72 mm, Width 33 mm, Depth 25 mm. Upper right corner of an extract tablet that originally covered the first 33 lines of the composition (plus line 34 as a catchline). It therefore represents the first five speeches between the two protagonists (assuming line 9 represents a one line interjection from the Bureaucrat. There is a double ruling after Obv 6 (= our line 6) that consequently offers us a rather different understanding of the beginning of the composition. There does not seem to be a sectional ruling after Obv 9, as we might have expected based on our other manuscripts, but the writing on the tablet is extremely cramped and the sectional ruling may have been obscured by the subsequently inscribed signs. On the right edge of the tablet after Obv 9, however, the ruling is particularly deep, comparable to the double ruling after Obv 6. On the reverse, most of the lines are extremely damaged and we have not, for the most part, used the reverse of this manuscript in our edition, but Rev 6′ and Rev 8′ are both followed by double rulings. Rev 7′ and Rev 8′ correspond to our line 34, so as in manuscripts T U and V for example, these two lines are actually the catchline and we can only infer that the line preceding the catchline is our line 33. Since these double rulings mark the catchline and the end of the extract respectively, they are not sectional rulings in the strict sense of the term, but they do demonstrate—in combination with the material on the obverse—that the tablet extracts the first 33 lines of our composition.

M′—UM 55-21-340* (*P257255*)*—lines 34–39, 41–46

Height 49 mm, Width 61 mm, Depth 29 mm. The tablet is the bottom right corner of an extract tablet that may originally have run from our line 25 through line 50 or so, but it is difficult to be certain. The tablet has three single rulings that are especially deep: after Obv 4 (= our line 37), Rev 1′ (= our line 41), and Rev 3′ (= our line 43). Only the first of these three can be confirmed from other manuscripts and none are written with a double ruling, so they should be treated with caution. Given the placement of {un-šár-šár}, we have inferred that Rev 4′ was a line that indented the second half of the line. The script and tablet format are very similar to manuscript J.

N′—CBS 10398* (*P265615*)*—lines 114–117

Height 35 mm, Width 38 mm, Depth 15 mm. This is a fragment from either a two column tablet or a prism, in which the column was quite narrow and nearly every line indents the second half of the line. Only one or two signs are missing from the left side of each line. Obv 1′ (= our line 114), Obv 3′ (= our line 116) and Obv 4′ (= our line 117) are all indented lines, and in particular Obv 3′ separates the verbal suffix from the rest of the line in a deeply indented second half of the line with the suffix in proximity to the verb. There is no indication of sectional rulings or other aspects of textual format.

O′—3 N-T 903, 106* (*P356515*)*—lines 58–64; 70–77

Height 45 mm, Width 22 mm, Depth 23 mm. Fragment from the right edge of a tablet with medium sized script, but it is unclear what type of tablet it might have been or which lines it may originally have included

Q′—3 N-T 907, 265* (*P356321*)*—lines 116–122, 136–137

Height 64 mm, Width 40 mm, Depth 30 mm. The tablet is the upper left corner of an extract tablet that originally included that last 22 lines of the composition (lines 116–137 in our reconstruction). This is roughly the number of lines found in the fourth column (second column on the reverse of a two-column tablet) of certain editions of the composition such as the two-column tablet manuscript C, which may have distributed the lines over its columns as follows: Obv i = 1–38 (38 lines), Obv ii = 39–75 (37 lines), Rev i = 76–115 (40 lines), Rev ii = 116–137 (22 lines). Except for a space between the last line of the composition and the colophon {^{d}nisaba [zà-mí]} and a double ruling following this colophon, there is no evidence for other sectional rulings or divisions in the preserved part of the text. The only indented line is Obv 4′ (= our line 119).

R′—3 N-T 919, 460 (P356515)—lines 26–36, 43–45

Height 71 mm, Width 37 mm, Depth 25 mm. Upper right corner of an extract tablet that may originally have begun with our line 25 or 26 and then runs through our line 45. Since the last line of the extract is not specially demarcated, it was probably not meant as a catchline and in all likelihood, it was simply a twenty line extract running from line 26 through line 45. Two sectional rulings are clear on the obverse of the tablet, viz. after Obv 4′ (= our line 29) and Obv 9′ (= our line 34). These sectional rulings do not line up with our reconstruction very well, but the scribe may have intended to demarcate the lines from *The Lazy Slave Girl* (= our lines 30–33) and then mistakenly included line 34, even though it is not actually derived from *The Lazy Slave Girl*.

S′—Ist Ni 9581 (P343546)—lines 5–12

We have not seen the original, and although this fragment is likely joined to manuscript D (Ist Ni 9715, ISET 2, 84), we have not been able to confirm this and treat them separately here. See the discussion of Vanstiphout 1987 below.

T′—CBS 7806 (P262814)—lines 85–91, 94–100

Height 46 mm, Width 28 mm, Depth 34 mm. The lower left edge of a thick pillow shaped tablet. The tablet tapers dramatically so it may actually come from the left corner, although the corner itself is not preserved. The writing is small and there is only one indented line (Obv 4′), which might suggest that the fragment comes from a two-column tablet, but this is clearly impossible given the distribution of lines on the obverse and the reverse, so the tablet must be an extract tablet that covered roughly lines 75 through 110. There is no indication of sectional rulings or indented lines.

X′—3 N-T 900, 17 (P356092)—lines 91–92

Height 20 mm, Width 53 mm, Depth 26 mm. Probably the upper edge of manuscript Z (UM 29–15–996), although the two pieces do not precisely join. If so, then manuscripts Z + X′ would represent a nice example of the third tablet of a three tablet edition, as described in the colophon of manuscript Y. The first two lines of the manuscript correspond to our line 91, but it is unclear whether the line is indented or not.

Y′—3 N-T 274 (A 30192, P356623)—lines 116–121

Height 55 mm, Width 38 mm, Depth 24 mm. The tablet is from the upper left side of a column (only traces of the first sign in each line remain, however) and the top of the tablet is fully preserved. It is unclear what type of tablet it is, so we have not attempted to reconstruct the lines that it originally included. The reverse is completely missing.

Z′—CBS 6967 + CBS 7840 (P262835)—lines 12–32, 33–64

Height 186 mm, Width 75 mm, Depth 45 mm. Badly damaged prism with half of one face and parts of a second face preserved. Although relatively few signs are legible, enough could be identified in order to demonstrate that Face a, viz. the column with only the right edge preserved, originally contained the first 32 lines of our composition, while Face b seems to have contained lines 33–64 of our composition, although the last line in Face b that could be identified with certainty is Face b 22 (= our line 54). The importance of this manuscript lies not in any new text or variants that it might provide—it is too damaged to provide much in the way of reliable evidence—but rather it demonstrates that the lineation through line 55 of our composition is essentially correct, even though we have little evidence for the correct rendering of lines 21–24. The prism was originally a square prism, presumably with all four sides used to write out our composition in its entirety. If the 32 lines on Faces a and b can be taken as a norm for this text, it suggests that Face a = lines 1–32 (32 lines), Face b = lines 33–64 (32 lines), Face c = lines 65–96 (32 lines), and Face d = lines 97–137 (41 lines). If correct, this distribution of the lines across the four faces of the tablet would be nearly identical to the distribution of lines in the four columns of manuscripts B and N.

A′′—Ist Ni 4146 (P343193)—lines 33–36

Lower right corner of an extract tablet. The last line on Kramer's copy is followed by a double ruling, which might suggest that the preserved lines represent the end of the reverse of the tablet rather than the end of the obverse of the tablet. If so, then the tablet would be a straightforward extract tablet with the first 36 lines of the composition. There is also a single ruling after the first preserved line in Kramer's copy (= our line 33), which probably represents the otherwise well attested sectional ruling after this line. The second line in Kramer's copy was presumably indented (= our line 34).

B′′—BM 72978 (P274250)—lines 34, 59–69, 70–84, 108–115

The lower right section of a two-column tablet that originally contained the entire composition. Since the last lines on the obverse and the first lines on the reverse are all preserved, we can be rather certain about how the lines were distributed in the columns: Obv i = 1–34 (34 lines), Obv ii = 35–69 (35 lines), Rev i = 70–107 (38 lines), and Rev ii = 108–137 (30 lines). This two-column edition is very similar to the edition in manuscript A, which probably distributed the lines as follows: Obv i = 1–34 (34 lines), Obv ii = 35–68 (34 lines), Rev i = 69–105 (37 lines), Rev ii = 106–137 (32 lines).

C′′—CBS 7819 (P262826)—lines 129–133, 134–137

Height 40 mm, Width 64 mm, Depth 29 mm. An extract tablet that may originally have contained the last fifteen or twenty lines of our composition. The script is large and the reverse comes to an end after only five lines. Two lines indent the second half of the line: Obv 2′ (= our line 130) and Rev 1 (= our line 134).

D′′—N 2657 + N 3087 (P277726)—lines 102–107

Height 55 mm, Width 50 mm, Depth 30 mm. Known from the fragments published in Peterson 2010, there listed as no. 32 (reference courtesy J. Crisostomo). We were not able to inspect the tablet firsthand. Peterson states that the "obverse and reverse are preserved" but that the obverse is "almost completely effaced" (Peterson 2010: 22). The legible parts of the fragment are on the right central edge of the reverse, so if the reverse has been correctly identified, it would originally have covered at minimum the Professor's speech in lines 91–97 and the Bureaucrat's speech in lines 98–109.

E′′—UM 29-16-750 (P257167)—lines ?, 124–127

Height 46 mm, Width 58 mm, Depth 25 mm. Likewise known from Peterson 2010, where it is no. 33. We were not able to inspect the tablet firsthand. The legible part of the tablet is at the top of the reverse in the center of the extract tablet. Therefore it is likely that it originally covered the last thirty lines or so of the composition, perhaps the speech from the Professor in lines 110–119 and the last speeches of the two protagonists in lines 120–124 (Bureaucrat) and 125–137 (Professor).

F′′—3 N-T 907, 288 (P356343)—lines 7–11, 12–14

Bottom right corner of an extract tablet that we had originally overlooked; thanks to Kai Lämmerhirt for pointing out the oversight. We were not able to collate the original in Philadelphia. The original extract tablet was probably very similar to manuscript F and these two witnesses do not overlap, so they may have been part of the same tablet.

Two-column Editions and the Prism

Manuscripts for which there is good evidence that they originally consisted of a two-column tablet (four columns total) or a prism are sorted in the following table from fewest number of lines in the first column to most number of lines in the first column. It is particularly noteworthy that the long-distance

join between manuscripts A H S and B′ (the sigla in **bold** below) that Tinney proposed in the 1990's is largely confirmed by the distribution of lines in individual columns.

	Obv i (or Face a)	**Obv ii (or Face b)**	**Rev i**	**Rev ii**
B	1–32 (32 lines)	33–65 (33 lines)	66–97 (32 lines)	98–137 (40 lines)
N	1–32 (32 lines)	33–65 (33 lines)	66–97 (32 lines)	98–137 (40 lines)
Z′	1–32 (32 lines)	33–64 (32 lines)	65–96 (32 lines)	97–137 (41 lines)
A	1–34 (34 lines)	35–68 (34 lines)	69–105 (37 lines)	106–137 (32 lines)
H	1–34 (34 lines)	35–68 (34 lines)	69–105 (37 lines)	106–137 (32 lines)
S	1–34 (34 lines)	35–68 (34 lines)	69–105 (37 lines)	106–137 (32 lines)
B′	1–34 (34 lines)	35–68 (34 lines)	69–105 (37 lines)	106–137 (32 lines)
B′′	1–34 (34 lines)	35–69 (35 lines)	70–107 (38 lines)	108–137 (30 lines)
E′	1–37 (37 lines)	38–74 (37 lines)	75–112 (37 lines)	113–137 (25 lines)
C	1–38 (38 lines)	39–75 (37 lines)	76–115 (40 lines)	116–137 (22 lines)
K	1–39 (39 lines)	40–84 (45 lines)	85–123 (39 lines)	124–137 (12 lines)

From the distribution of lines in the different editions, it is fairly clear that there was no single edition or even a usual distribution of lines in columns. Manuscripts B and N may be similar to the prism, manuscript Z′, but we do not know what the prism might have had on its third or fourth faces. Manuscripts A H S and B′, which may all belong to the same tablet, form a group along with manuscript B′′ from Sippar. Manuscripts E′ and C seem to have aimed at 37 or 38 lines in each of the first two or three columns, which led to only slightly more than 20 lines in the last column, while manuscript K locates 45 lines in the second column and then splits up the remaining lines into two 39-line columns in Obv i and Rev i, with a remainder of 12 lines in Rev ii. Except for the 45 lines in Obv ii of manuscript K, there is no indication that the three-tablet edition described in the colophon of manuscript Y (with 45 lines per tablet) aligned with any of these two-column editions.

Extract Tablets

The following tables list only those extract tablets for which we can be somewhat certain about which lines they originally included. As a rule, catchlines

that are explicitly marked in some way have been excluded from the table. The first table is organized according to starting line, with shorter extracts coming first, while the second table is organized by the length of the extract, from shortest to longest.

According to starting line:

Manuscript	Lines in extract
K′	1–11
F	1–13
F′′	1–13
L′	1–33
D	1–45
H′	14–23
I	14–51
J	25–54
L	25–54
O	46–70
Q	56–101
T	70–90
U	70–90
V	70–90
W	75–107
Z	91–137
Q′	116–137

According to length of abstract:

H′	14–23 (10 lines)
K′	1–11 (11 lines)
F	1–13 (13 lines)
F′′	1–13 (13 lines)
T	70–90 (21 lines)
U	70–90 (21 lines)
V	70–90 (21 lines)

Q′	116–137 (22 lines)
O	46–70 (25 lines)
J	25–54 (30 lines)
L	25–54 (30 lines)
L′	1–33 (33 lines)
W	75–107 (33 lines)
I	14–51 (38 lines)
D	1–45 (45 lines)
Q	56–101 (45 lines)
Z	91–137 (47 lines)

The most significant pattern in these extract tablets is the fact that certain extracts basically align with the three-tablet edition with 45 lines per tablet described in the colophon of manuscript Y. Manuscripts D and Z, for example, clearly represent the first and third tablets respectively of such an edition, although the two additional lines in manuscript Q also indicate that there was likely a Nippur recension that consisted of 137 lines rather than the 135 lines mentioned in the colophon of manuscript Y. Manuscript O (lines 46–70) in combination with manuscripts T U and V (lines 70–90) probably represent the second tablet of such an edition, which would have covered lines 46–90, broken up into two distinct extract tablets.

Other tablets seem to be extracting particular speeches from the dialogue or particular columns from specific two-column tablet editions. Manuscripts F and F′′, for example, probably cover lines 1–13, which correspond to the first three speeches in the composition (assuming that line 9 is an interjection from the Bureaucrat), while manuscript H′ picks up in line 14 where manuscript F stops, and presents the Bureaucrat's first major speech in lines 14–23 or 14–24. Manuscripts J and L start with the first line of the Professor's speech in lines 25–33 and carries on for precisely 30 lines. The extract in manuscript Q starts in line 56 with the {lú-tumu} near the end of the Professor's speech in lines 46–58 and then runs for exactly 45 lines. Manuscript L′ corresponds to the first column in the two-column complete editions in manuscripts B N or the prism Z′, while manuscript Q′ corresponds to the fourth column of the two-column edition in manuscript C. As noted above, the extract in manuscript W runs from line 75 ({^{uzu}ma-sìla sa-sal-zu su(SU)-a ab-síl-síl}) to line 107 ({bala-bala-e-da-zu-ne á-šu-ĝìri kud kuš(SU)-a ab-síl-síl}), which ends with the same five signs as line 75, namely {SU-a ab-síl-síl}.

Vanstiphout (1987) proposes a number of joins for our text, including between manuscript Q′ (3 N-T 907, 265) and manuscript I′ (3 N-T 905, 196) and between manuscript D (Ni 9715) and manuscript S′ (Ni 9581). Tinney's suggestion that manuscripts A H S and B′ belong to a single source may also have been inspired in part by Vanstiphout' suggestion that manuscripts H (Ni 4207), B′ (Ni 9604) and S (Ni 2322) may belong together. Since we have not been able to access the manuscripts in Istanbul, we have not attempted to confirm Vanstiphout's suggested joins or posit new ones. The proposed join between manuscripts Q′ and I′ is certainly plausible, but we were not able to confirm it when collating the tablets.

Principles of Textual Criticism Used in this Edition[1]

If we can speak of a "standard" method of textual criticism for Sumerian literature, it amounts to little more than a thorough presentation of the textual evidence in *Partitur* or score format (see Edzard 1974 and Powell 1978 for an orientation) in combination with an eclectic selection of a synthetic text based on the best judgment of the editor(s).[2] While it would undoubtedly be premature to outline a comprehensive methodology for the selection of one variant form over another at this point in time, we have sought to balance two competing considerations in our selection of variants in the synthetic text: (i) certain manuscripts from scribal centers such as Nippur and Ur are far superior in many respects to manuscripts from peripheral scribal centers but (ii) innovations often arose in the didactic contexts of scribal schools in Nippur and Ur, thus obscuring the original or older form of certain lines. This often leads to the sporadic preservation of older, more original readings in peripheral manuscripts that do not, otherwise, inspire much confidence on the part of the editors. These two facts, in turn, tend to inspire two very different editorial practices: (i) the reconstruction of an Old Babylonian Nippur *textus receptus* that largely excludes from consideration older manuscripts or manuscripts from peripheral centers (the simple majority position, most recently defended in Delnero 2012), or alternatively (ii) an attempt to isolate individual features of certain manuscripts as "older" and the use of these "older" variants in the

1 Some elements in this section are drawn from Johnson 2013b.

2 Subsequent discussions have largely focused on the formal representation of the partitur or score in various "matrix" forms in which abstract signs like "-" or "*" indicate the presence or absence of a sign on a given manuscript. In this edition, however, we make use of a "matrix" form in which the transliteration itself is used.

synthetic text in spite of their incompatibility with "younger" neighboring lines (the eclectic position maintained by Cooper and Michalowski, for example).

In Delnero's recent study of Sumerian textual criticism (2012), he argues that the only coherent way of approaching the many special difficulties involved in the edition of Sumerian literary texts is to adopt a principle of simple majority. The variant that occurs in the greatest number of individual textual witnesses is adopted as the main text, while other less frequent variants are described as actual variants. Given the vast preponderance of manuscripts from Old Babylonian Nippur, this method has the advantage that it produces a relatively homogeneous corpus. Our primary objection to this approach is that it does not attempt to reconstruct the oldest reliable version of the text in question, but rather quite self-consciously adopts what is often the latest and most innovative version of the text, the version found in the Old Babylonian schools in Nippur. In the terminology of Classical textual criticism Delnero's principle of majority rules ignores the possibility that many, if not all, of the Old Babylonian manuscripts from Nippur could easily derive from a single, innovative source text. If half a dozen students within a single class had used such a manuscript as their source, we are immediately faced with six more-or-less homogeneous manuscripts that will outweigh any other branch of the textual tradition (including the odd Ur III witness and any significant non-Nippur materials). In Delnero's discussion of Šulgi A, line 66, for example, the 16 manuscripts include 10 distinct variants, but there are only two minor variants among a very homogeneous set of eight Old Babylonian manuscripts from Nippur (Delnero 2012: 182–186). Given the principle of majority rules and no consideration of the traditional principle of *eliminatio codicum descriptorum*, these eight homogeneous manuscripts will invariably win the day (see Worthington's discussion of similar issues in his *Principles of Akkadian Textual Criticism* (Worthington 2012: 292–297). Therefore, we have not adopted a principle of majority rules in this edition.

In *The Class Reunion*, however, it is often the case that the Nippur manuscripts diverge from one another quite dramatically, suggesting that both older and innovative versions of the text are to be found among the Old Babylonian manuscripts from Nippur. In order to separate out the older variants (and then make use of these as our synthetic text), we have taken a page from the Neo-Lachmannian methods of textual criticism outlined in the works of Pasquali, Timpanaro and Reeves. Faced with heavily contaminated manuscript sources that have emerged from didactic contexts (as is certainly the case with *The Class Reunion*), these authors have frequently suggested that the geographical distribution of a variant can be used as a supplementary criterion for evaluating its antiquity and reliability (see the discussion of "the norm of lateral areas"

in Timpanaro 2005: 86–87 and 138; Reeves 2011: 221–228). The basic idea is that older readings that are closer to the archetype will tend to be widely distributed over the landscape, while innovative readings will tend to emerge in a particular scribal school (but then not extend to lateral areas). In practice, therefore, where two or more coherent readings exist among the Nippur manuscripts, we have usually favored Nippur readings that agree with the reading in one of the few non-Nippur manuscripts. In other words, when a coherent reading is shared by a Nippur manuscript and a non-Nippur manuscript, we infer that this widely distributed variant is closer to the archetype and that other coherent variants from Nippur are innovations that have arisen within the schools of Nippur.

The obvious drawback of our approach is that it would certainly have been possible for an erroneous variant that had arisen in Nippur to have been promulgated in peripheral schools without being corrected by the leading specialists in Sumerian literature in Nippur. Therefore, the use of geographical distribution as a supplementary criterion for deciding between manuscript variants must be balanced against the quality of scribal schools in the Old Babylonian period. As our working hypothesis, we assume that that Nippur schools were generally superior to schools in Ur and that the schools in Nippur and Ur were generally superior to all other scribe schools. This hierarchical ordering (Nippur > Ur > all other schools) tends to be supported by the errors that we see in certain manuscripts of *The Class Reunion*. For example, in line 107 of our text, the rare lexical item {á-šu-ĝìri kud} (a term for someone with crippled limbs) was only recognized in the manuscripts from Nippur, while manuscript Y from Ur and manuscript C, probably from Sippar, both fail to recognize the lemma and erroneously emend the text at this point in two distinct ways. This example shows that the lexical tradition was simply better known in Nippur than in the other two sites.[3] In at least three other lines in the text, the manuscripts from Nippur and Ur agree with each other, but disagree with a variant in Sippar (lines 98, 106 and 131). In these cases, we assume that the innovative variant arose in Sippar, while the variant found in both Nippur

3 Only the attestation of {á-šu-ĝìri kud} in Old Babylonian Izi II 40 (MSL 13: 219) is relevant to our argument, since ND 4373 (= CTN 4, 216) is late and may have been influenced, however circuitously, by our text. One could argue that {á-šu-ĝìri kud} arose as an innovation in Nippur and subsequently made its way into the broader lexical tradition in the Old Babylonian period, but as a working hypothesis we assume here that major lexical traditions such as Izi were widely distributed and that, consequently, the scribes who wrote manuscript Y and C simply failed to recognize the lemma, even though it was part of their lexical inheritance. On Old Babylonian Izi, see now Crisostomo 2014.

and Ur represents the older form of the text. Ultimately, therefore, choices between manuscript variants such as the ones mentioned here rely on perceptions of correctness as well as tentative reconstructions of the history of the lexical tradition. If it could be shown, for example, that the second tablet of Izi was only used in Nippur, it would force us to significantly alter our explanation of the variant in line 107, but it seems clear that Izi was known in Ur (see, for example, MSL 13: 7).

Manuscripts Used in the Synthetic Text

Here we indicate which manuscripts agree with the form of the line that we used in the synthetic edition as well as the manuscripts that include a significant variant. Omissions in manuscript K′ are only marked if they diverge from the special form of abbreviation used in this manuscript; see the Introduction for further discussion. Lines in which there is no legible sign in a particular line have not been included in the following apparatus.

Line	Synthetic text	Variant (description)
1	A B D E C_{Sip}	K′ (abbreviation of u_4-ul-la-àm as ul-àm) L′ (omission of ga-na and -en-)
2	A B E C_{Sip}	D (omission of verbal prefix ì-) K′ (tukum written ŠU.NÍG.TUR, without LÁ) L′ (omission of -ra, verbal prefix e- instead of ì-)
3	A B D E F K′ L′ C_{Sip}	
4	A B D E F J′ K′	L′ (gašam instead of *šu*-ka) C_{Sip} (inversion of lú and *šu*, omission of -šè)
5	A B D E F J′ K′ L′ S′ C_{Sip}	
6	A D F J′ K′ L′ S′	B (omission of ĝar)
7	A D F J′ K′ F′′	B (omission of -ke_4-) L′ (-ka in place of -a-ke_4-ne) S′ (omission of -ma)
8	A D F L′ S′ C_{Sip}	**B + J′ (omission of -en-)** F′′ (omission of -zu-) K′ (line omitted)
9	A B D K′ L′ S′ F′′	J′ (-šè instead of -uš) C_{Sip} (omission of -ab-)

(*cont.*)

Line	Synthetic text	Variant (description)
10	A B D G J′ K′ L′ S′ F′′	
11	B K′ L′ S′	**A + D (omission of tu-lu)**
		F′′ (omission of šir)
		G (line omitted)
12	A B G Z′ F′′	D (kud instead of ku-uš)
13	A B D F G Z′ F′′	
14	A B D F G Z′ F′′	H'_{Unk} (omission of -an-)
15	A B G H'_{Unk} Z′	
16	A G H'_{Unk} Z′	
17	A G H'_{Unk} Z′	
18	H'_{Unk} Z′	
19	H'_{Unk} Z′	
20	H'_{Unk} Z′	
21	H'_{Unk} Z′	
22	H'_{Unk} Z′	
23	H'_{Unk}	Z′ (-rí-na in place of -re)
24	K H'_{Unk} Z′	W'_{Sip} (-ma-šè in place of -ĝá-ke_4, zà for ka)
25	K W'_{Sip}	J (omission of ì-)
26	I K	J (su in place of é in é níĝ-gur_{11}-ra)
		W'_{Sip} (dal-la in place of SU-bi, ĝál-la-bi in place of níĝ-ĝál-la)
27	I J K W'_{Sip}	R′ (omission of -an-)
28	I K E′ R′ Z′	J (ti in place of til)
		W'_{Sip} (addition of -ba, bí- prefix for of ba-ni)
29	I E′ R′ Z′	J (ti for til)
		W'_{Sip} (silim for sílim, omission of -ma)
30	J E′	**K + R′ (-ge for -ga)**
		I (omission kíĝ)
		R′ (omission of -an-)
		W'_{Sip} (-e in place of -na, -e- for -an-)
31	J E′ R′ Z′ W'_{Sip}	I (-a-ni-gen_7 for -ni a-gen_7)
		L′ (-a- in the verbal prefix)
32	I J E′ R′ Z′	K (omission of -e-)
		L′ (-na- in place of -e-)
		W'_{Sip} (-un- in place of -e-, reduplication of -sá-)

Line	Synthetic text	Variant (description)
33	I J K E′	R′ (-si- in verbal root, addition of -na)
		W'_{Sip} (-ta for -ka, addition of -un-e-, $-mu_4$-mu_4 in place of sá-e)
34	I J K E′ L′ M′ R′ A′′ W'_{Sip} B''_{Sip}	
35	J L M′ R′ Z′	**K + A′′ (-an- before root, omission of $ĝe_{26}$-en)**
		A (-e for -šè)
		E′ (-né for -šè)
		W'_{Sip} (addition of -ab-)
36	A D J K L E′ M′ Z′ A′′	W'_{Sip} (addition of in- prefix to -tuku)
37	A J L Z′	**E′ + M′ (omission of inim, al-dím for gaba-ri)**
		D (nam ĝá-e for ĝá-gen_7-nam, -ma for -mu)
		K (ĝá-e-gen_7-nam for ĝá-gen_7-nam)
		W'_{Sip} (addition of du_{11}-a, ma-ab-zé-mà-en for ba-ab-sum-mu)
38	J L M M′ Z′ V'_{Ur} W'_{Sip}	**A + K (-zu for -za)**
		A (omission of -in-)
		K (in-nu in place of nu-me-en)
		D (omssion of al-)
39	D J K M M′ Z′ V'_{Ur}	A (-zu- for iti-, omission of $-munu_4$)
		L (omission of nu-ub-diri)
		C_{Sip} (addition of -a, lipiš for šà)
		W'_{Sip} (-zu for -za-ka)
40	A J M V'_{Ur}	**D + L (-a for -àm)**
		C_{Sip} + W'_{Sip} (omission of -šè)
		W'_{Sip} (reinterpretation of -šè as túg)
41	D G M M′ Z′ V'_{Ur} W'_{Sip}	A (omission of -e)
		L (-e for -re)
		C_{Sip} (gloss and variant orthography for du_6-ul-du_6-ul, -àm for -e, -ra-àm for -re)
42	A D G L M M′ V'_{Ur}	Z′ (addition of -an-)
		C_{Sip} (addition of -àm)
43	A D G L M R′ Z′ V'_{Ur}	M′ (-bé for -ba)
		C_{Sip} (-na-e-du_{11} for -né-dù)
44	A D E G J M R′ Z′ V'_{Ur}	**L + M′ + C_{Sip} (-ni for -na)**
		L (Á MÚŠ.DI-ta for askud-ta)
		M′ (Á MÙŠ.KI-ta for askud-ta)
		C_{Sip} (áskud for askud, ḫi-li-ḫi-li for šár-šár, al-$šed_{11}$- for ab-$šed_7$-)

(*cont.*)

Line	Synthetic text	Variant (description)
45	G L M Z′	**A + D + N + M′ (omission of -zu-)**
		A + R′ (omission of -en)
		J (-še- in place of -aš-)
		R′ (-e in place of -re)
		C_{Sip} (-uš in place of -šè)
46	A D G J L N O Z′	C_{Sip} (-le- in place of -e, addition of -en)
47	G L N Z′ U'_{Ur} C_{Sip}	**A + J (omission of -da-)**
		J (addition of sá before verb)
		O (omission of -zu)
48	G N P_{Ur}	**I + O + Z′ (addition of -šè)**
		A + J (-gi_4-gi_4 for -gi_4)
		J (-zu in place of -šid)
		L (mu-un-gi_4 for li-bí-íb-gi_4)
		O (nu-um-da-ra-ab-gi_4 for li-bí-íb-gi_4)
		Z′ (nu-mu- . . . for li-bí-íb-gi_4)
		U'_{Ur} (omission of li-)
		C_{Sip} (line omitted)
49	I L Z′ P_{Ur} U'_{Ur}	**G + N + O + C_{Sip} (line omitted)**
		A (gašam du_{11}- for *šu*-ka-)
		J (addition of zà before edin-na)
50	A G I J N O P_{Ur}	U'_{Ur} (. . . ub-da-sá for eme-zu)
		C_{Sip} (omission of -ub-)
51	A G I Z′ P_{Ur} C_{Sip}	**J + N + O + U'_{Ur} (addition of -e-)**
		O (addition of -bí-)
52	J P_{Ur} C_{Sip}	**A + N + O + Z′ (addition of -mu-)**
		U'_{Ur} (omission of -ab-)
52a	N	**A + Z′ + P_{Ur} (line omitted)**
		O + C_{Sip} (addition of -mu-)
		J (bí-íb-gi_4 for nu-ra-ab-gi_4)
		O (addition of -šè)
		U'_{Ur} (-ba in place of -bi)
53	A H J P_{Ur}	**N + O (addition of -ne)**
		O + C_{Sip} (-za in place of -zu)
		N (-ke_4- in place of -ka-)

Line	Synthetic text	Variant (description)
		O (omission of -ba-)
		U′$_{Ur}$ (-túm in place of -tùm)
		C$_{Sip}$ (-dub-sar-ra- for -dumu-é-dub-ba-a-)
54	A H J Z′ U′$_{Ur}$	N (-ib- for -íb-)
		O (omission of -ni-)
		P$_{Ur}$ (ù-ga- for nu-ra-)
		C$_{Sip}$ (mu- in place of ma-)
55	A H Z′ P$_{Ur}$ C$_{Sip}$	**N + O (addition of sa$_6$)**
		N (omission of nu-)
		O (-šè for -ra, omission of gù, addition of -mu- and -a)
56	A H N O Q Z′ P$_{Ur}$ C$_{Sip}$	
57	A O Z′ C$_{Sip}$	**H + N (omission of ur$_5$-)**
		H + Q (-nu- in place of -ur$_5$-)
		P$_{Ur}$ (-dè in place of -da)
58	H N Q O′ Z′ P$_{Ur}$ C$_{Sip}$	A (addition of -um)
		R (-ra in place of -ri-ĝu$_{10}$)
59	H R O′ P$_{Ur}$	**Q + B′′$_{Sip}$ (omission of -e)**
		N (-na- in place of -ra-)
60	H N O Q R O′ B′′$_{Sip}$	P$_{Ur}$ (-dè in place of -du$_{11}$)
61	H N O Q R O′	P$_{Ur}$ (šab- in place of sa ab-)
		B′′$_{Sip}$ (šudul$_4$ in place of šudul$_5$)
62	H N O R S O′ V′$_{Ur}$	**P$_{Ur}$ + B′′$_{Sip}$ (omission of second -bir-)**
		P$_{Ur}$ (omission of first bir-)
		B′′$_{Sip}$ (omission of -aḫ)
63	O S P$_{Ur}$	N (DU-e-na in place of ĝiš-ba-an-e)
		O′ (addition of -e)
		B′′$_{Sip}$ (-nu in place of -e)
64	H K N O S O′ P$_{Ur}$ U′$_{Ur}$ B′′$_{Sip}$	
65	H K M N O S P$_{Ur}$ U′$_{Ur}$ B′′$_{Sip}$	
66	H K M N S U′$_{Ur}$ B′′$_{Sip}$	O (ĝeštin in place of kúrun)
		P$_{Ur}$ (omission of kaš determinative)
67	K M N O S U′$_{Ur}$ B′′$_{Sip}$	P$_{Ur}$ (omission of -a)
68	K M N O S P$_{Ur}$ U′$_{Ur}$	B′′$_{Sip}$ (omission of -um)
69	K M N P$_{Ur}$ B′′$_{Sip}$	**O + S (addition of -e-)**
		U′$_{Ur}$ (-en in place of -e)

(*cont.*)

Line	Synthetic text	Variant (description)
70	K M N O S T U V O′ P_{Ur} U'_{Ur} B''_{Sip}	
71	K M S T V U O′ P_{Ur} U'_{Ur} B''_{Sip}	N (addition of é before e-sír-ra)
72	K M O′ P_{Ur} U'_{Ur} B''_{Sip}	**T + U + V (omission of lu complement)**
		N + S (-e in place of second -bàra)
		N (mu- in place of i-)
73	H K M S T C′ D′ O′ P U′ B''_{Sip}	**N + V (omission of -da-)**
74	H M N T C′ D′ O′ U'_{Ur} B''_{Sip}	K (-dé- in place of -bíl-)
		V (-lá- in place of -la-)
		P_{Ur} (-da- in place of -dè-)
75	H T V C′ O′ B''_{Sip}	**D′ + P_{Ur} (omission of uzu determinative)**
		K (inversion of SA and $SILA_3$, addition of lá and kud, addition of MÍ.UD)
		N (addition of uzu determinative)
76	H K T V W X C′ D′ O′ P_{Ur} B''_{Sip}	N (addition of $ĝu_{10}$)
77	H V C′ D′ O′ B''_{Sip}	**K + X (-peš- in place of -ku_6-)**
		K + N + W (-ke_4 in place of -ka)
		N (addition of -re)
		P_{Ur} (addition of -ra)
78	H K V W X C′ D′	N (-za in place of -zu)
		P_{Ur} (omission of -zu)
		B''_{Sip} (omission of géšbu, Á- in place of da-)
79	H V D′ P_{Ur}	**N + C′ (omission of -a)**
		K (reduplication of sa_{10})
		W (LAM×A in place of ganba)
		B''_{Sip} (addition of -ka)
80	H K V W P_{Ur} B''_{Sip}	**C′ + D′ (omission of -re)**
		N (omission of -en-, -eš for -en)
81	H K N V W C′ Y′ B''_{Sip}	D′ (omission of -re)
		P_{Ur} (omission of -ra-)
82	H K N W P_{Ur} B''_{Sip}	D′ (addition of DA-)
83	H K N W D′ P_{Ur} B''_{Sip}	
84	B H K N W	V (-ka in place of -ke_4, omission of -un-)
		D′ (gur in place of pisaĝ)
		P_{Ur} (-ma-na- in place of -mu-un-)

Line	Synthetic text	Variant (description)
85	A B H K N V W T′ P_{Ur}	C′ (omission of -tur-)
		D′ (line omitted)
86	A B H K V W X C′ D′ T′	P_{Ur} (omission of zé-eḫ)
87	A B H V W C′ D′ T′ P_{Ur}	K (omission of -bi)
		X (gu-du-bi for $gudu_4$-bi)
88	A B H K T V C′ D′ T′	
89	B G T V C′ D′ T′	A (é in place of saḫar)
		K (omission of -la-)
90	B G T D′ T′	**A + K (omission of -a)**
		K (omission of -aš-)
		V (omission of -en)
		C′ (-a-aš for -àm(A.AN))
91	B G K U C′ T′ X′	**T + C′ (-uš in place of -šè)**
		A (-ba for -bé-en, omission of ga-)
		T (addition of -ni-, DU for -ĝu_{10})
		V (addition of -en-)
92	B G K X′ Y_{Ur}	A (omission of -an-)
93	A B G K Z Y_{Ur}	
94	B G K Z T′	A (omission of -da-)
		Y_{Ur} (omission of -ka-)
95	A B T′ Y_{Ur}	**K + Z (-ib- in place of -íb-)**
		K (omission of gur)
96	A B K Z T′ Y_{Ur}	
97	A K Z T′	Y_{Ur} (addition of me-en, x-bé in place of du_{11})
		C_{Sip} (addition of $šed_{14}$, omission of du_{11})
98	A W T′ Y_{Ur}	K (addition of -a)
		Z (ì- in place of ù-)
		C_{Sip} (-šè in place of -ka)
99	A K W Z	T′ (addition of -šu)
		Y_{Ur} (addition of ù-)
		C_{Sip} (-šè in place of -ka)
100	A K W Z T′	**Q + Y_{Ur} (-zu in place of -za)**
		C_{Sip} + Y_{Ur} (addition of -e-)
		Y_{Ur} (addition of -šè, imḫur in place of $imḫur_4$, síg-síg in place of -sìg-sìg-, $-ge_4$- in place of -ge-)
101	Q W A′	**K + Z (-za in place of -zu)**
		A + Y_{Ur} (omission of -in-)
		Y_{Ur} (-ab- in place of -ba-)

(*cont.*)

Line	Synthetic text	Variant (description)
		Z (-za in place of -a)
		C_{Sip} (-mu- in place of -ba-, -lá in place of ĝar)
102	A K W Z A′ D′′	Y_{Ur} (omission of -a, -taka$_4$ in place of -kára)
		C_{Sip} (line omitted)
103	A K D′′ Y_{Ur}	**K + W + Z (omission of -ù-)**
		K + A′ + C_{Sip} (-ta in place of -da)
		A + C_{Sip} (omission of -i from the verb)
		C_{Sip} (-a- in place of -ù-, addition of a- to the verb)
104	A K W Z A′ Y_{Ur}	**D′′ + C_{Sip} (addition of -a)**
105	A W Z A′ D′′ Y_{Ur}	C_{Sip} (šed$_{11}$- in place of šed$_7$-)
106	W Z A′ D′′ Y_{Ur}	C_{Sip} (gune$_x$(KI.NE) in place of gú ne-)
107	W A′ D′′	Y_{Ur} (-zu in place of kud, omission of -ne)
		C_{Sip} (-ni in place of kud)
		Z (omission of -a)
108	H W Z A′ Y_{Ur} C_{Sip} B′′$_{Sip}$	
109	H Z Y_{Ur}	**A′ + C_{Sip} + B′′$_{Sip}$ (omission of -un-)**
		C_{Sip} + B′′$_{Sip}$ (omission of -e-)
		A′ (omission of -àm)
110	H Z B′′$_{Sip}$	**A′ + C_{Sip} (-ĝu$_{10}$ in place of -ĝá)**
		Y_{Ur} (omission of -ĝu$_{10}$)
		C_{Sip} (-zu in place of -ĝu$_{10}$)
111	H Z A′ C_{Sip}	Y_{Ur} (-dè in place of -da)
		B′′$_{Sip}$ (-me- in place of -mu-)
112	A′	**H + B′′$_{Sip}$ (-ni-in- in place of -e-)**
		Y_{Ur} + B′′$_{Sip}$ (omission of -àm)
		H + Z (ḫu- in place of ḫé-)
		H (x-a-ĝu$_{10}$- in place of zu-)
		Z (-un- in place of -e-)
		Y_{Ur} (-em-me- in place of -mu-e-)
		C_{Sip} (-me-en- in place of -mu-e-)
113	Z Y_{Ur} B′′$_{Sip}$	**H + A′ + C_{Sip} (omission of -e-)**
		E′ (-bi in place of -zu)
114	N′ Y_{Ur} C_{Sip} B′′$_{Sip}$	**H + A′ (omission of -e-)**
		A′ + E′ (addition of -e to níĝ-nam)
		Z (omission of me-en)

Line	Synthetic text	Variant (description)
115	H A′ G′ C_{Sip} B′′$_{Sip}$	**Z + E′+Y_{Ur} (addition of -a)**
		E′ (addition of nu-)
		N′ (addition of -da)
116	A′ E′ G′ Q′ Y′	**H + Y_{Ur} (-en in place of -bé-àm)**
		Z + N′ (-ba in place of -bé-)
		Z (omission of -àm)
		N′ (omission of la-)
117	H Z A′ G′ N′ Q′ Y′ Y_{Ur}	E′ (omission of -aḫ)
118	H Z A′ E′ F′ G′ Q′	Y_{Ur} (line omitted)
		Y′ (omission of ninda)
119	G′ Q′ Y′	**H + Z + A′ + F′ (addition of -mu-)**
		H + E′ + F′ (omission of -e)
		H + F′ (omission of -na-)
		H (omission of nu-)
		Z (omission of -un-)
		Y_{Ur} (-ra- for -re-, -ne for ke_4, -la for -e)
120	Z E′ Y′	**F′ + Q′ (ugu in place of gù)**
		G′ + Y_{Ur} (-gi_4- in place of -gi-)
		H (omission of -e)
		F′ (omission of second -dé-, -a in place of -e)
121	H Z F′ Q′	Y_{Ur} (addition of -e-)
122	B H Z F′ Q′	Y_{Ur} (kar-ra in place of kára-)
123	B H Z F′ I′ Y_{Ur}	
124	B H K Z B′ F′ I′ E′′	Y_{Ur} (addition of -e-)
125	B H K Z B′ I′ Y_{Ur}	**F′ + E′′ (-bé in place of -ba)**
126	B H Z B′ F′ I′ E′′ Y_{Ur}	K (omission of -in-)
127	Z B′	**B + H + I′ (im- in place of íb-)**
		B + E′′ (omission of -en)
		F′ + Y_{Ur} (omission of -e-)
		K (-úr in place of -ùr)
		F′ (-ni- in place of -e-)
		W′$_{Sip}$ (-rí- in place of -e-)
128	A G H K Z B′ I′ Y_{Ur} W′$_{Sip}$	B (-e in place of -re)
		F′ (gú in place of gù)
129	A G H Z B′ F′	**K + Y_{Ur} + W′$_{Sip}$ (addition of -en)**
		B + K + I′ (ab- in place of al-)
		W′$_{Sip}$ (-ba in place of –bi, -su- in place of -zu-)

(*cont.*)

Line	Synthetic text	Variant (description)
130	A B G H B′ I′ Y_{Ur}	**K + C′′ (addition of -aš)**
		F′ (-šè for -aš)
		C′′ (-de-eš for -da-aš, -ra- for -re-da-)
		W'_{Sip} (-an-du_{12} in place of -ab-du_7, omission of -re-da and -bi)
131	A B G H B′ C′′ Y_{Ur}	F′ (ul- in place of ul_4-)
		W'_{Sip} (-sar in place of -til)
		K (line omitted)
132	A B K B′ C′′ Y_{Ur}	F′ (su- in place of ú-)
		W'_{Sip} (addition of -a-)
133	A B B′ Y_{Ur} W'_{Sip}	**K + C′′ (al- in place of ì-)**
		F′ (omission of ì-)
134	A B B′ F′ Y_{Ur}	K (-$giri_{16}$- in place of -$giri_{11}$-)
		C′′ (gi-rí- in place of $giri_{11}$-)
		W'_{Sip} (omission of -ba)
135	A B K B′ Y_{Ur}	**C′′ + W'_{Sip} (i- in place of e-)**
		F′ + C′′ (omission of -an-)
		F′ (addition of -e-)
		C′′ (-de- in place of -dé-)
		W'_{Sip} (addition of -ni-, omission of -ma)
136	A B Q′	**K + F′ + Y_{Ur} (omission of -an-)**
		C′′ + W'_{Sip} (-la in place of -ma)
		B′ (-e in place of -ma)
		C′′ (-nu in place of -an-è)
137	B K B′ Q′	**F′ + W'_{Sip} (-du in place of -dù)**
		C′′ + W'_{Sip} (-me- in place of -mu-e-)
		Y_{Ur} + W'_{Sip} (omission of -e- in second verb)
		Z (-un- in place of -e-)
		F′ (reduplication of du, omission of ḫé-mu-)
		C′′ (-du_{11} in place of -dù)
		A (addition of -un-)
		W'_{Sip} (-en-zé- in place of -dù-)

Non-preferred Variants Attested in Two or More Manuscripts

As a rule we have only rarely attempted to judge certain variants to be 'incorrect' in the strict sense of the term. Instead, we might speak of those variants that we have not used in the synthetic text as simply 'non-preferred'. Although there are more than 300 distinct variants in the 138 lines reconstructed here (listed in the preceding section, including line 52a), the vast majority occur in a single manuscript and are not of any significance. Of these variants, only the 71 listed below (according to manuscript rather than line) occur in two or more manuscripts, suggesting that they do not result from the present-day accidents of survival, recovery or documentation. There are fifteen manuscripts that do not include a shared non-preferred variant and are therefore not listed below (E F M R B′ H′ K′ L′ O′ S′ T′ X′ Y′ F′′ V'_{Ur}). The vast majority of the manuscripts include one to three shared non-preferred variants, 29 manuscripts in all (D G I J L Q S T U V W X C′ D′ E′ G′ I′ J′ M′ N′ Q′ R′ Z′ A′′ C′′ D′′ E′′ P_{Ur} U'_{Ur}). Manuscripts B A′ and F′ have four, manuscript Z has five, O and B''_{Sip} six, W'_{Sip} seven, Y_{Ur} eight, N nine, C_{Sip} ten, A and H eleven, and K a remarkable fifteen.

A + D (omission of tu-lu)	line 11
A + D + N + M′ (omission of -zu-)	line 45
A + J (omission of -da-)	line 47
A + J (-gi_4-gi_4 for -gi_4)	line 48
A + K (-zu for -za)	line 38
A + K (omission of -a)	line 90
A + N + O + Z′ (addition of -mu-)	line 52
A + R′ (omission of -en)	line 45
A + Z′ + P_{Ur} (line omitted)	line 52a
A + Y_{Ur} (omission of -in-)	line 101
A + C_{Sip} (omission of -i from the verb)	line 103
B + H + I′ (im- in place of íb-)	line 127
B + K + I′ (ab- in place of al-)	line 129
B + J′ (omission of -en-)	line 8
B + E′′ (omission of -en)	line 127
D + L (-a for -àm)	line 40
G + N + O + C_{Sip} (line omitted)	line 49
H + N (omission of ur_5-)	line 57
H + Q (-nu- in place of -ur_5-)	line 57
H + Z (ḫu- in place of ḫé-)	line 112
H + Z + A′ + F′ (addition of -mu-)	line 119
H + A′ (omission of -e-)	line 114

H + A′ + C_{Sip} (omission of -e-)	line 113
H + E′ + F′ (omission of -e)	line 119
H + F′ (omission of -na-)	line 119
H + B′′$_{Sip}$ (-ni-in- in place of -e-)	line 112
H + Y_{Ur} (-en in place of -bé-àm)	line 116
I + O + Z′ (addition of -šè)	line 48
J + N + O + U′$_{Ur}$ (addition of -e-)	line 51
K + N + W (-ke_4 in place of -ka)	line 77
K + W + Z (omission of -ù-)	line 103
K + X (-peš- in place of -ku_6-)	line 77
K + Z (-ib- in place of -íb-)	line 95
K + Z (-za in place of -zu)	line 101
K + A′ + C_{Sip} (-ta in place of -da)	line 103
K + F′ + Y_{Ur} (omission of -an-)	line 136
K + R′ (-ge for -ga)	line 30
K + A′′ (-an- before root, omission of ĝe_{26}-en)	line 35
K + C′′ (addition of -aš)	line 130
K + C′′ (al- in place of ì-)	line 133
K + Y_{Ur} + W′$_{Sip}$ (addition of -en)	line 129
L + M′ + C_{Sip} (-ni for -na)	line 44
N + O (addition of -ne)	line 53
N + O (addition of sa_6)	line 55
N + S (-e in place of second -bàra)	line 72
N + V (omission of -da-)	line 73
N + C′ (omission of -a)	line 79
O + S (addition of -e-)	line 69
O + C_{Sip} (-za in place of -zu)	line 53
O + C_{Sip} (addition of -mu-)	line 52a
Q + Y_{Ur} (-zu in place of -za)	line 100
Q + B′′$_{Sip}$ (omission of -e)	line 59
T + U + V (omission of lu complement)	line 72
T + C′ (-uš in place of -šè)	line 91
Z + E′ + Y_{Ur} (addition of -a)	line 115
Z + N′ (-ba in place of -bé-)	line 116
A′ + E′ (addition of -e to níĝ-nam)	line 114
A′ + C_{Sip} (-ĝu_{10} in place of -ĝá)	line 110
A′ + C_{Sip} + B′′$_{Sip}$ (omission of -un-)	line 109
C′ + D′ (omission of -re)	line 80
D′ + P_{Ur} (omission of uzu determinative)	line 75
E′ + M′ (omission of inim, al-dím for gaba-ri)	line 37

F′ + Q′ (ugu in place of gù)	line 120
F′ + C′′ (omission of -an-)	line 135
F′ + E′′ (-bé in place of -ba)	line 125
F′ + Y_{Ur} (omission of -e-)	line 127
F′ + W'_{Sip} (-du in place of -dù)	line 137
G′ + Y_{Ur} (-gi_4- in place of -gi-)	line 120
C′′ + W'_{Sip} (i- in place of e-)	line 135
C′′ + W'_{Sip} (-la in place of -ma)	line 136
C′′ + W'_{Sip} (-me- in place of -mu-e-)	line 137
D′′ + C_{Sip} (addition of -a)	line 104
P_{Ur} + B''_{Sip} (omission of second -bir-)	line 62
Y_{Ur} + B''_{Sip} (omission of -àm)	line 112
Y_{Ur} + W'_{Sip} (omission of -e- in second verb)	line 137
C_{Sip} + B''_{Sip} (omission of -e-)	line 109
C_{Sip} + W'_{Sip} (omission of -šè)	line 40
C_{Sip} + Y_{Ur} (addition of -e-)	line 100

Due to the pedagogical environment in which the manuscripts of our text were produced the contamination of manuscript families is rampant and it is exceedingly difficult to isolate related manuscripts in a convincing way. Pairs of manuscripts that have shared non-preferred variants in more than one line are an obvious starting point and are listed below.

A + D in lines 11 and 45
A + J in lines 47 and 48
A + K in lines 38 and 90
A + N in lines 45 and 52
A + Z′ in lines 52 and 52a
B + I′ in lines 127 and 129
H + Z in lines 112 and 119
H + A′ in lines 113, 114 and 119
K + W in lines 77 and 103
K + Z in lines 95, 101 and 103
K + C′′ in lines 130 and 135
K + Y_{Ur} in lines 129 and 136
N + O in lines 49, 51, 52, 53 and 55
O + Z′ in lines 48 and 52
O + C_{Sip} in lines 49, 52a and 53
A′ + C_{Sip} in lines 103, 109, 110 and 113
F′ + Y_{Ur} in lines 127 and 136

$Y' + B''_{Sip}$ in lines 109 and 112
$C'' + W'_{Sip}$ in lines 135, 136 and 137
$Y_{Ur} + F'$ in lines 127 and 136
$Y_{Ur} + W'_{Sip}$ in lines 129 and 137

Although occasional comments on groups of related manuscripts do appear in the commentary, we have largely avoided extended discussions of manuscript families in this edition.

CHAPTER 4

Manuscripts, Partitur and Commentary

Manuscripts from Nippur

A	UM 29–16–53	P256661	1–17, 35–58, 85–105, 128–137
B	UM 55–21–315 (3 N-T 367)	P257384	1–15, 84–96, 122–137
C	(see below under Sippar)		
D	Ist Ni 9715 (ISET 2, 84)	P343546	1–14, 36–46
E	Ist Ni 4208 (ISET 2, 84)	P343735	1–5, ?
F	3 N-T 905, 201 (SLFN 58)	P356262	2–8, 12–14
G	Ist Ni 4073 (ISET 2, 87)	P343741	10–17, 41–51, 89–95, 128–131
H	Ist Ni 4207 (ISET 2, 86)	P256661	?, 53–66, 73–88, 108–131
I	3 N-T 904, 160 (SLFN 59, formerly P′) + 3 N-T 908, 312	P356223 P356367	26–34, 47–51
J	3 N-T 927, 522 + 3 N-T 727, 512 + UM 55–21–382	P257221 P356571	25–40, 44–54
K	HS 1536 (TuM NF 3, 43)	P345638	24–39, 64–84, 85–104, 124–137
L	Ist Ni 4194 (ISET 2, 97)	P343762	35–41, 42–49
M	Ist Ni 9850 (ISET 1, 200, pl. 142)	P343509	38–45, 65–74
N	CBS 13387 (SEM 65)	P268467	45–65, 66–88
O	Ist Ni 2771 (SLTN 116)	P345247	46–57, 59–70
P	(see below under Ur)		
Q	Ist Ni 9865 (ISET 2, 92)	P343750	56–62, 100–101
R	CBS 7099 (SEM 63)	P262138	58–62
S	Ist Ni 2322 (SLTN 113)	P256661	62–68, 69–73
T	3 N-T 903, 104 (SLFN 59)	P356174	70–76, 88–91
U	3 N-T 923, 503	P356553	70–72, 91
V	3 N-T 919, 461 (SLFN 56)	P356516	70–82, 84–91
W	N 3553 + N 3607	P278625	75–87, 98–108
X	3 N-T 908, 296 (SLFN 57)	P356351	76–79, 86–87
Y	(see below under Ur)		
Z	UM 29–15–996	P256618	93–110, 111–129, 137

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(*cont.*)

A′	3 N-T 900, 15 (SLFN 57) + 3 N-T 900, 27 (SLFN 57) + 3 N-T 901, 57 (SLFN 57)	P356090 P356101 P356129	101–109; 110–119
B′	Ist Ni 9604 (ISET 2, 88)	P256661	?, 124–137
C′	UM 55–21–325 (3 N-T 434)	P257249	73–81, 85–91
D′	IM 58616 (3 N-T 682)	P356807	73–80, 81–90
E′	IM 58540 (3 N-T 538)	P356760	28–37, 113–120
F′	IM 58528 (3 N-T 506)	P356739	118–128, 129–137
G′	Ist Ni 9967 (ISET 1, 202, pl. 144)	P343523	115–120
H′	YBC 6713	P357302	14–24
I′	3 N-T 905, 196 (SLFN 58)	P356257	123–130
J′	N 2625	P277705	4–10
K′	N 6281	P280046	1–11
L′	UM 29–13–216	P255205	1–12, 31–34
M′	UM 55–21–340 (3 N-T 531)	P257255	34–39, 41–46
N′	CBS 10398	P265615	114–117
O′	3 N-T 903, 106 (SLFN 57)	P356175	58–64; 70–77
P′	(joined to I)		
Q′	3 N-T 907, 265 (SLFN 58)	P356321	116–122, 136–137
R′	3 N-T 919, 460 (SLFN 58)	P356515	26–36, 43–45
S′	Ist Ni 9581 (ISET 1, 205, pl. 147)	P343546	5–12
T′	CBS 7806	P262814	85–91, 94–100
U′	(see below under Ur)		
V′	(see below under Ur)		
W′	(see below under Sippar)		
X′	3 N-T 900, 17 (SLFN 57)	P356092	91–92
Y′	3 N-T 274 (A 30192)	P356623	116–121
Z′	CBS 6967 + CBS 7840	P262835	12–32, 33–64
A″	Ist Ni 4146 (ISET 1, 134, pl. 76)	P343193	33–36
B″	(see below under Sippar)		
C″	CBS 7819 (see Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 2005: 34, n. 6)	P262826	129–133, 134–137
D″	N 2647 + N 3087 (Peterson 2010, no. 32)	P277726	102–107
E″	UM 29–16–750 (Peterson 2010, no. 33)	P257167	?, 124–127
F″	3 N-T 907, 288 (SLFN 56)	P356343	7–14

Manuscripts from Ur

P	U 17900 D (UET 6/2, 155)	P346240	50–69, 70–87
Y	UET 6/2, 156 + UET 6/3, 631	P346241	92–137
U′	UET 6/3, 630	P346667	47–54, 64–74
V′	UET 6/3, 629	P346666	38–44, 62

Manuscripts from Sippar

C	BM 54723 (CT 42, 50, 1882–5-22, 1051)	P283763	1–9, 39–58, 96–115
W′	BM 38304 (CT 58, 56)	P274251	23–41, 127–137
B′′	BM 72978 (CT 58, 55)	P274250	34, 59–69, 70–84, 108–115

Partitur and Commentary

1 dumu é-dub-ba-a u_4-ul-la-àm ĝá-nu ga-na ga-ab-sá-sá-en-dè-en

PROF Hey, schoolboy! Let's have it out like in the old days.

	dumu	**é-dub-ba-a**	**u_4-ul-la-àm**	**ĝá-nu**	**ga-na**
A	[…]	[…….]	[…….]	[…….]	[…….]
B	[…]	é-dub-ba	u_4-ul-la-àm /	[…….]	[…….]
D	[…]	[…] ⌜dub⌝-ba	u_4-ul-la-àm	ĝá-nu	ga-na
E	dumu	é-dub-⌜ba⌝	[…….] /	ĝá-nu	⌜ga⌝ […]
K′	dumu	[…] dub-ba-a	-ul- àm /	ĝá-⌜nu⌝	ga-na
L′	[…]	[…….]	[…….]	ĝá-nu	
C_{Sip}	[…]	[…….]	[…….] ⌜àm⌝ /	[…….]	[…….]

	ga-ab-sá-sá-en-dè-en	
A	[…….]-en-dè-en	(Obv i 1)
B	[…….]	(Obv 1–2)
D	⌜ga⌝-[…….]	(Obv 1)
E	[…….]	(Obv 1)

(*cont.*)

	ga-ab-sá-sá-en-dè-en		
K′			(Rev i 11–12)
L′	ga-ab-sá-sá-	dè-⌜en⌝	(Obv 1)
C_{Sip}	[. . . . . d]è-⌜en⌝		(Obv i 1–2)

The manuscripts differ as to whether our line 1 is treated as a single line or not: manuscript A clearly does so, while manuscript B clearly does not (Obv 1–2 does not involve indentation). This may be related to the use of our line 1b as the incipit in certain catalogues (see the Introduction to this volume). The evidential basis for {ĝá-nu ĝá-na ga-ab-sá-sá-en-dè-en} is not particularly strong but we have little choice other than to follow manuscript D in combination with the verbal form in L′ and the plene first person plural ending in A. In his 2005 paper on modal prefixes, Civil renders the second half of the line as follows: {ĝá-nu ga-na ga-ab-di-di-en-dè-en} "Come here, come on, we want to have a fight!" (Civil 2005: 37), but there is fairly clear lexical evidence that the correct reading here is {sá-sá} rather than {di-di}.

The verbal root {sá-sá} is equated with *šutēṣû* 'to fight with one another' in Nabnitu XXVII:

Nabnitu XXVII 268–271 (MSL 16: 237)

268	a-da-mìn	*te-ṣi-tu*	'discord, conflict'
269	a-da-mìn di	*šu-te-ṣu-u*	'to fight with one another'
270	a-da-mìn du_{11}-ga	*šu-te-ṣu-u*	'to fight with one another'
271	$sá^{sa}$-^{sa}sá	*šu-te-ṣu-u*	'to fight with one another'
272	[x x] ⌜x⌝ gu_7	*šu-te-ṣu-u*	'to fight with one another'

The first of these terms {a-da-mìn} is the usual noun for a 'debate' so there is a straightforward sequence here of different terminology for verbal conflict. The Akk. gloss *šu-te-ṣu-u* is a Št-stem of *waṣû* 'to go out'.[1]

The term {ul} in the expression {u_4-ul-la} can be equated with Akk. *ṣâtu*, a term that reflects two distinct meanings, only one of which is relevant to us here: 'distant time, far-off days,' here in reference to the schooldays shared by the interlocutors. The other sense of *ṣâtu* as an exegetical word list or

1 As CAD emphasizes (A/2 383b sub *aṣû*), this *šutēṣû* is reflexive (often written with {a-da-mìn}) and should be distinguished from the Št-passive (usually written with {è}). As Veldhuis points out (personal communication, May 2014), Akk. *šanānu* 'to equal, to rival', which corresponds to {sá-sá} elsewhere in the lexical tradition, is the more common equivalent.

commentary corresponds to the Sumerian phrase {níĝ-zi-ĝál-edin-na} (Civil 1985; Frahm 2011: 48–55), for which see line 4 below. We suppose here that the protagonists are meeting again many years after their time together in school and that the phrase {u_4-ul-la-àm} is adverbial.[2]

2 tukum-bi nam-dub-sar-ra ì-zu a-na-àm ì-šid

PROF If you are trained in the scribal arts, what does it amount to (in the end)?

	tukum-bi	**nam-dub-sar-ra**	**ì-zu**	**a-na-àm**	**ì-šid**	
A	[.....]	[.....]	[....]	[...] ⌜na⌝-àm	ì-šid	(Obv i 2)
B	⌜tukum⌝-bi	⌜nam-dub-sar?⌝	⌜ì?-zu⌝ /	a-na-àm	ì-⌜šid⌝	(Obv 3)
D	[.....] bi	nam-dub-sar-ra	ì-zu	a-na-àm	⌜šid⌝	(Obv 2)
E	tukum-⌜bi⌝	[.....]	[....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 2)
F	[x] ⌜x⌝ [.....]	[.....]	[....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
K′	tukum (⌜ŠU.NÍG⌝.TUR)-bi	nam				(Rev i 13)
L′	[.....]	[...] dub-sar	e-zu	a-na-àm	ì-šid	(Obv 2)
C_{Sip}	[.....]	[.....]	[....]	[.....] àm	ì-šid	(Obv i 3)

The only significant variation is the omission of the verbal prefix in manuscript D.

The grammatical pattern used in lines such as this, with semantic objects bearing seemingly redundant enclitic copulas and verbal forms in {ì-ROOT}, presumably represents a focus construction or cleft-sentence of some kind.[3] It is clear that the reduced copula on {nam-dub-sar-ra} as opposed to the full form in {a-na-àm} represents an example of the "abbreviation of the copula" as described by Delnero (2012: 172–174). The expression {nam-dub-sar-ra} exhibits both of the features that Delnero associates with the use of the abbreviated copula: it occurs in the middle of the line and is three or more syllables long.

2 The older third- and early second-millennium materials in which {ul} has a temporal meaning have been surveyed in Selz 1999: 510–511.

3 For an overview of clefting in Sumerian, see Zólyomi 2012, although this pattern is not catalogued there; cf. Huber's brief allusion to wh-phrases that are modified by {-àm} and not in initial position in Huber 2005: 90.

3 mu didli zi-ga nam-dub-sar-ra

PROF Each excerpted line in the scribal arts,

	mu	**didli**	**zi-ga**	**nam-dub-sar-ra**	
A	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....] ra	(Obv i 3)
B	⌜mu⌝	didli	zi-ga	nam-dub-sar-⌜ra⌝	(Obv 4)
D	[...]	[.....]	zi-ga	nam-dub-sar-ra	(Obv 3)
E	mu	didli	⌜zi⌝ [...]	[.....]	(Obv 3)
F	mu	⌜didli⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 2′)
K′	mu	didli	zi-ga		(Rev i 14)
L′	[...]	[.....]	[...] ⌜ga⌝	nam-dub-sar-ra	(Obv 3)
C_{Sip}	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[... du]b-⌜sar-ra⌝	(Obv i 4)

The term {zi-ga} qualifies the 'various lines' {mu didli} as 'extracted' ({zi-ga} = Akk. *nasāḫu*) from other compositions (Sjöberg 1975: 163, n. 16).

4 níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na zà lú *šu*-ka-šè

PROF From the *ṣâtu* lists up to the lú = *ša* list,

	níĝ-zi-ĝál	**edin-na**	**zà**	**lú-*šu*-ka-šè**	
A	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[.....] ka-šè	(Obv i 4)
B	[.....] ⌜ĝál⌝	edin-na	zà	lú-*šu*-ka-⌜šè⌝	(Obv 5)
D	[.....]	[...] ⌜na⌝	zà	lú-*šu*-ka-šè	(Obv 4)
E	níĝ-zi-ĝál	⌜edin⌝ [...]	[...]	[.....]	(Obv 4)
F	níĝ-zi-⌜ĝál⌝	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	(Obv 3′)
J′	[.....]	[...] ⌜na⌝	[...]	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
K′	níg-zi-ĝál				(Rev i 15)
L′	[.....]	[...] ⌜na⌝	zà	lú-gašam-šè	(Obv 4)
C_{Sip}	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	*šu*-⌜lú⌝-ka⌝	(Obv i 5)

The only significant variation is the replacement of {lú *šu*} with {lú gašam} in witness L′ and the inversion of {šu lú} in the Sippar manuscript. If Civil is correct in associating the expression {lú *šu*} with the lexical list tradition known as lú = *šá* (Civil 1985: 74, where he also cites our passage). The variant in

L′, for example, may represent a translation of {lú *šu*} into a purely Sumerian equivalent of {lú *šu*} (replacing the Akkadian determinative-relative pronoun with the Sumerian term for a skilled worker, viz. {gašam}). The use of {gašam} as a general term for a technical specialist, {lú gašam} = Akk. *ma-ri um-me-a-ni* in the Old Babylonian version of Lu = *ša* (edited in MSL 12: 169, line 383; see also the first millennium version in MSL 12: 121) may well have led to its use as a informal designation of the list as a whole in some circles. The same variation is also found in Edubba D, line 14 (see below). The double genitive following {lú šu}, namely /lu šu-(a)k-a(k)-še/, would normally suggest that the phrase literally means "to the edge of the man of the hand," but this probably results from a reanalysis of the bilingual phrase {lú} = *ša* as a lexical or frozen genitive. This would explain the shift from /ša/ to /šu/ as well as the explicitly marked double genitive.

Of the two terms for 'commentary' or 'extract' (Latin *excerpta*, Greek *scholia*) discussed in Frahm's recent survey of later commentaries (Frahm 2011: 49, n. 199, citing Labat 1933: 15), namely {u_4-ul-dù-a} and {níĝ-zi-ĝál-edin-na}, only the latter appears in our text (twice in fact: here in line 4 and later on in line 49). As Frahm already notes: "it seems more probable that níĝ-zi-ĝál-edin-na, whatever its true meaning, was the primary term, and that ud-ul-dù-a was used as a logogram for 'word-list' only later, in an act of bilingual 'rebus-writing' that was based on the fact that the Akkadian word *ṣâtu* had both meanings" (Frahm 2011: 48). That being said, there is not much evidence for {níĝ-zi-ĝál-edin-na} in the specific sense of 'commentary' in the Old Babylonian period and this sense of the term may have developed out of the usage of the term in the Edubba literature.[4]

4 Veldhuis notes that {níĝ-zi-ĝál-edin-na} appears in Old Babylonian Hh III 328 (DCCLT edition) at the point of transition between animals and insects, alongside other terms for the multitude of animal or human creatures such as {a-za-lu-lu}, and may consequently have served as a way of referring to a major portion of Old Babylonian Hh. If so, then our line would mean "from the thematic lists through the Lu lists," but the matter requires further investigation. See also the discussion of {zilulu} in lines 103 and 105 and the verbal form {a-ra-lù-lù} in line 120 below.

5 ì-sar eĝir-bi gú mu-e-dù

PROF You write them out. But afterwards, you treat them with contempt.

	ì-sar	**eĝir-bi**	**gú**	**mu-e-dù**	
A	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[...] ⌜e⌝-du$_{11}$	(Obv i 5)
B	[.....]	eĝir-bi	gú	mu-e-⌜dù⌝	(Obv 6)
D	[.....]	[...] ⌜bi⌝	gú	mu-e-dù	(Obv 5)
E	ì-sar	⌜eĝir?⌝ [...]	[...]	[.....]	(Obv 5)
F	ì-sar	⌜eĝir?⌝ [...]	[...]	[.....]	(Obv 4′)
J′	ì-sar	eĝir-bi	[...]	[.....]	(Obv 2′)
K′	ì-sar	eĝir-⌜bi⌝			(Rev i 16)
L′	[.....]	[.....]	⌜gú⌝	mu-e^{me}-dù	(Obv 5)
S′	[...] ⌜sar⌝	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
C$_{Sip}$	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	⌜mu⌝-e-dù!	(Obv i 6)

The only variation in the manuscripts is the addition of a gloss in the verbal prefix in manuscript L′: the /me/ gloss in {mu-e^{me}-dù} suggests that the ubiquitous verbal prefix {mu-e} is read here as /me/ with assimilation of /u/ to the following /e/.

The first word of line 5 {ì-sar} should be seen as the end of a complex clause that begins with line 2 {nam-dub-sar-ra ì-zu a-na-àm ì-šid}, while the remainder of line 5 {eĝir-bi gú mu-e-dù} comments on lines 2–5a. If we reorder these lines into discursively meaningful segments, we arrive at something like the following:

tukum-bi
(focus nam-dub-sar-ra) (predicate ì-zu)
(focus a-na-àm) (predicate ì-šid)
(focus mu didli zi-ga nam-dub-sar-ra / níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na zà lú *šu*-ka-šè) (predicate ì-sar)

Professor: Even if you are trained in the scribal arts, what does it amount to? (Even if) you write out each line, extracted from the scribal arts, from the *ṣâtu* lists up to the lú = *ša* list, but afterwards . . .

The reality of this discursive pattern is clear not only from the structure of the three sentences in the passage but also from a partial parallel in Edubba D, which both Civil and Frahm have taken as a point of departure for discussing Mesopotamian philology (Frahm 2011: 48, citing Civil 1985: 74):

Edubba D 11–14 (Civil 1985: 69)

11. [dub] ⌜ki-en-gi ki⌝-uri-ke$_4$ a-a me-me-ta
12. [x x x]-šè ì-šid ù ì-sar
13. ⌜mu⌝ didli ^{d}inanna-téš-ta
14. en-na níĝ-zi-ĝál-edin-na zà lú *šu*-ka-šè ì-sar

(12) *You recite and write out* (11) *the Sumerian and Akkadian* [*tablets*] *from the a-a me-me list* [= *Syllable Alphabet B*] (12) *to the* [. . .]. (14) *You write out* (13) *various lines from the Inanna-teš list* [= *a list of personal names*] *right down to the ṣâtu lists as far as the lú = ša list.*

The statement in lines 2–5a in our text ({mu didli zi-ga nam-dub-sar-ra / níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na zà lú *šu*-ka-šè / ì-sar}) clearly represents a slightly simplified version of lines 13–14 in Edubba D ({⌜mu⌝ didli ^{d}inanna-téš-ta / en-na níĝ-zi-ĝál-edin-na zà lú *šu*-ka-šè ì-sar}), omitting the extracts from the list of personal names known as Inanna-teš (Civil 1985: 74) and some minor grammatical tidbits such as the word {en-na} 'as far as' at the beginning of line 14. Moreover, the fact that our text leaves out these minor grammatical elements might suggest that Edubba D was the source for our text rather than a parallel tradition, although further evidence is needed.

The second half of line 5, namely {eĝir-bi gú mu-e-dù}, takes the extended statement in lines 3–5a as its theme and describes how the addressee views such a description of Mesopotamian scribalism. The compound verb {gú—dù} corresponds to Akk. *zêru* 'to dislike, to detest' (Sjöberg 1975: 172). In light of Sjöberg's comments, Karahashi's translation of {gú—dù} as 'to neglect' below can be misleading and requires a comment.

Edubba A, lines 42 and 70

nam-dub-sar-ra gú bí-dù
You neglected the scribal art

lú-tur inim-ĝu$_{10}$-šè gú li-bí-dù-a im-šub li-bí-ak
Young man, you did not neglect my word, you did not forsake it
(translations Karahashi)

Although Karahashi regularly translates {gú—dù} as 'to neglect', we would like to preserve the unintentional or inadvertant nuance of 'neglect' for the idiom {gú—šub} and its Akkadian equivalent *aḫam nadû* 'to be careless, negligent'

(Sjöberg 1972: 128; Karahashi 2000: 102–103). Hence we take {gú—dù} as a description of an expressly negative disposition, hence 'to scorn, to detest'.[5]

We have taken {eĝir-bi} as a straightforward temporal adverb 'afterwards', but the {tukum-bi} at the beginning of line 2 and {eĝir-bi} in the middle of line 5 are probably functioning here as a pair of discursive markers that are meant to encode concession ("Even though . . ."). Sjöberg's suggestion that {tukum-bi} might be translated with *gewiss*, which does show up in connection with concessives in German, already points in this direction as do other precedents (Sjöberg 1973: 133; Alster 1972: 119–120; Falkenstein 1938: 22, cf. Kaneva 1993; Kaneva 2000: 525, although Sjöberg does not interpret {tukum-bi} in this way in Sjöberg 1975: 163).

6 a-rá igi diri níĝ-ka$_9$ saḫar ĝar-ra zà-bi-šè ì-zu

PROF You learn the calculation of multiplication, reciprocals, accounts and volumes up to the hilt.

	a-rá	**igi**	**diri**	**níĝ-ka$_9$**	**saḫar**	**ĝar-ra**	**zà-bi-šè**	**ì-zu**	
A	[. . . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	⌜zà⌝-bi-šè	ì-zu	(Obv 6)
B	[. . . .]	[. . .]	diri	⌜níĝ-ka$_9$⌝	saḫar	-ra	zà-bi-šè	ì-⌜zu⌝	(Obv 7)
D	[. . . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .] ka$_9$	saḫar	ĝar-ra	zà-bi-šè	ì-zu	(Obv 6)
F	a-rá	⌜igi⌝	[. . .]	[. . . . . .] /	⌜saḫar?⌝	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . .]	(Obv 5′)
J′	a-rá	igi	diri	níĝ-ka$_9$	⌜saḫar⌝	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . .]	(Obv 3′)
K′	a-rá	igi	diri						(Rev ii 1)
L′	[. . . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .] ka$_9$	⌜saḫar⌝	ĝar-ra	zà-bi-šè	ì-zu	(Obv 6 + ruling)
S′	[. . .] ⌜rá⌝	igi	⌜diri⌝	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . .]	(Obv 2′)
C_{Sip}	[. . . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .] ⌜x⌝	ì-zu	(Obv i 7)

5 The verbal forms in Karahashi's examples (*bi- prefix with bare nominal component of the compound verb) belong to the BNBV class of compound verbs associated with loss and negative affect (Johnson 2008), but also fit nicely into the "psych-verb" tradition in which internal states and emotions are coded using several well-defined types of oblique case marking (see generally Landau 2010 as well as the summary of recent work in this area in Johnson 2011).

At first glance this line seems to present a series of four straightforward technical terms for calculations of one kind or another, presumably in opposition to largely lexical or literary materials dealt with in the preceding lines. In fact, however, only three of the four terms are standard: {a-rá} 'multiplication table' (CAD sub *arû* A), {níĝ-ka$_9$} 'accounting record' (CAD sub *nikkassu* A) and {saḫar} 'volume' (CAD sub *eperu* 'area, volume'). The word {níĝ-ka$_9$} normally occurs in combination with the auxiliary verb {ak(a)}, usually transliterated as {níĝ-ka$_9$-ak} or {níĝ-kas$_7$-ak}, and is the standard term for a bookkeeping account and here stands for the many different types of accounting documents that are well-known from Mesopotamia. The second of the four terms, however, is an *ad hoc* cover term meant to represent several different technical expressions that include {igi}: this can be seen quite clearly if we compare out text with Examenstext A, line 27 (Sjöberg 1974; 1972: 129, but see Robson 2002 for some context).

> a-rá igi igi-ba igi-[gub-ba] níĝ-ka$_9$ ⌜guru$_7$⌝ šid-dù ga-lá á dù-a dù-a-bi dù-a ḫa-la ḫa-la-bi a-šà si-ge-dè ì-zu-ù
>
> *a-ra-a i-gi i-gi-ba-a i-gi-gu-ba-a nik-kas-si pi-qit-tam pa-da-a-da a-di-e ka-la e-pe-šú zi-it-tam za-a-zu eq-la pa-la-ku ti-de-e*
>
> Do you know multiplication, reciprocals [igi igi-ba], coefficients [igi-gub-ba], balancing of accounts, administrative accounting, how to make all kinds of pay allotments, divide property, and delimit shares of fields? (translation Sjöberg 1975: 167)

The sequence of activities at the beginning of this line is basically identical to the sequence in our text, with multiplication ({a-rá}) followed by three types of reciprocals ({igi}, {igi-ba} and {igi-gub-ba}), bookkeeping ({níĝ-ka$_9$}) and a series of different types of mathematical problems that involve surface area or volume. The phrase {igi diri}, lit. "full of IGI" is a cover term for the sequence {**igi igi**-ba **igi** gub-ba}, while the generic use of {saḫar} for a mathematical volume seems to be standing for various forms of agricultural and earthwork calculations from {guru$_7$ šid dù} 'calculating the grain silo' through {a-šà si-ge-dè} 'measuring a field'.

We would like to emphasize that the expression {ĝar-ra} in this line *does not* form a single lexical item in conjunction with {saḫar}, but rather applies to all four of the mathematical operations in the line and corresponds to "the calculation of" in our translation, literally 'to put down'. This seems to be

a standard turn of phrase in the mathematical texts and should not be conjoined to {saḫar} as a distinct lexical item in the phrase {saḫar-ĝar-ra}, which is known from the lexical tradition and the Hymn of Ninkasi (Civil 1964: 78; Sallaberger 2012), but makes little sense in the context of our line.

7 **ka inim-ma nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-ne**

PROF As for the formulae of student life,

	ka	**inim-ma**	**nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-ne**	
A	[...]	[.....]	[.....]-⌜a⌝-ke$_4$-ne	(Obv i 7)
B	[...]	⌜inim⌝-ma	nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a- ne	(Obv 8)
D	[...]	[.....]	⌜nam⌝-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-ne	(Obv 7)
F	ka	⌜inim⌝ [...]	[.....]	(Obv 6′)
J′	ka	inim-ma	nam-⌜dumu⌝ [.....]	(Obv 4′)
K′	⌜ka⌝	inim-ma		(Rev ii 2)
L′	[...]	[.....]	[...] dumu-é-⌜dub-ba-<u>ka</u>⌝	(Obv 7)
S′	[...]	inim	dumu-⌜é⌝-[.....]	(Obv 3′)
F′′	[...]	[.....]	[.....] é-dub-⌜ba⌝ [.....]	(Obv 1′)
C_{Sip}	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 8a)

The variant in S′ may have been inspired by the phonological similarity of {nam} and {inim}, while the omission of the genitive from manuscript B probably results from a misanalysis of the unusual abstract form {nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-ne}.

Although the phrase {ka inim-ma} is best known as a designation of incantations, we have nonetheless translated it as such with 'formulae' in the sense of the jargon of school life. This gives the line a quite different sense from Sjöberg's rendering of lines 7–8: "[t]he whole vocabulary ({inim-inim-ma}) of the scribes in the eduba I will recite for you, I know it much better than you" (Sjöberg 1975: 164). Likewise Sjöberg translates the same phrase in line 53 as follows: {inim-inim-ma nam-dumu é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-ne šu-za íb-ši-in-tùm} "All the vocabulary of the scribes in the eduba is in your hands" (Sjöberg 1975: 164). If {KA} in {KA inim-ma} represented a reduplication of the word {inim}: the {-ma} at the end of the phrase would be superfluous. The primary objection to interpreting {ka inim-ma} here as a metaphorical use of 'incantation' is that

we have other terms for professional 'jargon' even within the Edubba literature and these invariably make use of {eme} 'tongue' (see Sjöberg 1975: 167).[6]

Since the plural morpheme *-ene in this line must be pluralizing {dumu}—no other animate noun occurs in the line—and an abstract noun formed with {nam-} cannot be itself pluralized, we assume here that {nam-} actually modifies the entire phrase {dumu é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-ne} "the sons of the tablet house". This is an admittedly unusual analysis, but it seems to be the only grammatical feasible route. If so, the addition of {nam-} would form an abstract that describes the social practices and roles associated with the students themselves rather than "the scribal art" {nam-dub-sar}, hence our translation of the term as 'student life'. As noted in the *Introduction*, {dumu é-dub-ba-a} clearly corresponds to a distinct social or professional identity, so it is not surprising that it appears here in conjunction with the abstract marker {nam-}. The genitive relation between {ka inim-ma} and {nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-ne} is unmarked in the orthography.

8 ga-ab-šid-en-dè-en diri-zu-šè ì-zu

PROF Let's recite them. Everyone knows them better than you!

	ga-ab-šid-en-dè-en	**diri-zu-šè**	**ì-zu**	
A	[.....]	[...] ⌜zu⌝-šè	ì-zu	(Obv i 8)
B	⌜ga⌝-ab?-⌜šid⌝- dè-en	diri-zu-šè	ì-zu	(Obv 9)
D	[.....] ⌜en⌝-dè-en	diri-zu-šè	ì-zu	(Obv 8)
F	⌜ga⌝ [.....]	[.....]	[....]	(Obv 7′)
J′	ga-ab-šid- dè [.....]	[.....]	[....]	(Obv 5′)
K′	(omits)			
L′	[.....] ⌜en⌝-dè-en	diri-zu-šè	ì-zu	(Obv 8)
S′	⌜ga⌝-ab-⌜šid⌝ [.....]	[.....]	[....]	(Obv 4′)
F′′	[.....] ⌜dè⌝-en	diri- šè	ì-⌜zu⌝	(Obv 2′)
C_{Sip}	[.....] ⌜šid⌝-en-dè-en /	[.....]	⌜ì⌝-zu	(Obv i 8b–9)

6 On the reading {ka inim-ma}, see Schramm 1981.

Like lines 3–5a above the predicate of line 7 occurs at the beginning of line 8 and the remainder of line 8 adds a parenthetical comment. Thomsen translates lines 7–8a as "I will recite the words of the schoolboys" as her example of the cohortative (Thomsen 1984: 202, ex. 516), taking forms such as {ga-ab-šid-dè-en} as a first person *singular* cohortative, but the variant forms in manuscripts D L′ and C_{Sip} {ga-ab-šid-en-dè-en} support our interpretation of it as a first person plural cohortative; the manuscripts with {ga-ab-šid-dè-en} must then be seen as either an abbreviated writing or a banalization of the text. Manuscript C from Sippar reorganizes lines 7–8 somewhat differently, so that each of the two lines ends with a verb: manuscript C line 8 ends with {[ga-ab]-⌜šid⌝-en-dè-en}, while manuscript C line 9 ends with {⌜ì⌝-zu}. This is supported by the extremely cramped spacing in manuscript C line 8, which would have originally included our lines 7–8a, and the large amount of space between {ì} and {zu} in manuscript C line 9, which corresponds to our line 8b, namely {diri-zu-šè ì-zu}.

Much the same idiom can also be found in line 53: {ka inim-ma nam-dumu é-dub-ba-a-ka šu-za íb-ši-in-tùmu} "You hand out the watchwords of the scribal fraternity," while the same type of comparative construction that we see here {diri-zu-šè} also appears in line 45: {lú-tumu a-na-aš-àm diri-zu-šè níĝ ab-gur$_4$-re-en} "You windbag! Why do I take things more seriously than you?" In his commentary on *Letter of Lipit-ištar to Nanna-kiʾaĝ*, line 6, Ali refers to our line and translates {diri-zu-šè} with a comparative construction "more than you" on the basis of Civil's working manuscript of our text (Ali 1964: 78, n. 2). Kleinerman re-edits the text, now designated as SEpM 5 (Kleinerman 2011: 124–126), but does not revisit the issue.

9 ĝá-nu gaba-ri-ĝu$_{10}$-uš gub-ba in-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-til

BUREAU Come on! Just try to oppose me! I will put an end to your insults.

	ĝá-nu	**gaba-ri-ĝu$_{10}$-uš**	**gub-ba**	**in-zu**	**ga-mu-ra-ab-til**	
A	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	⌜in⌝-zu	ga-mu-ra-ab?-til	(Obv i 9 + ruling)
B	[...] nu	gaba-ri-ĝu$_{10}$-uš	gub-ba	in-zu	ga-mu-ra [.....]	(Obv 10 + ruling)

	ĝá-nu	**gaba-ri-ĝu$_{10}$-uš**	**gub-ba**	**in-zu**	**ga-mu-ra-ab-til**	
D	[……]	[……] ⌜uš?⌝	gub-ba	in-zu	ga-mu-ra-ab-til	(Obv 9 + ruling)
J′	ĝá-nu	gaba-ri-ĝu$_{10}$-<u>šè</u>	[……]	[……]	[……]	(Obv 6′ + ruling)
K′	⌜ĝá⌝-nu	gaba-ri-ĝu$_{10}$				(Rev ii 3)
L′	[……]	[……] ⌜uš⌝	gub-ba	in-zu	ga-mu-ra-ab-til	(Obv 9)
S′	[…] nu	gaba-ri-⌜ĝu$_{10}$⌝ […]	[……]	[……]	[……]	(Obv 5′ + ruling)
F′′	[……]	[……] uš	gub-ba /	[……]	[…] ⌜mu⌝-ra-ab-til	(Obv 3′–4′)
C$_{Sip}$	[……]	[……]	[……]	[……]	[……] ⌜ra⌝- til	(Obv i 10)

The variation between {-uš} and {-šè} when the terminative postposition follows a vowel (here the first person possessive pronoun) has been discussed at some length by Delnero (2012: 79 and 144). Although no strict rule seems to exist, Delnero suggests that the use of {-uš} rather than {-šè} tends to be associated with non-Nippur manuscripts. Of the manuscripts here only J′ uses {-šè}, while B and L′ have fairly clear examples of {-uš}. Since {-uš} is attested in manuscripts from both Sippar and Nippur, we have adopted it here. On the whole the apparent predominance of {-uš} in this line is at odds with the other lines in the composition that have the appropriate environment, lines 40, 45 and 91, where {-šè} dominates. The ruling after this line is confirmed by no less than four of the available witnesses, including Kramer's copy of manuscript D (Ni 9715, ISET 2, 84). This ruling marks the end of the preliminary section and the beginning of the actual debate.

Although one might attempt a verbal interpretation of {in-zu}, the context in our line makes it fairly clear that it is a nominal form, the direct object of the cohortative verb at the end of the line. As elsewhere in Sumerian, the presence of a possessive pronoun on a direct object can trigger a dative infix in the verb as here (see Zólyomi 2005: 177–178). The identification of the speaker in this line is complicated by the fact that, apparently, the speaker is already responding to a prior insult. The only clear insult in the preceding lines is in the second half of line 5 ({eĝir-bi gú mu-e-dù}).

10 lú-tumu ú-ḫúb ĝéštu lá-a

PROF You windbag! Deaf and dumb.

	lú-tumu	**ú-ḫúb**	**ĝéštu**	**lá-a**	
A	[.....]	[.....]	⌜ĝéštu⌝	lá-a	(Obv i 10)
B	⌜lú⌝-tumu	ú-ḫúb	ĝéštu	lá-⌜a⌝	(Obv 11)
D	[.....]	[...] ⌜ḫúb⌝	ĝéštu	lá-a	(Obv 10)
G	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	⌜lá⌝-a	(Obv i 1′)
J′	[...] tumu	ú-⌜ḫúb⌝	[.....]	[....]	(Obv 7′)
K′	lú-⌜tumu⌝				(Rev ii 4)
L′	[.....]	[.....]	⌜ĝéštu⌝	lá-a	(Obv 10)
S′	⌜lú⌝-tumu	ú-⌜ḫúb⌝	[.....]	[....]	(Obv 6′)
F′′	[.....]	[...] ⌜ḫúb⌝	ĝéštu	lá-a	(Obv 5′)

This is the first occurrence of the epithet {lú-tumu} in the text, a refrain that appears no less than a dozen times in the 137 lines of the text. It undoubtedly represents the key leitmotif in the text and provides us with a clue as to the interpretation of the text as a whole.

As Civil remarked in a comment on texts that abbreviate Sumerian literary composition by citing only the first word or two (1985: 40), only the first eleven lines are included in manuscript K′ (line 8 is omitted) and then only in the abbreviated format that Civil describes. See the Introduction to this volume for an extended discussion of the abbreviated lines in manuscript K′.

Sjöberg was hesitant to accept {tumu} as an Emegir reading of IM in the sense of 'wind', preferring to leave it as {lú-IM} in its three occurrences in *Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn*, lines 147, 148 and 158 (Sjöberg 1973: 113). This followed from Landsberger's discussion of the research history and evidence for the reading {tumu} in MSL 9: 119–121, where it was suggested that {tumu} was a specifically Emesal reading for IM in the sense of 'wind'. This point of view seemed at the time to be confirmed by the repeated occurrence of IM parallel with {tu-mu} and {du_5-mu} in *Two Women* B (Dialogue 5), lines 6–8 and 10–11. But as with the term {dumu} 'son', which can also be rendered in Emesal as {du_5-mu}, there is no reason to assume the the Emesal form is radically different from the Emegir form, as already noted by Cavigneaux and al-Rawi (1993: 102–103; 2005: 188–190, n. 11). For the most recent discussion of the reading of IM as {tu_{15}}, {tum_9} or simply {tumu}, see Alster 2007: 77 and 137 (in his commentary on MS 2108 obv. 2.1 among the proverb collections in the Schøyen Collection). One of the few remaining objections is that syllabic writings of the Akk. loanword *imḫullu* 'bad storm' should have written

out {tumu} or something similar, but the /im/ in *imḫullu* may well simply represent a verbal prefix *im- which is also found in a number of other Sumerian deverbal nouns such as {im-ba} 'deficit', {im-du$_8$} 'dew', {ìmĝaĝa} 'emmer' or {imḫur} 'bubble'.[7]

Again already in his work on *Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn*, Sjöberg emphasized the centrality of the lexical equation between {lú-tumu} and Akk. *sarrum* 'liar' in Lu Azlag A (MSL 12: 157). In lines 33–37 below we find the *locus classicus* for linking the {lú-tumu} to various negative characteristics:

Lu Azlag A 33–37 (DCCLT edition)

33. lú-tumu	*sà-ar-rum*	'liar'
34. lú lú tumu	*sú-ra-ta-nu-ú*	'the man of lies'
35. lú-lul	*sà-ar-rum*	'liar'
36. lú-ḫa-lam-ma	*ša le-mu-ut-tim*	'the man of wickedness'
37. lú-ḫul	*lem-nu-ú*	'bad guy'

This line of thought is largely in agreement with Michalowski's recent discussion of a problematic line in the *Royal Correspondence of the Ur III Kings* (Abaindasa to Šulgi 1, line 13), namely {tumu gub-ba-àm še mu-un-da-lá-a}, "Even when the wind is still, I can winnow grain" (translation Michalowski); Michalowski suggests the considerable variation in the form of the verb ({mu-da-ak-e}, {mu-un-sì-ge}, {mu-sì}) may have arisen due to a misunderstanding of {tumu} 'wind' at the beginning of the line:

> . . . it may very well be that at some point IM [= tumu] was incorrectly interpreted as *sarrum*, "stack (of sheaves of barley)," actually a loan from Sumerian zar, or even as *zārûm*, "winnower," the basis would have been lexical: lú-IM = *sà-*(*ar*)*-rum* (OB Lu A 33 [MSL 12 158; OB Lu B I 36 [MSL 12 178]; (OB Lu D 151 [MSL 12 207]), which normally means "liar, criminal." Note the Akkadian translation of the line in Su 2: *i-na ša-ri-im ne-ḫi-im za-ri-a-am šu-li-i*. (Michalowski 2011, 308)

For our purposes here, however, it is precisely this ambiguity in the Akkadian (near) homophones that is of interest. The basic equation between {lú-tumu} and *sarrum* 'liar' is probably based on the near homonymy of *šārum* 'wind' and

7 Constructions such as im-šub—ak in Edubba A, line 70, cited above in our commentary to line 5, are also probably relevant, see Attinger 2005a and 2005b for an overview.

sarrum 'liar' (with Sum. {tumu} folk etymologized along similar lines as 'that which brings or takes away, from {túm/tùm(u)} 'to bring').

Although the two other expressions in line 10, namely {ú-ḫúb} and {ĝéštu lá-a} respectively, do not seem to make an appearance in Lu Azlag (only {lú-ḫúb} in line 254 comes close, cf. Igituh short version line 257 [Landsberger and Gurney 1958: 83]), both can be equated with Akk. *sukkuku*, 'deaf, obtuse' (CAD S 362b), a term that remained at the core of learned terminology down into the first millennium BCE letter treated in Parpola's *The Forlorn Scholar* (Parpola 1987: 261–262; Milano 1998). Within the narrow confines of the lexical passages, {ú-ḫúb} and {ĝéštu lá-a} only seem to follow in sequence in a single text: Nabnitu III.

Nabnitu III 203–206 (MSL 16: 66)

203	ú-ḫub	*su-uk-ku-ku*	'to be obtuse'
204	géštu-lá	MIN	DITTO
205	zu	*a-ḫa-zu šá* NAM.DUB.SAR	'to grasp (of scribalism)'
206	sar	MIN	DITTO

Here in juxtaposition to {zu} 'to know' and {sar} 'to write', both of which are translated as "to grasp (intellectually) in reference to the scribal art," {ú-ḫúb} and {ĝéštu lá-a} refer to intellectual failings rather than a physical disability per se. This is also the sense found in Dialogue 3, line 10, where {ú-ḫúb} forms a genitive construction with {nam-dub-sar}, hence {ú-ḫúb nam-dub-sar-ra} as a description of 'cluelessness' about the scribal art.

Whereas {géštu lá} or {géštu lá-a}, which quite literally means "weak with respect to ears," is also equated with Akk. *ṭummumu* 'deaf person' (CAD Ṭ 125b), {ú-húb} only seems to be used in a derogatory rather than descriptive sense, which may suggest that *ṭummumu* was the technical term for someone who was actually deaf, while *sukkuku* was more of a judgement of intellectual capabilities, closer to our 'clueless', viz. incapable of perceiving the relevant facts in a given situation. Only *ṭummumu* is described as resulting from physical illness, for example. The examples that CAD S 362b–363a sub *sukkuku* cites under "physical infirmity" could all easily refer to forms of mental retardation or cognitive deficiencies.[8]

8 The term {ú-húb} appears in the orthographic complex SAL.Ú.ḪÚB / SAL.ḪÚB, which has been discussed at some length in the secondary literature (see Goodnick Westenholz 2010 and references therein; Worthington 2012: 48; Cavigneaux and Wiggermann 2014), but there does not seem to be a connection between the third millennium usage and its use in our line.

As we will see repeatedly throughout the rest of our composition, both {géštu-lá} and {ú-húb} appear within the same section in the unplaced Lu list CTN 4, 216 (= ND 4373 in MSL 12: 141–143), which includes nearly a dozen of the rather obscure lemmata found in our text.

CTN 4, 216, iv 13′–18′ (MSL 12: 142)

13′	$uš_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar	*a-la-iu-ú*	‘drooler’
14′	ú-ḫub	*su-ku-ku*	‘deaf, obtuse’
15′	ú-UG	MIN	‘deaf, obtuse’
16′	sa	MIN	‘deaf, obtuse’
17′	ĝéštu-lá	MIN	‘deaf, obtuse’
18′	ĝéštu-lá	*ḫa-si-*⌜*ik*⌝-[*ku*]	‘deaf’

Both {ú-$ḫub_1$} and {géštu-lá} are equated with *sukkuku* here and the lemma in line 13′, viz. {$uš_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar}, will make an appearance in line 68 below. These lines from CTN 4, 216, which comes from Neo-Assyrian Kalhu, presumably represent a late reinterpretation of the sequence {galam / ⌜munus⌝ galam / ⌜ú⌝-ḫúb / munus ú-ḫúb / ú-pil_7 / ⌜munus⌝ [ú-pil_7] / ⌜ĝéštu⌝-lá / munus ĝéštu-lá} in Old Babylonian Lu (lines 541c–548 in the DCCLT edition).

11 ĝìš-e gu-du kéš šir dili tu-lu

PROF (You have) a penis stuck up your ass, with only one testicle hanging down.

	ĝìš-e	**gu-du**	**kéš**	**šir**	**dili**	**tu-lu**	
A	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	⌜šir⌝	dili		(Obv i 11)
B	⌜ĝìš⌝-e	gu-du	kéš	šir	dili	tu [...]	(Obv 12)
D	[.....]	[.....]	⌜kéš⌝	šir	dili		(Obv 11)
F	[...] ⌜x⌝	[.....]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[.....]	(Rev 1′)
G	(omits)						
K′	ĝiš			šir			(Rev ii 5)
L′	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[...]	[...]	⌜tu⌝-lu	(Obv 11)
S′	⌜ĝìš⌝-e	gu-du	⌜kéš⌝	[...]	[...]	[.....]	(Obv 7′)
F′′	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	⌜šir⌝		tu-lu x	(Obv 6′)

This is one of the classic lines of Sumerian scatalogical invective: {gu-du} is the standard term for ‘anus’ as a term of abuse, {ĝìš} is the standard term for ‘penis’

and {kéš} means here 'bound', here probably equivalent to Akk. *rakāsu* rather than Akk. *kaṣāru*. Only manuscript B preserves {kéš} (KÉŠ) fairly well; otherwise, one might also consider reading the term as {sìr} (EZEN). {sìr} only corresponds to *rakāsu* (not *kaṣāru*) and would produce a nice homophony in the center of the line, viz. {sìr šir}, but in manuscript B the relevant sign appears to be KÉŠ rather than EZEN. The second of the two phrases {šir dili tu-lu} mirrors the first phrase in phonological terms ([gudu] // [tulu], etc.) and represents an equally dysfunctional depiction of genitalia: {šir dili} appears in Old Babylonian Lu 811a (according to the DCCLT edition) in between {[a-ga]-an-tùm} = Akk. *epqēnu* 'a skin disease similar to leprosy' (MSL 9: 77; cf. the discussion of {a-ḫa-an-tùm} in Sjöberg 1970: 96) and {i-bí-za} = Akk. *ibissû* 'financial loss' (see the Commentary to *Šumma Izbu* XIX 38′, where {i-bí-za} is equated with Akk. *ṣāltu* 'conflict' [Leichty 1970: 226, lines 485–485]). The association of {šir dili} with a skin disease (cf. CAD L 181b sub *li'bu*) and socio-economic misfortune further strengthens the idea that {šir dili} is describing an undescended testicle and the infertility that often results from this condition. This adheres quite closely to Sjöberg's discussion of the line in the context of his study of {tu-lu} (1970: 86), where he translates: "(dein) Penis ist an? (deinen) After 'gebunden', (du hast nur) einen einzigen Hoden, der schlaff herunterhängt."

This entry occurs only a couple lines after two lemmata that appear later on in our text: {íb kud} in the immediately following line 12 and {á-šu-ĝìri kud} much later in line 107. The same term {šir dili} can also be found as a description of a garlic or onion patch, viz. {sum šir dili}, a usage that is already attested in the Early Dynastic list of plants (line 85 in the DCCLT edition). The verb {tu-lu} generally corresponds to Akk. *nê'u* 'to loosen', which can be used with other parts of the body such as {šu} and {gaba} (Nigga Bilingual B 205, lines 205–206 [MSL 13: 120]). See also the discussion in CAD R 129 sub *ramû* 'to slacken (of parts of the body)'. For the use of the same term to describe the tightening of the strings of a musical instrument, see Kilmer 1965 and Krispijn 1990: 6 and 15.

12 [me]-zé gíd ⌜nundum⌝ ḫur íb kud gu-du ku-da

PROF Big-jowled fat-lipped half-assed cripple.

	[me]-zé	**gíd**	**⌜nundum⌝**	**ḫur**	**íb**	**kud**	**gu-du**	**ku-da**	
A	[. . . . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	⌜gu⌝-du	ku-da	(Obv i 12)
B	[me]-⌜zé⌝	gíd	⌜numdum⌝	⌜ḫur⌝	íb?	kud	gu-du	⌜ku⌝ [. . .]	(Obv 13)
D	[. . . . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	⌜íb⌝	⌜kud⌝	gu-du	<u>kud</u>	(Obv 12)

	[me]-zé	**gíd**	**⌜nundum⌝**	**ḫur**	**íb**	**kud**	**gu-du**	**ku-da**	
G	[.....]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[.....]	⌜ku-x⌝	(Obv i 2′)
L′	[.....]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	⌜x x⌝	[...]	(Obv 12)
S′	[.....]	[...]	[...]	⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝	[...]	[.....]	[...]	(Obv 8′)
Z′	[.....]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[.....]	⌜ku⌝ [x]	(Face a 1′)
F′′	[.....]	[...]	[...]	[...]	⌜íb⌝	kud /	⌜gu⌝-du	ku-ud-da	(Rev 1–2)

The version in manuscript D, viz. {íb kud gu-du kud}, while easier to comprehend and translate than the syllabic orthography that we have adopted in the synthetic text, in all likelihood results from a retention of the {kud} following {gu-du} on the basis of the {kud} following {íb}. In the absence of other evidence in support of {gu-du kud}, we have taken it here as a banalization of the text. Unlike {gu-du kud}, the expression that inspired this variant form, namely {íb kud}, is well attested in lists of crippled body parts.

The phrase {me-zé gíd} is only rarely attested in the lexical tradition: AOAT 275, 387, BM 54203 rev. i 8 and PBS 12, 7, rev. i 14 (both presumably corresponding to Hh XV 13 [AHw 528] references courtesy DCCLT): {uzu}me-zé gíd-da} = Akk. *la-ḫu-ú*. It is on the basis of this lexical entry that CAD (I 205a and L 44b) draws an explicit contrast between {uzu}me-zé}, which corresponds to Akk. *išu*, and {me-zé gíd-da}. Sjöberg (1970: 90) refers briefly to our line, quoting Civil's translation: "La mâchoire, . . . cassé(e), les fesses paralysées," viz. "the jawbone, . . . broken, the buttocks are paralyzed." The expression {íb kud} 'cripple', literally "the waist (is) cut" occurs in a series of terms for crippled limbs in Old Babylonian Lu:

Old Babylonian Lu 808c–809j (the DCCLT edition)

808c	⌜tuḫul kud⌝	'crippled hip'
809	kud-kud-rá	'crippled'
809a	⌜íb⌝ kud	'crippled waist'
809b	NAGAR kud	
809c	ĝìri a-ḫum	
809d	KA-NAGAR	
809e	KA-NAGAR	
809f	ĝìri kud	'crippled foot'
809g	ĝìri x	
809h	á kud	'crippled arm'
809i	á-ĝìri	'limbs'
809j	⌜á⌝-šu-ĝìri kud	'crippled limbs'

The term {tuḫul}, which heads the list, is NAGAR.ZA*tenu* and appears elsewhere in the literature under {tugul} = Akk. *giššu*, probably meaning 'hip' (CAD sub *gilšu*). The terms at the beginning and end of this list ({tuḫul kud} and {á-šu-ĝìri kud}) appear as a merism for these conditions in *The Debate between Bird and Fish*, line 59: {tugul kud á-šu-ĝìri kud ĝìri-zu gú bala-zu-šè} "(with) crippled spine and limbs, just try to touch your toes" (after "beuge einmal deinen Nacken zu deinen Füssen" in Herrmann 2010: 155). Thus the list of crippling conditions in Old Babylonian Lu probably represents a paradigm for these types of medical conditions and the fact that {gu-du kud} does not appear in the list may suggest that it is a humorous neologism in our text. Unlike the examples involving {kud} from Old Babylonian Lu, all of which qualify limbs or the skeleton, it was presumably humorous to speak of a 'crippled ass', since the anus is not usually considered a skeletal member. Of course the orthography used to write {gu-du ku-da} also allows for various forms of scatological humor, since KU can also be read as {še$_{10}$} = Akk. *zû* 'excrement' or (along with the following DA) as {bèd-da} = Akk. *tezû* 'to defecate'. Nonetheless, we assume here that the excretory reading would not have been primary; the exclusion of {bèd-da} as the primary reading is also supported by the variant in manuscript F′′, which explicitly blocks such as reading, although the {-ud-} sign in this orthography requires further collation. We return to the expression {á-šu-ĝìri kud} in our commentary on line 107 below.

13 ĝe$_{26}$-e-gen$_7$-nam al-dím-me-en

PROF You only *act* like me!

	ĝe$_{26}$-e-gen$_7$-nam	**al-dím-me-en**	
A	[.....]	[...] ⌜dím⌝-me-en	(Obv i 13 + ruling)
B	[.....] gen$_7$-nam	al-dím- [.....]	(Obv 14 + ruling)
D	[.....]	⌜al⌝-dím-me-en	(Obv 13)
F	⌜ĝe$_{26}$⌝-e-gen$_7$-⌜nam⌝	[.....]	(Rev 2′ + ruling)
G	[.....]	[.....] en	(Obv i 3′)
Z′	[.....]	[...] dím-me [...]	(Face a 2′ + ruling)
F′′	[.....]	⌜al⌝-dím-⌜me-en⌝	(Rev 3)

This is not a plain statement of fact, which would not fit into the combative tone of the debate at this point, even if it is only playful repartee between two old friends. The expression here is similar to the line from *The Debate between Enki-mansum and Girini-isag* (Dialogue 3) that is mentioned by Sjöberg in his

study of the Edubba: {ĝe$_{26}$-e-gen$_7$-nam eme-gi$_7$-ra me-en} "do you, as I do, speak Sumerian?" or literally "are you of Sumerian language" (Sjöberg 1976: 162). The difference between these two expressions is instructive, however: the line from *The Debate between Enki-mansum and Girini-isag* uses a headless genitive or locative {eme-gi$_7$-ra}, literally "of/in Sumerian," while our line takes a transitive verb {dím} that is normally used to describe the construction of small complicated objects and combines it with a stative prefix, hence {al-dím}. The stative prefix draws the reader's attentive to the activity of "fashioning" rather than the object being fashioned, presumably in order to refer to details of the referent's behavior, what we might call these days embodied practice or habitus, hence our translation of {al-dím} as "you act". Although actual manner adverbs in Sumerian are expressed using the demonstrative {ne(n)} (see Woods 2005: 305), this use of {al-dím} is analogous in some ways to an adverb of manner and in fact the Neo-Babylonian Grammatical Texts do equate {al-dím} with Akk. *annû* in at least one instance:

NBGT IV 19–27 (MSL 4:164)[9]

19	nu-ub-dam	*la-ma*	'before, not yet'
20	nu-ub-diri	*la-ma a-tar*	'before it is full'
21	al-dím	*an-nu-ú*	'yes'
22	ḫé-àm	MIN	'yes'
23	na-nam na-nam	MIN	'yes'

In origin *annû* is an Akkadian demonstrative, but here it is included in a list of different ways of saying 'yes' in Sumerian (see the references in CAD under *anna* rather than *annû*). Since {dím} is also the verbal root underlying {dím-ma} 'reason, consciousness', it is a nice choice for representing the link between the details of behavior and mental states that we generally speak of in terms of mimicry.

The key grammatical element in the line, the element that acts in concert with {al-dím} to generate the negative implication that the addressee is inauthentic, is the copula */-am/ that follows {ĝe$_{26}$-e-gen$_7$} in the expression {ĝe$_{26}$-e-gen$_7$-nam}. As elsewhere in Sumerian, this copula is coding contrastive (or exclusive) focus:

> You act exactly like *me*, lit. it is only like *me* that you act

9 The text has now been published by Civil in CTMMA II, p. 245, lines 19–23. Reference courtesy N. Veldhuis.

That this is the default reading of the construction can be seen in an example that Sövegjártó has highlighted in her recent work on the equative case (Sövegjártó 2010; 2011).

SP 5.2 (Alster 1997, vol. 1: 121; Sövegjártó 2010: 13)

níĝ ĝe$_{26}$-gen$_{7}$-nam nu-ĝál

There is nothing like me.

Here the focus encoded by the copula limits the comparison to the entity that is most like the referent of the first person pronoun and the negated predicate then states that no such entity exists, hence a literal translation might go "the thing that is exactly (or most) like me does not exist," but more idiomatically "there is nothing like me." This function of the copula is particularly clear in sentences in which the activities of two different possible actors are compared such as in the following example from Šulgi B:

Šulgi B 15 (Castellino 1972: 32–33)

nam-dumu-gi$_{7}$ ĝá-e-gen$_{7}$-nam im nu-mu-un-sar

None of the nobility could write a tablet as well as me.

Here the use of the negative particle asserts that all others are less capable of writing such a tablet than Šulgi. When the copula is left out, leaving only {ĝá-e-gen$_{7}$}, the exclusive reference to Šulgi as a standard of judgement disappears and anyone who meets the criteria can be included in the group. This use is particularly clear in the following example from *Gilgamesh and Huwawa*, version A:

Gilgamesh and Huwawa A 51 (Edzard 1990: 185; 1991: 184)

nita saĝ-dili ĝe$_{26}$-e-gen$_{7}$ ak á-ĝu$_{10}$-šè ḫu-mu-un-ak

May the men who are single like me come to my side.

Here Gilgamesh does not want to limit the field of possible candidates to the one that is most like himself, but rather is simply using himself as an example of the general category of 'bachelor' {saĝ dili}.[10]

In our line here, however, no explicit negation is present and the negative force of the line can be more easily described in rhetorical (rather than linguistic) terms as an ironic statement. Whereas the basic sense of the line states that "you act *exactly* like me," with the focus coded by the copula corresponding to the adverb *exactly*. The speaker of our line is clearly making an ironic statement along the lines of "you only *act* like me," or in other words "you act like me (but your actions do not produce the same results as I do)." As we will see below, the contrast between formal correctness as opposed to actual results will be the central point of discussion for much of the rest of the debate: the interlocutor who remained within the academy after graduation, viz. the Professor, will repeatedly charge his classmate who got a "real" job outside the {é-dub-ba-a}, viz. the Bureaucrat, with only "going through the motions" while he was in school.

14 lú-tumu uman-e gada ba-an-lá

BUREAU You windbag! (You are) linen stretched out for a flea,

	lú-tumu	**uman-e**	**gada**	**ba-an-lá**	
A	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[...] ⌜an?⌝-lá	(Obv i 14)
B	[...] ⌜tumu⌝	⌜uman⌝-e	gada	ba-⌜an⌝ [...]	(Obv 15)
D	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	⌜x x⌝ [.....]	(Obv 14)
F	lú-tumu	⌜x⌝ [.....]	[...]	[.....]	(Rev 4′)
G	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[...] ⌜an-lá⌝	(Obv i 4′)
Z′	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[...] an-⌜lá⌝	(Face a 3′)
F′′	[.....]	[.....] ⌜e⌝	⌜gada⌝	[.....]	(Rev 4)
H′$_{Unk}$	⌜lú⌝-tumu	uman-e	gada	ba- ⌜lá⌝	(Obv 1)

10 Constructions in which focus interacts with negation are particularly complex (see the discussion of "Negation and Quantity" in Horn 2001[1989]: 154–267).

The only variation in the line is in manuscript H′, which omits the pronominal element before the verbal root, although the form without the pronominal element, viz. {ba-lá}, is also what appears in the proverb collections.

On {lú-tumu} see the discussion in the commentary on line 10. Both {ùmun} and {uman} are attested as readings of AḪ (= Akk. *kal-ma-tum*; Ea V 110 and 111 respectively), but {uman} is the form found in Proto-Ea (374), hence its use here. This line as well as the next quote a proverb from Proverb Collection 7 that also survives into the bilingual proverbs (Lambert 1960: 222–282, in particular 236).

Proverb Collection 7.29 (Alster 1997, vol. 1: 157; vol. 2: 412)

30	uman-e gada ba-lá	= *ana par-šá-ʾ-i ki-tu-u ta-ri-is-*⌜*su*⌝
31	num-saḫar-ra ^{gi}kid-aš-rin ba-e-si	= *ana la-am-ṣa-ti i-aš-rin-na ma-ḫi-si*
32	[muš-da]-gur$_4$-ra ⌜šutum⌝ ba-na-an-dù	= *ana pi-ṣal-lu-ri šu-tu-um-mu e-pu-us-si*

Linen stretched out for a flea, an ašrinnu-mat woven for a fly, the storehouse built for a gecko.

Römer suggested that the meaning of the proverb was that "es gegen jegliches Übel eine Abwehrmöglichkeit gibt" (Römer 1990: 25, rejected by Alster 1997: 412 [vol. 2]), noting that "[i]n Dialogue 1, 14–15 (our text), where one speaker seeks to insult the other, this cannot be intended." Alster argues that "ironically, the person's attempts at warding off the vermin are futile, since his precautions actually provide the vermin with better living conditions" (Alster 1997, vol. 2: 412). But we would like to take the proverb one step further and suggest that the imagery here is meant to emphasize a specific type of ironic situation, namely one in which the care and feeding of a parasite is described as the *raison d'etre* for the existence of the host in which the parasite lives. If we apply the same imagery to the two participants in our dialogue, it would suggest that the Professor sees the Bureaucrat as merely imitating the scribal art so as to gain social or economic benefits without actually ever understanding or contributing to the real work of the Edubba itself. The 'flea' {uman} in this line functions as one of the key links to the 'nest of fleas' {gùd uman-na} that appear in the *The Lazy Slave Girl* vignette in line 30 below.

Although the type of literary dialogue that we are discussing here did not survive the death of the Old Babylonian Edubba as a social institution, elements of the proverbial material such as the proverb quoted here were often transmitted to posterity in a bilingual compendium of proverbs and other

literary materials known as Sidu. As Frahm has pointed out in a recent discussion of this compendium (Frahm 2010), only certain components of the Old Babylonian proverb collections were retained, in bilingual form, in Sidu, so it is exceedingly difficult to know if the complex forms of citation and quotation of the proverb collections that we find in our text were preserved or emulated in the compilation of Sidu.[11] Nonetheless it is noteworthy that several of the proverbs quoted in our text appear in SP 2 and 3, which are the collections that have been identified in Sidu so far. Of course SP 2+6, for example, was among the most frequently copied in the Old Babylonian period, so its survival in some form is not surprising.

15 nim-saḫar-ra kid-aš-rin-na ba-e-si

BUREAU A reed-mat woven for the flies,

	nim-saḫar-ra	**kid-aš-rin-na**	**ba-e-si**	
A	[.....]	[.....]	[...] ⌜e⌝-si	(Obv i 15)
B	[.....] ra	x aš [.....]	⌜x⌝ [.....]	(Obv 16)
G	[.....]	[.....]	[...] e-si	(Obv i 5′)
Z′	[.....]	[.....]	ba-⌜e?⌝ [...]	(Face a 4′)
H′$_{\text{Unk}}$	nim-saḫar-ra	kid-aš-rin-na	ba-⌜e-si⌝	(Obv 2)

The sign KID, which is an iconic representation of a reed mat, is not a determinative in Sumerian, so we must have here either (i) a compound word in which {aš-rin} qualifies the basic word {kid} "mat" (= Akk. *kītu*) or (ii) a genitive construction in which {aš-rin} describes a property of the mat, namely the material out of which it was constructed (cf. {^{gi}kid aš-rin-na} in Hh II 20). Here it presumably functions as the subject of an intransitive verb, but see the Introduction to the volume for a discussion of a second person interpretation of the form. See also the discussion of GI.KID signs in MSL 9: 178–179.

The insect {nim-saḫar} corresponds to *lamṣatu* 'sand fly' as opposed to both larger ({nim} = Akk. *zumbu*) and smaller varieties ({num-tur-sahar} = Akk. *baqqu*. In the list of insects in MSL 8/2, it appears in the following context:

11 Stol has noted that Sidu is also mentioned in Letter Collection B 12, line 8, now re-edited in Kleinerman 2011: 155 (= SEpM 14; Stol 2011), reference courtesy of E. Frahm).

Hh XIV 304–308 (MSL 8/2: 33–34)

304.	nim	*zu-um-bu*	'fly'
305.	nim-sahar-ra	*lam-ṣa-tu*	'sand fly'
306.	nim-tur-sahar-ra	*baq-qu*	'gnat'
307.	nim níg-na-me nu-gál	MIN	'no-see-um'
308.	nim níg-na-me nu-tuku	MIN	'no-grab-um'

Within the broader context of the surrounding lines, the qualification of the reed mat as {aš-rin-na} may be related to the expression {ĝiš-rín} = Akk. *gišrinnu* 'scales, the beam of a balancing scale'.[12] The linkage between {aš-rin-na} and {ĝiš-rín} is taken up in the commentary on the following line.

16 **šáḫ ^{túg}ú-tu-gu-um al-tuku$_5$-tuku$_5$**

BUREAU Striking the batten (against the loom) for a pig,

	šáḫ	**^{túg}ú-tu-gu-um**	**al-tuku$_5$-tuku$_5$**	
A	[...]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜tuku$_5$⌝	(Obv i 16)
G	[...]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜tuku$_5$⌝	(Obv i 6′)
Z′	[...]	[.....]	[...] ⌜tuku$_5$-tuku$_5$⌝	(Face a 5′)
H′$_{Ukn}$	šáḫ	^{túg}ú-tu-gu-um	al-tuku$_5$-tuku$_5$	(Obv 3)

Since {^{túg}ú-tu-gu-um} in our line bears the determinative for textiles {túg}, we can be fairly confident that our line is referring to the lexical entries associated with TÚG.NÍG.ŠID:

Diri V 137–138 (MSL 15: 172)

137	ut-tu-ku	TÚG.NÍG.ŠID	*uttuku*	'batten'
138			*māḫiṣātu*	'counting stick'

The form of the expression that we see in the syllabic column of Diri V 137–138 is also attested in Dialogue 5, line 137, but it is in Diri III 20–27 that we see the lexical passage that may well have inspired our line:

12 On the loss of the initial nasalized velar /ŋ/ in Sumerian (conventionally rendered as {ĝ} in transcription), see generally Geller 2005.

Diri III 20–27 (MSL 15: 136)

20	geš-ri-⌜in⌝	[GIŠ].⌜ERIN$_2$⌝	*gišrinnu*	'balance scale arm'
21	[. . .]	[GIŠ].⌜KASKAL⌝	*gišrinnu*	'balance scale arm'
22	⌜geš⌝-[. . .]	⌜GIŠ⌝.NÍG.ŠID	*uttuku*	'batten'
23			*māḫiṣātu*	'counting stick'
24	[ú]-nu	GIŠ.UŠ	*udugu*	'stick'
25	[ú]-nu	GIŠ.BU×BU	MIN	'stick'
26	ú-nu	GIŠ.ŠU.KÀD	MIN	'stick'
27	ú-nu	GIŠ.GI×GI	MIN	'stick'

As this passage indicates, we are dealing here primarily with a series of puns on the instruments used in weaving: here ⌜GIŠ⌝.NÍG.ŠID is equated with Akk. *uttuku*, which puns on the following set of entries in Diri, all of which correspond to Akk. *udugu* 'a wooden stick used for finishing garments'. This pun is confirmed in some sense by the intervening term in Diri III 23, namely *māḫiṣātu*, which refers to 'female weavers', literally 'the beaters (of cloth)'. The relevance of these entries to our line is made particularly clear by the internal pun within the line: the reduplicated verbal root {tuku$_5$} 'to weave' puns on an instrument that was used in the weaving process, namely the {^{túg}ú-tu-gu-um}. The juxtaposition of *gišrinnu* and *uttuku* in Diri III lines 21 and 22 probably served as the link between lines 15 and 16 in our text.

If we can take {^{túg}ú-tu-gu-um} as the instrument used by a weaver to batten each thread of the warp after it passes through the shed, then the combination of {^{túg}ú-tu-gu-um} with {tuku$_5$}, the usual verbal root for 'weaving' in Sumerian, strongly suggests that the line is describing the weaving of a garment. If so, the image of a textile woven for a parasite is carried over from the "reed mat woven for the flies" in the preceding line to "a garment woven for a pig" in this line.[13]

The implicit object of comparison for all these different terms for 'stick' is clearly the stylus that was used to write cuneiform. In Hh IV 16–19 we find the

13 There were other uses of a stick in different stages of the weaving process, as can be seen in Hg B 138–140 (MSL 12: 136), where for instance {lú túg tag-ga} is equated with *ma-ḫi-ṣu šá sis-sik-ti* 'the beater of the fringe' and then subsequently to *iš-par-*[*ru*] 'weaver'. The subsequent terms in the passage reference another term for weaver ({pan tag.ga} = Akk. *māḫiṣu*) and weavers of reed mats (Akk. *paqqāyu*). All three are relatively low level professions that used a stick of one kind or another as their chief tool; Diri III 20–27 lists these types of tools.

term *uttuku* once more, but now qualified with the determinative for wood {ĝiš} rather than textiles {túg}:

Hh IV 16–19 (MSL 5: 151–152)

16	giš-ŠID-ma	*iṣ-ṣi mi-nu-ti*	'counting stick'
17	giš-níg-ŠID	MIN *nik-kás-s*[*i*]	'bookkeeping stick'
18	giš-níg-ŠID	*ut-tu-ku*	'counting device'
19	giš-NÍG$^{ú\text{-}tuk\text{-}ku}$ŠID	MIN	'counting device'

The use of {^{ĝiš}utukku$_x$(NÍG.ŠID)} to refer to a stick associated with counting served as the basis for the {^{túg}ú-tu-gu-um} in our text, where the use of the determinative for textiles ({túg}) indicates the sector in which it was used rather than the material from which it was made.

17 am-si munu$_4$ sig$_7$-sig$_7$ al-bàra-ge

BUREAU The green malt spread out for an elephant,

	am-si	**munu$_4$**	**sig$_7$-sig$_7$**	**al-bàra-ge**	
A	[……]	[……..]	[……..]	[……..] ⌜ge?⌝	(Obv i 17)
G	[……]	[……..]	[……..]	[….] ⌜x⌝-ge?	(Obv i 7′)
Z′	[……]	[……..]	[……..]	⌜al⌝-bàra-ge	(Face a 6′)
H′$_{Ukn}$	am-si	munu$_4$	sig$_7$-sig$_7$	al-bàra-ge	(Obv 4)

The lexical evidence for reading {bàra(g)} rather than {dag} is not entirely convincing, particularly since both forms have a /g/ auslaut, but there is some support for the reading {bàra(g)} in the sense of 'to spread out' in reference to 'malt'. In Old Babylonian Aa (Proto-Aa 237:1–240:1 in MSL 14: 98) {bàra} is equated with Akk. *šuparruru* 'to spread out', but in an OB version from Sippar (BM 54720 = MSL 14: 122–127),[14] we find it equated with a number of different terms, nearly the same as those in Erimḫuš V, 160–162.

14 Thanks to Niek Veldhuis for clarifying the connections between these different attestations of {bàra} in the lexical tradition.

BM 54720 (P333154), lines 919–921 (= MSL 14: 127)

919	bàra	*še-e-ṭú-ú*
920	bàra	*wu-ú-ṣú-ú*
921	bàra	*šu-pa-ru-rum*

Erimḫuš V, 160–162 (MSL 17: 74)

160	$^{pa\text{-}ár}$DAG	*še-ṭu-ú*	'to spread out (of malt, corpses)'
161	DAG du_{11}-ga	*šu-par-ru-*ru*	'to spread out (of a net, wings)'
162	sal-la	*uṣ-ṣu-ú*	'to spread out, to open wide'

In Civil's paper on *The Ninkasi Hymn* (Civil 1964; see now Sallaberger 2013) he already provides a detailed discussion of these different terms and their relationship to the spreading out of green malt ({$munu_4$ sig_7-sig_7}) and, after cooking, the cooked beer mash ({titab}) in the different phases of beer production. Thus in *The Ninkasi Hymn* line 21, we hear of Ninkasi spreading out the green malt in order to germinate it, and then in line 29 of the spreading out of the cooked beer mash to cool.

The Ninkasi Hymn (Civil 1964: 70–73)

21. $munu_4$ SAḪAR ĝar-ra a si-ga-zu
. . .
29. titab ^{gi}kid-maḫ-a bàra-ga-zu

21. *You are the one who waters the earth-covered malt*
. . .
29. *You are the one who spreads the cooked mash on large reed mats,*
(translations Civil)

Sallaberger has recently interpreted line 21 quite differently, treating {SAḪAR ĝar-ra} and {a si-ga} as two different processes in the production of {$munu_4$}: "Dein Malz, wurde der Grieß bereitgelegt, Wasser hineingegossen" (Sallaberger 2012: 304). As Sallaberger's translation suggests, SAḪAR in line 21 is probably to be read as {$kuš_7$} or {milla} and equated with Akk. *kukkušu* 'a kind of low-quality flour'. In his discussion Civil makes reference to our line and notes that: "the need to protect the germinating greenmalt lying on the ground from careless trampling gave origin to the phrase am-si mùnu sig_7-sig_7 al-dag-ge 'the elephant tramples the sprouting green malt' . . . to describe a clumsy person"

(Civil 1964: 79). If Sallaberger's reinterpretation is correct, however, {si-ga} in line 21 refers to 'pouring in (water)' rather than the germination of green malt. The joke here may be that the *titab*-cakes (Sum. {titab} = Akk. *titāpū*) would normally have been fed to animals after being used for beer-making (as a form of spent grain), while the parody in our line suggests that the green malt was spread out for an elephant before it had been used to make beer.

In line with Borger we are using {munu$_4$} to transliterate DIM$_4$ (or later PAP.PAP), although it should be kept in mind that many other authorities (including Stol's discussion of Malz in RlA [Stol 1990]) transliterate this term with {mùnu} rather than {munu$_4$}. Stol walks through the entire production process and notes that, once the malt had been dried, it then needed to be roughly ground and that this could be done through trampling (Akk. *kabāsu*), citing the following passage from Nabnitu.

Nabnitu XX, lines 232–235 (MSL 16: 184)

232	kum	*ḫa-šá-lu šá* še-*im*	'to crush (of barley)'
233	gaz	MIN *šá* še-*im*	'to crush (of barley)'
234	du$_{10}$-ús	⌜MIN⌝ *šá* še-munu$_4$	'to crush (of malt)'
235	gú-⌜gú⌝	[MIN *šá* še]-⌜munu$_4$⌝	'to crush (of malt)'

As Stol points out, Akk. *hašālu* is a rather general term for 'to crush', while {du$_{10}$-ús} normally corresponds to Akk. *kabāsu* 'to tread on'. In his editio princeps Civil translates our line as follows: "the elephant tramples the sprouting greenmalt" (Civil 1964: 79), reading the verb as {al-dag-ge}. TIM 9, 88, line 5 equates {munu$_4$-⌜dag⌝-ga} with *bu-uq-⌜lam ši-bi-iṭ⌝* (Foxvog 1989: 167 and 173; Stol 1990), which would line up nicely with {dag} in the sense of trampling, as Civil suggested, but {dag} in the sense of 'to trample' is not otherwise known and does not correspond to the family of terms for 'to trample' in Sumerian such as {ĝìri—gub}, {ĝìri—ĝar} or {ĝìri—zukum}, all of which are compound verbs that include {ĝìri} 'foot' as the nominal component of the predicate.

18 ka$_5$-a ^{dug}útul-ta ab-ta-bar

BUREAU A fox coming out of the tureen,

	ka$_5$-a	**^{dug}útul-ta**	**ab-ta-bar**	
Z′	[.....]	[.....]	⌜ab?⌝-ta-bar	(Face a 8′)
H′$_{Ukn}$	ka$_5$-a	^{dug}útul-ta	ab-ta-bar	(Obv 5)

The {^{dug}útul} is the first of the major types of ceramic container after the basic {dug} in Hh x (47–62; see the new edition of Hh x in Sallaberger and Civil 1996), and the same basic set of qualifications are applied to a number of different types of containers; the seventeen entries describing different types of {^{dug}útul} is one of the most elaborate in the list. The group of entries that follow the {^{dug}útul} section in Hh x 63–66 describe a series of vessel names that are written with the sign KAL and the last of these {^{dug}sílim-ma} appears below in line 29, immediately before an extended quotation from *The Lazy Slave Girl*. This probably represents an inclusio in line 29, since Line 30 ({gùd uman-na kíĝ ba-an-sa$_6$-ga}) also includes the word {uman} 'flea, lice', which was the first word after {lú-tumu} in line 14 above, the line with which this section began.

We return to the term {^{dug}útul} in our discussion of {^{dug}útul ar-za-na} in line 73 below, but for the moment, it should be noted that PSD B 111a has only two references for {bar} in the sense of 'to take away, to steal', both of which stem from our text: {ka$_5$-a ^{dug}útul-ta ba-ta-bar} in this line and {lú-dab$_5$ kur-ta bar-bar} in line 67, but the verbal form cited by PSD, viz. {ba-ta-bar}, does not seem to be attested and is probably a typo for {ab-ta-bar} (the usual orthography for such a form would have been {ba-da-bar} rather than {ba-ta-bar} in any case).

19 lulim á-gu-ḫu-um al-sig-ge

BUREAU A stag dressed up in a sash,

	lulim	**á-gu-ḫu-um**	**al-sig-ge**	
Z′	[.....]	[.....]	⌜al?-sig?⌝-ge	(Face a 11′)
H′$_{Ukn}$	lulim	á-gu-ḫu-um	al-sig-ge	(Obv 6)

On the {á-gu-ḫu-um} garment, which like {^{túg}ú-tu-gu-um} in our line 16 above is clearly an Akkadian loanword in Sumerian, see generally CAD sub *aguḫḫu*.[15] The term first appears in the lexical tradition as {^{túg}á-gu-ḫu-um} in Old Babylonian Nippur Hh IV 280 (DCCLT version) and perhaps also in UET 7 rev iv 10. The form {^{túg}á-gu-ḫum} is mentioned in a couple of the Hg (Murgud) commentaries on Hh XIX (Hg D 404 in MSL 10: 141 and Hg E 72 in MSL 10: 142),

15 As noted in CAD, the earliest attestation is in BE 1, 11 (P263580), viz. 'à-ku-he-na, with the Hurrian plural element *-na. For a recent Hurrian etymology of the term, see Richter 2012: 91. The nominative case-ending shows, not surprisingly, that it was the Akkadian form of the word that loaned into Sumerian.

where it is equated with Akk. *patinnu*, but perhaps most easily accessible in SpTU 3, 116 obv i 21–26 (P348714):[16]

Hg to Hh XIX, recension E 71–73 (MSL 10: 142)

71	[túg]-⌜gú⌝-è	[x x] x	*na-aḫ-lap-tú*	‘cloak’
72	[^{túg}á]-gu-ḫum	[ŠU]	*pa-ti-nu*	‘sash, band’
73	[^{túg}]⌜balla⌝[17]	[*il*]-⌜*lu*⌝-*ku*	*i-di-ip-tú*	‘headdress’

SpTU 3, 116 obv i 20–21

20	^{túg}e-íb-ḫuduš	*me-sír ḫu-du-uš-šú*	*pa-tin-nu*	‘sash’
21	^{túg}á-gu-ḫum	(blank)	MIN	‘sash’

In Forerunners from Susa, no. 2, col. v, line 18 (MSL 10: 155), {^{túg}á-gu$_4$-ḫu-um} appears in between {^{túg}saĝ-uš-bar} and {^{túg}ba-tab-du$_8$-ḫu-um} (also in no. 5 in much the same context). Given the many connections between our text and the Lu lists, the occurrence of the Akkadian term *aguḫḫu* as a gloss in Canonical Lu IV may be of more significance.

Canonical Lu IV 194–197 (MSL 12: 135)

194	lú túg-lá	*šá kar-ra lab-šu*	‘dressed in a mourning garments’
195	lú ku-uš-lá	*a-gu-uḫ-ḫu*	‘sash’
196	kuš-lá	*šá ḫa-rim-ti*	‘belonging to the prostitute’
197	lú KU-lá	*šá e-ri-na lab-šu*	‘the one who wears the neck-stock’

In their review of PSD A/1, de Maaijer and Jagersma note that “the first quotation gives an á-gu$_4$-ḫu-um weighing almost 1.5 kilos, so it is far too heavy to be a sash or shawl, as PSD suggests” (de Maaijer and Jagersma 1998: 285).

16 References courtesy N. Veldhuis.

17 {balla} = ^{túg}NÍG.SAG.ÍL.EZEN.UŠ, although only the last three signs are preserved in Hg to Hh XIX recension E 73.

20 ur-bar-ra-ke$_4$ ⌜siki⌝ al-peš$_6$-a

BUREAU A wolf tufting out the wool,

	ur-bar-ra-ke$_4$	**⌜siki⌝**	**al-peš$_6$-a**	
Z′	[.....]	[.....]	⌜al?⌝-peš$_6$-a	(Face a 7′)
H′$_{Ukn}$	ur-bar-ra-ke$_4$	⌜siki⌝	al-peš$_6$-a	(Obv 7)

The sign combination {siki peš$_6$}, where {peš$_6$} is written with the KAD$_5$ sign as in our text, can either describe the act of combing out or plucking apart a piece of wool (CAD sub *napāšu* B translates this sense as 'to comb and clean wool, to pluck apart') or the resulting 'tuft of wool' = Akk. *singu*. The same idiom is written in syllabic form in an unprovenienced, presumably Old Babylonian lentil (Malter 1998d = P235724), which contrasts {siki íb-ši-a} 'tufted wool' with {siki nu-íb-ši-a} 'untufted wool'.[18] The humor of this line may lie in the fact that the proverbial "wolf in sheep's clothing" has presumably killed the owner of the wool, namely the sheep, prior to cleaning up the sheepskin.

21 ^{d}nin-ka$_6$ [x x] ⌜x x x ta⌝-si-si

BUREAU A mongoose . . .,

	^{d}nin-ka$_6$	**[x x] ⌜x x⌝**	**⌜x ta⌝-si-si**	
Z′	[.....]	[.....] ⌜x⌝	⌜x ta?⌝-si-si	(Face a 9′)
H′$_{Ukn}$	^{d}nin-ka$_6$	[x x] ⌜x x⌝	⌜x x⌝ si-si	(Obv 8)

The link between lines 20 and 21 may simply be based on the phonological similarity between {peš$_6$} in line 20 and PÉŠ, the sign underlying KA$_6$ in {^{d}nin-ka$_6$} 'mongoose' (see Veldhuis 2002: 67–69). As Veldhuis emphasizes, PÉŠ and LUL were occasionally interchanged in the writing of 'mongoose' (^{d}nin-PÉŠ vs. ^{d}nin-LUL) in the Old Babylonian period and this alternation between PÉŠ and LUL may be part of the glue holding lines 18–21 together: line 18 begins with the LUL sign ({ka$_5$} in the word 'fox' {ka$_5$-a}), line 19 begins with {lulim}, which includes the phonetic string /lul/, the verbal root in line 20 is {peš$_6$}

18 Reference courtesy N. Veldhuis.

(phonetically similar to {péš}) and this line includes {^{d}nin-ka$_6$}. The key animals in lines 20 and 21, viz. {ur-bar-ra} and {^{d}nin-ka$_6$} also appear in sequence in the first two lines of *Good Seed of a Dog* (Diatribe C): {a du$_{10}$-ga ur-ra ú-numun ur-bar-ra-kam / ir ^{d}nin-ka$_6$ amar kir$_4$ šu nu-zu ka$_5$-a bar kúšu^{ku6}} "He is a good seed of a dog, a descendant of a wolf, with the stench of a mongoose, a hyena cub, . . ., a fox with the back of a crab" (Sjöberg 1972: 108). Here the three animals in our lines 18, 20 and 21 occur in rather close contact.

22 ⌜**zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé?}$**⌝-[^{eḫ} **tur . . .**] ⌜**x x**⌝

BUREAU A little piglet . . .,

	⌜**zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé?}$**⌝-[^{eḫ}]	[**. . . . . .**]	⌜**al? x x ud?**⌝	
Z′	[. . .]	[. . . . . .]	⌜al? x x ud?⌝	(Face a 10′)
H′$_{Ukn}$	⌜zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé?}$⌝-[^{eḫ}]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .] ⌜x x⌝	(Obv 9)

In the absence of additional evidence, even the few signs provisionally identified here must be treated with some skepticism: neither of the manuscripts is reliable at this point. If we have correctly rendered the traces at the beginning of manuscript H′ and the end of manuscript Z′, it is possible that this line is citing the well known proverb SP 9 Sec. A 13: {zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé\text{-}eḫ}$ tur-e šu al-gu$_4$-gu$_4$-ud / sa$_6$-ga-aš ĝá-e nu-gu$_7$-e-še} "The small pig roots: 'I will not eat it for pleasure,' he said" (Alster 1997 I 179, partially reconstructed, damage not shown). It occurs in at least five other proverb collections (SP 19 Sec. B 2, SP 21 Sec. B 5, SP 24.2, and YBC 4677, line 2; Schøyen Proverb Collection 4 [MS 3279], no. 24 [Alster 2007: 115–116]) and is regularly juxtaposed in all five of these collections to the other famous pig proverb, SP 9 Sec. A 12: {šáḫ niga ab-šum-dè níĝ-gu$_7$-a-ĝu$_{10}$ ga-ab-su-e-še} "Someone was about to slaughter a fattened pig: 'Let me restore my food supply,' he said" (Alster 1997 I 179). We will return to the general theme of a porcine style of food consumption in the commentary on line 86 below. The important thing about this pair of proverbs, however, is that they seem to co-occur with *The Lazy Slave Girl* in at least two of the five proverb collections, viz. SP 9 and SP 21, in which they occur: as we will see below in lines 30–33, *The Lazy Slave Girl* forms an integral component of our text.

The phrase {zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé\text{-}eḫ}$ tur} 'piglet' (see generally Steinkeller 2007) co-occurs, but only indirectly, with several of the other animals that appear in this section. In Old Babylonian Nippur Hh III 384, it comes near the end of a list of

nine types of pigs, followed only by {megida$_x$(KUN)} 'sow', while in YBC 4679, the term sits in the middle of eleven entries concerned with pigs (rev. iii 40), but {am-si} and {lu-lim} follow in rev. iv 6 and 10 respectively. Likewise in SLT 51 (P229115), {zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé\text{-}eḫ}$ tur} pops up (rev. ii 3) in between a long list of snakes and a list of rodents {péš}.

23 ⌜x⌝ [.....] -re

BUREAU ...

	⌜x⌝ [.....]	**[.....]**	**[.....] re**	
Z′	[.....]	[.....]	[.....] rí-na	(Face a 12′)
W′$_{Sip}$	[.....] ⌜x⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
H′$_{Ukn}$	⌜x⌝ [.....]	[.....]	[.....] re	(Obv 10)

24 ⌜x-gi⌝-a šurim-ĝá-ke$_4$ ka nu-gu$_7$-da

BUREAU ... toward the ... of the dung/bedding,

	⌜x-gi⌝-a	**šurim-ĝá-ke$_4$**	**ka**	**⌜nu-gu$_7$⌝-da**	
K	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[.....] ⌜gu$_7$?⌝	(Obv i 1′)
Z′	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	nu x	(Face a 13′)
W′$_{Sip}$	[....] ⌜x⌝	šurim!(LAGAB×GU$_4$)-ma-⌜šè⌝	⌜zà⌝	x [.....]	(Obv 2′)
H′$_{Ukn}$	⌜x-gi-a⌝	⌜šurim-ĝá-ke$_4$?⌝	⌜ka⌝	⌜nu-gu$_7$?⌝-da	(Rev 1)

It should be emphasized at this point in the text that the overlap between manuscripts W′ and H′ is fragile and could easily be overturned by new evidence. This is the only point in the text at which additional lines may have existed, but several pieces of evidence speak against the presence of additional lines. First of all, {šurim}(LAGAB×GU$_4$) is a relatively rare sign and occurs nowhere else in the text, so the fact that the two witnesses agree on its presence in this line is significant. Secondly, manuscript H′ is an extract tablet that covers all eleven

lines of the Bureaucrat's speech in lines 14–24 and nothing more: this suggests that the speech ended in our line 24. At the same time, manuscript J from Nippur is another extract tablet that begins precisely with the first line from the following speech from the Professor. Lastly, the prism (manuscript Z′) contains only 32 lines per column in the two columns that are preserved and it is rather clear that the last line of Face a corresponds to our line 32. Any additional lines at this point in the text would make such an alignment impossible.

The only piece of evidence in favor of additional lines in between our lines 24 and 25 is the number "47" at the bottom of the column in manuscript W′: if the first substantive line in manuscript W′ (Obv 2′) is assigned to our line 24, then the last line in the first column of manuscript W′ corresponds to our line 41. The number "47" that is written at the end of this column is, however, not written with the proper configuration of wedges. Instead of the 4(U) followed by 4(DIŠ) over 3(DIŠ) as we would expect, it appears at first to be the number 45, viz. 4(U) followed by 3(DIŠ) over 2(DIŠ), immediately followed by two additional vertical wedges. It is also possible that the notation in question actually consists of 4(U), viz. "40", followed by a poorly rendered and as yet unidentified non-numerical sign. If we were to include six additional lines at this point in the text in order to agree with the "47" at the bottom of the column in manuscript W′, the composition as a whole would have 143 lines, which would disagree with the line count for the entire composition (135 lines) given in manuscript Y from Ur. Our reconstruction of the entire text has 137 lines, but it is noteworthy that manuscript Y omits line 118, so our reconstruction is only one line off from the 135 line version of the text described in manuscript Y.

The proper reading of the line will probably have to await further evidence, but it is tempting to reconstruction either {péš-^{ĝiš}gi-a} or {é-gi-a} in the break at the beginning of the line. The term {péš-^{ĝiš}gi-a} 'bandicoot' (probably equivalent to Akk. *ušummu*, see Englund 1995 for an overview) would continue the sequence of animals that began in line 15 and is attested in SP 6.43 (Alster 1997: 152–153 [vol. 1]), but not in connection with {šurim}. The word {é-gi-a} 'daugher-in-law' would disrupt the sequence of animals, but {é-gi-a} does occur in SP 14.46 (Alster 1997: 220 [vol. 1]) immediately after a proverb that includes the word {šurim}.

25 lú-tumu ì dug ì-íb-ḫul

PROF You idiot! The oil spoils the jug.

	lú-tumu	**ì**	**dug**	**ì-íb-ḫul**	
J	[...] tumu	ì	dug	íb-ḫul?	(Obv 1)
K	[.....]	[...]	[...]	⌜íb⌝-ḫul	(Obv i 2′)
Z′	[.....]	[...]	[...]	⌜x x⌝	(Face a 14′)
W′$_{Sip}$	⌜lú⌝-tumu	ì	dug	ì-íb-⌜ḫul⌝ [.....]	(Obv 3′)

We have taken the form of the verb in the Sippar witness ({ì-íb-ḫúl}) rather than the reduced form in the Nippur manuscript ({íb-ḫúl}), although the variation between {íb-} and {ì-íb-} in two different cities certainly warrants further study, cf. Wilcke 2010 for an extended discussion of these variant forms.

The primary reason that we have treated {ì} and {dug} as two separate words is that the canonical list of pots and ceramics in Hh X (Sallaberger and Civil 1996) does not include either {ì dug} or {dug ì}, although 'oil' does figure as the fourth item (after {a} 'water', {kaš} 'beer' and {ga} 'milk' and before {ì-ĝiš} 'sesame oil', {ì-nun-na} 'ghee', {ì-šaḫ} 'lard', {ì-du$_{10}$-ga} 'perfume', {ĝeštin} 'wine' and {làl} 'honey' in the list of qualifications attached to a number of different types of ceramic container {gur$_4$-gur$_4$, šab, kír, dal, ḫal} in Hh X (see Sallaberger and Civil 1996: 49).

26 SU-bi níĝ-ĝál-la é níĝ-gur$_{11}$-ra an-⌜ḫul⌝

PROF ... into the warehouse,

	SU-bi	**níĝ-ĝál-la**	**é**	**níĝ-gur$_{11}$-ra**	**[x x]**	
I	⌜SU⌝-bi	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
J	[...] ⌜bi⌝	níĝ-ĝál-la	⌜su?⌝	[.....]	an-⌜x⌝	(Obv 2)
K	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	[...] ḫul	(Obv i 3′)
R′	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	[...] ⌜x⌝	(Obv 1′)
Z′	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	⌜x x⌝	(Face a 15′)
W′$_{Sip}$	[x] dal!-la	ĝál-la-bi	é	níĝ-gur$_{11}$-⌜ra⌝	[.....]	(Obv 4′)

This line may be alluding to SP 1.18: {níĝ-gur$_{11}$ buru$_5^{mušen}$ dal-dal / ki-tuš nu-pàdè-dam} "Wealth (like) migratory birds never finds a place to settle" (translation Alster 1997: 10 [vol. 1]). For "possessor of wealth" in the Old Babylonian version of Lu, see the DCCLT edition of Lu Azlag A, line 58: {lú níĝ-gur$_{11}$ tuku} = Akk. *ša ma-ku-ra i-šu-ú*. Although the precise form is not attested in the witnesses to this line, the entry in YBC 2127, section d, i 11, namely {kuš-níĝ-ĝál-la} may well be relevant to our line since SU and {níĝ-ĝál-la} occur in close proximity to each other. Moreover, one might expect a leather object {kuš} that is related to one's property {níĝ-ĝál-la} to be of some relevance to the 'storehouse' {é níĝ-gur$_{11}$-ra}, although the sense of the line still eludes us.

27 a-šà ḫa-ma-tur é-šè ga-ba-an-ĝen

PROF (You say:) "Let my field be small, so that I can go home early!"

	a-šà	**ḫa-ma-tur**	**é-šè**	**ga-ba-an-ĝen**	
I	a-šà	ḫa [.....]	[....]	[.....]	(Obv 2′)
J	[....]	⌜ḫa⌝-ma-tur	é-⌜šè⌝	ga-ba-⌜an⌝ [.....]	(Obv 3)
K	[....]	[.....]	[....]	[.....] ⌜ĝen⌝	(Obv i 4′)
R′	[....]	[.....]	[....]	⌜x⌝ ba- ĝen	(Obv 2′)
Z′	[....]	[.....]	[....]	[.....] ⌜x x⌝	(Face a 16′ + ruling)
W′$_{Sip}$	⌜a⌝-šà	ḫa-ma-tur	é-šè	ga-ba-an [.....]	(Obv 5′)

Civil's paper on modal prefixes (2005) is relevant here since the subordinate clause at the beginning of the line is marked with *ḫe- and is followed by a verb in the cohortative. Although an analogous construction also occurs in line 51 below, perhaps the closest parallel to line 27 is *Axe for Nergal* 12–13: {ú-gu ḫé-ni-ib-dé-e / ki-bi ga-mu-na-ab-gi$_4$} "If it gets lost, I will replace it" (Civil 2005: 32). Thus a more literal rendering of our line might run "If my field is small/reduced, I will go home (early)," but we have tried to incorporate some of the pragmatic nuances into our translation.[19]

Given our context, agricultural work is clearly functioning as a metaphor for scribal practice, with the small field corresponding to a short classroom

19 The first person dative prefix on the verb codes the raised possessor of {a-šà} and could be translated simply as "my field," but as Johnson has argued elsewhere (2010) possessor raising is often involved in transactional verbs and there seems to be a transactional element involved here.

assignment. Once we recognize the scribal, rather than agricultural, import of the line, the proverb SP 25.7 is probably relevant: {é-gal ⌜ki⌝-ma-an-⌜zi⌝-ir ma-an-zé-ra é!-šè! ga-ĝen-na ĝìri-zu en-nu-ùĝ ak-ab} "A palace is a slippery slope, where it is easy to lose one's footing. (If you say:) 'Let me go home!', you should watch your step" (Alster 1997: 75 [vol. 1]). Yet another proverb that is probably relevant to the phrase {é-šè ga-ba-an-ĝen} "I want to go home" is SP 2.161: {é-šè ga-ĝen-na saĝ ab-kal} "Saying 'let me go home!' is what he prefers" (Alster 1997: 75 [vol. 1]).

Since it is rather unlikely that either participant in the debate would make such a statement about himself, we must assume here that the interlocutor who remained within the academy after graduation, viz. the Professor, is putting these words in the mouth of the student who got a "real job" outside the academy after graduation, viz. the Bureaucrat. The same rhetorical tactic—putting words in the mouth of one's opponent—and in fact very nearly the same line reappears in line 131 below.

28 **túg ba-da-an-til túg siki ba-ni-in-du$_8$**

PROF Although he was finishing the garment, he ended up making it into felt.

	túg	**ba-da-an-til**	**túg**	**siki**	**ba-ni-in-du$_8$**	
I	túg	ba-da-an-⌜til⌝	[...]	[...]	[.....]	(Obv 3′)
J	⌜túg⌝	ba-⌜da⌝-an-ti	⌜túg⌝	siki?	ba-ni-in-⌜du$_8$?⌝	(Obv 4)
K	[...]	[.....]	[...]	[...]	[.....] ⌜du$_8$⌝	(Obv i 5′)
E′	⌜túg⌝	⌜ba⌝-[.....]	[...]	[...]	[.....]	(Obv i 1′)
R′	[...]	[.....]	[...]	⌜x⌝	ba-ni-in-du$_8$	(Obv 3′)
Z′	[...]	[.....]	⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝ /	[.....] ni-du$_8$	(Face a 17′–18′)
W′$_{Sip}$	túg	ba-da-an-til	túg	siki-ba	bí*-in-⌜du$_8$⌝	(Obv 6′)

The variant in manuscript W′ from Sippar rather transparently anticipates the verbal form and the preceding nominal form that appear in the following line, viz. line 29 ({ér-ba bí-in-šéš}), so the verbal form from Nippur is preferred here.

It is not entirely clear whether the first of the two predicates {ba-da-an-til} is using {til} in the sense of 'to finish' or 'to use up'; both are legitimate senses of {til} in Sumerian, cf. Akk. *gamāru* and *qatû*. As a quick survey of these two Akkadian terms makes clear, they largely overlap in meaning. But even if the

two terms cannot be distinguished in a general way, *qatû* offers much more interesting nuances given the constant use of textile metaphors for textual phenomena in our text.

The second verbal construction in the line is a double object construction.

((first object túg)) ((second object siki)) ba-ni-in-du$_8$

He made the wool into felt

According to the model of the double object construction (Johnson 2010), we would expect {siki} 'wool' to end up in the possession of or otherwise incorporated into a {túg} 'textile', a state of affairs that agrees well with the idea of raw wool being made into a garment of some kind. Steinkeller (1980) demonstrates that {túg-du$_8$-a} is 'felt', so the use of the compound verb {siki—du$_8$}, literally 'to mould the wool' probably refers to making wool into felt. Since felt was generally seen as a low value project that was made from low quality wool or worn out garments (see again Steinkeller 1980), we assume here that making raw wool into felt rather than a properly woven garment was a sign of incompetence.

29 ì ^{dug}sílim-ma ba-da-an-til ér-ba bí-in-šeš$_4$

PROF He finished up the oil in the jug, but then shed tears over it.

	ì	**^{dug}sílim-ma**	**ba-da-an-til**	**ér-ba**	**bí-in-šeš$_4$**	
I	ì	^{dug}sílim-ma	⌜ba⌝-[.....] /	ér-⌜ba?⌝	[.....]	(Obv 4′)
J	ì	^{dug}sílim-ma	ba-⌜da⌝ […] ti	ér-ba	bí-in-⌜šeš$_4$⌝ […]	(Obv 5)
K	[…]	[.....]	⌜x⌝ [.....]	[.....]	⌜x x⌝ [x]	(Obv i 6′)
E′	ì	^{dug}⌜sílim⌝ […]	[.....] /	⌜ér⌝ […]	[.....]	(Obv i 2′)
R′	[…]	[.....]	[.....] an-til	ér-ba	bí [.....]	(Obv 4′ + ruling)
Z′	[…]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	⌜x in? x⌝	(Face a 19′)
W′$_{Sip}$	ì	^{dug}silim	ba-da-an-til	ér-ba	bí-in [.....]	(Obv 7′)

In addition to the omission of {-ma} in the Sippar manuscript W′, this manuscript also uses the phonetic writing {silim$_1$} in place of the usual orthography {silim$_2$} found in the other Nippur manuscripts.

The same *bada- construction that we saw in the previous line also appears in this line, but with a jug of oil as semantic object; it makes little sense to interpret {til} here as 'to complete (the construction of something)'. Instead, the sense here must be 'to use up (the contents of the jug)' and then subsequently to cry over that fact that the contents are used up. This expresses much the same idea as the modern proverb "you cannot have your cake and eat it too." This line represents the first in a lengthy series of humorous images in which valuable goods are produced in order to be intentionally wasted in one way or another.

The vessel {^{dug}sílim.ma} corresponds to Akk. *ḫubšašû* as can be seen in the standard list of ceramic vessels in Hh X below:

Hh X 63–66 (Sallaberger and Civil 1996: 136)

63	[DUG.$^{ur\text{-}ru\text{-}ub}$KAL]	*urrupu*
64	[DUG.$^{ur\text{-}ṣu}$]-^{ub}KAL	*urṣuppu*
65	[DUG.$^{šur\text{-}ṣu}$]-^{ub}KAL	*ṣurṣuppu*
66	DUG.$^{si\text{-}li\text{-}ma}$KAL	*ḫubšašû*

These four entries are for elaborate pots of one kind or another that often served as vessels in formal settings, so the oil jug in our line is not utilitarian and the humor of the line must involve a parody of a ritual use of some kind. Veldhuis notes (personal communication) that the older Old and Middle Babylonian versions of this sequence in several versions of Old Babylonian Diri only include three entries, corresponding to the following bilingual sequence in Aa V/1:

Aa V/1 31–32 (MSL 14: 398)

31	ur-ru-ub	DUG	MIN	MIN	*ur-ru-up-pu*
31a	ur-su-ub	DUG			*ur-su-up-pu*
32	ṣur-ṣu-ub	DUG	MIN	MIN	*ṣur-ṣu-up-pu*

As Sallaberger and Civil note in their re-edition of Hh X, the term {^{dug}sílim-ma} only seems to occur in our line and Dialogue 2, line 39: {^{dug}sílim túg-àm a-ra-a-ĝál} "your bowl has a cloth (on top covering it)" (translation Civil). Elsewhere

Civil suggests that {dílim} = Akk. *itqūru*, {sílim} = Akk. *ḫubšašû* and {ti-lim-(da)} = Akk. *tilimtu* may "represent one and the same word" in Sumerian (Civil 2007: 23).[20]

30 gùd uman-na kíĝ ba-an-sa$_6$-ga

PROF Can any good work be done in a nest of lice?

	gùd	**uman-na**	**kíĝ**	**ba-an-sa$_6$-ga**	
I	⌜gùd⌝	⌜uman-na⌝		ba- [.....]	(Obv 5′)
J	gùd	⌜uman-na⌝	kíĝ	ba-an-sa$_6$-ga	(Obv 6)
K	[....]	[.....]-⌜na⌝	kíĝ	[.....]-⌜sa$_6$⌝-ge	(Obv i 7′)
E′	gùd	uman-na	⌜kíĝ?⌝	⌜x x⌝ [.....]	(Obv i 3′)
R′	[....]	[.....]	[...]	ba- sa$_6$-ge	(Obv 5′)
Z′	[....]	[.....]	[...]	[...] ⌜x x x⌝	(Face a 20′)
W′$_{Sip}$	gùd	uman-e	kíĝ	ba-e-sa$_6$-⌜ga⌝	(Obv 8′)

The choice of {-ga} at the end of the line rather than {-ge} as in manuscript R′ is based on the occurrence of {-ga} in both manuscript J from Nippur and the Sippar manuscript W′. The choice of {-an-} in manuscript J over {-e-} in manuscript W′ is more difficult to justify, but the variation is grammatical and may have something to do with difference in case-marking between {uman-na} in Nippur and {uman-e} in Sippar. Alster (1997: 443 [vol. 2]) writes that "Alster JCS 27 (1975) 215, reads kin ba-sì-ge 'One would have to work for the robber's den,' assuming that gùd-umùn-na, literally: 'lice den,' was a colloquial expression for a disorganized household. Yet in SLTN 131, the only manuscript in which the first sign [viz. kin] can be checked, it is copied as {pú}, a sign easily confused with síg in manuscripts from Nippur of the Isin-Larsa period. Since this accords well with the notion of lice, the sign is tentatively read síg. The traces in D, copied as TÚG and NE, probably represent these readings."

The lexical list Ea V 110–111 gives both /umun/ and /uman/ as readings for AḪ (ḪI×NUN), when it refers to 'lice' or 'fleas', but Proto-Ea 374 has {u$_4$-ma-an} as a reading for AḪ, which we have adopted here. It should be noted, however, that Proto-Ea leaves the following line blank, which may suggest that both readings were also available in the Old Babylonian period. Underlying the basic sense of this line, in which {sa$_6$} clearly means 'good quality' (used here ironically) rather than 'sweet', there was also a clear association between

20 Reference courtesy N. Veldhuis.

the Akkadian equivalent of {uman}, namely *kalmatu*, and sweetness, reflecting the expression *kalmātu matuqtu* (see Fincke 2011: 168 and 191).

This line in combination with the following three lines, viz. lines 30–33, represent the most important citation in the entire composition. Line 30 corresponds to line 7 of the text known as *The Lazy Slave Girl*, while line 31 corresponds to *Lazy Slave Girl*, line 8, and our lines 32 and 33 to the last two lines in *Lazy Slave Girl*, lines 14 and 15. With Alster's publication of Schøyen Proverb Collection 6 in 2007, it is increasingly clear that extracting various different lines from *The Lazy Slave Girl* formed a minor literary genre of its own in certain circles in the Old Babylonian period. Our text extracts *Lazy Slave Girl* lines 7+8 and 14+15, but in Schøyen Proverb Collection 6 three different extracts from *Lazy Slave Girl* follow in succession at the the beginning of the text, containing lines (1–4), (1–2 + 6–7) and (11–12 + 14–15). In order to give some context to these extracts, the entire text is given here (after Alster 2005: 370–371) with our lines marked in **bold**.

1. á-še gi_4-in-e kíĝ^{i}(DA) na-an-sa_6
2. dumu gi_4-in-na-ke_4 U na-ab-sal-e
3. kunga-da še na-an-gu_7-e
4. ù-mu-un-bi ḫúb-dar-šè na-an-zé-e
5. pú-lá a-zé-ba na-an-dé-a
6. da-pú^{i}-ba ú-šim na-an-mú-mú
7. **gùd uman-na kíĝ ba-sè-ge (= *Class Reunion* 30)**
8. **túg-níĝ-dára a-ì-gen_7 ba-ab-naĝ-ĝá (= *Class Reunion* 31)**
9. lú ma-an-zi-le ^{kuš}súḫub šu ti-a
10. túg-èĝ-dára^{i}(MA) mu_4-mu_4 túg-èĝ-lám šu ti-a
11. gi_4-in ù-mu-un gam ga-ša-an-gam : sila-a úr zé-zé
12. e-re na-áĝ ù-mu-un ir-ra : gi_4-in-e na-áĝ ga-ša-an ir-ra
13. èĝ-e-me-a ma-ra-ma-ma-al-la
14. **èĝ u_4-bi-ta nu-mu-da-ab-sá-en (= *Class Reunion* 32)**
15. **nam-tar eĝir-ra-ta mu-da-ab-sá-en (= *Class Reunion* 33)**

(1) *Now, should work not please the slave girl?* (*Of course it should!*) (2) *Should the slave girl's children not . . .?* (*Of course they should!*) (3) *Should barley not be fed to the donkeys?* (*Of course it should!*) (4) *Should their owner not drive them to run?* (*Of course he should!*) (5) *Should fresh water not be drawn from the deep well?* (*Of course it should!*) (6) *Should herbs not grow at the side of the well?* (*Of course they should!*) (7) ***Can good work be done in a nest of lice?* (*Of course not*).** (8) ***Can a loincloth be used will be used for drinking as if it were flowing water?* (*Of course not!*)** (9) *He whose heels are split puts on shoes!* (10) *He who is dressed in a loincloth puts on the*

> *mantle.* (11) *You, slave girl, when the lord has succumbed and the lady has succumbed, you will roam the streets.* (12) *You, slave boy,* (*your*) *lord is gone; you, slave girl,* (*your*) *lady is gone—*(13) *the state of things that used to be yours.* (14) ***You cannot compare things from the good old days.*** (15) ***You can only compare it with what will happen in the future.***

In Alster's early work on "paradoxical proverbs" such as this (1975: 215), he argues that the text

> expounds an imaginary situation, starting with an ironical invitation to the slave girl to stop working (1). There then follows a sequence of analogies (2–6) which pretend to draw the attention away from the slave girl. This section is followed by a description of the unheard-of consequences of this laziness (7–12). The text ends with a moral which expressly applies the entire story to the slave girl, warning her that these will be the consequences if she does not work (13–15)

But in contrast to Alster's description of these lines as 'paradoxical', we take the first half of the text as a series of rhetorical questions that are not paradoxical in the least. In each of the first six lines, the rhetorical question is negative and evokes a positive assertion: Should work not please the slave girl? (Of course, work should please the slave girl!) Should fresh water not be drawn from the well? (Of course, fresh water should be drawn from the well!) The next two lines are quoted by our text and invert the pattern: Can any good work be done in a nest of lice? (Of course, no good work can be done in a nest of lice!). Can a loincloth be used will be used for drinking as if it were flowing water? (Of course not!)[21]

The idiom {kíĝ—sa_6} in *Lazy Slave Girl* 1 is carried over into the writing of our line 30, where {kíĝ ba-an-sa_6-ga} replaces {kíĝ ba-sè-ge} in the version of *The Lazy Slave Girl* found in the proverb collections (chiefly SLTN 131 obv. ii 3–16). Variation between orthographic forms representing /sig/ and /sag/ has been discussed in the secondary literature (Civil and Rubio 1999: 255; Johnson 2010: 236) and the regular variation between these forms as well as the

21 Civil's (2005) discussion of the deontic meaning of *na- lines up with our analysis quite well, since *The Lazy Slave Girl* focuses on social norms for low-level occupations and these social norms are described in negative rhetorical questions that are built around the deontic modal. Examples such as this were also at the heart of Heimpel's discussion of the *na- prefix (Heimpel 1981).

phonologically similar predicate in the following line {ba-ab-naĝ-ĝá} probably all contributed to the replacement of {ba-sè-ge} with {ba-an-sa$_6$-ga} in our line. Thus in some sense the predicate in our line {kíĝ ba-an-sa$_6$-ga} alludes to both lines 1 and 7, although it is unclear whether this is intentional or results from a conflation of the two lines. It is also noteworthy that in the context of a debate between two men, the occasional Emesal forms in the version of the vignette found in the proverb collections have been replaced with Emegir forms.

31 túgníĝ-dára-ni a-gen$_7$ ba-ab-naĝ-ĝá

PROF How can he get a drink in his underwear?

	túgníĝ-dára-ni	**a-gen$_7$**	**ba-ab-naĝ-ĝá**	
I	⌜túgníĝ-dára-a⌝-ni-gen$_7$		⌜ba⌝ [.....]	(Obv 6′)
J	túgníĝ-dára [.....]	[...] ⌜gen$_7$⌝	ba?-ab-naĝ [.....]	(Obv 7)
K	[.....]	⌜a⌝-gen$_7$	ba-ab [...] ⌜naĝ?⌝-ĝá	(Obv i 8′)
E′	túgníĝ-dára-⌜ni?⌝	a-gen$_7$	ba-ab-⌜naĝ?⌝ [.....]	(Obv i 4′)
L′	⌜túg⌝ [.....]	[.....] /	⌜x a⌝ [.....]	(Rev 1′)
R′	[.....]	[...] ⌜gen$_7$⌝	ba-ab-naĝ?	(Obv 6′)
Z′	[.....]	[.....]	[...] ⌜x naĝ? x⌝	(Face a 21′)
W′$_{Sip}$	⌜túg⌝níĝ-⌜dára!(KAL)⌝-ni	a-gen$_7$	ba-ab-naĝ [.....]	(Obv 9′)

In the parallel line in *The Lazy Slave Girl*, Alster takes {a-ì-gen$_7$} as a separate phrase and translates it with "(the loincloth will be used for drinking) as if it were flowing water" (Alster 1997: 256 [vol. 1]), but the textual materials assembled here favor a rather different reading of the line in which A and NI have been inverted in nearly all of the textual witnesses: only manuscript I seems to have the form found in the proverb, although we have taken it here as a plene writing in which the equative has been attached to the initial nominal phrase {⌜túgníĝ-dára-a⌝-ni-gen$_7$} rather than the separate phrases proposed by Alster, viz. {⌜túgníĝ-dára a⌝-ì-gen$_7$}. In general we suggest here that NI was originally the third person possessive in the phrase {túgníĝ-dára-ni} as in manuscript W′ from Sippar and manuscript E′, while A in combination with GIM formed {a-gen$_7$}, the usual expression in Sumerian for 'how'. The forms in which A precedes NI are, in our view, an inversion of the original sequence. This inversion of NI and A to form {-a-ni} presumably results from confusion with the extremely common orthography for the third person singular possessive {*-a-ni}.

Recent work on the lexical meaning of {ᵗᵘᵍníĝ-dára} suggests that it simply refers to underwear of some kind rather than a menstrual rag. And even if the sense of the line is amenable to several interpretations, its humor presumably results from the juxtaposition of drinking with an unwashed undergarment. This continues the general theme of problematic textiles that began in line 28. Alster (1997: 443 [vol. 2], commentary to SP 21 Sec. A 16) offers an extended discussion of {ᵗᵘᵍníĝ-dára} = Akk. *ulāpu* as a kind of loincloth or menstrual pad. Alster notes Volk's discussion (Volk 1995: 185) of more specific terms for "menstrual bandage" ({ᵗᵘᵍníĝ-dára úš} or {ᵗᵘᵍníĝ-dára šu lál} = Akk. *ulāp dāmi*) but goes on to state that "the usage of specific terms for 'menstrual bandage' does not preclude that túg-níg-dára could be used in this sense among other less specific meanings." It is fairly clear that {ᵗᵘᵍníĝ-dára gal_4-la sír-ra} = Akk. *si-in-bu* (Hh XIX 301ff.) or {ᵗᵘᵍníg-dára šu lál} = *su-na-bu* (Practical Vocabulary Assur 297f) are the technical terms for menstrual rag, as can be seen in the use of Dreckapotheke in the medical texts. The most explicit lexical equations are found in SpTU 3, 116:

SpTU 3, 116 obv. i 44–46 (MINs have been substituted)

44	⌜ᵗᵘᵍ⌝níĝ-⌜dára⌝ šu lál	*ú-la-pi su-ú-nu*	*ú-la-pi da-⌜mu⌝*
45	⌜ᵗᵘᵍ⌝níĝ-⌜dára⌝ gal_4-la sír-ra	*si-in-bu*	*ú-la-pi da-mu*
46	ᵗᵘᵍníĝ-⌜dára⌝ úš-a	*kan-nu šá ḫa-riš-ti*	*šá la el-⌜let⌝*

That the bloody menstrual rag was an active element in scribal humor can be seen in the Divine Love Lyrics and in several of the surviving bilingual proverbs in BWL such as the following fragment:

BWL 228 iii 13–14

[lú kù-zu túg x x] ⌜na⌝-ĝá-aḫ x IM [. . .] x múd an-mu_4

na-an-duq er-šú ṣu-bat bal-ti nu-ʾ-ú ú-lap da-me la-biš

The wise man is clad in a . . . garment, the rube wears a bloody rag.

In *The Divine Love Lyrics*, *singu* is used instead of *sinbu*, and there is at least one lexical entry that links Akk. *singu* to the Sumerian term {siki peš$_6$} 'tuft of wool' (RA 17, 181 obv. ii 23′), which we saw earlier in our text in line 20: {ur-bar-ra-ke_4 ⌜siki⌝ al-peš$_6$-a} "a wolf tufting out wool".

The rather involved semantic field surrounding loincloths and menstrual rags has probably been attracted to this section of our text on the basis of the opposition between {sa_6} and {til} in the sense of 'good/serviceable' ({sa_6}) vs. 'used up' ({til}). As both Volk (1995: 185) and Alster (1997: 443 [vol. 2]) emphasize, the key piece of evidence for this semantic opposition is a pair of bilingual proverbs in BWL 242:

> BWL 242 iii 14–18
>
> ⌜gal_4⌝-la-mu al-sa_6 ùĝ-ĝá e-dè ti-il ba-ab-du_{10}:en-e-še
> dù-a-bi al-sa_6 ù ^{túg}níĝ-dára ba-an-ku_4
>
> *ú-ri-mi da-mi-iq ina ni-ši-ia gu-um-mu-ra-an-ni*
> *ana ka-la da-mi-iq u ú-la-pa la-bi-iš*
>
> My vagina is in good shape; (yet) among my people (they say) it has ceased (flowing) for me.
> But it is altogether good and I (still) insert the rag (= tampon).

The opposition between {sa_6} and {til} also acts as a kind of inclusio here, since lines 28 and 29 both include {til}, while line 30 includes {sa_6}. Line 31 includes neither of these two terms but does have the term {^{túg}níĝ-dára}, with its strong connections in the proverbs to both {sa_6} and {til}.

32 níĝ-u_4-bi-ta nu-mu-e-da-sá-e

PROF You cannot compare things from the good old days.

	níĝ-u_4-bi-ta	**nu-mu-e-da-sá-e**	
I	[……]-⌜bi⌝-ta	nu-mu-e [……]	(Obv 7′)
J	níĝ-u_4-⌜bi⌝ [….]	nu-⌜mu⌝-e-da-sá-⌜e⌝	(Obv 8)
K	[……] ⌜ta⌝	nu-mu- ⌜da⌝ […] ⌜e⌝	(Obv i 9′)
E′	níĝ-u_4-bi-ta	nu-mu-e-da-sá-⌜e⌝	(Obv i 5′)
L′	[……]	⌜nu⌝-mu-na […….]	(Rev 2′)
R′	[……]	[…..] ⌜e⌝-da-$sá^{sa}$?-e	(Obv 7′)
Z′	[……]	[……] sá-e	(Face a 22′)
W'_{Sip}	⌜níĝ⌝-u_4-bi-ta	nu-mu-<u>un</u>-da-sá-<u>sá</u> […]	(Obv 10′)

In principle there is no reason to prefer the Nippur version {nu-mu-e-da-sá-e} to the form of the verb in the Sippar manuscript {nu-mu-un-da-sá-sá […]}, although the frequent occurrence of {sá-sá} in the lexical materials that describe debating may have inspired the variant form in manuscript W′. This seems to be confirmed if we compare our line with *Lazy Slave Girl* 14 {èĝ u_4-bi-ta nu-mu-da-ab-sá-en} "you will never compare those affairs of former days to this" (Alster 2005: 371). Besides the replacement of the Emesal form {èĝ}(ÁG) in the proverb collections with Emegir {níĝ}, the most important difference between the two texts is that the version from *Lazy Slave Girl* includes the full form of the second person pronoun {-en}, while our text uses the reduced form {-e}.

33 nam-tar eĝir-ra-ka mu-da-ab-sá-e

PROF You can only compare it with what will happen in the future.

	nam-tar	**eĝir-ra-ka**	**mu-da-ab-sá-e**	
I	[.....]	⌜eĝir⌝-ra-ka	mu-da-ab-sá [.....]	(Obv 8′)
J	nam-⌜tar⌝	⌜eĝir-ra⌝-ka	mu-da-ab-⌜sá⌝ [.....]	(Obv 9 + ruling)
K	[.....]	[.....] ⌜ra⌝-ka	mu-da-⌜ab⌝ […] ⌜e⌝	(Obv i 10′)
E′	nam-tar	eĝir-ra-ka	mu-da-ab-sá-⌜x⌝	(Obv i 6′)
L′	[.....]	[.....]	⌜x x x x⌝	(Rev 3′ + ruling)
R′	[.....]	[.....]	⌜mu⌝-da-ab-si-sá-e-na	(Obv 8′)
Z′	[.....]	⌜x x x⌝	⌜x⌝ [.....]	(Face b 1)
A′′	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]-⌜x-x⌝	(Obv 1′ + ruling)
W'_{Sip}	[x]-⌜tar⌝	eĝir-ra-ta	mu-un-e-da-mu_4-mu_4	(Obv 11′)

As in the preceding line, the Sippar manuscript adds an additional {-un-} to the verbal prefix as well as {-e-} before {-da-}. There also seems to be some confusion of SÁ and TÚG in manuscript W′: hence our transliteration {mu_4-mu_4}, although this variant is almost certainly erroneous. The fact that both this and the preceding line, viz. lines 32–33, have {sá} as their verbal root resonates nicely with the frequently occurrence of {sá-sá} in lexical materials that describe debates, as can be seen from the end of Nabnitu XXVII:

Nabnitu XXVII 268–271 (MSL 16: 237)

268	a-da-mìn	*te-ṣi-tu*	‘discord, conflict’
269	a-da-mìn di	*šu-te-ṣu-u*	‘to fight with one another’
270	a-da-mìn du_{11}-ga	*šu-te-ṣu-u*	‘to fight with one another’
271	$sá^{sa_sa}$sá	*šu-te-ṣu-u*	‘to fight with one another’

Here {a-da-mìn} is the usual Sumerian term for a conflict or competition, whether verbal or physical, but {$sá^{sa_sa}$sá} is entered here immediately after a series of {a-da-mìn} entries and translated with the same term, namely *šu-te-ṣu-u*.[22] The variant in manuscript R′ in which SI has been attracted into the verbal root has been studied in considerable depth in Wilcke 2000. Manuscripts J and A′′ locate a horizontal ruling after this line; for further discussion see the commentary to line 34.

The semantic opposition voiced in lines 32 and 33 is clear enough: in line 32 the addressee is directed to avoid comparisons with the past {níĝ-u_4-bi-ta}, while line 33 encourages comparisons with the future {nam-tar eĝir-ra-ka}, literally “in the fate of what comes after”. Presumably these lines suggest that the addressee should not rest on his or her laurels, but rather continually strive to do better than now. In the particular context of our text, lines 28–33 represent the Professor’s response to the hypothetical or imputed statement of a lazy student in line 27: {a-šà ḫa-ma-tur é-šè ga-ba-an-ĝen} “Let my field be small, so that I can go home early!” Thus the response of the schoolteacher in lines 28–33 draws a comparison between the lazy student who wants as little homework as possible and the proverbial lazy slavegirl.

34 a nu kaš nu duḫ nu dida nu zì nu zì-milla nu túg nu ^{túg}níĝ-dára nu

BUREAU (But look at what you’ve produced:) No water, no beer, no roughly-ground flour, no beer-wort, no flour, no *milla*-flour, no garment—not even a loincloth!

	a	**nu**	**kaš**	**nu**	**duḫ**	**nu**	**dida**	**nu**	**zì**	**nu**
I	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	⌜dida⌝	[…]	[…]	[…]
J	a	⌜nu⌝	[…]	[…]	⌜duḫ⌝	⌜nu⌝	⌜dida?⌝	⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝	[…]
K	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	⌜duḫ⌝	nu	⌜dida⌝	nu	⌜zì?⌝	⌜nu⌝

22 For a discussion of the semantics of {sá-sá}, see Johnson 2014.

(*cont.*)

	a	**nu**	**kaš**	**nu**	**duḫ**	**nu**	**dida**	**nu**	**zì**	**nu**
E′	⌜a?⌝	⌜nu?⌝	kaš	nu	duḫ	nu	dida!(KAŠ.SA.SA)	nu	zì	nu
L′	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	⌜x⌝	zì	nu
M′	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	⌜zì⌝	nu
R′	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	⌜zì⌝	⌜x⌝
Z′	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]
A′′	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	⌜zì⌝	nu
W′$_{Sip}$	[…]	[…]	kaš	nu	duḫ	nu	dida	nu	zì	nu
B′′$_{Sip}$	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]	⌜nu⌝	zì	nu

	zì-milla	**nu**	**túg**	**nu**	**^{túg}níĝ-dára**	**nu**	
I	[…….]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…]	(Obv 9′)
J	[…….]	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…]	(Obv 10)
K	zì-milla	nu /	[…]	nu	^{túg}⌜níĝ-dára⌝	nu	(Obv i 11′)
E′	zì-⌜na⌝-[x]	[…] /	túg	nu	^{túg}níĝ-dára	⌜nu⌝	(Obv i 7′)
L′	zì-milla	nu /	⌜túg⌝	nu	^{túg}níĝ-dára	nu	(Rev 4′ + ruling)
M′	⌜zì-milla⌝	⌜nu⌝	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…]	(Obv 1′)
R′	[…….]	nu	túg	nu	^{túg}níĝ-dára	nu	(Obv 9′ + ruling)
Z′	[…….]	[…]	⌜x x⌝	nu	⌜$^{túg?}$níĝ?-dára?⌝	nu ⌜x x⌝	(Face b 2)
A′′	zì-milla	nu	[…]	[…]	[…….]	nu	(Obv 2′–3′)
W′$_{Sip}$	zì-milla	nu	túg	⌜nu⌝	[…….]	[…]	(Obv 12′)
B′′$_{Sip}$	⌜zì-x⌝	⌜nu⌝ /	[…]	[…]	níĝ-dára	nu	(Obv i 1′–2′)

The cramped writing at the end of manuscript W′ suggests that a number of signs were squeezed into the missing space. Although the mistaken writing of {dida} as KAŠ.SA.SA in manuscript E′ is in itself trivial, it may represent a slip based on the importance of {sá-sá} in the preceding two lines.

Although a ruling between lines 33 and 34 is only clearly indicated in a single manuscript, namely manuscript J from Nippur, and could be challenged by the apparent ruling after line 34 in manuscript R′, the logic of the text requires a change in speaker between lines 33 and 34 rather than after line 34. The statement in line 34, for example, only makes sense as a rejoinder of the Bureaucrat against the Professor. Whereas the Professor has drawn on the proverbial lore

that discusses various forms of low-level production, the Bureaucrat points out that his interlocutor has never produced anything of practical value, ranging from water and beer through several types of flour. No surprise, the loincloth occupies the final position: "not even a loincloth". The 'loincloth' {níĝ-dára} as the final entry in this list of practical goods is clearly meant to stand in opposition to the loincloth in line 31 above.

Although the line ostensibly consists of eight separate words, each followed by a negation, Civil's somewhat idiosyncratic translation in CAD sub *billatu* already recognizes the fact that the items actually come in pairs: "there is no water, (and much less) beer, there are no baked goods, (and much less) dida, there is no flour, (and much less) milla-flour, there are no clothes, (and much less) a loincloth" (CAD B 228a). In each of the four pairs, the first term is generic (water, baked goods, flour and textiles), while the second term is a specific entity that belongs to the preceding generic class: beer is type of liquid, *milla*-flour a type of flour and a loin-cloth a type of garment. Civil interprets the GABA sign, read as {du$_8$}, as an unmarked nominal form of the verb {du$_8$} = Akk. *epû* 'to bake', hence Civil's "baked goods," but in the Ur III administrative texts, for example, {dida} frequently occurs in close proximity to GABA read as {duḫ}, which is conventionally translated as 'bran'. In Old Babylonian Nippur Hh XXIII–XXIV (see MSL 11: 109–128) a series of terms that begin with {duḫ} appears at the point of transition between beer-making ingredients and bread flours. Since {duḫ} can be an ingredient and not only a waste product, it should probably be translated as 'roughly-ground flour' in the context of this line. Moreover, its frequent co-occurrence with {dida} in administrative documents makes it at least plausible that {duḫ} 'roughly ground flour' was understood as a generic term and that {dida} might have been seen as a specialized form of {duḫ}.[23]

23 Ferrara cites our line in his discussion of {duḫ} as 'bran' (Ferrara 1972: 124) and Alster cites this line in his edition of SP 12 Sec. D 5 (Alster 1997: 427 [vol. 2]), where the proverb distinguishes between foodstuffs meant for 'the wealthy' {lú níg-tuku} and {zì milla} flour meant for 'the poor man' {úku}.

35 an-šè la-ba-te-ĝe$_{26}$-en ki-šè la-ba-te-ĝe$_{26}$-en

BUREAU You do not approach the heavens, nor do you approach the earth.

	an-šè	**la-ba-te-ĝe$_{26}$-en**	**ki-šè**	**la-ba-te-ĝe$_{26}$-en**	
A	an-⌜e⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 1)
J	⌜an⌝ [...]	la ba- ⌜te-ĝe$_{26}$⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 11)
K	[.....]	[.....]-⌜te⌝	ki-šè	la-ba-an-te	(Obv i 12′)
L	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]-en	(Obv 1′)
E′	⌜an⌝-né	la-ba- te-ĝe$_{26}$-⌜x⌝	ki-šè	la-⌜ba⌝ [.....]	(Obv i 8′)
M′	[.....]	[.....]-⌜te?⌝-ĝe$_{26}$-en	ki-šè	la-ba- te [.....]	(Obv 2′)
R′	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜ĝe$_{26}$⌝	(Obv 10′)
Z′	[.....]	[.....]-⌜x x⌝	ki-šè	la-ba-[x-x]	(Face b 3)
A′′	[.....]	[.....]	[...]-⌜šè⌝	la-ba-an-te	(Obv 4′)
W′$_{Sip}$	[x x] an-šè	la-ba-ab-te-ĝe$_{26}$-en	ki-šè	la-ba-ab-te-⌜ĝe$_{26}$⌝-[x]	(Obv 13′)

There is little agreement between the different forms of the verb attested in the different manuscripts: the pronominal element before the verbal root is not written in manuscripts J and E′, /n/ in manuscripts K and A′′ and /b/ in manuscript W′′. The second person absolutive morpheme at the end of the verb is written with {-ĝe$_{26}$-en} in manuscripts M′ W′ and presumably in E′ and L as well, but is left unwritten in K and A′′. Our use of {-ĝe$_{26}$-en} in the synthetic text is based on its occurrence in both the Nippur manuscripts M′ (and probably E′ and L) as well as in the Sippar manuscript W′. The Nippur manuscripts that include {-ĝe$_{26}$-en} are the same manuscripts that do not include a preverbal pronominal elements, which is what the grammars suggest is correct for an intransitive verb like {te(ĝ)} 'to approach'.

The idiom in which an opposition between heaven and earth normally occurs has someone's voice as the subject of the verb, as in the following example:

The Shumunda Grass, rev. 13′–14′ (Wagensonner 2009: 364–365)

gù an-e ba-te gù ki-šè ba-te
gù šu-níĝin-na-ni an-úr-ra túg-gen$_7$ im-mi-in-dul gada-gen$_7$ im-mi-in-búr

She released a cry against the sky, she released a cry against the earth,
All her crying covered the horizon like a garment, like linen it covered it.
(translation Wagensonner)

But there is no evidence for including {gù} in our line, where the context seems to suggest that it is referring to someone who has only done things 'in theory' but has never attempted anything 'in the real world'. Or put somewhat differently, as long as someone remains within the academy and never tries their hand at non-scholastic activities, they can never experience either success (viz. "approaching heaven") or failure (viz. "approaching earth"). The Bureaucrat is arguing that the Professor is stuck in an ivory tower and not familiar with the realities of everyday life.

One possible source or allusion for the expression in the broader context of the disputation literature may be SP 1.195–196.

SP 1.195–196 (Alster 1997: 38–39 [vol. 1], line numbers from ETCSL)

109. an-šè ì-zi nu-mu-un-da-ma-ma
110. ki-šè ì-ma-al nu-mu-un-da-zi-zi-i
111. útul du-bu-ul nu-zu mun$^{?}$-ta ⌜al⌝-sè
112. dug sur-ra nu-zu a-ta al-⌜sè⌝
113. mussa níĝ-sá nu-un-zu-a du$_{14}$ mú-mú al-sè

(109) *She has risen high, but cannot settle.* (110) *She has settled, but cannot rise.* (111) *A kneading trough that has never been used is prepared with salt.* (112) *An* (*oil*) *pressing jug that has never been used is prepared with water.* (113) *A son-in-law whose character is not known is prepared with quarrels.*
(translation after Alster)

Although the nuance of SP 1, lines 109–110, remains unclear, the following proverb in SP 1, lines 111–113, clearly deals with putting a new tool or even a new member of the family to the test in order to see if they can hold up under actual use. This would be a particularly useful rejoinder for a commercial scribe (the Bureaucrat) arguing against a member of the academy (the Professor).

36 kaš tuku duḫ nu-tuku zì tuku in-bu$_5$-bu$_5$ nu-tuku

BUREAU How can you have beer without the dregs? Flour without the chaff?

	kaš	**tuku**	**duḫ**	**nu-tuku**	**zì**	**tuku**	**in-bu$_5$-bu$_5$**	**nu-tuku**	
A	kaš	⌜tuku⌝	[…]	[…….]	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…….]	(Obv ii 2 + ruling)
D	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…]	[…]	[…]-⌜bu$_5$⌝-bu$_5$	nu-tuku	(Rev 1)
J	kaš	⌜tuku?⌝	duḫ	nu-tuku	zì	tuku?	in […….]	[…….]	(Obv 12)
K	[…]	[…]	⌜duḫ⌝	nu-tuku	zì	tuku	in-bu$_5$-bu$_5$	nu-tuku	(Obv i 13′)
L	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…]	[…]	[…….] ⌜x⌝	nu-tuku	(Obv 2′ + ruling)
E′	[…]	tuku	duḫ	nu-tuku	⌜zì⌝	⌜tuku⌝	in-⌜bu$_5$⌝ […]	[…….]	(Obv i 9′)
M′	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…] tuku	zì	tuku	in-bu$_5$-bu$_5$	nu-⌜tuku⌝	(Obv 3′)
R′	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…]-⌜x⌝	(Obv 11′)
Z′	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…]-⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝	in-bu$_5$-bu$_5$	[…….]	(Face b 4)
A′′	[…]	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…]	⌜tuku⌝	in-⌜bu$_5$-bu$_5$⌝	[…]-tuku	(Obv 5′)
W′$_{Sip}$	[…]	⌜tuku⌝	duḫ	nu-tuku	zì	in-tuku	in-bu$_5$-bu$_5$	nu-⌜tuku⌝	(Obv 14′)

Both manuscripts A and A′′ locate a double ruling after this line, which supports a change of speaker (with {lú-tumu} in the first line of the new speech in line 37), although manuscript W′ from Sippar locates the change in speaker one line later after line 37.

This line continues the same theme, but emphasizes that a commercial scribe must deal not only with airy abstractions and proverbial allusions, but also with the real world in which any productive work also produces waste materials: no beer without dregs, no flour without chaff. This line is obviously picking up the general theme first raised in line 34. Note in particular the quite different sense of {duḫ} in lines 34 and 36: in line 34 {duḫ} seems to represent a generic category of roughly ground ingredients for beer, while in this line it clearly corresponds to the waste product that results from beer-making, hence 'dregs' in our translation. The reference to 'chaff' {in-bu$_5$-bu$_5$} may also represent a subtle jibe against learned nonsense as we can see in the following pair of entries from Hh XXIV.

Hh XXIV 232–233 (MSL 11: 85; CAD P 471a)

232	in-bu$_5$-bu$_5$	*pu-u*	'chaff'
233	in-bu$_5$-bu$_5$ an-na	*ze-e* ^{d}nisaba	'Nisaba's excrement' (plant name)

The Akkadian word for 'chaff' *pû* (CAD P 471a sub *pû* B) is homophonous with the Akkadian word for 'mouth' or 'utterance' *pû* (CAD P 453a sub *pû* A) and given the opposition between the scribal arts and the practical labors of a commercial scribe in our text, the mention of chaff clearly alludes to the verbal labors of the academician, which in contrast to the finished product (in the form of an inscribed clay tablet), amount to the refuse of scholarship in the eyes of the Bureaucrat.

37 lú-tumu za-e ĝá-gen$_7$-nam inim gaba-ri ba-ab-sum-mu

PROF You windbag! You went through exactly the same exercises as me.

	lú-tumu	**za-e**	**ĝá-gen$_7$-nam**	**inim**	**gaba-ri**
A	lú-tumu	⌜za-e⌝	⌜x-x⌝-[.....]	[...]	[.....]
D	[.....]	[.....]	⌜nam⌝ ĝá-e	inim	gaba-ri
J	lú-tumu	za?-⌜e?⌝	⌜ĝá-gen$_7$ x⌝	⌜x⌝	[.....]
K	[lú]-⌜tumu⌝	za-e	ĝá-e-gen$_7$-nam	inim	gaba-ri
L	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	⌜inim?⌝	⌜gaba?-ri?⌝
E′	[.....]	⌜x x⌝	ĝá-gen$_7$-nam		al-⌜x⌝
M′	[.....]	[.....]	⌜ĝá-gen$_7$?-nam⌝		al-dím-⌜ma⌝
Z′	[.....]	[...]-⌜e?⌝	⌜ĝá?-x-nam?⌝		gaba-ri
W′$_{Sip}$	[x]-⌜tumu⌝		a-na-gen$_7$-nam	inim	gaba-ri du$_{11}$-⌜a⌝ /

	ba-ab-sum-mu	
A	[.....]	(Obv ii 3)
D	[...]-ab-sum-ma	(Rev 2 + ruling)
J	[.....]	(Obv 13)
K	ba-ab-sum-mu	(Obv i 14′)
L	ba-ab-sum-mu	(Obv 3′)
E′	[.....]	(Obv i 10′)
M′	[.....]	(Obv 4′ + ruling)
Z′	⌜x⌝ [.....]	(Face b 5)
W′$_{Sip}$	ma-ab-zé-mà-⌜en⌝	(Obv 15′ + ruling)

Only manuscripts E′ M′ and W′ offer particularly significant variants; the replacement of {ĝá-gen$_7$-nam} with the first person pronoun after {nam} (inversion) in manuscript D and {ĝe$_{26}$-e-gen$_7$-nam} in manuscript K probably both represent simple banalizations: the *lectio difficilior* here is clearly

{ĝá-gen$_7$-nam}. The verbal root in W′ {zé-mà} is the Emesal version of Emegir {sum-mu} and this might offer some explanation for {-ab-sum-ma} in manuscript D. Manuscript W′ also shifts the object of comparison from the speaker {ĝá-gen$_7$-nam} "just like me" to a non-specific third person {a-na-gen$_7$-nam}, viz. "you were given the same chances, lit. copy word, as anyone." The placement of {al-dím-ma} here after {ĝá-gen$_7$-nam} in manuscripts E′ and M′ is probably a retention of the phrase {ĝe$_{26}$-e-gen$_7$-nam al-dím} from line 13 and may also be influenced by the stative in the following line: {al-gi-na}. It is noteworthy, however, that both of the variations in M and W seem to involve the sign MA, which appears to be a misinterpretation of the sign BA.

The two manuscripts (D and W′) that include a horizontal ruling after this line are filled with variations, including an Emesal form of the verb in manuscript W′ from Sippar and a possibly related variant form in manuscript D (perhaps an intrusion from one of the debates involving female protagonists). This association strongly suggests that the correct position for the ruling (and the corresponding change in speaker) is between lines 36 and 37 as suggested by manuscripts A and L rather than between lines 37 and 38. Such a conclusion also seems to be supported by the themes dealt with in the surrounding lines: the discussion of waste products in line 36 makes for a nice inclusio to lines 34–35, while line 37 begins with the leitmotif {lú-tumu} and has good thematic continuity with line 38.

We have taken {inim gaba-ri}, which literally means 'copy-word', as an element of the curriculum such as a classroom assignment, equally available to each member of a given group of students. Veldhuis notes (personal communication) that the phrase corresponds to the Akkadian term *awāt meḫri* in the bilingual version of the SAG list iii 8 (MSL SS1: 21), where it is followed by {inim diri} = Akk. *awātum watartum* 'excessive word' and {inim du$_{10}$.ga} = Akk. *awātum ṭābtum* 'beautiful word'. In contrast to {ka} = Akk. *pû* 'speech, utterance' (the term punned on in the preceding line), {inim} here presumably refers to the tractable, written manifestation of a word.

38 bar-za èn bí-in-tar ur$_5$-gen$_7$ dumu lú al-gi-na nu-me-en

PROF Your temperament has been investigated and it turns out that you are not a reliable fellow.

	bar-za	**èn**	**bí-in-tar**	**ur$_5$-gen$_7$**	**dumu**	**lú**	**al-gi-na**
A	bar-zu	èn	bí- tar	ur$_5$-gen$_7$	dumu	lú	⌜x⌝ [.....]
D	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	[...]-⌜gen$_7$⌝	⌜dumu⌝	⌜lú⌝	⌜gi⌝-na
J	bar-za	èn	bí-in-[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[...]	[.....]

	bar-za	**èn**	**bí-in-tar**	**ur$_5$-gen$_7$**	**dumu**	**lú**	**al-gi-na**
K	⌜bar⌝-zu	èn	bí-in-tar /	ur$_5$-gen$_7$	dumu		al-gi-na
L	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	[...]-⌜gen$_7$⌝	⌜dumu⌝	⌜lú⌝	⌜al-gi-na⌝
M	⌜x⌝-[....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[...]	[.....]
M′	[.....]	[...]	bí-in-tar	ur$_5$-gen$_7$	dumu	lú	al-gi-na
Z′	[.....]	[...]	⌜x x x⌝	⌜x-gen$_7$⌝	dumu	lú	⌜x x⌝
V′$_{Ur}$	bar-za	èn	bí-in-tar	ur$_5$-gen$_7$	dumu	⌜lú⌝	[.....]
W′$_{Sip}$	[x]-⌜za⌝	èn	bí-in-tar	ur$_5$-gen$_7$	dumu	lú	al-gi-na

	nu-me-en	
A	[.....]	(Obv ii 4)
D	nu-me-en	(Rev 3)
J	[.....]	(Obv 14)
K	in-⌜nu⌝	(Obv i 15′)
L	nu-me-en	(Obv 4′)
M	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
M′	nu-me-⌜en⌝	(Obv 5′)
Z′	[.....]	(Face b 6)
V′$_{Ur}$	[.....]	(Obv 1)
W′$_{Sip}$	[.....]	(Obv 16′)

The omission of the stative prefix in manuscript D is presumably a trivial mistake, but it may be capturing an interesting semantic opposition between {lú gi-na} 'a secure, established person' and {lú al-gi-na} 'a person who is just'. The same variation between {al-gi-na} and {gi-na} can also be seen in Dialogue 2 (Enkitalu vs. Enkiḫegal), line 106, which Volk reconstructs as follows: {ù za-e n[am-lú-ùlu al-gi-na] ka$^!$-ba a-ab-si} on the basis of a number of unpublished sources and contrasts with the variant {ù za-e lú-gi-na ka-bi a-ab-⌜si⌝} (Volk 2000: 26). The cramped writing in W′ indicates that there were probably at least two signs in the break at the end of the line, although manuscript W′ has lost several more signs at the end of the line since the tablet was copied.

Although PSD B collects a number of examples in which {bar} followed by a possessive pronoun is found in combination with the compound verb {èn—tar} (PSD B 96a) in the sense of 'to look after someone, to examine', the second half of the line seems to suggest that a weakness in character or disposition may be involved. Since {bar} can also refer to the liver as a locus for human personality or temperament (PSD B 107–109), we have sought in our translation

to capture the more specific sense of {bar . . . èn—tar} as an inquiry into someone's disposition or temperament in contrast to a run-of-the-mill inquiry, which would simply use {èn—tar} = Akk. *šâlu* 'to ask'.

39 é ad-da-za-ka šà-gal iti-da kaš zì-munu$_4$ še-ta-àm nu-ub-diri

PROF In your father's house there is no more than a month's provision, whether it is beer, malt-flour or barley

	é	**ad-da-za-ka**	**šà-gal**	**iti-da**	**kaš**	**zì-munu$_4$**	**še-ta-àm**
A	é	ad-da-za-ka	šà-gal-	zu-da	kaš	zì	⌜x-ta-àm⌝
D	[. . .]	[. . . . . .]	⌜šà⌝-gal	iti-da	kaš	zì-munu$_4$	še-ta-àm /
J	é	ad-⌜da⌝-za-ka	šà-⌜gal⌝	[. . . . . .]	[. . .] /	zì-⌜munu$_4$⌝	⌜še-ta-àm⌝
K	⌜é⌝	⌜ad⌝-da-za-ka	šà-gal	iti-da	kaš	zì / x	še-ta-àm
L	[. . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	⌜x⌝-da	kaš	zì-munu$_4$	še-ta-àm
M	é	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]
M′	[. . .]	[. . .]-⌜da⌝-za-ka	šà-⌜gal⌝	iti-da	kaš /	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]
Z′	[. . .]	[. . . . . .]-⌜x x⌝	šà-gal	iti-da	kaš	zì-munu$_4$	⌜x⌝ [. . . . . .]
V′$_{Ur}$	é	ad!-da-za-ka	šà-gal	iti-da	kaš	⌜zì⌝-[. . .]	[. . . . . .]
C$_{Sip}$	⌜é⌝	ad-⌜da⌝-za-a	lipiš (ÁB.ŠÀ) gal	iti-da	kaš	zì-munu$_4$	še-ta-àm
W′$_{Sip}$	[. . .]	⌜ad⌝-da-zu	šà-gal	iti-da	kaš	zì-munu$_4$	še-ta-⌜àm⌝ /

A	⌜nu-ub?-diri?⌝	(Obv ii 5)
D	[. . . . . .]-diri	(Rev 4)
J	[. . . . . .]	(Obv 15)
K	nu-ub-diri	(Obv i 16′)
L		(Obv 5′)
M	[. . . . . .]	(Obv 2′)
M′	nu-ub-diri	(Obv 6′–7′)
Z′	[. . . . . .]	(Face b 7)
V′$_{Ur}$	[. . . . . .]	(Obv 2)
C$_{Sip}$	⌜nu⌝ [. . . . . .]	(Obv ii 1)
W′$_{Sip}$	nu-ub-⌜diri⌝	(Obv 17′)

The omission of the verb in manuscript L and the apparent replacement of DA with LÚ in manuscript C are probably just trivial mistakes. The replacement of {šà} with {lipiš} in the Sippar manuscript is somewhat more interesting because {lipiš} is written ÁB×ŠÀ and the immediately preceding phrase also shows a variation, {-a} in place of {-ka}. Presumably the sequence A ÁB is a misunderstanding or misrepresentation of an original KA, with the ÁB then being linking to the following ŠÀ to mistakenly form {lipiš}.

The expression {šà-gal} corresponds to Akk. *ukullû* 'provisions, subsistence' and in conjunction with the following genitive {iti-da}, literally "of the month" presumably corresponds to the available raw materials within the household for a given month. In all likelihood it is a calque that combines two basic expressions that are well attested: statements about the amount of food or fodder provided for a particular group of workers or group of domesticated animals, e.g. {šà-gal simug-e-ne} "provisions of the smiths" (AnOr 1, 99), and expressions such as {lú iti-da}, which is only attested in Early Dynastic administrative documents (STH I 3, Maekawa 1974: 106), and {á iti-da-bi} 'monthly wage', which occurs in *Ana ittišu* 6, line 133, immediately followed by {á u_4-da-bi} 'daily wage' (MSL 1: 82–83 iii 9–10).

We also find similar turns of phrase, including references to the 'house of the father' {é ad-da} and the use of {nu-ub-diri}, in the collections of Sumerian letters and in the occasional Ur III legal record.

Letter from Ur-saga to a King 10–14 (Ali 1964: 80; Kleinermann 2011: 127–129)

10. lugal-ĝu$_{10}$ bar-ĝá èn bí-in-tar dumu úri^{ki}-ma me-en
11. tukum-bi lugal-ĝá an-na-kam
12. é ad-da-ĝá lú nam-ba-ab-tùm
13. ki-ùr é ad-da-ĝá lú nam-mu-da-an-kar-re
14. lugal-ĝu$_{10}$ ḫé-en-zu

(10) *My lord has taken care of me; I am a citizen of Ur.* (11) *If my lord agrees,* (12) *let no one waste my father's household,* (13) *let no one take away the home of my father's estate!* (14) *May my lord know this!* (translation after ETCSL)

NSGU 138 obv. 11–12 (Falkenstein 1956: 233)

11. *ṣu-la-lum*-ra èn ba-na-tar^{ar}
12. udu 3(u)-a nu-ub-diri bí-in-du$_{11}$

(11) He questioned *Ṣulālum, and* (12) *he* (= *Ṣulālum*) *stated that "there were no more than 30 sheep"*

The Professor draws on his training in legal terminology and points out that the addressee, viz. the Bureaucrat, must deal with the feast and famine of the marketplace, while the Professor presumably remains insulated from these kinds of vicissitudes. The same theme is continued in the next line with an allusion to the spectre of selling off one's own family members in the event of unpayable debts.

40 ama-zu-šè šu bala ak-àm

PROF Even trading in your own mother.

	ama-zu-šè		**šu**	**bala**	**ak-àm**	
A	ama-zu-šè		šu	bala	ak-àm	(Obv ii 6)
D	[. . . . . .]		[. . .]	bala	ak-a	(Rev 5)
J	[. . .]-⌜zu-šè⌝		⌜šu⌝	⌜bala⌝	[. . . . . .]	(Obv 16)
L	[. . . . . .]		[. . .]	⌜bala⌝	ak-⌜a⌝	(Obv 6′)
M	ama-zu-[. . . . . .]		[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . . . . .]	(Obv 3′)
Z′	[. . . . . .]		⌜x⌝ (space)	⌜x x⌝	[. . . . . .]	(Face b 8)
V′$_{Ur}$	[. . . . . .]-⌜šè⌝		⌜šu⌝	⌜bala⌝	ak-⌜àm⌝	(Obv 3)
C$_{Sip}$	ama-zu		šu	bala	ak-àm	(Obv ii 2)
W′$_{Sip}$	ama-zu (space)	túg	šu	bala	ak-⌜àm⌝	(Obv 18′)

The omission of {-šè} from the Sippar manuscript may be unimportant, but it should be kept in mind that in certain cursive scripts ŠÈ and ŠU are very similar in form, so this omission may represent an example of haplography. The large space between {ama-zu} at the beginning of W′ and the {túg} in the middle of the line makes it clear that the scribe of manuscript W′ saw {túg} as the nominal object of the compound verb {šu bala ak}. This would presumably mean something like "trading your mother for textiles," which is not so distant from our interpretation of the line, but the use of the terminative postposition to mark topicalized inalienable nouns is well attested elsewhere in Sumerian literature (see Johnson 2010: 138–139), so we assume here that {ama-zu-šè} was the original form. The forms in the Sippar manuscripts, in which the terminative postposition {-šè} is either eliminated or reinterpreted as a noun, then

appear as two different ways in which the Sippar scribes dealt with an unfamiliar grammatical form.

The use of a form ending in /a/ to replace the copula is one of the most common variants in the Old Babylonian corpus (Delnero 2012: 172). Note that according to conventional segmentations of both the words in this line and the sequence of lines in which this line occurs, the defective writing of the copula at the end of line 40 meets neither of the criteria that Delnero discusses. Since, however, the Sumerian compound verb {šu bala (ak)} actually derives from a single Akkadian verb, namely *šupêlu* 'to exchange, to overturn', this may have led the scribes who wrote the reduced form in manuscripts D and L to interpret {šu bala ak} as a single word.

41 ḫuluḫ du$_6$-ul-du$_6$-ul-e ^{túg}níĝ-dára búr-búr-re

PROF You hide your fear, but loosen your loincloth.

		ḫuluḫ	**du$_6$-ul-du$_6$-ul-e**	**^{túg}níĝ-dára**	**búr-búr-re**	
A		ḫuluḫ	du$_6$-ul-du$_6$-ul	^{túg}níĝ-dára	búr-búr-re	(Obv ii 7)
D		[.....]	[...]-ul-du$_6$-ul-e	^{túg}⌜x x⌝	⌜búr⌝-búr-re	(Rev 6)
G		⌜x⌝	⌜x ul⌝ [.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 1′)
L		[.....]	[.....]	[...]-⌜níĝ⌝-dára	búr-búr-e	(Obv 7′)
M		ḫuluḫ	du$_6$-⌜ul⌝ [.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 4′)
M′		[.....]	[.....] ul-e	^{túg}níĝ-dára	⌜búr⌝ [.....]	(Rev 1′ + ruling)
Z′		[.....]	[.....] ⌜e⌝	⌜^{túg}níĝ-x⌝	⌜búr?-búr?⌝ [x]	(Face b 9)
V′$_{Ur}$		[.....]	[.....]	^{túg}níĝ-dára	búr-⌜búr⌝ [....]	(Obv 4)
C$_{Sip}$	ki de$_5$-de$_5$-ga	huluḫ	du$_6$-ul$_x$(GUL)-ul$_x$(GUL)-àm	^{túg}níĝ-⌜dára⌝	búr-búr-ra-⌜àm⌝	(Obv ii 3)
W′$_{Sip}$		ḫuluḫ	du$_6$-ul-du$_6$-ul-e	⌜^{túg}níĝ-dára⌝	búr-⌜búr⌝ [....]	(Obv 19′)

Our preference for {du$_6$-ul-du$_6$-ul-e} with the additional {-e} rather than the simpler form {du$_6$-ul-du$_6$-ul} is based on the parallelism between this form and the expression {búr-búr-re} at the end of the line. The *lectio difficilior* would be {du$_6$-ul-du$_6$-ul}, but the parallelism within the line is also presupposed by manuscript C from Sippar, which replaces both of these non-finite verbal forms in /-e/ with simple reduplicated verbal forms followed by the copula.

Manuscript W′ adds a number, ostensibly the number 47, in the margin at the bottom of the column, but the wedges are not in the correct configuration for the number 47 and other evidence suggests that we cannot take this as an indication that this line corresponds to line 47 in manuscript W′: see the commentary to our line 24 for further discussion.

The meaning of the interpolation at the beginning of manuscript C, which is probably to be read as {ki de_5-de_5-ga}, is rather unclear. Manuscript C also adds a copula to both of the reduplicated verbs, hence {du_6-ul_x(GUL)-ul_x(GUL)-àm} and {búr-búr-ra-àm} respectively. In the Ur III administrative texts {de_5-de_5-ga} occurs more than 600 times, both as a description of domesticated animals that have died of natural causes (often in descriptions of their hides) and in the idiom {la-ag de_5-de_5-ga}, which describes the gathering or "gleaning" of clods from furrows. The expression in witness C only seems to be attested lexically, as for example in Kagal C 15–17 (MSL 13: 240), where it is equated with ⌜*ḫu*?-*ur-ba*⌝-[*šum*], [*a*]-⌜*šar*⌝ *la*-[*qa-tim*] and a broken entry. The sense of the first entry is not entirely clear (perhaps emend to *ḫabbātu*), but *ašar laqātim* simply means 'the place of gleaning' and this fits nicely with the basic sense of the following reduplicated verb, namely {du_6-ul-du_6-ul-e}, which means 'to gather'.

We have taken the LUḪ sign that occurs at the beginning of the line as {ḫuluḫ} = Akk. *galātu* 'to be frightened, restless', although it should be noted that the standard equivalence for *galātu* in the lexical tradition appears to be {bu-luḫ} rather than {ḫu-luḫ} (only visible in materials from Bogazkoi and Emar; see the references in DCCLT). While {bu-luḫ} transparently derives from Akk. *pulluḫu* 'to terrify', {huluḫ} (usually written {hu-luḫ}) probably represents a phonological simplification of {bu-luh} and has nothing to do with {hu-luḫ} 'slag'. Only in Antagal B 208 do we find a possible lexical equation between {hu-luḫ} and a restored ⌜*ga*⌝-[*la-tu*] (MSL 17: 193), but by far the best evidence is actually to be found in the commentary to Šumma Izbu:

Šumma Izbu Commentary 461–463 (Leichty 1970: 225; Jaques 2006: 512)

461	ḫu-luḫLUḪ	*ga-la-tu*	'to tremble, to be afraid'
462	MINLUḪ	*pa-la-ḫu*	'to fear'
463	*pu-uḫ-pu-ḫu-u*	*ṣal-tú*	'squabble'

The Akkadian term *ṣāltu* in *Šumma Izbu Commentary* line 463 corresponds to Sum. {du_{14}}, which is the first word in the next line of our text, viz. line 42. As these lexical equations make clear, the lexical tradition is wavering between these two very similar Sumerian expressions for 'to fear' ({bu-luḫ} and

{ḫu-luḫ}) and the use of LUḪ as a logogram avoids this problematic opposition. The form with /ḫ/ rather than /b/, namely {ḫu-luḫ} regularly occurs in the bilingual texts, however, and we take this practice as the basis for our choice of {ḫuluḫ} in the transliteration.

The expression {^{túg}níĝ-dára búr-búr-re} in the second half of the line may also be a calque on an Akkadian expression (or vice versa), namely *qabla paṭāru* 'to loosen clothing' or more generally *paṭāru* used in reference to clothing to mean 'to unfasten, remove a piece of clothing'. The only bilingual co-occurrence of {^{túg}níĝ-dára} with *paṭāru* in CAD, however, uses {du$_8$} rather than {búr} to write *paṭāru* (CAD P 301b). Although we have not been able to locate a specific nuance or idiomatic meaning for 'loosening the loincloth,' a number of the Akkadian examples suggest that it signified an emotion or disposition of some kind, perhaps 'to express bravado' as we have taken it in our translation.

42 du$_{14}$ mú-mú e-sír-ra ù-ba-gub

PROF Inciting quarrels, when you stand in the street,

	du$_{14}$	**mú-mú**	**e-sír-ra**	**ù-ba-gub**	
A	du$_{14}$	mú-mú	e-sír-ra	ù-ba-gub	(Obv ii 8)
D	[...]	⌜mú⌝-mú	e-sír-⌜ra⌝	[.....]	(Rev 7)
G	du$_{14}$	mú-mú	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 2′)
L	[...]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜ra?⌝	ù-ba-gub	(Rev 1)
M	du$_{14}$	mú-⌜mú⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 5′)
M′	[...]	[...] ⌜mú⌝	e-sír-ra	ù-ba-⌜gub⌝	(Rev 2′)
Z′	[...]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜ra⌝	ù-ba?-⌜an?⌝ [x]	(Face b 10)
V′$_{Ur}$	[...]	[.....]	[...]-sír-ra	⌜ù-ba⌝-[....]	(Obv 5)
C$_{Sip}$	du$_{14}$	mú-mú-àm	e-sír-⌜ra⌝	⌜ù-ba⌝-gub	(Obv ii 4)

The only variation in the line is the addition of the copula to {mú-mú} in the manuscript from Sippar. This manuscript also added the copula to two different reduplicated verbs in the preceding line, so this may simply be a continuation of the same pattern.

The key term that lies in the background of lines 41–42 is Akk. *puḫpuḫḫû* 'squabble', which occurs immediately after {ḫuluḫ} in line 463 of the *Šumma Izbu Commentary* mentioned in the commentary on line 41. The materials

collected in the CAD entry sub *puḫpuḫḫû* make it clear that Akkadian idioms like *ina bīti ṣāltu ina sūqi puḫpuḫḫû* "strife at home, squabbling in the street" were fairly common in Akkadian, and the two components of this idiom are related in some way to {ḫuluḫ du_6-ul-du_6-ul-e} in line 41 and {du_{14} mú-mú e-sír-ra} in line 42. The only expression in the Lu Lists that make use of {du_6-ul-du_6-ul} is {lú garadin du_6-ul-du_6-ul} = Akk. *mupaḫḫir kurulli* "gatherer of sheaves" in Lu Azlag A 195 (the DCCLT edition), where it follows a series of entries that deal with the binders of sheaves {zar} (see the discussion of Michalowski's suggested link between {zar} and *sarrum* 'liar' in the commentary to line 10 above). The Akkadian equivalent to {du_6-ul-du_6-ul-e} is a participial form of *puḫhuru* 'to gather' and there is probably a series of puns in these two lines on {huluh}/{hu-luh}/{bu-luh} 'to be afraid', Akk. *pulluḫu* 'to frighten', Akk. *puḫḫuru* 'to gather' and Akk. *puḫpuḫḫû* 'to squabble'.

In making this set of puns on terms for 'to frighten, to be afraid', the Professor draws a contrast between the type of sophisticated debate or diatribe that our text represents and ordinary forms of verbal combat and competition in the street. This theme of the disorderly and disrespectful form of debate found in the marketplace is continued in lines 43 and 44. The expression {lú du_{14} mú-mú}, corresponding to Akk. *ṣāltu*, probably occurs in line 318 of the DCCLT version of Lu Azlag A in between two different expressions formed on {ĝéšbu}, which provides a solid link to line 44 in our text. Perhaps more importantly, {du_{14} mú-mú} also corresponds to the last line of Lu Azlag A, viz. line 502, where it is equated with *mu-ṣa-lu*, presumably Akk. *muṣallû* 'liar, evildoer' (cf. Malku VIII 35 [Hruša 2010: 140–141]).

43 lú ka-piriĝ dab_5-ba ga-ba-al in-né-dù

PROF You even pick a fight with the diagnostician treating you.

	lú	**ka-piriĝ**	**dab_5-ba**	**ga-ba-al**	**in-né-dù**	
A	lú	ka-⌜x⌝	dab_5-ba	ga-ba-al	in-né-dù	(Obv ii 9)
D	[...]	[...] ⌜piriĝ⌝	dab_5-ba	ga-ba-al	[.....]	(Rev 8)
G	lú	ka-piriĝ	dab_5-ba	⌜x⌝ [.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 3′)
L	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[...] ba-al (eras.)	⌜in⌝-né^{ne}-dù	(Rev 2)
M	lú	ka-⌜piriĝ⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 6′)
M′	[...]	[...] ⌜pirig⌝	dab_5-bé	ga-ba-al	in-x-dù	(Rev 3′ + ruling)
R′	[...]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜x⌝	ga ⌜x⌝ / [...]	⌜x x⌝ x x	(Rev 1′)
Z′	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[...] ⌜x al⌝	in ⌜x⌝ [.....]	(Face b 11)

	lú	**ka-piriĝ**	**dab$_5$-ba**	**ga-ba-al**	**in-né-dù**	
V′$_{Ur}$	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[... b]a-⌜al⌝	[.....]	(Obv 6)
C$_{Sip}$	lú	ka-piriĝ	⌜dab$_5$-ba?⌝	ga-ba-al	in-<u>na-e-du</u>$_{11}$	(Obv ii 5)

The variation in the Sippar manuscript is particularly interesting because it appears to be an uncontracted (or alternatively morphographemic) form of the verbal form that occurs in manuscripts A and L from Nippur, but since the idiom in question, viz. {ga-ba-al—dù}, only makes use of {dù}, the use of {du$_{11}$} rather than {dù} in manuscript C already raises doubts about the veracity of the verbal form in manuscript C.

Interestingly enough, the Professor uses a 'conversation' between a diagnostician and his patient as a vehicle for clarifying the contrast between the street and the academy. This situation, in which a highly trained specialist encounters an ordinary member of society, was normally profoundly asymmetrical and in all likelihood the diagnostician may have spoken to the patient little if at all (on the diagnostician, see generally Geller 2010: 45–58; cf. Römer 1965: 216–217). This would undoubtedly have heightened the humor of a line such as this, in which an ordinary person questions the judgement of his or her doctor. The Sumerian compound verb {ga-ba-al—dù} can be seen as an Akkadian calque from *qablu epēšu* 'to do battle', for which there are some few examples (see conveniently CAD E 216a and CAD Q 12a), but the usual Akkadian correspondence for {ga-ba-al—dù} in the lexical tradition is *gerû* 'to be hostile' as can be seen in Izi V:

Izi V 133–139 (MSL 13: 164–165)

133	ga-ba-al	*ge-ru-ú*	'to be hostile'
134	ga-ba-al dù	MIN	'to be hostile'
135	ga-ba-al dù-dù	*gur-ru-*⌜*ú*⌝	'to spark hostilities'
136	ga-ti-li-da	*bu-ul-lu-ṭu*	'to keep someone alive, to spare'
137	ga-ra-an	*iš-ḫu-na-tu*	'bunch of grapes'
138	ga-ra-an-da	*ka-ma-ru*	'to pile up'
139	ga-ra-an-da ĝál	*ku-mur-ru-ú*	'heaping up'

The first few lines in this extract from Izi are probably relevant to {ga-ba-al—dù} in this line, but the last two entries in this extract also point to a subtle allusion back to line 41: {ga-ra-an-da} in Izi V 138–139 may be related to {garadin} 'sheaves, harvest' based on the word {ga-ra-an} 'bunch of grapes'. The term {ga-ba-al—dù} also seems to make an appearance in Antagal G:

Antagal G 139–141 (MSL 17: 244)

139	lú <ga>-ba-al dù	*ga-ru-ú*	'opponent'
140	si	*ge-ru-ú*	'to be hostile'
141	níg-^{kur}PAP	MIN *šá* LÚ.KÚR	'to be hostile (of an enemy)'

The same compound verb also reappears in line 109 below in the form {ga-ba-al mu-un-dù-dù-e-en} and in the form {ga-ba-al ḫé-mu-e-dù nam-mu-dù-dù-e-en} in line 137, the last line of our text.

44 lú-bi ĝéšbu aškud-ta un-šár-šár šà-ga-na ab-šed$_7$-dè

PROF When he's got someone in a headlock, only then does he cool off.

	lú-bi	**ĝéšbu**	**aškud-ta**	**un-šár-šár**	**šà-ga-na**	**ab-šed$_7$-dè**	
A	lú-bi	ĝéšbu	aškud-ta	un-šár-šár	šà-ga-na	ab-šed$_7$?-dè	(Obv ii 10)
D	[.....]	⌜ĝéšbu⌝	⌜aškud-ta⌝	[.....] /	[...]-ga-na	ab-šed$_7$-[x]	(Rev 9–10)
E	⌜lú-x⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 1 + ruling)
G	lú-bi	ĝéšbu	aškud-⌜ta?⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 4′)
J	[.....]	⌜ĝéšbu⌝	⌜Á⌝ [.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 1′)
L	[.....]	[.....]	Á MÚŠ.DI-ta	un-šár-šár	šà-ga-ni	ab?-⌜šed$_7$?⌝-dè	(Rev 3)
M	lú-bi	⌜ĝéšbu⌝	[.....]	[.....]	šà-[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 7′)
M′	[.....]	⌜x x⌝	Á MÙŠ.KI-ta!(DU) /	⌜un⌝-šár-šár	šà-ga-ni	ab-⌜šed$_7$⌝-[x]	(Rev 4′)
R′	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[...]-⌜x⌝-dè	(Rev 2′)
Z′	[x]-⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝-[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[...]-⌜šed$_7$⌝-[x]	(Face b 12)
V′$_{Ur}$	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[...]-⌜šed$_7$⌝-[x]	(Obv 7)
C$_{Sip}$	lú-bi	ĝéšbu	áškud-ta	un-ḫi-⌜li?⌝-ḫi-li /	šà-ga-ni	al-šed$_{11}$-dè	(Obv ii 6 + ruling)

Setting aside the variation in the form of the verb in manuscript C, viz. {ḫi-li-ḫi-li} replacing {šár(HI)-šár(HI)}, as a erroneous emendation, the most interesting variant in the line is the form {ĝéšbu á MÚŠ.DI-ta} in manuscript L. Manuscripts A C D and G have either {aškud(Á.MÚŠ)} or {áškud(Á.MÙŠ)}

'wedge, lock' as a description of {ĝéšbu} 'grip, hold'. Manuscript L (and perhaps also M′) have separated Á from MÚŠ/MÙŠ and emended MÚŠ to MÚŠ.DI, perhaps representing the word {sed$_4$(MÚŠ.DI)} in the phrase {ĝéšbu á sed$_4$-ta}. The latter makes no literal sense, viz. 'with a cold arm grip', and in all likelihood it is either an *ad hoc* orthography for {ĝéšpu aš(k)ud-ta} or a mistaken anticipation of the verbal root at the end of the line, viz. {šed$_7$}. The numerous variations in manuscript C from Sippar raise doubts about the form {šà-ga-ni} in manuscripts C and L, hence our preference for {šà-ga-na ab-šed$_7$-dè} over {šà-ga-ni/né al-šed$_7$-dè}.

As noted above in the commentary to line 42, the key phrase {du$_{14}$ mú-mú} occurs in between two different expressions formed on {géšbu} in Lu Azlag A 317–319 (the DCCLT edition).

Lu Azlag A 317–319 (MSL 12: 167)

317	[lú ĝéšbu bad]	[*ša*] *qá-sú pa-ti-a-at*	'one whose hand is open'
318	[lú du$_{14}$ mú-mú]	[*ṣa*]-*al-tum*	'adversary'
319	[lú ĝéšbu]	[*ša ú*]-*ma-ši*	'wrestler'
320	[lú lirum]	[*ša a*]-*ba-ri*	'strongman'

Although the Sumerian column is entirely reconstructed here, these equations can be verified elsewhere in the lexical tradition. The equation between {ĝéšbu} and *ša umāši* is particularly well attested. The term that usually follows {ĝéšbu} is {lirum}, which corresponds to Akk. *kirimmu* 'crook of the arm', but in our line it is followed by {aškud} 'wedge, lock', hence our translation of the phrase {ĝéšbu aškud-ta} with 'in/with a headlock'.

As a loanword in Akkadian the term {aškud}, viz. *aškuttu*, seems to refer to a 'wedge' or other device for locking a door (Heimpel 1968; Ferrara 1972: 126–127), but as the following lexical materials in Izi II suggest, the original Sumerian term seems to refer to a characteristic 'grip' or 'hold' made with the arms or more generally to 'appendages' (see, for example, *Lugalbanda in the Wilderness* 18, where {aškud} seems to describe the horns of a wild stag.

Old Babylonian Izi II 26–30 (MSL 13: 42; Crisostomo 2014: 290 and 415–416)

26	aškud(Á.MÙŠ)	'appendage'
27	Á.MÙŠ	
28	Á.MÙŠ	
29	á gur-gur$^{e\text{-}mu\text{-}qa\text{-}an\ ka\text{-}di\text{-}ra\text{-}\lceil tum \rceil}$	'rampant arms'
30	á gur_4-$gur_4$$\lceil^{e\text{-}mu\text{-}qá\rceil\text{-}an\ \lceil\lceil pu\rceil\text{-}<gu>\rceil\text{-}lat\text{-}tum}$	'thick arms'

Canonical version Izi II: 59–61 (MSL 13: 220)

59	Á$^{aš\text{-}kud}$MÚŠ	*áš-kut-tum*	'appendage'
60	á-MÚŠ	*am-ma-tum*	'forearm, cubit'
61	á-MÚŠ	*ki-ṣir* MIN	'elbow'

For the reading of the verbal form {un-šár-šár}, used in the context of wrestling, the key references are collected in the lexical section of Akk. *abālu*, where {šár} is equated with *šu-ta-bu-lu* (šá-ár = ḪI = *šu-ta-bu-lu*, in Idu II 75), and the lexical section of Akk. *elēpu*. The latter is decisive since it equates HI.HI$^{šá\text{-}ár\text{-}šá\text{-}ra}$RA with Akk. *šu-te-lu-pu* (Erimhuš V 167).

Erimḫuš V 166–167 (MSL 17: 74)

166	LÙ^{lu}-^{lu}LÙ	*bu-ul-lu-lu*	'to mix'
167	ḪI.ḪI$^{šá\text{-}ár\text{-}šá\text{-}ra}$RA	*šu-te-lu-pu*	'to mix'

As Veldhuis notes (personal communication), the equation between {šár} and Akk. *šutābulu* could easily have arisen by confusing Akk. *šutābulu* with *šutablulu*, the Št-stem of *balālu* 'to mix' in a relatively late list such as Idu. The Št-stem of *elēpu*, however, is used specifically to refer to the crossing or entangling of limbs, so we can be fairly confident that the correct reading of ḪI.ḪI in our line is {šár-šár}. The only place in the lexical tradition where {šár-šár} may co-occur with {aškud} is Nabnitu XX:

Nabnitu XX, 230–231 (MSL 16: 184)

230	dim dù-dù	*ḫur-ru-šú šá* GIŠ.MÁ	'to moor a boat'
231	Á.⌈KID⌉ šár-šár	MIN *šá am-ma-ti*	'to brace the forearm'

The phase Á.KID, perhaps read as {á-suḫ$_4$}, is probably a mistaken rendering of Á.SUḪ, where SUḪ = MÚŠ. If so, then Á.MÚŠ would corresponds to {aškud},

yielding our phraseology: {aškud šár-šár}. Civil cites our line and this lexical passage in his recent discussion of {á-suḫ} 'forearm, elbow' (Civil 2011: 264 and n. 81, where he emends the text to {á-suḫ}; see also Crisostomo 2014: 415), suggesting that the reading of the reduplicated verb in Nabnitu XX, 231 as {ḫi-ḫi} is supported by the erroneous variant {ḫi-li-ḫi-li} in manuscript C, but the correct reading cannot be established on the basis of an erroneous variant. In line 78, the similar expression {ĝéšbu da-kum} is probably inspired by {ĝéšbu aškud} in this line.

45 lú-tumu a-na-aš-àm diri-zu-šè níĝ ab-gur$_4$-re-en

PROF You windbag! Why do I take things more seriously than you?

	lú-tumu	**a-na-aš-àm**	**diri-zu-šè**	**níĝ**	**ab-gur$_4$-re-en**	
A	lú-tumu	a-na-aš-àm	diri- šè	níĝ	ab-gur$_4$-re	(Obv ii 11 + ruling)
D	[x]-tumu	a-na-aš-àm	diri- šè	[....]	[.....]	(Rev 11)
G	lú-tumu	a-na-aš-àm	⌜diri⌝-[.....]	[....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 5′ + ruling)
J	lú-⌜tumu⌝	⌜a⌝-na-<u>še</u>-àm	⌜diri⌝-[.....]	[....]	[.....]	(Rev 2′ + ruling)
L	[.....]	[....]-aš-àm	diri-zu-šè	níĝ	ab-gur$_4$-re-en	(Rev 4 + ruling)
M	⌜lú-tumu⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[....]	[.....]	(Obv 8′)
N	[.....]	[.....]	⌜diri⌝- šè	[....]	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
M′	[.....]	[.....]-àm	diri- šè	níĝ	ab-[.....]	(Rev 5′)
R′	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[....]	ab-gur$_4$-<u>e</u>	(Rev 3′)
Z′	[x]-⌜x⌝	a-na-aš-àm	⌜x x⌝	⌜x⌝	[x x]	(Face b 13 + ruling)
C$_{Sip}$	lú-tumu	a-na-aš-àm	diri-zu-<u>uš</u>	níĝ	ab-gur$_4$-re-en	(Obv ii 7)

The omission of the second person possessive pronoun in the expression {diri-zu-šè} from manuscripts A D N and M′ probably represents a shared erroneous innovation. We can be fairly confident that the archetype included the second person pronoun, however, due to the fact that a manuscript from both Nippur and Sippar include the second person possessive pronoun and, simply put, the sense of the line requires a comparison between the speaker and the addressee. Moreover, the alternation between {-šè} and {-uš}, which is

probably a geographical feature of certain Sippar manuscripts (Delnero 2012: 79–80), would only have been expected if the second person possessive pronoun were present.

There is apparently some variation in the position of the horizontal ruling in connection with this line: the ruling follows this line in manuscripts A G and L, but precedes this line in the manuscript from Sippar (C). The ruling in manuscript D is only separating the catchline, so it cannot be used as evidence for a change of speaker at this point. This might suggest that the Sippar manuscript took this line as the first line of the Bureaucrat's rebuttal, while the Nippur manuscripts treat it as the final line in the Professor's speech. Put somewhat differently, the Nippur manuscripts envision the same rhetorical pattern that we saw earlier in line 37 (where the {lú-tumu} line comes at the end of the Bureaucrat's speech in lines 34–37), but with the Professor in this line parroting and mocking the final flourish of the Bureaucrat in line 37. The Sippar manuscript, on the contrary, sees this phrase as characteristic of the Bureaucrat and assigns the line to the beginning of his rebuttal. The subsequent context, in lines 46 through 55, only seems to make sense if they are spoken by the Professor to the Bureaucrat and not vice versa, since they center on legal and academic practices, commentary writing and the knowledge of Sumerian. One possibility is that two distinct speeches from the Professor (lines 38–44 and 45–55) follow in sequence without an intervening rebuttal from the Bureaucrat.

The idiom hangs on the interpretation of {níĝ ab-gur$_4$-re-en} at the end of the line and a more literal rendering of the line would be "why is it that I am weightier than you," although we have taken {gur$_4$} in the sense of social importance or even seriousness rather than physical weight. In line 61 of *The Ninkasi Hymn*, Civil translates {gur$_4$} as "to feel wonderful," stating that it is

> an approximate translation of gur$_4$, lit. "to be, to feel big." This word (*kabru*, *rabû*, *kabtu* A I/2: 2 ff; Ea I 23 ff.) not only refers to mere physical size ("big, thick"), but also to social rank and prestige ("honored, important"), and especially to the consciousness of one's own superiority ("feeling important, pride"): . . . en-te-en á-diri ní na-an-ab-gur$_4$-re-en "Winter, do not feel so proud about (your) superior strength!" Winter and Summer Contest 265; diri-šè ní-zu na-ab-gur$_4$-re-en "do not feel excessively proud about yourself" Dialogue 2: 34. (Civil 1964: 87)

But our line is probably offering a parody of this kind of speech: instead of the {ní—gur$_4$} 'to be proud of oneself' in the idiom that Civil is discussing,

we have {níĝ—gur$_4$} or perhaps in line with the parody {nì—gur$_4$}, literally 'weighty (with respect to) things' (rather than oneself), hence 'to pay attention to things'.

46 di ì-du$_{11}$ eĝir-bi-šè nu-mu-un-til-e

PROF You state your case, but afterwords never reach a decision.

	di	**ì-du$_{11}$**	**eĝir-bi-šè**	**nu-mu-un-til-e**	
A	⌜di⌝	ì-du$_{11}$	eĝir-bi-šè	nu-mu-un-til-e	(Obv ii 12)
D	[x]	⌜ì⌝-du$_{11}$	eĝir-bi-šè	nu-[.....]	(Rev 12)
G	⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝-du$_{11}$	eĝir-bi-šè	[.....]	(Obv ii 6′)
J	di	ì-du$_{11}$	eĝir-bi-šè	nu-mu-⌜un⌝-[.....]	(Rev 3′)
L	[....]	[.....]	⌜eĝir⌝-bi-šè	⌜nu-mu⌝-un-til-e	(Rev 5)
N	[....]	[.....]	[.....]	nu-mu-⌜un⌝-[.....]	(Obv 2′)
O	di	ì-du$_{11}$	eĝir-bi-šè	nu-mu-un-til!-e	(Obv 1)
M′	[....]	[.....]	⌜x x⌝ [.....]	[.....]	(Rev 6′)
Z′	[x]	⌜ì⌝-du$_{11}$	eĝir-bi-šè	nu-mu-⌜x⌝-[.....]	(Face b 14)
C$_{Sip}$	di	ì-du$_{11}$	eĝir-bi-šè	nu-mu-un-til-le-en	(Obv ii 8)

The only variation is between the verbal form in three of the Nippur manuscripts {nu mu-un-til-e}, namely A, D and O, and the form in the Sippar manuscript {nu mu-un-til-le-en}.[24] We are for the most part adhering to Sjöberg's translation of the line: "you can institute legal proceedings, but afterwards you are not able to finish them" (Sjöberg 1975: 165), although it should also be noted that the line is probably responding to the Bureaucrat's statement that {in-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-til} "I will put an end to your insults" in line 9 and well as the Professor's earlier riff on {til} in lines 28–29. For a similar use of {eĝir-bi}, see line 5.

24 One of the Sippar variants in Delnero's study of variation in the Decad was the use of an explicit /l/ auslaut in the form {abul-la} as opposed to Nippur {abul-a} and we seem to have a similar case here with the variation between {mu-un-til-le} in Sippar as opposed to {mu-un-til-e} in Nippur (Delnero 2012: 79). The use of the plene form of the second person pronominal element {-en} also seems to be a geographical feature that distinguishes the Sippar manuscript from the Nippur materials here.

47 šu-zu ka-zu nu-ub-da-sá

PROF Your hand is not equal to your mouth!

	šu-zu	**ka-zu**		**nu-ub-da-sá**	
A	šu-zu	ka-zu		nu-ub- ^{sa}sá	(Obv ii 13)
G	⌜šu⌝-zu	ka-zu		⌜nu⌝-[.....]	(Obv ii 7′)
I	[.....]	[.....]		⌜x x⌝ [.....]	(Rev 1′)
J	šu-zu	ka-zu	<u>sá</u>	nu-ub- sá	(Rev 4′)
L	[.....]	⌜ka⌝-zu?		nu-ub-da-sá	(Rev 6)
N	[.....]	[.....]		[.....]-⌜da?-sá⌝	(Obv 3′)
O	šu	ka-zu		nu-ub-da-sá	(Obv 2)
Z′	[x]-⌜x⌝	⌜ka⌝-zu		nu-ub-⌜da⌝-[x]	(Face b 15)
P_{Ur}	[.....]	[.....]		⌜x x⌝ [.....]	(Obv 1′)
U'_{Ur}	[.....]	[.....]		[...]-ub-⌜da⌝-[...]	(Obv 1′)
C_{Sip}	[x]-⌜zu⌝	ka-zu		nu-ub-da-sá	(Obv ii 9)

The agreement between the Sippar manuscript and several of the manuscripts from Nippur (L and O as well as possibly N and U′) demonstrates that {nu-ub-da-sá} is the preferred form of the verb. The verbal forms that omit the comitative infix (A and J) presumably represent an innovation that arose in Nippur.

This is one of the most famous sayings in the entire curriculum, appearing in both the proverb collection SP 2.40 and also in Dialogue 3: 11–12. These parallels are already pointed out in Sjöberg 1970: 84, where Sjöberg also cites the best piece of lexical evidence for our line: {šu ka-ta sá-a} *qá-at-su pi-šu ka-aš-da-at* "his hand equals his mouth" (bilingual Nippur Nigga Recension A v 7 [MSL 13: 114] and Recension B 216 [MSL 13: 120]). Sjöberg also translates our line and discusses some of its parallels in Sjöberg 1976: 170.

48 nam-dub-sar-ra ḫé-bí-šid ki-bi li-bí-ib-gi$_4$

PROF Even when you parrot a classic, you cannot place it in the curriculum.

	nam-dub-sar-ra	**ḫé-bí-šid**	**ki-bi**	**li-bí-ib-gi$_4$**	
A	nam-dub-sar-ra	ḫé-bí-šid	ki-bi	li-bí?-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$	(Obv ii 14)
G	nam-dub-sar-ra	⌜ḫé-bí-šid⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 8′)
I	[.....]	[.....]	ki-bi-⌜šè?⌝	[.....]	(Rev 2′)

J	nam-⌜dub⌝-sar-ra	ḫé-bí-zu	ki-bi	li-bí-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$	(Rev 5′)
L	[. . . . .]-⌜ra⌝	ḫé-bí-šid	⌜x x⌝	mu-un-gi$_4$	(Rev 7)
N	[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	⌜ki⌝-[x]	⌜li⌝-bí-ib-⌜gi$_4$⌝	(Obv 4′)
O	nam-dub-sar-ra	ḫé-bí-šid	ki-bi-šè /	nu-um-da-ra-ab-gi$_4$	(Obv 3)
Z′	[x]-⌜dub? x x⌝	⌜x⌝-bí-šid	ki-bi-šè	nu-mu-[. . . . .]	(Face b 16)
P_{Ur}	[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	[. . . .]-bi?	⌜li?⌝-[. . . . .]	(Obv 2′)
U'_{Ur}	[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	ki-bi	bí-ib-⌜gi$_4$⌝	(Obv 2′)

C_{Sip} (omits)

Although the verbal forms in this line exhibit a great deal of variation, they fall into two major groups: Nippur manuscripts A J and N as well as U′ from Ur all have nearly the same verbal form, viz. either {li-bí-ib-gi$_4$} or with the reduplicated verbal root {li-bí-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$}, as opposed to forms like {nu-um-da-ra-ab-gi$_4$}, {nu-mu-[. . .]} and {⌜x⌝ mu-un-gi$_4$} in manuscripts L O and Z′. The latter group of manuscripts (L O and Z′) all have {ki-bi-šè} with the terminative suffix, while the former group of manuscripts (A J N and U′) all omit the terminative suffix from this phrase, viz. {ki-bi}. As we will see later on in line 51, most of the manuscripts belonging to the former group (J N O and U′) have {nu-e-zu} rather than {nu-zu}, only manuscript O diverges. Manuscripts L and U′ also omit the negation on the verb, which may suggest that these manuscripts interpreted the line as a rhetorical question of some kind. We have opted for the variant {ki-bi li-bí-ib-gi$_4$} largely because the manuscripts from Ur as well as manuscripts A J and N from Nippur share nearly the same form.

This line in particular only makes sense as a statement from the Professor against the Bureaucrat. The idea that the addressee is supposedly incapable of "placing" a literary passage in its appropriate place in the canon is already present in Sjöberg translation of the line: "you may recite from the scribal art (the literature), but you cannot put it in the (right) place" (Sjöberg 1976: 172). This line and the following, viz. lines 48–49, were also cited and translated earlier in the same paper (Sjöberg 1976: 163). It is consequently no accident that this line is immediately followed by another reference to the *ṣâtu* and lu = *ša* lists, as we saw earlier in lines 4–5.

49 níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na zà lú *šu*-ka-šè ì-sar-ra

PROF (When) you write out the *ṣâtu* lists as far as the lú = *ša* list,

	níĝ-zi-ĝál	edin-na	zà	lú	*šu*-ka-šè	ì-sar-ra	
A	níĝ-zi-ĝál	edin-na	zà	lú	gašam du_{11}-šè	ì-sar-⌜ra?⌝	(Obv ii 15)
G	(omits)						
I	⌜níĝ-zi-ĝál⌝	edin-na	zà	[....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 3′)
J	⌜níĝ⌝-[.....]	⌜zà? edin-na⌝	zà	lú	*šu*-ka-šè	ì-sar-ra	(Rev 6′)
L	[.....]	⌜edin⌝-na	⌜zà⌝	⌜x⌝	⌜x-šè⌝	⌜x x⌝ [x]	(Rev 8)
N	(omits)						
O	(omits)						
Z′	[x]-⌜zi?-ĝál?⌝	⌜x x⌝	zà	lú	*šu*-ka-šè	ì-[.....]	(Face b 17)
P_{Ur}	[.....]	⌜x x⌝	[....]	[....]	[.....]	⌜ì⌝-[.....]	(Obv 1′)
U'_{Ur}	[.....]	[.....]	⌜zà⌝	lú	*šu*-ka-šè	[.....]	(Obv 3′)

C_{Sip} (omits)

This line is omitted not only by manuscript C from Sippar, but also by three Nippur manuscripts, namely G N and O. These omissions may have resulted from the fact that this line is repeated nearly verbatim in line 4 and the first word in line 5 above. The only variation in the line ({šu} in J and U′ as opposed to {gašam} in A) is also found in lines 4–5 above. If we combine the attestations of lines 4–5 and with this line, manuscripts B D J and U′ have {šu}, while manuscripts A and L′ have {gašam}. Given the clear thematic continuity between lines 47 and 50 ("Your hand is not equal to your mouth!" and "You can't even get your tongue around the Sumerian") as well as the partial repetition of lines 4–5 in line 49, it is certainly possible that lines 48 and 49 are a later interpolation and that the Sippar manuscript and manuscripts G N and O from Nippur, which omits these two lines, represents a version of the text that is closer to the archetype. In manuscript A, {zà lú} is written over an erasure.

The alternation between {šu} and {galam} is particularly interesting here, because the Professor is criticizing the Bureaucrat for not knowing Sumerian, but on at least one reading of the text {šu} represents the only word in our text that must be taken as an Akkadian word, namely the relative particle *ša*, since it is part of the name of the bilingual lexical compendium known as lú = *ša*. But the lexical tradition is not so unequivocal: in the Lu lists we do find entries such as {lú šu-a-AK} equated with Akk. *mu-ša-li-lum* 'plunderer' (MSL 12: 164, line 223), which could have been abbreviated with a following

genitive and terminative postposition as {lú šu-ka-šè}, viz. /lu šu (a)k-a(k)-še/ (man hand do-Gen-Term). Some scribes, such as the authors of manuscripts A and L′, seem to have had some anxiety about this word and replaced it with what was, presumably, the colloquial Sumerian name for the lú = *ša* lists, namely {lú gašam}. It is particularly noteworthy that Old Babylonian Lu Azlag B+C (the DCCLT edition) puts {lú gašam} in between a student and a slanderer, where *ma-ri um-mi-a-ni* presumably means 'member of a profession'.

Lu Azlag B+C, segment 7, lines 12–14

12	lú ⌜ḫal⌝-ḫal-la	*ša-⌜aḫ-ša⌝-aḫ-ḫu*	'slanderer'
13	⌜lú gašam⌝	*ma-⌜ri um-mi⌝-a-ni*	'master craftsman'
14	⌜lú⌝ gáb-zu-zu	*ta-⌜al⌝-[mi-du]*	'student'

On our translation of {níĝ-zi-ĝál edin-na} and its later use as a term for 'commentary', see line 4 above.

50 eme-gi$_7$-šè eme-zu si nu-ub-sá

PROF You can't even get your tongue around the Sumerian.

	eme-gi$_7$-šè	**eme-zu**	**si**	**nu-ub-sá**	
A	eme-gi$_7$-šè	eme-zu	⌜si⌝	nu-ub-sá	(Obv ii 16)
G	⌜eme-gi$_7$-šè⌝	⌜eme!(KA)-zu⌝	[....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 9′)
I	⌜eme-gi$_7$⌝-šè	⌜eme-zu⌝	[....]	[.....]	(Rev 4′)
J	[.....]	eme-zu	si	nu-ub-sá	(Rev 7′)
N	[.....]	⌜eme⌝-zu	si	nu-ub-sá	(Obv 5′)
O	eme-gi$_7$-šè	eme-zu	si	nu-ub-sá	(Obv 4)
Z′	[x] ⌜x x⌝	⌜x x⌝ (space)	⌜x⌝	[.....]	(Face b 18)
P_{Ur}	eme-gi$_7$-šè	[....]-⌜zu⌝	⌜si⌝	[.....]	(Obv 2′)
U'_{Ur}	[.....]	[....]-ub-da-sá /	si	nu-ub-sá	(Obv 4′–5′)
C_{Sip}	[x]-gi$_7$-šè	eme-zu	si	nu- sá	(Obv ii 10)

Other than the quite anomalous form in U′, which is probably a mistaken preservation of the verbal form in line 47, the only variant of any significance is the omission of the pronominal element /b/ from the Sippar manuscript. Since this form has no parallel in the Nippur manuscripts, we see it here as an

idiosyncratic omission. The verbal form in this line may have been confused with the verbal form in line 47, namely {nu-ub-da-sá}, in at least two witnesses, namely manuscripts A and J, leading to the omission of the comitative in those two manuscripts.

Civil translated this line as "your tongue is not adapted to the Sumerian language" as part of his suggestion that "Sumerian was not a living language but had to be learned in school" (Civil 1976: 161; see also Sjöberg 1975: 161). The issue of the relative liveliness of Sumerian in the Old Babylonian period and its use in the schools has been repeatedly discussed in the literature, see for example Rubio 2006: 174–176 and Woods 2006.

51 a-rá ḫé-šid zà-bi-šè nu-zu

PROF When you recite your times tables, you can't even make it to the end.

	a-rá	**ḫé-šid**	**zà-bi-šè**	**nu-zu**	
A	⌜a⌝-rá	ḫé-šid	zà-bi-šè	nu-zu	(Obv ii 17)
G	⌜a-rá⌝	⌜x⌝-[....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 10′)
I	a-rá	ḫé-⌜šid⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 5′)
J	[.....]	[....]-šid	zà-bi-šè	nu-e-zu	(Rev 8′)
N	[.....]	[.....]	zà-bi-šè	nu-e-zu	(Obv 6′)
O	[.....]	ḫé-bí-šid	zà-bi-šè	nu-e-zu	(Obv 5)
Z′	[.....]	[....]-šid	zà-bi-šè	⌜x⌝ [....]	(Face b 19)
P_{Ur}	a-rá	⌜ḫé-šid⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 3′)
U'_{Ur}	[.....]	[.....]	[....]-bi-šè	nu-e-zu	(Obv 6′)
C_{Sip}	[.....]	ḫé-šid	zà-bi-šè	nu-zu	(Obv ii 11)

In principle one could side with either {nu-zu} in manuscript A from Nippur in combination with the Sippar manuscript or the numerous occurrences of {nu-e-zu} in the rest of the Nippur manuscripts and the Ur manuscript. We have opted here for the former, largely because the manuscripts with {nu-e-zu}, viz. J N O and U′, explicitly encode the second person verbal form. Of the manuscripts that have {nu-e-zu} only manuscript O preserves the verbal form in the first half of the line ({ḫé-bí-šid}), while the manuscript with {nu-zu} all have {ḫé-šid}. Caution is in order, however, since the occurrence of {ḫé-bí-šid} in manuscript O may be a preservation from line 48.

If {nu-e-zu} represents an innovation, it would support the idea that manuscripts J N and O as well as the Ur manuscript U′ constitute a distinct manuscript family as opposed to manuscripts A and I in Nippur, P in Ur and C in Sippar. The fact that manuscript C from Sippar preserves the older forms would suggest that the Sippar manuscript branched off before these innovations took place in Nippur and Ur.

This line and the next, viz. lines 51–52, recycle and rearrange several phrases from the beginning of our composition in lines 6–8, marked in **bold**:

6. **a-rá igi diri** níĝ-ka$_9$ saḫar ĝar-ra **zà-bi-šè** ì-zu
7. ka inim-ma nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-ne
8. ga-ab-**šid**-en-dè-en diri-zu-šè ì-zu

The phrase {ka inim-ma nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-ka}, underlined, also reappears in line 53 below, so this group of lines as a whole are clearly alluding to the conversation at the beginning of the composition.

52 igi diri ḫé-du$_8$ ki-ús nu-ra-ab-dab$_5$

PROF When you're figuring out a reciprocal, the first step in the calculation never even occurs to you.

	igi	**diri**	**ḫé-du$_8$**	**ki-ús**	**nu-ra-ab-dab$_5$**	
A	[x]	diri	ḫé-du$_8$	ki-ús	nu-mu-ra-ab-dab$_5$	(Obv ii 18)
J	[....]	[....]	[....]-⌜du$_8$⌝	ki-ús	nu- ra-⌜ab-dab$_5$⌝	(Rev 9′)
N	[....]	[....]	[....]-⌜du$_8$⌝	⌜ki-ús⌝	⌜nu⌝-mu-ra-ab-dab$_5$	(Obv 7′)
O	[....]	⌜diri?⌝	ḫé-du$_8$	ki-ús	nu-mu-ra-ab-dab$_5$	(Obv 6)
Z′	igi	⌜diri⌝	⌜x x⌝	ki-ús	nu-mu- [.....]	(Face b 20)
P_{Ur}	igi	diri	⌜ḫé-du$_8$⌝	[.....] /	SAHAR ⌜x⌝ [.....]	(Obv 4′–5′)
U'_{Ur}	[....]	[....]	[.....]	ki-ús	nu- ra- dab$_5$	(Obv 7′)
C_{Sip}	[x]	⌜diri⌝	ḫé-du$_8$	ki-ús	nu- ra-ab-dab$_5$	(Obv ii 12)

The most important variation in this line is between manuscripts A N O and Z′, which include the conjugation prefix {-mu-}, and manuscripts J (Nippur), U′ (Ur) and C (Sippar), which do not. The broader geographical extension of the manuscripts in the second group favor it as the older form, suggesting

that manuscripts A N O and Z′(all from Nippur) share the innovative form including the conjugation prefix.

The expression {ki-ús—dab$_5$} is apparently a hapax, and we have taken it here as a description of grasping or comprehending a step in a mathematical problem on the basis of the various equations between {ki-ús} and Akk. *kabāsu*. Høyrup notes that *kibsum*, the Akkadian noun derived from *kabāsu*, is used to count the number of steps in a mathematical procedure in the texts that belong to the "Northern" Group of the Old Babylonian mathematic texts (Høyrup 2002: 329–330).

52a [.....] ⌜UB?⌝-sar-ra ki-bi nu-ra-ab-gi$_4$

PROF Volume calculations (?) never fit into place for you.

	[.....] ⌜UB?⌝-sar-ra	**ki-bi**	**nu-ra-ab-gi$_4$**	
A	(omits)			
J	[.....] ⌜UB?⌝-sar	ki-bi	bí-íb-⌜gi$_4$⌝	(Rev 10′)
N	[.....]	[....]-bi	nu- ra-⌜ab-gi$_4$⌝	(Obv 8′)
O	[.....]-⌜sar?⌝-ra	ki-bi-šè	nu-mu-ra-ab-gi$_4$	(Obv 7)
Z′	(omits)			
P_{Ur}	(omits)			
U'_{Ur}	[.....]	[.....]-⌜ba⌝	nu- ra-ab-gi$_4$	(Obv 8′)
C_{Sip}	[.....]-⌜sar⌝-ra	ki-bi	nu-mu-ra-ab-gi$_4$	(Obv ii 13)

It is tempting to see this line, which is omitted from three manuscripts, as the second half of a single line in combination with line 52, but manuscript A clearly omits this material, manuscript J has a distinct line (although the beginning of the line is missing, indented lines in J and O regularly leave out the guideline between the two parts of an indented line, and there is a guideline here). Except for manuscript C from Sippar, all of the manuscripts that include this line belong to the same group of manuscripts, those that had {nu-e-zu} in line 51, namely manuscripts J N O and U′. Our use of the verbal form {nu-ra-ab-gi$_4$} is based on its use in both manuscript N from Nippur and manuscript U′ from Ur, although the preceding locative case in U′ remains problematic. The form in manuscript J, namely {bí-íb-gi$_4$}, is a straightforward banalization based on the frequent use of {ki-bi bí-íb-gi$_4$} in the royal inscriptions.

The UB sign in manuscript J is not very solid, and if we exclude it from consideration, the elements in this line ({-sar-ra}, {ki-bi} and the verbal forms) all appear in line 48 above. Manuscript C from Sippar is the only manuscript that omits line 48, while three different manuscripts (A Z′ and P from Ur) omit our line 52a. This may suggest that line 52a is an interpolation and should not be included in the synthetic text.

53 ka inim-ma nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ka šu-zu íb-ši-in-tùm

PROF You hand out the watchwords of the scribal fraternity.

	ka	**inim-ma**	**nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ka**	**šu-zu**
A	[x]	⌜inim⌝-ma	nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ka	šu-zu?
H	⌜ka?⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]
J	[....]	[.....]	⌜nam⌝-dumu-é-⌜dub⌝ [x x] /	šu-zu
N	[x]	[x]-⌜ma⌝	nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-ne /	[.....]
O	[x]	⌜inim⌝-ma	nam-dumu-é-dub- a-ka-ne /	⌜šu?⌝-za
Z′	⌜x⌝	[.....]	⌜x x x x x⌝ [.....]	[.....]
P$_{Ur}$	ka	⌜inim-ma⌝	[.....] /	šu-zu
U′$_{Ur}$	[....]	[.....]	⌜nam⌝-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ka? /	[.....]
C$_{Sip}$	[x]	⌜inim⌝-ma	nam-dub-⌜sar-ra-ka⌝	šu-za

	íb-ši-in-tùm	
A	⌜x x⌝	(Obv ii 19)
H	[.....]	(Obv ii 1′)
J	íb-ši-[.....]	(Rev 11′)
N	⌜íb⌝-ši-in-tùm	(Obv 9′–10′)
O	íb-ši-in-tùm	(Obv 8)
Z′	[.....]	(Face b 21)
P$_{Ur}$	[.....]	(Obv 6′–7′)
U′$_{Ur}$	[.....]-⌜in⌝-túm	(Obv 9′–10′)
C$_{Sip}$	íb-ši-in-tùm	(Obv ii 14)

The most important variant is the contrast between {šu-zu} in the manuscripts from Nippur and Ur (all except for manuscript O) and {šu-za} in manuscript O and manuscript C from Sippar. It is noteworthy that both of the *other* major variants in this line ({-a-ka-ne} in O and {nam-dub-sar-ra-ka} in C) also occur in these two manuscripts. Since both of these variants are erroneous to some degree, we have sided with the manuscripts from Nippur and Ur. The latter variant ({nam-dub-sar-ra-ka} in manuscript C) may have come about through haplography due to the phonological similarity of /dumu/ and /dub/ in addition to the unusual grammatical form of {ka inim-ma nam-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ka}; alternatively, one could argue that {nam-dub-sar-ra-ka} anticipates {nam-dub-sar-ra} in line 61 below. See the commentary to line 8 above for further discussion.

Karahashi includes {šu—tùm} in her collection of compound verbs formed with body-part nouns and translates the term as 'to carry, to apply the hand, to set to work, to touch (with magical or ritual implications' (Karahashi 2000: 171). Our example with the terminative infix {-ši-} represents the addressee as the person handing out or handing over the {ka inim-ma nam-dumu-é-dub-ba} and stands in contrast to the example cited by Karahashi from Edubba D, line 64.

> Edubba D 64 (Civil 1985: 70–72; Karahashi 2000: 77)
>
> tukum-bi á mu-da-an-ĝar a-na-ĝu$_{10}$ šu ba-an-tùm
>
> *If he wins, he will carry off whatever is mine.* (translation Karahashi)

Here in the absence of the ventive, the sense of carrying something away is fairly clear. None of the other examples of this verb cited by Karahashi or available in ETCSL allow the nominal component of the compound verb to be modified in any way, however. The following example resembles our line in a number of respects, not least the fact the nominal component of the compound verb is not in the locative case.

> Letter from Aba-indasa to Šulgi (SEpM 1), line 25 (Kleinerman 2011: 113–114; Michalowski 2011: 305–324, line 23 in ETCSL)
>
> ^{d}utu ì un-gu$_7$ ga un-gu$_7$ ^{ĝiš}banšur ùkur-ra-šè šu-ni íb-ši-tùm
>
> *and even Utu, after consuming* (*offerings of*) *ghee and cheese, still reaches out to* (*accept offerings from*) *a pauper's table* (translation Michalowski)

This is the same literary letter that we discussed earlier in our commentary on {lú-tumu} in line 10.

54 èn nu-ra-tar šu-na ma-ni-íb-sum-mu

PROF You volunteer (information) on *my* behalf, without even being asked.

	èn	**nu-ra-tar**	**šu-na**	**ma-ni-íb-sum-mu**	
A	[x]	[x]-ra-tar	šu-na	ma-ni-íb-⌜sum⌝ [.....]	(Obv ii 20)
H	⌜èn⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 2′)
J	[x]	nu-ra-tar	šu [...]	[.....]	(Rev 12′)
N	[x]	[x]-⌜ra?⌝-tar	šu-na	ma-ni-<u>ib</u>-⌜sum-mu⌝	(Obv 11′)
O	[x]	nu-ra-tar	šu-na	ma- íb-sum-mu	(Obv 9)
Z′	[x]	nu-ra-tar	šu ⌜x⌝	[.....] ⌜x x⌝	(Face b 22)
P_{Ur}	èn	<u>ù-⌜ga</u>?-tar?-x⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 8′)
U'_{Ur}	[....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]-⌜íb⌝-sum-mu	(Obv 11′)
C_{Sip}	[x]	[x]-⌜ra-tar⌝	⌜šu⌝-na	<u>mu</u>-ni-íb-⌜sum⌝-mu	(Obv ii 15)

Quite a lot of variation in the form of the verb: in fact every witness that fully preserves the verb offers us a different form: {ma-ni-in-sum} in manuscript A, {ma-ni-ib-sum-mu} in manuscript N, {ma-íb-sum-mu} in manuscript O and {mu-ni-íb-sum-mu} in the Sippar manuscript. We take the similarities between the Nippur manuscript N and the Sippar manuscript as the basis for our reconstruction, since these two manuscripts only differ in the form of the conjugation prefix ({-ma-} versus {-mu-}) and the orthography used for the pronominal element before the root, a well-known variation between Old Babylonian Nippur and other sources (see Delnero 2012: 159–162 and 182).

The compound verb {šu—sum}, literally 'to give (of the hand)', corresponds to Akk. *paqādu* 'to entrust, to hand over'. And while the first of the two verbs in our line {èn—tar} is normally equated with Akk. *šâlu* 'to ask, to inquire', the related nominal form {saĝ-èn-tar} is typically equated with *pāqidu*, the nomen agentis of *paqādu*. The particular sense of the line is still rather unclear, and a similar line from *Supervisor and Scribe* 36, which also makes use of {šu—sum}, may be helpful.

Supervisor and Scribe 36 (cf. Vanstiphout 1997: 591)

nam-dub-sar-ra a-na mu-e-pà-da-zu šu-za ba-ni-in-sum

Whatever part of the scribal art that you have found has been entrusted to you

In both our line as well as *Supervisor and Scribe* 36 the person being entrusted with something appears as the possessor of the nominal component of the compound verb: in *Supervisor and Scribe* 36, it is the addressee ({šu-za}), while in our text it is the otherwise unspecified person to whom the Bureaucrat is supposedly handing over the secrets of the academy. This stands in contrast to the role of the possessor of the nominal component of the compound verb in line 53.

55 **šu nu-sa$_6$ ki nam-dub-sar-ra gù nu-ra-dé-e**

PROF Your handwriting is so bad that no one can even recite for you in the school room.

	šu	**nu-sa$_6$**	**ki**	**nam-dub-sar-ra**	**gù**	**nu-ra-dé-e**	
A	[....]	[....]-⌜sa$_6$⌝	ki	nam-dub-sar-ra	⌜gù⌝	[.....]	(Obv ii 21)
H	⌜šu?⌝	[....]-⌜sa$_6$?⌝	[....]	[.....]	[....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 3′)
N	[....]	⌜sa$_6$⌝-sa$_6$	ki	nam-dub-sar-⌜ra /	gù⌝	nu-ra-dé-e	(Obv 12–13′)
O	[....]	sa$_6$ nu-sa$_6$	ki	nam-dub-sar-šè /		⌜nu⌝-mu-ra-dé-a	(Obv 10)
Z′	⌜šu	nu-sa$_6$?	x⌝	[.....]	[....]	⌜x x⌝	(Face b 23)
P$_{Ur}$	šu	nu-⌜sa$_6$⌝ [x]	⌜ki⌝	[...] ⌜sar⌝ [.....]	[....]	[.....]	(Obv 9′)
C$_{Sip}$	[....]	[.....]	[....]	nam!-dub-sar-ra	gù	nu-ra-dé-e	(Obv ii 16)

Again the agreement in form between manuscript N and the Sippar witness serves here as the basis for the synthetic text, and as in the preceding line manuscript O presents the most significant variations. The beginning of the line in the synthetic text follows manuscript P from Ur, since none of the other manuscripts preserve the beginning undamaged. The disappearance of {gù} in manuscript O is particularly troubling because it makes the line largely incomprehensible, viz. {dé} 'to pour out' rather than {gù—dé} 'to recite'. The

other variations in manuscript O are equally difficult to interpret and both may actually result from miscopying another text: ŠÈ for RA and A for E.[25]

56 lú-tumu uḫ-ta zé šà-ĝar-ta úš

PROF You windbag! Picking (at yourself) because of the lice, which are (nearly) dead from hunger,

	lú-tumu	**uḫ-ta**	**zé**	**šà-ĝar-ta**	**úš**	
A	[.....]	[.....]	zé	šà-ĝar-ta	⌜x⌝	(Obv ii 22)
H	⌜lú-tumu	uḫ?⌝ [...]	[....]	[.....]	[....]	(Obv ii 4′)
N	[.....]	⌜uḫ⌝-ta	zé	šà-ĝar-ta	úš	(Obv 14′)
O	[.....]	⌜x⌝-ta	zé	šà-ĝar-ta	úš	(Obv 11)
Q	lú-tumu	uḫ-ta	zé	[.....]	[....]	(Obv 1)
Z′	⌜x x	x x⌝	[....]	[.....]-⌜ta⌝	[x]	(Face b 24)
P_{Ur}	lú-⌜tumu⌝	[.....]	[....]	[.....]	[....]	(Obv 10′)
C_{Sip}	[.....]	[.....]	[....]	šà-ĝar-ta	⌜x⌝	(Obv ii 17)

It is noteworthy that {lú-tumu} occurs here two lines before the end of the Professor's speech, whereas up to now it has always been directly associated with either the beginning or end of a speech. It is possible of course that lines 56 and 57 were seen as a single unit, however, since both deal with various plays on the sign UḪ.

The basic idiom in the first half of the line is {uḫ zé} 'to pluck lice', and one might assume that the second half of the line {šà-ĝar-ta úš} also takes the addressee as its subject, but our translation assumes that the "lice" in the first half of the line "are dead from hunger," presumably because their host, the Bureaucrat, is incapable of supporting even a louse. This seems to have been a favorite theme in Lu Azlag A where we find the following entries in lines 394–396 (on delousing generally, see Sjöberg 2000: 413–414).

25 Karahashi (2000: 109) renders the line with an additional {-ka} following {nam-dub-sar-ra}, hence {šu nu-sa_6 ki nam-dub-sar-ra-ka gù nu-ra-dé-e} "(Your) handwriting is not good at all; in the place of scribal art it cannot be read," which is grammatically much more accepable, but this form does not seem to be attested. Only if we were to hypothesize a primordial haplography involving the two KA signs could we arrive at a form such as {ki nam-dub-sar-ra-ka gù nu-ra-dé-e}.

Lu Azlag A 394–396 (DCCLT edition; MSL 12: 169)

394	lú zé-zé	*ḫa-sà-a-a-ú*	'the one who sighs, hisses'
395	lú uḫ zé-zé	*bu-qú-mu*	'deloused'
396	lú ugu zé-zé	*bu-ra-sú*	'with hair growing in patches'

CAD B 325a glosses Lu Azlag A 395 as '(a person) losing his hair', but in combination with {uḫ} 'lice' as in our line, it presumably refers to someone who has lost patches of hair due to head lice. The same goes for *burrušu* 'hair growing in patches', which is probably the lemma behind the otherwise unattested *bu-ra-sú* in Lu Azlag A 396.

57 **níĝ-ur$_5$-ra uḫ ur$_5$-da ĝen-na ur$_5$-ra me-te-zu**

PROF Going along picking nits from a bald head—debt suits you.

	níĝ-ur$_5$-ra	**uḫ**	**ur$_5$-da**	**ĝen-na**	**ur$_5$-ra**	**me-te-zu**	
A	[.....]	[...]	[...]⌜da⌝	ĝen-na	ur$_5$-ra	⌜me⌝[.....]	(Obv ii 23)
H	⌜níĝ-nu?-ra?⌝	⌜uḫ?⌝	-⌜da⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 5′)
N	[.....]	⌜uḫ⌝	-da	ĝen-na	ur$_5$-ra	me-te-zu	(Obv 15′)
O	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	⌜ĝen?-na?⌝	⌜ur$_5$-ra⌝	me-te-zu	(Obv 12 + ruling)
Q	níĝ-nu-ra	uḫ?	ur$_5$-da	ĝen-⌜na?⌝	ur$_5$-ra	[.....]	(Obv 2)
Z′	⌜x x ra⌝	uḫ	⌜x⌝[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]⌜zu⌝	(Face b 25)
P_{Ur}	níĝ-ur$_5$-ra	⌜uḫ⌝	⌜ur$_5$?-dè⌝	[...]⌜na⌝	[ur$_5$]-⌜ra⌝	[.....]	(Obv 11′)
C_{Sip}	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	ur$_5$-⌜x⌝-ra	me-⌜te⌝[...]	(Obv ii 18)

The sources for this line are rather poorly preserved and any discussion of it is provided here with some hesitation. The usual way of reading {níĝ-ḪAR-ra} is {níĝ-àr-ra} 'groats', but manuscript Q has a fairly clear variant {níĝ-nu-ra}, which can be explained in a straightforward way only if it derives from {níĝ-ur$_5$-ra} rather than {níĝ-àr-ra} (the similar form in H is guesswork and requires collation). We have reconstructed the next phrase {uḫ ur$_5$-da} largely on the basis of the two published copies that preserve it to some degree: manuscript Q (Ni 9865, ISET 2, pl. 92) seems to have {⌜uḫ?⌝ ur$_5$-da}, while manuscript P from Ur (UET 6/2, 155) has {uḫ ⌜ur$_5$?-dè?⌝}, so we have read the word as {uḫ ur$_5$-da}. The rest of the line is relatively well preserved in manuscripts N

and O. Nippur manuscript O locates a ruling after this line, but manuscript P from Ur places it after the next line, viz. line 58, which makes a good deal more sense (see below).

The phrase {ur_5-da} is relatively well attested in the lexical tradition in the sense of 'to pay attention to, to heed' as for example in a lengthy section in Izi H.

Izi H 224–231 (MSL 13: 208)

224	[ur_5-d]a	*nu-up-pu-qu*	'to pay attention to'
225	[ur_5]-da	*ú-taq-qu-ú*	'to await, to expect'
226	[ur_5]-da	*pu-uq-qu*	'to heed'
227	[ur_5-da] ak-a	*pu-uq-qu*	'to heed'
228	[ur_5-da] ak-a	*nu-up-pu-qu*	'to pay attention to'
229	[ur_5-da] ak-a	*ú-taq-qu-*[*ú*]	'to await, to expect'
230	[ur_5-da] lá	*ek-ke-*[*tum*]	'scabies'
231	[ur_5-da] lá	*te-ki-*[*tum*]	'complaint, grumbling'

As *ekketu* at the end of this series of entries suggests, {ur_5-da} may have been associated with skin problems and the image here seems to be of someone who is constantly picking at or at least paying attention to their skin or scalp in search of lice or other parasites. This is already recognized in Volk's translation of the line: "... mit Ungeziefer umherlaufend, Zinsschulden (sind) deine Zier" (Volk 2000: 20). If the reconstruction of {uḫ ur_5-da} is correct, it represents a straightforward continuation of {uḫ-ta zé} in the preceding line as well as the flea-bitten linen {uman(UḪ)-e gada ba-an-lá} in line 14. The word {níĝ-ur_5-ra} is somewhat more obscure: it is attested however in *The Farmer's Instructions* as a description of the surface of a threshing floor:

> *The Farmer's Instructions* 97 (Civil 1994: 95)
>
> su_7 bad-rá-zu-ne níĝ-ur_5-ra du_8-ì
>
> *to open the threshing floor, smooth it completely* (translation Civil)

Civil notes that the reading here is confirmed by the variant form {níĝ-ùr-ra} and discusses its significance at some length, but its role in our line remains rather unclear. If {níĝ-ur_5-ra} simply denotes a bare surface, the joke may be that the addressee is described as walking along {ĝen-na}, trying to pick lice from a surface devoid of hair, perhaps his own bald head. These images then serve as a description of the addressee as the epitome of a debt-ridden man.

58 gaba-ri-ĝu$_{10}$ me-en

PROF You are my rival.

	gaba-ri-ĝu$_{10}$	**me-en**	
A	[.....]-<u>um</u>	[.....]	(Obv ii 24)
H	⌜x x⌝ [.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 6′)
N	[.....]-ri-ĝu$_{10}$	me-en	(Obv 16′)
Q	gaba-ri [.....]	[.....]	(Obv 3)
R	⌜gaba⌝-<u>ra</u>	me-en	(Obv 1)
O′	[.....]	[...]-⌜en⌝	(Obv 1′)
Z′	[.....]	[...] ⌜en?⌝	(Face b 26)
P$_{Ur}$	gaba-ri-ĝu$_{10}$	⌜me⌝ [...]	(Obv 12′ + ruling)
C$_{Sip}$	[.....]	[...] ⌜en⌝	(Obv ii 19)

Only minor variations here: the addition of an enclitic copula to the first half of the line in manuscript A and the replacement of {-ri-ĝu$_{10}$} with {-ra} in manuscript R, which is more difficult to explain. As already noted, manuscript P from Ur locates a clear horizontal ruling between lines 58 and 59 and we have relied on it to posit a change of speaker from the Professor to the Bureaucrat at this point. This also seems to fit nicely into the dialogue since the Professor attempts to make a final, definitive statement, namely "you are my rival" only to be answered by the Bureaucrat in a presumably mocking tone of voice: "why shouldn't I be your rival as well!"

59 a-na-aš-àm ĝe$_{26}$-e gaba-ri-zu nu-me-en

BUREAU Why shouldn't I be your rival as well?

	a-na-aš-àm	**ĝe$_{26}$-e**	**gaba-ri-zu**	**nu-me-en**	
H	⌜a-na-aš-àm?⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 7′)
N	[...]-⌜na⌝-aš-àm	ĝe$_{26}$-e	gaba-ri-⌜zu⌝	nu-me-en	(Obv 17′)
O	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜x⌝	(Rev 1′)
Q	[.....]-⌜àm⌝	ĝe$_{26}$	gaba-ri-zu	[.....]	(Obv 4)
R	[.....]	⌜ĝe$_{26}$-e⌝	gaba-ri-⌜zu⌝	nu-me-en	(Obv 2)
O′	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[...] ⌜me⌝-en	(Obv 2′)

	a-na-aš-àm	**ĝe$_{26}$-e**	**gaba-ri-zu**	**nu-me-en**	
P$_{Ur}$	a-na-aš-àm	ĝe$_{26}$-⌜e⌝	[...] ⌜ri-zu⌝	⌜nu-me-en⌝	(Obv 13′)
B′′$_{Sip}$	[.....]	⌜ĝe$_{26}$⌝	⌜gaba-ri-zu⌝	[.....]	(Obv ii 1′)

The only significant variation is between {ĝe$_{26}$} and the plene writing {ĝe$_{26}$-e}. The Sippar manuscript B′′ and manuscript Q from Nippur have the simpler form {ĝe$_{26}$}, while the remaining manuscripts have the plene form. The independent first person pronoun here is probably coding some form of emphasis or focus as in "why shouldn't *I* be your rival as well" with additional stress on "I" to contrast the Bureaucrat with all other potential rivals. These rejoinders in lines 58 and 59 are probably to be taken as a kind of aside and the Bureaucrat's actual speech begins in earnest with {lú tumu} in line 60.

60 lú-tumu lul du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ ra-gaba ki bad-rá

BUREAU You windbag! Speaker of lies like a foreign envoy.

	lú-tumu	**lul**	**du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$**	**ra-gaba**	**ki**	**bad-rá**	
H	⌜lú-tumu⌝	⌜lul⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	(Obv ii 8′)
N	⌜lú⌝-tumu	⌜lul⌝	du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$	ra-gaba	ki	bad-rá	(Obv 18′)
O	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	⌜ki⌝	bad-rá	(Rev 2′)
Q	[.....]	[...]	⌜du$_{11}$⌝-du$_{11}$	ra [...]	[...]	[.....]	(Obv 5)
R	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	⌜ki⌝	bad-rá	(Obv 3)
O′	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	bad-rá	(Obv 3′)
P$_{Ur}$	lú-tumu	lul	du$_{11}$-⌜dè?⌝	[.....]	[...]	⌜bad-rá⌝	(Obv 14′)
B′′$_{Sip}$	[.....]	⌜lul⌝	du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$	⌜ra⌝ [...]	[...]	[.....]	(Obv ii 2′)

The only apparent variant is in manuscript P from Ur, but even there it is quite uncertain. It is noteworthy, however, that manuscript P used {-dè} in place of the {-da} found in all other manuscripts in the expression {uḫ ur$_5$-da}.

Except for the {lú-tumu} at the beginning, this line is a direct quotation of SP 2.72: {lul du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ ra-gaba ki bad-rá} "He who tells many lies is a courier from distant places" (Alster 1997: 60 [vol. 1]). As Alster notes in his commentary on the proverb (Alster 1997: 368 [vol. 2]), it is also quoted here in our text and in Dialogue 2, line 69. In the proverb collection this particular line is

omitted by four of the six witnesses where we might expect to find the proverb, so it appears to be an interpolation or gloss on the better known proverb SP 2.71: {lul du_{11}-ga-ab zi du_{11}-ga-ab lul ba-e-sè-ke} "Tell a lie, (and) then tell the truth, it will be counted as a lie" (Alster 1997: 60 [vol. 1]), which also occurs in SP 7.89. This better known proverb occurs in quite different contexts in Proverb Collections 2 and 7, both of which begin with the same vignette (and with the same incipit as Sidu 4 [Frahm 2010: 169]), but in Proverb Collection 7 it is immediately preceded by a proverb about "a female slave of the *lukur*-priestess" {géme lukur-ra}, to which we will return in line 85 below. The phrase {ra-gaba ki bad-rá} also makes an appearance in Proto-Lu 24 (MSL 12: 33) in between {ra-gaba} and {lú-kíĝ-gi_4-a}, but this line disappears in the later canonical series where it would have been expected between lines 131 and 132 (MSL 12: 97). It is unclear whether or not these two discussions of "telling lies" {lul du_{11}-du_{11}} are somehow related to the proverb most recently edited in Alster 2007: {igi-ni lú sa_6 / lul ì-sun_7 / lul du_{11}-du_{11} / eme_x(KA)-si du_{11}-du_{11}} "His face (is like that of) a pleasant man, (but) he is quarrelsome. He always lies. He always slanders" (Alster 2007: 92, see also SP 22 vii 22–24 and viii 25–27 and the Early Dynastic parallels). On {ki bad-rá} generally, see PSD B 32a.

61 gu_4 sa ab-kud-kud ^{ĝiš}šudul_5-a nú-nú

BUREAU Oxen, with their sinews cut, lie down still in the yoke.

	gu_4	**sa**	**ab-kud-kud**	**^{ĝiš}šudul_5-a**	**nú-nú**	
H	gu_4	sa	ab [. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	(Obv ii 9′)
N	⌜gu_4⌝	⌜sa?⌝	ab-kud-kud	^{ĝiš}šudul_5-a	nú-nú	(Obv 19′)
O	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . . . .]	⌜^{ĝiš}šudul?-a?⌝	nú-nú	(Rev 3′)
Q	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .] ⌜x⌝ x	⌜šudul?⌝	[. . . . .]	(Obv 6)
R	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	[. . .] nú	(Obv 4)
O′	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	⌜nú⌝-nú	(Obv 4′)
Z′	⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝	[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	(Face b 1′ = b 29)
P_{Ur}	gu_4	šab-kud-kud		[. . .] ⌜x⌝	[. . . . .]	(Obv 15′)
B′′$_{Sip}$	[. . .]	[. . .]	ab-kud-kud	^{ĝiš}⌜šudul_4⌝	[. . . . .]	(Obv ii 3′)

Manuscript P from Ur has a very convincing example of a sandhi writing, namely {šab} for {sa ab}, in between {gu_4} and the verbal root {kud-kud}: the orthography found in manuscripts H and N (and probably also in B′′)

was the original form, with {sa} for 'sinew' and {ab-} as the verbal prefix before {kud-kud}, but in manuscript P from Ur, these two elements are written with {šab}, viz. PA.IB. In the two manuscripts in which the sign for 'yoke' is legible (N and B′′), it is written slightly differently: in manuscript N the sign is UR*šessig* (without the stack of horizontals to the left, viz. šudul$_5$) as is the case in the lentil from Nippur (see below) that duplicates the line, while in manuscript B′′ from Sippar the horizontals are present, hence {šudul$_4$}; see Mittermayer 2006: 88 under DUN$_4$ for the contrast.

This line cites a proverb, but in this case one known only from a single lentil, namely CBS 3811: {gu$_4$ sa ab-kud-kud / ĝiš̌šudul$_5$-a nú-nú} "The ox broke its sinews, and is lying in its yoke" (Alster 1997: 303 [vol. 1]). Our translation assumes that the oxen lie down while still wearing the yoke, but the reduplication of the verbal root {nú-nú} describes the action of the oxen, not the relationship between the yoke and the oxen. When oxen are urged to put their necks into the yoke in *The Song of the Plowing Oxen*, line 2 {gu$_4$ ĝen-a ĝen-a ĝiš̌⌜šudul$_4$⌝-[a] gú ĝar-ì}, a simple locative is used to code the spatial relation between their necks and the yoke, as in our line (Civil 1976: 87, cf. *Lipit-Ištar and the Plow*, line 116). Likewise in SEpM 7, *Lugal-šú to a king*, line 7 (Kleinerman 2011: 130), a simile is used in which "an ox is unable to share the yoke" {gu$_4$ ĝiš̌šudul$_4$-a nu-ub-ḫa-za lá} and the yoke here also appears in the locative. As later references back to this line show, the alternative reading for 'yoke', namely {šudun$_{4/5}$}, is also in play.

62 gu$_4$ gù ra-aḫ bir-bir-re-ta zi-ir-zi-ir

BUREAU After scattering the lowing oxen, he gets more and more worried.

	gu$_4$	**gù**	**ra-aḫ**	**bir-bir-re-ta**	**zi-ir-zi-ir**	
H	⌜gu$_4$?⌝	⌜gù?⌝	⌜ra?⌝ […]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 10′)
N	⌜gu$_4$⌝	gù	ra-aḫ	bir-bir-re-ta	zi-⌜ir-zi⌝-[ir]	(Obv 20′)
O	[…]	⌜gù?⌝	⌜ra?-aḫ?⌝	bir-bir-re-ta	zi-ir-zi-ir	(Rev 4′)
Q	[…]	[…]	[.....]	⌜x x⌝ [.....]	[.....]	(Obv 7)
R	[…]	[…]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜zi-ir⌝	(Obv 5)
S	[…]	[…]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜re⌝-ta	zi-⌜ir⌝ [.....]	(Obv 1′)
O′	[…]	[…]	[.....]	[.....]	[…] ⌜ir⌝-zi-ir	(Obv 5′)
Z′	⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Face b 2′ = 30)
P$_{Ur}$	gu$_4$	gù	ra-aḫ	-ta	zi-ir-[.....]	(Obv 16′)
V′$_{Ur}$	[…]	[…]	[.....]	[.....]	⌜zi⌝-ir-⌜zi⌝ [x]	(Rev 1′)
B′′$_{Sip}$	[…]	[…]	ra	⌜bir?⌝- ta	⌜zi⌝ [.....]	(Obv ii 4′)

Both of the non-Nippur manuscripts omit {bir-bir-re} partially or in its entirety, resulting in the rather anomalous phrase {ra-aḫ-ta} in manuscript P, presumably in the sense of "after the lowing of the ox". The evidence for a shared error between the Sippar and Ur manuscripts is still rather slim (and an abbreviated form such as {ra ⌜bir⌝-ta} cannot be entirely excluded), but if there were other evidence of this kind it might suggest a broader split in the manuscript history between Nippur and non-Nippur sources.

The phrase {gù ra-aḫ} could also be read as {zú ra-aḫ} and both phrases are well attested in the lexical tradition: {gù ra-aḫ} in Lu Azlag A 133 and {zú ra-aḫ} as a kind of insect or insect activity that qualifies goats (see CAD sub *kuzāzu*) and cloth (see CAD sub *mašru*). Both expressions are also attested in quite different contexts in the proverb collections as Alster notes in his discussion of SP 1.185: "[i]t is assumed that gù-ra-aḫ here means 'to talk, to shout,' cf. *šasû* (gù-ra[-ra]) and SP 26 Sec. D 9, and not = *ukkuku*, MSL 9, 93: 42: gù-ra-aḫ = *uk-k*[*u-ku*], cf. AHw s.v. *ekēku* D 'kratzen.' . . . This is unquestionably different from zú ra-aḫ in SP 3.182, where the context suggests 'to devour with the teeth' said of locusts" (Alster 1997: 357 [vol. 2]). The use of the phrase in relation to the bellowing of oxen, as in our line, is found in Proverb Collection 26:

> Proverb Collection 26, Sec D rev. ii 9 (Alster 1997: 281 [vol. 1])
>
> gu_4 gù ra-aḫ lag-bi nu-bu-re
>
> *The bellowing ox does not remove the clods* (translation Alster)

The human equivalent {lú gù ra-aḫ} 'loudmouth, blowhard' is found in line 117 below and alongside phrases such as {lú zuḫ-a}, {lú zé-za} and {lú gù dé-dé} in Lu Azlag A, lines 133–139.

The two reduplicated verbs in the line {bir-bir-re} and {zi-ir-zi-ir} continue the series of such verbs that begins in line 60 with {lul du_{11}-du_{11}} and was continued in line 61 with {kud-kud} and {nú-nú}. The expression {bir-bir-re} is equated with Akk. *su-up-pu-ḫu* 'to scatter, to squander' in Igituh I 385, apud CAD S 151b, and appears in the Izbu Commentary 274 (Leichty 1970: 219), while {zi-ir-zi-ir} (= Akk. *ašāšu*) represents an extreme state of worry or anxiety as made clear by its use as a diagnostic sign in medicine (see Johnson 2014) and its position in Erimḫuš II after less acute forms of depression designated with Akk. *adāru*.

95	diri	*a*-[*da-ru*]	'to be worried'
96	diri-diri	[. . .]	
97	zi-ir-zi-ir	[*a-ša-šu*]	'to have anxiety'

The sense of the line is not entirely clear: the simpler interpretation is that the addressee becomes anxious due to the lowing of cattle, when they are being dispersed. In our view, however, it is more likely that the addressee is portrayed as a person who disperses cattle because they are making too much noise and then becomes worried by the very silence that he sought to create. It is worth remembering that the silence of the cattle pen is one of the most ominous images in Sumerian literature as in *Enmerkar and En-suḫkeš-ana* 197: {u_4-bi-a tùr amaš-a é si-ga ba-ab-du_{11} níĝ ḫa-lam-ma ba-ab-ak} "thereupon pen and byre became a house of silence, a ruin" (Wilcke 2012: 64; translation Vanstiphout 2003: 41; see also Johnson 2013a).

63 géme šu-ku_6 ĝiš-ba-an-e u_4 zal-zal

BUREAU The fishmonger spends her days (counting) bushel baskets.

	géme	**šu-ku_6**	**ĝiš-ba-an-e**	**u_4**	**zal-zal**	
H	⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝ [....]	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	(Obv ii 11′)
N	⌜géme⌝	šu-ku_6	DU-e-na	u_4	zal-⌜zal⌝	(Obv 21′)
O	⌜géme⌝	šu-ku_6	ĝiš-ba-an-e	u_4	zal-zal	(Rev 5′)
S	[...]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜an?⌝-e	u_4	zal-zal [...]	(Obv 2′)
O′	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	⌜u_4⌝	zal-zal-e	(Obv 6′)
Z′	⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝ [....]	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	(Face b 3′ = 31)
P_{Ur}	géme	šu-ku_6	ĝiš-ba-an-⌜e⌝	[...]	[.....]	(Obv 17′)
B′′$_{Sip}$	⌜géme⌝	⌜šu⌝-ku_6	ĝiš-ba-an-⌜nu?⌝	⌜u_4⌝	[.....]	(Obv ii 5′)

Several variations such as {DU-e-na} in manuscript N or the form {ĝiš-ba-an-⌜nu u_4⌝ [...]} in the Sippar manuscript B′′ are difficult to explain, although the latter may be a ligature or vocalic assimilation between {ĝiš-ba-an-e} and the following {u_4 zal-zal} (a similar variant {im-ta-nu} in manuscript C′′ replaces the usual form {im-ta-an-è} in line 136). Only two manuscripts, both from Nippur, preserve the end of the line, so our choice of {zal-zal} rather than {zal-zal-e} is largely arbitrary. On the reading of {šu-ku_6} for 'fisherman' (here in the expression {géme šu-ku_6} literally 'female slave / maidservant of the fisherman'), see Englund 1990: 231–234. This expression presumably becomes the butt of the joke in line 83: {^{gi}gur šu-ku_6-da-ke_4 ku_6 mi-ni-ib-kar-kar} "while stealing fish from the fisherman's basket" and it is noteworthy that {šu-ku_6} is included in a list of words qualified as *šarrāqu* 'thief' in Antagal J 208–213 (MSL 16: 161); see the commentary to line 77 for further discussion. Given the centrality

of *The Lazy Slave Girl* earlier in the text, it may also be significant that {géme} is juxtaposed to the {ĝiš-ba-an} basket in Proverb Collection 3, no. 40:

> Proverb Collection 3, no. 40 (Alster 1997: 88 [vol. 1])
>
> géme ĝiš-ba-an-e nu-ub-si-⌜àm⌝ / dum-dam an-da-ab-[za] / ka nu-un-[si] / múrub nu-si-[e-še]
>
> *The slave girl, who neglected to fill the container, grumbled: "It does not fill to the top, it does not fill to the middle"* (translation Alster)

This proverb occurs in a series of eight or nine proverbs dealing with the problematic behavior of slave girls.

64 saĝ lú-tumu udun báḫar-ra-ka nú-nú

Bureau The windbag sleeps with his head in the potter's kiln.

	saĝ	**lú-tumu**	**udun**	**báḫar-ra-ka**	**nú-nú**	
H	⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝ [.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 12′)
K	saĝ	⌜lú⌝ [.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 1′)
N	⌜saĝ⌝	lú-tumu	udun	baḫar? x [.....]	[.....]	(Obv 22′)
O	saĝ	lú-tumu	udun	báḫar-ra-ka	nú-nú	(Rev 6′)
S	[...]	[.....]	⌜udun⌝	báḫar-ra-ka	⌜nú-nú⌝	(Obv 3′)
O′	[...]	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	nú-nú	(Obv 7′)
Z′	⌜x⌝	⌜x x⌝	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Face b 3′ = 32)
P_{Ur}	saĝ	lú-tumu	udun	⌜báḫar?⌝ [.....]	[.....]	(Obv 18′)
U'_{Ur}	[...]	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	[...] ⌜nú⌝	(Rev 1′)
B''_{Sip}	⌜saĝ⌝	lú-tumu	udun	⌜báḫar⌝ [.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 6′)

The expression {udun báḫar-ra-ka nú-nú} or more precisely {udun . . . nú-nú} is probably punning on the phrase {^{ĝiš}šudul/n nú-nú} three lines earlier in line 61, but it also introduces a central theme in the middle section of our text, viz. the semantic field associated with ovens and kilns (see generally Salonen 1964; Couto-Ferreira 2013: 105–108; Steinert 2013). The phrase {udun báḫar-ra} 'potter's kiln' is repeated verbatim in line 81 below, where we offer an extended discussion of its significance, and the related term for 'oven' {^{im}šu-rin-na}

occurs in lines 72 and 73. The word order of the first two terms is problematic: {saĝ lú-tumu} could be an otherwise unmarked genitive, meaning 'the (male) chattel slave of the windbag', but we have taken these two terms as separate words. Ordinarily we would expect {saĝ} to follow {lú-tumu}, but its initial position may have been motivated by the phonetic similarity of the beginning of the first word in the following line, namely {šagan-lá} or perhaps by the role that {lú-tumu} plays in demarcating the beginnings and endings of speeches elsewhere in the composition. It is also noteworthy that the order of the two terms {saĝ} and {lú-tumu} is inverted in line 106 below, a line that also includes {nú-nú} as predicate: {lú-tumu saĝ gú ne-ka nú-nú}.

The humor in this line may go back to the orthography for kilns and ovens: {udun} is written U.MU (Mittermayer no. 340), but the usual term for 'bellows' {^{gi}bun} (= Akk. *nappaḫu*) and several alternative forms for 'oven' {^{im}dúruna} or {immindu} (both Akk. *tinūru*) are written with the IM sign inside of LAGAB (as opposed to {bún}, written KA×IM in {lú bún du_{11}-du_{11}} = *mu-na-pe-e-ḫum* in Lu Azlag A 345 [DCCLT edition]). Since the IM sign is repeatedly used in this text in the epithet {lú-tumu} 'windbag, liar' and LAGAB represents 'space' in a wide variety of cuneiform signs, the description of the "head of the windbag lying inside the kiln" could describe both the physical apparatus used to pump air into a kiln and the cuneiform sign used to represent this arrangement. We return to this type of iconism in lines 72–81 below.

65 šagan-lá kù dam-gàr-ra-ka til-til

BUREAU The assistant who squanders the boss's money.

	šagan-lá	**kù**	**dam-gàr-ra-ka**	**til-til**	
H	⌜x-lá⌝	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 13′)
K	šagan-lá	kù	⌜dam⌝ [.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 2′)
M	⌜šagan-lá⌝	⌜kù⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 1′)
N	⌜šagan⌝-lá	kù	dam-gàr-ra-ka	⌜til⌝ [...]	(Obv 23′)
O	šagan-lá	kù	⌜dam-gàr⌝-ra-ka	til-til	(Rev 7′)
S	[.....]	[...]	[...] gàr-ra-ka	til!(NU)-til!(NU)	(Obv 4′)
P_{Ur}	šagan-lá	kù	⌜dam⌝ [.....]	[.....]	(Obv 19′)
U'_{Ur}	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	til-til	(Rev 2′)
B''_{Sip}	⌜šagan⌝-lá	kù	dam-gàr-ra-ka	[.....]	(Obv ii 7′)

No variations other than {til^{i}(NU)-til^{i}(NU)} in manuscript S, which may have been miscopied by Kramer; new collation of the tablet is needed. A similar theme appears in Proverb Collection 22, which immediately follows a proverbial oath of the laundrymen {lú-ázlag-e-ne}:

> SP 22 vi 21–27 (Alster 1997: 266 [vol. 1])
>
> zi ^{d}en-ki / é-a ba-ra-zal-zal-[e] / lú-ázlag^{i}(ŠÈ)-e-ne
>
> *"I swear by Enki that* (*your garments*) *will not stay long in the house"* (*is what*) *the fullers* (*say*)
>
> dumu dam-<gár>-⌜e⌝-[ne] / šagan-lá-e-⌜ne⌝ / kù ta ⌜ba-an⌝-túm / ù še ta ba-an-túm
>
> *How the sons of the merchants and tradesmen carried the silver away! And how they carried the barley away!* (translation Alster)

This line also represents the mid-point in the sequence of sayings in which reduplication acts as the defining feature:

62 bir-bir-re / zi-ir-zi-ir
63 zal-zal
64 nú-nú
65 til-til
66 gu_7-gu_7
67 bar-bar
68 bar-bar

This sequence is followed by a rhetorical question that marks the end of the Bureaucrat's speech in line 69, and it may be significant that {til-til} stands at the center of this sequence since "completing one's work" and "putting an end to the opponent's insults" are themes that run through the entire text.

66 lú kaškúrun-na zì-munu$_4$ gu$_7$-gu$_7$

BUREAU The brewer who always eats the malt-flour.

	lú	**kaškúrun-na**	**zì-munu$_4$**	**gu$_7$-gu$_7$**	
H	⌜lú⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 14′)
K	lú	kaškúrun-na	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 3′)
M	lú	kaš⌜kúrun?-na⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 2′)
N	⌜lú⌝	⌜kaš⌝x-na⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 1)
O	lú	kaš<u>ĝeštin</u>*-na	zì-munu$_4$	gu$_7$-gu$_7$	(Rev 8)
S	[...]	[.....]	[...] munu$_4$	gu$_7$-gu$_7$	(Obv 5′)
P$_{Ur}$	lú	kúrun-na	⌜zì⌝ [.....]	[.....]	(Obv 20′)
U′$_{Ur}$	[...]	[.....]	⌜zì⌝-munu$_4$	gu$_7$-gu$_7$	(Rev 3′)
B′′$_{Sip}$	lú	kaš⌜kúrun-na⌝	zì-munu$_4$	⌜gu$_7$⌝ [...]	(Obv ii 8′)

The only significant variation is the alternation between several different orthographies for 'brewer': the standard orthography {lú kaškúrun-na} in manuscripts M and B′′, {lú kúrun-na} in manuscript P and apparently {lú kaš ĝeštin-na} in O. Since the expression {kaškúrun-na} loans into Akkadian as *kurunnu*, {kaš} may well be a determinative, as we have taken it here, and if so, its omission in the Ur manuscript is unexceptional. The mistaken form in O, however, is probably based on a confusion of {kaš} with the first syllable of {ĝeštin}. This line is cited in CAD sub *sābû* from Civil's preliminary manuscript, where the entry goes on to point out that "[i]n connection with both of his functions, being in charge of the brewers and selling beer, the *sābû* was also involved in credit transactions, just like the *tamkāru*" (CAD S 9a).

Like an assistant merchant {šagan-lá} who squanders the silver {kù}, a brewer {lú kaškúrun-na} who eats up the malt-flour {zì-munu$_4$} uses up the raw material with which he should pursue his profession, thus ensuring his own poverty. These proverbial images were presumably seen as descriptions of a lack of self-control that leads to penury. The expression {lú kaškúrun-na} appears in Lu Azlag A 21, which is particularly interesting in that it presents a series of occupations as jobs for both men and women.

Lu Azlag A 21–33 (DCCLT edition; MSL 12: 177–178)

21	lú ^{kaš}kúrun-na	*sà-bu-ú*	‘brewer/innkeeper’ (♂)
22	SAL lú ^{kaš}kúrun-na	*sà-bi-i-tum*	‘brewer/innkeeper’ (♀)
23	lú gub-ba	*mu-úḫ-ḫu-um*	‘ecstatic’ (♂)
24	SAL lú gub-ba	*mu-ḫu-⌜tum⌝*	‘ecstatic’ (♀)
25	lú tílla	*wa-ṣú-⌜ú⌝*	‘street performer’ (?) (♂)
26	SAL lú tílla	*wa-ṣi-i-⌜tum⌝*	‘street performer’ (?) (♀)
27	lú ĝiš-gi saĝ-kéš	*na-aq-⌜mu⌝*	? (♂)
28	SAL lú ĝiš-gi saĝ-kéš	*na-qi$_4$-im-⌜tum⌝*	? (♀)
29	lú ní-su-ub-ba	*za-ab-bu-ú*	‘ecstatic’ (♂)
30	⌜SAL⌝ lú ní-su-ub-ba	*za-ba-a-tum*	‘ecstatic’ (♀)
31	lú ur-e	*za-ab-bu-ú*	‘ecstatic’ (♂)
32	lú al-e$_{11}$-dè	*ma-ḫu-ú*	‘ecstatic’ (♀)
33	lú-tumu	*sà-ar-rum*	‘liar’

The entry in Lu Azlag A 29 ({lú ní-su-ub-ba}) appears in line 70 below and this section immediately precedes the {lú-tumu} entry in Lu Azlag A 33. These are the only entries in the Lu Azlag list that regularly distinguish between male and female professions.

67 kiši$_4$-a ak ĝá-nu lú še$_{10}$ sila-ta bar-bar

BUREAU Come on, convict! the one who removes detritus from the street.

	kiši$_4$-a	**ak**	**ĝá-nu**	**lú**	**še$_{10}$**	**sila -ta**	**bar-bar**	
K	kiši$_4$-a	ak	ĝá-⌜nu?⌝	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…….]	(Obv ii 4′)
M	kiši$_4$-a	ak	[…….]	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…….]	(Rev 3′)
N	[…….]	[…]	ĝá-nu	⌜lú⌝	[…]	⌜x-ta?⌝	bar […….]	(Rev 2)
O	kiši$_4$-a	ak	ĝá-nu	⌜lú⌝	še$_{10}$	sila-ta	bar-bar	(Rev 9′)
S	[…….]	[…]	[…….]	⌜lú⌝	⌜še$_{10}$⌝	sila!-ta	bar-bar	(Obv 6′)
P$_{Ur}$	⌜kiši$_4$⌝	⌜ak⌝	[…….]	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…….]	(Obv 21′)
U′$_{Ur}$	[…….]	[…]	[…….]	[…]	še$_{10}$	sila-ta	bar-bar	(Rev 4′)
B′′$_{Sip}$	⌜kiši$_4$⌝-a	ak	ĝ[á …]	[…]	⌜še$_{10}$⌝	⌜x⌝ […]	[…….]	(Obv ii 9′)

Collation of manuscript B′′ shows that the sign following AK is GÁ rather than NI. Therefore the only actual variant is the omission of {-a} from the phrase {kiši$_4$-a ak} in manuscript P from Ur. The sign KIŠI$_4$ is an incomplete form of

the SAG sign (SAG*nutillu*) that was used to refer to a distinctive haircut that served as a punishment for certain kinds of criminal acts, in particular false accusation of sexual impropriety, hence {kiši$_4$} = Akk. *muttatu* (for the sign form, see Mittermayer no. 440). One form of the punishment is recorded in *Ana ittišu* VII iii 31: {kiši$_4$-a-ni umbin ù-bí-in-si-eš} = *mu-ut-ta-as-su ú-gal-<la>-bu-ma* (MSL 1: 102), which also appears in the Codex Hammurapi §127.

Codex Hammurapi §127 (v 25–34; Roth 1997: 105)

(25) *šum-ma a-wi-lum* / (26) *e-li ugbabtim*(NIN.DINGIR) / (27) *ù a-ša-at a-wi-lim* / (28) *ú-ba-nam ú-ša-at-ri-iṣ-ma* / (29) *la uk-ti-in* / (30) *a-wi-lam šu-a-ti* / (31) *ma-ḫar da-a-a-ni* / (32) *i-na-ad-du-ú-šu* / (33) *ù mu-ut-ta-sú* / (34) *ú-gal-la-bu*

If a man causes a finger to be pointed in accusation against an *ugbabtu* or against a man's wife but cannot bring proof, they shall flog that man before the judges and they shall shave off half of his hair. (translation Roth)

That the *muttatu* involved shaving off half of someone's head of hair is made particularly clear in Diri IV 301, below, where ^{ki}KIŠI$_4$ is also equated with *bāmtu*, meaning 'half' (see also Antagal III 99–100 [MSL 17: 153]).

Diri IV 300–304 (MSL 15: 162)

300	[ki]-ši	[KI.KIŠI$_4$]	*muttatu*	'a distinctive haircut'
301			*bāmtu*	'half'
302	[i]-gi	KI.SAG	*pānu*	'face'
303	[i]-gi-ru	KI.SAG.SAL^{mušen}	*igirû*	'heron'
304	[s]u-lum-mar	KI.SAG.DU	*ṭupullû*	'scorn, disgrace'

The *muttatu* haircut must be distinguished from the *abbuttu* haircut that slaves were required to have. As the passage from the Codex Hammurapi shows, the *muttatu* haircut was a punishment that was meant to embarrass and ostracize, so it is somehow appropriate to describe such a person clearing filth, literally excrement {še$_{10}$}, from the street.[26]

Previous interpretations have generally read the second half of the line as {lú dab$_5$ kur-ta bar-bar} and interpreted it as a description of someone being released from prison (see PSD B 111a and Sjöberg 1973: 142 as well as Volk 2000:

26 Thanks to N. Veldhuis for suggesting this reading of the line.

20, n. 97, who translates the line as "An einer Kopfhälfte geschoren, 'Auf!', (Du) Häftling, aus dem Fremdland vertrieben"), but the manuscripts all seem to have {sila} 'street' rather than {kur} 'land, netherworld, prison' and it makes little sense to speak of releasing someone from the street: only manuscript S is ambiguous, but it can also be read as a slightly ill-formed SILA. Moreover, for 'prisoner' we would expect {lú dab_5-ba}, as in *Gilgamesh and Huwawa*, version B, lines 152–154 (Edzard 1993) or our line 119 below, rather than simply {lú dab_5}.[27] For the cultural symbolism of the street in this period, see Steinert 2014.

68 galam ḫu-ru-um $uš_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar

BUREAU Lamebrain, always drooling,

	galam	**ḫu-ru-um**	**$uš_{11}$**	**zà-ga**	**bar-bar**	
K	galam	ḫu-ru-um	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 5′)
M	galam	ḫu-⌜ru-um⌝	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 4′)
N	⌜galam⌝	ḫu-ru-um	⌜$uš_{11}$?⌝	zà-ga	bar-bar	(Rev 3)
O	⌜galam⌝	ḫu-ru-um	⌜$uš_{11}$?⌝	zà-ga	bar-bar	(Rev 10′)
S	[...]	[.....]	⌜$uš_{11}$?⌝	zà-ga	bar-bar	(Obv 7′)
P_{Ur}	galam	ḫu-⌜ru⌝ [.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 22′)
U'_{Ur}	[...]	[.....]	⌜$uš_{11}$?⌝	zà-ga	bar-bar	(Rev 5′)
B''_{Sip}	⌜galam⌝	ḫu-ru	⌜$uš_{11}$⌝	z[à ...]	[.....]	(Obv ii 10′)

Elsewhere in Sumerian literature the expression {galam ḫu-ru} occurs as such, without the additional {-um} as in the Sippar manuscript B′′, but in the middle of the line {-um} may be representing the copula following {galam ḫu-ru}, hence our retention of it here in the synthetic text. The only relatively clear attestation of {$uš_{11}$} is in the Sippar manuscript B′′ but even in that case we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that the sign is {$uš_7$} (KA×LI) instead of {$uš_{11}$} (KA×BAD).

27 For the early vocabulary of prisons and prisoners, see Steinkeller 1991, where he offers an extended discussion of LÚ×KÁR, the usual term for prisoner. See as well the term {lú kára-ga}, which is equated with Akk *ṭaplum* 'slandered' in Lu Azlag A 332 in the commentary to the next line in our text and also in our line 122 below.

The phrase {galam ḫu-ru} takes center stage in Alster's discussion of the juxtaposition of incompatible words (Alster 1975: 203), where he translates it as 'exalted fool' or 'prize idiot'. If some form of mental handicap forms the cultural background for {galam ḫu-ru}, the expression {uš$_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar}, which literally means '(one whose) saliva comes out at the side (of the mouth)', may be describing uncontrolled drooling as a physical manifestation of the same condition. In the unplaced fragment CTN 4, 216 (= ND 4373 in MSL 12: 141–143), which represents one of the most densely packed collections of terms of abuse, {ḫu-ru} occurs just three lines before {uš$_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar}, which in turn stands immediately before the section beginning with {ú-ḫub} that we looked at in the commentary to line 10 above.

CTN 4, 216 iii 10′–14′ (MSL 12: 142)

10′	ḫu-ru	MIN (= *lil-li-du*)	'offspring > fool'
11′	la-ga	MIN	'thief'
12′	lú gaz-gaz	*ba-ṣi-ru*	'cutthroat'
13′	uš$_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar	*a-la-iu-ú*	'drooler'
14′	ú-ḫub	*su-ku-ku*	'deaf, obtuse'

The Akkadian that corresponds to {uš$_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar} is *a-la-iu-ú*, which is probably in the habitual *parrās-* stem and may be derived from the same root as *illātu* 'saliva', but the matter requires further study. The habitual character of the action is thus represented by the reduplication in {bar-bar} in the Sumerian and the use of a habitual nominal stem in Akkadian. In Diri I 120 (MSL 15: 108) {uš$_{11}$} = Akk. *imtu* 'poison' immediately follows {úḫ} = *illātu*, but there are a number of different terms for spittle, both human and animal, in Akkadian and we will not attempt to delineate the possible contrasts between, for example, Akk. *illātu* and *ru'tu* here. (See generally the examples collected in PSD B 115b and well as the discussion in Sjöberg 1970: 94, which also cites our text.)

Lu Azlag A includes the term {uš$_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar} in line 335 in the midst of a number of other disparaging terms that also make an appearance in our text.

Lu Azlag A 331–338 (DCCLT edition)

331	[lú] ⌜mú?⌝-da	*ma-ag-⌜ru⌝-um*	'insulting'
332	⌜lú⌝ kára-ga	*ṭa-ap-lum*	'slandered'
333	lú šu kára-ga	*mu-ṭa-pi-lum*	'slanderer'
334	lú uš$_{11}$ zà-ga	*al-li-a-a*	'drooler'

335	lú [uš$_{11}$ zà]-ga bar-bar	*al-li-a-a*	‘drooler’
336	lú ⌜šu⌝ [ùr-ùr]	*uš-šu-šum*	‘anxiety ridden’
337	lú ⌜pe-el⌝-lá	⌜*qá*⌝-*lu-ú*	‘to be silent’
338	lú ⌜pe-el⌝-lá	*pe-e-ḫu-ú*	‘to close up (of mouth)’

Note here in particular that {lú uš$_{11}$ zà-ga} occurs immediately before {lú uš$_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar}, but does not include the {bar-bar} that is an essential part of the idiom in our line. We will return to the discussion of Akk. *magrû* in line 113 below; {lú pe-el-lá} is included in line 121 of our text.

One of the most interesting lexical passages in which {ḫu-ru} and {lú pe-el-lá} appear together in the context of scribal training is attested only in the interpolated or “long recension” of Old Babylonian Lu (MSL 12: 91). Rather than a distinct recension, the Istanbul tablet Ni 10261, which is only known from its inclusion in MSL 12, probably represents an *ad hoc* expanded version of the standard list, so we have tried to capture these differences in the following two-column format (the “short recension” follows DCCLT, while the “long recension” is based on MSL 12 (Akk. equivalents omitted here).

Long Recension (Ni 10261)		Short Recension		
141i	dub-sar úmun-na	59	dub-sar úmun a-ak	‘considerate scribe’
141j	dub-sar sun$_5$-na			‘humble scribe’
141k	dub-sar kù-zu			‘wise scribe’
141l	dub-sar gal-zu			‘genius scribe’
141m	**dub-sar ḫu-ru**			‘foolish scribe’
141n	**dub-sar ḫu-ru**			‘foolish scribe’
141o	**[dub-sar] pe-el-lá**	**55**	**dub-sar pe-el-lá**	‘bad scribe’
142	dub-sar géštu-lá			‘deaf scribe’
142a	[dub-sar géštu-šú]			‘deaf scribe’
142b	[dub-sar ĝál-taka$_4$-a]	56	dub-sar ĝál-taka$_4$-a	?
142c	[dub-sar . . .]			
143	dub-sar a-šà-ga	61	dub-sar a-šà-ga	‘field accountant’

Although the redactional history that intervenes between these two “recensions” remains decidedly unclear, it is clear that the longer version on the left includes a host of terms for praising and debasing fellow scribes, while the standard version in the middle studiously avoids these terms with the excep-

tion of {lú pe-el-lá}, presumably the standard term for a scribe that performed poorly. It is also noteworthy, as Alster already intimated in his seminal paper on paradoxical proverbs (Alster 1975), that the terms for 'genius' or 'savant' such as {kù-zu} or {gal-zu} (equated with Akk. *emqu* and *mūdû* respectively) are immediately followed by a series of less auspicious terminology: {ḫu-ru}, {pe-el-lá} and {ĝéštu-lá}.

This line also brings to an end the sequence of lines that include reduplications that began in line 60:

60 (lul) du_{11}-du_{11}
61 kud-kud / nú-nú
62 bir-bir-re / zi-ir-zi-ir
63 zal-zal
64 nú-nú
65 til-til
66 gu_7-gu_7
67 bar-bar
68 bar-bar

Although it is difficult to prove definitively what the motives of the scribe were in using this particular rhetorical device, the series of reduplications may be reacting to the initial line of the speech in which the Bureaucrat asks "Why shouldn't I be your rival as well?" {a-ra-aš-àm ĝe$_{26}$-e gaba-ri-zu nu me-en} in rebuttal to the Professor's concluding statement "You are my rival" {gaba-ri-ĝu$_{10}$ me-en}. Although we have translated {gaba-ri} as 'rival', the usual term for 'rival' is {gaba šu ĝar}, literally 'to place (one's) hand on the (opponent's) chest'. A more literal translation of {gaba-ri} would simply be 'copy' or perhaps in the context of the debate, 'emulator'. Presumably in answer to the rhetoric of copying and emulation, the Bureaucrat offers us a riff or countertext built around the copying or reduplication of one or more elements. As we will see in lines 71 and following, the Professor responds, at least in part, with a similar use of reduplicated verbal roots. The same rhetorical device is also found in *Two Women* B (Dialogue 5) line 131: {gaba-ri-ĝu$_{10}$ me-en}, but there the response of the interlocutor is somewhat more matter-of-fact and transparent: {e-ne-èĝ diri ka bal-e nu-sa$_6$} "it is not nice to use flowery language, lit. overflowing words, in conversation."

69 a-na-gen$_7$-nam za-e ĝá-da mu-da-ab-sá-e

BUREAU How is it possible that you compare yourself to me?

	a-na-gen$_7$-nam	**za-e**	**ĝá-da**	**mu-da-ab-sá-e**	
K	a-na-gen$_7$-nam	⌜za⌝ […]	⌜ĝá⌝ […]	[…….]	(Obv ii 6′)
M	a-na-gen$_7$-nam	za […]	[…….]	[…….]	(Rev 5′)
N	[…….]-gen$_7$-nam	za-e	ĝá-da	mu-da-ab-⌜sá⌝ […]	(Rev 4)
O	[…]-na-gen$_7$-nam	za-e	⌜ĝá-e?-da?⌝	mu-da-ab-sá-e	(Rev 11′)
S	[…….] ⌜nam⌝	za-e	ĝá-e-da	mu-da-ab-sá-e	(Rev 1)
P$_{Ur}$	⌜a⌝-na-gen$_7$-⌜nam⌝	[…..]	[…….]	[…….]	(Obv 23 + ruling)
U′$_{Ur}$	[…….]	[…..]	ĝá-da	mu-da-ab-sá-en	(Rev 6′ + ruling)
B′′$_{Sip}$	a-na-gen$_7$-nam	za-e	⌜ĝá⌝ […]	[…….]	(Obv ii 11′ + ruling)

The addition of {-e} to {ĝe$_{26}$/ĝá} before the comitative postposition is unusual, probably just a *lapsus styli* based on the usual form of the first person pronoun, while {-en} in manuscript U′ is a rather standard variation on {-e}. As elsewhere in the text, the presence of a rhetorical question in this line marks the end of a speech, here presumably the end of the speech that the Bureaucrat also began with a rhetorical question in line 59: {a-ra-aš-àm ĝe$_{26}$-e gaba-ri-zu nu me-en} "Why shouldn't I be your rival as well?" There is a ruling after this line in the Ur manuscripts P and U′ as well as the Sippar manuscript B′′ (in manuscripts P and B′′ it also occurs at the end of a column), but it is noteworthy that none of the tablets from Nippur (manuscripts K M N O S) seem to mark this change in speaker.

70 ní-su-ub lú-tumu dím-ma ^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi

PROF (You are) a raving idiot with the mind of an ape.

	ní-su-ub	**lú-tumu**	**dím-ma**	**^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi**	
K	ní-⌜su⌝ […]	⌜lú⌝-tumu	dím-⌜ma⌝	⌜ugu⌝ […..]	(Obv ii 7′)
M	ní-su-ub	[…….]	[…….]	[…….]	(Rev 6′)
N	[…] ⌜su⌝-ub	lú-tumu	dím-ma	⌜^{ugu}⌝ugu$_4$-bi	(Rev 5)
O	⌜ní⌝-su-ub	lú-tumu	dím-ma	^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi	(Rev 12′)

	ní-su-ub	**lú-tumu**	**dím-ma**	**^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi**	
S	[.....]	⌜lú⌝-tumu	dím-ma	^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi	(Rev 2)
T	[.....]	lú-tumu	dím-ma	^{ugu}ugu$_4$-⌜bi⌝	(Obv 1)
U	ní-su-ub	⌜lú⌝-tumu	dím-ma	⌜ugu⌝ [.....]	(Obv 1)
V	ní-su-ub	lú-tumu	dím-ma	^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi	(Obv 1)
O′	[.....]	[.....]	[...] ⌜ma⌝	[.....]	(Rev 1′)
P$_{Ur}$	ní-su-ub!(AH)	lú-tumu	dím-⌜ma⌝	[.....]	(Rev 1)
U′$_{Ur}$	[.....]	[.....]	⌜dím⌝-ma	^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi	(Rev 7′)
B′′$_{Sip}$	ní-su-ub	lú-⌜tumu⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 1)

No less than five tablet surfaces begin with this line: the first line on the obverse in manuscripts T U and V and the first line on the reverse in P and B′′. While not strictly speaking the mid-point in the text, which would be line 68 according to our current reconstruction, this line does represent the change of speaker that is closest to the mid-point.

Although more obvious reduplications begin in the next line, the phrase {ní-su-ub lú-tumu} already includes a repetition of the sign IM, since {ní} is also written with the IM sign in this period. This use of polyvalence alongside straightforward reduplication is indicative of the overall rhetorical strategy that the Professor will use in his rejoinder to the previous section.

The expression {ní-su-ub} corresponds to Akk. *zabbu* (CAD Z 7b) and, as noted above in the commentary to line 66, it also occurs in a particularly important section of Lu Azlag:

Lu Azlag A 29–33 (DCCLT edition; MSL 12: 177–178)

29	lú ní-su-ub-ba	*za-ab-bu-ú*	'ecstatic' (♂)
30	⌜SAL⌝ lú ní-su-ub-ba	*za-ba-a-tum*	'ecstatic' (♀)
31	lú ur-e	*za-ab-bu-ú*	'ecstatic' (♂)
32	lú al-e$_{11}$-dè	*ma-ḫu-ú*	'ecstatic' (♀)
33	lú-tumu	*sà-ar-rum*	'liar'

As Finkel (1984) has pointed out, the {ní-su-ub-ba} may be associated with necromancy (see the commentary to line 123 below for further discussion). This is the section of Lu Azlag A that ends with {lú-tumu} and the section in which the professions are distinguished by gender. As PSD B 57b makes clear, this same set of entries is also found nearly verbatim in the first line of a speech (and in the company of a reduplicated predicate) in Two Women B (Dialogue 5) 104: {ní-su-ub mu-lu e$_{11}$-dè ⌜al⌝-e$_{11}$-dè bal-bal} "crazy person,

wild person, deranged, constantly shifting (?) (her mood) (translation PSD). See also MSL 12: 132, lines 116–123, and our line 80, the second line in the Bureaucrat's speech below: {lú ní-su-ub-ba-gen$_7$ igi-zu-ta ab-ta-kar-kar-re-en-dè-en} "People flee from you as if you were a lunatic."

The expression {dím-ma ^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi} 'monkey-minded' was originally, in all likelihood, a condensation of *The Curse of Agade* 156: {dím-ma lú-ùlu^{lu} ĝalĝa (var. arḫuš) ur-ra úlutim ^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi} "With human instincts, but canine intelligence, and monkeys' features," which was used in *The Curse of Agade* as a description of the Gutians (Cooper 1983: 57 as well as 31–33), although similar ascriptions of 'dog-mindedness' {dím-ma ur-ra} are also attributed to the Amorites elsewhere in Sumerian literature (see Michalowski 2011: 84).[28] The equation {lú [^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi]} = Akk. [*pa-gu*]-*ú-um* 'monkey-man' occurs in Lu Azlag B+C line 150 (DCCLT edition, cf. MSL 12: 184, line 42), presumably in antithesis to {lú [zu-a]} = Akk. [*mu-du*]-*ú-um* 'scholar' in the preceding line. These elements may be referring back to the {lú-tumu} line, viz. line 60, in the preceding speech from the Bureaucrat: {lú-tumu lul du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ ra-gaba ki bad-rá} "You windbag! Speaker of lies like a foreign envoy," since it also uses "foreignness" as its operative metaphor.

71 é nu-tuku e-sír-ra nú-nú

PROF (You) have no home, lying in the street.

	é	**nu-tuku**	**e-sír-ra**	**nú-nú**	
K	[...]	⌜nu?-tuku⌝	e-sír-ra	nú [.....]	(Obv ii 8′)
M	é!*	nu-tuku	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 7′)
N	[...]	[...] ⌜tuku⌝	é^{e}-sír-ra	nú-⌜nú⌝	(Rev 6)
S	[...]	[.....]	⌜e⌝-sír-ra	nú-nú	(Rev 3)
T	[...]	[.....]	⌜e⌝-sír-ra	nú-nú	(Obv 2)
V	é	nu-tuku	e-sír-ra	nú-nú	(Obv 2)
U	é	nu-tuku	e-sír-ra	⌜nú⌝ [...]	(Obv 2)
O′	[...]	[.....]	[...] ⌜sír⌝-ra	[.....]	(Rev 2′)
P_{Ur}	é	nu-tuku	e-sír-ra	⌜nú⌝ [...]	(Rev 2)
U'_{Ur}	[...]	[.....]	⌜e⌝-sír-ra	nú-nú	(Rev 8′)
B''_{Sip}	é	nu-⌜tuku⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 2)

28 Note as well the last few lines in a passage cited by Volk (1996: 191; 2000: 14) from an unpublished manuscript of Cavigneaux's (NBC 7805: 29–30): za-e dím-ma-zu dím-ma ^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi / malga-zu malga-ur-gi$_7$-ra ⌜x⌝ [x].

The only apparent variation is the É that is mistakenly written in the second phrase in the line and then glossed with /e/, viz. é^{e}, in manuscript N. If this reading is correct, it may point to an element of the oral commentary that was attached to our text, since the point of this line is presumably to highlight the role of homophonous signs in Sumerian literature: the first of the two phrases begins with {é} 'house', while the second begins with the word {e-sír} 'street', of which the first syllable is {e$_1$}. This is also the first line in the Professor's speech that repeats one of the reduplications found in the preceding speech from the Bureaucrat, and it is no accident that {nú-nú} occurs twice in the preceding speech (lines 61 and 64) and is also the reduplication found in the middle point (line 64) of the sequence of lines containing reduplicated predicates in lines 60–68. The only other reduplication that appears twice in this sequence is {bar-bar} in lines 67–68. Besides the occurrence of {nú-nú} in lines 61 and 64, already noted above, the phrase {udun . . . nú-nú} in line 64 puns on {^{ĝiš}šudun nú-nú} in line 61. This kiln/oven theme is continued in the next line of the Professor's speech (line 72), which introduces a series of lines that deal with the 'oven of humanity' {^{im}šu-rin-na (nam-lú-ùlu^{lu})} and 'the (arzana) soup bowl' {^{dug}útul (ar-za-na)}, both of which pun on the 'kiln' {udun} in line 64.

72 ^{im}šu-rin-na nam-lú-ùlu^{lu}-ka zì-munu$_4$ i-ni-bàra-bàra

PROF (You are) beer-mash flour spread out in the oven of mankind.

	^{im}šu-rin-na	**nam-lú-ùlu^{lu}-ka**	**zì-munu$_4$**	**i-ni-bàra-bàra**	
K	^{im}šu-rin-na	nam-lú-ùlu^{lu}-ka	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 9′)
M	^{im}⌜šu?⌝ [.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 8′)
N	[.....] na	nam-lú-ùlu^{lu}-ka	⌜zì⌝-munu$_4$	⌜mu?-ni?-bàra-e⌝	(Rev 7)
S	[.....]	[.....] ⌜ka⌝	⌜zì-munu$_4$⌝	i-ni-bàra-e	(Rev 4)
T	[.....] ⌜na⌝	nam-lú-ùlu-ka	zì-munu$_4$ /	[...] ni-bàra-bàra	(Obv 3)
U	^{im}šu-rin-na	nam-lù-⌜ùlu-ka⌝	[.....] /	i-ni [.....]	(Obv 3)
V	[x x] ⌜rin⌝-na	nam-lú-ùlu-ka	zì-munu$_4$ /	i-ni-bàra-bàra	(Obv 3)
O′	[.....]	[.....] ⌜ka⌝	zì-munu$_4$	i-ni-⌜bàra-bàra⌝	(Rev 3′)
P$_{Ur}$	^{im}šu-rin-na	nam-lú-ùlu^{lu}-ka	zì-munu$_4$	i-ni- [.....]	(Rev 3)
U′$_{Ur}$	[.....]	[.....] ⌜ka⌝	zì-munu$_4$	i-ni-bàra-bàra	(Rev 9′)
B′′$_{Sip}$	[...] ^{im}šu-⌜rin⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 3)

With the exception of the distinctive verbal forms in N and S, the only variation is the omission of the phonetic complement {lu} in manuscripts T U and V. Processes of smelting, cooking and brewing are privileged metaphors in Sumerian literature, particularly for the representation of processes of transformation. Here the terminology of beer brewing serves as the key metaphor: the {zì-munu$_4$} = Akk. *isimmānu* is one of the two basic raw materials that were used to make beer mash, the other was {titab} = Akk. *titāpū*, written BÁRA. MUNU$_4$. Our line is probably alluding to line 17 above as well, also uttered by the Professor: {am-si munu$_4$ sig$_7$-sig$_7$ al-bàra-ge} "The greenmalt spread out for an elephant." In light of the parallel use of {bàra(g)} in both lines, it is likely that {si} in {(am)-si munu$_4$} puns on the {zì} in the {zì-munu$_4$} in our line.

In combination with the preceding line, lines 71 and 72 in our text may also be alluding to Dialogue 2: lines 86–87 {šu bàra-bàra-ge e-sír-ra niĝin é lú-ù-ne-ka gú gíd-gíd-i é-e a-rá-bi in-zu} "openhanded he walks around in the streets, stretching the neck in men's houses he receives information about their affairs" (cited and translated in Klein 2003: 145). This may also be related to the use of {niĝin} below in lines 104 and 105 as an expression of busybodiness and gossiping.

73 ^{dug}útul ar-za-na ^{im}šu-rin-na-ta e$_{11}$-da-zu-ne

PROF As you are taking the *arzana*-soupbowl out of the oven,

	^{dug}útul	**ar-za-na**	**^{im}šu-rin-na-ta**	**e$_{11}$-da-zu-ne**	
H	^{dug}⌜útul⌝	⌜ar⌝ [.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 1′)
K	^{dug}útul!	ar-za-na	^{im}šu-rin-na [.....]	[.....]	(Obv ii 10′)
M	^{dug}⌜útul⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 9′)
N	[.....]	[...] ⌜za⌝-na	^{im}šu-rin-na-ta	e$_{11}$- zu-ne	(Rev 8)
S	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[...] ⌜zu⌝-ne!	(Rev 5)
T	[.....]	⌜ar⌝-za-na	^{im}šu-rin-na-⌜ta⌝ /	e$_{11}$-⌜da?⌝ [.....]	(Obv 4)
V	[.....]	[.....] ⌜na⌝	^{im}šu-rin-na-ta /	⌜e$_{11}$?⌝- zu-ne	(Obv 4)
C′	[.....]	[...] za-na	⌜im⌝ [.....]	e$_{11}$?-⌜da⌝ [.....]	(Obv 1′)
D′	^{dug}útul	ar-⌜za-na⌝	[.....] /	e$_{11}$-⌜da?⌝ [.....]	(Obv 1′)
O′	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	⌜e$_{11}$⌝-da-zu-ne	(Rev 4′)
P$_{Ur}$	^{dug}útul	ar-za-na	^{im}šu-rin-na-ta	⌜e$_{11}$⌝ [.....]	(Rev 4)
U′$_{Ur}$	[.....]	[.....]	[..... n]a-ta	e$_{11}$ [.....]	(Rev 10′)
B′′$_{Sip}$	^{dug}útul	ar [.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 4)

The primary variation is in the form of the pronominal conjugation at the end of the line: two of the Nippur witnesses (manuscripts N and V) have {e_{11}-zu-ne}, while manuscript O′ (and possibly others like T C′ and D′) have {e_{11}-da-zu-ne}. But the standard grammars (see Edzard 2003: 137–141) tell us that the latter is correct and we have followed suit in using {e_{11}-da-zu-ne} in the synthetic text.

The term {ar-za-na} (= Akk. *arsānu*) normally describes a kind of groats that were used to make a 'soup' {tu_7} that played a central role in elite feasting activities throughout much of Mesopotamian history (note as well that {útul} 'tureen' and {tu_7} 'soup' are written with the same cuneiform sign; see line 74 below). The phrase {tu_7 ar-za-na} is known from Old Babylonian Nippur Hh II, corresponding to Nippur Forerunner to Hh XXIII 9 (MSL 11: 113), but also appears in the lexical commentary Hg B VI:

Hg B VI 96–99 (MSL 11: 89)

96	tu_7 ìmĝaĝa	*u-lu-šin-nu*	*n*[*a-a-šu*]	'emmer beer'
97	tu_7 ba-ba-za sig_5-ga	*a-lu-tum*	x [. . .]	'fine . . . soup'
98	tu_7 ar-za-na sig_5-ga	*šin-di-e-tum*	x [. . .]	'fine *arzana* soup'

Sjöberg's unpublished manuscript of PSD A/4 132 cites our line as the only example of {ar-za-na} used in the literary materials.

In the recently published feast texts from Ur III Garshana, {ar-za-na} appears as one of the key ingredients alongside {níĝ-àr-ra}, {gú-gal al-àr-ra} and {gú-tur al-ús-sa} in the "big soupbowls" {^{dug}útul-gal} that were consumed at major {kaš-dé-a} festivals (see generally Brunke 2011), and we assume here that {ar-za-na} used as ingredient gave its name to the soup as a whole. The choice of {ar-za-na} soup, as opposed to some other kind of food, points to a second major rhetorical undercurrent in this speech, namely the production, distribution or consumption of foodstuffs that were normally used in religious or cultic contexts of one kind or another. This theme is continued with the use of SÌLA, SAL and SU in line 75 and the discussion of the {^{gi}gur} basket in lines 76–77. The appearance of the {kaš-dé-a} feast, which was the social event at which {ar-za-na} soup would have been served, in lines 98–99 suggests that these lines are commenting on our line in some way.[29]

29 The metaphor at work in this line may also be present in the proverbs at the end of Proverb Collection 1, in particular SP 1.192: {uzu ì ab-ta-ab-bala-e-en / še sa-a bí-ib-zé-re-en / lú útul da-íl-la / me-re-za en-nu-ùĝ ak-ab-e-še}, "You are pouring fat from the meat, you are pulling out the roasted barley, you, man, when you are to carry the kettle, watch your feet!" (Alster 1997: 38 [vol. 1]), and SP 1.196: {útul du-bu-ul nu-zu mun-ta al-sè / dug

See also the proverbial image in line 18 above: {ka$_5$-a ^{dug}útul-ta ab-ta-bar} "a fox coming out of a tureen" and note as well that line 72 alludes to line 17, while lines 73 and 74 allude to line 18.

74 ba-e-dè-gaz tu$_7$ al-bíl-la-ta

PROF You get killed by the boiling soup.

	ba-e-dè-gaz	**tu$_7$**	**al-bíl-la-ta**	
H	ba-e-dè-⌜gaz⌝	[...]	[.....]	(Rev i 2′)
K	ba!-e-dè-gaz	tu$_7$	al-⌜dé?⌝ [.....]	(Obv ii 11′ + ruling)
M	ba-⌜e⌝ [.....]	[...]	[.....]	(Rev 10′)
N	[.....] ⌜gaz⌝	tu$_7$	al-bíl-la-ta	(Rev 9)
T	[....] ⌜dè⌝-gaz	tu$_7$	⌜al⌝ [.....]	(Obv 5)
V	[.....]	[...]	⌜al⌝-bíl-⌜lá?-ta⌝	(Obv 5)
C′	[.....] ⌜gaz⌝	tu$_7$	al-⌜bíl x x⌝	(Obv 2′)
D′	ba-e-dè-gaz	tu$_7$	al [.....]	(Obv 2′)
O′	[.....]	[...]	[...] ⌜bíl-la?⌝-ta	(Rev 5′)
P$_{Ur}$	ba-e-da-gaz	tu$_7$	al-bíl-la-[.....]	(Rev 5)
U′$_{Ur}$	[.....]	[...]	⌜al-bíl?⌝ [.....]	(Rev 11′)
B′′$_{Sip}$	ba-e-dè-⌜gaz⌝	[...]	[.....]	(Rev i 5)

There may be a variation between {la} and {lá}, but {lá} does not seem to be clearly attested in any of the sources (the example in manuscript V is quite badly damaged). We have translated {gaz} literally as 'to kill', but this must be a metaphorical usage. If we are correct in taking the addressee as the subject rather than the tureen, it must mean that he was 'harmed' or simply 'burned, scalded'.

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sur-ra nu-zu a-ta al-sè / mí-ús-sá níĝ-sá nu-un-zu-a du$_{14}$ mú-mú al-sè} "A kneading (?) trough not (previously) known is put (to the test) by means of salt; a mixing-jar (?) not (previously known) is put (to the test) by means of water; a son-in-law whose temper is unknown is put (to the test) in quarrels" (Alster 1997: 38–39 [vol. 1]). Besides the reference to the social function of disputations in the last line of the second proverb, both proverbs also mention the 'tureen' rather prominently.

Hot soup does occasionally appear elsewhere in the Sumerian proverb collections, as for example in SP 3.112: {ka-ĝu$_{10}$ tu$_7$ bil-lá ma-ra-sed$_4$-dè-en / ku$_6$-ta gìr-pad-rá ma-ni-ib-de$_5$- de$_5$-ge-en "With my mouth I cool the hot soup for you. I pick the bones from the fish for you" (Alster 1997: 99 [vol. 1]), but other than the general context of feasting behavior, there does not seem to be any close relationship between hot soup in the proverb collections and the *arzana*-soup under discussion here. The description of soup as 'boiling' is based on the stative form of {al-bíl-la}, which presumably refers to the end result of heating the soup, while the ablative postposition is probably instrumental, indicating that the addressee is burned by the boiling soup rather than the oven.

Although lines 72–74 ostensibly describe cooking in one form or another (the roasting of {zì-munu$_4$} in line 72 and a pot of *arzana*-soup in lines 73–74), it is also operating at a second, metaphorical level as a description of an unsuccessful act of sexual intercourse. We assume here that the 'oven of humanity' {^{im}šu-rin-na nam-lù-ùlu^{lu}-ka} in line 72 corresponds to the womb of the addressee's female sexual partner, while the 'tureen' {^{dug}údul} in the next line can be equated with the addressee's penis and 'the *arzana* soup' {ar-za-na} with his semen. If so, the description of the addressee trying to get his tureen {^{dug}údul} out of the stove {^{im}šu-rin-na}, while it is still hot, would describe some form of *coitus interruptus* that leads to the male actor in this imagined scene spilling his semen and getting his penis crushed in the process in line 74. This depiction of sexual incompetence or buffoonery seems to be based on the phonetic similarity of {údul} 'tureen' and Akk. *utūlu* 'to lie down' (see the *Introduction* for an extended discussion of this pun).

For our purposes here the importance of this metaphorical reading of the passage is that it helps us to make sense of how these lines respond to the preceding speech of the Bureaucrat in lines 59–69 above. This part of the Professor's speech picks up on the Bureaucrat's use of oven imagery in line 64 in combination with lines 66–67 in which {zì-munu$_4$} is juxtaposed to the *muttatu* haircut. In themselves, none of these three elements have anything to do with each other in the Bureaucrat's speech. The genius of the Professor's response is that he managed to weld these three elements together in a single vignette, centering on sexual innuendo and slander. Of course slander was one of the favorite themes of the Lu Azlag list alongside physical deformity and behavioral inappropriateness. This is particularly clear in the following extract from Lu Azlag B+C.

Lu Azlag B+C, segment 10, lines 9–18 (DCCLT edition)

9	lú kud-kud-rá	*ḫu-um-mu-ru-um*	‘cripple’
10	lú ad_4	*ḫu-um-mu-ru-um*	‘cripple’
11	lú kud-kud-rá	*ḫu-um-mu-ru-um*	‘cripple’
12	lú du_{10} lá	*tu-ub-bu-kum*	‘lame’
13	⌜lú⌝ du_{10} dab	*ṣú-ub-bu-tum*	‘lame’
14	lú líl	*li-il-lum*	‘idiot’
15	lú $uš_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar	*al-li-a-a*	‘drooler’
16	[lú] $uš_{11}$-bi sur-sur	*ša ru-pu-uš-ta-šu i-ṣa-ru-ru*	‘he whose saliva drips’
17	lú bún du_{11}-du_{11}	*mu-na-ap-pi-ḫu*	‘fire stoker’
18	lú lul sè-sè-ke	*mu-di-iṣ-ṣú*	‘deceiver’

The entries in Lu Azlag B+C lines 9 and 11 {lú kud-kud-rá} as well as 15 {lú $uš_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar} are attested in our text in lines 61 and 68 at the beginning and end respectively of the preceding speech from the Bureaucrat. AHw suggests the possibility that *mu-na-ap-pi-ḫu* corresponds to ‘Hetzer’ (viz. agitator, rabble-rouser) and this highlights the use of “stoking the fire” metaphors for gossip and indiscrete talk in cuneiform literature. The real innovation in lines 72–74 is to reframe a number of elements in the preceding speech from the Bureaucrat within the semantic field of sexual innuendo. Whereas lines 72–74 are part of a chain of intratextual references leading back to line 64 {saĝ lú-tumu udun báḫar-ra-ka nú-nú} “The windbag sleeps with his head in the potter’s kiln,” the following line, viz. line 75, then refers back to the source of the Bureaucrat’s discussion of ovens, namely line 61 {gu_4 sa ab-kud-kud ^{ĝiš}šudul$_5$-a nú-nú} “Oxen, even with their sinews cut, lie down still in the yoke.”

75 ^{uzu}ma-sìla sa-sal-zu su-a ab-síl-síl

PROF Your Achilles tendon and heel get scalded.

	^{uzu}ma-sìla	**sa-sal-zu**	**su-a**	**ab-síl-síl**	
H	⌜^{uzu}⌝ma [.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 3′)
K	^{uzu}ma	sa-sìla^{lá} kud	su$^{kúšu!(MI_2.UD)}$	[.....]	(Obv ii 12′)
N	[x x] ⌜sìla⌝	^{uzu}sa-sal-zu (eras.)	su?-⌜a?⌝	[.....]	(Rev 10)
T	[.....]	[...] ⌜sal?-su?⌝	su-a	⌜ab⌝ [...]	(Obv 6)
V	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	⌜ab⌝-síl-⌜síl⌝	(Obv 6)
W	⌜x⌝ [.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
C′	[.....]	[.....]-zu	su-a	ab-síl-síl	(Obv 3′)

	^{uzu}ma-sìla	**sa-sal-zu**	**su-a**	**ab-síl-síl**	
D′	ma-sìla	sa-sal-⌜zu⌝	su-a	ab-⌜síl⌝ [...]	(Obv 3′)
O′	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	⌜ab⌝-síl-síl	(Rev 6′)
P_{Ur}	ma-síla	sa-sal-zu	su-a	ab-⌜síl⌝ [...]	(Rev 6)
B''_{Sip}	^{uzu}ma-sìla	sa-⌜sal⌝ [...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 6)

The overall agreement between the individual manuscripts from Sippar and Ur as well as several of the manuscripts from Nippur such as T and D′ serve as the basis for our reconstruction, although the variations in K certainly warrant further study. We presume that the apparent use of KÚŠU$^{!}$(MÍ.UD) to gloss SU in manuscript K is an idiosyncratic and mistaken effort, based on the reading of the corresponding phrase {kuš-a} in line 107. Note as well that the Ur manuscript P as well as manuscript D′ from Nippur omits the initial determinative in the phrase {^{uzu}ma-sìla sa-sal-zu}; manuscript N locates the same determinative on the second term in the phrase {[x x]-sìla ^{uzu}sa-sal-zu}.

The phrase {ma-sìla} has been difficult to pin down and we have followed DCCLT's edition of Hh III 423, which translates the term as 'ankle joint', noting as well that *eqbum*, *kutallum*, *qinnatum* are "associated with ma-sìla in the Šumma Izbu commentary ROM 991: 10–11 (Leichty 1970: 233)." The body part {sa-sal} represents the same word as Akk. *šašallu* (CAD Š/2 168b; MSL 13: 122, line 281), which CAD translates as 'tendon of the hoof or heel'. In all likelihood it is originally a Sumerian word, meaning 'the thin {sal} tendon {sa}', hence our translation of it as Achilles tendon. The term also appears in legal statutes guarding against damaging rented oxen in both paragraph 34 of the Codex Lipit-Ištar: {tukum-bi lú-ù gu_4 in-ḫuĝ sa-sal TAR-a bí-in-sil} "If a man has hired an ox and cuts the tendon of the hoof..." (Steele 1948: 444 xviii 43) as well as paragraph 3 in the Laws about Rented Oxen: {tukum-bi gu_4 / sa-sal-bi íb-ta-an-síl$^{!}$ / igi-4-ĝál šám-ba-ka ì-lá-e "If (the renter) has cut (?) the hoof tendon of the ox, he shall pay one-fourth of its value" (Roth 1980: 129). Roth renders the parallel attestations of {sa-sal} ({^{uzu}SAL.SAL} in the Codex Hammurapi) as follows:

LL §34 (xviii 43)	sa-sal KU-a bí-in-sil	'cuts its hoof tendon'
LH §248 (xxi 32–33)	^{uzu}sal-sal-*šu it-ta-sa-ak*	'injures its hoof tendon'
Ox §3 (E 5′)	[...]-⌜ta⌝-an-síl$^{!}$: sa-sal-bi íb-⌜ta⌝-[...]	'severs(?) its hoof tendon'

(translations Roth)

Roth presents an extensive discussion and justification of her translation of {sa-sal} as 'tendon of the hoof or heel' (Roth 1980: 131–136). Roth's reading of the verb, however, depends on the parallel between {sil}(TAR) in Codex Lipit-Ištar and {síl}(NUN) in her text (the Akkadian in Codex Hammurapi results from a confusion between *nakāsu* and *nasāku*) as well as lexical attestations of {zil} or {síl}(NUN) = Akk. *šalāṭu* 'to cut, to sunder' (CAD S 94b sub *salātu*).

This line alludes to line 61 above ({gu_4 sa ab-kud-kud}), but draws on the vocabulary found in the legal tradition ({sil}(TAR) 'to split, to slice through') rather than the ordinary sense of {kud}(TAR) 'to cut'. While the point of departure for the pun is the image in line 61 of an ox with its sinew cut {sa—sil}, the context here (in combination with the fact that the verbal root is uniformly written with the NUN sign rather than TAR) requires that we read {síl}(NUN) rather than {sil_1} in the sense of Akk. *salāqu* 'to boil'. In other words, the line puns on the legal idiom {sa—sil} 'to cut a sinew', but replaces the {sil} 'to cut' with its homophone {síl} 'to boil', which makes much better sense in the context of spilling soup. In line 107, the pun is carried one step further with Sum. {su-a ab-síl-síl} 'boiled (of his flesh)' replaced with {kuš-a ab-síl-síl} 'peeled (of his skin)'. The latter, secondary pun corresponds to the other common Akkadian equivalent for Sum. {síl}, namely Akk. *qalāpu* 'to peel'. Note that both this line and line 107 have the same basic syntactic structure: pronominal conjugation followed by stative predicate, but the pronominal conjugation that gives the background for line 75 occurs two lines earlier in line 73 {e_{11}-da-zu-ne}.

This line is probably alluding to an older terminology for the cuts of meat that were distributed at feasts: the juxtaposition of the signs UZU, SÌLA, SAL and SU, not to mention the obvious phonological similarity of {síl} or {zil}, likely alludes to a third millennium system for describing cuts of meat that was based on the SÌLA sign as well as other cuneiform signs derived from it such as ŠITA.[30] For our purposes here it suffices to quote Civil's comment on ARET 5, 23, a syllabically written version of lines 50–57 in Word List D, an Early Dynastic compendium that lists pastries and cuts of meat that were distributed at major feasts:

> In MEE 3 63: 33ff. s ì l a is rendered as s a – a l or s a – l a, while here it is given as š u – l a. Perhaps the reason for the difference in form must be sought in a difference of meaning, since here s ì l a does not designate a

30 See Johnson 2015a for an extended discussion.

measure but a part of an animal or meat cut. Note the frequent use of s ì l a in terms for parts of an animal body or meat cuts in Hh. XV 61–67, 71–79a, etc. Judging from the present list, s ì l a must be a general term for "portion" of meat or fish (Civil 1984a: 162)

76 **^{gi}gur nisi-ga-ta zú e-da-ra-aḫ**

PROF You're snacking straight out of a basket of raw greens,

	^{gi}gur	**nisi-ga-ta**	**zú**	**e-da-ra-aḫ**	
H	^{gi}gur	⌜nisi⌝ [.....]	[...]	[.....]	(Rev i 4)
K	^{gi}gur	nisi-ga-ta	zú	e-⌜da?⌝ [.....]	(Obv ii 13′)
N	[.....]	[.....] -⌜ta⌝	zú-ĝu$_{10}$	e-da-⌜ra?-aḫ?⌝	(Rev 11)
T	[.....]	[.....]	⌜x⌝	[.....]	(Obv 7)
V	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	⌜e-da⌝-ra-aḫ	(Obv 7)
W	^{gi}gur	⌜nisi⌝ [.....]	[...]	[.....]	(Obv 2′)
X	⌜^{gi}gur⌝	⌜nisi⌝-ga-ta	[...]	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
C′	[.....]	[.....] -ga-ta	zú	e-da-ra-aḫ	(Obv 4′)
D′	^{gi}gur	nisi-ga-ta	zú	⌜e-da⌝ [.....]	(Obv 4′)
O′	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[...] ⌜da⌝-ra-aḫ	(Rev 7′)
P$_{Ur}$	^{gi}gur	nisi-ga-ta	zú	e-da-ra-aḫ!	(Rev 7)
B′′$_{Sip}$	^{gi}gur	nisi-ga-⌜ta⌝	⌜zú?⌝	[.....]	(Rev i 7)

The lexical materials assembled in Hh IX include nearly 50 entries that begin with {^{gi}gur}, a reed basket corresponding to the basic unit of capacity measure that was used to organize rationing systems for barley; see Hh IX e 1, which is reconstructed from Hg 46a: {^{gi}[gur] nisi} = *pa-an ar-qí* = *kur up-*[*pu*] (MSL 7: 70). The unusual variant in manuscript N ({zú-ĝu$_{10}$}) probably results from carrying the first person pronoun over from the series Ugumu.

The phrase {zú e-da-ra-aḫ} is attested fairly often in Sumerian literature and a number of examples are assembled in Karahashi's study of compound verbs (Karahashi 2000: 180), which cites this line in our text as one of its examples. Karahashi translates {zú—ra-aḫ}, which literally means 'to strike with the teeth', reasonably enough as 'to bite'. It may be significant, however, the phrase {zú ra-aḫ} also occasionally appears in the lexical tradition as a qualification of objects made of reeds, as in Hh IX 177–180:

Hh IX 177–180 (MSL 7: 44)

177	^{gi}zú	*le-ṭu-ú*	‘split reed’
178	^{gi}zú ra-aḫ	MIN	‘split reed’
179	^{gi}zú ša ra-aḫ	MIN	‘split reed’
180	^{gi}zú ša ra-aḫ	*mar-ka-su*	‘bond’

The monolingual Old Babylonian version of a different section from Hh IX may also be of some relevance here in that it links {^{gi}gur nisi} to a qualification that includes the verbal root {ra-aḫ}, the same verbal root that we find in the compound verb {zú—ra-aḫ}:

Old Babylonian Hh II 32–34 (DCCLT edition)

32	^{gi}gur nisi	‘basket of greens’
33	^{gi}gur ša-ḫa	‘basket of canvas’
34	^{gi}gur ša ra-aḫ	‘basket . . .’

There may be a chain of phonological puns running through lines 74–76: {bíl} in line 74 rhyming with {síl} in line 75, {su} in line 75 rhyming with {zú} in line 76. Nonetheless, the particular humor or even import of the line remains rather unclear to us.

77 **^{gi}gur šu-ku$_6$-da-ka ku$_6$ mi-ni-ib-kar-kar**

PROF While stealing fish from the fisherman’s basket.

	^{gi}gur	**šu-ku$_6$-da-ka**	**ku$_6$**	**mi-ni-ib-kar-kar**	
H	^{gi}gur	šu-⌜ku$_6$⌝ [. . . . . .]	[. . .]	[. . . . . .]	(Rev i 5′)
K	^{gi}gur	šu-peš-da-ke$_4$	ku$_6$	⌜mi⌝- [. . . . . .]	(Obv ii 14′)
N	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .] ⌜ta⌝-ke$_4$	ku$_6$	mi-ni-ib-kar-kar-⌜re⌝	(Rev 12)
V	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	ku$_6$	mi-ni-ib-kar-kar	(Obv 8)
W	^{gi}gur	šu-ku$_6$-da-⌜ke$_4$⌝	ku$_6$	⌜mi-ni⌝ [. . . . . .]	(Obv 3′)
X	[. . .] ⌜gur⌝	šu-peš-da [x] /	⌜ku$_6$⌝	mi-ni-ib [. . . . . .]	(Obv 2′)
C′	[. . . . . .]	[. . .] ⌜ku$_6$⌝-da-ka	ku$_6$	mi-ni-ib-kar-kar	(Obv 5′)
D′	^{gi}gur	šu-ku$_6$-da-⌜ka?⌝ (eras.)	ku$_6$	⌜mi⌝ [. . . . . .]	(Obv 5′)
O′	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . .]	[. . . . . .] ⌜kar⌝-kar	(Rev 8′)

	^{gi}gur	**šu-ku$_6$-da-ka**	**ku$_6$**	**mi-ni-ib-kar-kar**	
P_{Ur}	^{gi}gur-⌜ra?⌝	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	(Rev 8)
B′′$_{Sip}$	⌜^{gi}⌝gur	šu-ku$_6$-da-ka	⌜ku$_6$⌝	[.....]	(Rev i 8)

The locative (rather than locative-terminative) ending of the phrase {^{gi}gur šu-ḪA-da-ka} in the Sippar manuscript B′′ agrees with manuscripts C′ and D′ from Nippur and we have taken this sign of geographical distribution as an indication that it is the reading in the archetype. The only other variation is the presence of verb-final {-re} in manuscript N as opposed to its absence in manuscripts V C′ and O′, all from Nippur. This may be an anticipation of the rather different verbal form in line 80 {ab-ta-kar-kar-re-en-dè-en} or even {kar-kar-re} in line 118, but it is hard to be certain.

The auslaut /d/ in the phrase {šu-ku$_6$-da} raises the issue of the correct reading of the word for 'fisherman' yet again, but see our discussion in line 63 above. Here in particular the line may be punning on the phrase {^{gi}gur šà-ḫa} in Old Babylonian Hh II 33 in the commentary on the previous line, which follows immediately after {^{gi}gur nisi} (the first word in the preceding line) in Hh II 32. In line 63 the 'maidservant of the fisherman' {géme šu-ku$_6$} 'spends her days with the ban-container' {ĝiš-ba-an-e u$_4$ zal-zal}, while in our line the addressee is accused of pilfering fish from the gur-basket of the fisherman. The variation in manuscripts K and X ({šu-peš-da} for {šu-ku$_6$-da}) is based on the orthographic similarity between KU$_6$ and PEŠ, but {šu-peš} may also have been influenced by the phrase {ki-šu-peš} = Akk. *māḫāzu* 'shrine, cultic center' or the compound verb {šu—peš} = Akk. *qātum wuṣṣû* 'to open the hand wide'. The latter may be a euphemism for theft, which would fit nicely into the context of our line.

78 u$_4$ didli ĝéšbu da-kum-ta igi-giri$_{17}$-zu al-gu$_4$-gu$_4$-ud

PROF Every day, your facial features are contorted from being crushed in a death-grip.

	u$_4$	**didli**	**ĝéšbu**	**da-kum-ta**	**igi-giri$_{17}$-zu**	**al-gu$_4$-gu$_4$-ud**	
H	u$_4$	didli	ĝéšbu	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 6′ + ruling)
K	u$_4$	didli	ĝéšbu	da-kum-ta	igi-⌜giri$_{17}$⌝ [...]	[.....]	(Obv ii 15′)
N	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	⌜da⌝-kum-ta	igi-giri$_{17}$-za	al-gu$_4$-⌜gu$_4$⌝-ud	(Rev 13)

(*cont.*)

	u_4	**didli**	**ĝéšbu**	**da-kum-ta**	**igi-giri$_{17}$-zu**	**al-gu$_4$-gu$_4$-ud**	
V	[…]	[…..]	[…….]	[…….] -ta /	[…….]	⌜al?⌝-gu$_4$-gu$_4$-ud	(Obv 9)
W	u_4	didli	ĝéšbu	da-kum-⌜ta⌝	igi-giri$_{17}$-zu	⌜al-gu$_4$-gu$_4$⌝-ud	(Obv 4′ + ruling)
X	[…]	⌜didli⌝	⌜ĝéšbu⌝	⌜da⌝ […..] /	[…] giri$_{17}$-zu	⌜al?⌝ […….]	(Obv 3′)
C′	[…]	[…..]	ĝéšbu	da-kum-ta	igi-giri$_{17}$-zu	al-gu$_4$-gu$_4$-ud	(Obv 6′)
D′	u_4	didli	ĝéšbu	da-kum-⌜ta?⌝ /	igi-giri$_{17}$-zu	al-⌜gu$_4$⌝- […..]	(Obv 6′)
P_{Ur}	u_4	didli	⌜ĝéšbu⌝	da-kum-ta	igi-⌜giri$_{17}$⌝	al-gu$_4$⌝ […….]	(Rev 9)
B′′$_{Sip}$	[…]	⌜didli⌝		Á-kum-ta	igi-giri$_{17}$-⌜zu⌝	[…….]	(Rev i 9)

There are one or possibly two minor variants in the line: one is the different treatment of the second person possessive suffix in the phrase {igi kir$_4$-zu} (manuscript P from Ur omits it, while manuscript N adds a locative or genitive postposition after it), the other is the possible variation between {da} and {á} in the Sippar manuscript, but this may have resulted from the fact that {da-kum} is, in all likelihood, based on an Akkadian word, namely *dâkum* 'to kill'.

Earlier in our text we had the phrase {ĝéšbu aškud-ta} 'with a headlock' in line 44, but it is not clear whether there is any connection between these two lines other than the occurrence of {ĝéšbu}. The qualification {da-kum} as such is not otherwise attested in Sumerian literature, although {da-gum-da-gum-ma} does occur in *Winter and Summer* 272: {gaba u$_4$-da da-gum-da-gum-ma di ba-ni-in-dab$_5$-bé-en} (translation unclear). We would like to suggest, however, that {da-kum} represents the Akkadian word *dâkum* 'to kill' and describes the type of {ĝéšbu} under discussion, perhaps 'death-grip' or something similar.

The word {igi-giri$_{17}$} corresponds to Akk. *būnu* or *zīmu*, both of which refer to 'facial features' as can be seen in the two nearly identical extracts from Nabnitu I:

Nabnitu I 5–11 (MSL 16: 51)

5	⌜x⌝ igi	*bu-nu*	'face'
6	i-bí	MIN EME.SAL	'face' (Emesal)
7	igi-giri$_{17}$	MIN	'facial features'
8	i-bí-giri$_{17}$	MIN EME.SAL	'facial features' (Emesal)
9	mùš-me	MIN	'facial features'
10	saĝ-ki	MIN	'face'
11	mùš-me saĝ-ki	MIN	'face and forehead'

Nabnitu I 104–109 (MSL 16: 53)

104	mùš	*zi-i-*[*mu*]	'visage'
105	mùš-me	*zi-i-*[*mu*]	'visage, looks'
106	saĝ-ki	MIN	'forehead'
107	igi-giri$_{17}$	M[IN]	'facial features'
108	⌜i⌝-bí-giri$_{17}$	MIN EME.SAL	'facial features' (Emesal)
109	[m]ùš-me saĝ-ki	MIN	'face and forehead'

The word {igi-giri$_{17}$} (literally 'eye' + 'nose' = Akk. *īnu* and Akk. *appu* respectively) probably represents a merismus for 'facial features' in much the same way that {á-šu-ĝìri} (literally 'arm' + 'hands' + 'foot') stands for 'limbs' (see also the discussion of {á-šu-ĝìri kud} in line 107 below. The sections from Nabnitu for *būnu* and *zīmu* support such an inference, since each section takes as its point of departure a distinct monolexemic equation: {igi} = Akk. *būnu* and {mùš-me} = Akk. *zīmu*, whereas {igi-giri$_{17}$} is only recorded as a secondary equivalent to both terms. It may even be the case that {igi-giri$_{17}$} is a neologism in our text.

The phase {gu$_4$-ud} can normally be equated with Akk. *šaḫāṭu* 'to jump, to leap', but it is not entirely clear whether this makes sense in our line. If the discussion of "the scullery maids of the *lukur*-priestess" {géme lukur-ra} "rooting around like piglets" {zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé\text{-}eḫ}$ tur-gen$_7$ àm-ur$_4$-ur$_4$-re-dè-eš} in lines 85–86 is referring back to this line, it may suggest that the well-known proverb about slaughtering the fattened pig may lie in the background here. In SP 9, sect. A, lines 12–13 the proverb reads {šáḫ niga ab-šum-dè níĝ-gu$_7$-a-ĝu$_{10}$ ga-ab-su-e-še / zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé\text{-}eḫ}$ tur-e šu al-gu$_4$-gu$_4$-ud-dè / sa$_6$-ga-aš ĝá-e nu-gu$_7$-e-še} "Someone was about to slaughter a fattened pig. 'Let me replenish my food supply,' he said. The small pig escaped (lit. jumped out of his grip). 'It is good that I didn't get to eat him,' he said" (Alster 1997: 179 [vol. 1]).

Alster's most recent discussion of this pair of Wellerisms is in his discussion of MS 3279 (Alster 2007: 115–116). There the {gu$_7$} in SP 9, as in {nu-gu$_7$-e-še} is replaced with {gu$_4$} forming an orthographic as well as phonological parallel with {al-gu$_4$-gu$_4$-ud-dè} in the first of the two Wellerisms.[31]

31 The phase {al-gu$_4$-gu$_4$-ud} may also be present in another proverb that is rather difficult to interpret: {al-gùn-gùn-nu al-gu$_4$$^{?}$-gu$_4$$^{?}$-[ud] / dumu-ĝu$_{10}$ ki-áĝ x x-e-še} (UET 6/2 313 // SP 5.123 [Alster 1997: 143 (vol. 1); Alster 1997: 408 (vol. 2); Johnson 2010: 154]). Our line may also be alluding to SP 2.89 {gu$_4$ súmun gu$_7$-a-gen$_7$ giri$_{17}$ gu$_4$-ud-e-za} "like an ox that has eaten beerwort (Akk. *narṭabu*), . . ." (cf. Alster 1997: 63 [vol. 1]). This is apparently the only other co-location of {giri$_{17}$} and {gu$_4$-ud} in the literary materials.

79 ga-ab-sa$_{10}$ ganba lú še sa-sa-a

BUREAU In the market place, the barley roaster is (his own best) customer.

	ga-ab-sa$_{10}$	**ganba**	**lú**	**še**	**sa-sa-a**	
H	ga-ab-⌜sa$_{10}$⌝	[...]	[...]	[...]	[.....]	(Rev i 7′)
K	ga-ab-sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$	ganba	lú	še	[.....]	(Obv ii 16′)
N	[.....]	⌜ganba⌝	lú	še	⌜sa-sa⌝	(Rev 14)
V	[.....]	[...]	⌜lú⌝	še	sa-sa-a	(Obv 10)
W	ga-ab-sa$_{10}$	ganba$_x$(LAM×A)	⌜lú⌝	še	sa-sa-a	(Obv 5′)
X	[.....]	[...]	⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝	[.....]	(Obv 4′)
C′	ga-ab-sa$_{10}$	ganba	lú	še	sa-sa	(Obv 7′)
D′	ga-ab-⌜sa$_{10}$⌝	ganba	lú	še (eras.)	sa-sa [x]	(Obv 7′)
P$_{Ur}$	ga-ab-sa$_{10}$	ganba	⌜lú⌝	[...]	[.....]	(Rev 10 + ruling)
B′′$_{Sip}$	[.....]⌜sa$_{10}$⌝	ganba-ka	[...]	[...]	[.....]	(Rev i 10)

We take the form with explicit nominalization {lú še sa-sa-a} in manuscripts V and W to be closer to the archetype, even though the form in manuscripts N and C′ {lú še sa-sa} (without the nominalizing particle) corresponds to the form in the lexical tradition. The reduplication in {ga-ab-sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$} in manuscript K is presumably a phonological anticipation of either {sa-sa} or {sa-sa-a} in the second half of the line.

The CDLI photograph of manuscript W (P278625) locates a horizontal ruling before this line, suggesting that {ga-ab-sa$_{10}$ ganba lú še sa-sa-a} is the first line of a new speech from the Bureaucrat, although none of the published hand copies (A [ISET 2, 86], K or N from Nippur, B′′ from Sippar) mark this division. This ruling in the Nippur manuscript W (indicating that this line begins a new speech) therefore disagrees with the placement of the ruling in manuscript P from Ur, which locates the ruling after this line, which would mean that this line was the last line of the preceding speech from the Professor. Line 80 begins with {lú IM}, although there in the phrase {lú ní-su-ub-ba-gen$_7$} rather than the leitmotif {lú-tumu}: since {lú-tumu(IM)} often marks the beginning of a speech elsewhere in the text, the person who wrote manuscript P may have misinterpreted {lú IM} in line 80 as one of these occurrences of {lú-tumu(IM)} and therefore moved the ruling immediately before line 80. This might suggest that the ruling in manuscript P from Ur is a *lectio facilior* and that the *lectio difficilior* is the ruling in manuscript W. Therefore, we have located the change

in speaker according to manuscript W rather than manuscript P and this line is taken as the first line of a new speech coming from the Bureaucrat. It is also noteworthy that this is one of the few changes in speaker in the text that is not indicated by the use of an explicitly marked interrogative, so it is not surprising that the manuscripts show some variation.

The central pun at work in this line seems to be the equation between {lú še sa-sa} and the Akkadian term *muqallû* that we find in Lu Azlag version B+C, in segment 3 (DCCLT edition):

Lu Azlag B+C, segment C, lines 2–4 (DCCLT edition)

2	[lú] še ĝiš ra	*ra-pí-su*	'(barley) thresher'
3	[lú] še bir ak	*ša qù-li-ip-ti*	'(barley) dehusker'
4	[lú] še sa-sa	*mu-qá-al-lu-ú*	'(barley) roaster'

This section clearly describes several of the stages in the processing of barley, but interestingly enough only {lú še sa-sa} is omitted from the corresponding passage in Lu Azlag A, lines 200–202. While *muqallû* is simply a D-stem active participle from *qalû* 'to roast', hence 'roaster' (CAD Q 69a), it puns on the D-stem of *qalālu*, namely *qullulu*, 'to make an inferior product, to diminish, to ridicule' (CAD 55a) The D-stem of *qullulu* is normally equated with Sum. {pe-el-lá}, so there may be a similar pun on the verbal root {bíl} in Sumerian.[32] If the traditional reading of KI.LAM as {ganba} is correct, the juxtaposition of {ga-ab-sa$_{10}$} with {ganba lú še sa-sa-a} would result from the fact that {ga-ab-sa$_{10}$} shares it initial syllable with {ganba} and its final syllable or two with {sa-sa-a}, but it is also worth mentioning that an important list of deverbal nouns formed from verbs bearing the cohortative prefix, such as {ga-ab-sa$_{10}$}, also occurs in Izi V (see in particular Izi V 113–115 [MSL 13: 164]).[33]

32 Although we will return to the role of {pe-el-lá} in Sumerian below, there is also an intriguing section of Izi E that links the 'charcoal burner' {ú-bíl-lá} = Akk. *ú-pél-lu-u* to {ú-ḫub} = Akk. *sukkuku* (MSL 13: 192), while K 4344 rev. i′ 7–8 (DCCLT, cf. MSL 12: 226; see also the Hg tablet SpTU 3, 116 rev iv 43, reference courtesy N. Veldhuis) juxtaposes the charcoal burner {ú-bíl-lá} and the ecstatic {lú-gub-ba} = Akk. *a-pil-lu-ú* (listed in CAD sub *apillû*, but the Sumerian might suggest that it is simply Akk. *āpilu* 'gainsayer' misunderstood as a Sumerian loanword. This pun would thus describe someone who both produces inferior work, while at the same time ridiculing or making light of others.

33 Veldhuis (2014: 293, n. 678) has recently suggested that the traditional reading of KI.LAM as {ganba} is incorrect and should be replaced with {šakanka}, which "is probably a genitive construct of šag$_4$ and kan$_4$(KA$_2$), 'inside of the gate'." We retain the traditional form

Given its basic sense, however, this line is probably answering the discussion of roasting {zì-munu$_4$} flour in line 72, while at the same time reintroducing the kiln/oven theme that will play a central role in lines 81–83. Moreover, if we see line 79 as a comment on line 72, which was at the beginning of the Professor's speech in lines 70–78, it further strengthens the placement of the horizontal ruling according to manuscript W rather than manuscript P. The first line of the Professor's speech in lines 70–78 also began with {ní-su-ub} as does line 80 immediately below.

80 lú ní-su-ub-ba-gen$_7$ igi-zu-ta ab-ta-kar-kar-re-en-dè-en

BUREAU We flee from you as if you were a lunatic.

	lú	**ní-su-ub-ba-gen$_7$**	**igi-zu-ta**	**ab-ta-kar-kar-re-en-dè-en**	
H	lú	ní-su-ub [.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 8′)
K	lú	ní-su-ub-ba-gen$_7$	igi-zu-ta	⌜ab?⌝ [.....]	(Obv ii 17′)
N	[...]	[.....] ⌜gen$_7$⌝	igi-zu-ta	ab- [.....] -⌜re⌝- dè-eš	(Rev 15)
V	[...]	[.....]	⌜igi⌝-zu-ta	ab-ta-kár-kár- / [...] en!(KÙ)	(Obv 11)
W	lú	ní-su-ub-ba-gen$_7$	igi-zu-ta	ab-ta-kar-kar-re-en-dè-en	(Obv 6′)
C′	lú	ní-su-ub-ba-⌜gen$_7$⌝	igi-zu-ta	ab-ta-kár-kár- / en-dè-⌜en!(KÙ)⌝	(Obv 8′)
D′	lú	ní-su-ub-ba-gen$_7$	igi-zu-ta	ab-ta-⌜kár-kár⌝- / ⌜en-dè-x⌝	(Obv 8′)
P_{Ur}	lú	ní-su-ub-ba-gen$_7$	⌜igi⌝ [....]	[.....]	(Rev 11)
B′′$_{Sip}$	[...]	[...] ⌜ub⌝-ba-gen$_7$	igi-zu [...]	[.....]	(Rev i 11)

We follow the version in manuscript W, but in fact the only significant variation in the line is between the third person plural verbal form in manuscript N as opposed to the first person plural verbal form in the others manuscripts.[34] Manuscript W also writes the reduplicated verbal root with {kar-kar} rather than the phonetic rendering {kár-kár} and includes {-re-}, otherwise only present in manuscript N.

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here, but note in particular the form in the Sippar manuscript B′′, where the KA following KI.LAM could easily be seen as a phonetic gloss: {šakanka^{ka}}.

34 Gragg (1973: 48), however, adopts and translates the alternative version as follows: "As from a man possessed, they will flee from your presence."

As already noted in the commentary to the preceding line, the presence of {lú ní-su-ub-ba-gen$_7$} is almost certainly a reference back to the {ní-su-ub lú-tumu} that appeared at the beginning of line 70, the first line in the preceding speech from the Professor. For the position of the {ní-su-ub} in Lu Azlag A 29, see the discussion in the commentary to line 70.

The verbal form with stative prefix followed the ablative infix {ab-ta-*} (strictly speaking /a-b-ta-/ [Stative-3Sg.Nonhuman-Ablative]) occurs four times other than in this line: in line 18 we had {ab-ta-bar}, while line 83 has {ab-ta-si-si} and line 134 has two different exemplars {ab-ta-šub-ba} and {ab-ta-giri$_{11}$-da}. Only two of these examples have a reduplicated verbal root and both occur in this speech from the Bureaucrat: {ab-ta-kar-kar-re-en-dè-en} here in line 80 and {ab-ta-si-si} in line 83. It is certainly no accident, therefore, that these two lines mark the beginning and end of the four-line subsection within the Bureaucrat's speech that picks up and continues his earlier discussion of 'the potter's kiln' {udun báḫar-ra} in line 64, while at the same time critiquing the four-line section (lines 72–75) concerned with the 'oven' {^{im}šu-rin-na} in the preceding speech from the Professor. We return to the specific verbal semantics of these constructions in the commentary to line 134 below.

81 udun báḫar-ra-ka gur$_4$-gur$_4$-re-da-zu-ne

BUREAU (You look like) you've been rolled around in the potter's oven.

	udun	**báḫar-ra-ka**	**gur$_4$-gur$_4$-re-da-zu-ne**	
H	[...]	⌜báḫar⌝-ra [.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 9′)
K	udun	báḫar-ra-ka	gur$_4$!-gur$_4$-re-⌜da⌝ [.....]	(Obv ii 18′)
N	[...]	[.....]	⌜gur$_4$-gur$_4$⌝-re-⌜da⌝ [.....]	(Rev 16)
V	[...]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜re?-da-zu⌝-ne	(Obv 12)
W	udun	báḫar-ra-ka	gur$_4$-⌜gur$_4$⌝-re-da-zu-ne	(Obv 7′)
C′	⌜udun⌝	⌜báḫar⌝ [.....]	[.....] -⌜re-da⌝-zu-ne	(Obv 9′)
D′	udun	báḫar-ra-ka	gur$_4$-gur$_4$- da-zu-ne	(Rev 1)
Y′	[...]	[.....] ⌜ra⌝ [...]	[.....]	(Obv 1′ + ruling)
P$_{Ur}$	udun	báḫar? -ka	⌜gur$_4$?⌝ [.....]	(Rev 12)
B′′$_{Sip}$	[...]	[...] ⌜ra⌝-ka	gur$_4$ [.....]	(Rev i 12)

The pronominal conjugation {gur_4-gur_4-re-da-zu-ne} could also hypothetically be read as {kìr-kìr-re-da-zu-ne}, since LAGAB can represent either {gur_4} or {kìr}. Both {gur_4} and {kìr} are equated with Akk. *nagarruru* 'to roll' (N-stem of *garāru*) in Aa I/2:

Aa I/2 line 6 and 28–29 (MSL 14: 208)

6	(kur)	(LAGAB)	[*na-gar*]-*ru-ru*	'to roll'
...				
28	ki-ir	LAGAB	*na-gar-ru-ru*	'to roll'
29	(ki-ir)	(LAGAB)	*i-tag-ru-ru*	'humbled, groveling'

Nonetheless if we limit ourselves to the reduplicated form, viz. {gur_4-gur_4}, the lexical tradition supports a reading of {gur_4-gur_4-re-da-zu-ne} rather than {kìr-kìr-re-da-zu-ne} (see Antagal III 25 [MSL 17: 151] or Old Babylonian Diri Nippur 66 [MSL 15: 14]) and we assume here that the reading {kìr-kìr} only applies when its direct object is {im} 'clay' or something similar. PSD B 47 presumably follows Aa I/2 29 in reading the line as {kìr-kìr-re-da-zu-dè}, but in our view this should be corrected to {gur_4-gur_4-re-da-zu-ne}.

The passage from the Old Babylonian version of Diri is particularly interesting because the lines that immediately follow Old Babylonian Diri Nippur line 66 equate {gur_4-gur_4} with *puggulu*, *kabru* and *kubuttû*, all terms that may have been used in reference to social status.

Old Babylonian Diri Nippur 66–69 (MSL 15: 14)

66	gu-ur-gu-ur	LAGAB.LAGAB	*i-ta-ag-ru-ru-*⌜*um*⌝	'humbled, groveling'
67			⌜*pu*⌝-*ug-gu*$_5$-⌜*lum*⌝	'powerful'
68			*ka-ab-ru-um*	'fat, thick'
69			*ku-bu-tum*	'abundant wealth'

This can be contrasted with Akkadian usage of *garāru*, suggesting that the term was used as an expression of humility, but of course one who prostrates himself before the king on a daily basis will certainly stand higher in the social hierarchy than someone who is never admitted to the court, so it is fairly easy to see how {gur_4-gur_4} came to refer to individuals of high rather than low social status.

82 gú-murgu-zu-ta zà-gu-du-zu-šè

BUREAU From stem to stern,

	gú-murgu-zu-ta	**zà-gu-du-zu-šè**	
H	⌜gú-murgu⌝-zu-⌜ta⌝	[.....]	(Rev i 10′)
K	gú-murgu-zu-ta	zà-gu-⌜du⌝ [.....]	(Obv ii 19′)
N	[.....]	⌜zà⌝-gu-du-⌜zu?⌝ [.....]	(Rev 17)
V	[.....]	[.....] ⌜x⌝	(Obv 13)
W	gú-murgu-zu-ta	zà-⌜gu⌝-du-zu!-šè	(Obv 8′)
D′	gú-murgu-zu-ta	zà-gu-⌜du⌝ DA-zu-šè	(Rev 2)
P_{Ur}	gú-murgu-zu-ta	zà-⌜gu⌝ [.....]	(Rev 13)
B''_{Sip}	[.....]	[...] ⌜gu?-du⌝ [.....]	(Rev i 13)

No variants other than the DA that follows {zà-gu-du} in manuscript D′. The line literally means "from the top of your backbone, to the edge of your anus," but the sense in context is clearly similar to English idioms such as "from stem to stern" that describe the entire length of some object, here the trunk of the human body. The lexical tradition equates {gú-murgu} with Akk. *eṣenṣēru* 'backbone, spine, keel (of ship)', while {zà gu-du} does not, strictly speaking, exist as a distinct entry in the lexical materials; instead, the expression {zà gu-du}, viz. /zag-udu/, puns on the series of entries in Hh XV that normally follow {gú-murgu}, namely those concerned with {zag udu}, viz. /za(g)-gudu/.

Hh XV 56–64 (MSL 9: 8)

56	^{uzu}gú-murgu	*e-ṣe-en-ṣe-ru*	'backbone'
57	^{uzu}zú-kéš gú-murgu	*ki-ṣir* MIN	'vertebra'
58	[^{uzu}zag]-⌜udu⌝	*i-mit-tum*	'cut of meat'
59	[^{uzu}]⌜zag⌝-udu a-ri-a	ŠU-*u*	'cut of meat'
60	^{uzu}zag-udu a-ri-a	*ni-is-ḫu i-mit-tum*	'choice cut of meat'
61	^{uzu}sìl zag-udu	*ni-is-ḫu i-mit-tum*	'choice cut of meat'
62	^{uzu}sìl zag-udu	*šá is-qi* SÌLA	'one (who receives) a portion of meat
63	^{uzu}sìl zag-udu	*kam-ki-is-su*	?
64	^{uzu}sìl zag-udu	*nag-la-bi*	'of the shoulder blade'
65	^{uzu}maš-sìl	*nag-la-bi*	'of the shoulder blade'

The entry in line 56 is also reflected in Hg B IV i 35 (MSL 9: 35) and Malku V 17b (Hrůša 2010: 110–111). By juxtaposing the newly coined parodic expression {zà gu-du} to {gú-murgu} (already including an internal play between the two syllables with /gu/), the author emphasizes the important of /gu/ in making sense of {zà gu-du} and the resegmentation of /zag-udu/ as /za-gudu/ follows quite naturally, although the members of the Edubba probably understood it as variation between {udu} and {gu-du}, viz. /(g)udu/, following {zag} in their 'syllabic' paradigm. The humor here clearly rests on the quasi-universal perception of the human buttocks as equivalent to a large hunk of meat. This line more-or-less explicitly responds to line 75 in the preceding speech from the Professor: {^{uzu}ma-sìla sa-sal-zu su-a ab-síl-síl} "your Achilles tendon and heel get scalded." The juxtaposition of {^{uzu}sìl zag-udu} and {^{uzu}ma-sìla} in the Old Babylonian precursors to Hh XV 64–65 may have inspired the leap from {^{uzu}ma-sìla} in line 75 to {zà-gu-du} in our line.

83 zú-kéš sim$_x$(GIG)-ma ab-ta-si-si

BUREAU The vertebrae are completely covered with blemishes

	zú-kéš	**sim$_x$(GIG)-ma**	**ab-ta-si-si**	
H	zú-kéš	⌜sim$_x$(GIG)⌝ [.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 11′)
K	zú-kéš	sim$_x$(GIG)-ma	⌜ab⌝ [.....]	(Obv ii 20′)
N	[.....]	[.....]	ab-⌜ta-si⌝ [....]	(Rev 18)
W	⌜zú⌝-kéš	sim$_x$(GIG)-ma	ab-ta-si-si	(Obv 9′)
D′	zú-kéš	⌜sim$_x$(GIG)?-ma⌝	ab-ta-si-si ⌜x⌝	(Rev 3)
P$_{Ur}$	zú-kéš	sim$_x$(GIG)-ma	⌜ab⌝ [.....]	(Rev 14)
B′′$_{Sip}$	[.....]	[.....]	⌜ab-ta⌝ [.....]	(Rev i 14)

The reading is based, above all, on an entry in MSL SS1, 101 i 4, namely: {[É] KA$^{zu\text{-}uk\text{-}še}$KEŠ-DA⌜$^{ta(?)}$⌝} as well as the parallel in *Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld* 190 between {šà KA-kéš-da} and {šà zu-kéš-da} (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995: 36; 2000: 32). There is also a largely reconstructed entry in Aa VIII/2 5 that locates our expression in a group of /šir/ and /sir/ readings of EZEN, in particular {sìr}: ⌜ša KA⌝-[SÌR *mar*]-⌜*ka*⌝-*su* (MSL 14: 497), where the loaned expression *ša kaṣir* seems to be equated with Akk. *markasu*. In spite of the reading {KA-sìr} proposed in MSL 14: 497, we retain the now conventional reading {zú-kéš(d/r)} associated with Akk. *kiṣru*. We can be certain that

the first term corresponds to Akk. *kiṣru* in the phrase *kiṣir eṣenṣēri* thanks to the entry in Hh XV 57 that we looked at in the commentary to line 82: {^{uzu}zú-kéš gú-murgu} = Akk. *ki-ṣir* MIN (=*e-ṣe-en-ṣe-ru*).

The phrase {sim$_x$(GIG)-ma} is attested elsewhere in the Old Babylonian literary corpus, though mostly in texts that are related in one way or another to Ninisina or Nintinugga such as Ninisina A 21 (ETCSL 4.22.1), Ninisina D 12 (ETCSL 4.22.4), Dog for Nintinugga 6 (ETCSL 5.7.2) and the *Letter from the Scribe Nanna-mansum to the Goddess Ninisina* (ETCSL 3.3.21); see Kleinerman 2011: 174 and Böck 2013: 23, n. 81, for recent discussions of the term. As Sjöberg suggests in his commentary on Ninisina D 12, {GIG-GIG-ma} is probably equated with *simmū ṣēnūtu* in MSL 9 107: 7 (Sjöberg 1982: 64). Lugale 177 is particularly interesting in this regard since in Lugale 177 the Old Babylonian version has {GIG-GIG-ma}, which is equated with Akk. *sim-ma mar-ṣa* and corresponds to the hypercorrected form {[x] gig-ga} in the first millennium BCE edition (Seminara 2001: 98–99). As our line indicates, {GIG-ma} was a perfectly valid form in the Old Babylonian Edubba and we presume here that it actually represents an Akkadian loanword, viz. {sim$_x$(GIG)-ma} = Akk. *simmu* 'lesion'.

84 ^{gi}pisaĝ ninda kurum$_6$-ma lukur-e-ne-ke$_4$ ù-mu-un-šub-bé

BUREAU When you drop off the offering basket of the priestesses,

	^{gi}pisaĝ	**ninda**	**kurum$_6$-ma**	**lukur-e-ne-ke$_4$**	**ù-mu-un-šub-bé**	
B	^{gi}⌜pisaĝ⌝	[…]	[…….]	[…….]	[…….]	(Rev i 1′)
H	^{gi}pisaĝ	ninda	⌜kurum$_6$⌝ [x]	[…….]	[…….]	(Rev i 12′)
K	⌜^{gi}⌝pisaĝ	ninda	kurum$_6$!-⌜ma⌝ /	⌜x⌝ […….]	[…….]	(Obv ii 21′)
N	[…….]	[…]	[…….]	[x]-⌜e?-ne⌝ […]	[…….]	(Rev 19)
V	[…….]	[…]	[…….]	[…….] ⌜ka⌝	ù-mu- ⌜šub?⌝ [x]	(Rev 1′)
W	[x] ⌜pisaĝ?	ninda⌝	kurum$_6$-ma	lukur-e-ne-⌜ke$_4$⌝	ù-mu-un-šub-bé	(Rev 10′)
D′	^{gi}gur	⌜ninda	kurum$_6$⌝ [x]	⌜lukur⌝-e-ne-⌜ke$_4$!⌝	ù-⌜mu⌝ […] / šub-[…]	(Rev 4)
P$_{Ur}$	^{gi}pisaĝ	ninda	kurum$_6$-ma	lukur-e-⌜ne⌝ […]	⌜ù-ma-na⌝- […]	(Rev 15)
B′′$_{Sip}$	[…….]	[…]	[…] ⌜x⌝	⌜x x⌝ […….]	[…….]	(Rev i 15)

The variant {gi gur} for {gi pisaĝ} in manuscript D′ makes the link between this line and lines 76–77 in the preceding speech from the Professor clear, but GUR in manuscript D′ should probably be re-examined.[35] Given the apparent narrative continuity of lines 84–86, we take as our working hypothesis that lines 84–86 in this speech from the Bureaucrat correspond to lines 76–77 above, while lines 87–88 probably respond to the oven imagery in lines 72–75 (see below). The lexical background of this line probably lies in texts such as SLT 83:

SLT 83 rev. ii 4–9 (after DCCLT; Old Babylonian Hh VIII 48–53; MSL 7: 185–186)

4	gi pisaĝ kù	'pure basket'
5	gi pisaĝ azag	'taboo basket'
6	[gi]⌜pisan⌝ BAD HU!	'. . . basket'
7	[gi]⌜pisaĝ⌝ nu-ḫu-uz	'. . . basket'
8	[gi pisaĝ ninda] lukur-ra	'breadbasket of the concubine'
9	[gi pisaĝ] ⌜ninda gur$_4$-ra⌝	'basket for thick bread'

It should also be kept in mind that in Hh IX the lengthy section that deals with {gi gur} is immediately followed by an equally lengthy section that deals with {gi pisaĝ}, so the link between our line and lines 76–77 above would have been quite clear to anyone involved in the scribal schools. The occurrence of {ninda gur$_4$-ra} in line 9 of SRT 83 (the line immediately after the entry for {gi pisaĝ ninda lukur-ra} in line 8) is probably significant, since {gur$_4$-gur$_4$} was central to the poetics of line 81 earlier in this same speech.[36]

85 géme lukur-ra al-tur-tur-re-eš-àm

BUREAU The priestesses' scullery maids tear it to shreads.

	géme	**lukur-ra**	**al-tur-tur-re-eš-àm**	
A	[. . .]	[. . . . . .]	⌜al⌝-tur-tur-⌜re⌝- [. . . . . .]	(Rev i 1′)
B	géme	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	(Rev i 2′)
H	géme	lukur-ra	[. . . . . .]	(Rev i 13′)

35 The left vertical in the GA$_2$ in manuscript K it to the left of the sign and the same form of GA$_2$ may also be present in manuscript D′.

36 For the most recent discussion of {ninda gur$_4$-ra} (there transliterated as {inda$_3$ gur$_4$-ra}, see Brunke 2008: 132–133.

	géme	**lukur-ra**	**al-tur-tur-re-eš-àm**	
K	⌜géme⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 1)
N	[...]	[.....]	[...] ⌜tur-tur?⌝ [.....]	(Rev 20)
V	[...]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜re⌝-eš-⌜àm⌝	(Rev 2′)
W	[...]	[.....]	⌜al-tur?-tur?-re⌝-eš-àm	(Obv 11′)
C′	géme	lukur-ra	⌜al-tur- re-eš-àm⌝	(Rev 1′)
D′	(omits)			
T′	⌜géme⌝	[...] ra	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
P_{Ur}	géme	lukur-ra	al-tur (eras.) [.....]	(Rev 16)

As signaled by the phrase {géme lukur-ra}, these lines return to the proverb collections, and in particular to the general theme of *The Lazy Slave Girl*, which was central in lines 30–33. There may also be an allusion to {géme šu-ku$_6$} in line 63, the line immediately before the most important line in the preceding speech from the Bureaucrat, namely line 64: {saĝ lú-tumu udun báḫar-ra}.

This line probably alludes to SP 7.88: {ga-⌜an⌝-[...] / ga-ab-[...] / ba-ab-ḫul-ḫul / géme lukur-ra-kam} "(To say) 'Let me ..., let me ...', it was being ruined: so the slave girl of the *lukur*-priestess" (Alster 1997: 162 [vol. 1]). Moreover, this admittedly fragmentary proverb is followed directly in Proverb Collection 7 by the well-known proverb SP 7.89: {lul du$_{11}$-ga-ab zi du$_{11}$-ga-ab} "Tell a lie, tell the truth" (Alster 1997: 162 [vol. 1]), a proverb that reappears in SP 2.71, in a somewhat fuller version: {lul du$_{11}$-ga-ab zi du$_{11}$-ga-ab lul ba-e-sì-ke} "Tell a lie, tell the truth: (either way) it is taken as a lie" (Alster 1997: 60 [vol. 1]; Alster 1978: 111). And finally, to top off this chain of intertextual references to Proverb Collections 2 and 7, the immediately following proverb in SP 2.72 {lul du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ ra-gaba ki bad-rá} is repeated in full in line 60 in our text above.[37]

37 Alster also notes that, besides SP 7.88, {géme lukur-ra-kam} may also appear in SP 21 Sec. A 9, in spite of the fact that the sign for {lukur} seems to be ḪAŠḪUR (Alster 1997: 442 [vol. 2]).

86 igi-zu zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé\text{-}eḫ}$ tur-gen$_7$ àm-ur$_4$-ur$_4$-re-dè-eš

BUREAU Your expression is as if (you were watching) them rooting it up like piglets

	igi-zu	**zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé\text{-}eḫ}$**	**tur-gen$_7$**	**àm-ur$_4$-ur$_4$-re-dè-eš**	
A	[.....]	⌜zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)⌝$^{zé\text{-}eḫ}$	tur-gen$_7$	àm-⌜ur$_4$⌝ [.....]	(Rev i 2 + ruling)
B	igi-⌜zu⌝	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 3′)
H	igi-zu	⌜zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 14′)
K	igi-zu	zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé\text{-}eḫ}$	tur-⌜gen$_7$⌝	[.....]	(Rev i 2)
N	[.....]	[...] ⌜x⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 21)
V	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	⌜àm⌝-ur$_4$-ur$_4$-re- (eras.) dè-eš	(Rev 3′)
W	[.....]	[...]	[.....] ⌜x⌝	àm-⌜ur$_4$-ur$_4$⌝-re-⌜dè-eš⌝	(Obv 12′)
X	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜eš⌝	(Rev 1)
C′	igi-zu	zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé?\text{-}eḫ}$	tur-gen$_7$	àm-ur$_4$?-ur$_4$?-re-dè-eš	(Rev 2′)
D′	⌜igi-zu⌝	zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé\text{-}eḫ}$	tur-gen$_7$	àm-⌜ur$_4$⌝ [.....]	(Rev 5)
T′	⌜igi-zu⌝	⌜zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé\text{-}eḫ}$⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 2′)
P$_{Ur}$	igi-zu	zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)	tur-gen$_7$	àm-ur$_4$-ur$_4$ [x] ⌜re-dè⌝- [.....]	(Rev 17)

The only significant variation is the omission of the gloss {zé-eḫ} following ŠÁḪ in manuscript P from Ur. The horizontal rulings attested in manuscripts A and D′ are difficult to explain: the ruling in manuscript A is a single ruling in a text in which every line is ruled and the same is also true for manuscript D′, so the fact that the two manuscripts both follow this line with a deeply incised guideline may be accidental or result from the need to carefully demarcate the exceedingly long line that follows in line 87.

The key point for the interpretation of this line is that the initial phrase {igi-zu} should not be confused with the frequently attested complex postpositional phrase {igi-zu-šè} 'in front of you'. None of the available witnesses has {igi-zu-šè} and our translation attempts to take this fact into consideration. Our emphasis on the facial expression of the addressee in response to the not-so-elegant behavior of the scullery maids is also inspired by the fact that {igi-zu} in our line is responding to the phrase {igi-giri$_{17}$-zu} "your facial features" in line 78 above.

As noted above in our commentary on lines 22 and 78, the proverb that probably lies in the background here is SP 9, Sec. A, line 13: {zeḫ$_x$(ŠÁḪ)$^{zé\text{-}eḫ}$

tur-e šu al-gu$_4$-gu$_4$-ud / sa$_6$-ga-aš ĝá-e nu-gu$_7$-e-še "The small pig escaped (lit. jumped out of his grip). 'It is good that I didn't get to eat him,' he said" (Alster 1997: 179 [vol. 1]). The same proverb occurs in a number of minor proverb collections such as SP 19 Sec. B 2 (Alster 1997: 243 [vol. 1]), often intermixed with short literary texts such as *The Fowler and His Wife*, *The Lazy Slave Girl* or the set of proverbs that begin with {é gul-gul-e kù ì-gul-e} as in SP 21 Sec. B 5 (Alster 1997: 258 [vol. 1]), SP 24.2 (Alster 1997: 273 [vol. 1]), or YBC 4677, 2 (Alster 1997: 301–302 [vol. 1]). The primary link between this line and the one that precedes it is a simple phonological parallel in the form of the verb: {al-tur-tur-re-eš-àm} in the preceding line as opposed to {àm-ur$_4$-ur$_4$-re-dè-eš} in this line, where the latter is also preceded by {tur-gen$_7$} so we do not miss the point. Both are stative and center on reduplicated verbal roots that end in /ur/.

The repetition of {lukur} (a type of priestess, see Renger 1967 for an overview) in lines 84 and 85 strongly suggests that this term should offer us a general explanation for the significance of lines 84–86. First of all, it should be noted that this three-line section connects to the discussion of lines 80–83 on the basis of the phonological similarity of {lukur} and {lú gur$_4$}. Moreover, the verbal roots in lines 85 and 86 ({al-tur-tur-re-eš-àm} and {àm-ur$_4$-ur$_4$-re-dè-eš} respectively) seem to be punning on {lukur} as well. The reference to the slavegirl of the {lukur}, viz. the *nadītu*-priestess, also brings to mind Samsu-iluna's famous rescript in which he issued two new statutes meant to ensure the financial solvency of the cloister in Sippar and thereby bring some relief to the so-called 'hungry *nadītus*'.[38] Since *The Class Reunion* was probably composed in the Old Babylonian period (see the commentary to line 110), the rather involved discussion of the maidservants of the {lukur} may even represent an allusion to the new legal statutes issued by Samsu-iluna. Such an allusion might also explain the curious behavior of the "the priestesses' scullery maids" {géme lukur-ra}, who seem to be portrayed as desperately in need of food.

38 See Janssen 1991 for the *editio princips* as well as the discussion in Charpin 2010: 74–76.

87 é diĝir èš didli-ka ì-du$_8$ gudu$_4$-bi ù-sá igi-bi-ta a-ra-ab-dag en-nu-ùĝ a-ra-ak-dè

BUREAU In each of the shrines of the temple, while the porters and priests are sleeping, they sleep with one eye open and keep watch because of you.

	é	**diĝir**	**èš**	**didli-ka**	**ì-du$_8$**	**gudu$_4$-bi**	**ù-sá**	**igi-bi-ta**	**a-ra-ab-dag**
A	[…]	diĝir	èš	didli-⌜ka⌝ / [x] ⌜du$_8$⌝		gudu$_4$-bi	ù-sá	igi-bi-ta	a- [……..]
B	é	[…]	[…]	[……..]	ì-⌜x⌝	[……..]	[……]	[……..]	x [……..]
H	é	[…]	[…]	[……..]	[……]	[……..]	[……]	[……..]	[……..]
K	é	diĝir	èš	⌜didli⌝ [x] /	ì-du$_8$	gudu$_4$	ù-sá	igi-bi-⌜ta⌝	[……..]
N	[…]	[…]	[…]	⌜x⌝ [……]	[……]	[……..]	[……]	[……..]	[……..]
V	[…]	[…]	[…]	[……..]	[……]	[……..]	[……]	[……..]	[……..]
W	[…]	[…]	[…]	[……..]	[……]	[……..]	[……]	[…] ⌜bi-ta⌝	⌜a-ra⌝ […]
X	[…]	[…]	[…]	didli /	[……]	[x]-du-bi	ù […]	[……..]	[……] dag
C′	é	diĝir	èš	didli-ka /	ì-du$_8$	gudu$_4$-bi	ù-sá	igi-bi-ta /	a-ra-ab-dag
D′	⌜é⌝	diĝir	èš	didli [x] /	ì-du$_8$	gudu$_4$-bi	ù-sá	igi-⌜bi⌝ [x] /	a-ra-ab-dag
T′	é	diĝir	[…]	[……] /	ì-du$_8$	gudu$_4$-bi	[……]	[……..]	[……..]
P$_{Ur}$	é	diĝir	⌜èš⌝	⌜didli-ka⌝	⌜ì-du$_8$⌝	gudu$_4$?-bi	ù […]	[……..]	[……..]

	en-nu-ùĝ	**a-ra-ak-dè**	
A	[……..]	[……..]	(Rev i 3–4)
B	[……..]	[……..]	(Rev i 4′–5′)
H	[……..]	[……..]	(Rev i 15′)
K	en-nu-ùĝ	a-ra-⌜ak?⌝ [……]	(Rev i 3–4)
N	[……..]	[……..]	(Rev 22)
V	[……] ⌜ùĝ⌝	a-ra-ak-dè	(Rev 4′)
W	[……..]	[……] ⌜x x⌝	(Obv 13′)
X	en-nu [……] /	[…] ra [……..]	(Rev 2′–4′)
C′	en-nu-ùĝ	a-ra-ak-dè	(Rev 3′)
D′	en-nu-ùĝ	[……..]	(Rev 6–7)
T′	en-nu [……]	[……..]	(Obv 3′–4′)
P$_{Ur}$	[……] ⌜ùĝ⌝	a-ra-ak⌝ [……]	(Rev 18)

There are no orthographic variants in the line other than the syllabic writing {gu-du} of {gudu$_4$} in manuscript X. One could argue on the basis of some of the manuscripts such as manuscript K that this line in our text should be broken into two distinct lines with the second line beginning with {ì-du$_8$ gudu$_4$ . . .}. Manuscript P from Ur, however, treats our line 87 as a single line: given the cramped writing in the preceding line, the indentation at the beginning of rev 20 must be before the last phrase in our line, viz. {en-nu-ùĝ a-ra-ak-dè}. But a number of the manuscripts make a special effort to mark out our line 87 in a special way so as to show that it constitutes a single line. See the specific discussions under manuscripts B P W X C′ and D′ in Chapter 3.

This line is among the most complex in the entire text and includes three distinct pairs of related expressions: (i) {é diĝir} as opposed to {èš didli}, (ii) {ì-du$_8$} in juxtaposition to {gudu$_4$-bi} and (iii) {a-ra-ab-dag} in opposition to {a-ra-ak-dè}.[39] At the semantic level, however, our line is probably responding to the act of theft described in line 77: {^{gi}gur šu-ku$_6$-da-ka ku$_6$ mi-ni-ib-kar-kar} "while stealing fish from the fisherman's basket." An otherwise unknown Lu List made available through DCCLT, namely IB 1514, may shed some light on the line, however.

IB 1514 obv. iv 2–10 (DCCLT edition)

2	en-nu-ùĝ ⌜é⌝	'guardian of the house'
3	ì-du$_8$	'door-opener'
4	ì-du$_8$ gal	'chief door-opener'
5	ì-du$_8$ kisal	'door-opener of the vestibule'
6	ì-du$_8$ é	'door-opener of the house'
7	ì-du$_8$ en-nu-ĝá	'door-opener of the prison'
8	ì-du$_8$ ká-gal (or abul)	'door-opener of the city-gate'
9	ì-⌜du$_8$⌝ [ká] ⌜é⌝-gal	'door-opener of the palace-gate'
10	ì-⌜du$_8$ ki⌝ lukur-ra	'door-opener of the concubine's quarters'

Here we see doorkeepers and guards closely juxtaposed and even, appropriately enough, a reference to the doorkeeper of the quarters of the {lukur} priestess or concubine in line 10. The phrase {en-nu-ùĝ é diĝir-ra} also occurs in tablet II of Canonical lú = *ša* (MSL 12: 117), line 23.

39 The two verbs in our line {en-nu-ùĝ—AK} and {dag} also co-occur in *The Nippur Lament* 313: {níĝ-nam-ma-ni en-nu-ùĝ AK-da-né-eš ĝá-la nu-dag-ge-da-né-eš} "Because he kept watch over everything and was not negligent" (Tinney 1996: 122–123).

Here in this line the Bureaucrat suggests very obliquely that the Professor may have been a robber of temples. This rare moment of indirect allusion rather than direct allegation is undoubtedly due to the seriousness of such a charge. As Beaulieu has shown in the a study of the Mesopotamian background of the fiery furnace motif in Daniel 3 (Beaulieu 2009), there was a poorly attested legal tradition in Mesopotamia of punishing certain acts of sacrilege (including both temple robbery as well as sexual indiscretions with priestesses) by burning the culprit in a furnace. The earlier of the texts mentioned by Beaulieu as an example of this practice is YOS 7, 10, a letter sent by Rīm-Sîn, the ruler of Larsa from 1822 to 1763 BCE. The relevant section reads as follows:

6 [*u*]*m-ma* ^{d}*ri-im-*^{d}EN.ZU *be-*[*e*]*l-k*[*u*]*-nu-ma*
7 *aš-šum ṣú-ḫa-ra-am a-na ti-nu-r*[*i-i*]*m*
8 [*i*]*d-du-ú*
9 [*a*]*t-tu-nu* [S]AG.ÌR *a-na ú-tu-nim*
10 *i-di-a*

(6) Thus says Rīm-Sîn, your lord. (7a) Because (8) he cast (7b) a boy into the oven, (9a) you (10) throw (9b) the slave into the kiln.

Beaulieu asks, "Is the king quoting a proverb or some other form of saying, or is he ordering these officials to carry out an execution?" but later on answers that "the mention of throwing slaves and boys into ovens and furnaces most likely reflects a saying, proverb, or literary topos" (Beaulieu 2009: 282–283 and 286). The juxtaposition of the two terms for oven in Akkadian, namely *tinūru* and *utūnu*, corresponds to the use of the two Sumerian terms for oven or kiln in our text, namely {^{im}šu-rin-na} in lines 72 and 73, and {udun}, in lines 64 and 81. More importantly, the description of weary temple guardians, supposedly keeping watch for the likes of the Professor, points to the negative implication of the description of the Professor in lines 81–83 as someone who has been "rolled around in the potter's oven" {udun báḫar-ra-ka gur_4-gur_4-re-da-zu-ne}, presumably as a punishment for sacrilege.

The occurrence of the dative verbal infix after the stative prefix, viz. the two occurrences of {a-ra-*} in our line, is one of the distinctive characteristics of *The Farmer's Instructions* as well as Dialogues 1–3:

> About one-half of the indicative verb forms [in *The Farmer's Instructions*, JCJ] have the relatively unusual vocalic prefix a-. Two types of occurrences must be distinguished: a-ra- and a-ab-. In the first case . . . the vocalic prefix, presumably ì-, is assimilated to the vowel of the following dative

> infix -ra-, and thus in a-ra- there is no genuine prefix a-. The choice of a vocalic prefix before the dative infix -ra- is not the usual one. Elsewhere, -ra- is normally preceded by mu-, which becomes ma- by vowel harmony; unless mu- is preceded by a modal prefix, in which case it retains the vowel u. . . . The compositions Edubba B and Dialogues 1 to 3 agree with [*The Farmer's Instructions*] by using a-ra-; but Edubba C and, occasionally Dialogues 1 to 3, use e-ra-. (Civil 1994: 23)

As already noted in the Introduction to the volume, the same compositions that make use of the {a-ra-*} prefix also appear clustered together in the last section (lines 50–62) in the Old Babylonian Catalogue from Nippur (UM 29–15–155; Kramer 1942).

88 **lú-tumu saĝ ka-bi nu-gu$_7$**

BUREAU You windbag! (You're) a slave whose mouth never (gets the chance) to eat.

	lú-tumu	**saĝ**	**ka-bi**	**nu-gu$_7$**	
A	lú-tumu	saĝ	ka-bi	nu-⌜gu$_7$⌝	(Rev i 5)
B	⌜lú⌝ [.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 6′)
H	⌜lú⌝ [.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 16′)
K	lú-tumu	saĝ	ka-bi	⌜nu⌝ [.....]	(Rev i 5)
N	[.....]	[...]	⌜x⌝ [...]	[.....]	(Rev 23)
T	[.....]	[...]	⌜ka-bi⌝	[.....]	(Rev 1′)
V	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	⌜nu⌝-gu$_7$	(Rev 5′)
C′	lú-tumu	saĝ	ka-bi	nu-gu$_7$	(Rev 4′)
D′	lú-tumu	saĝ	ka-bi	[.....]	(Rev 8)
T′	lú-tumu	⌜saĝ⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 5′)

This line corresponds to the first half of *Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn* 160: {saĝ ka-bi-šè nu-gu$_7$ saĝ ḫul-a}, which Sjöberg translates as "Mensch, der nicht essen kann, böser Mensch," viz. "a person who cannot eat, a bad guy" (Sjöberg 1973: 113 and 119). Sjöberg cites lines 88–89 in our text in his commentary on line 160 in *Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn* (Sjöberg 1973: 139).[40] Sjöberg translates lines 88–89 in our text as follows: "Lügner, Sklave (?), der

40 Note that due to a mistake in the type-setting in Sjöberg's paper, {nu-kú šà-gal-la-ni-šè} has been transformed into {nu-kúš à-gal-la-ni-šè}.

nicht weiss, wie man essen soll, der für seinen Unterhalt im Lande herumläuft," viz. "liar, slave (?), who doesn't know how to eat, who wanders the countryside in search of his sustenance" (Sjöberg 1973: 139). As Sjöberg also points out, a similar line also occurs in *Bird and Fish* 124 (line 123 in Herrmann's recent edition): {⌜kar⌝ nínni ka ka-bi nu-gu$_7$ šà-gal u$_4$ šú-šú} "Der sich andauernd [am] Hafen herumtreibt, nie (ausreichend) zu essen hat, Hunger leidet den ganzen Tag" (Herrmann 2010: 137 and 165).

The phrase {lú-tumu saĝ} is a fairly clear inversion of {saĝ lú-tumu} in line 64 ({saĝ lú-tumu udun báḫar-ra-ka nú-nú}) and a clear anticipation of the same phrase in line 106 ({lú-tumu saĝ GÚ NE-ka nú-nú}). According to our reconstruction of the text, all three lines are spoken by the Bureaucrat. Note as well that the occurrence of {nú-nú} at the end of both line 64 and line 106 shows that to the Sumerian ear, {nu-gu$_7$} was not so very different from {nú-nú}.

89 šà-gal-la-ni-šè kuš$_7$ kalam-ma niĝin

BUREAU He wanders in the slums, (looking) for his sustenance,

	šà-gal-la-ni-šè	**kuš$_7$**	**kalam-ma**	**niĝin**	
A	šà-gal-la-ni-šè	kuš$_7$!(É)	kalam-ma	⌜niĝin⌝	(Rev i 6)
B	šà-⌜gal⌝ [.....]	[...]	[.....]	[...]	(Rev i 7′)
G	⌜šà⌝ [.....]	[...]	[.....]	[...]	(Rev i 1′)
K	šà-gal- ni-šè	kuš$_7$!(É)	kalam-ma	[...]	(Rev i 6)
T	[.....] ni-šè	kuš$_7$	⌜kalam⌝ [.....]	[...]	(Rev 2′)
V	[.....]	[...]	⌜kalam⌝-ma	niĝin	(Rev 6′)
C′	[...] ⌜gal⌝-la-ni-šè	kuš$_7$	kalam-ma	niĝin	(Rev 5′)
D′	šà-gal-la-ni-šè	kuš$_7$	⌜kalam⌝ [.....]	[...]	(Rev 9)
T′	šà-gal-la-⌜ni⌝ [....]	[...]	[.....]	[...]	(Obv 6′)

Other than the omission of {-la-} from the third person possessive pronoun in the phrase {šà-gal-la-ni-šè} in manuscript K, the only variant seems to have been É in place of SAḪAR, viz. {kuš$_7$} = Akk. *naspantu* 'devastation' in manuscripts A and K, but the oblique wedge that distinguishes these two signs may have been omitted or overlooked.[41]

41 Thanks to N. Veldhuis for suggesting {kuš$_7$} as a reading for SAḪAR in this context.

Once we have both line 88 and line 89 in view, it becomes rather clear that these lines represent a transformation (and inversion) of lines 159–160 in *Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn*: {aga-ús lú za-gìn AK-e mu šà-gal-ni-šè sila-sila-e i-im-niĝin-e / saĝ ka-bi-šè nu-gu$_7$ saĝ-ḫul-a} "Ein Gendarm, ein Mann wie du, der für seinen Unterhalt (bettelnd) in den Gassen herumläuft, Mensch, der nicht essen kann, böser Mensch" (Sjöberg 1973: 119). Note in particular that only three key phrases are excerpted from these two lines in our text {šà-gal-ni-šè}, {niĝin} and {ka-bi-šè nu-gu$_7$}, the grammatical elements are removed from {i-im-niĝin-e} and {sila-sila-e} "(begging) in the streets" is replaced with {kuš$_7$ kalam-ma}. Note as well that the same idiom, viz. {kuš$_7$ kalam-ma} also occurs in *Ninurta's Return to Nippur* (Angim), line 77: {ur-saĝ diĝir-re-e-ne kuš$_7$ kalam-ma su-su-[da]} "the warrior of the gods was levelling the land" (translation Cooper 1978: 69), though there as part of the compound verb {kuš$_7$—su} = Akk. *sapānu* 'to level, to devastate' (Cooper 1978: 113; Sjöberg 1969: 277).

90 a-na-aš-àm in nu-zu-a-ĝu$_{10}$ mu-un-dúb-dúb-bé-en

BUREAU Why do you (think you can) hurl insults at me, without me noticing?

	a-na-aš-àm	**in**	**nu-zu-a-ĝu$_{10}$**	**mu-un-dúb-dúb-bé-en**	
A	a-na-aš-àm	in	nu-zu- ĝu$_{10}$	mu-un-dúb-⌜dúb⌝ [.....]	(Rev i 7)
B	a-na [.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 8′)
G	a-na-aš-àm	⌜in⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 2′)
K	a-na- àm	in	nu-zu- ĝu$_{10}$	mu-un [.....]	(Rev i 7)
T	[.....]	⌜in⌝	nu-zu-a-ĝu$_{10}$	[.....]	(Rev 3′)
V	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜dúb⌝-dúb-bé	(Rev 7′)
C′	[...] ⌜na⌝-a-aš	in	nu-zu-a- (eras.) ĝu$_{10}$	mu-un-dúb-dúb-bé-en	(Rev 6′)
D′	⌜a-na-aš-x⌝	⌜in⌝	⌜x x⌝ [.....]	[.....]	(Rev 10)
T′	a-na-aš-⌜àm⌝	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 7′)

The omission of the nominalizer {-a-} from the relative clause {in nu-zu-a-ĝu$_{10}$} is plainly ungrammatical, so the variants in manuscripts A and K that omit the nominalizer are disregarded here. Manuscripts A and K also shared an error in the preceding line, so it may be possible to isolate a manuscript family in this section of the text on the basis of these errors. The omission of the second person pronoun {-en} in V is trivial and not taken into consideration here.

The idiom {in—dúb} 'to hurl an insult' occurs both in the lexical tradition (see below) and rather prominently at several points in *Bird and Fish* such as *Bird and Fish* 53 and 83.

Bird and Fish 53 and 83

53. ((relative clause in ku_6-e a-na mu-ni-ib-dúb-ba)) šà-šè nu-mu-un-gíd-dè

83. ((relative clause in mušen-e a-na-àm mu-ni-in-dúb-ba)) šà-šè nu-mu-un-na-an-gíd

Bird and Fish 53 is spoken by the bird, while line 83 is uttered by fish, but in both instances, the speaker claims that the insult that his or her opponent has hurled did not cause significant damage. In our line as well {in} = Akk. *pištu* 'insult' is located in a relative clause, but rather than stating that the insult did no serious damage, the Bureaucrat claims in the next line that he will put an end to the insults from the Professor. Although {dúb} (alongside {dúb-dúb} and {šu dúb-dúb}) occurs in Antagal G 212–214 (MSL 17: 227), the most prominent occurrence of {in} in combination with {dúb} is in Antagal E, nicely wedged between a section on skin diseases and mental illness:

Antagal E iv 4′–13′ (MSL 17: 212)

4′	sa gu_7	*ḫa-ra-su*	'to itch'
5′	sa gu_7-e	*ek-ké-tum*	'rash'
6′	sa umbin AK-AK	*ri-šu-tum*	'scabies'
7′	in	*pil-tum*	'insult'
8′	in tag	MIN *ha-tu-ú*	'to strike with an insult'
9′	in dúb-dúb-bu	MIN *up-pu-ši*	'to strike with an insult'
10′	sa-a	*ma-šá-*⌜*du*⌝	'to strike (with an illness)'
11′	sa-sa	*muš-šú-*⌜*du*⌝	'to massage'
12′	$dima_x$(KA.ḪI) kúr-ra	*dub-bu-bu*	'to speak like a crazy person'
13′	$BÚR^{du}$-$^{du}BÚR$	MIN *šá da-a-lum*	'to mutter (like a homeless person)'

As we will see in our discussion of the next line, the link between insults and physical illness was clearly a reality for the authors of our text. Another lexical section from the Old Babylonian version of Izi from Nippur sheds considerable light in the underlying structure of the Bureaucrat's entire speech.

Old Babylonian Nippur Izi, tablet I (DCCLT edition)

481	$kurum_6$ šub-ba	'to drop off offerings'
482	in	'insult'

483	in dúb-dúb-bu	‘to strike with an insult’
484	dúb-dúb-bu	‘to strike’
485	dúb-dúb-bu	‘to strike’
486	bala-bala	‘to exchange (words, blows)
…		
490	du_{14} mú-mú	‘to get into an argument’

While the phrase {PAD šub-ba} in Izi Nippur I 481 could be read in various ways, in our view, line 84 above ({^{gi}pisaĝ ninda kurum$_6$-ma lukur-e-ne-ke$_4$ ù-mu-un-šub-bé}) suggests that {kurum$_6$ šub-ba} was the correct reading. The idiom in our line {in dúb-dúb-bu} appears in line 483 of Old Babylonian Izi and other expressions from Old Babylonian Izi also make an appearance in our text: {du_{14} mú-mú} appeared earlier in line 42 and {bala-bala} will appear later on in line 107 in the next speech from the Bureaucrat.

91 a-ga-ĝu$_{10}$-šè na-an-gub-bé-en igi-ĝu$_{10}$-šè in-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-til

PROF Up to now you’ve been standing behind my back, but I want to put an end to your insults face-to-face.

	a-ga-ĝu$_{10}$-šè	**na-an-gub-bé-en**	**igi-ĝu$_{10}$-šè**	**in-zu**	**ga-mu-ra-ab-til**	
A	a-ga-ĝu$_{10}$-šè	na-an-gub-ba	igi-ĝu$_{10}$-šè	in-zu	mu-⌜ra-ab⌝-til	(Rev i 8)
B	a-ga- […….]	[…….] /	⌜igi⌝ […..]	[…….]	[…….]	(Rev i 9′)
G	a-ga-ĝu$_{10}$-šè	na-an-⌜gub⌝ […]	[…….]	[…….]	[…….]	(Rev i 3′ + ruling)
K	a-ga-ĝu$_{10}$-šè	na-an-gub-bé-en	igi-ĝu$_{10}$ […] /	in-zu	ga-mu-ra-ab [x]	(Rev i 8)
T	[…….] ⌜uš⌝	na-an-ni […..] /	⌜x⌝-DU-šè	in-zu	[…….]	(Rev 4′)
U	a-ga […….]	[…….] /	igi-⌜ĝu$_{10}$-x⌝	⌜in-zu⌝	⌜ga-mu⌝- […]	(Rev 1′)
V	[…….]	[…..] -⌜bé⌝-en/	[…] ⌜ĝu$_{10}$-šè⌝	⌜in?⌝^{en}- / ⌜zu⌝	ga-mu-⌜ra⌝-ab-⌜til⌝	(Rev 8′–10′)
C′	[…] ⌜ĝu$_{10}$⌝-uš	na-⌜an⌝ […….]	⌜igi⌝-[x]-⌜šè?⌝	[…….]	x […….]	(Rev 7′)
T′	⌜x x⌝ […….]	[…….]	[…….]	[…….]	[…….]	(Obv 8′)
X′	[x] ⌜ga⌝- ĝu$_{10}$-šè	na-an-gub-bé-en	igi / ⌜x x⌝	in-zu	ga-mu-ra-ab-[x]	(Obv 1)

Although there are a few minor variants in manuscripts T and U ({-uš} in place of {-šè}), the most interesting variant is {na-an-gub-ba} in manuscript A in place of {na-an-gub-bé-en} in manuscripts K and V. Normally the presence

of the verbal form {mu-un-dúb-dúb-bé-en} in line 90 might be used to suggest that {na-an-gub-bé-en} is a mistaken retention of the verbal ending from {mu-un-dúb-dúb-bé-en}, but it is difficult to make sense of {na-an-dub-ba} as anything other than an impersonal construction, viz. "no one should stand behind my back," and we see no reason for an impersonal construction in the context of this line. The ruling (and hence the change in speaker) is fairly clear in Kramer's hand copy of manuscript G and seems to be confirmed by the fact that the extract in manuscript U ends with this line.

The primary allusion in the first half of the line is probably to the term {a-ga-aš-gi$_4$}, which occurs several times in both the proverb collections and the dialogues. The term literally means "one who returns {gi$_4$} to the back {a-ga} (of something)" The most important attestation of the term in the proverb collections is probably SP 2.42 {dub-sar ḫu-ru a-ga-aš-gi$_4$ é-dub-ba-⌜x⌝} "A fool of a scribe, the most awkward one in the school" (Alster 1997: 53 [vol. 1]), a line that also appears in the lentil 2 N-T 496 (Alster 1997: 304 [vol. 1]). Alster also notes that similar uses of {a-ga-aš-gi$_4$} also appear in Dialogue 2, line 95 {a-ga-aš-gi$_4$ gi$_4$-me-a-aš-e-ne}, "the most awkward one among the colleages," and in Dialogue 3 {a-ga-aš-gi$_4$ é-dub-ba-a}, "the (most) backward person in the academy" (Alster 1997: 364 [vol. 2]). In SP 2, this line occurs in the midst of more than a dozen proverbs concerned with the scribe {dub-sar}. Given the repetition of {-ga-} in the second half of the line, we might also consider the possibility of an allusion to the term {a-ga-la-til-la} 'dropsy' = Akk. *aganutillû* (CAD A/1 144a), since later on in this same speech, namely in line 93, {^{kuš}a-ĝá-lá} makes an appearance and in the very next line the parody is based on replacing {al-til} with {ba-an-lá}. The two terms {a-ga-aš-gi$_4$} and {a-ga-la-ti-la} also appear in sequential lines in the Old Babylonian version of Kagal:

Old Babylonian Kagal (DCCLT edition)

359	a-ga-aš	'backwards'
360	a-ga-aš gi$_4$	'go backwards'
361	[a]-ga-la-⌜ti⌝-[la]	'dropsy'
362	[a]-ga-an-tùm	'a skin disease'
363	a-ga	'back'
364	a-ga-ús	'bodyguard'
365	a-igi	'eye-water'
366	ér	'tear'

The word in Kagal 359 is presumably the citation form for {a-ga-ĝu$_{10}$-šè}, the first word in line 91. Instead of describing a medical condition in the strict

sense of the term, certain Akkadian spellings of the term such as *a-ga*/*gan-nu-til-lu* (where NU read as *-là-* may have provided the basis for the parody) could easily be reinterpreted as a Sumerian term {a-ga-nu-til-la} and consequently allow for a rather obvious joke, namely "the one whose backside never comes to an end," a description of someone suffering from dropsy or edema in their legs and buttocks.

92 al-ĝen al-zal kíĝ-e ba-an-lá

PROF The time has come and gone, and the results are lousy.

	al-ĝen	**al-zal**	**kíĝ-e**	**ba-an-lá**	
A	al-ĝen	al-zal	kíĝ-e	ba- lá	(Rev i 9)
B	al- […]	[…….]	[…….]	[…….]	(Rev i 10′)
G	al-ĝen	al-zal!	[…….]	[…….]	(Rev i 4′)
K	al-ĝen	al-zal	kíĝ-e	⌜ba⌝ […..]	(Rev i 9)
X′	[x x]	⌜x x⌝	kíĝ-e	⌜x x⌝	(Obv 2)
Y_{Ur}	⌜al-ĝen⌝	al-zal	kíĝ-⌜e⌝	⌜ba⌝-an-lá	(Obv 1)

The only variation is the omission of pre-radical /n/ in manuscript A.

As Falkowitz already noted in his dissertation on Proverb Collection 3, our line seems to be a parody of the first half of SP 3.125: {al-ĝen al-zal al-til ki nu-um-gub} "He came, he spent time, he finished—he did not stand still" (Falkowitz 1980: 72). Falkowitz also cited our line, translating it as follows: "He came, he spent time, but the work (value) is small." Given the discussion of {ki-gub-ba-ni} in line 132, the reading here with {ki—gub} may well be correct, although as a compound verb the signs KI and DU are normally interpreted as {ki—túm} 'to bury' = Akk. *qebēru* (CAD Q 201b). And while {lú ki nu-túm-ma} does appear in the Lu lists, namely Lu Azlag A, line 292, where it is equated with *la* qe_4*-e-eb-rum*, {ki—gub} does not (see below in line 132, however, for a discussion of {ki-gub-ba}). This suggests that the correct reading of SP 3.125 is probably {al-ĝen al-zal al-til ki nu-um-túm} "he came, he spent time, and he finished, but he was left unburied"[42] and that this proverb as well as the similar expression in our line are *both* parodies of a banal turn of ordinary speech, namely {al-ĝen al-zal al-til} "he came, he stayed, it came to an end," which does not really correspond to Caesar's veni, vidi, vici (cf. Alster 1997: 101 [vol. 1]).

42 On the form of the verb {ki nu-um-túm}, see Johnson 2013b.

In contrast to {al-til}, which is the usual way of expressing the completion of a task, the parody in Proverb Collection 3 adds the additional phrase {ki nu-um-túm}, suggesting that even though the subject of the proverb completed his labors, he was not rewarded with an appropriate funeral, while our line replaces the statement of completion {al-til} with {kíĝ-e ba-an-lá}, which must describe the poor quality or perhaps incompleteness of the resulting work. Other passages in which {kíĝ} co-occurs with {lá} such as *Enki and Ninmah* 132 have often resisted coherent interpretation, but the grammatical construction is similar to the phrase {šid-e ba-an-lá} in SP 2.50: {dub-sar šudum-ma im-ma ba-an-lá / dub-sar im-ma šudum-e ba-an-lá} "a scribe (who is a master) of counting is deficient on clay; a scribe (who is a master) of clay is deficient in numbers" (Alster 1997: 54 [vol. 1]). The form {šudum-e} is presumably a participial construction bearing the /ed/ morpheme, which functions as either the subject of {ba-an-lá} or the nominal component of a compound verb, hence either "(his) counting is deficient" or "he is deficient at counting". Thus we might expect a literal translation of {kíĝ-e ba-an-lá} to mean "he is deficient at work," which we have rendered using the somewhat more idiomatic English expression "the results are lousy." This grammatical interpretation can be contrasted with the lexical materials in *Ana ittišu* VII 18–22 (MSL 1: 92), where {kíĝ til-la} 'completed work' is equated with Akk. *šipru qatû*/*gamru*.

93 ní-buluĝ$_5$ a-šà-ga ĝen ^{kuš}a-ĝá-lá šu-šè lá

PROF (You are like) a fat man going to work in the fields with his sack hanging down.

	ní-buluĝ$_5$	**a-šà-ga**	**ĝen**	**^{kuš}a-ĝá-lá**	**šu-šè**	**lá**	
A	ní-buluĝ$_5$	a-šà-ga	ĝen	^{kuš}a-ĝá-lá	šu-šè	lá	(Rev i 10)
B	ní-⌜buluĝ$_5$⌝	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	(Rev i 11′)
G	⌜ní-buluĝ$_5$⌝	a-šà-ga	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	(Rev i 5′)
K	ní-buluĝ$_5$	a-šà-ga	ĝen	^{kuš}a-ĝá [.....]	[.....]	[...]	(Rev i 10)
Z	⌜ní-buluĝ$_5$⌝	⌜a⌝ [.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	(Obv 1′)
Y_{Ur}	⌜ní-buluĝ$_5$⌝	a-šà-ga	⌜ĝen⌝	⌜^{kuš}a-ĝá-lá⌝	šu-šè	lá	(Obv 2)

The correct reading of the LÁ at the end of the line remains uncertain. In Lambert's edition of the late bilingual version from Sidu, he transliterated the line with {suru$_5$} in final position:

K 8338 obv. 4–6 (Lambert 1960: 255)

ní-balag a-šà-ga ĝen-na / ^{kuš}a-ga-lá ba-šè-suru$_5$

ku-ub-bu-ru šá A.ŠÀ / *ina a-la-ki-šú na-ru-uq-*⌜*qa*⌝ / *šu-qal-lu-lu*

Lambert's reading of LÁ as {suru$_5$} is not without its basis in the lexical tradition, in particular Ea I, where *šuqallulu* is differentially associated with {sur$_5$} rather than {lá}; Lambert's {suru$_5$} is based on the variant in manuscript E of this passage of Ea.

Ea I 246 (MSL 14: 189)

246	su-ur	LAL	*la-al-lu*	*šu-qal-lu-lu*	'to hang down'
247	la-a	LAL	MIN	*a-ma-ru*	'to see'
247a				*za-ru-u*	'to winnow'
248	la-al	LAL	MIN	*a-la-lu*	'to hang'
248a				*ṣú-du-u*	'to provision'

Elsewhere in the lexical tradition, however, *šuqallulu* is regularly equated with LÁ and in particular in our line, the idiom {šu-šè lá}, which the Neo-Assyrian text no longer preserves, is separately attested with {lá}, but there does not seem to be any specific evidence for the reading of the sign LÁ as {lá} in this construction either. Our use of the reading {lá} is therefore conventional, but it is somewhat odd that {lá} occurs at the end of lines 92 and 93 as well as in the phrase {^{kuš}a-ĝá-lá} (see the discussion of {a-ga-la-til-la} in the commentary to line 91). In his edition of SP 22 vi 10–14, which is a slightly more elaborate version of our line, Alster reads it as follows:

Proverb Collection 22 vi 9–14 (Alster 1997: 265 [vol. 1])

lú-lul-la-šè / ní-buluĝ$_5$ ní nu-íl / ^{kuš}á-ĝá-lá / šu-šè lá / an ì-gùr-ru / ki šu-ni-šè lá

As to a liar, he extols himself, but he cannot praise himself while carrying a waterskin in his hand (translation Alster)

In his commentary to these lines Alster cites our line and then offers an alternative translation: "a pompous person walking into a field, carrying a waterskin,"

noting that it "may be describing the ludicrous situation in which someone displays supercilious behavior, while, in fact, performing a trivial task" (Alster 1997: 447 [vol. 2]).

In contrast to the late bilingual evidence in Lambert's work, the usual meaning for {ní—bulug$_5$} elsewhere in Sumerian literature is 'to boast' (PSD B 179b as well as Civil 1966: 124; Karahashi 2000: 130, n. 85). Civil defined {ní—bulug$_5$} as 'to boast' in opposition to {ki-še-er—tuku} 'to have a limit' in Dialogue 2: 59–60: {ár AK-dè la-ba-ab-du$_7$-un / ní-zu na-ab-buluĝ$_5$-en na-an-na ki-še-er nu-e-tuku} "It does not become you to praise (yourself), Do not boast about yourself! Besides you do not know moderation" (Civil 1966: 124; note as well the DCCLT systematically replaces {ki-še-er—tuku} with {šer$_{11}$—tuku}).[43] Crucially, however, in all of the examples in which we can be sure that {ní—buluĝ$_5$} means 'to boast' or 'to praise oneself' the nominal component of the compound verb always bears a possessive pronoun, so the form and meaning of {ní-buluĝ$_5$} as a nominal construction remains somewhat unclear. Both {ní—buluĝ$_5$} 'to boast' and {ní—gud$_4$} 'to praise oneself' occur next to each other in Karahashi's study of compound verbs (Karahashi 2000: 131), which is particularly appropriate since Proto-Ea 202–203 already lists these two values as the only possibilities for reading BALAG, viz. {buluĝ$_5$} and {gur$_x$}.

The *kubburu* that we find in the bilingual version of our line is equated with *šamḫu* in Malku IV 209 (Hrůša 2010: 106–107) and the G-stem stative from the same root as *kubburu* is again attested alongside *šamḫu* in Lu Azlag B+C:

Lu Azlag B+C, segment 1, 84–85 (DCCLT edition, cf. MSL 12: 179)

84	lú al-bùluĝ-⌜ĝá⌝	*ka-<ab>-ru-um*	'fat'
85	lú al-bùluĝ-ĝá	*ša-am-ḫu*	'lush'

There are, however, two crucial differences between {al-bùluĝ-ĝá} and the compound verb {ní—bulug$_5$}: (i) the verbal root {bùluĝ} is written with the MUNU$_4$ sign, while {buluĝ$_5$} is written with the BALAG sign, and (ii) the use of {bùluĝ} in the Lu Azlag list is not a compound verb. The only apparent occurrence of {ní-BALAG} in the lexical tradition is the first millennium evidence in Erimḫuš II 162 (MSL 17: 35), where it is equated with *šamḫu*, (cf. the occurrences of {ní-dúb} as for example in the phrase {é ní-dúb-bu}). All of this points to a certain amount of confusion in the lexical tradition that may have arisen through an interpretation of {ní-BALAG} as an adjectival passive

43 The construction in Dialogue 2, line 60, should actually read {ní-zu na-ab-buluĝ$_5$-na-an-na ki-še-er nu-e-tuku} and means "Except in praising yourself, you have no limit" (see Veenker and Johnson 2009).

{im-bulug̃$_5$}.[44] Given these uncertainties, we have retained for the time being the now conventional form of the expression, viz. {ní-bulug̃$_5$}.

94 lú ḫug̃-g̃á eg̃ir kar-kid-da-ka-ke$_4$

PROF The day-laborer, (following) in the wake of the prostitute,

	lú	**ḫug̃-g̃á**	**eg̃ir**	**kar-kid-da-ka-ke$_4$**	
A	lú	ḫug̃-g̃á	eg̃ir	kar-kid- ka-ke$_4$	(Rev i 11)
B	lú	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	(Rev i 12′)
G	[...]	⌜ḫug̃⌝-g̃á	⌜eg̃ir⌝	[.....]	(Rev i 6′)
K	lú	ḫug̃-g̃á	eg̃ir	kar-kid-⌜da⌝ [.....]	(Rev i 11)
Z	lú	ḫug̃-g̃á	⌜eg̃ir⌝	[.....]	(Obv 2′)
T′	lú	⌜ḫug̃⌝-g̃á	⌜eg̃ir⌝	[.....]	(Rev 1′)
Y$_{Ur}$	lú	ḫug̃-g̃á	[...]	[.....] ⌜da⌝- ke$_4$	(Obv 3)

The only variation is the omission of {-da-} from the phrase {kar-kid-da-ka-ke$_4$} in manuscript A as opposed to the omission of {-ka-} from the same phrase in manuscript Y. Elsewhere in Sumerian literature the first orthographic element of a double genitive is omitted fairly often, but the correct form seems to be partially preserved in manuscript K, viz. {kar-kid-⌜da⌝}, so we postulate here the form {kar-kid-da-ka-ke$_4$}, even though it is not attested in any single manuscript. If the form is a double genitive, a more literal translation would be "the hired man of the back of the prostitute."

This is the first of three lines, viz. lines 94–96, that deal with a man hired by a prostitute to glean her earnings from her customers, but who is paid so poorly that he cannot afford to feed himself even at harvest time, when prices were low. The corresponding entry in the Old Babylonian version of the monolingual Lu list is {kar-kid mu-gub}:

Old Babylonian Proto-Lu 710a–714 (DCCLT edition, cf. MSL 12: 59)

710a	⌜lukur⌝ kaskal	'traveling concubine'
711	dam bànda^{da}	'junior wife'
712	nam-lukur	'concubinage'
713	kar-kid	'prostitute'
714	kar-kid mu-gub	'prostitute's attendant'

44 For an overview of the adjectival passive in Sumerian, see Johnson 2013c.

The phrase {kar-kid mu-gub} means "he is in service to the prostitute," while our line is probably meant to emphasize that he literally follows her backside and, presumably, enjoys the view. The Bogazkoi text KUB 3, 112 + KBo 26, 37 offers the gloss *ša ma-an-za-*⌜*zi*⌝ (MSL 12: 83) and there are in fact other designations of staff members that regularly make use of {eĝir} and equate it with *muzzazu* such as {eĝir sukkal} in Canonical lú = *ša*:

Canonical lú = ša i 108–109 (MSL 12: 96).

108	eĝir sukkal	*ár-kàt* MIN (= *suk-kal-li*)	'behind the vizier'
109	eĝir sukkal	*mu-un-ziz* MIN (= *suk-kal-li*)	'attendant of the vizier'

Here we have both the literal meaning of {eĝir} = Akk. *warkatu* 'rear part, arrears' and its use to describe a functional activity, viz. Akk. *muzzazu* 'attendant', literally 'he who stands', which is the same idiom as Sum. {mu-gub} that we saw a moment ago.

The entry {lukur kaskal}, literally 'the *lukur*-priestess for the road/campaign' never co-occurs with {lukur} in its ordinary usage, suggesting that it was probably a euphemism for a traveling prostitute or a courtesan who would accompany her paramour on trips. Regardless of its precise meaning, however, the occurrence of both {lukur kaskal} and {nam-lukur} in the lines leading up to the entries for {kar-kid} 'prostitute' provide a fairly clear link between the discussion of the prostitute's underling here in line 94–96 and the maidservants of the *lukur*-priestess in lines 84–86.

95 **^{gi}gur ú de$_5$-ga mi-ni-íb-íl-íl-i**

PROF Who carries the basket for gleaning the profits.

	^{gi}gur	**ú**	**de$_5$-ga**	**mi-ni-íb-íl-íl-i**	
A	^{gi}gur	ú	de$_5$-ga	mi-ni-íb-íl-íl-i	(Rev i 12)
B	gi […]	[…]	[…….]	[…….]	(Rev i 13′)
G	[…] ⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝	[…….]	[…….]	(Rev i 7′)
K	gi	ú	de$_5$-ga	mi-ni-<u>ib</u>-⌜íl⌝ […….]	(Rev i 12)
Z	^{gi}gur	ú	de$_5$-ga	mi-ni-⌜<u>ib</u>⌝- […….]	(Obv 3′)
T′	^{gi}gur	ú	de$_5$-⌜ga⌝	[…….]	(Rev 2′)
Y$_{Ur}$	^{gi}gur	ú	⌜de$_5$-ga⌝	[…….] íl?-i	(Obv 4)

We take the reference to {^{gi}gur ú de$_5$(RI)-ga} 'basket for gleaning food' to be a description of the basket in which the prostitute's attendant collected the payment for her services. The phrase {ú RI} occurs in Izi E 287 equated with Akk. *lillu*:

Izi E 284–289 (MSL 13: 194)

284	ú-⌜ḫúb⌝	*su-uk-ku-ku*	'deaf'
285	ú-pil$_7$	*su-uk-ku-ku*	'deaf'
286	ú-pil$_7$	*pe-ḫu-ú ša* DUMU ABGAL	'deaf and dumb, scion of an *apkallu*'
287	ú RI	*lil-lum*	'fool, moron'
288	ú-dúl	*ú-tul-lum*	'herdsman'
289	ú lil	[*lil-lum*]	'fool, moron'

For {ú-pil$_7$} as the correct reading of {ú-GÌR}, see Antagal C 48 (MSL 17: 196). The placement of {ú RI} in this lexical context may suggest that those with mental or perceptual handicaps may, stereotypically, have served as the attendants for prostitutes.

Other lexical texts, such as the Miscellaneous Lu list BM 108861, suggest that {lú ú RI}, particularly when it is equated with Akk. *lillu*, may be a mistake for {lú ú ḪU}, although this would require separating {ú RI} = Akk. *lillu* from other lemmata such as {ú-ri} = Akk. *a-rum* (Antagal N 18′ [MSL 17: 240]). The entry in BM 108861 reads as follows:

BM 108861 iii 25′–33′ (MSL 12: 228)

25′	lú nu	*nu-*ʾ-[*u*]	'rude, brute, stupid'
26′	lú na-ga-ḫu	MIN	'rude, brute, stupid'
27′	lú a	MIN	'water/semen man'
28′	lú šaḫ a ri-a	MIN	'he who was engendered by a pig'
29′	lú gù-zal a ri-a	MIN	'he who was engendered by a rogue'
30′	lú ú-pil$_7$	*suk-ku-*[*ku*]	'deaf'
31′	lú šul-la-nu	*še-*ʾ-⌜*ru*⌝	'hairy man'
32′	lú nu	MIN	'hairy man'
33′	lú ú ḪU	*lil-lu*	'fool, moron'

Several of the entries earlier in this passage from BM 108861, viz. lines 27′–29′, describe less than ideal forms of humanity (Akk. *nûʾu*) as the result of defective semen, where the usual verb for insemination is {a—ri}. Since {ú} and {a} are

the normal merismus for "food and drink" as well as the person who provides food and drink (in a mortuary context), viz. {ú-a}, the joke here may simply consist of replacing {ú ri} with {a ri}. In other words, instead of engaging in sexual intercourse with the prostitute {a—ri}, her hired hand merely gleans enough food {ú—de$_5$(g)} to keep himself alive. The /g/ auslaut, which can only go with {de$_5$(g)}, makes it clear that the primary sense is 'to glean food', while the sexual connotation is secondary.

The association of the term *lillu* with {lú ú ḪU} also brings to mind a curious set of four entries in Erimḫuš II:

Erimḫuš II 306–309 (MSL 17: 43, cf. Silbenvocabular A 100–103, where the same set of entries are equated with the deities Enlil, Dagan, Adad and Šala)

306	ḫu-ur	*lil-lum*	'fool, moron'
307	ḫu-ba	*ma-ak-kan-nu-u*	'destitute, weak'
308	ḫu-ur	*a-ku-u*	'destitute, weak'
309	ḫu-ru	*a-ḫu-ru-u*	'boorish man'

Here {hu-ur} is equated with *lillu*, but {ú} is not present. Nonetheless, the subsequent entries such as 307 (see CAD M/1 131a sub *makkannû*) emphasize the link to poverty. See as well the commentary on {hu-ru} in line 68 above. The presence of {^{gi}gur} in the line as well as the discussion of food both also suggest that these lines are in response to the {géme lukur-ra} passage in lines 84–86 above.

96 u$_4$ buru$_{14}$-ka á-zu šà-gal-zu nu-ub-da-sá

PROF Even at harvest time, your wages don't match your hunger.

	u$_4$	**buru$_{14}$-ka**	**á-zu**	**šà-gal-zu**	**nu-ub-da-sá**	
A	u$_4$	buru$_{14}$-ka	á-zu	šà-gal-zu	nu-ub-da-sá	(Rev i 13)
B	⌜u$_4$?⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 14′)
K	⌜u$_4$⌝	⌜buru$_{14}$⌝-ka	á-zu	šà-gal-zu	[.....]	(Rev i 13)
Z	u$_4$	buru$_{14}$-ka	á-zu	šà-gal-zu	⌜nu⌝ [.....]	(Obv 4′)
T′	⌜u$_4$⌝	⌜buru$_{14}$-ka⌝	á-⌜zu⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 3′)
Y$_{Ur}$	u$_4$	⌜buru$_{14}$-ka⌝	á-zu	⌜šà⌝ [.....]	[.....]	(Obv 5)
C$_{Sip}$	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[...] ⌜x x⌝ [x]	(Rev i 1′)

PSD (B 218a) translates our line as follows: "at harvest time your work does not equal your food consumption," which certainly captures the basic meaning of the line in isolation, but the use of {lú huĝ-ĝá} 'hired man' at the beginning of this subsection in line 94 makes it fairly certain that the wages in question are coming from the prostitute rather than agricultural work at harvest time. Thus, the mention of {u_4 $buru_{14}$-ka} "at harvest time" is probably meant to indicate the time of year at which grain was particularly cheap, so the line indicates that even during harvest time, when living expenses were at their lowest, the prostitute's hired man cannot pay his bills. The occurrence of {šà-gal-zu} in this line presumably represents a reference back to {šà-gal-la-ni-šè} in line 89.

97 kíĝ-ta ba-záḫ ganba-ka $šed_{15}$ du_{11} ba-gub-bé-en

PROF You escape from work and then stand around making noise in the market place.

	kíĝ-ta	**ba-záḫ**	**ganba-ka**	**$šed_{15}$**	**du_{11}**	**ba-gub-bé-en**	
A	kíĝ-ta	ba-záḫ	ganba-ka	$šed_{15}$? (KA×DÚB)	du_{11}	ba-gub-bé-en	(Rev i 14′ + ruling)
K	⌜kíĝ-ta⌝	⌜ba⌝-záḫ	ganba-ka	⌜$šed_{15}$⌝	[…]	[…….]	(Rev i 14)
Z	kíĝ-ta	ba-záḫ	⌜ganba⌝-ka	[…]	[…]	[…….]	(Obv 5′)
T′	kíĝ-ta	ba-záḫ	⌜ganba⌝ […]	[…]	[…]	[…….]	(Rev 4′)
Y_{Ur}	kíĝ-ta	ba-záḫ me-⌜en⌝	[…….]	[…]	⌜x-bé⌝	ba-gub-bé-en	(Obv 6)
C_{Sip}	[…….]	[…….]	⌜ganba⌝-ka	$šed_{14}$ (KA×ŠU?)^{šed15}		⌜ba⌝- [….]	(Rev i 2′)

Only two significant variations in otherwise homogeneous versions from three different cities: the addition of the copula in the Ur manuscript and the apparent use of {$šed_{14}$} in the Sippar manuscript with {$šed_{15}$} then serving as a gloss on {$šed_{14}$}; in the Nippur manuscripts, only {$šed_{15}$} seems to be attested. The horizontal ruling after this line in the CDLI photo of manuscript A (P256661) does appear to be deeper and more prominent than other single horizontal rulings in the text, but it should be noted that elsewhere in manuscript A (after lines 10, 14, 36, 45 and 137) double rulings are used to divide up sections in the text.

The possibility of a change of speaker at this point in the text is a central empirical problem, but it represents a continuation of the uncertainty that

surrounded the change in speakers after either line 78 (according to manuscript W from Nippur) or line 79 (according to manuscript P from Ur). Lines 95–97 seem to respond or at least allude to lines 76–79 in a rather straightforward way: {^{gi}gur} in lines 76–77 and 95, line-initial {u_4} in lines 78 and 96 and {ganba} in lines 79 and 97). If we were to take the horizontal ruling following line 79 in manuscript P as correct, it would suggest that the earlier speech from the Professor ran from line 70 through line 79. If so, then lines 92–97 would represent a continuation of the same themes by the same speaker, namely the Professor. The idiom {kíĝ-ta ba-záḫ} in line 97 could then be seen as an inclusio referring back to {kíĝ-e ba-an-lá} in line 92 at the beginning of the same speech from the Professor. This postulated change in speakers is admittedly somewhat speculative, but it also allows us to see lines 98–100 as the first salvo in the Bureaucrat's response to lines 94–96 in the preceding speech from the Professor, including {lú ḫuĝ-ĝá eĝir kar-kid-da-ka-ke$_4$} in line 94, to which the beginning of line 99 {eĝir lú kaš dé-a-ka} seems to be responding.

The specific sense of {záḫ} 'to stop working' as opposed to the usual meaning of {záḫ} 'to run away' is captured in the Akkadian equivalent *naparkû* as already recognized by von Soden (AHw 734). Diri VI B, line 4 (MSL 15: 188) lists *naparkû* rather non-distinctly in the midst of nearly a dozen Akkadian equivalents for {záḫ}, but the manuscript behind this entry is IM 124475 (MSL 15, fig. 3–4), the same manuscript that includes one of the most elaborate sets of playful orthographies in which LÚ is juxtaposed to LÚ$_{\text{inversum}}$ in various ways, and it is probably significant that the entire tablet begins with the section of {záḫ} entries in which *naparkû* appears. The Akkadian idiom for *naparkû* uses the preposition *ina* to mark the activity that one ceases to perform and this use of *ina* presumably corresponds to the instrumental use of the ablative postposition {*-ta} in Sumerian in our line. See the commentary to line 79 above for a discussion of Veldhuis's proposal that KI.LAM is to be read as {šakanka} rather than {ganba}: here in line 97, however, the term for 'marketplace' is in the locative case and is followed by {-ka} in every manuscript that preserves the phrase.

98 é lú diĝir kaš dé-a-ka ù-du-dè-en

BUREAU Every time you go to a feast on behalf of the gods,

	é	**lú**	**diĝir**	**kaš**	**dé-a-ka**	**ù-du-dè-en**	
A	é	lú	diĝir	kaš	dé-a-ka	ù-du-dè-en	(Rev i 15)
K	é	lú	diĝir	kaš-a	dé-a-⌜ka⌝	[.....]	(Rev i 15)
W	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[.....]	[....] ⌜dè?⌝	(Rev 1′)

	é	**lú**	**diĝir**	**kaš**	**dé-a-ka**	**ù-du-dè-en**	
Z	é	lú	diĝir	kaš	dé-a-ka	ì [. . . . .]	(Obv 6′)
T′	é	lú	diĝir	kaš	⌜dé⌝ [. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	(Rev 5′)
Y_{Ur}	é	lú	diĝir	⌜kaš⌝	⌜dé-a-ka⌝	[. . . . .]	(Obv 7)
C_{Sip}	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	⌜dé?⌝-a-šè	ù-du-dè-en	(Rev i 3′)

The occurrence of {ù-du-dè-en} in manuscripts from both Nippur and Sippar suggests that it is the form in the archetype, in contrast to the variant in manuscript Z, namely {ì-[. . .]}. Moreover, the incipits of Edubba A and Edubba E both include the phrase {ì-du-dè-en} (see the Old Babylonian catalog from Nippur, N2, line 50), so the variant in manuscript Z is probably a banalization or *lectio facilior*. The contrast between {kaš dé-a-ka}, which occurs in the Nippur manuscripts and the manuscript from Ur, and {[kaš] ⌜dé⌝-a-šè} in the Sippar manuscript is more difficult to decide, primarily because the Sippar manuscript C ends the phrase with {*-šè} in both lines 98 and 99, while the Nippur manuscripts end it with {*-ka} in both lines as well. One could posit, for example, an emendation in which the archetype of line 98 had {kaš dé-a-šè} with a verb of directed motion, viz. {du}, while line 99 originally had {kaš dé-a-ka} with 'to enter' {ku_4}, but there is as yet no textual support for such a hypothetical reading. The use of the Nippur version in this line is, therefore, purely conventional. The extra {-a} following {kaš} in manuscript K is a trivial anticipation of {dé-a} in the same phrase and ignored here.

The repetition of {kaš dé-a} in lines 98 and 99 marks this term as key for our understanding of the passage. As we already noted above in the commentary to lines 73 and 74, the {ar-za-na} soup discussed in these lines was a regular element in the {kaš-dé-a} feasts. As Brunke has suggested, however, the {kaš-dé-a} feasts can be separated into those in honor of deities as opposed to those held in honor of the king (Brunke 2011), and these lines in our text are clearly referring to those held in honor of a deity, since {é lú diĝir kaš dé-a-ka} in line 98 is juxtaposed to {eĝir lú kaš dé-a-ka} in line 99. If we are correct in seeing the Professor as a member of the academy, while the Bureaucrat was involved in commercial life, these lines from the Bureaucrat (offering a parody of the {kaš-dé-a} feasts meant for the gods) may indicate that the Professor was a regular participant in these rites, while the Bureaucrat was not. Since the {ar-za-na} soup was not used exclusively in the {kaš-dé-a} rites meant for the gods, the earlier cooking passage in lines 73–74 may be referring to a {kaš-dé-a} ritual on behalf of the king, to which the Bureaucrat may have been granted access. If so, the specific mention of the {é lú diĝir kaš dé-a-ka} in this line may be drawing a distinction between these two types of {kaš-dé-a} feasts, with the

Professor participating in the feasts meant for the gods, while the Bureaucrat participates in the feasts meant for the king.

99 eĝir lú kaš dé-a-ka ba-an-ku$_4$-re-en

BUREAU You come in right behind the host.

	eĝir	**lú**	**kaš**	**dé-a-ka**	**ba-an-ku$_4$-re-en**	
A	eĝir	lú	kaš	dé-a-ka	ba-an-ku$_4$-re-en	(Rev i 16)
K	eĝir	lú	kaš	dé [x] ka	ba-an [. . . . . .]	(Rev i 16)
W	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . . . . .]	[. . . . . .] ⌜ku$_4$⌝-re-en	(Rev 2′)
Z	eĝir	lú	kaš	dé-a-ka	ba-an [. . . . . .]	(Obv 7′)
T′	eĝir	⌜lú⌝	⌜kaš šu?⌝	⌜dé⌝ [. . . . .]	[. . . . . .]	(Rev 6′)
Y$_{Ur}$	eĝir	lú	kaš	⌜dé-a-ka⌝	⌜ù-ba-an⌝ [. . .] ⌜en⌝	(Obv 8)
C$_{Sip}$	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .] a-šè	ba-an-ku$_4$-re-en	(Rev i 4′)

The agreement in the verbal form in Nippur and Sippar favors the indicative {ba-an-ku$_4$-re-en} over the prospective in the Ur manuscript. Unlike the previous line, in which both the locative {-a} and the terminative {-šè} would make sense with a verb of directed motion like {du/ĝen}, the verbal root {ku$_4$}, particularly in combination with the *bani- prefix or its reduced form *ban- often co-occurs with the locative rather than the terminative, although numerous exceptions still exist; the terminative typically occurs with the ventive form in *imani-. This suggests that the terminative in the Sippar manuscript is mistaken, perhaps a preservation from the same expression in the previous line.

The phonological similarities between {é lú diĝir} in line 98 and {eĝir lú} in line 99 are emphasized by the fact that both phrases occur at the beginning of their respective lines and are immediately followed by the same phrase in both lines, namely {kaš dé-a-ka}. The repetition of nominal phrases ending in {-ka}, including {kaš dé-a-ka} in lines 98 and 99 as well as similar sequences in lines 104–106 probably represent a response on the part of the Bureaucrat to the phrases {u$_4$ buru$_{14}$-ka} and {ganba-ka} in the last two lines, viz. lines 96–97, in the preceding speech from the Professor. Moreover, as noted above, {eĝir lú kaš dé-a-ka} is probably alluding to {eĝir kar-kid-da-ka-ke$_4$} in line 94, drawing thereby an opposition between the passage in lines 94–96 that describes the starving hired-man of the prostitute and the description of drunkenness in the middle of the cultic banquet that is described in lines 98–101.

100 ugu-za imḫur$_4$ ab-sìg-sìg-ge-dè

BUREAU The foam hits you on the forehead,

	ugu-za	**imḫur$_4$**	**ab-sìg-sìg-ge-dè**	
A	ugu-za	imḫur$_4$	ab-sìg-sìg-ge-dè	(Rev i 17)
K	ugu-za	IGI […]	⌜x x⌝ […….]	(Rev i 17)
Q	[…] ⌜zu⌝	IGI!(ME)-⌜x⌝	[…….]	(Rev 1′)
W	[…….]	[…]	⌜ab-sìg-sìg-ge-dè⌝	(Rev 3′)
Z	ugu-za	imḫur$_4$	ab-sìg-sìg-⌜ge⌝ […]	(Obv 8′)
T′	⌜ugu-za⌝	[…]	[…….]	(Rev 7′)
Y$_{Ur}$	ugu-zu-šè	⌜ímḫur(IGI.BI?)⌝	ab-síg-síg-ge$_4$-e-⌜dè⌝ $^{i\text{-}x\,x}$	(Obv 9)
C$_{Sip}$	[…….]	[…]	ab-sìg-sìg-e-dè	(Rev i 5′)

The manuscripts from Ur and Sippar use a -V- element immediately after the reduplicated root, i.e. {ab-síg-síg-e-⌜de⌝} and {ab-sìg-sìg-e-dè} respectively, while the Nippur manuscripts consistently use a -CV- orthography, namely {ab-sìg-sìg-ge-dè}. The use of {síg} in the Ur manuscript for {sìg}, viz. PA, offers a clear confirmation of the reading of the sign.

The most difficult issue in the line is the proper reading and significance of IGI.A, read above as {imḫur$_4$} and apparently confirmed by the variant {⌜ímḫur(IGI.BI?)⌝} in manuscript Y. Older secondary literature often renders IGI.A as {àḫḫur}, including the lexical section of CAD Ḫ sub *ḫurḫummatu* (CAD Ḫ 250b), but with the publication of MSL 15, it is clearly to be read as {imḫur$_4$}. Three entries occur in sequence in Diri II 110–112 (MSL 15, p. 124, cf. the Old Babylonian version in line 135–136 in MSL 15, p. 16) with IGI functioning as the primary logogram, qualified by the type of foamy material: water (A), beer (KAŠ) and milk (GA). This suggests, as the Akkadian glosses in MSL 15 make clear, that IGI A is, strictly speaking, {imḫur a} = Akk. *ḫu-ur-ḫu-ma-at me-e* 'foam from water' and readings that combine IGI with the term that follows it as a single logogram can be rather misleading. The fact that IGI can be used as a logogram to write the Akkadian verb *maḫāru*, which in the Preterite is precisely *imḫur* (particularly common in plant names such as *imḫur*[IGI]-*līm*[IGI]), might lead some to suspect the reality of {imḫur} as the correct reading for IGI when it means 'foam', but there are a number of native Sumerian terms that begin with /im/ and are verbal forms that have been recategorized as nominals such as {im-ba} 'deficit' (derived from {ba} 'to bestow' Akk. *qiāšu*) and {im-kíd} 'piece' (from {kíd} 'to break' Akk. *karāṣu*). Likewise {imḫur}, meaning

'foam,' probably derives from {ḫur} 'to scratch' in the sense of 'to disturb,' cf. the corresponding Akkadian expression *ḫurḫummatu*. See also Antagal III 23: {ḫal-ḫal} = MIN (= *ga-ra-ru*) *šá me-e* 'to roil of water', immediately followed by {^{gur}gur$_4$} = MIN (= *ga-ra-ru*) *šá* LÚ 'to roll of a human being' (MSL 17: 151).

The other reason why we are somewhat hesitant about reading IGI.A as {imḫur$_4$} is that there is another idiom known from the Sumerian literary texts, in which the compound verb {igi—sìg} is used to describe some kind of strong emotional reaction, as we can see in the following examples.

Exploits of Ninurta 55
igi im-sìg-sìg ki-tuš im-kúr-re
Its face is deformed, its location is continually changing (ETCSL)

Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 555–556
kíĝ-gi$_4$-a igi sìg-sìg-a-ni mu-un-ši-ib-ÚR×KÍD-ÚR×KÍD-e /
en aratta^{ki}-ke$_4$ kíĝ-gi$_4$-a-ar gù mu-un-na-dé-e
(*The lord of Aratta looked at the wheat.*) *The messenger's eyes looked askance . . .*
The lord of Aratta called to the messenger (ETCSL)

Enmerkar and En-suḫkeš-ana 207
ùnu-dè ešgiri$_2$ šu-na bi$_2$-in-taka$_4$ igi-ni ì-sìg-ge
The cow-herd dropped his staff from his hand: he was shocked

Proverb Collection 11, section J, 1–2
⌜dub⌝-sar-me-en mu ní-za nu-zu / igi ní-za sìg-ga
You're a scribe but you don't even know how to write your own name? Shame on you!

The lexical evidence shows that the idiom builds on the basic idea of 'striking the face' {igi sìg-sìg-⌜ge⌝, igi ⌜sìg⌝-[x]} = Akk. *na-tu-ú šá pa-ni* in Nabnitu XXI 138f.; igi sìg-sìg = *ra-pa-su šá pa-ni* in Nabnitu XXI 121, CAD P sub *panu* but also CAD N sub *naṭû* B 'to hit, to beat' besides {igi sìg} = *na-tu-ú šá pa-ni*). Overall, the attestations and lexical equations suggest that it is like present-day English 'thrashed' as in "you look thrashed" and the like, statements that describe a weak emotional or physical condition, but do not imply that actual beating has taken place.

101 gú-zu ki-a ù-ba-e-ni-in-ĝar

BUREAU When you've stretched your neck to the ground.

	gú-zu	**ki-a**	**ù-ba-e-ni-in-ĝar**	
A	gú-zu	ki-a	ù-ba-e-ni- ĝar	(Rev i 18)
K	gú-za	ki-a	[.....]	(Rev i 18)
Q	⌜gú-zu?⌝	ki-a	[.....]	(Rev 2′)
W	[.....]	[.....]	ù-ba-e-ni-⌜in-ĝar⌝	(Rev 4′)
Z	gú-za	ki-za	ù-ba-e-ni-⌜in⌝ [...]	(Obv 9′)
A′	gú-⌜zu⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
Y_{Ur}	gú-zu	ki-a	ù-⌜ab-e⌝-ni- ĝar *tu-aš-ša-aṭ*	(Obv 10)
C_{Sip}	[.....]	⌜ki⌝-a	ù-mu-e-ni-lá	(Rev i 6′)

There is apparently no good reason for preferring the reading in the Nippur manuscripts {ù-ba-e-ni-in-ĝar} to the Sippar manuscript {ù-mu-e-ni-lá}, so the choice here is entirely conventional. Both the omission of the /n/ before the root and the replacement of {ki-a} with {ki-za} in Z are trivial errors: {-za} is a preservation from {ugu-za} in the preceding line and the two signs (A and ZA) also closely resemble each other.

The gloss in the Ur manuscript *tu-aš-ša-aṭ*, if we have read it correctly, would correspond to Akk. *uššuṭu* (CAD U/W 325) 'to make strong, to make difficult,' which appears in a medical commentary (Weiher Uruk 100: 1) in reference to the neck, as in our line, viz. ⌜DIŠ⌝ NA GÚ-*su uš-šu-uṭ* // *aš-ṭa* // *dan-nu*, and is also equated with *uk-ku-lu* in Malku IV 207 (Hrůša 2010: 104–105), although most of the references to stiffness of a body-part are collected in CAD A/2 475a sub *ašṭu*. The conventional equivalent for the compound verb {gú—ĝar} is Akk. *kanāšu* (CAD K 144a) 'to submit to an overlord, to bend down,' but if we exclude the Hittite lexical evidence as well as the use of {gú—ĝar} in the idiom {gú ki-šè ĝar} 'to place one's neck on the ground,' which is not the idiom here in our line, the evidence for {gú—ĝar} as the standard equivalent for Akk. *kanāšu* is almost non-existent (see Karahashi 2000: 97–98). The equation between *ukkulu* and *uššuṭu* in Malku IV 207 occurs just two lines before the equation between *kubburu* and *šamḫu* in Malku IV 209; see the commentary on line 93 above. The compound verb found in the Sippar manuscript, namely {gú—lá}, can correspond to two different verbs in Akkadian (Karahashi 2000: 100–101): *edēru* 'to hug, to embrace' (CAD E 29b) and *šurru* 'to go down, to lean over a

wall, into a window' (CAD Š/3 356a). But neither of these two meanings make much sense in the context of our line.

102 ní-zu šu nu-zu-a a-ra-ab-kára

BUREAU You denigrate yourself without knowing it.

	ní-zu	**šu**	**nu-zu-a**	**a-ra-ab-kára**	
A	ní-zu	šu	nu-zu-a	a-ra-ab-kára	(Rev i 19)
K	ní-zu	šu	nu-⌜zu⌝ [...]	[.....]	(Rev i 19)
W	ní-zu	⌜šu⌝	nu-zu-a	a-ra-ab-kára	(Rev 5′)
Z	ní-zu	šu	nu-zu-a	a-ra-ab [.....]	(Obv 10′)
A′	ní-zu	[...]	[.....] ⌜a⌝	⌜a-ra⌝ [.....]	(Obv 2′)
D′′	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	⌜x⌝ [.....]	(Obv 1′)
Y_{Ur}	ní-zu	šu	nu-zu	a-ra-⌜ab⌝-taka$_4$	(Obv 11)

C_{Sip} (omits)

The omission of the line in the Sippar manuscript and the orthographically similar, but still different verb {taka$_4$} in the Ur witness suggest that the manuscript traditions for this line are rather disturbed. The variant that occurs in the Nippur manuscripts {a-ra-ab-kára} makes much better sense in the context than the variant from Ur {a-ra-⌜ab⌝-taka$_4$}. If nothing else, the fact that the omission of the line only occurs in the Sippar manuscript, represents one piece of evidence that the Nippur and Ur traditions are more closely related to each other than the tradition behind the Sippar manuscript. The Ur manuscript also leaves out the nominalizer following {nu-zu}, but this probably results from simple haplography.

Our translation is based on the compound verb {šu—kára} = Akk. *ṭapālu* 'to scorn, to treat with disrespect' (Ea I 186–187 [MSL 14, p. 186] alongside *ri-ik-su*, but the latter reading results from confusing KÁRA with SA and can be disregarded; Antagal C 231–232 [MSL 17, p. 200]). The compound verb in the Ur manuscript {šu—taka$_4$} means 'to send away' (Powell 1978; Krecher 1984: 142; Civil 1990: 109–110; Karahashi 2000: 167–168) and it makes little sense to speak of someone sending him or herself away without knowing it. The verbal form here is probably a parody of the two verbal forms in {a-ra-*} in line 87: {igi-bi-ta a-ra-ab-dag} and {en-nu-ùĝ a-ra-AK-dè}. Other than these two verbs in line 87, which occur in an earlier speech from the Bureaucrat, the only occurrences of the prefix in this text are in this line and in line 120 {a-ra-lù-lù} below. The

expression occurs in interesting contexts in two places in the lexical tradition: Erimḫuš VI 202 and Diri IV 304:

Erimhuš VI 192–204 (MSL 17 86–87)

192	kuš è	*ka-a-ṣu*	'to flay'
193	zil	*qa-la-pu*	'to skin'
194	ĝar-ra	*ša-ḫa-ṭu*	'to strip, to skin'
195	umbin	*ṣi-in-du*	'mob, hoi polloi'
196	bir-bir-re	*bi-ir-tú*	'mob, hoi polloi'
197	kúr	*na-ak-ru*	'enemy'
198	kúr-ra	*a-ḫu-u*	'other'

(199–201 omitted here)

202	šu kára	[*ṭa-pa-lu*]	'to scorn'
203	KI.SAG$^{su\text{-}lum\text{-}mar}$DU	[*ṭupullû*]	'scorn'

For the corresponding entry in Diri for {sulummar} = Akk. *ṭupullû* 'scorn', see the commentary to line 67 above. Note as well that {zil} or {síl} occurs in line 75 above and {bir-bir-re} occurs in line 62 above and line 133 below. The phraseology here with "the unknowing hand" {šu nu-zu-a} is vaguely reminiscent of the expression {igi-ta a-ra-ab-dag} in line 87, but is extended in the phrase {šu pap-ḫal-la} in the following line.

103 níĝ-gu$_7$-ù-da šu pap-ḫal-la ab-zi-zi-i

BUREAU The roving hand plunders what is meant to be eaten.

	níĝ-gu$_7$-ù-da	**šu**	**pap-ḫal-la**	**ab-zi-zi-i**	
A	níĝ-gu$_7$-ù-da	šu	pap-ḫal-la	ab-zi-⌜zi⌝	(Rev i 20)
K	níĝ-⌜gu$_7$?⌝-ta	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 20)
W	níĝ-gu$_7$- da	šu	pap-ḫal-la	ab-zi-zi-i	(Rev 6′)
Z	níĝ-gu$_7$- da	šu	pap-ḫal-la	ab-⌜zi⌝ [.....]	(Obv 11′)
A′	níĝ-gu$_7$-⌜ù-ta⌝	šu	pap-ḫal-la	[.....]	(Obv 3′)
D′′	[x] ⌜x x⌝-da	⌜šu⌝	⌜pap⌝-ḫal-la	⌜ab⌝ [.....]	(Obv 2′)
Y_{Ur}	níĝ-gu$_7$-ù-da	šu	pap-ḫal-la	ab-zi-⌜zi-i⌝ $^{⌜qà⌝\text{-}du\text{-}ut\text{-}šú\text{-}nu}$	(Obv 12)
C_{Sip}	[.....] ⌜a⌝-ta	šu	pap-ḫal-la	a-ab-zi-zi	(Rev i 7′)

Manuscripts A and Y have the plene writing {níĝ-gu$_7$-ù-da} for {níĝ-gu$_7$-da} in W and Z; while A′ has {níĝ-gu$_7$-⌜ù-ta⌝} and C {níĝ-gu$_7$-a-ta}. The presence of {níĝ-gu$_7$-ù-da} in manuscripts from both Nippur and Ur, as well as the fact that the variants in manuscripts A′ {níĝ-gu$_7$-ù-ta} and C {[. . .]-⌜a⌝-ta} probably derive from the same plene writing, favor {níĝ-gu$_7$-ù-da} as the best reading. For the main verb as well, manuscripts from Nippur and Ur (W and Y respectively) favor the plene form {ab-zi-zi-i} over {ab-zi-zi} in A and {a-ab-zi-zi} in C.

The phrase at the beginning of the line {níĝ-gu$_7$-ù-da} "what is meant to be eaten" occurs in very nearly the same form in *Bird and Fish* 105, viz. {níĝ-gu$_7$-ù-bi}, where it is glossed with *ú-ku-la-am*.

> *Bird and Fish* 105 (line 104 in Herrmann 2010: 162–163; Johnson 2011)
>
> u$_4$ mušen gùd-ba *i-nu-ma ú-ku-la-am ub-ba-⌜lu⌝* zi-ga-gen$_7$ amar-bi-šè níĝ-gu$_7$-ù-bi tùm-dè
>
> *Als der Vogel sein Nest verlassen hatte, um für seinen Nachwuchs Futter zu holen* (translation Herrmann)

The Akk. *ukullû* may be a pun on the equivalency between Akk. *ukkulu* and *uššuṭu* in Malku IV 207 that was briefly noted in the commentary to line 101 above, or *ukullû* here may be an allusion to its usual Sumerian equivalent, namely {šà-gal}, which appears in line 96 above.

The idiom in the second half of the line {šu pap-ḫal-la zi-zi} is known from a single manuscript of Old Babylonian Proto-Lu (MSL 12, 29 D = A 30236 + UM 55–21–313), where it is predicated of the {zilulu} 'vagabond'. As Veldhuis has pointed out (personal communication), the other manuscripts all have {zilulu šu ḫal-la zi-zi} without {pap}, so the variant in MSL 12, 29 D cannot be reconstructed for Old Babylonian Lu.[45] One might even hypothesize that the

45 In the Tell Haddad texts published by Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi (1995: 25), the syllabically written expression {ú-sa-ḫa-gi-⌜na⌝} in the Charme contre la corcellerie, manuscript Meturan A, line 39, is equated with {pap-ḫal-la} in the standard orthography in D 33 (= CT 44,34). The {*-gi-na} probably corresponds to {*-gen$_7$} as we find the other manuscript in standard orthography, but {ú-sa-ḫa} seems to correspond to {pap-ḫal-la}. One might consider, for comparison, the expression {u$_4$-za-ḫa-al—ak} as it is used in Sîn-iqīšam A, line 38 {níĝ-érim u$_4$-za-ḫa-al—ak} "you will make evil disappear" (Civil 1993: 77), where it is glossed with Akk. *tu-ḫa-la-aq* 'you make disappear'.

distinctive form of the line in MSL 12, 29 D may have been influenced by the form in our line rather than vice versa.

MSL 12, 29 D = A 30236 + UM 55–21–313 obv iv 11–v 1 (cf. MSL 12: 38, line 169)

11′	⌜ugula⌝ lukur$^{!}$(NAGAR)-ra	'overseer of the concubines'
12′	⌜ugula dag-gi$_4$-a⌝	'overseer of the city quarter'
13′	⌜zilulu (PA.GIŠGAL)⌝	'vagabond'
14′	**zilulu šu pap-ḫal-la zi-zi**	**'the vagabond whose roving hand plunders'**
15′	ĝárza (PA.LUGAL)	'royal ordinances'
16′	ĝarza (PA.DINGIR)	'divine ordinances'
17′	biluda (PA.DINGIR)	'divine regulations'

Although {zilulu} 'vagabond' does not seem to appear in our text, the idiom that is being used to describe him, namely {šu pap-ḫal-la zi-zi} corresponds to the second half of our line {šu pap-ḫal-la ab-zi-zi-i} quite well. The only difference is that the infinitive form in the lexical list appears in a stative construction in our text, as we might expect. The construction is made up of a compound verb {šu—zi}, with {pap-ḫal-la} acting as a modifier of {šu}, the nominal component of the compound verb. Karahashi translates {šu—zi} variously as 'to raise the hand', 'to be angry' or 'to plunder' (Karahashi 2000: 173) and the context demands the last of these three translations. The term {pap-ḫal} itself corresponds to Akk. *purīdu* 'leg', but in our line it is being used as a modifier of {šu} and can therefore be equated with Akk. *muttalliku* 'portable, restless' (often used in the description of mobile braziers). Therefore the phrase as whole {šu pap-ḫal-la} can be taken to mean "the continually moving hand," or as we have translated it here "the roving hand," which aligns well with the image of the 'vagabond' as found in Proto-Lu.

104 é-me-eš KA ĝissu niĝin

BUREAU The summer makes gossip circulate in the shade.

	é-me-eš	**KA**	**ĝissu**	**niĝin**	
A	é-me-eš	KA	⌜ĝissu⌝	⌜niĝin⌝	(Rev i 21)
K	[.....] eš	KA	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev i 21)
W	é-me-eš	KA	ĝissu	⌜niĝin⌝	(Rev 7′)
Z	é-me-eš	KA	ĝissu	⌜niĝin⌝	(Obv 12′)

(*cont.*)

	é-me-eš	**KA**	**ĝissu**	**niĝin**	
A′	é-me-⌜eš⌝	⌜KA⌝	ĝissu	⌜niĝin⌝	(Obv 4′)
D′′	[.....] eš-a	⌜KA⌝	ĝissu	niĝin	(Obv 3′)
Y_{Ur}	é-me-eš	KA	ĝissu	⌜niĝin⌝	(Obv 13)
C_{Sip}	[x]-⌜me⌝-eš-a	KA	ĝissu	niĝin	(Rev i 8′)

The only variant is {é-me-eš-a} in place of {é-me-eš} in manuscript D′′ from Nippur and the Sippar manuscript. Given the near uniformity of the manuscript traditions in Nippur and Ur, we have adopted {é-me-eš} in our synthetic text, but the correct construal of the phrase, particularly in relation to the following KA sign, is rather unclear. At minimum one should note that the addition of {-a} in manuscripts D′′ and C brings the expression into formal alignment with {u_4 $šed_7$-da KA} in the next line.

We have opted here to separate {é-me-eš} from the following KA sign and to interpret KA as one of the several possible words associated with speech in Sumerian, translated here as "gossip," although the correct reading is unclear. There are two different lexical items that may be used to support such a reading, although neither fits into our context perfectly. The LAGAB sign read as {niĝin} appears in Aa I/2 49 equated with Akk. *ši-te-ʾ-u* the presumably reflexive Gt-stem of *še'û* 'to investigate, to be solicitous of' (CAD Š/2 355a). The lexical entries for *šite'û* normally equate it with {niĝin}, {níĝin} or {kíĝ-kíĝ}, so this line may be indirectly commenting on the frequent use of {kíĝ} in various idioms in the preceding speech from the Professor in lines 92–97. There are apparently only two occurrences of the word for shadow {ĝissu} in the Lu lists, the first of which is {lú ĝissu è-dè} in Lu Azlag B+C, segment 6, line 6:

Lu Azlag B+C, segment 6, 3–8 (DCCLT edition, cf. MSL 12: 194)

3	⌜lú gidim-ma⌝	⌜*ša i*⌝-*ṭi-im*-⌜*mi*⌝	'necromancer'
4	⌜lú saĝ bulug^{ʔ}-ga^{ʔ}⌝	*mu-še-li e-ṭi*-⌜*mi*⌝	'necromancer'
5	lú ⌜saĝ-šè nú-a⌝	⌜*mu-pa*⌝-*še-er šu-na-tim*	'dream interpreter'
6	⌜lú ĝissu è-dè⌝	*mu-še-li ṣi-il-li*	'gossip'
7	lú-inim-ma	*ša a-wa-tim*	'witness'
8	lú inim du_{11}-du_{11}	*mu-ta-wu-ú*	'jabber-mouth'

The parallel Akkadian translation of Lu Azlag B+C, lines 4 and 6, both make use of a Š-stem participle of *elû* 'to go up', hence 'the one who brings up', which means 'the one who makes ghosts arise (in order to communicate)' in Lu Azlag

B+C line 4. The usage in Lu Azlag B+C line 6, however, is related to legal contexts in which the Š-stem of *elû* is used to describe 'calling witnesses (to give testimony)'. So all of these entries are concerned with communication in one form or another. The Sum. {lú ĝissu è-dè} presumably means 'one who brings out (secrets) from the shadows', but our line may be combining this idiom for 'testimony' with the following entries such as {lú inim-ma} and {lú inim du_{11}-du_{11}} to describe some form of informal communication in a relatively quiet semi-public setting, perhaps the gossip of small neighborhoods (cf. Akk. *šē'u* 'neighbor'). The other entry in the Lu lists in which {ĝissu} makes an appearance is in Lu Azlag B+C, segment 2, line 108:

Lu Azlag B+C, segment 2, 107–109 (DCCLT edition)

107	lú igi tál-tál	*ša i-⌜na⌝-[šu ra]-⌜ap-ša⌝*	'wide-eyed'
108	lú igi ĝissu lá-a	*ša i-na-šu ṣi-li-a*	'one who shades the eyes'
109	lú igi úš-a	*ša i-na-šu da-ma ma-li-a*	'eyes filled with blood'

The person who is shading his or her eyes normally does so in reaction to direct sunlight, which provides a link to {gaba u_4-da} in the next line in our text, but the idiom {igi ĝissu lá} may have provided a model for the apparent neologism in our line {KA ĝissu niĝin}. If so, the replacement of {lá} with LAGAB may also represent an allusion to the frequent use of {lá} in lines 92–93.

105 u_4 $šed_7$-da KA gaba u_4-da niĝin

BUREAU The cold day makes the gossip circulate in the sunshine.

	u_4	**$šed_7$-da**	**KA**	**gaba**	**u_4-da**	**niĝin**	
A	u_4	$šed_7$-da	KA	⌜gaba?⌝	[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	(Rev i 22)
W	u_4	$šed_7$-da	KA	gaba	u_4-da	niĝin	(Rev 8′)
Z	[. . .]	⌜$šed_7$⌝-da	KA	gaba	u_4-da	niĝin	(Obv 13′)
A′	u_4	$šed_7$-⌜da⌝	KA	gaba	u_4-da	⌜niĝin⌝	(Obv 5′)
D′′	[. . .]	[. . . .]⌜da⌝	⌜KA⌝	gaba	u_4-da	⌜niĝin⌝	(Obv 4′)
Y_{Ur}	u_4	$šed_7$-da	⌜x⌝	gaba	⌜u_4⌝-da	niĝin	(Obv 14)
C_{Sip}	[. . .]	⌜$\underline{šed_{11}}$⌝-da	KA	gaba	u_4-da	niĝin	(Rev i 9′)

Although {gaba u_4-da} means literally "breast of the sun" (Akk. *irat šamši*), its use in contexts such as *Lugalbanda in the Wilderness* 246–250 ({^{d}utu . . . /

úku-re lú lul-e lú túg nu-tuku-e / gaba u_4-da-zu ^{túg}zulumbi kù-gen$_7$ ša-mu$_4$-mu$_4$} "O Utu! . . . your sunshine clothes the poor, the destitute and the naked like a woolen robe") makes it clear that 'sunshine' is meant rather than some visible element in the heavens (Wilcke 1969: 82; Vanstiphout 2003: 116–117).[46] In other contexts, {u_4} seems to mean 'storm' rather than 'sun' and in combination with {gaba} describes a visible manifestation of a storm, hence 'storm front'. This usage is particularly clear in the lamentations such as *The Lamentation over Ur* 111 {u_4-da gaba-bi ba-ra-mu-da-zi}, "as for the storm front, may it not arise" (line 112 in Römer 2004: 33, 92 and 116). Much the same interpretation is probably correct in *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* 3 (gaba u_4-da ki nam tar-[re-da] "the storm front where destinies are determined"). Vanstiphout's suggestion that {gaba u_4-da} refers to the "breastwork against the storm" is rather unlikely (Vanstiphout 2003: 56–57).

The one other context in which we find {gaba u_4-da} used in a dialogue or debate is found in *Winter and Summer* 272:

> *Winter and Summer* 270–272 (Vanstiphout 1997: 587–588)
>
> 270. lú ḫu-ḫu-nu da-gir$_4$-ta udun-šè udun-ta da-gir$_4$-šè
> 271. udu-gen$_7$ igi-za mu-un-su$_8$-su$_8$-bé-eš
> 272. gaba u_4-da da-gum-da-gum-ma di ba-ni-ib-dab$_5$-bé-en
>
> (Summer speaking to Winter:) (270) The cripples, from brazier to oven, from oven to brazier (271) They run around like sheep in front of you. (272) In sunshine you lay your plans . . . .

This is the same passage we looked at earlier in the discussion of {ĝéšbu da-kum} in line 78 above. Clearly an allusion to *Winter and Summer* would be particularly apt at this point because the first word in the preceding line is {é-me-eš} 'summer', which is contrasted with {u_4 šed$_7$-da} 'a cold day' at the beginning of this line. Moreover, this passage from *Winter and Summer* describes precisely the effect a cold day might have had on Mesopotamian workers. The centrality of the heat from the 'kiln' {udun} in combination with the image of cripples running between sources of heat is particularly

46 N. Veldhuis (personal communication) notes that {gaba u_4-da} is immediately followed by {u_4 AN-usan} in the Old Babylonian Forerunner to ki-ulutin-bi-šè CBS 1862 obv iii 18, which probably represents a contrast between 'daytime' {gaba u_4-da} and 'evening' {an-usan}.

important since most of the rest of the Bureaucrat's speech, viz. lines 106–107, will focus on wounds received from standing too close to the fire.

The allusion to the 'vagabond' {zilulu} in line 103 is confirmed in some sense by the repetition of {niĝin} at the end of lines 104 and 105. This is particularly apparent in Nabnitu IX:

Nabnitu IX 216–219 (MSL 16: 121)

216	PA$^{zi\text{-}lu\text{-}lu}$GIŠGAL	*tas-ḫi-rum*	'vagabond'
217	bàd niĝin	*saḫ-ḫi-rat du-ri*	'roaming around the walls'
218	úru niĝin	*saḫ-ḫi-rat* URU	'roaming around the city'
219	a-⌜gàr⌝ niĝin	*saḫ-ḫi-rat ú-ga-ri*	'roaming around the fields'

CAD sees Akk. *tasḫīru* as an error or variant for Akk. *saḫḫiru*, which is the more common equivalent to {zilulu} 'vagabond'. Here in this passage from Nabnitu {niĝin} regularly corresponds to Akk. *saḫḫiru* 'roaming about' in a number of idioms and *saḫḫiru* is also a possible Akkadian translation for {zilulu}, so lines 103–105 clearly form a semantic unit that focuses on the movement of individuals through public spaces.

106 lú-tumu saĝ gú ne-ka nú-nú

BUREAU You windbag, you rest your head on the edge of the stove,

	lú-tumu	**saĝ**	**gú ne-ka**	**nú-nú**	
W	lú-tumu	saĝ	gú ne-ka	⌜nú⌝-nú	(Rev 9′)
Z	[...] tumu	saĝ	gú ne-ka	nú-nú	(Obv 14′)
A′	⌜lú-tumu⌝	⌜saĝ⌝	gú ⌜ne-ka⌝	⌜nú⌝-nú	(Obv 6′)
D′′	[.....]	[...]	⌜gú⌝ ne-ka	nú-nú	(Obv 5′)
Y_{Ur}	lú-tumu	saĝ	⌜gú ne⌝-ka	nú-nú	(Obv 15)
C_{Sip}	[.....]	⌜saĝ?⌝	gune$_x$(KI.NE)-ka	nú-nú	(Rev i 10′)

The only variant is the use of KI.NE in the Sippar manuscript in place of GÚ.NE in the other manuscripts. The variant {gú ne} is adopted here on the basis of its use in both Nippur and Ur. These is one lexical entry that might justify a {gune$_x$} reading of KI.NE (see below), but on the whole the reading in the

manuscript from Sippar looks like a simplification of the text: the somewhat rare expression {gú ne} or {gú nemur$_x$(NE)-<ra>} being replaced by an extremely common sign sequence KI.NE.

The sign NE admits a number of different readings, and it is not impossible that NE here should simply be read as {izi} 'fire' since {gú} in Sumerian can refer both to the rim of an object or to the edge of an installation. If {gú} refers to the lip of a small object such as a pot, there are only two types of oven or brazier that are small and portable enough to be relevant, namely the portable *kinūnu* and *tinūru* as in the following extract from Hh X.

Hh X (MSL 7: 71; Sallaberger and Cavigneaux 1996: 130)

337	KI.NE	*kinūnu*	'kiln, stove'
338	KI.NE DU.DU	*muttalliku*	'portable kiln, stove'
339	^{im}šu-rin-na	*tinūru*	'oven'
340	^{im}šu-rin-na DU.DU	*muttalliku*	'portable oven'

The alternation of the fixed and portable varieties of *kinūnu* and *tinūru* (and in particular the Akkadian term for portable *muttalliku*) probably served as the background for the passage from *Winter and Summer* in the commentary to the preceding line, where the 'cripple' {lú ḫu-ḫu-nu} runs between {da-gir$_4$} 'side of the furnace' and {udun} 'kiln' in order to keep warm (Akk. *muttalliku*—here written DU.DU like {su$_8$(b)} in *Winter and Summer* 271—also corresponds to {pap-ḫal} in the phrase {šu pap-ḫal-la} in line 103 above).

The phrase {da-gir$_4$} in that passage does not appear in the lexical tradition (unless {PÚ gir$_4$} in AIT 446 iii 12 can be emended to read this way), but {da-gir$_4$} is structurally somewhat similar to {gú NE}. The variation between {gú NE} and KI.NE in our line is particularly interesting because there is a reading of KI.NE as {gunne} attested in Diri IV 293:

Diri IV 278–293 (MSL 15: 162)

278	me-el	KI.NE	*ḫimṭētu*	?
279			*nemlû*	'neck, throat'
280	gi-bil	KI.NE	*qilûtu*	'firewood'
281	zé-i	KI.NE	*martu*	'gall'
282	mu-nu	KI.NE	*ḫimṭētu*	?
283	di-ni-ig	KI.NE	*kūru*	'kiln'
284			*nappāhu*	'bellows'
285	ku-uš-lu-ug	KI.NE	*netmertu*	?
286	ni-mu-ur	KI.NE	*tumru*	'ember, coals'

287			*ṭabtu*	'potash'
288			*idrānu*	'potash'
289	i-zi	KI.NE	*išātu*	'fire'
290			*pēndu*	'charcoal'
291	ab-ni	KI.NE	*maṣādu*	'crucible'
292	né-e	KI.NE	*kinūnu*	'brazier'
293	gu-un-né	KI.NE	*kinūnu*	'brazier'

Since both {ne$_5$}(KI.NE) and {gune$_x$}(KI.NE) are equated with *kinūnu* (Diri IV continues on with {ganba} and the passage concerning {kiši$_4$} that we looked at in our line 67), we assume that {ne} in our text refers to a 'brazier' and that {gú ne} refers to a 'brazier's edge or lip'. The reading {gune$_x$}(KI.NE) for Akk. *kinūnu* is already attested in Old Babylonian Diri "Oxford" line 331 (MSL 15: 44) and in several other Middle Babylonian Diri fragments,[47] so we might even hypothesize that the entry in Diri IV 293 actually derives in some indirect way from the variation in manuscript C from Sippar. The sense of 'edge of the brazier' is clearly captured in the following passage from Kagal I:

Kagal I 368–371 (MSL 13: 231)

368	gú ^{im}šu-rin-na	*a-⌜aḫ⌝ [ti-nu-ri]*	'edge of the oven'
369	gú KI.NE	*a-⌜aḫ⌝ […]*	'edge …'
370	gú KI.NE-ra	*a-aḫ ⌜ki⌝-[nu]-⌜ni⌝*	'edge of the brazier'
371	gú i$_7$-da	*a-aḫ na-ri*	'riverbank'

The entry in Kagal I 370 might suggest a reading such as {gú nemur$_x$(KI.NE)-ra}, with {nemur$_x$} equated with Akk. *kinūnu*, and there is at least one syllabic attestation of this form in *Lugalbanda in the Wilderness* 284: {gú ne-mur-⌜ra⌝-ka ba-an-še$_{21}$}, which Vanstiphout translates as "(Lugalbanda brought all that out of the mountain cave) / And put it among the embers" (Vanstiphout 2003: 118–119), but the equation with *aḫ kinūni* in Kagal I 370 must mean "next to the embers," i.e., embers that would normally be contained in some kind of brazier. It may be significant, however, that only the devices that exist in a portable version (*tinūru* and *kinūnu*) occur in these constructions with {gú}, so we are probably dealing with a portable brazier used as a kind of pillow. For the use of the expression {gú ^{im}šu-rin-na} in proverbial contexts, see Alster 2007: 146 and references therein.

47 See also the Middle Babylonian Diri fragments from Haft Tepe (HT 96 = IrAnt 31, 77 274 [P349885]) and Nippur (CBS 7884 in MSL 15: 102 [P262860]). Old and Middle Babylonian references courtesy of N. Veldhuis.

107 bala-bala-e-da-zu-ne á-šu-ĝìri kud kuš-a ab-síl-síl

BUREAU When you turn around, (you are) a cripple peeling off his own skin.

	bala-bala-e-da-zu-ne	**á-šu-ĝìri**	**kud**	**kuš-a**	**ab-síl-síl**	
W	bala-bala-e-da-zu-ne	⌜á-šu⌝-ĝìri (eras.)	kud /	kuš-a	ab-⌜síl⌝-síl	(Rev 10′)
Z	[.....] ⌜da⌝-zu-⌜ne⌝	á-šu-ĝìri	kud	kuš	⌜x x x⌝	(Obv 15′)
A′	⌜bala-bala⌝ [.....] ⌜ne⌝	á-šu-⌜ĝìri⌝	⌜kud⌝	kuš-a	⌜ab-síl⌝-síl	(Obv 7′)
D′′	[.....]	[.....]	⌜x⌝	⌜x x⌝	⌜x x x⌝	(Obv 6′)
Y_{Ur}	bala-bala-e-⌜da-zu⌝	⌜á⌝-šu-⌜ĝìri⌝-zu		kuš-a	ab-⌜síl⌝ [...]	(Obv 16)
C_{Sip}	[.....] ⌜da⌝-zu-ne	á-šu-ĝìri-ni		kuš!-a	ab-síl-síl	(Rev i 11′)

The fact that manuscripts from each of the three cities (Nippur, Ur and Sippar) give a different sign after the expression {á-šu-ĝìri} might suggest that this sign was damaged or poorly written in the archetype for this three manuscript traditions, but it is more likely that the idiom {á-šu-ĝìri kud} was simply not recognized outside of Nippur. The second person possessive pronoun from the Ur manuscript is probably a preservation or an attempt at harmonization with the temporal clause at the beginning of the line {bala-bala-e-da-zu-ne} and as such is excluded from further consideration as a banalization. Otherwise, there does not seem to be any basis for choosing between the third person possessive in the Sippar manuscript, which could also represent a simplification of the text, and the sign {kud}(TAR) in the Nippur manuscripts on the basis of purely text critical grounds. Only the occurrences of {á-šu-ĝìri kud} in the lexical tradition provides a way forward.

While {á-šu-ĝìri} = Akk. *mešrêtu* 'limbs' is fairly well attested in the lexical materials and bilingual contexts (see the references in CAD M/2 40a), when {á-šu-ĝìri} is combined with the modifier {kud}, yielding {á-šu-ĝìri kud}, the entry is only attested in the unplaced Lu fragment CTN 4, 216 (= ND 4373) and in a rather involved passage in Izi II. As noted earlier, CTN 4, 216 (= ND 4373) seems to be closely associated with our text (see above in the commentary to lines 10 and 68), and at the end of column iv we have the following:

CTN 4, 216, iv 21′–25′ (MSL 12: 143)

21′	a-gi-aš-gi$_4$	*a-ḫu-ru*	'uncouth, boorish man'
22′	gú-zal	*gu-za-al-lu*	'rogue'

23′	gú-zal	*ma-ku-ú*	‘penniless’
24′	šu lá	*us-su-lu*	‘cripple’
25′	á-šu-ĝìri kud	MIN	‘cripple’

The fact that {á-šu-ĝìri kud} is equated with Akk. *ussulu* is key in our view and this equation is also found already in the Old Babylonian version of Izi II. On the later history of {gú-zal} = Akk. *guzallu*, including its use in Aramaic and Arabic, see Sjöberg 1966 and Attinger 2001: 135 as well as the BM 108861 in the commentary to line 95.

Old Babylonian Izi II 39–41 (line numbers on the left, see DCCLT editions and MSL 13: 219) with interpolated first millennium bilingual version (CT 19, pl. 16, DT 44)

39	á-mug	*a-ku-u*	‘cripple’
40	á-šu-ĝìri kud	*ku-uṣ-ṣu-du*	‘with crippled limbs’
		us-su-lum	‘with crippled limbs’
		pu-us-su-lum	‘with crippled limbs’
	á šu lá-lá	*pu-us-su-lum*	‘with crippled arms’
	á lál	*pu-us-su-lum*	‘with crippled arms’
	á lál	*uṣ-ṣu-du*	‘with crippled arms’
	á lál	*ku-uṣ-ṣu-du*	‘with crippled arms’
	á šu lál	*šu-qal-lu-lu*	‘to hang of the arms and hands’
	á lá	*ka-mu-u*	‘to bind the arms’
	á lá	*ka-su-u*	‘to bind the arms’
	aškud$^{áš\text{-}kud}$	*áš-kut-tum*	‘wedge (for door)’
	á-MÚŠ	*am-ma-tum*	‘forearm, cubit’
	á-MÚŠ	*ki-ṣir* MIN	‘joint of the forearm, elbow’
41	á-áĝ-ĝá	*te-er-tum*	‘instruction’
		ú-ur-tum	‘command’
		tak-lim-tum	‘instruction’

Although the particular phrase in question, namely {á-šu-ĝìri kud}, is already present in the Old Babylonian version of Izi II, line 40, we have cited the Old Babylonian text alongside the first millennium version in order to highlight some thematic connections between {á-šu-ĝìri kud} and other lines in the text. Note, for instance, that {á-šu-ĝìri kud} is equated with no less than three different verbal forms in Akkadian: *kuṣṣudu, ussulu* and *pussulu*. Of these three terms, however, Akk. *ussulu* is only ever equated with either {á-šu-ĝìri kud} or {šu—lá}. The idiom {šu—lá} appears in lines 93 and 125 in our text and {ĝéšbu aškud} in our line 44.

It is unclear whether to read {su-a} "in the flesh" or {kuš-a} "on the skin" immediately before the verb, but in the parallel line in the preceding speech from the Professor in line 75 ({^{uzu}ma-sìla sa-sal-zu su-a ab-síl-síl}), {su} must be correct because it is preceded by {zu} and if we apply the same logic here, then we might expect {kuš} following {kud} due to the phonological similarity of the two words. Both lines refer to specific anatomical elements, the terms in line 75 to parts of the ankle and lower leg, while our line uses a conventional merismus {á-šu-ĝíri}, viz. 'arm + hand + leg' to refer to all the limbs. Whereas lines 61 and 75 above contrasted {kud} 'to cut' and {síl} = Akk. *salāqu* 'to boil' respectively, our line here plays with another distinct sense of {síl}, namely its equation with Akk. *qalāpu* 'to peel'. We assume here that the humor lies in the image of the addressee using a still hot brazier or small metal oven as a pillow, only to discover that when he rolls over in his sleep, the skin that is burned by the brazier pulls away from his body.

One of the hallmarks of Semitic languages is the use of distinctive nominal forms in *purrusu* for physical or perceptual defects (Holma 1914; von Soden 1995: 76; Kouwenberg 1997: 372–388). The same form is also used in Akkadian for D-stem infinitives, which normally correspond to Sumerian reduplicated verbal roots, so the Bureaucrat's description of physical disfigurement in this line may be continuing the reduplication theme that was central to his speeches in lines lines 61–68 and lines 79–86. Nominal forms in *purrusu* for physical defects also a play a central role in the Lu Azlag lists, so the author of our text may have simply carried these associations over from the lexical tradition.

108 é bùr-bùr dun du_{11}-du_{11}

BUREAU Whether breaking into a house or digging a ditch,

	é	**bùr-bùr**	**dun**	**du_{11}-du_{11}**	
H	[...]	[.....]	[...]	[.....] du_{11}	(Rev ii 1′)
W	é	bùr-bùr	⌜dun⌝	du_{11}-du_{11}	(Rev 11′)
Z	[...]	[.....]	⌜dun⌝	du_{11}-du_{11}	(Obv 16′)
A′	é	bùr-bùr	dun	du_{11}-⌜du_{11}⌝	(Obv 8′)
Y_{Ur}	é	bùr-bùr	⌜dun⌝	⌜du_{11}⌝ [...]	(Obv 17)
C_{Sip}	[...]	[.....]	dun	du_{11}-du_{11}	(Rev i 12′)
B''_{Sip}	[...]	[.....]	⌜dun⌝	du_{11}-du_{11}	(Rev ii 1)

For our purposes here the most important lexical attestation is Old Babylonian Lu, recension D, line 154, which occurs just three lines after our leitmotif {lú-túmu}:

Old Babylonian Lu, recension D 151–154 (MSL 12: 207)

151	lú túmu	*sà-rum*	'liar'
152	lú IM.IM	*šar-ra-qú*	'thief'
153	lú ní-zuḫ	*šar-ra-qú*	'thief'
154	lú é bùr-bùr	*mu-pa-li-iš bi-ta-tim*	'one who bores into houses'

But nearly the same expression occurs elsewhere in the lexical corpus, namely in Erimḫuš V 71, where it is equated with Akk. *nittu* 'burglar'.

Erimḫuš V 69–74 (MSL 17: 70)

69	ní nu-zu	*la a-di-rum*	'not afraid'
70	téš nu-zu	*la ba-a-a-šú*	'not ashamed'
71	lú é bùr-bùr-ru	*ni-it-tum*	'burglar'
72	lú lul la-ga	*ra-bi-ṣu*	'mugger'
73	lú ní(IM)^{ni}-zu	*šar-ra-qu*	'thief'
74	lú šu-ḫa	*sa-ar-ri*	'criminal'

The cluster of entries that we find in Erimḫuš also re-appear, in part, in *Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn* 147–148: {sag-DU-a lú-tumu šu-si ĝìri-si lú-lul / lú-IM lú-la-ga é bùr-bùr / lú-sikil-dù-a lú-ḫáb-ba} "Verrückter, Lügner, . . ., falscher Mensch, Lügner, Räuber, der in Häuser einbricht, Lästerer, stinkender Mensch" (Sjöberg 1973: 113 and 118). Moreover, since it is rather unlikely that {lú-tumu} would have been repeated verbatim in this kind of listing, the parallel with Erimhuš V suggests that the second occurrence of {lú-IM} in *Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn* 148 should probably be emended to {lú ní-<zuḫ>}. Alster has also noted that {bùr-bùr} shows up in SP 13.8 {lú-zuḫ-a bùr-bùr-da ì-in-sal-e}, which may be related to line 2 in *The Lazy Slave Girl* {dumu gi$_4$-in-na-ke$_4$ bùr na-ab-sal-e} "should not the slave girl's children make the hole narrow" (Alster 1997: 442 [vol. 2]).

109 a-na-aš-àm ga-ba-al mu-un-dù-dù-e-en

BUREAU Why do you have to cause a fight?

	a-na-aš-àm	**ga-ba-al**	**mu-un-dù-dù-e-en**	
H	[.....]	[.....] ⌜al⌝	mu-un-dù-dù-e-en	(Rev ii 2′)
Z	[.....]	[...] ⌜ba-al⌝	mu-un-dù-dù-⌜e⌝ [...]	(Obv 17′)
A′	a-na-aš	ga-ba-al	mu- dù-dù-e-⌜en⌝	(Obv 9′)
Y_{Ur}	⌜a⌝-na-aš-àm	ga-ba-⌜al⌝	[...] ⌜dù⌝ [.....]	(Obv 18)
C_{Sip}	[.....]	⌜ga⌝-ba-al	mu- dù-dù- en	(Rev i 13′ + ruling)
B''_{Sip}	[.....]	[.....] ⌜al⌝	mu- dù-dù- en	(Rev ii 2 + ruling)

The initial particle in the one Nippur manuscript that preserves the form, viz. {a-na-aš} in manuscript A′, looks like it has accidentally omitted the copula; we therefore adopt the reading in the manuscript from Ur. The forms of the verb without plene writings {mu-dù-dù-en} occur in manuscripts from both Nippur and Sippar, but we follow the plene writing in manuscripts H and A′ from Nippur. The horizontal ruling in the CDLI photo of manuscript Z is a single ruling but clearly deeper and more pronounced that the horizontal guidelines elsewhere in the text, and the rulings after this line in the hand copies of manuscripts C and B′′ from Sippar are unmistakable.

As already noted in line 43 above, the formal equivalent of {ga-ba-al—dù} in Akkadian (and the source of the calque) is the idiom *qablu epēšu*, but this is only attested in first millennium Neo-Assyrian sources and is presumably a back translation from {ga-ba-al—dù}. The standard equivalent for {ga-ba-al—dù} in earlier periods is Akk. *gerû*, 'to be hostile, to start a lawsuit'.

110 in mu-e-dúb-ba-ĝu$_{10}$ su-ĝá nu-ĝál

PROF The insults that you hurl at me don't stick.

	in	**mu-e-dúb-ba-ĝu$_{10}$**	**su-ĝá**	**nu-ĝál**	
H	[...]	[...] ⌜e⌝-dúb-ba-ĝu$_{10}$	su-ĝá	nu-ĝál	(Rev ii 3′)
Z	[...]	[.....] ⌜dúb⌝-ba-ĝu$_{10}$	su-ĝá	[.....]	(Obv 18′)
A′	in	mu-e-dúb-ba-ĝu$_{10}$	su-ĝu$_{10}$	nu-ĝál	(Rev 1)

	in	**mu-e-dúb-ba-ĝu$_{10}$**	**su-ĝá**	**nu-ĝál**	
Y_{Ur}	in	⌜mu-e-dúb-ba⌝	⌜su-ĝá⌝	⌜nu-ĝál⌝	(Obv 19)
C_{Sip}	[...]	[.....] ⌜ba⌝-zu	su-ĝu$_{10}$	nu-ĝál	(Rev i 14′)
B''_{Sip}	[...]	[.....]	⌜su⌝-ĝá	nu-ĝál	(Rev ii 3)

Here the manuscripts from Nippur, Ur and Sippar each give a different form of the possessive pronoun following the relative clause {in mu-e-dúb-ba}: the Nippur witnesses have a first person possessive, the Sippar witness a second person pronoun and the Ur witness omits the possessive pronoun entirely. This is reminiscent of the type of variation that we saw in line 107 above, where {á-šu-ĝìri kud} in the Nippur manuscripts was replaced by {á-šu-ĝìri-zu} in the Ur manuscript and {á-šu-ĝìri-ni} in the Sippar manuscript, however the witnesses do not line up in their differential treatment of the possessive pronouns in the two lines. Like line 75, in which {sa-sal-zu} (with second person possessive pronoun) precedes the idiom {su-a ab-síl-síl}, the variation in our line here results from the juxtaposition of {zu} and {su}. These two signs are both phonetically and orthographically similar, and even in line 75 (where the correct reading is clearly {sa-sal-zu su-a}) two manuscripts exhibit some uncertainty about the correct sign. In line 107, the apparently correct reading {á-šu-ĝìri kud} in the Nippur manuscripts is replaced with {á-šu-ĝìri-zu} in the Ur manuscript, presumably because {su-a ab-síl-síl} immediately follows it and the scribe copied the sequence {*-zu su-a ab-síl-síl} from line 75 into line 107. Here in line 110, given these earlier errors, the correct reading is clearly {*-ĝu$_{10}$ su-ĝá nu-ĝál}, not only because the three-fold repetition of {/ĝ/} aligns perfectly with the three-fold repetition of the sibilants in line 75, but also because the possessive pronoun often functions as the semantic object in Sumerian nominalizations of this type. This time it is the manuscript from Sippar that replaces {*-ĝu$_{10}$} with {*-zu}, while the Ur manuscript simply omits the possessive pronoun.

In line 90 we looked at similar uses of this idiom {in—dúb} in relative clauses in *Bird and Fish*, but there the agent of the act of insult-hurling is coded in an ergative case and no possessive pronoun occurs:

Bird and Fish 53 and 83

53. ((relative clause in ku$_6$-e a-na mu-ni-ib-dúb-ba)) šà-šè nu-mu-un-gíd-dè

It (= *the bird*) *did not take to heart the insult that the fish had hurled.*

83. ((relative clause in mušen-e a-na-àm mu-ni-in-dúb-ba)) šà-šè nu-mu-un-na-an-gíd

It (= *the fish*) *did not take to heart the insult that the bird had hurled.*

Without getting bogged down in a lengthy discussion of relativization in Sumerian, these two relative clauses in *Bird and Fish* do not explicitly code the entity affected by the 'insult' {in} (although it is still clear from the context), as we can see by comparing them with the largely parallel temporal clauses in lines 51 and 80, where the target of the insult appears in the dative case:

Bird and Fish 51 and 80

51. u_4-bi-a ku_6-e mušen-ra in-šè mu-ni-in-dúb

At that point the fish hurled an insult at the bird.

80. u_4-bi-a mušen-e ku_6-ra in-šè mu-ni-in-dúb

At that point the bird hurled an insult at the fish.

The idiom used in our line to express the ineffectiveness of the insult, namely {su-ĝá nu-ĝál} "there is no (insult left) in my flesh" is quite different from the idiom used in *Bird and Fish*, namely {šà-šè nu-mu-un-na-an-gíd} "he did not take it to heart." The latter formula {šà—gíd} is well-known from the Lugalbanda epics, while the former {su—ĝál} only appears in the younger materials in the Old Babylonian literary corpus such as *The Letter of Innannka*(*m*) *to Nintinuga* (Römer 2003: 243), which deals with the appeal of a cripple to the deity, and *The Letter of Nanna-mansum to Ninisina*, which we met above in line 83, as well as Nanna E 46 and *A Man and His God* 74 and 129. This provides one piece of evidence that our text may have been composed in the Old Babylonian period and not earlier.

111 ĝá-nu e-sír-šè è-mu-da

PROF Come on! Come out to the street with me!

	ĝá-nu	**e-sír-šè**	**è-mu-da**	
H	[.....]	e-sír-šè	è-mu-da	(Rev ii 4′)
Z	[.....]	[...] sír-šè	è-mu-⌜da⌝	(Rev 1)

	ĝá-nu	**e-sír-šè**	**è-mu-da**	
A′	ĝá-nu	e-sír-šè	è-mu-da	(Rev 2)
Y_{Ur}	ĝá-nu	e-sír-⌜šè⌝	è-mu-dè	(Obv 20)
C_{Sip}	[.....]	[.....]	è-mu-da	(Rev i 15′)
B''_{Sip}	[.....]	[.....]	⌜è⌝-me-da	(Rev ii 4)

The variants in the verbal form ({è-me-da} in Sippar manuscript B′′ and {è-mu-dè} in the Ur manuscript) are outweighed by the fact that the Nippur manuscripts agree with the other manuscript from Sippar, namely manuscript C. That {è-mu-da} is actually the correct reading is also confirmed by the pun discussed in the commentary to line 112, but this fact should not, strictly speaking, play a role in the determination of the archtypal form of the text.

The challenge to move the debate into the street signifies a change from a purely verbal debate to a debate in which violence of one kind or another might come to play a role, or alternatively it can function as an appeal to constituencies in the legal and/or political sphere. See the discussion of {lú sikil dù-a} in the commentary to line 114 below.

112 lú zu-ne igi ḫé-mu-e-du_8-uš-àm

PROF Let those who are in the know get a look at you!

	lú	**zu-ne**	**igi**	**ḫé-mu-e-du_8-uš-àm**	
H	[...]	⌜x⌝-a-ĝu_{10}-ne	igi	ḫu!(RI)-mu-ni!(IN)-in-⌜du_8?-uš?-àm?⌝	(Rev ii 5′)
Z	[...]	[...] ⌜ne⌝	igi	ḫu-mu-un-du_8-⌜uš⌝ [...]	(Rev 2)
A′	lú	⌜zu-ne⌝	igi	ḫé-mu-e-du_8-uš-⌜àm⌝	(Rev 3)
Y_{Ur}	[...]	⌜zu⌝-ne	igi	ḫé-em-me-du_8-uš	(Obv 21)
C_{Sip}	[...]	[.....]	⌜igi⌝	ḫé-me-en-du_8-uš-àm	(Rev i 16′)
B''_{Sip}	[...]	[.....]	[...]	[...] ni-in-du_8-uš	(Rev ii 5)

No two of the attested verbal forms in the six different witnesses to the text are in full agreement, so obviously the textual tradition is not very well defined at this point. Our choice of the Nippur manuscript A′ as our synthetic text is based on two considerations: (i) both manuscript A′ and the Sippar manuscript C include the copula after the verb, hence {*-du_8-uš-àm}, and (ii) the

variation in the form of the modal prefix between {ḫé-*} and {ḫu-*} suggests that the original conjugation prefix was indeed /mu-/, so we have included {ḫé-mu-*} in our reconstruction as well. The choice of {-e-} following the modal and conjugation prefixes is motivated by the variant prefix forms in Ur and Sippar manuscript C, namely {ḫé-em-me-*} and {ḫe-me-en-*}, which may have arisen from a reinterpretation or misunderstanding of {ḫé-mu-e-*}.

The key motif in this line as well as lines 113–114 seems to be concerned with {zu} 'to know'. Following the initial challenge in the preceding line to present their arguments in a more public setting, this line suggests that the {lú zu-ne} "the people in the know" should be able to look at the two contestants and form a judgement. The phrase {lú zu-a} (including the the nominalizer, which only seems to occur in a rather different expression in manuscript H) occurs in one of the most auspicious sections of Lu Azlag B+C:

Lu Azlag B+C, segment 2, lines 125–136 (DCCLT edition)

125	lú ur-saĝ	*qar-ra-du*	'hero'
126	lú an-ta	*ta-ap-pu-ú-um*	'companion'
127	lú tab-ba	*ta-ap-pu-ú-um*	'companion'
128	lú zu-a	*mu-du-ú*	'scholar'
129	[lú] ⌜kal-la⌝	⌜*wa-aq-ru*⌝	'rare individual'
130	⌜lú má-da lá⌝	⌜*ša ti-la-tim*⌝	'pillar of society'
131	⌜lú gu-la⌝	⌜*ra-bu-um*⌝	'big man'
132	⌜lú gur_4-ra⌝	⌜*ka-ab-tum*⌝	'magnate'
133	⌜lú⌝ dugud	⌜*ka-ab-tum*⌝	'magnate'
134	⌜lú igi du_8 lugal-a-na⌝	⌜*na-ṭi-il pa-ni be-lí-šu*⌝	
135	⌜lú šu kíĝ-ĝá lugal-a-na⌝	⌜*še-mi pi-ri-iš-ti be-lí-šu*⌝	
136	[lú] a ⌜urin⌝ lugal-a-na	⌜*na-ṣi-ir wu-ur-ti be-lí-šu*⌝	

(134) 'one who sees the face of his lord'
(135) 'one who hears the secrets of his lord'
(136) 'one who guards the orders of his lord'

This section locates 'the one who knows (things)' among the highest echelons of society alongside political elites and those at the center of court intrigues. Of course less auspicious puns are easy to come by: the term {lú zuḫ} 'thief' is based on reading KA as {zú} 'tooth' and is a near homophone of {lú zu-a}, but the usual equivalent of {lú zu-a} in Akkadian, namely *mūdû*, could be read back into Sumerian as an equivalent to {lú mú-da} 'puffed up' (as an

expression of scholarly pride) alongside its association with Akk. *šarbû*, conventionally translated as 'rabies' (Yuhong 2001: 38).[48] It is therefore not very surprising that parodies of many of these terms for elites exist as, for example, elsewhere in Lu Azlag B+C, where we find the following:

Lu Azlag B+C, segment 5, lines 7–16 (DCCLT edition)

7	lú kar-ra	*ša zi-qá-tim*	?
8	lú šu kar-re	*ma-aš-ši-ḫu*	'thief'
9	lú gáb-kar-re	*ek-ke-mu-um*	'thief'
10	lú sikil dù-a	*ma-ag-ru-ú*	'insulting person'
11	lú is-ḫáb	*aš-ḫa-ap-pu-um*	'stupid'
12	lú na-ĝá-aḫ	*nu-ḫu-ú-um*	'barbarian'
13	lú mú-da	*šar-bu-um*	'puffed up'
14	lú mú-da	*ma-ḫu-ú-um*	'ecstatic'
15	lú kára-ga	*ṭa-ap-lum*	'someone slandered'
16	lú šu kára-ga	*mu-ṭa-ap-pi-*[*lum*]	'someone who slanders'

Given the possibility of linking Akk. *mūdû* to Sum. {mú-da}, the fact that {lú mú-da} occurs twice in this list may be signaling such a pun. In line 111 the imperative verbal form at the end of the line is {è-mu-da} "go outside (in the street) with me!" and the inverted verbal prefix associated with the imperative form, namely {*-mu-da}, could even be seen as yet another pun on both Akk. *mūdû* and Sum. {mú-da}. Be that as it may, it is undoubtedly significant that each of the next three lines begin with one of the three terms that precede {lú mú-da} in Lu Azlag B+C, segment 5: {lú sikil dù-a} in line 120, {is-ḫab} in line 121 and {lú na-ĝá-aḫ} in line 119.

48 Note as well the much later Akkadian line *um-man-nu mu-du-u šá ki-ma šá-a-ri a-na me-ḫi-il-ti i-ziq-qa* / *u kul-lat* lú.dub.sar-*ú-tu* gim *gu-ru-un-né-e ina kar-ši-šú kam-su* "Learned scholar, who 'blows like the wind' on cuneiform writing and has the entire corpus of scribal learning stored in his mind like *g*[*urunnû*]" (Hymn to Ninurta as Helper in Need, lines 37b–39a; Mayer 1992: 26; translation Frame and George 2005: 272).

113 na-ĝá-aḫ me-en eĝir inim-ma-zu nu-e-zu

PROF You're a rube, you don't even know what is behind your own words.

	na-ĝá-aḫ	**me-en**	**eĝir**	**inim-ma-zu**	**nu-e-zu**	
H	[. . . . .] ⌜aḫ!(MÍ)⌝	me-en	eĝir	inim-⌜ma⌝-zu	nu- zu	(Rev ii 6′)
Z	[. . . . .]	[. . .] ⌜en⌝	eĝir	inim-ma-zu	nu [. . . . .]	(Rev 3)
A′	na [. . . . .]	⌜x⌝ [. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .] ⌜ma?-zu?⌝	nu- zu	(Rev 4)
E′	⌜na⌝-ĝá-aḫ	me-en	eĝir	inim-ma-bi	⌜nu⌝ [. . . . .]	(Rev i′ 1)
Y_{Ur}	[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	⌜eĝir⌝	inim-ma-zu	nu-e-⌜zu⌝	(Obv 22)
C_{Sip}	[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	⌜eĝir⌝	inim-ma-zu	nu- zu	(Rev i 17′)
B''_{Sip}	[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]	[. . .]	[. . . . .] ⌜zu⌝	nu-e-zu	(Rev ii 6)

Other than the substitution of the inanimate third person possessive pronoun for second person singular in manuscript E′, the only significant variation is between the plene form {nu-e-zu} and the reduced form {nu-zu}.

As we have noted for several previous lines, one of the turns of phrase in line 113 also makes an appearance in *Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn* 150: {na-ĝá-aḫ lú mú-da} "Dummer Barbar, wilder Mensch" (Sjöberg 1973: 118), where {na-ĝá-aḫ} is explicitly juxtaposed to {lú mú-da}. Unlike our text, however, *Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn* 149–150 *transparently* extracts the same four lines from Lu Azlag B+C, viz. {lú sikil dù-a / lú <is>-ḫab-ba-àm / na-ĝá-aḫ lú mú-da}, which also serves as the skeleton for our passage here. The lexical evidence assembled by Sjöberg argues for two different Akkadian equivalents for {na-ĝá-aḫ}, namely *nû'u* and *be-ri-ú-um*: the former (Akk. *nû'u*) is in all likelihood etymologically related to {na-ĝá-aḫ}, while collation (J. Crisostomo, April 2013, apud Veldhuis 2014b: 164, n. 345) shows that *be-ri-ú-um* is now actually to be read *nu-ḫu-ú-um*, which is the same Akk. term *nû'u*.

114 lú sikil dù-a me-en níĝ-nam nu-e-zu

PROF You're insulting, you don't know anything.

	lú	**sikil**	**dù-a**	**me-en**	**níĝ-nam**	**nu-e-zu**	
H	[. . .]	sikil	dù-a	me-en	níĝ-nam	nu- zu	(Rev ii 7′)
Z	[. . .]	[. . .]	⌜dù⌝-a		níĝ-nam	nu [. . . . .]	(Rev 4)

	lú	**sikil**	**dù-a**	**me-en**	**níĝ-nam**	**nu-e-zu**	
A′	lú	⌜sikil⌝	⌜dù⌝ […]	⌜me-en⌝	níĝ-⌜nam⌝-e	nu- zu	(Rev 5)
E′	lú	sikil	dù-a	me-en	níĝ-nam-e	nu [……]	(Rev i′ 2)
N′	[…]	[…]	⌜dù⌝-a	me-en /	⌜níĝ⌝-nam	nu-e-zu	(Obv 1′)
Y_{Ur}	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…]⌜en⌝	níĝ-nam	nu-⌜e-zu⌝	(Obv 23)
C_{Sip}	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…….]	[…]⌜nam⌝	nu-e-zu	(Rev i 18′)
B''_{Sip}	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…….]	[…….]	⌜nu⌝-e-zu	(Rev ii 7)

There are two significant variations in the line: the variation in the oblique case-marking of {níĝ-nam} and the alternation between reduced {nu-zu} and plene forms of {nu-e-zu}. Since the form of {níĝ-nam} without the locative-terminative case-marker and the plene form {nu-e-zu} are attested in manuscripts from Nippur, Ur and Sippar, they are adopted here as the archtypal form on the basis of their wide geographical distribution.

The term {lú sikil dù-a} is often equated with Akk. *magrītu* 'spiteful act, malice' (Nabnitu IV 269 [MSL 16: 87]), which is a feminine *mapras- stem from *gerû* 'to be hostile' (see above lines 43 and 109), so it literally means the instrument through which one expresses hostility. But its incongruous etymographic meaning in Sumerian ('he who does something pure') as well as its use of {dù} already suggest that it may be derived from an Akkadian expression. The actual source of {sikil—dù} is the Akkadian idiom *sikilta*(*m*) *sakālu*, which CAD translates as 'to appropriate fraudulently' (CAD S 68b). This idiom appears prominently in section 141 of the Codex Hammurapi, one of the most important discussions of invective and insult in the entire Mesopotamian legal tradition. As a cognate accusative construction, it is entirely reasonable that *sakālu* is replaced by the light verb *epēšu* (equivalent to {dù} in Sumerian) in the calque and the Sumerian expression {sikil} (normally an adjective meaning 'pure') is actually to be taken here as a phonological calque of Akk. *sikiltu* 'possession, acquisition'. The feminine grammatical gender of Akk. *sikiltu* may have been indirectly suggested in the minds of the Sumerian scribes by the fact that the word for 'young unmarried woman' in Sumerian is {ki-sikil}. For the cognate idiom in Rabbinic Hebrew, see Greenberg 1951 and Tawil 2009: 257.

Taken etymographically, however, the connection between {sikil} and {ki-sikil} may have led the Sumerian literati to re-interpret {lú sikil dù-a} as a euphemism for 'one who acts like a young unmarried woman' (taking {sikil} as an abbreviation of {ki-sikil}). It is clear from the Mesopotamian legal statues as well as the famous case of *The Slandered Bride* (see Hallo 1964 and more

recently Wells 2005) that to some degree *magrītu* was associated—at least in ideological terms—with impugning the dignity (and sexual purity) of a bride so as to avoid paying for a divorce, and this ideology may also lie in the background of the orthography.

The social and legal situations behind {lú sikil dù-a} and its Akkadian equivalent *sikilta*(*m*) *sakālu* necessarily involve various forms of slander, but it is decidely unclear whether or not there is a link between {sikil} as it is used in the phrase {lú sikil dù-a} and the Sumerian verbal root {ki-il}, a root that is primarily known from its role in forming the word {akkil} 'noise, clamor, uproar' = Akk. *ikkillu* or *rigmu* (presumably derived from a stative form of {ki-il}). As an independent lexical item, {ki-il} is equated with Akk. *tukku* 'rumor, warning' (CAD *tukku* A, although this sense easily slips into *tukku* B 'oppression, coercion'). The equation is fairly clear in Nabnitu B 217–218 and Antagal B:

Nabnitu B 217–219 (MSL 16: 262)

217	ki-il	*tuk-ku*	'noise, rumor'
218	⌜ki-il⌝ du_{11}-ga	*tuk*-[*ku*]	'rumor'
219	gù dúb	*tuk*-[*ku*]	'rumor, clamor'

Antagal B 213–215 (MSL 17: 193)

213	ki-il	*tuk-ku*	'noise, rumor'
214	ti-il	*ta-nu-qa-tum*	'cry, lament'
215	ta-il	*ik-kil-lum*	'rumor, clamor'

LTBA 2, 2 offers a particularly detailed list of possible equivalents to {ki-il}, here however taken as an Akkadian loanword *killum*.

LTBA 2, 2 iii 10–17 (DCCLT edition)

10	*ta-nu-qa-tú*	*kil-lum*	'cry, lament'
11	*ri-ig-mu*	MIN	'voice, noise'
12	*ši-si-tú*	MIN	'shout, proclamation'
13	*šá-ga-mu*	MIN	'roar, outcry'
14	⌜*an*⌝-*gi-lu*	MIN	'rumor, clamor'
15	⌜*ma*⌝-*li-tú*	MIN	'scream'
16	⌜*ra*⌝-*ma-mu*	MIN	'to rumble, to bellow'
17	⌜*ḫa*⌝-*ba-bu*	MIN	'to murmur, to moan'

All these terms refer to forms of 'loud speech' or 'lamentation' (often in moments of social upheaval) that typically correspond to Sum. {gù—dé} or {mu_7-mu_7}, although there are also distinctive Sumerian words for some of them.[49]

In more concrete terms for our passage here, the expression {lú sikil dù-a} belongs to a rather long list of Sumerian terms that are equated in one place or another with Akk. *magrītu* 'invective, fighting words', some of which are listed here (see generally Sjöberg 1973: 134 and references therein).

[lú] ⌜mú⌝-da	OB Lu A 331 (MSL 12: 167)
sikil dù-a	OB Lu C_3, line 10 (MSL 12: 194)
inim sikil dù-a	Nabnitu IV 268 (MSL 16: 87)
saĝ DU-ma	OBGT III 173–176 (MSL 4: 72)

Two entries dedicated to *magrītu* also bring Malku IV to a close, and {saĝ-DU-a} also reappears in line 123 below: {lú saĝ-DU-a dumu lú nu-zu}.

115 is-ḫab di-da nu-$taka_4$-$taka_4$ me-en

PROF You are the one who never leaves behind speaking foolishly.

	is-ḫab	**di-da**	**nu-$taka_4$-$taka_4$**	**me-en**	
H	⌜is⌝-ḫab	⌜di?-da?⌝	nu-$taka_4$-$taka_4$	me-en	(Rev ii 8′)
Z	[.....]	[...] ⌜da⌝	nu-$taka_4$-$taka_4$-⌜a⌝	[.....]	(Rev 5)
A′	is-ḫab	di-⌜da⌝	[...] $taka_4$-$taka_4$	me-en	(Rev 6)
E′	is-ḫab	di-da	nu-$taka_4$-$taka_4$-a	nu-me-⌜en⌝	(Rev i′ 3)
G′	[.....]	[.....]	nu-$taka_4$-$taka_4$	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
N′	[.....]	⌜di⌝-da	nu-$taka_4$-$taka_4$-da	me-en	(Obv 2′)
Y_{Ur}	[.....]	[.....]	[.....] $taka_4$-⌜a⌝	⌜me⌝ [...]	(Obv 24)
C_{Sip}	[.....]	[.....]	⌜nu⌝-$taka_4$-$taka_4$	me-en	(Rev i 19′)
B′′$_{Sip}$	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[...] ⌜en⌝	(Rev ii 8)

49 On the possible links between {sikil}, {ki-sikil} (pronounced /kiskil/) and {ki-il}, see Lieberman 1977: 138 and 347–348.

On the basis of the agreement of manuscripts H and A′ from Nippur with manuscript C from Sippar, we take {nu-taka$_4$-taka$_4$ me-en} as the archtypal form, but it is still somewhat difficult to explain the variation in N′ {nu-taka$_4$-taka$_4$-da} without positing a nominalized form in the archetype: it could simply be a preservation of the {*-da} in the preceding word {di-da}, however. Obviously the final {*-a} could easily have disappeared because the verbal form itself ends in /a/, so forms such as {nu-taka$_4$-taka$_4$ me-en} could also represent a banalization of the archetype. The variant in manuscript E′, with the additional negation in {nu-me-en}, is clearly a preservation of the negation in {nu-taka$_4$-taka$_4$}.

The term {is-ḫab} = Akk. *isḫappu* (CAD I/J 189a) is ubiquitous in the lexical collections of invective and also occurs prominently in *Bird and Fish* 124, *Engardu the Fool* 6 (immediately followed by {ki-ma-an-zé-er}, see line 124 below), and the proverb collections, but this is the only occurrence of the term in our text. The second element of the term can be written either with {ḫab}(LAGAB) or {ḫáb}(TÚL or LAGAB×U) and the manuscript of Diri VI (IM 124475, MSL 15, fig. 3–4) that we looked at earlier in lines 92 and 103 as well as the Princeton Theological Seminary Vocabulary (Goetze 1945: 224) locate its Akkadian equivalent *isḫappu* in a series of entries in which LÚ.LAGAB is read as /ḫar/ or /ḫara/, with {azlag} and {mu$_{14}$} in the next few lines.

IM 124475 (Diri VI B 39–45; MSL 15: 190)

39	ḫa-ar	LÚ.LAGAB	*nû'u*	'hick'
40			*aḫurrû*	'uncouth, boorish'
41			*isḫappu*	'rogue'
42			*guzallu*	'rogue'
43		KA.KA.SI.GA	*<ša tēltu>*	'pronunciation'
44	te-eš-lu-ug	LÚ.LAGAB	*atmu*	'fledgling'
45	az-la-ag	LÚ.TÚG	*ašlāku*	'washerman'
46	du-ú	LÚ.NE	*ṣāltu*	'conflict'

The reading of LÚ.LAGAB in this passage is {ḫàr} or {ḫàra}, but it is apparently not used outside of the particular lexical tradition associated with IM 124475 and the PTS Vocabulary. This may be associated with the rather obscure passage from Erimḫuš II that we looked at in line 95, in which {ḫu-ur}, {ḫu-ba}, {ḫu-ur} and {ḫu-ru} as associated with various terms for 'idiot' and 'country bumkin'.

116 lú saĝ gi_4-a inim-ma la-ba-an-dab_5-bé-àm

PROF You're all blocked up, you just don't get the gist of things.

	lú	**saĝ**	**gi_4-a**	**inim-ma**	**la-ba-an-dab_5-bé-àm**	
H	⌜lú⌝	saĝ	gi_4-a	inim-ma	la-ba-an-dab_5- en	(Rev ii 9)
Z	[...]	[...]	⌜gi_4⌝-a	inim-ma	la-ba-an-dab_5-⌜ba?⌝	(Rev 6)
A′	lú	saĝ	gi_4-⌜a⌝	⌜inim⌝-ma	la-ba-an-dab_5-bé!-àm	(Rev 7)
E′	lú	saĝ	gi_4-a	inim-ma	la-ba x [.....]	(Rev i′ 4)
G′	[...]	[...]	⌜gi_4⌝-a	inim-ma	la-ba-an-⌜dab_5⌝ [.....]	(Obv 2′)
N′	[...]	⌜saĝ⌝	gi_4-a	inim-ma	⌜ba⌝-an-⌜dab_5⌝- / ba-⌜àm⌝	(Obv 3′)
Q′	[...]	[...]	⌜gi_4⌝-a	⌜inim⌝ [...]	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
Y′	⌜lú⌝	saĝ	gi_4-a	inim [.....]	[.....]	(Rev 1′)
Y_{Ur}	[...]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	la-ba-an-dab_5- ⌜en⌝	(Obv 25)

It is difficult to explain the variation in the form of the verb in this line, if we take the parallel between manuscript H from Nippur and manuscript Y from Ur as definitive evidence of the archetype. In all likelihood, the repetition of {me-en} in each of the three proceedings lines (119–121) has led to an erroneous preservation of {*-en} at the end of the line in these manuscripts. We have therefore adopted {la-ba-an-dab_5-bé-àm} as our lead text and assume here that the variants with {*-ba} and {*-ba-àm} are banalizations of {*-bé-àm}.

The expression {saĝ gi_4-a} in this line means 'blocked' or 'closed' (Civil 1964: 4; Steinert 2011: 314–315; cf. {dag-gi_4-a} in line 120 below). In the lexical tradition {saĝ-gi_4-a} in reference to a human being occurs in two rather limited contexts: the SAG list in MSL SS1 and Lu Azlag A.

MSL SS1 17–27 (YBC 9868) obv.

46	saĝ gi_4-a	*<mu>-wi-i-rum*	'commander'
47	saĝ gi_4-a	*sa-ak-lum*	'simpleton'
48	saĝ gi_4-a	*pe-ḫu-ú*	'blocked, obstructed'

Lu Azlag A 376–378 (DCCLT edition)

376	lú saĝ gi_4-a	*sà-ak-⌜lum*$^{!}$⌝	'simpleton'
377	lú dab-ba	*ṣa-ab-tum*	'prisoner'
378	lú dab-ba	*ka-mu-ú*	'bound'

The equation in MSL SS1 17–27 line 47 is particularly apt, since the preceding line in our text, line 115, was built around the equation between between {sikil dù-a} and *sikilta*(*m*) *sakālu* (with {sikil} punning on *sikiltu*), while an equation between {saĝ gi_4-a} and *saklu* involves the same consonantal root as the previous line, viz. √SKL. The fact that {lú saĝ gi_4-a} is followed in Lu Azlag A by {lú dab-ba} also provides a transparent explanation for the use of {la-ba-an-dab_5-bé-àm} in the second half of our line and links line 116 to the opening phrase {lú dab_5-ba} in line 119 below.

117 lú gù ra-aḫ šà dè-ka nú-nú

PROF The loudmouth lies on the ash heap,

	lú	**gù**	**ra-aḫ**	**šà**	**dè-ka**	**nú-nú**	
H	⌜lú⌝	gù	ra-aḫ	šà	dè-ka	nú-nú	(Rev ii 10)
Z	[…]	[…]	⌜ra⌝-aḫ	šà	dè-ka	nú-⌜nú⌝	(Rev 7)
A′	lú	gù	ra-⌜aḫ⌝	⌜šà⌝	dè-ka	nú-⌜nú⌝	(Rev 8)
E′	lú	gù	ra	šà	dè-ka	nú-nú	(Rev i′ 5)
G′	[…]	[…]	[…] ⌜aḫ⌝	šà	dè-⌜ka⌝	⌜nú⌝ […]	(Obv 3′)
N′	[…]	[…]	⌜ra-aḫ⌝	⌜šà⌝	dè-ka /	⌜nú⌝-nú	(Obv 4′)
Q′	[…]	⌜gù⌝	ra-aḫ	šà	[…….]	[…….]	(Obv 2′)
Y′	⌜lú⌝	gù	ra-aḫ	šà	[…….]	[…….]	(Rev 2′)
Y_{Ur}	[…]	[…]	[…….]	[…]	[…] ka	nú-nú	(Obv 26)

Except for the omission of the auslaut on the verbal root in manuscript E′, there do not appear to be any variations.

The link between {gù ra-aḫ} and the preceding section of this same speech from the Professor seems to be provided by a passage in the SAG list:

MSL SS1 iv 5–10

5	gù	*ri-ig-mu*	‘voice, sound’
6	gù ra-ra	⌜*ba*ʔ⌝-*ka*-⌜*ú*⌝	‘wailer, mourner’
7	gù ra-aḫ	*tu-uk*-⌜*kum*⌝	‘rumor, clamor’
8	gù ^{ĝiš}$kiri_6$	*ik-ki-lum*	‘rumor, clamor’
9	gù ⌜dé⌝-a	*ik-ki-lum*	‘rumor, clamor’
10	gù ⌜dé⌝-a	*ša*-⌜*su-ú*⌝	‘to call out’

Note in particular the equation between the expression in our line, namely {gù ra-aḫ}, and Akk. *tukku*, which was one of the central terms in the commentary to line 114. Although the context of the entry for {lú gù ra-aḫ} in Lu Azlag B+C is rather broken, it does provide a number of links to expressions elsewhere in the speech.

Lu Azlag B+C, segment 2, 81–88 (DCCLT edition)

81	[lú . . .] ⌜x⌝	[. . .]	?
82	[lú gù ra]-⌜aḫ⌝	⌜*pi*⌝-[*ri-kum*]	‘snarler’
83	[lú sa-gaz]	⌜*ša-ga-as*⌝-[*su-um*]	‘bandit’
84	[. . .]	⌜*ša-ga*⌝-*as*-⌜*su*⌝-[*um*]	‘bandit’
85	⌜lú zuḫ-a⌝	*ša*-[*ra-qum*]	‘thief’
86	[. . .]	[. . .]	?
87	⌜lú é bùr-bùr⌝	⌜*pa*⌝-[*al-li-šu*]	‘burglar’
88	⌜lú saĝ-bur kar-kar-re⌝	⌜*mu*⌝-*ḫa-am-mi-iṣ šu-ri-ni*	‘one who despoils a divine emblem’

Note in particular the equation between {lú saĝ-bur kar-kar-re} and *muḫammiṣ šurinni* ‘the one who despoils or strips off the divine emblem’ in Lu Azlag B+C, segment 2, line 88, immediately after the phrase {lú é bùr-bùr}, which appears in our line 108 above, the penultimate line in the preceding speech from the Bureaucrat. The phrases {kar-kar-re} and {saĝ-bur} appear in the next two lines of our text, namely lines 118 and 119 respectively.

The references to despoiling divine emblems in the lexical sources—a continuation of the general theme of sacrilegious behavior that we discussed in the commentary to line 87 above—should probably be linked to the kiln and oven imagery in lines 64 and 81 {udun báḫar-ra} and in particular to {^{im}šu-rin-na} in lines 72 and 73, since Akk. *šurinnu* ‘divine standard’ puns rather clearly on the Sumerian word for ‘oven’, viz. {^{im}šu-rin-na}. Although Akk. *šurinnu* appears to be a Sumerian loanword, it should be kept in mind that the Sumerian equivalent of *šurinnu* is {šu-nir}, so /n/ and /r/ have undergone metathesis at some point in the loan and {šu-nir} ‘divine standard’ does not pun on {^{im}šu-rin-na} ‘oven’ in Sumerian itself. Nonetheless, {šu-nir} does occur in conjunction with {síl-síl} in the lexical tradition, a term that we met earlier in lines 75 and 107.

MSL 12: 206–207 (Lu recension D, cf. recension A 225 = MSL 12: 206)

138	⌜lú mur$_7$⌝-ba nú	*ša i-na ta-ba-⌜aš⌝-* [*ta-ni bu-ul-lu-lu*]	'he who wallows in his own excrement'
139	⌜lú⌝ šu-nir kar	*mu-ḫa-mi-šu-ri-ni-⌜šu⌝*	'he who pillages a divine emblem'
140	lú šu-nir síl-síl	*mu-qá-li-ip šu-ri-ni*	'he who defaces a divine emblem'

This link is also confirmed by the repetition of {nú-nú} in our line, since {nú-nú} also occurs in lines 61, 64, 71, and 106, all of which are concerned with the kiln or oven imagery except for line 61, but even {šudun} in line 61 is the target of the {udun báḫar-ra} pun in line 64. Moreover, {gù . . . dé(NE)-ka nú-nú} here in our line 117 probably represents an allusion to {gú ne(NE)-ka nú-nú} in line 106 in the preceding speech from the Bureaucrat. This line therefore brings the long chain of intratextual references involving {nú-nú} that began in line 61 to an end with the final word belonging to the Professor.

118 lú šà-ĝar-ra ninda kar-kar-re

PROF The starving man hoards bread,

	lú	**šà-ĝar-ra**	**ninda**	**kar-kar-re**	
H	⌜lú⌝	šà-ĝar-ra	ninda	kar-kar-re	(Rev ii 11′)
Z	[. . .]	⌜šà⌝-ĝar-⌜ra⌝	ninda	kar-kar-re	(Rev 8)
A′	lú	šà-ĝar [. . .]	⌜ninda⌝	kar-kar-⌜re⌝	(Rev 9)
E′	lú	šà-ĝar-ra	ninda	kar-kar-⌜re⌝	(Rev i′ 6)
F′	⌜lú⌝	⌜šà x x⌝	[. . .]	[. . . . . .]	(Obv 1′)
G′	[. . .]	[. . . . . .]	ninda	kar [. . . . . .]	(Obv 4′)
Q′	[. . .]	[. . .] ĝar-ra	⌜ninda⌝	[. . . . . .]	(Obv 3′)
Y′	⌜lú⌝	šà-ĝar-ra		⌜kar⌝ [. . . . . .]	(Rev 3′)

Y_{Ur} (omits)

No variations other than the omission of the line in manuscript Y from Ur. This is the only line of the archetype that a manuscript from Ur omits (line 52a above is probably an interpolation and was likely not in the archetype, while Sippar manuscripts omit lines 48–49 and 102). These omissions represent some of the most important elements in linking the apparent geographical distribution of the manuscript with the postulation of manuscript families.

As noted above, {ninda kar-kar-re} probably represents an allusion to {ninda kurum$_6$-ma} in line 84 as well as {kar-kar-re} in Lu Azlag B+C 88. The figure in the background of this line may be a type of voluntary offering that was known as *šagigurû* in Akkadian, but written {šà-ge/ge$_6$/igi guru$_6$(KÁR)} in the later lexical tradition, apparently based on the Ur III orthography {šà-gi$_4$ guru$_7$-a lugal}. This phrase is attested in at least a dozen Ur III administrative documents, most of which deal with fattened sheep that will serve as a 'sacrifice' {sískur} in a cultic context, so this allusion may represent a comment on the link between the {zà(g) udu/gu-du} pun in line 82 and the criticism of corruption in cultic practice that is the centerpiece of the Bureaucrat's speech in lines 79–91. Here the Professor does not defend his cultic perquisites but rather juxtaposes them to the ostensible hunger and poverty of his interlocutor. However, in the literary texts, the expression {šà-ge guru$_7$} appears as part of an idiom that juxtaposes {igi íl-la} to {šà-ge guru$_7$} in descriptions of choosing one's spouse:

Proverb Collection 1, no. 146 (= *Marriage of Martu* 47–48)

igi íl-la-zu dam tuku-ba-ni-ib / šà-ge guru$_7$-zu dam tuku-ba-ni-ib

Take a wife of your pick, take a wife of your heart's desire

The same idiom also appears in Shulgi A 85–86 and *The Return of Lugalbanda* 176–177 (as descriptions of a desired destination rather than a spouse).

119 lú dab$_5$-ba ^{gi}pisaĝ é diĝir-re-e-ne-ke$_4$ saĝ-búr-bi nu-un-na-kal-e

PROF The prisoner is not impressed by the splendor of the temple coffers.

	lú	**dab$_5$-ba**	**^{gi}pisaĝ**	**é**	**diĝir-re-e-ne-ke$_4$**	**saĝ-búr-bi**
H	lú	dab$_5$-ba	^{gi}pisaĝ	é	diĝir-⌜re?⌝-e-ne-⌜ke$_4$?⌝	saĝ-búr-bi
Z	lú	dab$_5$-ba	^{gi}pisaĝ	é	diĝir-re-e-ne-ke$_4$ /	saĝ-búr-bi
A′	lú	⌜dab$_5$⌝ […]	[…] ⌜pisaĝ⌝	é	diĝir-re [.....] /	[.....]
E′	lú	dab$_5$-ba	^{gi}pisaĝ	é	diĝir-re-e-⌜ne⌝ […] /	saĝ-búr-bi
F′	lú	⌜dab$_5$-ba?⌝	^{gi}⌜pisaĝ⌝	⌜é⌝	⌜x⌝ [.....] /	saĝ-⌜búr-bi⌝
G′	[…]	[.....]	[…] ⌜pisaĝ⌝	é	diĝir-re [.....]	[.....]
Q′	[…]	[…] ⌜ba?⌝	⌜^{gi}pisaĝ⌝	[…]	[.....] /	saĝ-búr- […]
Y′	⌜lú⌝	⌜dab$_5$⌝-ba	^{gi}pisaĝ	[…]	[.....] ⌜ke$_4$⌝ /	saĝ-búr- […]
Y$_{Ur}$	[…]	[.....]	[.....]	[…]	diĝir-ra-ne-ne /	[.....] ⌜bi⌝

	nu-un-na-kal-e	
H	⌜mu-un- kal⌝	(Rev ii 12′)
Z	nu-mu- na-kal-e	(Rev 9)
A′	⌜x x mu⌝-un-na [.....]	(Rev 10)
E′	nu-un-na-⌜kal⌝	(Rev i′ 7)
F′	⌜nu?-mu-un- kal⌝	(Obv 2′)
G′	[.....]	(Obv 5′)
Q′	[.....]	(Obv 4′)
Y′	[.....]	(Rev 4–5′)
Y_{Ur}	nu-un-na-kal-la	(Obv 27 + ruling)

The hand copy of manuscript Y from Ur has a clear double ruling after this line and this serves as the basis for the change of speaker, although the absence of rulings from the numerous Nippur manuscripts leaves open the possibility that this was only the case in Ur. The form of the final verb is different in nearly every source, but we assume here that the forms without negation (manuscripts H and A′) are erroneous and derive from a negated form such as {nu-un-na-kal} in E′ or {nu-un-na-kal-la} in the Ur manuscript. Since the negated form is preserved in both Ur and Nippur, we assume here that it goes back to the archetype, among the variants that include the negation however, we have no strong grounds for preferring, say, {nu-un-na-kal} in E′ to {nu-mu-na-kal-e} in Z.[50] Our choice of {nu-un-na-kal-e} in the synthetic text is largely based on the similarities between the Nippur manuscript E′ and the Ur manuscript Y, although neither manuscript preserves the {-e} at the end of the verb.

Although there are numerous allusions to other passages in this line, the overall structure of the line is particularly reminiscent of line 88: {lú tumu saĝ ka-bi nu-gu_7}: the phrase {saĝ-búr-bi} is parallel with {saĝ-KA-bi} and both of the predicates are negated: {nu-gu_7} as opposed to {nu-mu-na-kal-e}. Otherwise nearly every word in the line alludes to our text or one of its underlying lexical sources: {lú dab_5-ba} corresponds to Lu Azlag A 377–378 in the commentary to line 116 above (see also line 43), {^{gi}pisaĝ} was the key phrase in the first half of line 84 {^{gi}pisaĝ ninda $kurum_6$-ma lukur-e-ne-ke_4} (itself a response to {^{gi}gur} in lines 76–77), and {é diĝir-re-e-ne-ke_4} alludes to {é diĝir èš didli-ka} in line 87. The phrase at the end of the line, namely {nu-un-na-kal-e} may also be alluding to SP 3.156 and duplicates (Falkowitz 1980: 238; Alster 1997: 107 [vol. 1]). We assume here that {saĝ-búr} does not refer to the *abru*-priest, but rather to the term that underlies Akk. *šagapūru* 'majestic, splendid',

50 For a recent discussion of the mu-un-na- prefix, see Delnero 2012: 163–164.

which is normally written {šilig}(ASARI = GIŠGAL×IGI), as a description of the valuable accoutrements of the cella in a temple.

Line 88 in Lu Azlag B+C ({⌜lú saĝ-bur kar-kar-re⌝} = ⌜*mu*⌝-*ḫa-am-mi-iṣ šu-ri-ni* 'one who despoils a divine emblem'; see the commentary to line 117 above) may provide the link between line 117 and lines 118–119 in our text, the lines that bring the current speech of the Professor to a close. Both {saĝ-bur} and {kar-kar-re} occur in Lu Azlag B+C line 88 and each of these two expressions in succession form the kernal of lines 118 and 119 respectively: {kar-kar-re} as part of the expression {ninda kar-kar-re} in line 118 and {saĝ-bur} as the epitome of a valuable object scorned {saĝ-búr-bi nu-un-na-kal-e} (with {saĝ-bur} punning on {saĝ-búr}) in line 119.

120 zé-za gù dé-dé-e dag-gi-a a-ra-lù-lù

BUREAU Shouting in your indignation, the city quarter makes you run amok.

	zé-za	**gù**	**dé-dé-e**	**dag-gi-a**	**a-ra-lù-lù**	
H	[……]	gù	dé-dé	dag-gi-a	a-ra-⌜lù-lù⌝	(Rev ii 13′)
Z	zé-za	gù	dé-dé-e	dag-gi-a	a-ra-lù-⌜lù⌝	(Rev 10)
E′	zé-za	gù	dé-⌜dé-e?⌝	⌜x⌝ [……]	[……]	(Rev i′ 8)
F′	zé-za	ugu	⌜dé- a⌝	⌜dag?-gi⌝-a	[……]	(Obv 3′)
G′	[……]	[…]	[……]	⌜dag-gi$_4$⌝ […]	[……]	(Obv 6′)
Q′	zé-za	ugu	⌜dé⌝ [……]	[……]	[……]	(Obv 5′)
Y′	⌜zé-za⌝	gù	⌜dé⌝ [……]	[……]	[……]	(Rev 6′)
Y$_{Ur}$	[……]	[…]	[……]	⌜dag⌝-gi$_4$-a	a-ra-lù-lù	(Rev 1)

We face two key uncertainties in this line: the correct identification of the compound verb in the first half of the line ({gù—dé} as opposed to {ugu—dé}) and the specific meaning of {dag-gi-a} in our line. The compound verb {gù—dé} is taken here as correct (in contrast to {ugu—dé}) since {lú zé-za} and {gù dé-dé} follow in sequence in Lu Azlag B+C, segment 2, 116–177 (see Böck 1999: 58) and on the basis of textual coherence: {ugu—dé} 'to forget' makes little sense in combination with {lú zé-za} = Akk. *ḫasû* or {lú gù dé-dé} = Akk. *šassā'u* 'shouter'. The sign UGU is written U-KA, viz. {u-gù}, so it is easily confused with {gù}. Once the forms in manuscripts F′ and Q′ are excluded, we are left with defective and plene writings of {gù dé-dé} and we have taken the plene writing here. The verbal form at the end of the line is more difficult to decide: both of

the Nippur witnesses (H and Z) are broken and probably need to be collated, while {a-ra-lù-lù} in manuscript Y from Ur is clear but unparalleled.

The general sense of the line probably derives from the juxtaposition between {zé-za} and {gù dé-dé}: if {zé-za} refers to a speech defect, while {gù dé-dé} designates someone who is continually shouting, in combination they form a nice representation of verbal incompetence. The expression {dag-gi-a} corresponds to Akk. *bābtu* and presumably means 'neighborhood, city quarter' in our line rather than 'merchandise, deficit'. The second person dative infix in the verb makes good sense if the 'city quarter' is the subject of the verb and it is making the addressee 'run amok' {lù-lù}, corresponding to Akk. *dalāḫu* 'to stir up, to confuse, to make unintelligible'. The expression {dag-gi$_4$-a} also appears in Dialogue 5 (Two Women), lines 129–130: {bún du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ guruš iri-ka lul sè-sè-ke / ki-sikil tur dag-gi$_4$-a ti-la ù nu-mu-un-na-ku-ku} "rumor-monger, spreading lies among the young men of the city, the young girls who live in the city quarter staying up all night (talking)", where it clearly refers to the 'city quarter' and seems to be focused on the detrimental effects of gossip.

121 lú pe-el-lá téš tuku-tuku nu-zu

BUREAU Debased and unabashed,

	lú	**pe-el-lá**	**téš**	**tuku-tuku**	**nu-zu**	
H	[...]	[.....]	téš	tuku-tuku	nu-zu	(Rev ii 14′)
Z	lú	pe-el-lá	téš	tuku-tuku	nu-zu	(Rev 11)
F′	lú	⌜pe-el-lá⌝	⌜téš?⌝	⌜tuku-tuku⌝	[...] ⌜zu⌝	(Obv 4′)
Q′	lú	pe-⌜el-lá⌝	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 6′)
Y′	⌜x⌝	⌜x x⌝ [...]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 7′)
Y_{Ur}	⌜lú⌝	[.....]	[...]	[...] tuku	nu-e-zu	(Rev 2)

The only difference in the manuscripts is the variation between "plene" {nu-e-zu} and "non-plene" {nu-zu} forms of the verb in the phrase {téš tuku-tuku nu-zu} "not knowing (how) to have shame." But in our view {nu-e-zu} is actually mistaken and results from a preservation of {nu-e-zu} "you do not know" earlier in the text. Here it is by no means clear that {nu-zu} refers to a second person; more likely, the line consists of two epithets drawn from the Lu lists that are meant as descriptions of the addressee.

The first of the two phrase {pe-el-lá} appears in three successive entries in Lu Azlag A 337–339, while {téš tuku-tuku} appears in the midst of the number of similar entries in Lu Azlag B+C, segment 1, lines 67–70.

Lu Azlag A 337–339 (MSL 12: 168)

337	lú ⌜pe-el⌝-lá	⌜*qá*⌝-*lu-ú*	'trivial person'
338	lú ⌜pe-el⌝-lá	*pe-e-ḫu-ú*	'blocked up, simpleton'
339	lú šu pe-el-lá	*mu-qá-li-lum*	'someone who belittles others'

Lu Azlag B+C 67–70 (DCCLT edition)

67	lú téš tuku	*ša bu-uš-tam i-šu-ú*	'he who has shame'
68	lú téš nu-tuku	*ša bu-uš-tam la i-šu-ú*	'he who has no shame'
69	⌜lú téš⌝ tuku-tuku	*ba-a-*⌜*a*⌝*-šu-*⌜*ú*⌝	'having shame, modest'
70	lú téš nu-zu	⌜*ša*⌝ [*bu-uš*]-⌜*tam la i-du-ú*⌝	'he who knows no shame'

While the precise phraseology found in our line, namely {téš tuku-tuku nu-zu} does not occur in the second of these passages, it is fairly clear that it was meant to combine the habitual character of {téš tuku-tuku} with the lack of self-awareness communicated by {téš nu-zu}, hence our translation of it as 'unabashed'. It is particularly appropriate that these two insults were directed at the scholarly member of the debate, since the most famous attestations of {pe-el-lá} in the proverbial literature begins with the {dub-sar pe-el-lá}.

SP 2.54 (Alster 1997: 55 [vol. 1])

1 dub-sar pe-el-lá lú mu_7-mu_7-a-kam
2 nar pe-el-lá lú gi-di-da-kam
3 gala pe-el-lá lú gi-gíd-da-a-kam
4 dam-gàr pe-el-lá da-ba-ri-ri-a-kam
5 nagar pe-el-lá lú ^{ĝiš}bala-a-kam
6 simug pe-el-lá lú ^{uruda}gur_{10}-kam
7 šidim pe-el-lá im BU-BU-a-kam

(1) *A disgraced scribe becomes an exorcist.* (2) *A disgraced singer becomes a piper.* (3) *A disgraced lamentation priest becomes a flutist.* (4) *A disgraced merchant becomes a crook.* (5) *A disgraced carpenter becomes a spinner.* (6) *A disgraced smith becomes a harvester.* (7) *A disgraced mason becomes a clay digger.*

Here we see the profession of 'scribe' {dub-sar} leading off a list of the highly skilled professions in ancient Mesopotamia; each line describes a member of that profession who is seen as deficient in one way or another, viz. {pe-el-lá},

and that person is then described as belonging to a certain type of activity. Although the professions are not explicitly hierarchized (and the activity of the disgraced member of a given profession does not necessarily feed into a subsequent profession), the list may well have been seen as hierarchical in some circles, particularly since {dub-sar} is listed first.

As we noted earlier in line 68, the specific entry for {dub-sar pe-el-lá} 'bad scribe' also provides an anchor in Old Babylonian Lu and its "long recension" (Ni 10261), lines 141i–143, a list of different types of scribe, around which new terms—most of them less than auspicious—could be added. As Klein points out in his discussion of an Old Babylonian copy of the Early Dynastic list of insults (Klein 2003: 145), the standard equivalent for Akk. *qalālu* 'to be lightly regarded, despised' is {pe-el-lá}, where {zur} in the Early Dynastic text (ED 66 = BT 9, 9′) is equated with *mu-uš-qá-li-la-at ra-ma-ni-ša* in the Old Babylonian copy, perhaps as a phonetic orthography for {sur_5}(LÁ); for a discussion of {sur_5}, see line 93 above.

122 lú kára-ga níĝ-úr-ra gu_7-gu_7

BUREAU The scorned man who consumes his own assets,

	lú	**kára-ga**	**níĝ-úr-ra**	**gu_7-gu_7**	
B	[…]	kára-ga	[…] ⌜úr-ra⌝	⌜gu_7-gu_7⌝	(Rev ii 1′)
H	[…]	[…….]	⌜níĝ⌝-úr-ra	gu_7-gu_7	(Rev ii 15′)
Z	lú	kára-ga	níĝ-úr-ra	gu_7-⌜gu_7⌝	(Rev 12)
F′	⌜lú⌝	⌜kára-ga⌝	[…] ⌜úr?-ra⌝	⌜gu_7-gu_7⌝	(Obv 5′)
Q′	lú	kára-⌜ga⌝	⌜níĝ⌝ […….]	[…….]	(Obv 7′)
Y_{Ur}	lú	kar-ra-ga	[…] úr-ra	gu_7-gu_7	(Rev 3)

The only variation is the phonetic reading of KÁR in the Ur manuscript as {kar-ra}; the other three manuscripts that preserve this part of the text all have KÁR.GA, and there is no reason to ignore this phonetic variant, although one alternative would be to read the word as {$šaga_x$(LÚ.KÁR)^{ga}} 'prisoner' in line with the discussion in Steinkeller 1991. It should be kept in mind, however, that the reading {$šaga_x$} only applies to LÚ×KÁR, written as a single complex sign. The standard reading in the lexical literature is {lú kára-ga}, regularly equated with *ṭaplu* 'scorned (person)', while the person who scorns another is {lú šu kára-ga} = Akk. *muṭappilu*. There is, as far as we can tell, no other lexical evidence for reading KÁR as {kára} when it precedes {*-ga}, but the phonetic writing in manuscript Y favors {kára-ga}.

The term {níĝ-úr-ra} is basically a hapax (only appearing in Ebla bilingual, MEE 4, 13+ [P245176]), although the similar term {níĝ-úr-límmu} 'equid' = Akk. *būlu* is fairly common in Old Babylonian Sumerian literature. Since the image of a scorned man eating an equid does not make much sense, we assume here that {níg-úr-ra} is punning on the term {níĝ-gur$_{11}$} 'property, assets' = Akk. *makkūru* (CAD M/1 133b), with the /g/ following {níĝ-*} lost, yielding {níĝ-úr-ra} (see generally Geller 2005). Once the /g/ is lost and {úr} is used in place of {gur$_{11}$} (GA), the semantics of {úr} 'root, lower limbs, loins, lap' become available and there is a probably a sexual joke at work in the pun. Note as well that {gur$_{11}$} is written with the GA sign, which is used earlier in the line as a phonetic element in the expression {KÁR-ga}. This is reminiscent of the alternation between {zà(g) gu-du} and {zà(g) udu} that we looked at in line 82 above.

As we noted earlier in the commentary to line 68, the expression {lú kára-ga} occurs in Lu Azlag A in between the {lú mú-da} and the {lú pe-el-lá}.

Lu Azlag A 331–338 (DCCLT edition)

331	[lú] ⌜mú?⌝-da	*ma-ag-⌜ru⌝-um*	'insulting'
332	⌜lú⌝ kára-ga	*ṭa-ap-lum*	'someone slandered'
333	lú šu kára-ga	*mu-ṭa-pi-lum*	'someone who slanders'
334	lú uš$_{11}$ zà-ga	*al-li-a-a*	'drooler'
335	lú [uš$_{11}$ zà]-ga bar-bar	*al-li-a-a*	'drooler'
336	lú ⌜šu⌝ [ùr-ùr]	*uš-šu-šum*	'anxiety ridden'
337	lú ⌜pe-el⌝-lá	⌜*qá*⌝*-lu-ú*	'trivial person'
338	lú ⌜pe-el⌝-lá	*pe-e-ḫu-ú*	'idiot'

In Lu Azlag B+C, segment 5, which we looked at earlier in line 112, we again find a set of familiar terminology, including terms like {lú kára-ga}.

Lu Azlag B+C, segment 5, lines 10–16 (DCCLT edition)

10	lú sikil dù-a	*ma-ag-ru-ú*	'insulting person'
11	lú is-ḫáb	*aš-ḫa-ap-pu-um*	'stupid'
12	lú na-ĝá-aḫ	*nu-ḫu-ú-um*	'barbarian'
13	lú mú-da	*šar-bu-um*	'puffed up'
14	lú mú-da	*ma-ḫu-ú-um*	'ecstatic'
15	lú kára-ga	*ṭa-ap-lum*	'someone slandered'
16	lú šu kára-ga	*mu-ṭa-ap-pi-*[*lum*]	'someone who slanders'

Here we can see that the sequence {na-ĝá-aḫ / sikil dù-a / is-ḫáb} in lines 113–115 as well as the likely pun on {mú-da} in line 111 in the preceding speech from

the Professor are being answered in this speech from the Bureaucrat by picking up on the lexical sequence in Lu Azlag B+C, segment 5, lines 10–16.

123 lú saĝ-DU-a dumu lú nu-zu

BUREAU The numbskull doesn't even know his own father.

	lú	**saĝ-DU-a**	**dumu**	**lú**	**nu-zu**	
B	[...]	[.....]	dumu	lú	nu-zu	(Rev ii 2′)
H	[...]	[.....]	dumu	lú	nu-zu	(Rev ii 16′)
Z	lú	saĝ-DU-a	dumu	lú	nu-⌜zu⌝	(Rev 13)
F′	lú	⌜saĝ?-DU x⌝	⌜x⌝	⌜x⌝	⌜x-zu⌝	(Obv 6′)
I′	[...]	[.....]	[...]	⌜lú⌝	[.....]	(Obv 1′)
Y_{Ur}	lú	saĝ-DU-a	dumu	lú	nu-zu	(Rev 4)

The term {lú saĝ-túm-a}, particularly with the reading {túm} of DU, may be mistaken, since {túm} normally takes {*-ma} as auslaut elsewhere in the Sumerian literature. Apparently the only occurrence of {saĝ túm-ma} is OBGT III 173, where {saĝ túm-ma mu-un-ĝar} is equated with *ma-gi-ir-tam iq-bi-a-am* (MSL 4: 72), but this may not be the same lexical item. In the Emesal vocabulary, {saĝ túm-túm} is equated with Emesal {saĝ ir-ir} and the Akk. *qúl-lu-lu ma-ru-u* 'marû of *qullulu*' (DCCLT edition; cf. MSL 4: 26). Part of the humor of {saĝ-túm-a} or {saĝ-DU-a} probably stems from the fact that {saĝ-du} (with DU read as {du}) is the standard term for a head that is no longer attached to the body, viz. a disembodied head and such heads played a role in necromancy in Mesopotamia. This aspect seems to be well captured in the second half of Lu Azlag B+C, segment 6 (we looked at the first half in line 104 above).

Lu Azlag B+C, seg. 6, 7–13 (DCCLT edition)

7	lú inim-ma	*ša a-wa-tim*	'man of his word'
8	lú inim du_{11}-du_{11}	*mu-ta-wu-ú*	'talker'
9	lú ki inim-ma	*ši-i-bu*	'eye witness'
10	lú ab-ba	*ši-i-bu*	'elder'
11	lú saĝ-DU-a	*maḫ-ṣa-am i-lim*	'struck by a god'
12	lú saĝ-DU-a	*mu-úh-ḫu-um ma-aḫ-ṣú*	'numbskull'
13	⌜lú saĝ⌝ $giri_{16}$	*mu-úḫ-ḫu-um na-as-su*	'bemoaned skull'

The compilers of this list may be making a bit of a joke: up to Lu Azlag B+C, seg. 6, line 9, we have a list of terms for those testifying or otherwise taking part in legal proceedings, but in line 10 the ambiguity of *šību* is used to shift into the term for 'elder' followed by someone 'struck by a god', hence presumably dead, {lú sag-DU-a}, and then a 'struck' or 'lamented' *muḫḫu*, which we have rendered as 'numbskull'. The usual term in Akkadian for a disembodied and defleshed skull, namely *gulgullu*, is not used here, so we cannot be certain that the speaking skulls known from the necromancy texts are relevant (see Finkel 1984). The term {^{na4}saĝ-du} does appear, however, in between {^{na4}gul-gul / ^{na4}saĝ-gul-gul} and {^{na4}kikkin} in the SLT 179, an Old Babylonian list of stone objects.

The use of {lú saĝ-DU-a} here in line 123 is also quite similar to *Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn* 147:

Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn 147–153 (Sjöberg 1973: 113)

147 sag-DU-a lú-tumu šu-si gìri-si lú-lul
148 lú IM lú la-ga é-bùru-bùru
149 lú sikil dù-a lú ḫáb-ba-àm
150 na-ĝá-aḫ lú mú-da
151 eme zà-ga bar-bar sag šu zi bí-íb-du$_{11}$-ga
152 sag ùr-ùr lú ḫu-ḫu-nu
153 ir-ḫa-an du$_{11}$-ga ir-ḫul-a

(147) *Numbskull, thief, tips of fingers and tips of toes, liar,* (148) *bandit and burglar,* (149) *sqwindler, street urchin,* (150) *arrogant country bumpkin,* (151) *drooling idiot,* (152) *. . . and crippled,* (153) *foul smelling necromancer.*

Note as well that the phrase {ir-ḫa-an} in line *Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn* 153 is the characteristic term in the incantations associated with the necromancy texts, so there is some possibility of relating {sag-DU-a} to {saĝ-du}.

The word order in the second half of the line {dumu lú nu-zu} is unusual and may be alluding to the expression {lú nu} in BM 108861, which we looked at earlier in the commentary to line 95.

BM 108861 iii 25′–33′ (MSL 12: 228)

25′	lú nu	*nu-ʾ-*[*u*]	'rude, brute, stupid'
26′	lú na-ga-ḫu	MIN	'rude, brute, stupid'

27′	lú a	MIN	‘water/semen man’
28′	lú šaḫ a ri-a	MIN	‘he who was engendered by a pig’
29′	lú gù-zal a ri-a	MIN	‘he who was engendered by a rogue’
30′	lú ú-pil$_7$	*suk-ku*-[*ku*]	‘deaf’
31′	lú šul-la-nu	*še*-ʾ-⌜*ru*⌝	‘hairy man’
32′	lú nu	MIN	‘hairy man’

The expression {lú na-ga-ḫu} in BM 108861 iii line 26′ represents a syllabic writing of {lú na-ĝá-aḫ}, just as {lú is-ḫab-bu} is a syllabic writing of {lú is-ḫáb}. The Sumerian negation {nu} appears in no less than four entries in this short passage, and even in the first syllable of the Akkadian equivalent in line 25′: {lú nu} = *nu*-ʾ-[*u*].

124 ki-ma-an-zé-er lú kal-la nu-zu

BUREAU The stubborn man doesn’t recognize the slippery slope.

	ki-ma-an-zé-er	**lú**	**kal-la**	**nu-zu**	
B	[.....] ⌜er⌝	lú	kal-la	nu-zu	(Rev ii 3)
H	[.....]	lú	kal-la	nu-zu	(Rev ii 17′)
K	[.....] zé-er!(DÙ)	lú	⌜kal⌝-la	nu-zu	(Rev ii 1)
Z	ki-ma-an-zé-er	lú	kal-la	nu-zu	(Rev 14)
B′	⌜ki-ma?-an⌝ [.....]	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 1′)
F′	ki-ma-an-⌜zé-er⌝	⌜lú⌝	[.....]	nu-zu	(Obv 7′)
I′	[.....]	[...]	⌜kal⌝-la	⌜nu⌝ [...]	(Obv 2′)
E′′	[.....] zé-er	lú	kal-la	[.....]	(Rev 1′)
Y_{Ur}	ki-ma-an-zé-er	lú	kal-la	nu-e-zu	(Rev 5)

Like line 121 above, the variant form {nu-e-zu} only occurs in manuscript Y from Ur. As there, it probably represents an erroneous preservation of {nu-e-zu} from its numerous occurrences earlier in the text; see in particular the discussion in line 57, where the Ur manuscript(s) have {nu-e-zu} in contrast to a distinct branch with {nu-zu}, but it should be kept in mind that in line 51 {nu-zu} is a defective orthography for a second person verbal form, whereas here in line 124 we have a third person form, so {nu-e-zu} is likely ungrammatical.

Explicit sectional rulings become increasingly rare towards the end of the composition and there is no solid evidence for a sectional ruling at this point in the text. Nonetheless, as a working hypothesis, we assume here that the

Bureaucrat is speaking in lines 120–124 and that the speaker in the rest of the text (lines 125–137) is the Professor.

In the commentary to line 95 above, we briefly mentioned Antagal C 44–48 in order to clarify the reading of {ú-pil$_7$}, but the section that immediately follows {ú-pil$_7$} begins with {ki-ma$^{!}$-an-zé-er}:

Antagal C 44–51 (MSL 17: 196)

44	ĝéštu	*ḫa-as-*[*su*]	'wise'
45	ĝéštu lá	*ṭu-um-*⌜*mu*⌝-[*mu*]	'deaf'
46	⌜ĝéštu⌝ šú	*a-mi-*[*ru*]	'obstructed (with wax)'
47	⌜ĝéštu⌝ šú-a	*pe-ḫu-*[*u*]	'blocked, deaf'
48	Ú^{pi}-^{il}GÌRI	*suk-ku-*[*ku*]	'deaf, stupid'
49	ki-ma$^{!}$-an-zé-er	*muš-ḫal-*⌜*ṣi*⌝-[*tum*]	'slippery slope'
50	SIG$_4$$^{ú\text{-}rum}$BAD	*in-*[*du*]	'buttress'
51	nam-ús	*ni-mit-*[*tum*]	'support'

This passage provides us with the standard equation between {ki-ma-an-zé-er} and *mušḫalṣītu* 'slippery slope', literally 'something that makes one slip' (see also CAD N/2 149b), as well as a juxtaposition of *sukkuku* with {ki-ma-an-zé-er}. This may be orthographic, since an alternative orthography for *mušḫalṣītu* is {ĝìri zé-er}, literally, '(where) the foot slips' (Kagal I 313 [MSL 13: 230]). The word {ki-ma-an-zé-er} also figures centrally in several proverb collections such as SP 6.4 (Alster 1997: 147 [vol. 1]), SP 25.7 (Alster 1997: 276 [vol. 1]), both of which are concerned with the dangers of the palace, and UET 6/2, 310 (Alster 1997: 317–318 [vol. 1]).

Strictly speaking {lú kal-la} = Akk. *waqru* (CAD A/2 207b) should refer to a 'precious man' and have a positive connotation (see also Lu Azlag B+C, segment 2, line 129, where it immediately follows {lú zu-a} = Akk. *mūdû*). Here in our line, the last line in what is apparently the Bureaucrat's last speech, {lú kal-la} seems to be negative in meaning (as a translation like 'rare individual' might allow) and may be responding to line 119 above, the last line in the previous speech from the Professor. In line 119 the {lú dab$_5$-ba} is unimpressed {nu-un-na-kal-e} with the temple treasures, so {lú kal-la} here may signify 'arrogant' or 'supercilious'.

This line is clearly duplicated in *Engardu the Fool* and, in his edition of *Engardu the Fool*, Sjöberg claims that it is also attested in *Two Women* (Dialogue 5, corresponding to line 32 in Civil's preliminary edition). The passage in *Engardu the Fool* reads as follows:

Engardu the Fool, CBS 14072 obv. i (Sjöberg 1972: 108)

4′ [x] x x lú inim-ma téš nu-tuku x x [. . .]
5′ ki-ma-an-zé-er lú kal-e nu-zu x x [. . .]
6′ lú kéš nu-KU šaḫ lu-hu-um-ma sù-a x [. . .]
7′ eme-ti-bal níg-érim-e ki-áĝ HAR da? x [. . .]
8′ du_{14} mú-mú kéš x-ta è-a in-dúb-⌜dúb⌝ [. . .]
9′ ur-sag gub-bé šu-bi-šè lá-a TÚG da x [. . .]

(4′) . . ., *who loves to talk in court, without dignity* . . . [. . .] (5′) (*He is like*) *a slippery place, he does not know* . . . [. . .] (6′) *He is a man who does not keep an alliance, he is a pig sprinkled with mud,* . . . [. . .] (7′) *He loves 'sign language'* (*and*) *deceitful action,* . . . [. . .] (8′) *He is constantly quarreling, coming out from* . . ., (9′) . . . (translation Sjöberg)

Sjöberg's translation is noncommittal ("a slippery place, he does not know . . ."), largely because of the apparent incongruity between the usually positive meaning of {lú kal-la} and the negative meaning it seems to have in our line. It is also significant that the following line in our text, viz. line 125, appears only a few lines after {ki-ma-an-zé-er lú kal-e nu-zu} in CBS 14072 obv. i 9. Both lines are underlined in the extract.

The textual situation in *Two Women* is more complicated, however, and may offer some illumination of our passage. Ni 2268 (= BE 31 28), the text cited by Sjöberg has {ki-ma-an-zé-er lú kal-la nu-te} "the precious man does not approach the slippery slope," but other manuscripts belonging to *Two Women* have {ki-ma-an-zé-er lú-da saĝ ir-ir} in this line. This may suggest that the manuscript cited by Sjöberg has erroneously interpolated our line or the similar line in *Engardu the Fool* into the manuscript tradition of *Two Women*. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the preceding line in *Two Women* reads as follows: {téš nu-tuku du_5-mu lú nu-kal-la}, which is quite similar to line 123 in our text: {lú saĝ-DU-a dumu lú nu-zu} except that {nu-kal-la} in *Two Women* is replaced by {nu-zu} in our text. One possibility is that {lú} was taken as a gloss on {nu} in the phrase {dumu lú nu-kal-la} in *Two Women*, leading to a straightforward equation between a 'person without honor' {téš nu-tuku} and a 'son of an unexceptional man' {dumu ^{lú}nu-kal-la}. This playful misreading of {lú-kal-la} was then incorporated into our text without the {nu}. Orthographies in which etymological {lú} is replaced by {nu} are well-known in the literature and need not be repeated here.

125 ur-saĝ gub-ba šu-bi-šè lá-a

PROF A handicapped aide-de-camp,

	ur-saĝ	**gub-ba**	**šu-bi-šè**	**lá-a**	
B	[.....]	[...] ba	šu-bi-šè	lá-a	(Rev ii 4)
H	[.....]	[.....]	⌜šu-bi-šè⌝	lá-a	(Rev ii 18′)
K	[...] ⌜saĝ⌝	gub-ba	šu-bi-šè	lá-a	(Rev ii 2 + ruling)
Z	ur-saĝ	gub-ba	šu-bi-šè	⌜lá⌝ [...]	(Rev 15)
B′	ur-⌜saĝ⌝	[.....]	[.....]	[....]	(Rev 2′)
F′	ur-saĝ	gub-bé	⌜x x x⌝	⌜lá?-a⌝	(Obv 8′)
I′	[.....]	[.....]	[...] bi-šè	[....]	(Obv 3′)
E′′	[.....]	⌜gub⌝-bé	šu-bi-⌜šè⌝	[....]	(Rev 2′)
Y_{Ur}	[...] ⌜saĝ⌝	⌜gub⌝ [...]	⌜šu⌝-bi-šè	lá-a	(Rev 6)

The only variation is the replacement of {gub-ba} with {gub-bé} in manuscript F′ and E′′, but the latter form probably derives from the corresponding line in *Engardu the Fool*, where the form is {ur-sag gub-bé}. In the lexical tradition we find {lú saĝ gub-ba} equated with Akk. *munaggiru* 'informer, denouncer' (CAD M/2 198b, CAD N/2 313a), more specifically the person who makes public the fact that some form of illegal activity has allegedly taken place and who is rewarded in the law codes for doing so. Given the centrality of *gerû* to the semantics of legal confrontation, the Mesopotamians may have associated *munaggiru* with *gerû*.

The phrase {ur-saĝ-DU} already occurs in Early Dynastic List E, line 56 (MSL 12: 17), but its reading is unclear. In the much later, indeed late or post-Old Babylonian recension D of the Lu list, {lú saĝ gub-ba} (rather than the {ur-saĝ gub-ba} in our text) occurs in line 144, just a few lines after the section from the same lexical list that we looked at in the commentary to line 117, namely Lu recension D, lines 138–140. Nonetheless, in spite of its interesting position in the lexical tradition, {lú saĝ gub-ba} cannot simply be equated with {ur-saĝ gub-ba} and we have translated here according to the Sumerian term, literally 'one in the service of a soldier', viz. 'aide-de-camp', rather than following the Akkadian materials. Sjöberg leaves the parallel in *Engardu the Fool* untranslated, but does suggest that in our text lines 124–125 could be translated as "(even) a hero (heroic warrior) who stands there (i.e., in the k i – m a – a n – z é – e r) . . .," but as the following lines in our text show, {gub} here means 'in active service', presumably to the {ur-saĝ}. For {šu-šè lá}, see

the commentary to line 93 above, although we have taken it here in the sense of Akk. *eṣēlu* / *uṣṣulu* rather than *šuqallulu*; see as well the discussion of *ussulu* and *pussulu* in line 75.

126 ì-gub nu-mu-un-ge-en ì-tuš li-bí-in-sa$_6$

PROF When on active duty, he can't get it right, when on reserve, he doesn't get any better.

	ì-gub	**nu-mu-un-ge-en**	**ì-tuš**	**li-bí-in-sa$_6$**	
B	[……]	[……] ⌜ge⌝-en	ì-tuš	li-bí-in-sa$_6$	(Rev ii 5′)
H	[……]	[……]	[……]	li-bí-in-sa$_6$	(Rev ii 19′)
K	[…] ⌜gub⌝	nu-mu-un-ge-en /	[…] ⌜tuš⌝	li-bí- sa$_6$	(Rev ii 3)
Z	ì-gub	nu-mu-un-ge-en	ì-tuš	⌜li⌝ […….]	(Rev 16)
B′	⌜ì-gub⌝	nu-mu-⌜un⌝-[……]	[……]	[……]	(Rev 3′)
F′	ì-gub	nu-mu-un-ge-en	[……] /	⌜li⌝-bí-in-⌜sa$_6$⌝	(Obv 9′)
I′	[……]	[……] ⌜en⌝	ì-tuš	li-⌜bí⌝ [……]	(Obv 4′)
E′′	[……]	⌜nu⌝-mu-un-ge-[…] /	[…]-⌜tuš⌝	⌜li-bí⌝ [……]	(Rev 3′)
Y$_{Ur}$	ì-gub	nu-mu-un-⌜ge?⌝-en	⌜ì-tuš⌝	[…] ⌜bí-in⌝-sa$_6$	(Rev 7)

The agreement between the Nippur manuscripts and manuscript Y from Ur makes our reconstruction of the line fairly certain. The only variation is the trivial omission of the pronominal element before the root in manuscript K. The key rhetorical device in this line—already foreshadowed in our interpretation of {ur-saĝ gub-ba} the previous line—is the well-known administrative contrast between {gub} and {tuš} in designations of service on behalf of a central authority. Alster and Vanstiphout write in their commentary on *Lahar and Ashnan* as follows:

> It is very probable that the pair gub/tuš here simply means "to stand up" and "to sit down". However, the pair is also commonly used for describing an unending series of actions that are felt to be tedious, and it may have some military or otherwise service-oriented meaning of being always at the beck and call of the authorities. See *Gilgamesh and Agga* 11: 25/28: gub-gub-bu-dè tuš-tuš-ù-dè . . . a-ba zi-bi mu-un-tuku-e-še " 'Always standing to and standing down . . . Who has spirit enough for that?' they say." (Alster and Vanstiphout 1987: 33, citing Vanstiphout 1985: 11 and n. 47 and 1986: 44 and n. 20)

But as studies of labor in the Pre-Sargonic and Ur III administrative texts have repeatedly shown (see, for example, Maeda 1983 on {šeš gub-ba} as opposed to {šeš tuš-a} the Pre-Sargonic period and Maekawa 1987: 64 and Maekawa 1988: 57 on {érin bala gub} as opposed to {érin bala tuš} in the Ur III period), the opposition between {gub} and {tuš} was central to the management of labor teams throughout much of Mesopotamian history. As Maekawa argues:

> In a month when the erín-people were mobilized for their regular corvée work (erín-bal-gub-ba), they were given barley rations as food for 30 day's work (šà-gal erín-bal-gub-ba). They often continued to work after the corvée month (erín-bal-tuš-a). Since they were regarded as being hired (erín-ḫun-gá bal-tuš-a), they received barley as a kind of wage (á-ḫun-gá erín-bal-tuš-a). The erín-bal-tuš-a usually worked for 20 days in a month, and they were often conscripted to the corvée work under the appelation erín-bal-gub-ba again in the next month. (Maekawa 1989: 42).

Even though {ur-saĝ gub-ba} is not attested in the lexical tradition or the administrative documentation, it was presumably derived from a phrase such as {érin bala gub-ba}, since both {érin} and {ur-saĝ} have clear associations with military service.

127 ì-šid ba-e-ul$_4$-e-en ì-sar šu íb-ta-an-ùr

PROF When he reads something out, you want to hurry him up, when he writes something, he smudges it all up.

	ì-šid	**ba-e-ul$_4$-e-en**	**ì-sar**	**šu**	**íb-ta-an-ùr**	
B	[.....]	[...] ⌜e⌝-ul$_4$-e	ì-sar	šu	⌜im⌝-ta-an-⌜ùr⌝	(Rev ii 6′)
H	[.....]	[.....] en	ì-sar	šu	im-⌜ta?⌝- [....]	(Rev ii 20′)
K	[.....]	⌜ba⌝-e-ul$_4$-e-en /	[.....]	⌜šu⌝	íb-ta-an-úr	(Rev ii 4–5)
Z	ì-šid	ba-e-ul$_4$-e-en	ì-⌜sar⌝	[...]	[.....]	(Rev 17)
B′	ì-šid	ba-e-⌜ul$_4$⌝ [.....]	[.....]	[...]	[.....]	(Rev 4′)
F′	ì-⌜šid⌝	[...] ⌜ni?-ul$_4$- en⌝	⌜ì⌝-sar	šu /	íb-ta?-an-ùr	(Obv 10′)
I′	[.....]	[.....]	⌜ì⌝-sar	šu	im-ta-an-[....]	(Obv 5′)
E′′	[.....]	[.....] -⌜e⌝	ì-⌜sar⌝	⌜x⌝	⌜x x x⌝	(Rev 4′)
Y_{Ur}	ì-šid	ba-e-ul$_4$- en	ì-sar	šu	[.....]	(Rev 8)
W'_{Sip}	[.....]	ba-rí-⌜e⌝ [.....]	[.....]	šu	íb-⌜ta⌝ [.....]	(Rev 1)

We are largely following the version of the text in Nippur manuscript B and Z in the first half of the line, except that manuscript B omits the final {*-en} from {ba-e-ul$_4$-e-en}, and the similarities between Nippur manuscripts K and F′ as well as the Sippar manuscript in the second half of the line. Manuscripts B H and I′ from Nippur have {im-ta-an-ùr} in place of {íb-ta-an-ùr}, but this is a minor variant. In manuscript K, a phonetic variant {-úr} replaces the normal logogram {-ùr} in the idiom {šu—ùr} 'to erase' (see Karahashi 2000: 172). Most of the other variants in this line are broken or uncertain and there is no reason to discuss them in detail. Like the pair of verbs {ì-gub} and {ì-tuš} in the preceding line, this line is organized around the opposition between {ì-šid} and {ì-sar}. Given the largely scribal themes in our text, it is probably significant that {ì-šid} "he recites" is contrasted with {ì-sar} "he writes" and that—according to the logic of the parallel—recitation is associated with active service {ì-gub} while writing is associated with time off {ì-tuš}. More importantly, however, the recitation {ì-šid} of the addressee is too fast {ba-e-ul$_4$-e-en} and his writing needs to be erased {šu íb-ta-an-ùr}, presumably because it is unreadable.

As we gradually return more explicitly to descriptions of less-than-skilful writing, it is significant that we find the Professor, the denizen of the academy, criticizing his interlocutor, the Bureaucrat, once again for poor scribal skills. The mention of {ul$_4$} anticipates {ul$_4$-la-bi} in line 131 ({dub ḫa-ma-tur ul$_4$-la-bi ga-ab-til} "Let my tablet be small, so that I can finish it quickly"), which is a clear allusion to the statement put in the mouth of the Bureaucrat in line 27: {a-šà ḫa-ma-tur é-šè ga-ba-an-ĝen} "Let my field (viz. my homework) be small, so that I can go home early." The opposition between recitation and writing will preoccupy us in one way or another through line 131.

128 níĝ im-sar-re gù nu-ub-ta-dé-e

PROF Whatever he writes he cannot recite.

	níĝ	**im-sar-re**	**gù**	**nu-ub-ta-dé-e**	
A	[...]	[.....]	[...]	[.....]⌜e⌝	(Rev ii 1′)
B	[...]	[.....] e	gù	nu-ub-⌜ta-dé-e⌝	(Rev ii 7′)
G	[...]	[.....]	[...]	[.....]⌜dé-e⌝	(Rev ii 1′)
H	[...]	[.....]	[...]	[.....] ta-dé-[x]	(Rev ii 21′)
K	[...]	[.....]	gù	⌜nu⌝-ub-ta-dé-e	(Rev ii 6)
Z	níĝ	im-sar-re	gù	nu-ub-ta- [.....]	(Rev 18)
B′	níĝ	im-sar-⌜re⌝	⌜gù⌝	[.....]	(Rev 5′)

	níĝ	**im-sar-re**	**gù**	**nu-ub-ta-dé-e**	
F′	níĝ	im-sar-re	gú	nu-ub-ta-⌜dé⌝ […]	(Obv 11′)
I′	[…]	[…….]	[…]	nu-ub-ta-dé-e	(Obv 6′)
Y_{Ur}	níĝ	im-sar-re	gù	nu-ub-ta-⌜dé⌝ […]	(Rev 9)
W'_{Sip}	[…]	⌜im⌝-sar-re	⌜gù⌝	nu-ub-ta!-⌜dé⌝ […]	(Rev 2)

The variant with {gú} instead of {gù} in manuscript F′ makes it clear that the verb in question is {gù—dé} 'to read out loud, to recite' and the only other variation is the verbal form in manuscript B {[im-sar]-e}. Gragg takes {im-sar-re} as a second person *marû* verbal form and translates it as follows: "What you write you cannot read out!," presumably taking the /m/ before the verbal root as a variant form of the *marû* accusative non-human object pronoun /b/, but we have {ab-sar-re} in the next line, so it is not clear why a shift from /b/ to /m/ is supposed to have taken place in {im-sar-re} but not in {ab-sar-re}. See Johnson 2013c for the possibility of reading {im-sar} as an adjectival passive.

129 dugud-bi ab-sar-re šu-ni al-zu-ḫu-ul

PROF He writes with great difficulty (as if) his hands were palsied.

	dugud-bi	**ab-sar-re**	**šu-ni**	**al-zu-ḫu-ul**	
A	[…….]	[…….]	[…….]	[…….] ⌜ul⌝	(Rev ii 2′)
B	[…….]	⌜ab⌝-sar-re	šu-ni	ab-zu-⌜ḫu-ul⌝	(Rev ii 8′)
G	[…….]	[…….]	[…….]	⌜x⌝-zu-hu-ul	(Rev ii 2′)
H	[…….]	[…….]	[…….]	al-zu […….]	(Rev ii 22′)
K	[…….]	[…] sar-re-en	⌜šu-ni⌝	ab-zu-ḫu-ul	(Rev ii 7)
Z	[…] ⌜bi⌝	[…….]	[…….]	[…….]	(Rev 19)
B′	⌜dugud?-bi⌝	ab-sar-⌜re?⌝	⌜šu?⌝ […]	[…….]	(Rev 6′)
F′	dugud-bi	ab-sar-re	šu-ni	al-zu-ḫu- / ul	(Rev 1)
I′	[…….]	[…….]	⌜šu⌝-ni	ab-zu-ḫu!-⌜ul⌝	(Obv 7′)
C′′	[…….]	[…….]	⌜x x⌝	[…….]	(Obv 1′)
Y_{Ur}	dugud-bi	ab-sar-re-en	šu-ni	al-⌜zu⌝- […….]	(Rev 10)
W'_{Sip}	[…….] ⌜ba⌝	ab-sar-re-en	šu-ni	al-su-⌜ḫu⌝ […….]	(Rev 3)

Other than the alternation between {al-zu-ḫu-ul} and {ab-zu-ḫu-ul} in the Nippur manuscripts, the only variations are in the manuscripts from Ur and Sippar: the Ur manuscript adds an explicit second person absolutive pronominal element {*-en}, while the Sippar manuscript has BA before {ab-sar-re-en}, although it is unclear whether this is a locative case applied to {dugud-bi} or a different verbal prefix, viz. {ba-ab-sar-re-en}. The possessive suffix on the nominal component of the compound verb {šu—zu-ḫu-ul} is third rather than second person, however, and we take that as an indication that the entire passage describes the behavior of the addressee in the third person. With the exception of the non-Nippur variants in this line, there are no unequivocal indications of a second person grammatical elements in the adjoining lines except for {ba-e-ul$_4$-e-en} in line 127, which we do not see as a reference to the addressee. Note in particular that if we interpret {ab-sar-re} as a second person *marû* verbal form, "you write with difficulty," then we have to switch to third person in the second half of the line, viz. "(as if) his hands were palsied."

The compound verb {šu—zu-ḫu-ul} is attested in the lexical tradition, as in for example Nigga 188:

Níĝ-gur$_{11}$ = *makkūru* (viz. Nigga) 187–192 (MSL 13: 120)

187	⌜šu⌝ tur-tur	*qá-ta-an ṣe-eḫ-ḫe-*⌜*re*⌝*-*[*tum*]	'two little hands'
188	⌜šu⌝ zu-ḫu-ul	*qá-tum sà-ḫi-il-*⌜*tum*⌝	'a pierced hand'
189	šu-ta šub-[ba]	⌜*šu*⌝*-ta-šub-bu-ú-um*	'fallen from the hand'
190	šu dù-[dù]	*qá-tum ru-pu-úḫ-tum*	?
191	šu dugud-[da]	*qá-tum ka-bi-it-tum*	'heavy hand'
192	šu ⌜kára⌝-ga	*qá-tum qá-al-la-tum*	'light, trivial hand'

In all of these entries multisyllabic Sumerian expressions are equated with derivationally related compounds in Akkadian, as for example, the reduplication of {tur} in Níĝ-gur$_{11}$ = *makkūru* 187 to show that an Akkadian dual is meant. Our pseudo-compound verb is found in Níĝ-gur$_{11}$ = *makkūru* 188, where it is equated with *qātum sahiltum*, literally 'pierced hand', a phrase that also appears in Dialogue 3: 11 {šu zu-ḫu-ul šu gi-dub-ba nu-du$_7$} "a . . . hand, unfit for the stylus" (translation Civil). The expression {šu kára-ga} in Níĝ-gur$_{11}$ 192 returns to the general theme of line 121.

130 šid-da-aš la-ba-ab-du$_7$ sar-re-da me-te-bi in-nu

PROF Not only is he not meant for reading, he's hardly a paragon of writing.

	šid-da-aš	**la-ba-ab-du$_7$**	**sar-re-da**	**me-te-bi**	**in-nu**	
A	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....] bi	in-nu	(Rev ii 3′)
B	[.....]	la-ba-ab-du$_7$	sar-re-da /	me-te-bi	in-nu	(Rev ii 9′)
G	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	⌜in-nu⌝	(Rev ii 3′)
H	[.....]	[.....]	⌜sar⌝-re-da	[....]-bi	[.....]	(Rev ii 23′)
K	[.....]	⌜ba⌝-ab-du$_7$	sar-re-da-aš /	[...] ⌜x⌝-bi	in-⌜nu⌝	(Rev ii 8–9)
B′	[.....] ⌜aš⌝	la-ba-⌜ab⌝ [...]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 7′)
F′	šid-da-šè	la-ba-ab-du$_7$	sar-re-⌜da?⌝ /	me-te-bi	in-nu	(Rev 2)
I′	[.....]	[.....]	⌜sar-re-da?⌝	[.....]	[.....]	(Obv 8′)
C′′	šid-⌜de-eš⌝	[.....]	sar-ra-aš /	me-te-⌜bi⌝	in-nu	(Obv 2′)
Y_{Ur}	šid-da-aš	la-⌜ba⌝-ab-du$_7$	sar-re-da	⌜me-te⌝ [...]	[.....]	(Rev 11)
W'_{Sip}	[...]-⌜da⌝-aš	la-ba-an-du$_{12}$	sar	me-te	in-[nu]	(Rev 4)

Except for a very abbreviated writing of {sar-<re-da> me-te-<bi>} in the Sippar manuscript, the only variation of any significance is the terminative postposition following {sar-re-da} in K, which is probably an erroneous preservation of the terminative at the beginning of the line, and the form of the terminative postposition in F′ ({*-šè} rather than {*-aš}). The verbal form in the Sippar manuscript {la-ba-an-du$_{12}$} differs from the Nippur and Ur witnesses both in the orthography used for the verb and its grammatical form, since the animate pronominal element appears before verbal root rather than the inanimate.

The verb {du$_7$} corresponds to Akk. *wasāmu* 'to be appropriate', here presumably as a description of the Bureaucrat as "not appropriate to recitation." The second half of the line is grammatically much more interesting, however: {sar-re-da me-te-bi} is an anticipatory genitive, literally "of writings, its ornament," where {me-te} stands for the best exemplar of a given type of thing, Akk. *simtu*, a nominal form derived from *wasāmu* (on the anticipatory genitive, see Haber 2009; Johnson 2013c). The verbal form {in-nu} probably derives from an underlying form such as /im-nu/ in a topic-comment structure that is well attested elsewhere in Sumerian literature (see the discussion in Wilcke 1969: 83, for example).

The Return of Lugalbanda 32–33 (Vanstiphout 2003: 136–137)

32 kur-ra ĝissu-bi ki maḫ-ba
33 túg-gen$_7$ im-dul gada-gen$_7$ im-búr

(32) As for the mountain's shadow, it was draped over its (= the mountain's) august places like a garment. (33) It was spread over them like linen.

If we arrange this relatively simple example in comparison with the second half of our line here, we have the following:

Topic	Intervening Material	Comment
($_{\text{topic}}$ kur-ra ĝissu-bi)	ki maḫ-ba túg-gen$_7$	($_{\text{comment}}$ im-dul)
($_{\text{topic}}$ kur-ra ĝissu-bi)	gada-gen$_7$	($_{\text{comment}}$ im-búr)
($_{\text{topic}}$ sar-re-da me-te-bi)	Ø	($_{\text{comment}}$ in-nu)

For a more detailed discussion of this construction, see Johnson 2013c.

131 dub ḫa-ma-tur ul$_4$-la-bi ga-ab-til

PROF (You say:) "Please let me have a small tablet, so that I can finish quickly."

	dub	**ḫa-ma-tur**	**ul$_4$-la-bi**	**ga-ab-til**	
A	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[...] ⌜ab⌝-til	(Rev ii 4′)
B	[...]	[...] ⌜ma⌝-tur	ul$_4$-la-bi	ga-ab-til	(Rev ii 10′)
G	[...]	[.....]	[.....]	[...] ⌜x til⌝	(Rev ii 4′)
H	[...]	[.....]	[.....] bi	[.....]	(Rev ii 24′)
K	(omits)				
B′	⌜dub?⌝	⌜x tur⌝	⌜x⌝ [.....]	[.....]	(Rev 8′)
F′	dub	ḫa-ma-tur	ul-la-bi	ga-ab-til	(Rev 3)
C′′	⌜dub⌝	⌜ḫa⌝-ma-tur	ul$_4$-la-bi	ga-ab-til	(Obv 3′)
Y$_{\text{Ur}}$	dub	ḫa-ma-tur	ul$_4$-la-bi	ga-⌜ab⌝-til	(Rev 12)
W′$_{\text{Sip}}$	⌜dub⌝	ḫa-ma-tur	ul$_4$-la-bi	ga-ab-⌜sar⌝	(Rev 5)

The only variation is the verbal root {sar} in the Sippar manuscript, but since manuscripts from both Nippur and Ur have the same form, namely {ga-ab-til}, we take the latter as the correct form and see {ga-ab-sar} as an innovative reading. In all likelihood, {ga-ab-sar} was an element of the oral commentary on the text, viz. specifying the activity to which {ga-ab-til} was referring, that made its way into the written text of a distracted student.

This line is uttered by the Professor, but it is clearly meant as a parody of the Bureaucrat: the Professor is putting the statement in the mouth of the Bureaucrat in order to characterize the Bureaucrat as slothful and negligent. We find a very similar rhetorical tactic in the Professor's first characterization of the Bureaucrat in line 27 above: {a-šà ḫa-ma-tur é-šè ga ba-an-ĝen} "(You say:) 'Please let me have a small field, so that I can go home early!'" As we already noted in the commentary to line 27, 'field' {a-šà} in line 27 was meant as a metaphor or euphemism for 'tablet' or more concretely 'classwork'. Other than the replacement of 'field' in line 27 with 'tablet' in this line, the only difference between the two lines is the replacement of {é-šè} "(go) home" with {ul$_4$-la-bi} 'quickly' here in line 131. In the broader context of the composition as a whole, this near repetition of line 27 at the end of the composition functions as an inclusio, telling the reader that we are approaching the end of the work. In his paper on "Paradoxical Proverbs and Satire," Alster suggests that "[t]he verb tur here [viz. UET 6/2, 215] has the connotation 'to be in lack of time' (lit. 'to be little'). For a similar use see 'Dialogue 1' 137 [this line in our text]: dub ḫa-ma-tur ul$_4$-la-bi ga-ab-til 'I am in a hurry with my tablet, let me finish quickly'" (Alster 1975: 225, comment on ex. 30). But this is really an over-interpretation of our line: the words put in the mouth of the Bureaucrat simply request a small tablet, and in the context of scribal practice a shorter text translates into a shorter amount of time.

132 ki-gub-ba-ni ú-gu i-ni-in-dé

PROF He always loses his place.

	ki-gub-ba-ni	**ú-gu**	**i-ni-in-dé**	
A	[.....]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜in⌝-dé	(Rev ii 5′)
B	[.....] ni	ú-gu	i-ni-in-dé	(Rev ii 11′)
K	[.....] ⌜ni⌝	ú-gu	i-ni-in-dé	(Rev ii 10)
B′	⌜ki⌝-gub-ba-ni	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 9′)
F′	ki-gub-ba-ni	su-gu	i-ni-in-dé	(Rev 4)
C′′	⌜ki-gub-ba⌝-ni	ú-gu	i-ni-in-dé	(Obv 4′)

(*cont.*)

	ki-gub-ba-ni	**ú-gu**	**i-ni-in-dé**	
Y_{Ur}	ki-gub-ba-ni	ú-gu	i-ni-in-⌜dé⌝	(Rev 13)
W'_{Sip}	[...] ⌜gub⌝-ba-a-ni	ú-gu	i-ni-in-⌜dé⌝	(Rev 6)

The only variations are the additional {-a-} in the Sippar witness, which is a minor variation and not attested in either the Nippur manuscripts or the Ur witness, and the apparent use of {su-gu} in place of {ú-gu} in manuscript F′. This manuscript shows more variation that nearly any other in the last part of the text, including another interesting phonological variant in line 128 above: {gú} for {gù}. But given the orthographic similarity between SU and Ú, the phonological validity of this variant should be treated with the utmost caution. See also Kramer 1982: 142*, line 21.

133 ki-tuš-a-ni ì-bir-bir-re

PROF He mixes up his contexts.

	ki-tuš-a-ni	**ì-bir-bir-re**	
A	[.....]	[.....] re	(Rev ii 6′)
B	[.....] ⌜ni⌝	ì-bir-bir-re	(Rev ii 12′)
K	[.....] ⌜ni⌝	al-bir-bir-re	(Rev ii 11)
B′	ki-tuš-a-ni	ì-⌜bir⌝ [.....]	(Rev 10′)
F′	ki-tuš-a-ni	bir-bir-re	(Rev 5)
C′′	[...] ⌜tuš!⌝-a-ni	al-bir-bir-re	(Obv 5′)
Y_{Ur}	ki-tuš-a-ni	ì-bir-bir-re	(Rev 14)
W'_{Sip}	[.....] a-ni	ì-bir-bir-⌜re⌝	(Rev 7)

The opposition between {ki-gub-ba-ni} and {ki-tuš-a-ni} that we find in lines 132 and 133 can also be compared with the administrative distinction between workers who are {gub} ‘on active duty’ versus {tuš} ‘on reserve duty’ that we looked at in line 126.

If we carry over this opposition into the realm of reading (or more broadly semiotic activities), we must assume that the reader's "active zone" {ki-gub} is the part of the text that he or she is reading at a particular moment, while the "inactive zone" {ki-tuš} represents some unit of co-text or context. Therefore the statement in line 132 simply describes the familiar experience of losing one's place as one is reading a text, while line 133 describes mixing up or scattering the textual units in which one would normally locate a particular word or phrase. It is possible of course that {ki-tuš} is meant to refer to a textual commonplace, viz. *locus communis* or literary topos, in which case the line would mean that he mixes up his *topoi* and cannot properly locate a given word in its place in the literary canon (see Vanstiphout 1999; 2003).

One of the few passages in Classical Sumerian literature where these two expressions are juxtaposed is in the literary debate known as *Copper and Silver* 17: {kù é-gal nu ki-gub-zu nu ki-tuš-zu ga-ra-ab-pà} "O Silver, let me point out to you that the palace is neither your station nor your dwelling." Here unlike the foregoing example in which {ki-gub} and {ki-tuš} referred to physical structures, the opposition between {ki-gub} and {ki-tuš} is much more abstract. In *Bird and Fish* we also find a similar opposition, but there between {ki-gub} 'node of activity' and {ĝiš-ḫur} 'plan' or 'diagram': {ki-gub-bi in-ne-en-pà / ĝiš-ḫur-bi igi-bi im-mi-in-zu} "(he filled the reed beds and marshes with birds and fish), pointed out to them their areas of activity and made known to them their place in the system." None of these references, however, are specifically oriented to reading or the interpretation of signs in the way that lines 132–133 in our text are. It is also noteworthy that Erimhuš III begins with a pair of corresponding semantic entries, namely *šu-ub-tu* and *man-za-zu*, but these two Akkadian terms are equated with {dag} and {gišgal} rather than the {ki-tuš} and {ki-gub} that occur in our text (MSL 17: 47). In the short version of Igi-duḫ-a, however, {[ki]-tuš} and {[ki]-gub} are equated with *šub-tum* and *manza-zi*, so the centrality of these two Akkadian terms to our discussion is fairly clear (Landsberger and Gurney 1958: 81). If we turn to the usual Akkadian equivalent of {bir}, namely *sapāḫu*, it may also be significant that *sapāhu* and its D-stem form *suppuḫu* are sometimes used to describe someone thwarting plans and disrupting schemes, which would fit nicely with our line if we see {ki-tuš} as designating the logic or plot of a written text. Nearly the same semantic range can also be found under Akk. *parāru*, including the notion of confusing a plan (*ṭēmu*) and the like.

134 dím-ma ab-ta-šub-ba gù ab-ta-giri$_{11}$-da

PROF Having rejected all reason, he makes nothing but (senseless) noise.

	dím-ma	**ab-ta-šub-ba**	**gù**	**ab-ta-giri$_{11}$-da**	
A	[.....]	[.....]	[...]	[...] ⌜ta⌝-giri$_{11}$-da	(Rev ii 7′)
B	[.....]	⌜ab⌝-ta-šub-ba	gù	ab-ta-giri$_{11}$-da	(Rev ii 13′)
K	[.....]	ab-ta-šub-ba /	[...]	ab-ta-giri$_{16}$-da	(Rev ii 12)
B′	[...] ⌜ma?⌝	ab-ta-šub-ba	gù	⌜ab⌝- [.....]	(Rev 11′)
F′	dím-ma	ab-ta-šub-ba	gù	ab-ta?-giri$_{11}$?-da	(Rev 6)
C′′	dím-ma	ab-ta-šub-ba	gù	ab-ta- / gi-rí-da	(Rev 1 + ruling)
Y$_{Ur}$	dím-ma	ab-ta-šub-ba /	gù	ab-ta-giri$_{11}$-da	(Rev 15)
W′$_{Sip}$	[...] ⌜ma⌝	ab-ta-šub	gù! (SAG×X)	ab-ta-giri$_{11}$-⌜da⌝	(Rev 8)

As already noted by Tinney (reported in Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1995: 34, n. 6), the variant form of the verb in manuscript C′′ ({ab-ta-/gi-rí-da}) suggests that the correct reading of the verb in the other manuscripts is {ab-ta-giri$_{11}$-da}. This reading is obviously based on the phonological form of {kirid}(KÉŠ) 'hair-clasp', but in combination with the preceding KA, it probably represent the compound verb corresponding to the well-attested noun {gù-^{ĝiš}kiri$_6$} = Akk. *tanūqātu* 'battle cry'. This noun occurs in combination with verbs of speaking such as {dé} and {du$_{11}$}, as for example in *Engardu the Fool* 17 {ur gù dé ^{ĝiš}zà-mí-a nu-ĝál gù-kiri$_6$ dé-dé} 'a dog not producing the speech of a lyre, but uttering only the battle cry' [Sjöberg 1972: 108–109]). We can be certain of the reading of the nominal form thanks to Ad 753, rev. 4′ (MSL 14: 138), a secondary branch of Proto-Ea, where we read gú-uk-re = KA×GIŠ+SAR = Akk. *ta-n*[*u-qá-tum*], although the compound sign GÙ×^{ĝiš}KIRI$_6$ is ordinarily disarticulated and written as two separate elements. The use of {gù—giri$_{11}$} as a finite verb in our line is apparently unique and allows for a certain ambiguity in the reading, since {gù—giri$_{11}$} can otherwise be read as {zú—kéš} = Akk. *kaṣāru* 'to bind together, to form a herd of animals, to compose a text (CAD K 257b). The latter possibility is probably to be found in line 186 of *Two Women* (Dialogue 5), where {KA ba-an-KÉŠ} is equated with Akk. *ik-ta-ṣa-ar* and seems to refer to the composition of a text in a positive way. The compound verb {gù—giri$_{11}$} apparently means 'to sound the battle-cry', but in the context of a scholastic dialogue, it probably refers to aggressive speech that does not include any intellectual content, hence our translation of it as "to make (senseless) noise".

Since the previous line emphasized that the Bureaucrat had difficulty with reading and comprehending, this line with its statements concerning the Bureaucrat's ability to reason {dím-ma} and organize speech {gù} locates the problem in the addressee's own cognitive abilities rather than, say, how he was taught. It is probably significant, however, that this is not the language of real mental illness (see Stol 2009 for discussion), but rather of ordinary muddle-headedness. This is nicely captured in Gragg's translation of the line as well: "He loses his mind, he becomes disorganized" (Gragg 1973: 36). Gragg goes on to note that

> [i]n the negative sense (cf. ka-kéš-da above), which makes one think of the German 'zer-', Latin 'dis-', perhaps we should also interpret instances of -ta- with verbs which already have a negative connotation like gul 'wreak', ku_6-lam [viz. ḫa-lam] 'destroy', gìr-kúr 'pervert'. With these verbs the -ta- seems to reinforce the negativity of the term, and they become 'wreck to pieces', 'destroy utterly'. (Gragg 1973: 37).

This is the logic, in our translation of the line ("Having rejected all reason, he makes nothing but (senseless) noise"), behind the use of terms like "all reason" and "nothing but," thereby emphasizing that every possible instance or case ends badly. See as well the discussion of the {ab-ta-*} prefixed forms in line 80.

135 a-ba-àm gù e-ra-an-dé-ma

PROF Who would even recite for you?

	a-ba-àm	**gù**	**e-ra-an-dé-ma**	
A	[.....]	[...]	[.....] ⌜dé⌝-ma	(Rev ii 8′)
B	[....] ⌜àm⌝	gù	e-ra-an-⌜dé⌝-ma	(Rev ii 14′)
K	[.....]	[...]	[....] ⌜an⌝-dé-ma	(Rev ii 13)
B′	a-ba-àm	gù	e-ra-an [.....]	(Rev 12′)
F′	a-ba-àm	gù	e-ra- dé-e-ma	(Rev 7)
C′′	a-ba-⌜àm⌝	gù	i-ra- de-⌜ma⌝	(Rev 2)
Y_{Ur}	a-ba-àm	gù	e-ra-an-dé-ma	(Rev 16)
W'_{Sip}	[....] ⌜àm⌝	gù	i-ni-ra-an-⌜dé⌝	(Rev 9)

The variations in manuscript F′ from Nippur are again largely phonological and need not detain us. In the Sippar manuscript, however {i-ni-ra-*} needs to be collated: it is possible that NI here is actually IR and that {i-ir-ra-an-dé} is a syllabic orthography for {e-ra-an-dé}. The {*-ma} here is the Akkadian connective, linking lines 135 to line 136.

136 a-na-zu al-ĝál-ma du_{14}-šè im-ta-an-è

PROF What is it about you that leads to quarreling?

	a-na-zu	**al-ĝál-ma**	**du_{14}-šè**	**im-ta-an-è**	
A	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[...] ta-an-è	(Rev ii 9′)
B	[....]-⌜zu⌝	al-ĝál-ma	du_{14}-šè	im-ta-an-è	(Rev ii 15′)
K	[.....]	[.....]	⌜du_{14}⌝-šè	im-ta- è	(Rev ii 14)
B′	[...] ⌜na⌝-zu?	al-⌜ĝál⌝-e	du_{14} [....]	[.....]	(Rev 13′)
F′	a-na-⌜zu⌝	al-ĝál-ma	du_{14}-šè	im-ta!(BI)- è	(Rev 8)
Q′	a-na-zu	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	(Rev 1′)
C′′	a-na-⌜x⌝	al-ĝál-la	⌜du_{14}⌝-šè	im-ta-nu	(Rev 3)
Y_{Ur}	a-na-zu	al-ĝál-ma	du_{14}-šè	im-ta- è	(Rev 17)
W'_{Sip}	[....]-⌜zu⌝	al-ĝál-la	du_{14}-šè	im-ta-an-⌜è⌝	(Rev 10)

Although the manuscript from Ur and our *bête noire* from Nippur (manuscript F′) have a reduced form of the verb (omitting {-an-}), the full form {im-ta-an-è} is attested in both Nippur and Sippar. Since we have two equally plausible geographical distributions, there is no apparent text critical basis for choosing one version over the other. Therefore the use of the form in manuscript B (identical with the Ur manuscript except that it has a plene orthography for the final verb) is largely arbitrary.

137 gub-ba lú-tumu ga-ba-al ḫé-mu-e-dù nam-mu-dù-dù-e-en

PROF Stop, you idiot, even if you have a reason to fight, you really shouldn't.

	gub-ba	**lú-tumu**	**ga-ba-al**	**ḫé-mu-e-dù**
A	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]	[.....]
B	[.....]	⌜lú⌝-tumu	ga-ba-al	⌜ḫé?-mu-e-dù⌝ /
K	[.....]	[.....]	[.....] ⌜al⌝	⌜ḫé? x⌝ du_{11}

	gub-ba	**lú-tumu**	**ga-ba-al**	**ḫé-mu-e-dù**
Z	gub-ba	lú-tumu	ga-ba-al	ḫé-mu-⌜un⌝-dù⌝
B′	[...] ⌜ba⌝	lú-tumu	ga-ba-al	⌜ḫé⌝ [.....]
F′	gub-ba	lú-tumu	ga-ba-al	<ḫé>-e-du-du
Q′	gub-ba	lú-⌜tumu⌝	[.....]	[.....]
C′′	gub-⌜ba⌝	⌜lú-tumu⌝	ga-ba-al	ḫé-me-du$_{11}$ /
Y_{Ur}	gub-ba	lú-tumu	ga!-ba-al	ḫé-mu-e-dù /
W'_{Sip}	[.....]	⌜lú⌝-tumu	ga-ba-al	ḫé-me-du

	nam-mu-dù-dù-e-en	
A	⌜nam⌝-mu-un [...] ⌜dù⌝-e-en	(Rev ii 10′)
B	⌜nam⌝-mu-dù-dù-e-en	(Rev ii 16′)
K	[.....] en	(Rev ii 15–16)
Z	[.....]	(Left 1)
B′	[.....]	(Rev 14′)
F′	nam-mu-dù-dù- / e-en	(Rev 9)
Q′	[.....]	(Rev 2′)
C′′	[x x] ⌜dù⌝-dù-e [x]	(Rev 4)
Y_{Ur}	nam-mu-dù-dù- en	(Rev 18)
W'_{Sip}	nam-mu-dù-⌜en⌝- / zé-⌜en⌝	(Rev 11)

Again the Sippar manuscript W′ presents us with a radically different text from all other manuscripts: in our view, the second person plural ending {*-en-zé-en} is clearly erroneous and disregarded here. The Ur manuscript Y and the second half of the line in all the Nippur manuscripts are almost entirely in agreement; the only difference is the plene writing {*-e-en} in the Nippur manuscripts as opposed to the non-plene or defective orthography in the Ur manuscript {*-en}. We have taken the plene writing used in the Nippur as our archetype here.

The precative verbal form in this line {ga-ba-al ḫé-mu-e-dù} clearly falls into the use of the precative that Civil describes as follows:

> Before a clause in the indicative or, occasionally, with other modals, the ḫe$_2$-clause indicates a situation that enables or somehow conditions the following main clause. In most of these cases, the ḫe$_2$-clause can be considered simply a conditional (Civil 2005: 32)

Here the {ḫé-*} prefix seems to be ontic rather than epistemic, thus literally "you ought {ḫé-*} to fight, but you ought not /na-*/ to fight." In essence, then, the Professor is setting up two social obligations, namely 'to defend one's honor' and 'to perform skillfully in a debate'. The first of these obligations corresponds to the first of the ontic modals ("you ought to fight in order to defend your honor"), while the second corresponds to the second modal ("you ought not to fight, since you cannot do it well").

Colophons

A	[..... zà]-me [.....] nar	(Rev ii 11′)
F	⌜x⌝ [.....]	(Rev 5′)
B′	[..... ^{d}]nisaba zà-[me] / [.....] bànda^{da}	(Rev 15′)
F′	⌜x x⌝ [.....]	(Rev 10)
Q′	^{d}nisaba [.....]	(Rev 3′)
Y_{Ur}	a-rá 3-kám šid-bi 45 ĝá-nu ga-na ga-⌜ab⌝- / ⌜sá⌝-sá-en	(Rev 19)
W'_{Sip}	šu-níĝin-⌜bi x⌝ [.....]	(Rev 12)

On the whole the colophons are not very helpful, but the description of the three tablet format, with 45 lines per tablet, in manuscript Y from Ur is particularly important. This description is dealt with at length in Chapter 3, but if nothing else, it should be reiterated here that the 135 lines that such an edition would contain agrees quite well with the 137 lines reconstructed in our edition. This information about the format of one of the manuscripts from Ur also makes it extremely unlikely that additional lines need to be reconstructed in between lines 24 and 25. See the commentary to line 24 and Chapter 3 for further discussion.

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Index of Akkadian Words

This list includes all Akkadian words that appear in the volume, except for those appearing in non-lexical texts that are quoted in the commentary. All Akkadian terms have been normalized and cross-references are provided, when the major dictionaries differ in their normalization. Determinatives and the determinative-relative pronoun in Akkadian, viz. *ša*, are all ignored for purposes of alphabetization. Where a single Akkadian word is equated with more than one Sumerian lemma, the lemmata are separated by a forward slash. In order to avoid the occasionally eccentric normalizations found in the dictionaries, we have also made use of Kouwenberg's *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb* (1997) and references to the discussion of particular lemmata in Kouwenberg's volume are added to some entries with "Kou" followed by the relevant page numbers in parentheses.

abālu > see *šutābulu*
ša abāri = Sum. lú lirum 'strongman' 157
abbuttu 'a hairstyle' 187
adāru = Sum. diri 'to be worried' 180
agannutillû > see *aganutillû*
aganutillû = Sum. a-ga-la-til-la 'dropsy' 228
aguḫḫu = Sum. á-gu-ḫu-um 'a type of sash' 121
aguḫḫu = Sum. lú-ku-uš-lá 'sash' 122
aḫ kinūni = Sum. gú nemur$_x$(KI.NE)-ra 'edge of the brazier' 253
aḫ nāri = Sum. gú i$_7$-da 'riverbank' 253
aḫ tinūri = Sum. gú ^{im}šu-rin-na 'edge of the oven' 253
aḫāzu ša ṭupšarrūti = Sum. sar 'to grasp (of scribalism)' 106
aḫāzu ša ṭupšarrūti = Sum. zu 'to grasp (of scribalism)' 106
aḫu nadû = Sum. gú—√šub 'to neglect, to be careless, negligent' 97
aḫû = Sum. kúr-ra 'other' 245
aḫurrû = Sum. a-gi-aš-gi$_4$ / ḫu-ru / lú ḫàr 'uncouth, boorish man, junior' 236, 254, 268
akkilu = Sum. lú-níĝ-gu$_7$-gu$_7$ 'an eater' 35 (Kou 59)
akû = Sum. á-mug / ḫu-ur 'destitute, weak' 236, 255
alālu = Sum. lal 'to suspend, to hang' 231
allāyu = Sum. lú uš$_{11}$ zà-ga / uš$_{11}$ zà-ga bar-bar 'drooler' 107, 189, 200, 279
alliaya > see *allāyu*
alūtu = Sum. tu$_7$ ba-ba-za sig$_5$-ga 'fine . . . soup' 197
amāru = Sum. lá (viz. igi—√lá) 'to see' 231
amīru = Sum. ĝéštu šú '(ear) obstructed (with wax)' 283
ammatu = Sum. á-MÚŠ 'forearm, cubit' 158, 255
angillu 'lament' 266
anna > see *annû*
annu > see *annû*
annû (cf. *annu*, *anna*) al-dím / ḫé-àm / na-nam na-nam 'yes' 111
apillû = Sum. lú-gub-ba '?' 209
apillû > see *upellû*
appu = Sum. giri$_{17}$ 'nose' 207
aqru > see *waqru*
arsānu = Sum. ar-za-na 'a kind of groats' 197
arû = Sum. a-rá 'numerical table' 99
arzānu > see *arsānu*
ašar laqātim = Sum. la-ag de$_5$-de$_5$-ga 'place of gleaning' 152
ašāšu = Sum. zi-ir-zi-ir 'to be worried, anxious' 180
ašḫappu = Sum. lú is-ḫáb 'stupid' 263, 279
aškuttu = Sum. aškud 'wedge (for door)' 157–158, 255
ašlāku = Sum. lú ázlag 'washerman' 10, 268
ašṭu (cf. *wašṭu*) 'stiff, difficult' 243
atmu = Sum. tešlug 'fledgling' 268
awāt meḫri = Sum. inim gaba-ri 'copy-word' 146
ša awāti = Sum. lú inim-ma 'witness' 248, 280

awātu ṭābtu = Sum. inim du_{10}-ga ‘beautiful word’ 146
awātu watartu = Sum. inim diri ‘excessive word’ 146

bābtu = Sum. dag-gi-a ‘city quarter’ 276
bakkā’u = Sum. gù ra-ra ‘wailer, mourner’ 270 (Kou 63–64)
balālu > see *šutablulu*
balālu > see *šutābulu*
bāmtu = Sum. kiši$_4$ ‘half’ 187
baqqu = Sum. nim níĝ-na-me nu-ĝál / nim níĝ-na-me nu-tuku / num-tur-saḫar / num-tur-saḫar-ra ‘gnat’ 115–116
bāṣiru = Sum. lú gaz-gaz ‘?’ 189
bayāšu / *bayyašu* / *bayyāšu* > see *bayyašû*
bayyašû (cf. *lā bayyašû*) = Sum. lú téš tuku-tuku ‘having shame, modest’ 277 (Kou 51)
billatu = Sum. dida ‘beer-wort’ 141
birtu = Sum. bir-bir-re ‘mob, hoi polloi’ 245
bīt ṭuppi / *ṭuppāti* = Sum. é-dub-ba-a ‘house of tablets’ 40
bullulu = Sum. lù-lù ‘to mix’ 158
bulluṭu = Sum. ga-ti-li-da ‘to keep someone alive’ 155
būlu = Sum. níg-úr-límmu ‘equid’ 279
būnu = Sum. igi-giri$_{17}$ / mùš-me / mùš-me saĝ-ki / saĝ-ki ‘face, appearance’ 206
buqlu = munu$_4$ ‘green malt’ 120
buqlu šabāṭu = Sum. munu$_4$ DAG-ga ‘to strike (of malt)’ 120
buqqumu = Sum. lú uḫ zé-zé ‘deloused’ 174 (Kou 348, 372)
burrušu = Sum. lú ugu zé-zé ‘hair growing in patches’ 174
ša būšta išû = Sum. lú téš tuku ‘he who has shame’ 277
ša būšta lā idû = Sum. lú téš nu-zu ‘he who knows no shame’ 277
ša būšta lā išû = Sum. lú téš nu-tuku ‘he who has no shame’ 277

dâku(*m*) = Sum. da-kum ‘to kill’ 206
dalāḫu = Sum. lù-lù ‘to stir up, to confuse’ 276
dannu = Sum. lú-kalag-ga ‘a strong man’ 35
dayyālu ‘wanderer, homeless person’ 226
dubbubu = Sum. dima$_x$(KA.ḪI) kúr-ra ‘to grumble, to pester, to rave’ 226 (Kou 402)
dubbubu ša dayyālu = Sum. du_9-du_9 ‘to mutter (like a homeless person)’ 226 (Kou 402)

edappātu > see *idiptu*
edapu > see *idiptu*
edēru ‘to hug, to embrace’ 243
ekkēmu = Sum. lú gáb-kar-re ‘robber’ 263 (Kou 63)
ekketu = Sum. sa gu_7-e / ur_5-da lá ‘scabies’ 175, 226
elēpu > see *šutēlupu*
elû ‘to go up’ 248
emqu = Sum. kù-zu ‘wise’ 191
emūqān kadirātu = Sum. á gur-gur ‘rampant arms’ 158
emūqān puggulātu = Sum. á gur_4-gur_4 ‘thick arms’ 158
enšu = Sum. lú-sig-ga ‘a weak man’ 35
epqēnu = Sum. a-ga-an-tùm ‘skin disease similar to leprosy’ 108
epû = Sum. du_8 ‘to bake’ 141
eqbu ‘heel’ 201
ša erinna labšu = Sum. lú-KU-lá ‘one who wears the neck-stock’ 122
eṣēlu ‘paralyze’ 286
eṣemṣēru > see *eṣenṣēru*
eṣenṣēru = Sum. gú-murgu / ^{uzu}gú-murgu ‘backbone’ 213
ša eṭemmi = Sum. lú gidim-ma ‘necromancer’ 248

galātu = Sum. ḫuluḫ ‘to be frightened, restless’ 152
gamāru = Sum. til ‘to finish’ 129
garāru (cf. *qarāru*) ‘to roll’ 212 (Kou 374)
garāru ša awīli = Sum. $^{gur}gur_4$ ‘to roll (of a human being) 242
garāru ša mê = Sum. ḫal-ḫal ‘to roil (of water)’ 242
gārû = Sum. lú <ga>-ba-al dù ‘opponent’ 156
gerû = Sum. ga-ba-al—√dù / si ‘to be hostile’ 155–156, 258, 285
gērû > see *gārû*

gerû ša LÚ.KÚR = Sum. níĝ-kúr ‘to be hostile (of an enemy)’ 156
gilšu > see *giššu*
gišrinnu = Sum. ĝiš-rín / ĝiš-rin$_6$(KASKAL) ‘scale, beam of balancing scale’ 116–117
giššu = Sum. tugul / tuḫul ‘hip’ 110
gulgullu ‘(disembodied) skull’ 281
gurrû = Sum. ga-ba-al dù-dù ‘to spark hostilites’ 155
guzallu = Sum. gú-zal / lú ḫàr ‘rogue’ 254–255, 268

ḫabābu ‘to murmur, to chirp’ 266
ḫabbātu = Sum. la-ag de$_5$-de$_5$-ga ‘plunderer’ 152 (Kou 63)
ḫarāsu = Sum. sa gu$_7$ ‘to itch’ 226
ša ḫarimti = Sum. kuš-lá ‘belonging to a prostitute’ 122
hašālu ša ŠE-*im* = Sum. gaz / gáz ‘to crush (of barley)’ 120
hašālu ša ŠE.MUNU$_4$ = Sum. du$_{10}$-ús / gú-gú ‘to crush (of malt)’ 120
ḫasikku = Sum. ĝéštu lá-a ‘deaf’ 107
ḫassā’u (cf. *haššа’u*) = Sum. lú zé-zé ‘one who sighs / hisses’ 174 (Kou 68, n. 20)
ḫassu = Sum. ĝéštu ‘wise’ 283
ḫasû = Sum. lú zé-za ‘person with speech defect’ 275
hašikku > see *ḫasikku*
ḫaššа’u (cf. *ḫassā’u*) ‘crippled’ (Kou 51)
ḫazû, ḫāzû, ḫazzā’u > see both *hasû* and *ḫassā’u*
ḫimṭētu = Sum. mèl / múnu ‘scorching’ 252
ḫubšašû = Sum. ^{dug}sílim-ma ‘a kind of vessel’ 131–132
ḫummuru = Sum. lú ad$_4$ / lú kud-kud-rá ‘broken, smashed (of limbs)’ 200 (Kou 349, 372, 395)
ḫurḫummat mê = Sum. imḫur a ‘foam (made of water)’ 241
ḫurḫummatu = Sum. imḫur$_4$ ‘foam’ 241–242
ḫurrušu ša ammati = Sum. Á-KID šár-šár ‘to brace (of the forearm)’ 158
ḫurrušu ša eleppi = Sum. dim dù-dù ‘to moor (of a boat)’ 158
ḫuzzû > see *ḫassā’u* (Kou 310)

ibissû = Sum. i-bí-za ‘financial loss’ 108
idiptu = Sum. ^{túg}balla ‘headdress’ 122
idrānu = Sum. nemur$_x$(KI.NE) ‘potash’ 253
igirû = Sum. ígira ‘heron’ 187
ikkillu = Sum. akkil / gù dé-a / gù ^{ĝiš}kiri$_6$ / ta-il ‘rumor, clamor’ 266, 270
illātu = Sum. úḫ ‘spittle’ 189
illukku > see *illūku*
illūku = Sum. ^{túg}balla ‘headdress’ 122
imdu = Sum. uru$_9$ ‘stanchion’ 283
imḫullu ‘storm wind’ 104–105
imḫur-līm ‘faces off a thousand’ (plant name) 241
imittu = Sum. ^{uzu}zag-udu / ^{uzu}zag-udu a-ri-a ‘cut of meat’ 213
imtu = Sum. uš$_{11}$ ‘poison’ 189
ša ina tabāštāni bullulu = Sum. lú mur$_7$-ba nú ‘he who wallows in his own excrement’ 272
ša īnāšu dāma maliā = Sum. lú igi úš-a ‘eyes filled with blood’ 249
ša īnāšu rapšā = Sum. lú gig tál-tál ‘wide-eyed’ 249
ša īnāšu ṣilliā = Sum. lú igi ĝissu lá-a ‘one who shades the eyes’ 249
īnu = Sum. igi ‘eye’ 207
irat šamši = Sum. gaba u$_4$-da 249
isḫappu = Sum. lú ḫàr / is-ḫab ‘rogue’ 268
isḫappu > see *ašḫappu*
isḫunnatu > see *išḫunnatu*
isimmānu = Sum. zì-munu$_4$ ‘malt flour’ 196
ša isqi SÌLA = Sum. ^{uzu}sìl zag-udu ‘one (receiving) a portion of meat’ 213
isu = Sum. ^{uzu}me-zé / ^{uzu}me-zé gíd-da ‘jaw’ 109
išaru = Sum. lú-si-sá ‘a righteous man’ 35
išātu = Sum. ízi ‘fire’ 253
išḫunnatu = Sum. ga-ra-an ‘bunch of grapes’ 155
išparu = Sum. lú túg tag-ga ‘weaver’ 117
itqūru = Sum. dílim ‘spoon’ 132
itagruru ‘humbled, groveling’ 212
itūlu > see *utūlu*

kabāsu = Sum. du$_{10}$-ús ‘to tread on’ 120, 168
kabru = Sum. lú al-bùluĝ-ĝá / gur$_4$ / gur$_4$-gur$_4$ ‘thick, solid’ 160, 212, 232
kabtu = Sum. gur$_4$ ‘heavy’ / lú dugud / lú gur$_4$-ra ‘magnate’ 262
kalmatu = Sum. uman / ùmun ‘flea’ 114, 133
kamāru = Sum. ga-ra-an-da ‘to pile up’ 155

kamû = Sum. á lá / lú dab-ba ‘bound’ 255, 269
kanāšu = Sum. gú—√ĝar ‘to submit, to bend down’ 243
kannu ša ḫarišti = Sum. ^{túg}níĝ-dára úš-a ‘binding of the prostitute’ 136
karāṣu = Sum. kíd ‘to break’ 241
ša karra labšu = Sum. lú túg lá ‘dressed in mourning garments’ 122
kasû = Sum. á lá ‘to bind the arms’ 255
kaṣāru = Sum. zú—√kéš ‘to tie, to knot’ 108, 296
kâṣu = Sum. kuš—√è ‘to flay’ 245 (Kou 122)
kibsu = Sum. ki-ús ‘step’ 168
kinūnu = Sum. gune$_x$(KI.NE) ‘brazier’ 252–253
kinūnu = Sum. ne$_5$ ‘brazier’ 253
kirimmu = Sum. lirum ‘crook of the arm’ 157
kiṣir ammati = Sum. á-MÚŠ ‘elbow’ 158, 255
kiṣir eṣemṣēri > see *kiṣir eṣenṣēri*
kiṣir eṣenṣēri = Sum. ^{uzu}zú-kéš gú-murgu ‘vertebra’ 213, 215
kītu = Sum. kid ‘reed mat’ 115
kubburu ‘thick’ 232, 243 (Kou 58, 411)
kubuttû = Sum. gur$_4$-gur$_4$ ‘abundant wealth’ 212
kukkušu = Sum. kuš$_7$ / milla ‘low-quality flour’ 119
kumurrû = Sum. ga-ra-an-da ĝál ‘heaping up, accumulation’ 155
kur uppû = Sum. ^{gi}gur nisi ‘basket of greens’ 203
kūru = Sum. dìnig ‘kiln’ 252
kurunnu = Sum. ^{kaš}kúrun-na ‘brewer’ 185
kuruppu > see *kur uppû*
kuṣṣudu = Sum. á lál / á-šu-ĝìri kud ‘delayed (of cripple)’ 255 (Kou 314, 349, 373)
kutallu ‘back’ 201
kuzāzu ‘a qualification of goats’ 180

lā ādiru = Sum. ní nu-zu ‘not afraid’ 257
lā bayyašû = Sum. téš nu-zu ‘not ashamed, shameless’ 257
ša lā ellet = Sum. ^{túg}níĝ-dára úš-a ‘that which is not pure’ 136
lā qebru = Sum. lú ki nu-túm-ma ‘unburied person’ 229
laḫû = Sum. ^{uzu}me-zé gíd-da ‘jaw(s)’ 109
lāma = Sum. nu-ub-dam ‘before, not yet’ 111
lāma atār = Sum. nu-ub-diri ‘before it is full’ 111
lamṣatu = Sum. nim-saḫar ‘sand fly’ 115–116
lemnu = Sum. lú-ḫul ‘bad guy’ 105
ša lemutti = Sum. lú-ḫa-lam-ma ‘the man of wickedness’ 105
leṭû = Sum. ^{gi}zú / ^{gi}zú ra-aḫ / ^{gi}zú šà ra-aḫ ‘split reed’ 204
li’bu ‘a serious illness’ 108
lillidu = Sum. ḫu-ru / laga ‘offspring’ 189
lillu = Sum. ḫu-ur / lú lil / ú RI / lú ú-ḪU ‘fool, moron’ 200, 235–236
luṭû > see *leṭû*

magirtu qabû > see *magīrtu qabû*
magīrtu qabû = Sum. saĝ túm-ma mu-un-ĝar ‘to insult’ 280
magrītu = Sum. lú sikil dù-a ‘spiteful act, malice’ 265, 267
magrû = Sum. lú mú-da / lú sikil dù-a ‘insulting person’ 189, 263, 279
maḫāru ‘to receive, to confront’ 241
māḫāzu = Sum. ki-šu-peš ‘shrine, cultic center’ 205
maḫḫû = Sum. lú al-e$_{11}$-dè / lú mú-da ‘ecstatic’ 186, 193, 263, 279 (Kou 349)
maḫḫû > see *muḫḫû*
maḫḫūtu > see *muḫḫūtu*
māḫiṣātu = Sum. utukku$_x$(TÚG.NÍG.ŠID) ‘counting stick’ 116–117
māḫiṣu = Sum. pan tag-ga ‘weaver’ 117
māḫiṣu ša sissikti = Sum. lú túg tag-ga ‘beater of the fringe’ 117
maḫṣam <ša> ilim = Sum. lú saĝ-DU-a ‘struck by a god’ 280
makkannû (cf. *makkanû*) = Sum. ḫu-ba ‘destitute, weak’ 236
ša makkūra išû = Sum. lú níĝ-gur$_{11}$ tuku ‘he who has a storehouse’ 128
makkūru = Sum. níĝ-gur$_{11}$ ‘property, assets’ 279
makû = Sum. gú-zal ‘penniless’ 255
malītu (cf. *wālittu*) ‘scream’ 266
manzazu = Sum. ĝišgal / ki-gub ‘standing place’ 295
mār bīt ṭuppāti = Sum. dumu é-dub-ba-a ‘son of the house of tablets’ 40
māri ummiāni = Sum. lú-gašam ‘skilled craftsman’ 95, 165

markasu = Sum. ^{gi}zù šà ra-aḫ ‘bond’ 204
martu = Sum. zé ‘gall’ 252
maṣādu = Sum. abni ‘crucible’ 253
mašādu = Sum. sa-a ‘to strike (with an illness)’ 226
mašru ‘teased (of textiles)’ 180
maššiʾu = Sum. lú šu kar-re ‘thief’ 263 (Kou 59)
maššiḫu > see *maššiʾu*
mazzizu > see *manzazu*
meser ḫuduššu = Sum. ^{túg}e-íb-huduš ‘sash’ 122
mešrêtu = Sum. á-šu-ĝìri ‘limbs’ 254
misar ḫudušši > see *meser ḫuduššu*
miser ḫudušši > see *meser ḫuduššu*
mudiṣṣu = Sum. lú lul sè-sè-ke ‘deceiver’ 200
mūdû = Sum. gal-zu / lú zu-a ‘scholar’ 35, 191, 194, 262, 283
muʾerru > see *muwerru*
muḫammiš šurīni > see *muḫammiṣ šurinni*
muḫammiṣ šurinni = Sum. lú saĝ-bur kar-kar-re ‘one who despoils a divine emblem’ 271, 275
muḫammiṣ šurinni = Sum. lú šu-nir ak ‘he who pillages a divine emblem’ 272
muḫḫu ‘skull’ 281
muḫḫu maḫṣu = Sum. lú saĝ-DU-a ‘numbskull, struck on the skull’ 280
muḫḫu nassu = Sum. lú saĝ giri$_{16}$ ‘bemoaned skull’ 280
muḫḫû = Sum. lú gub-ba ‘ecstatic’ 186 (Kou 349, 373, 402–403)
muḫḫû > see *maḫḫû*
muḫḫūtu = Sum. SAL lú gub-ba ‘female ecstatic’ 186
munaggiru = Sum. lú saĝ gub-ba ‘informer’ 285 (Kou 161)
munappiḫu = Sum. lú bún du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ ‘operator of bellows, gossiper’ 183, 200
munziz sukkalli = Sum. eĝir sukkal ‘attendant of the vizier’ 234
mupaḫḫir kurulli = Sum. lú garadin du$_6$-ul-du$_6$-ul ‘gatherer of sheaves’ 154
mupalliš bītāti = Sum. lú é bùr-bùr ‘one who bores into houses’ 257
mupaššer šunātim = Sum. lú saĝ-šè nú-a ‘dream interpreter’ 248
muqallilu = Sum. lú šu pe-el-lá ‘someone who belittles others’ 277
muqallip šurīni > see *muqallip šurinni*
muqallip šurinni = Sum. lú šu-nir síl-síl ‘he who defaces a divine emblem’ 272 (Kou 160)
muqallû = Sum. lú še sa-sa-a ‘roaster (of barley)’ 209
muṣallû = Sum. du$_{14}$ mú-mú ‘liar, evildoer’ 154
mušallilu = Sum. lú šu-a-AK ‘plunderer’ 164
mušēli eṭemmi = Sum. lú saĝ bulug-ga ‘necromancer’ 248
mušēli ṣilli = Sum. lú ĝissu è-dè ‘gossip’ 248
mušḫalṣītu = Sum. ĝìri zé-er ‘slippery slope’ 283
mušḫalṣītu = Sum. ki-ma-an-zé-er ‘slippery slope’ 283
mušqallilat ramānīša = Sum. zur ‘one who belittles herself’ 278
muššudu = Sum. sa-sa ‘to massage’ 226
muṭappilu = Sum. lú šu kára-ga ‘slanderer’ 189, 263, 278–279
mūtawû = Sum. lú-inim-bala-bala / lú inim du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ ‘a talkative man’ 35, 248, 280
muttalliku = Sum. gune$_x$(KI.NE) DU.DU / ^{im}šu-rin-na DU.DU ‘portable oven’ 252
muttalliku = Sum. pap-ḫal ‘portable, restless’ 247
muttassu ugallabū-ma = Sum. kiši$_4$-a-ni umbin ù-bí-in-si-eš 187
muttatu = Sum. kiši$_4$ ‘a type of haircut’ 187, 199
muwerru = Sum. saĝ gi$_4$-a ‘leader’ 269 (Kou 161)
muzzaz sukkalli > see *munziz sukkalli*

nadītu = Sum. lukur ‘a type of priestess’ 219
nagarruru = Sum. gur$_4$ / kìr ‘to roll’ 212
<*ša*> *naglabi* = Sum. ^{uzu}maš-sìl ‘of the shoulder blade’ 213
<*ša*> *naglabi* = Sum. ^{uzu}sìl zag-udu ‘of the shoulder blade’ 213
naḫlaptu = Sum. ^{túg}gú-è ‘cloak’ 122
nakāsu ‘to cut, to fell’ 202 (Kou 122)
nakimtu = Sum. SAL lú ĝiš-gi saĝ-kéš ‘female ?’ 186
nakmu = Sum. lú ĝiš-gi saĝ-kéš ‘?’ 186
nakru = Sum. kúr ‘enemy’ 245
nâlu = Sum. nú ‘to lie down’ 35 (Kou 277)
naparkû = Sum. záḫ ‘to stop working’ 238

napāšu = Sum. peš$_6$ ‘to comb and clean wool’ 123
nappaḫtu > see *nappaḫu*
nappaḫu = Sum. ^{gi}bun / dìnig ‘bellows’ 183, 252
naqarruru > see *nagarruru*
narṭabu ‘soaking vessel’ 207
nasāḫu = Sum. zi-ga ‘to tear out’ 94 (Kou 122)
nasāku ‘to throw down, to throw off’ 202
naspantu = Sum. kuš$_7$ ‘devastation’ 224
nāṣir wûrti bēlīšu = Sum. lú a urin lugal-a-na ‘one who guards the orders of his lord’ 262
natû ša pāni = Sum. igi sìg-sìg-ge ‘to strike (of the face)’ 242
nāṭil pāni bēlīšu = Sum. lú igi du$_8$ lugal-a-na ‘one who sees the face of his lord’ 262
naṭû ša pāni > see *natû ša pāni*
nayyālu = Sum. lú nú-nú-a ‘a playboy’, normally ‘tenant’ 35 (Kou 63)
nēmettu = Sum. nam-ús ‘support’ 283
nemlû = Sum. mèl ‘neck’ 252
netmertu = Sum. kušlug ‘box’ 252
nê’u ‘to loosen’ 108
nikkassu = Sum. níĝ-ka$_9$ ‘accounting record’ 99
nīlu = Sum. lú nú-a ‘an inebriated man’ 35
nisḫu imittu = Sum. ^{uzu}sìl zag-udu ‘choice cut of meat’ 213
nittu = Sum. lú é bùr-bùr-ru ‘burglar’ 257
nuppuqu = Sum. ur$_5$-da / ur$_5$-da AK-a ‘to pay attention to’ 175 (Kou 314)
nû’u = Sum. lú a / lú gù-zal a ri-a / lú ḫàr / lú na-ĝá-aḫ / lú na-ga-ḫu / lú nu / lú šaḫ a ri-a ‘rude, uncivilized’ 235, 263–264, 268, 279, 281–282
nuwā’u > see *nû’u*

pagû = Sum. lú ^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi ‘ape-man’ 35, 194
palāḫu = Sum. ḫuluḫ ‘to fear’ 152
palḫu = Sum. lú ní-te ‘a fearful man’ 35
pallaḫû = Sum. lú ní-te-te ‘a paranoid man’ 35 (Kou 51)
pallāḫu > see *pallaḫû*
pallišu = Sum. lú é bùr-bùr ‘burglar’ 271
pān arqi = Sum. ^{gi}gur nisi ‘basket of greens’ 203
pānu = Sum. ìgi(KI.SAG) ‘face’ 187
paqādu = Sum. šu—√sum ‘to entrust, to hand over’ 171
pāqidu = Sum. saĝ-èn-tar ‘caretaker’ 171
paqqāyu = Sum. pan tag-ga ‘weaver (of reed mats)’ 117
parāru ‘to be dissolved, broken up’ 295
pardu = Sum. lú ní-te ‘a frightened man’ 35
patinnu = Sum. ^{túg}á-gu-ḫum / ^{túg}e-íb-huduš ‘sash’ 122
pattû = Sum. lú si-sá ‘a open-minded man’ 35
paṭāru = Sum. du$_8$ ‘to loosen’ 153
peḫû = Sum. ĝéštu šú-a / lú pe-el-lá / saĝ gi$_4$-a ‘blocked, obstructed’ 190, 269, 277, 279, 283
peḫû ša DUMU ABGAL = Sum. ú-pil$_7$ ‘blocked (of senses), scion of an *apkallu*’ 235
pēmtu > see *pēndu*
pēndu = Sum. ízi(KI.NE) ‘charcoal’ 253
piltu > see *pištu*
pirikku = Sum. lú gù ra-aḫ ‘snarler, chatter’ 271
pištu = Sum. in ‘insult’ 226
pištu hatû = Sum. in tag ‘to strike with an insult’ 226
pištu uppušu = Sum. in dúb-dúb-bu ‘to strike with an insult’ 226
pû = Sum. in-bu$_5$-bu$_5$ ‘chaff’ 144
pû = Sum. ka ‘speech, utterance’ 146
puggulu = Sum. gur$_4$-gur$_4$ ‘strong, massive’ 212 (Kou 351)
puḫḫuru ‘to gather’ 153
puḫpuḫḫu > see *puḫpuḫḫû*
puḫpuḫḫû = Sum. du$_{14}$ mú-mú ‘squabble’ 153
pulluḫu ‘to frighten’ 153
puqqu = Sum. ur$_5$-da / ur$_5$-da AK-a ‘to heed’ 175 (Kou 314, 331)
purīdu = Sum. pap-ḫal ‘leg’ 247
pussulu = Sum. á lál / á šu lá-lá / á-šu-ĝìri kud ‘bent, twisted (of limbs)’ 255, 286 (Kou 350, 367, 373, 395)
puttû > see *pattû*

qablu epēšū = Sum. ga-ba-al—√dù ‘to do battle’ 155, 258
qablu paṭāru = Sum. ^{túg}níĝ-dára búr-búr-re ‘to loosen the loincloth, to ungird’ 153

qalālu (cf. *qullulu*) = Sum. pe-el-lá ‘to be lightly regarded, despised’ 278
qalāpu = Sum. síl ‘to peel’ 202, 256
qalāpu = Sum. zil ‘to skin’ 245 (Kou 122)
qallu = Sum. lú pe-el-lá ‘trivial person’ 190, 277, 279
qalû ‘to roast’ 209
qalû > see *qallu*, *qayyalu*, *qullulu*
qarrādu = Sum. lú ur-saĝ ‘hero’ 262
ša qāssu patiāt = Sum. lú ĝéšbu bad ‘one whose hand is open’ 157
qāssu pīšu kašdat = Sum. šu ka-ta sá-a ‘the hand does not keep up with the mouth’ 162
qātān ṣeḫḫerētu = Sum. šu tur-tur ‘two little hands’ 290
qatû = Sum. til ‘to use up’ 129
qātu kabittu = Sum. šu dugud-da ‘heavy hand’ 290
qātu qallatu = Sum. šu kára-ga ‘light, trivial hand’ 290
qātu ruppuḫtu = Sum. šu dù-dù ‘?’ 290
qātu saḫiltu = Sum. šu—√zu-ḫu-ul ‘a pierced hand’ 290
qātu wuṣṣû = Sum. šu—√peš ‘to open the hand wide’ 205
qayyalu ‘attentive’ (Kou 51)
qebēru = Sum. ki—√túm ‘to bury’ 229
qiāšu = Sum. ba ‘to bestow’ 241
qilûtu = Sum. gìbil ‘firewood’ 252
qinnatu ‘buttocks, rump’ 201
ša qulipti = Sum. lú še bir ak ‘dehusker (of barley)’ 209
qullulu ‘to make an inferior product, to diminish, to ridicule’ 209 (Kou 354, 417)

rābiṣu = Sum. lú lul la-ga ‘mugger’ 257
rabû = Sum. gur_4 ‘to be, to feel big’ / lú gu-la ‘big man’ 262
rakāsu = Sum. kéš ‘to bind’ 108
ramāmu ‘to roar, to growl’ 266
ramû > see *rummû*
rapāsu ša pāni = Sum. igi sìg-sìg ‘to beat (of the face)’ 242
rāpisu = Sum. lú še ĝiš ra ‘thresher (of barley)’ 209
rigmu = Sum. akkil ‘noise’ / gù ‘voice, sound’ 266, 270
rišûtu = Sum. sa umbin AK-AK ‘redness, rash’ 226
rummû (cf. *ramû*) ‘to slacken (of parts of the body)’ 108 (Kou 418)
ša rupuštašu iṣarruru = Sum. lú $uš_{11}$-bi sur-sur ‘he whose saliva drips’ 200
ru’tu ‘spittle’ 189

sābītu = Sum. SAL lú ^{kaš}kúrun-na ‘female brewer’ 186
sābû = Sum. lú ^{kaš}kúrun-na ‘brewer’ 186
saḫāru > see *tasḫīru*
saḫḫaru (see *saḫḫiru*) ‘turning’ (Kou 50)
saḫḫirat āli = Sum. úru niĝin ‘roaming around the city’ 251
saḫḫirat dūri = Sum. bàd niĝin ‘roaming around the walls’ 251
saḫḫirat ugāri = Sum. a-gàr niĝin ‘roaming around the village green’ 251
saḫḫiru = Sum. zilulu ‘roaming, vagabond’ 251 (Kou 59, 65)
saklu = Sum. saĝ gi_4-a / lú saĝ gi_4-a ‘simpleton’ 269–270
salāqu (cf. *šalāqu*) = Sum. síl ‘to boil’ 256
salātu = Sum. síl(NUN) ‘to cut, to sunder’ 202 (Kou 122, 364)
sapāhu = Sum. bir ‘to scatter, to disperse’ 295
sapānu = Sum. $kuš_7$—√su ‘to level, to devastate’ 225
sarru = Sum. lú-lul / lú šu-ḫa / lú-tumu ‘liar’ 13, 17, 105, 186, 193, 257
sikiltu sakālu = Sum. sikil—√dù ‘to appropriate fraudulently’ 265–266, 270 (Kou 376)
simmu = Sum. sim_x(GIG)-ma ‘lesion’ 215
simmu marṣu = Sum. GIG-GIG-ma ‘severe wound’ 215
simmū ṣēnūtu ‘malevolent diseases’ 215
simtu = Sum. me-te ‘exemplar’ 291
sinbu = Sum. ^{túg}níĝ-dára gal_4-la sír-ra ‘menstrual pad’ 136
singu = Sum. siki $peš_6$ ‘tuft of wool’ 136
sinku > see *singu*
sukkuku = Sum. ĝéštu lá-a / sa / ú-ḫub / ú-ḫúb / ú-UG / ú-pil_7 ‘deaf, obtuse’ 106–107, 189, 209, 235, 282–283 (Kou 310, 329, 349, 373, 395)

sunābu = Sum. ^{túg}níĝ-dára šu lál 'menstrual pad' 136
sunāpu > see *sunābu*
sūnu = Sum. úr 'root, lower limb, loins, lap' 279
suppuḫu = Sum. bir-bir-re 'to scatter, to squander' 180
surrātānû = Sum. lú lú-tumu 'the man of lies' 105
ṣabtu = Sum. lú dab-ba 'prisoner' 269
ṣaltu > see *ṣāltu*
ṣāltu = Sum. du_{14} / i-bí-za 'conflict' 108, 152
ṣāltu = Sum. lú du_{14} / lú du_{14} mú-mú 'adversary' 154, 157, 268
ṣâtu = Sum. níĝ-zi-ĝál-edin-na 'word list' 9, 10, 92, 96
ṣiddu > see *ṣindu*
ṣindu = Sum. umbin 'mob, hoi polloi' 245
ṣubbutu = Sum. lú du_{10} dab 'paralyzed, lit. seized, (of cripple)' 200 (Kou 348, 373)
ṣuddû = Sum. lal 'to supply with food, to provision' 231 (Kou 311)
ṣudû > see *ṣuddû*
ṣurṣuppu = Sum. zurzub 'a kind of vessel' 131
šagāmu 'to roar, to shout' 266
šagapūru = Sum. šilig 'majestic' 275
šagassu / šaggāšu > see *šaggašû*
šaggašû = Sum. lú sa-gaz 'bandit' 271 (Kou 50, 63)
šagigurû = Sum. šà-ge/ge_6/igi $guru_6$(KÁR) 'free-will offering' 273
šaḫāṭu = Sum. gu_4-ud 'to jump' 207
šaḫāṭu = Sum. ĝar-ra 'to strip, to skin' 245 (Kou 122)
šaḫšaḫḫu = Sum. lú ḫal-ḫal-la 'slanderer' 165
šakkarû = Sum. lú kaš sè-sè-ke 'a beer drinker' 35
šalāqu 'to slit' (Kou 122)
šalāṭu > see *salātu*
šâlu = Sum. èn—√tar 'to ask' 148, 171
šamḫu = Sum. lú al-bùluĝ-ĝá 'lush' 232, 243
šanānu 'to equal, to rival' 92
šarbû = Sum. lú mú-da 'rabies, puffed up' 263, 279
šarrāqu = Sum. lú IM.IM / lú ní-zu / lú ní-zuḫ / lú zuḫ-a 'thief' 257, 271 (Kou 50, 62–63)
šāru 'wind' 105
šassā'u = Sum. lú gù dé-dé 'shouter' 275 (Kou 64)
šasû = Sum. gù dé-a 'to call out' 270
šasû = Sum. gù ra-aḫ 'to shout, to read out' 180
šašallu = Sum. sa-sal 'tendon (of hoof or heel)' 201
šātû = Sum. lú a naĝ-naĝ 'a drinker' 35
šēmi pirišti bēlīšu = Sum. lú šu kíĝ-ĝá lugal-a-na 'one who hears the secrets of the lord' 262
še'ru = Sum. lú nu / lú šul-la-nu 'hairy man' 235, 282
šeṭû = Sum. bàra 'to spread out (of malt, corpses)' 119
še'û 'to seek out, to investigate' 248
šību 'witness, elder' 281
šību = Sum. lú ab-ba 'elder' 280
šību = Sum. lú ki inim-ma 'eye witness' 280
šikkû = Sum. ^{d}nin-ka_6 'mongoose' 123
šimṭātu > see *šindētu*
šindētu = Sum. tu_7 ar-za-na sig_5-ga 'fine arzana soup' 197
šipru gamru = Sum. kíĝ til-la 'completed work' 230
šipru qatû = Sum. kíĝ til-la 'completed work' 230
šisītu 'proclamation' 266
šite'û = Sum. kíĝ-kíĝ / niĝin / níĝin 'to look around, to search all over' 248
šubtu = Sum. dag / ki-tuš 'seat, dwelling' 295
šuparruru = Sum. bàra / bàra du_{11}-ga 'to spread out' 118–119
šupêlu = Sum. šu bala AK 'to exchange, to overturn' 151
šuqallulu = Sum. á šu lál / sur_5 / $suru_5$ 'to hang down' 231, 255, 286
šurinnu (cf. *šurīnu*) 'divine standard' 271
šurinnu = Sum. šu-nir 'divine standard' 271
šurīnu > see *šurinnu*
šurru 'to go down, to lean over' 243
šutablulu = Sum. šár 'to mix' 158
šutābulu = Sum. šár 'to mix (of ingredients), to discuss' 158
šutašubbû = Sum. šu-ta šub-ba 'fallen from the hand' 290
šutēlupu = Sum. šar-šar-ra 'to be entangled (of limbs)' 158

šutēṣû = Sum. a-da-mìn di / a-da-mìn du_{11}-ga / sá-sá 'to fight with one another' 92, 139 (Kou 306)
šu'uru > see *še'ru*
šu"uru > see *še'ru* (Kou 351, 373)

taklimtu = Sum. á-áĝ-ĝá 'instruction, revelation' 255
talmīdu = Sum. lú-gab-zu-zu 'student' 165
tanūqātu = Sum. ti-il / gù $^{ĝiš}kiri_6$ 'battle cry' 266, 296
tappû = Sum. lú an-ta / lú tab-ba 'companion' 262
tasḫīru = Sum. zilulu 'vagabond' 251
tēkītu = Sum. ur_5-da lá 'complaint, grumbling' 175
têrtu = Sum. á-áĝ-ĝá 'instruction' 255
tēṣītu = Sum. a-da-mìn 'discord, conflict' 92, 139
teṣû > see *tezû*
tezû = Sum. bèd-da 'to defecate' 110
tilimtu = Sum. ti-lim-(da) 'a drinking vessel' 132
ša tillati = Sum. lú má-da lá 'pillar of society' 262
tinūru = Sum. immindu / ^{im}dúruna / ^{im}šu-rin-na 'oven' 183, 222, 252
titāpū = Sum. titab = Akk. 'beer-wort' 120, 196
tubbuku = Sum. lú du_{10} lá 'hobbler (of cripple)' 200 (Kou 310, 348, 373, 395, 423)
tuḫallaq = Sum. u_4-za-ḫa-al ak 'you make disappear' 246
tukku = Sum. gù—√dúb / gù—√ra-aḫ / ki-il / ki-il du_{11}-ga 'rumor, clamor' 266, 270–271
tumru = Sum. $nemur_x$(KI.NE) 'ember, coals' 252
tuwaššaṭ > see *uššuṭu*
ṭapālu = Sum. šu—√kára 'to slander' 244–245
ṭaplu = Sum. lú kára-ga 'slandered' 188–189, 263, 278–279
ṭēmu 'thought, understanding' 295
ṭummumu = Sum. ĝéštu lá / ĝéštu lá-a 'hearing impaired' 106, 283 (Kou 310, 329, 348, 373, 424)
ṭupšarru = Sum. dub-sar 'scribe' 40
ṭupullû = Sum. sulummar 'slander' 187, 245

udugu = Sum. $^{ĝiš}unu_{10}$(GI×GI) 'stick' 117
udugu = Sum. $^{ĝiš}unu_{12}$(BU×BU) 'stick' 117
udugu = Sum. $^{ĝiš}unu_8$(UŠ) 'stick' 117
uggugu > see *ukkuku*
ukkuku = Sum. gù ra-aḫ 'to scratch' 180
ukkulu 'dark' 243, 246 (Kou 277, 329, 355, 424)
ukullû = Sum. šà-gal 'provisions' 149, 246
ulāp dāmi = Sum. ^{túg}níĝ-dára šu lál 'menstrual pad' 136
ulāp dāmi = Sum. ^{túg}níĝ-dára úš 'menstrual pad' 136
ulāp sūnu = Sum. ^{túg}níĝ-dára šu lál 'loincloth' 136
ulāpu = Sum. ^{túg}níĝ-dára 'loincloth' 136
ulušinnu = Sum. tu_7 ìmĝaĝa 'emmer beer' 197
ša umāši = Sum. lú ĝéšbu 'wrestler' 157
upellû = Sum. ú-bíl-lá 'charcoal burner' 209
uppulu (cf. *buqqumu*) 'to delouse' 173 (Kou 308, 312)
urrubbu = Sum. urrub 'a kind of vessel' 131
urṣuppu = Sum. urṣub 'a kind of vessel' 131
ûrtu = Sum. á-áĝ-ĝá 'command' 255
ussulu = Sum. á-šu-ĝìri kud / šu lá 'lame' 255, 286 (Kou 328, 373, 395, 426)
uṣṣudu = Sum. á lál 'with crippled limbs' 255 (Kou 348, 373, 427)
uṣṣulu 'paralyzed' 286 (Kou 373, 427)
uššušu (cf. *ašāšu*, although Sum. may point to *eššu*) = Sum. lú šu ùr-ùr 'distressed' 190, 279 (Kou 310, 329, 427)
uššuṭu (cf. *wašāṭu*) 'to stiffen, to make difficult' 243, 246 (Kou 428)
ušummu = Sum. péš-ĝiš-gi-a 'bandicoot' 126
utaqqû = Sum. ur_5-da / ur_5-da AK-a 'to await, to expect' 175
uttuku = Sum. $utukku_x$(TÚG.NÍG.ŠID) 'batten' 116–117
utullu = Sum. ú-dúl 'herdsman' 235
utūlu = Sum. nú-nú 'to lie down' 33, 199
utūnu = Sum. udun 'kiln' 33, 222

wālittu > see *malītu*
waqru = Sum. lú kal-la 'precious man' 35, 262, 283
waqû > see *utaqqû*

warkat sukkalli = Sum. eĝir sukkal 'behind the vizier' 234
warkatu = Sum. eĝir 'rear part, arrears' 234
wasāmu = Sum. du_7 'to be appropriate' 291
wāṣītu = Sum. SAL lú tílla 'female street performer' 186
waṣû 'to go out' 92
wāṣû = Sum. lú tílla 'street performer' 186
wašāṭu > see *ṭuwaššaṭ*
wašāṭu > see *uššuṭu*
wašṭu > see *ašṭu*
watmu > see *atmu*
wuṣṣû = Sum. bàra / sal-la 'to spread out' 119 (Kou 316)
wu"urtu > see *ûrtu*
zabbatu = Sum. SAL lú ní-su-ub-ba 'female ecstatic' 186, 193
zabbu = Sum. ní-su-ub / lú ní su-ub-ba / lú ur-e 'ecstatic' 186, 193
zarû = Sum. lá 'to winnow' 231
zārû 'winnower' 105
zê ^{d}NISABA = Sum. in-bu_5-bu_5 an-na 'Nisaba's excrement' (plant name) 144
zêru = Sum. gú—√dù 'to dislike, to detest' 97
zīmu = Sum. igi-$giri_{17}$ / mùš / mùš-me / mùš-me saĝ-ki / saĝ-ki 'face, appearance' 206–207
ša ziqāti = Sum. lú kar-ra '?' 263
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The following list includes all Sumerian words that occur in the volume, except for words occurring in non-lexical texts quoted in the commentary. Missing and damaged signs as well as questionable reconstructions are not marked in this list. Page numbers that refer to a word in the text edited in this volume, in the commentary section in chapter 4, are followed by an asterisk. Orthographic variants, however, are not listed, unless they are particularly unusual or interesting. The words in this list are alphabetized sign by sign, taking indices into account, viz. búr-búr-re precedes bùr-bùr and lú uš$_{11}$-bi sur-sur precedes lú uš$_{11}$ zà-ga, but all other aspects of the orthography, including spaces, hyphens and other elements, are ignored. The only exception is that verbal stems and compound verbs that occur in the text edited in this volume (and are followed by the full predicate in parentheses) are listed prior to other attestations of the same term, viz. √dag (a-ra-ab-dag) precedes dag.

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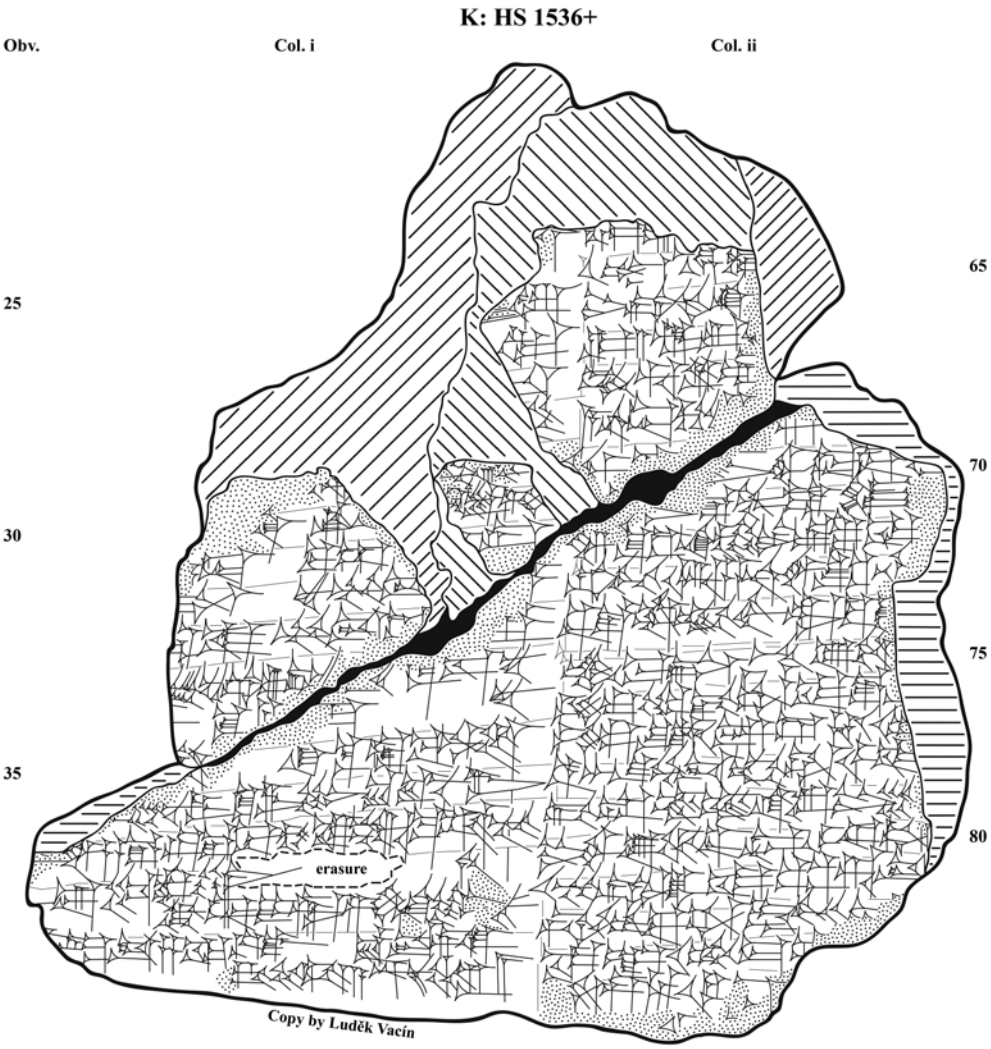

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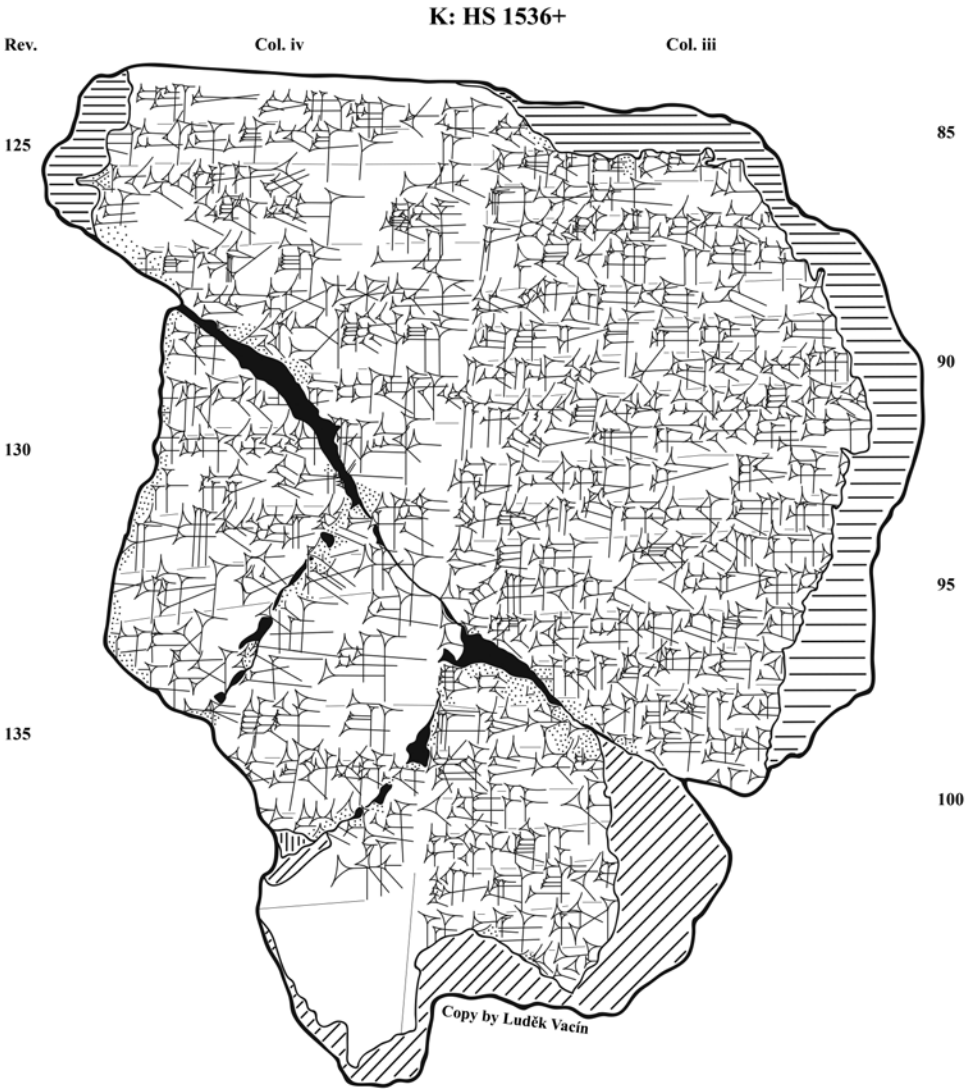

PLATE 2 *Frau Hilprecht-Sammlung of the Universität Jena, HS 1536 (= manuscript K), reverse. Copy by Luděk Vacín.*

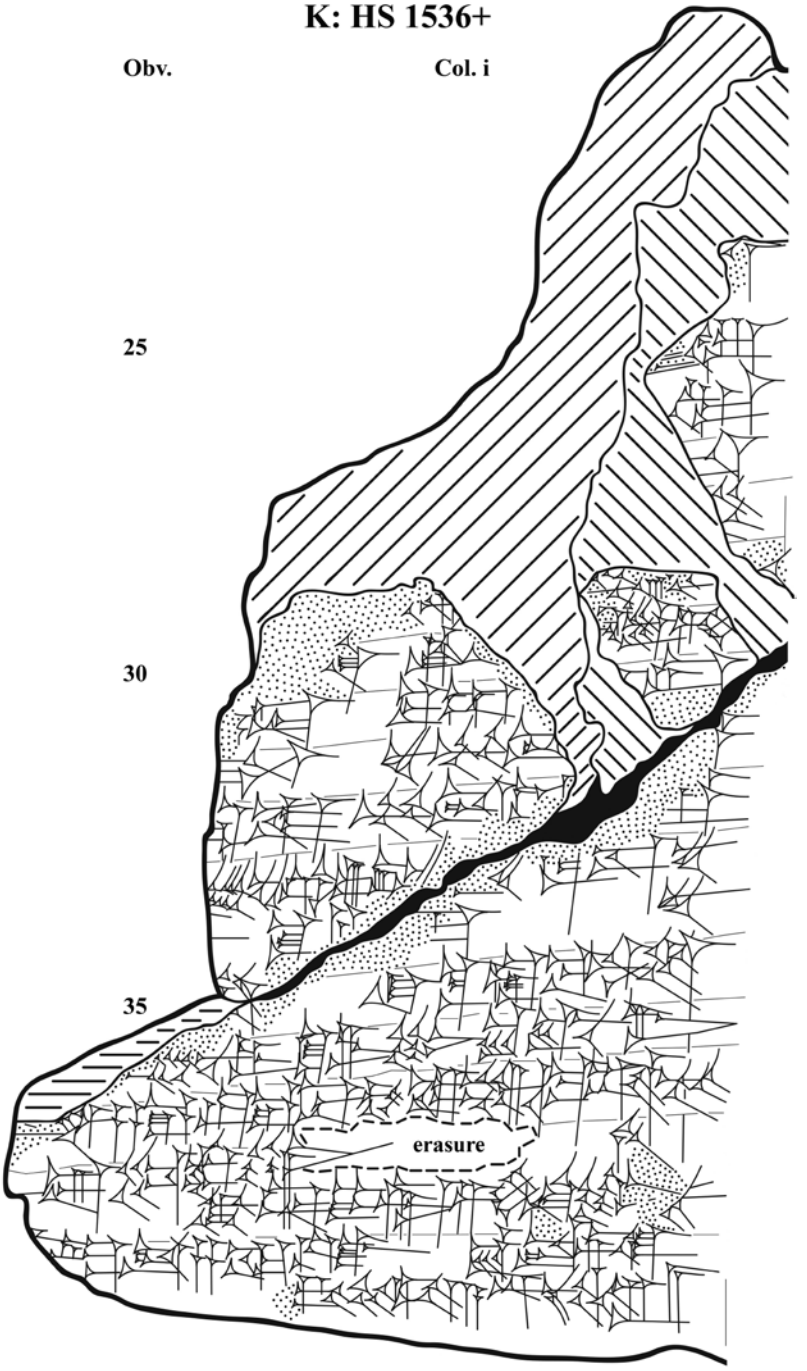

PLATE 3 *Frau Hilprecht-Sammlung of the Universität Jena, HS 1536 (= manuscript K), detail of obverse, column i. Copy by Luděk Vacín.*

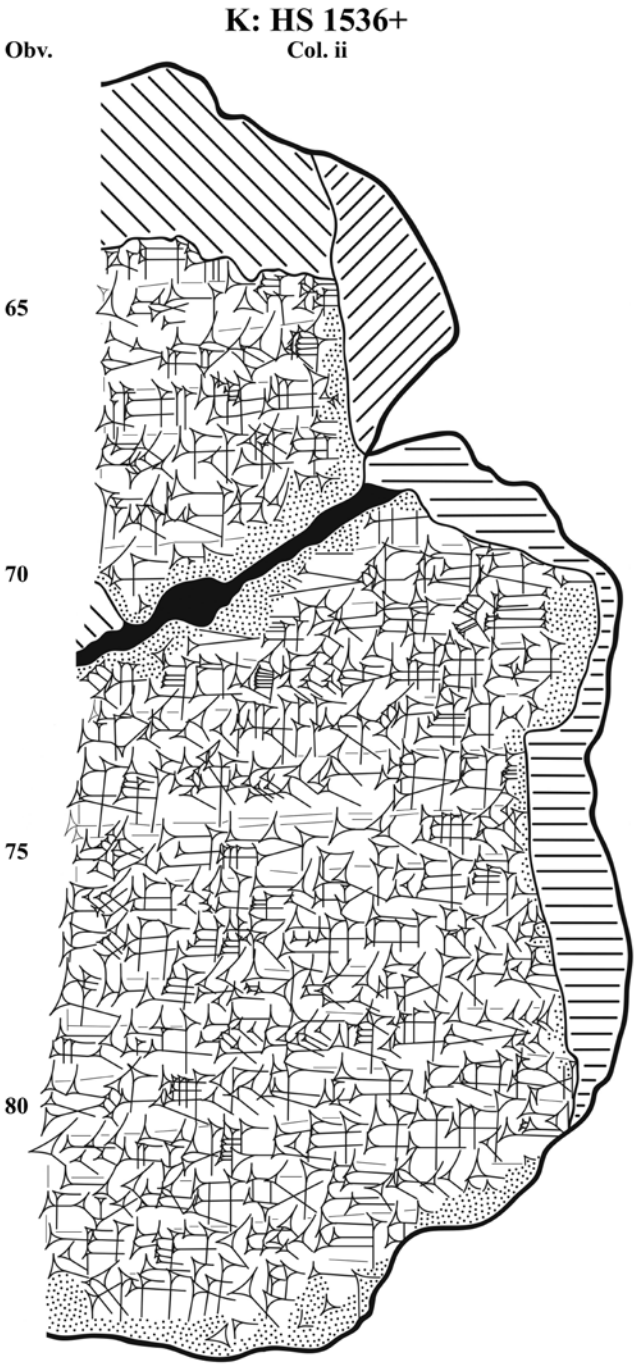

PLATE 4 *Frau Hilprecht-Sammlung of the Universität Jena, HS 1536 (= manuscript K), detail of obverse, column ii. Copy by Luděk Vacín.*

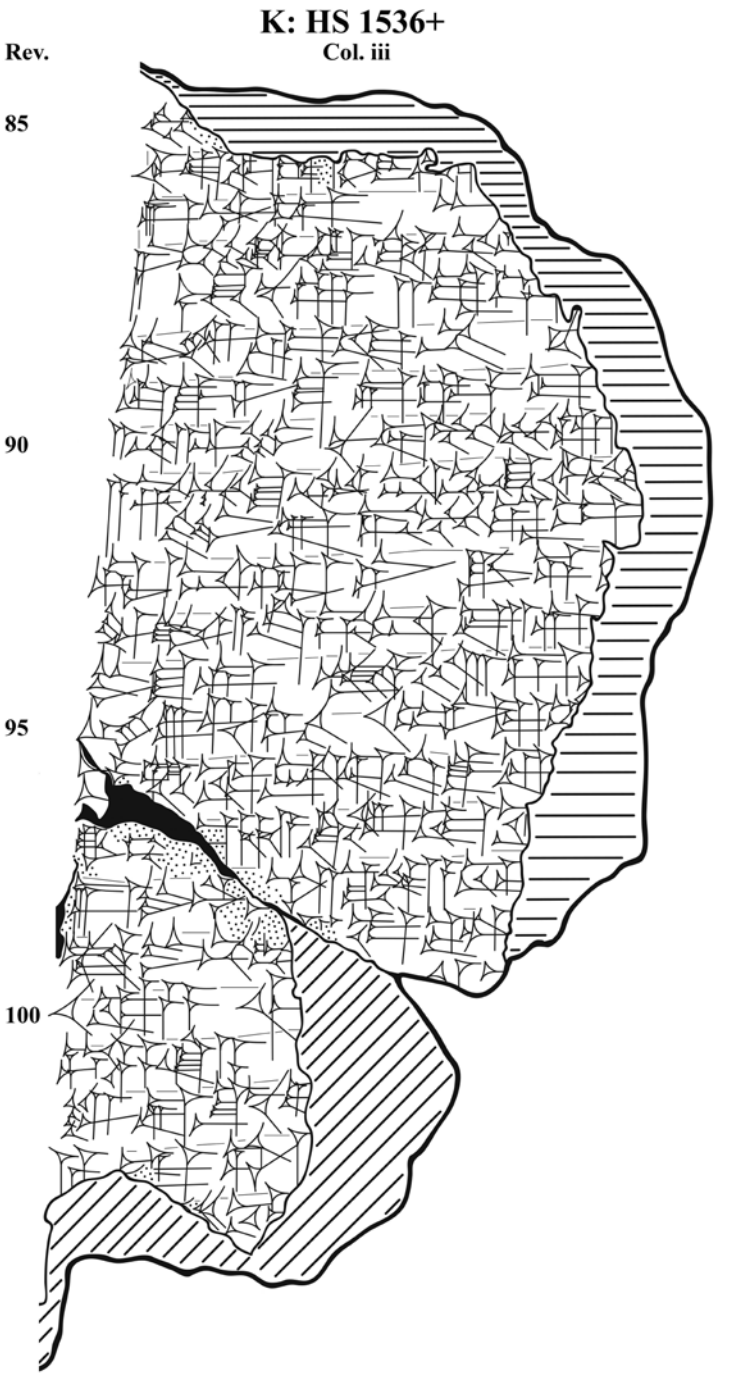

PLATE 5 *Frau Hilprecht-Sammlung of the Universität Jena,* HS *1536 (= manuscript K), detail of reverse, col iii. Copy by Luděk Vacín.*

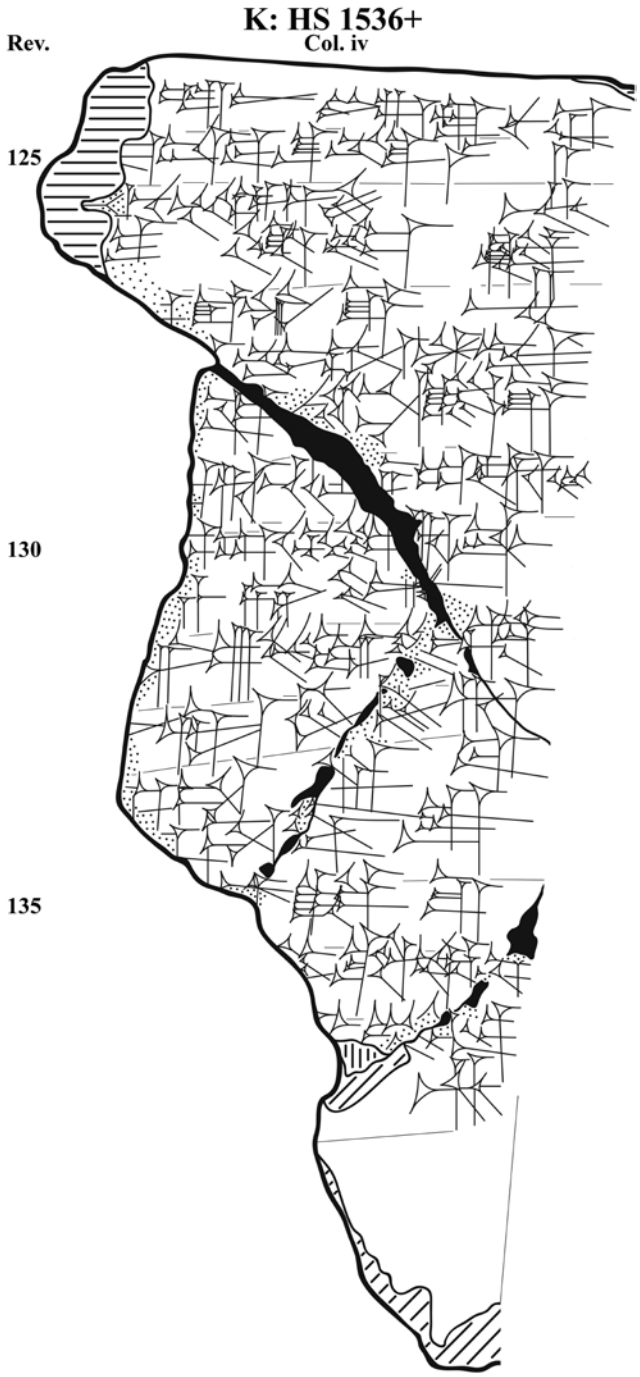

PLATE 6 *Frau Hilprecht-Sammlung of the Universität Jena, HS 1536 (= manuscript K), detail of reverse, col. iv. Copy by Luděk Vacín.*

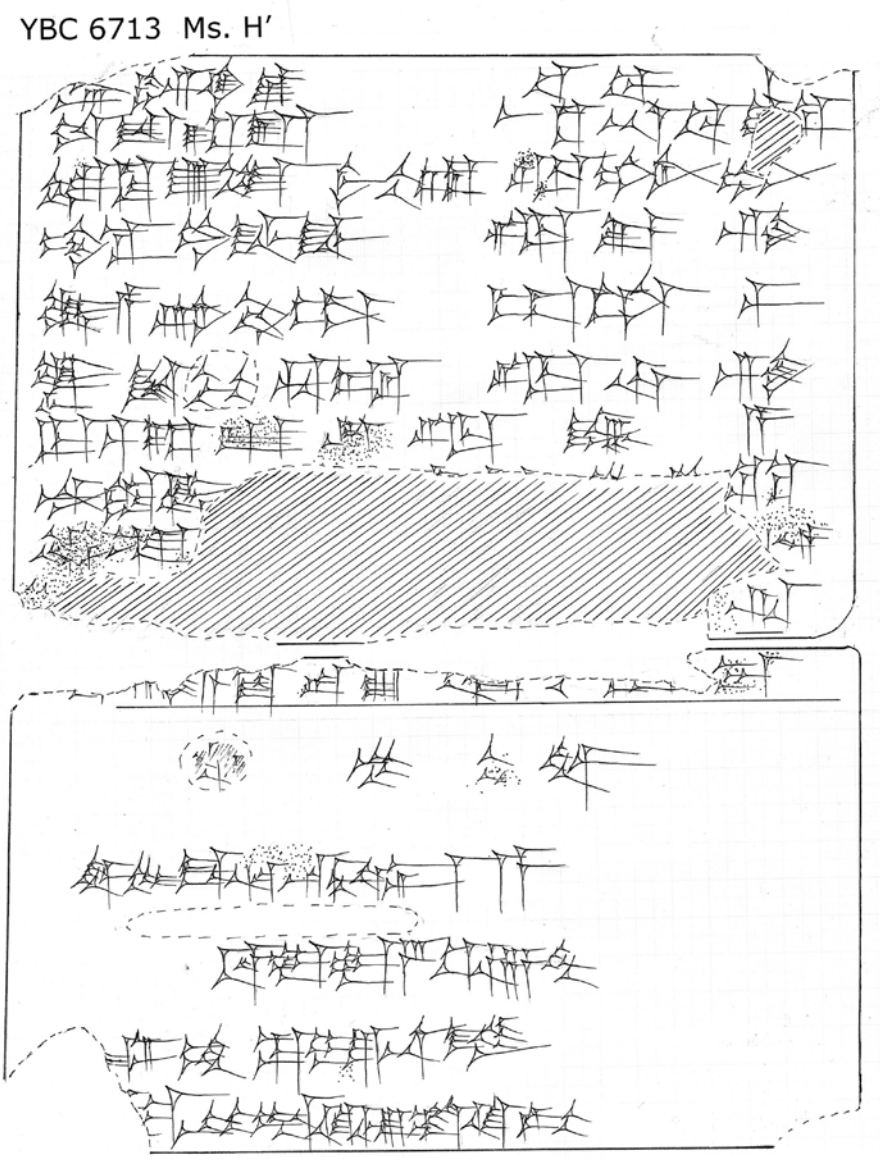

PLATE 7 *Yale Babylonian Collection,* YBC *6713 (= manuscript H′). Copy by M. J. Geller.*

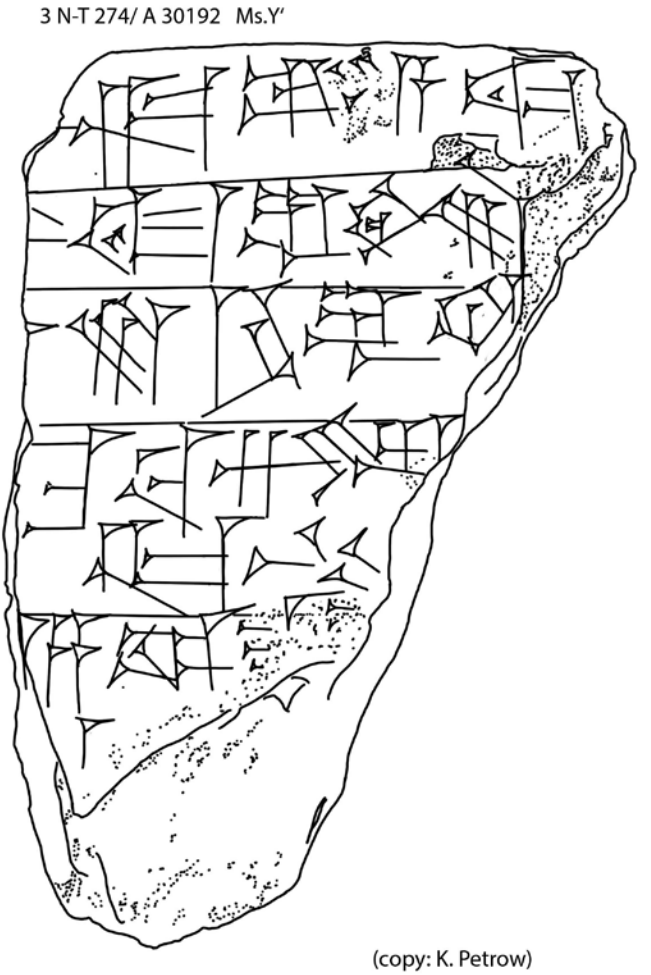

PLATE 8 *Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 3 N-T 274 (A 30192) (= manuscript Y′). Copy by Kristina Petrow.*