

"The Rules of the School"

Author(s): Alhena Gadotti and Alexandra Kleinerman

Source: Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 137, No. 1 (January-March 2017), pp. 89-116

Published by: American Oriental Society

Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7817/jameroriesoci.137.1.0089

# REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article: https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7817/jameroriesoci.137.1.0089?seq=1&cid=pdfreference#references\_tab\_contents You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at https://about.jstor.org/terms  $% \label{eq:cond}$ 



American Oriental Society is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to Journal of the American Oriental Society

# "The Rules of the School"

ALHENA GADOTTI TOWSON UNIVERSITY and ALEXANDRA KLEINERMAN CORNELL UNIVERSITY

"The Rules of the School," or Eduba R, is a previously unedited Sumerian literary composition that describes a day in the life of an Old Babylonian student. In this paper, we examine the nature of Eduba R, its place within the corpus of scribal life texts (and particularly its relationship to the more popular composition Eduba A), and its pedagogical role within the Old Babylonian scribal school curriculum as a whole. In addition, we publish a transliteration, translation, commentary, and photos of the two primary manuscripts of the composition.

"The Rules of the School," or Eduba R, is a previously unpublished Sumerian composition that describes the daily routine of an Old Babylonian student. The composition was first identified by M. Civil from several incomplete manuscripts. Since then, two larger and more complete exemplars have come to light, one in the Schøyen collection in Oslo, Norway (hereafter X2), the other in a private collection (hereafter X1), which we had the opportunity to study in the Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen Near Eastern Studies Seminar at Cornell University. Both are multi-column tablets and, while neither is complete, they provide enough detail to merit publication of the composition.<sup>1</sup> However, roughly fifty-five lines are still missing or unplaced.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this article is not only to publish Eduba R, but also to investigate its position within the Old Babylonian scribal school, which is the context from

A preliminary version of this article was presented as a paper at the 222nd annual meeting of the American Oriental Society held in Boston, MA on March 16–19, 2012. We wish to thank David I. Owen and the anonymous collector for providing us the opportunity to study and publish Text X1. We would also like to thank Konrad Volk, Andrew George, and Martin Schøyen for allowing us to study and publish one of the key manuscripts for Eduba R, MS 3311 (X2), from the Schøyen Collection, Oslo, Norway, and for arranging for one of us (Kleinerman) to work on this manuscript in the collection in Oslo. Mr. and Mrs. Schøyen were extremely gracious in sharing their space and their time with her. We are very thankful to Konrad Volk for providing us with his preliminary transliterations of portions of the composition, as well as with photos of the Schøyen collection piece and his numerous collations. In addition we are grateful to Jana Matuszak for her careful collations of MS 3311 and the Ur manuscripts in the British Museum, and to Renée Kovacs for her unwavering support.

Miguel Civil was instrumental in our understanding of this very difficult composition. We are deeply grateful for his willingness to share his wisdom with us. We wish to thank Gonzalo Rubio, Jerrold S. Cooper, and the anonymous reviewer for their insights. Many thanks to Laura Johnson-Kelly, Rosen Foundation Conservator and Photographer in the Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar at Cornell University, for her photographs of the tablet. Thanks also to Mr. John Hohm for his additional photographs of MS 3311.

Finally, this article would not have been possible without David Owen's extraordinary encouragement. We also acknowledge the generous support of Jonathan and Jeanette Rosen.

1. Civil 1992: 303 discusses sections of the composition.

2. According to the colophon preserved on X1, the composition originally contained 185 lines. 130 are preserved, so that we are missing 55 lines total with the following distribution:

between col. 1 and col. 2 we are missing approximately 13.5 lines

between col. 2 and col. 3 we are missing approximately 27 lines between col. 3 and col. 4 we are missing approximately 13.5 lines.

Journal of the American Oriental Society 137.1 (2017)

89

which the majority of Sumerian compositions known to us derive. In particular, we examine the relationship between Eduba R, which is not well attested, and Eduba A, commonly known as "Schooldays," which was extremely popular in the Nippur schools (Kramer 1949).

Eduba R begins with a dialogue between a teacher and a student, although in what is preserved there is no evidence that the dialogue continued beyond the introduction. After the teacher asks the student to recite the school's regulations (Section 1: 1–3), the student replies that if he starts enumerating the rules he will be too busy to do his school work (Section 1: 4-7). Despite his misgivings, however, the student accepts the teacher's challenge (Section 1: 8ff.). The rest of Eduba R is devoted to an outline of the school day, with the student gathering the supplies needed for his day (Section 1: 12-13). However, although he feels prepared and obeys orders, some school officials still punish him (Section 1: 14-19). One of the school's officials then gathers all of the pupils together for the first lesson of the day, which consists of recitation of arithmetic and vocabulary (Section 1: 27-30).

Section 1 of both X1 and the Schøyen manuscript breaks off soon thereafter, and when the text resumes a third-person narrator is describing various activities that involve all the students. For instance, they receive instructions to prepare a tablet board (Section 2: 13–14). The composition names a large number of school staff members who are in charge of the different facets of the school's daily activities: the man in charge of the tablet boards (lú dub-dím) instructs them to prepare their tablet boards (Section 2: 6–9). The man in charge of flattening the clay (lú im-dúb) is the staff member for ordering the students to shape their clay tablets (Section 2: 24).<sup>3</sup>

The largest gap is between Sections 2 and 3 (approximately twenty-seven lines according to X1, five of which are preserved on the Schøyen manuscript). When the narrative continues, the students have their lunch break (Section 3: 7–8). After lunch, they are instructed to write their assignment on a tablet, perhaps the same assignment that they had recited aloud in the morning (Section 3: 17). The teacher then checks the students' work and, if it is not up to the school's standards, they are punished (Section 3: 19–27). After the work has been checked, the assistant in charge of the water instructs the students as follows: "take the jars, you idiots, your jars."<sup>4</sup> Presumably, the students are here expected to erase their tablets and make new ones. They go to fetch water from a nearby canal (Section 3: 28–31).

Approximately thirteen lines are missing between Sections 3 and 4 of X1, four of which are preserved at the beginning of Section 4 of the Schøyen manuscript. In the final section of the composition additional instructions are given to the students, who begin to practice the next day's lesson by reading from lentils (Section 4: 19). Finally, the students' families come to school to see their progress (Section 4: 23–25). According to Eduba R, the Old Babylonian students had a very structured day, with a morning recitation, a lunch break, afternoon written exercises, review of the assignment, and clean-up and preparation for the next day.

Aside from X1 and the Schøyen tablet, Eduba R is attested on at least five other manuscripts, three from Nippur and two from Ur. Thus, while Eduba R was fairly widespread, it is not well attested, at least not in comparison to the other so-called Eduba compositions, all of which originated from the Old Babylonian Sumerian scribal schools.<sup>5</sup> For example,

Presumably, sections of the missing lines are contained in the unplaced sections of four manuscripts (N1, N2, N3, and Ur2), which are also published below.

<sup>3.</sup> For a complete list of the preserved school staff members see the appendix.

<sup>4.</sup> As when the students are beaten when they've done nothing wrong, here they are insulted for no apparent reason. This suggests that the text represents or considers the students' perspective.

<sup>5.</sup> The modern category "Eduba literature" includes so-called Eduba compositions, scribal dialogues, and exam texts. There is no certain evidence, however, that these compositions were conceived of as a unit in antiquity (for example there are no compliation tablets with Eduba texts, such as there are for the tetrad and decad; see Kleiner-

Eduba A, which like Eduba R illustrates a school-day, is attested on at least sixty-five Nippur manuscripts. Eduba B, a dialogue between a father and his misbehaving son (unpublished, but see Civil 1992), and Eduba C, a dialogue between a teacher and a student, are each attested in over thirty Nippur exemplars (Vanstiphout 1997: 590–92). However, the only Eduba compositions relatively well attested *outside* of Nippur are Eduba B and Eduba R.

The high number of copies of Eduba A, B, and C indicates that they played a significant role in the Sumerian scribal curriculum at Nippur in the early second millennium. However, this was clearly not the case for Eduba R. A possible explanation for this may lie in the strong similarity between Eduba A, the most popular Eduba composition at Nippur, and Eduba R.

Similarly to Eduba R, Eduba A begins with a dialogue in which the student is asked by an unnamed interlocutor what he has been learning at school:

#### Eduba A, II. 1-7

1. dumu é-dub-ba-a u4-ul-la-àm me-šè ì-ĝen-ne-en

- 2. é-dub-ba-a-šè ì-ĝen-ne-en
- 3. é-dub-ba-a a-na-àm ì-ak
- 4. dub-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ì-šid níĝ-ka-gub-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ì-gu<sub>7</sub>
- 5. dub-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ì-dím i-sar ì-til-ma
- 6. mu-gub-ba-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ma-an-gub-bu-uš
- 7. kíĝ-sig im-šu-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ma-an-gub-bu-uš
- 1. "Graduate from many years ago, where did you go?"
- 2. "I went to school."
- 3. "What did you do at school?"
- 4. "I recited my tablet, and I ate my lunch.
- 5. I fashioned my tablet, I wrote (it), and I finished (it).
- 6. I laid out my lexical list.
- 7. (After) the afternoon snack, I laid out my lentil-shaped tablet."

In this passage the student briefly answers the question by explaining how he has spent his day. He then reports that he went home and showed his father the exercises he did in class. Like the student in Eduba R, the student in Eduba A is eager to go back to school and to get there early. However, despite his enthusiasm, he is beaten by a number of staff members for improper behavior, exactly like his counterpart in Eduba R:

#### Eduba A, Il. 37-38

- 37. lú ĝiš-hur-ra-ke4 a-na-aš-àm ĝá-da nu-me-a ì-zi-ge-en in-túd-dè-en
- 38. lú ká-na-ke4 a-na-aš-àm ĝá-da-nu-me-a íb-ta-è-e-še in-túd-dè-en
- 37. The man in charge of drawing (asked me): "Why, without my permission, did you get up?" And then he beat me.
- 38. The man in charge of the gate (asked): "Why, without my permission, did you go out?" And then he beat me.

The final section of Eduba A, as in Eduba R, is devoted to a meeting between a parent and a teacher in which the latter praises the student's accomplishments.

man 2011: 57–58). Moreover, while Eduba texts are classified together in catalogs (e.g., UM 29-15-155 = P255993), Delnero has shown that the catalogs are inventory lists and so cannot necessarily be used to place compositions together in generic groupings (Delnero 2010: 46).

A comparison of Eduba A and Eduba R illustrates that the two compositions are modifications of a basic plot line: each emphasizes different aspects of a normal day in the life of a student as reflected in the Eduba corpus. Whereas Eduba A is focused on the father-son and father-teacher interactions and outlines the school day only in brief, Eduba R reverses the attention paid to these two themes as it focuses on the school day and only marginally on the relationship between the teacher and the student's family.

As such, Eduba R and Eduba A are elaborations of the same story. The discovery of a number of manuscripts of Eduba A in excavated context at Nippur indicates that Eduba A was a favorite with some of the Nippur teachers,<sup>6</sup> while Eduba R was not. However, Eduba R is attested not only on multi-column tablets but also on single-column exercise texts (imgida). This places it securely within the advanced Old Babylonian Sumerian scribal curriculum. These findings support the argument that in early second millennium Babylonia, teachers had the final say as to what was studied in their classrooms, and they took advantage of an existing corpus of stories that they modified to suit their pedagogical needs.

#### SOURCES

Eduba R is attested so far on seven manuscripts. One, N1, is an imgida, and four (N2, Ur1, X1, X2) are multi-column. N2 and Ur1 are fragments of what in origin must have been four-column tablets. X1 and X2 are four-column tablets, both missing the bottom third of the tablet. Two (N3 and Ur2) contain passages of Eduba R that are currently unplaced, and at this time we are unable to determine their tablet typology.

N1 = CBS 4573 (PBS 12/1, 30 = PBS 1/2, 98) = P260885<sup>7</sup> tablet type: imgida lines: obverse = unplaced lines; reverse = col. iii 19–31

N2 = CBS 11786 = P266923<sup>8</sup> tablet type: multi-column lines: obverse = col. i 1–7; reverse = unplaced

N3 = Ni 4103 (ISET 1 72) tablet type: unclear lines: obverse = unplaced; reverse = unplaced

Ur1 = UET 6/2, 168<sup>9</sup> tablet type: multi-column lines: obverse = col. i 15–26; reverse = col. iv 17–24

Ur2 = UET 6/3, 620 = P346657<sup>10</sup> tablet type: unclear lines: obverse = unplaced; reverse = unplaced

X1 = private collection manuscript (Figs. 1–2) tablet type: multi-column lines: obverse col. i = col. i 1–37, obverse col. ii = col. ii 12–43, reverse col. iii = col. iii 5–36, reverse col. iv = col. iv 5–27 + colophon

- 6. For Eduba A in House F at Nippur see Robson 2001: 54.
- 7. Collated by A. Gadotti, June 2011.
- 8. Collated by A. Gadotti, June 2011.
- 9. Collated by J. Matuszak, 2012.

10. Parallels the obverse of CBS 4573 and perhaps reflects the end of col. ii. It is possible that *UET* 6/2, 168 and *UET* 6/3, 620 may be fragments from the same tablet (M. Civil and G. Rubio, pers. comm.).

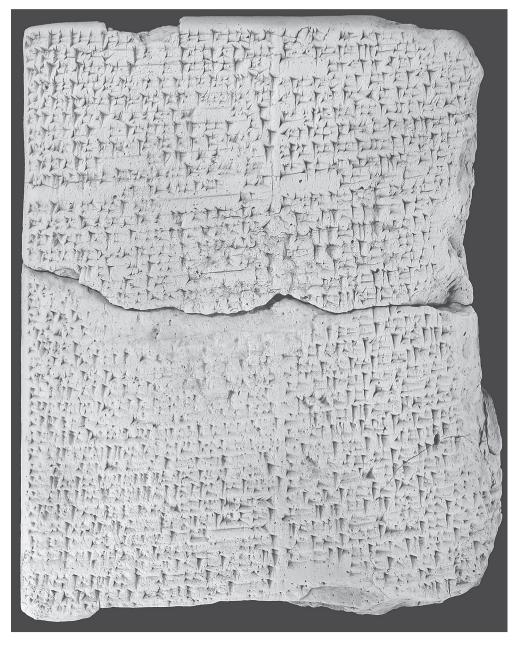


Fig. 1. Manuscript X1, obverse.

X2 = MS 3311 = P252252 (Figs. 3–4)<sup>11</sup> tablet type: multi-column lines: obverse col. i = col. i 1–26, obverse col. ii = col. ii 1–27, reverse col. iii = col. iii 1–31, reverse col. iv = col. iv 1–27

11. Collated by A. Kleinerman, November 2011; K. Volk, November 22, 2012 and May 3, 2013; and J. Matuszak, spring 2016.

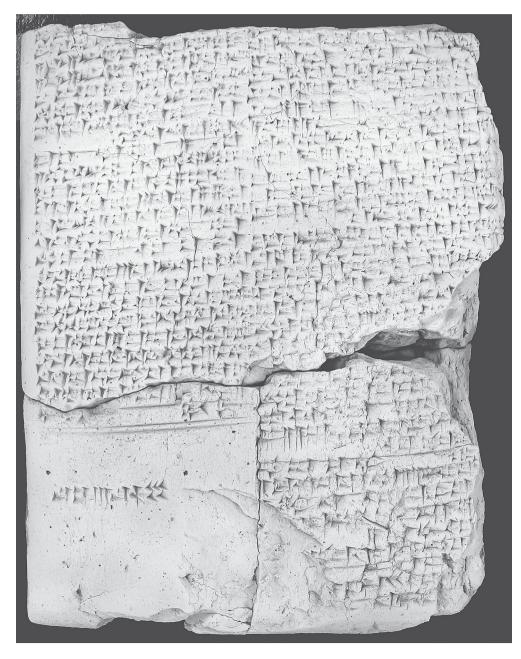


Fig. 2. Manuscript X1, reverse.

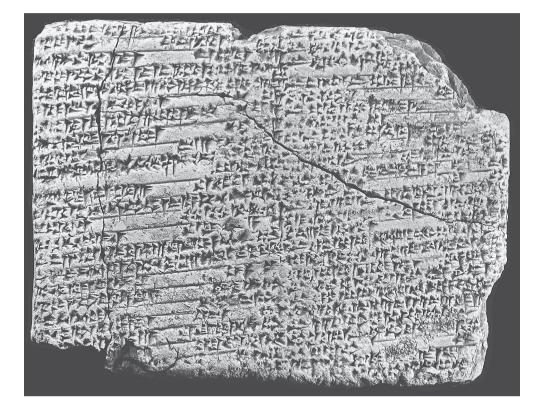


Fig. 3. Manuscript X2, obverse.

### EDITION

Section One<sup>12</sup>

<b>1.</b> N2 col. i 1 X1 col. i 1 X2 col. i 1	lú tur dumu é-dub-ba-me-en /dumu é\-[] lú tur dumu é-dub-b[a-me]-en dumu é-dub-ba-me-en [l]ú /tur\ dumu /é-dub-ba-me-en dumu é\-dub-ba-[me]-/en\
2. N2 col. i 2 X1 col. i 2 X2 col. i 2	tukum-bi dumu é-dub-ba-me-[en] tukum-bi dumu é-dub-ba-me-en /tukum\-bi dumu é-dub-ba-me-/en\
<b>3.</b> N2 col. i 2* X1 col. i 3 X2 col. i 3	a-na-àm á-áĝ-ĝá [] a-na á-áĝ-ĝá é-dub-ba-kam /a\-na-àm á-áĝ-ĝá é-dub-ba{erasure}-a

\*N1 1.3 indented below 1.2

12. As the text is incomplete, we are reluctant to divide it into columns based only on two tablets. Thus, we have opted for the label "section," which will become superflous if a manuscript preserving the entire text becomes available.

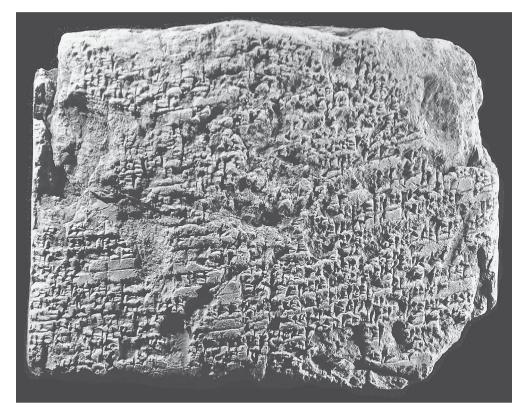


Fig. 4. Manuscript X2, reverse.

4	
-	٠

N2 col. i 3	tukum-bi á-áĝ-ĝá é-dub-ba []
X1 col. i 4	tukum-bi á-áĝ-/ĝá é\-dub-ba èn ma-tar-re
X2 col. i 4	/tukum\-bi á-áĝ-ĝá é-dub-ba èn ma-tar-re-en
5.	
N2 col. i 4	[ga-b]a-e-ĝar <sup>d</sup> utu-è-ta ud é-[]
X1 col. i 5	ga-ba-e-ĝar <sup>d</sup> utu-è-ta ud é-gar <sub>8</sub> -e gi <sub>4</sub> -a-šè
X2 col. i 5	/ga\-ba-e-da-ĝar <sup>d</sup> utu-è-a-ta ud é-gar <sub>8</sub> -e gi <sub>4</sub> -a-šè!
6.	
N2 col. i 5	[inim-inim] nu-mu-da-til-le []
X1 col. i 6	inim-inim-da nu-mu-da-til-le
X2 col. i 6	/inim\-inim-da /nu\-mu-e-da-til-e
7.	
N2 col. i 6	[]
X1 col. i 7–8	á-áĝ-ĝá é-dub-ba a-ab-zu // an-zag nu-zu-a
X2 col. i 7	/á-áĝ\-ĝá é-dub-ba a-ab-zu an-zag nu-zu-a
8.	
X1 col. i 8	dím-ma nu-di-da-gin <sub>7</sub> di-di-da nu-ub-zu
X2 col. i 8	/di nu-di\-da-ka di-/di\-dè nu-ub-/zu\-a

	GADOTTI and KLEINERMAN: " <i>The Rules of the School</i> " 97
<b>9.</b> X1 col. i 9 X2 col. i 9	é-dub-ba-šè DU-a-ĝu <sub>10</sub> -ne é-dub-ba-šè {erasure} DU-a{erasure}-ĝu <sub>10</sub> -/ne\
<b>10.</b> X1 col. i 10 X2 col. i 10	gi <sub>6</sub> 1/3-àm a an-da-ĝál gú-ĝu <sub>10</sub> ab-zi-zi-in ka-ĝu <sub>10</sub> ab-ak-en gi <sub>6</sub> 1/3-àm a! an-da≪-da≫-ĝál gú-ĝu <sub>10</sub> ab-zi-zi-/in\ ka-ĝu <sub>10</sub> ab-ak-en
<b>11.</b> X1 col. i 11 X2	ka-ĝu <sub>10</sub> ub-ta-ak-an omits
<b>12.</b> X1 col. i 12 X2	gi-dub-ba-ĝu <sub>10</sub> im-šu-ĝu <sub>10</sub> níĝ-gù-dé-ĝu <sub>10</sub> omits
<b>13.</b> X1 col. i 13 X2 col. i 11 *X2: extra	ù níĝ-al-di é-dub-ba-a-ke <sub>4</sub> ? šu ba-ti /ù\ níĝ-al-di *é-dub-ba-a šu ù-ba-ti a vertical before é
<b>14.</b> X1 col. i 14 X2 col. i 12	é-dub-ba-a-šè sun <sub>5</sub> -na-bi al-du-un /x x\ é-dub-ba-šè sun <sub>5</sub> -na-bi al-du-un igi nu-bar!-bar!-re-en
<b>15.</b> Ur1 obv. 1' X1 col. i 15 X2 col. i 13	é-dub-ba-a-šè è[n] /é-dub-b\a-a-šè ku <sub>4</sub> -ku <sub>4</sub> -/da-ĝu <sub>10</sub> -ne\ /é\-dub-ba-šè ku <sub>4</sub> -ku <sub>4</sub> -da-ĝu <sub>10</sub> -ne
<b>16.</b> Ur1 obv. 2' X1 col. i 16 X2 col. i 14	šu <sup>!</sup> -ĝu <sub>10</sub> ab-ús š[u] /šu x\ [ a]b <sup>!</sup> -ús šu-kin an <sup>!</sup> -dab <sub>5</sub> šu <sup>!</sup> -bi-ni <sup>?</sup> -ĝu <sub>10</sub> ab-ús šu-kin {erasure} a-dab <sub>5</sub>
<b>17.</b> Ur1 obv. 3' X1 col. i 17 X2 col. i 15	lú kisal-lá dub <sup>!</sup> š[u] lú /kisal\-[lá dub š]u-tab-ba-ĝu <sub>10</sub> ki /ù-ub-tag\ /lú\ kisal-lá dub /šu\-tab-ba-ĝá-a ki «šu» un-na-/an\-tag
<b>18.</b> Ur1 obv. 4' X1 col. i 18 X2 col. i 16	lú pa-mušen-na-[]/ mu-u[b <sup>?</sup> ] lú pa-mušen-na [] /lú im\-pa-mušen-na-ke <sub>4</sub> ki dùb gurum-ma diri <sup>?</sup> /mu <sup>?</sup> \-da-zu ba- DU-ne
<b>19.</b> Ur1 obv. 5' X1 col. i 19 X2 col. i 17	ki dùb gurum-ma K[A] ki dùb gurum-ma K[A] ki dùb gurum-ma saĝ-ĝá an-šè <mu>-un-sàg</mu>

<b>20.</b> Ur1 obv. 6' X1 col. i 20 X2 col. i 18	tukum-b[i] tukum-bi [] /tukum\-bi bappir-šè im-ma-an-tag
<b>21.</b> Ur1 obv. 7' X1 col. i 21 X2 col. i 19	im pa-mušen-[] im pa-mušen-na-ka mu-ub-[gub-bé] /im\ pa-mušen-na-ka mu-ub-/da\-gub-bé-e[n]
<b>22.</b> Ur1 obv. 8' X1 col. i 22 X2 col. i 20	ki dùb gurum-m[a] ki dùb gurum-ma-ta mu-ni-in-/è?\-en /ki dùb\ gurum-ma-ta mu-un-/da\-è-dè
<b>23.</b> Ur1 obv. 9' X1 col. i 23 X2 col. i 21	lú kisal-l[á] lú kisal-lá-ka šu-tab-ba-ĝu <sub>10</sub> /ki mu-na\-tag [lú kisa]l-/lá-ke <sub>4</sub> šu-tab-ba\-ĝá-a ki šu un-na-/an\-tag
<b>24.</b> Ur1 obv. 10' X1 col. i 24 X2 col. i 22	tuš-ù /ù\-[] tuš-ù ù-ma-an-dug <sub>4</sub> /x x x x\-en [] KU KU ù-dé-en
<b>25.</b> Ur1 obv. 11' X1 col. i 25 X2 col. i 24	tukum-b[i] tukum-bi <sup>d</sup> /nisaba <sup>!</sup> \ <gù> ù-dé-en []-dé-en</gù>
<b>26.</b> Ur1 obv. 12' X1 col. i 26 X2 col. i 23	dúr-ru-u[n] dúr-ru-un-ba-an-zé-en ù gù dé!-dé-en-zé-en [ d]é≪-en≫-/dé\-en
<b>27.</b> X1 col. i 27	lú kisal-lá<<-la>>-ke <sub>4</sub> 2-ta-bi-šè téš-bi ù-bí<<-ab>>-tag
<b>28.</b> X1 col. i 28	lú lú-ù an-ni-ib-šid-e-a
<b>29.</b> X1 col. i 29	lú a-rá ab-šid-e-a a-rá ab-šid-dè
<b>30.</b> X1 col. i 30	lú inim-inim ab-šid-e-a inim-inim-ma ab-šid-dè
<b>31.</b> X1 col. i 31	tukum-bi di <sub>4</sub> -di <sub>4</sub> -lá gú nu-um-ma-an-si-eš
<b>32.</b> X1 col. i 32	lú ab-ta-lá bar ĝá!(DAG)-gi <sub>4</sub> -a-ka an-ši-ĝen
<b>33.</b> X1 col. i 33	di <sub>4</sub> -di <sub>4</sub> -lá gú ù-un!-si-eš

<b>34.</b> X1 col. i 34	lú kisal-lá-ke <sub>4</sub> im pa-mušen-na im-bi {erasure} /si\-il im níĝ-al-di é-dub-ba-a
<b>35.</b> X1 col. i 35	u <sub>4</sub> -min-ta u <sub>4</sub> -eš <sub>5</sub> -ta igi ab-kár-kár
<b>36.</b> X1 col. i 36	im pa-mušen-na-ka mu-un-ku <sub>4</sub> -ra
<b>37.</b> X1 col. i 37	[]

Section Two

1.	
X2 col. ii 1	/lú <sup>la</sup> lahtan\-na-ke <sub>4</sub> /x\ []
<b>2.</b> X2 col. ii 2	lú im-šu-ka-ni nu-[]
<b>3.</b> X2 col. ii 3	lú <sup>la</sup> lahtan-na-ke <sub>4</sub> /dub x x\ [] im erin <sub>2</sub> -na /x\[]
<b>4.</b> X2 col. ii 4	lú kisal-lá-ke <sub>4</sub> lú dub-dím-e /ù x\ []
<b>5.</b> X2 col. ii 5	/ús\-ús-bi-šè bí-[]
<b>6.</b> X2 col. i 6	lú dub-dím-me bí-/x\-ne /íb\-[]
<b>7.</b> X2 col. ii 7	/en-na dub-ba\-ni ab-d[ím-x]
<b>8.</b> X2 col. ii 8	dub /lú dub-ba-ni\ ab-dím-e /si\ al-/x\-/sá\
9.	
X2 col. ii 9	lú dub gub-bu-dè dub-/ba-a íb-gub-bé\
<b>10.</b> X2 col. ii 10	/en-na\ dub-ba-ni bí-da-gub-bu-/x\
<b>11.</b> X2 col. ii 11	igi lú /dub-ba-ni\ bí-da-gub-bu-a-šè /x {erasure?}\-DU
12.	
X1 col. ii 1 X2 col. ii 12	gu-šúm an-na-sar-r[a] /gu-šúm\ an-ni-/ib\-dab <sub>5</sub> -bé
13.	
X1 col. ii 2 X2 col. ii 13	lú ki-ús-ke <sub>4</sub> -a-ni dub-dím / si sá-a ù-bí-i[n-dug <sub>4</sub> ] lú ki-ús-a-ke <sub>4</sub> -/ni\ dub-dím-e si sá-a ù-bí-in-dug <sub>4</sub>

100	Journal of the American Oriental Society 137.1 (2017)
<b>14.</b> X1 col. ii 3 X2 col. ii 14	ki-ús-bi-šè si ba-sá-ne ki-ús-bi-/šè dub-dím ub\-ba-ab-è-ne-eš
<b>15.</b> X1 col. ii 4 X2 col. ii 15	ki-ús-ka dùb gurum-ma al-gub-n[e] ki-ús-a-ka dùb /gurum\-ma /al-gub-bu-ne\
<b>16.</b> X1 col. ii 5 X2 col. ii 16	lú šúm-ma-ab-zé-en /šu\ gaba-na /x\ [] lú šúm-ma-ab-zé-en-na níĝ-šu gaba-ni ab-ús šu-kíĝ ì-dab <sub>5</sub>
<b>17.</b> X1 col. ii 6 X2 col. ii 17	ugu-bi níĝ-zi-da inim a-ab-/ak²\ ugu-/bi\ níĝ-zi-da-a dirig inim-inim ak-da-ni al-gub
<b>18.</b> X1 col. ii 7 X2 col. ii 18	šúm-ma-ab-zé-en gù al-dé-[dé?] šúm-ma-ab-zé-en gù al-dé-dé-/e\
<b>19.</b> X1 col. ii 8 X2 col. ii 19	lú igi-ni al-bar-re-a lú šu-ni lú ĝiri <sub>3</sub> -ni al-[x] lú igi-ni al-x-ù-a lú ĝiri <sub>3</sub> '-ni al-/x\
<b>20.</b> X1 col. ii 9 X2 col. ii 20	lú šúm-ma-ab-zé-en mu-ni-un-[x (x?)] lú šúm-ma-ab-zé-en-na níĝ mu-ni-un-pàd-dè []
<b>21.</b> X1 col. ii 10 X2 col. ii 21	ki-ús-a-ka a ba-da-[x x (x²)] ki-/ús\ a ba-da-gub-ba a-rá 1 a-rá 2-ka /a\ []
<b>22.</b> X1 col. ii 11 X2	a-rá 1 a-rá 2-àm-ka /x\ [x (x <sup>?</sup> )] (with line 21)
<b>23.</b> X1 col. ii 12 X2 col. ii 22	lú a-a-ke <sub>4</sub> dug kéš-d[a] lú a-a-ke <sub>4</sub> dug kéš-da ù-bí-/in\-[x]
<b>24.</b> X1 col. ii 13 X2 col. ii 23	/dúb\-ba-ab lú im-/dúb\-[] dúb-ba-ab lú im-dúb /ù-bí-in\-[]
<b>24a.</b> X1 col. ii 14	tag-ab-ba x /x\-[]
<b>25.</b> X1 col. ii 15 X2 col. ii 24	/dug\ ù-NE íd šà [iri-ka] /íd a-bi\ ù-NE /íd šà\ iri-ka []
<b>26.</b> X1 col. ii 16 X2 col. ii 25	/na <sub>8</sub> \-na <sub>8</sub> -ne x /x x\ [] [] /x x x x ta?\ àm-mi-íb-[]

27.         X1 col. ii 17       [] $ab-14$ []         X2 col. ii 26       [] $/x x x []$ 28.         X1 col. ii 18 $/x x l DI dumu é-dub-ba-a []$ 29.         X1 col. ii 19       lú-e ká saĝ íl-ta-àm []         30.         X1 col. ii 20       šu-ne-ne-ta lú' ab-lá-e []         31.         X1 col. ii 21       lú kisal-lá-ke <sub>4</sub> lú dub-sar'/x []         32.         X1 col. ii 22       ki dùb gurum-ma-šè mu-ni-íb-/x []         33.         X1 col. ii 23       lú a-a-ke <sub>4</sub> a-bi níĝ-zi-da []         34.         X1 col. ii 24       lú x-x-x-na šu-ne-[]         35.         X1 col. ii 25       šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x []         36.         X1 col. ii 26       lú /lú lú-ù ab-da-lá-a []         37.         X1 col. ii 27       lú /x-x \ nu-un-šid-[]         38.         X1 col. ii 28       šà šu-na egir šu-na ud{erasure}-bi /x \
28.         X1 col. ii 18       /x x \ DI dumu é-dub-ba-a []         29.         X1 col. ii 19       lú-e ká saĝ íl-ta-àm []         30.         X1 col. ii 20       šu-ne-ne-ta lú! ab-lá-e []         31.         X1 col. ii 21       lú kisal-lá-ke4 lú dub-sar!/x \ []         32.         X1 col. ii 22       ki dùb gurum-ma-šè mu-ni-íb-/x \-[]         33.         X1 col. ii 23       lú a-a-ke4 a-bi níĝ-zi-da []         34.         X1 col. ii 24       lú x-x-x-na šu-ne-[]         35.         X1 col. ii 25       šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x \-[]         36.         X1 col. ii 26       lú /lú \-ù ab-da-lá-a []         37.         X1 col. ii 27       lú /x-x \ nu-un-šid-[]
X1 col. ii 18 /x x \ DI dumu é-dub-ba-a [] 29. X1 col. ii 19 lú-e ká saĝ fl-ta-àm [] 30. X1 col. ii 20 šu-ne-ne-ta lú' ab-lá-e [] 31. X1 col. ii 21 lú kisal-lá-ke <sub>4</sub> lú dub-sar'/x \ [] 32. X1 col. ii 22 ki dùb gurum-ma-šè mu-ni-íb-/x \-[] 33. X1 col. ii 23 lú a-a-ke <sub>4</sub> a-bi níĝ-zi-da [] 34. X1 col. ii 24 lú x-x-x-na šu-ne-[] 35. X1 col. ii 25 šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x \-[] 36. X1 col. ii 26 lú /lú \-ù ab-da-lá-a [] 37. X1 col. ii 27 lú /x-x \ nu-un-šid-[] 38.
29.         X1 col. ii 19       lú-e ká saĝ íl-ta-àm []         30.         X1 col. ii 20       šu-ne-ne-ta lú' ab-lá-e []         31.         X1 col. ii 21       lú kisal-lá-ke4 lú dub-sar'/x\ []         32.         X1 col. ii 22       ki dùb gurum-ma-šè mu-ni-íb-/x\-[]         33.         X1 col. ii 23       lú a-a-ke4 a-bi níĝ-zi-da []         34.         X1 col. ii 24       lú x-x-x-na šu-ne-[]         35.         X1 col. ii 25       šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x\-[]         36.         X1 col. ii 26       lú /lú\-ù ab-da-lá-a []         37.         X1 col. ii 27       lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[]         38.
X1 col. ii 19       lú-e ká saĝ íl-ta-àm []         30.       X1 col. ii 20       šu-ne-ne-ta lú! ab-lá-e []         31.       X1 col. ii 21       lú kisal-lá-ke <sub>4</sub> lú dub-sar!/x\ []         32.       X1 col. ii 22       ki dùb gurum-ma-šè mu-ni-íb-/x\-[]         33.       X1 col. ii 23       lú a-a-ke <sub>4</sub> a-bi níĝ-zi-da []         34.       X1 col. ii 24       lú x-x-x-na šu-ne-[]         35.       X1 col. ii 25       šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x\-[]         36.       X1 col. ii 26       lú /lú\-ù ab-da-lá-a []         37.       X1 col. ii 27       lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[]         38.
X1 col. ii 20       šu-ne-ne-ta lú <sup>1</sup> ab-lá-e []         31.       X1 col. ii 21       lú kisal-lá-ke <sub>4</sub> lú dub-sar <sup>1</sup> /x\ []         32.       X1 col. ii 22       ki dùb gurum-ma-šè mu-ni-íb-/x\-[]         33.       X1 col. ii 23       lú a-a-ke <sub>4</sub> a-bi níĝ-zi-da []         34.       X1 col. ii 24       lú x-x-x-na šu-ne-[]         35.       X1 col. ii 25       šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x\-[]         36.       X1 col. ii 26       lú /lú\-ù ab-da-lá-a []         37.       X1 col. ii 27       lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[]         38.       X1       su -
<ul> <li>31. X1 col. ii 21 lú kisal-lá-ke<sub>4</sub> lú dub-sar<sup>!</sup>/x\ []</li> <li>32. X1 col. ii 22 ki dùb gurum-ma-šè mu-ni-íb-/x\-[]</li> <li>33. X1 col. ii 23 lú a-a-ke<sub>4</sub> a-bi níĝ-zi-da []</li> <li>34. X1 col. ii 24 lú x-x-x-na šu-ne-[]</li> <li>35. X1 col. ii 25 šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x\-[]</li> <li>36. X1 col. ii 26 lú /lú\-ù ab-da-lá-a []</li> <li>37. X1 col. ii 27 lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[]</li> <li>38.</li> </ul>
X1 col. ii 21 lú kisal-lá-ke <sub>4</sub> lú dub-sar <sup>!</sup> /x [] 32. X1 col. ii 22 ki dùb gurum-ma-šè mu-ni-íb-/x [] 33. X1 col. ii 23 lú a-a-ke <sub>4</sub> a-bi níĝ-zi-da [] 34. X1 col. ii 24 lú x-x-x-na šu-ne-[] 35. X1 col. ii 25 šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x [] 36. X1 col. ii 26 lú /lú -ù ab-da-lá-a [] 37. X1 col. ii 27 lú /x-x nu-un-šid-[] 38.
<ul> <li>32. X1 col. ii 22 ki dùb gurum-ma-šè mu-ni-íb-/x\-[]</li> <li>33. X1 col. ii 23 lú a-a-ke<sub>4</sub> a-bi níĝ-zi-da []</li> <li>34. X1 col. ii 24 lú x-x-x-na šu-ne-[]</li> <li>35. X1 col. ii 25 šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x\-[]</li> <li>36. X1 col. ii 26 lú /lú\-ù ab-da-lá-a []</li> <li>37. X1 col. ii 27 lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[]</li> <li>38.</li> </ul>
X1 col. ii 22       ki dùb gurum-ma-šè mu-ni-íb-/x\-[]         33.       X1 col. ii 23       lú a-a-ke <sub>4</sub> a-bi níĝ-zi-da []         34.       X1 col. ii 24       lú x-x-x-na šu-ne-[]         35.       X1 col. ii 25       šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x\-[]         36.       X1 col. ii 26       lú /lú\-ù ab-da-lá-a []         37.       X1 col. ii 27       lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[]         38.       X1 col. ii 27       lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[]
33.         X1 col. ii 23       lú a-a-ke <sub>4</sub> a-bi níĝ-zi-da []         34.         X1 col. ii 24       lú x-x-x-na šu-ne-[]         35.         X1 col. ii 25       šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x\-[]         36.         X1 col. ii 26       lú /lú\-ù ab-da-lá-a []         37.         X1 col. ii 27       lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[]         38.
X1 col. ii 23       lú a-a-ke <sub>4</sub> a-bi níĝ-zi-da []         34.       X1 col. ii 24       lú x-x-x-na šu-ne-[]         35.       X1 col. ii 25       šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x\-[]         36.       X1 col. ii 26       lú /lú\-ù ab-da-lá-a []         37.       X1 col. ii 27       lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[]         38.
X1 col. ii 24 lú x-x-x-na šu-ne-[] 35. X1 col. ii 25 šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x\-[] 36. X1 col. ii 26 lú /lú\-ù ab-da-lá-a [] 37. X1 col. ii 27 lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[] 38.
<ul> <li>35.</li> <li>X1 col. ii 25 šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x\-[]</li> <li>36.</li> <li>X1 col. ii 26 lú /lú\-ù ab-da-lá-a []</li> <li>37.</li> <li>X1 col. ii 27 lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[]</li> <li>38.</li> </ul>
X1 col. ii 25 šu-ne-ne-a ù-un-/x\-[] 36. X1 col. ii 26 lú /lú\-ù ab-da-lá-a [] 37. X1 col. ii 27 lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[] 38.
<ul> <li>36.</li> <li>X1 col. ii 26 lú /lú\-ù ab-da-lá-a []</li> <li>37.</li> <li>X1 col. ii 27 lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[]</li> <li>38.</li> </ul>
X1 col. ii 26 lú /lú\-ù ab-da-lá-a [] <b>37.</b> X1 col. ii 27 lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[] <b>38.</b>
X1 col. ii 27 lú /x-x\ nu-un-šid-[] 38.
38.
X1 col. ii 28 šà šu-na egir šu-na ud{erasure}-bi /x\
<b>39.</b> X1 col. ii 29 lú a-a-ke <sub>4</sub> a bí-íb-na <sub>8</sub> -na <sub>8</sub>
<b>40.</b>
X1 col. ii 30 a $na_8$ -a-ni nu-ub-ta-kar $de_5$ - $de_5$ - ga ba-an-na-ab-bé ba-an-/x
41.
X1 col. ii 31 lú kisal-lá-ke <sub>4</sub> si sá-a bí-in-dug <sub>4</sub> si ba-sá-e-ne-eš
42.
X1 col. ii 32 $/ki^2 \cdot us^2 \times x - ta lu /dirig []$
<b>43.</b> X1 col. ii 33 [] /x x\-a-àm []
Section Three

X2 col. iii 1' [...]

2. X2 col. iii 2' /x x\ [...] 3. X2 col. iii 3' /KA NÍĜ\ [...] /x x\ [...] 4 X2 col. iii 4' /lú ki-ús\ [...] /x x\ [...] 5. X2 col. iii 5' /x [...] /x x-a - še x [...]6. X1 col. iii 1' [...] X2 col. iii 6' /x x x x x x x \ [...] 7. X1 col. iii 2'gu7-an-zé-en ù-ba-ab-dug4 al-/ak\-[eš] X2 col. iii 7'  $[g]u_7^?$ -/an-x?-zé-en\ ù-/bí\-[dug<sub>4</sub>...] 8. X1 col. iii 3' níĝ-gu7-ta dub-ba PAD-/x\ X2 col. iii 8' /x x x x x x x x x \ [...] 9. X1 col. iii 4' lú šu-na ka-ga<sub>14</sub>-na hé-šub-bé ab-ta-[. . .] X2 col. iii 9' /lú šu-na ka-ga<sub>14</sub>-na bí-ib\-[...] 10. X1 col. iii 5' lú saĝ-ĝar-ke<sub>4</sub> šu ù-bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub>! bí!-g[ $u_7$ ?-...] /lú saĝ-ĝar-ke<sub>4</sub>\ ù-bí-in-x x x [. . .] X2 col. iii 10' 11. X1 col. iii 6' lú a-a-ke<sub>4</sub> a bí-íb-na<sub>8</sub>-na<sub>8</sub> X2 col. iii 11' l[ú a-a]-ke<sub>4</sub> a bí-ib-[na<sub>8</sub>-na<sub>8</sub>] 12. X1 col. iii 7' a na<sub>8</sub>-a-ni nu-ub-da-kar-aš X2 col. iii 12' [...]-ni nu-ub-[...] 13. X1 col. iii 8' im-deg<sub>x</sub>-ne an-na-ab-tag ba-an-da-ab-kar X2 col. iii 13' /im-deg<sub>x</sub>-ne an-na-ab\-tag ba-a[n . . .] 14. X1 col. iii 9' a na<sub>8</sub>-na<sub>8</sub>-dè ù-ba-ab-til X2 col. iii 14'  $[a n]a_8 - n[a_8 - d] e un - [...]$ 15. X1 col. iii 10' <sup>ĝeš</sup>sa ab-lá-e bí-a-ab-gíd ù-bí-ĝar X2 col. iii 15' [x] /a\-ab-lá-e bí-a-ab-gíd ù-bí-[ĝar\*] \*X2: broken but room for just one sign

102

X1 col. iii 11' X2 col. iii 16'	<sup>ĝeš</sup> sa ù-ba-ab-lá-e-a ù-ba-ab-gíd / <sup>ĝeš</sup> sa ù\-ba-ab-lá-a ù-ba-ab-/gíd\
<b>17.</b> X1 col. iii 12' X2 col. iii 17'	lú kisal-lá-ke <sub>4</sub> sar-ra-en-zé-en ù-bí-dug <sub>4</sub> ba-an-sar-sar-ne-eš /lú kisal-lá\-ke <sub>4</sub> si sá-ab-zé-en ù-bí-/ib-dug <sub>4</sub> \ si ba-/sá\-e-ne-eš
<b>18.</b> X1 col. iii 13' X2 col. iii 18'	dúr-ru-ba-an-zé-en ù-ba-e-dug <sub>4</sub> ba-dúr-ru-ne-ne /dúr-x-ba-an-zé\-en /ù-bí\-in-dug <sub>4</sub> ba-/dúr-ru\-ne-en-ne-en
<b>19.</b> X1 col. iii 14' X2 col. iii 19'	tukum-bi dub-e igi bí-íb-kár-kár /tukum\-bi dub-/e igi\ bí-ib-/kár-kár\
<b>20.</b> N1 rev. 1' X1 col. iii 15' X2 col. iii 20'	dumu é-dub-ba-a sar-šub-ba-ni ù mu-[gub-ba-ni] dumu é-dub-ba-[k]e <sub>4</sub> ? im sar-šub-ba-ni ù im mu-gub-[ba-ni] /dumu\ é-dub-ba-ke <sub>4</sub> sar-šub-ba-na ù mu-/gub\-[b]a-na
<b>21.</b> N1 rev. 2' X1 col. iii 16' X2 col. iii 20'	ĝiškim-ma-na inim àm-ĝál-[x] ĝiškim-ma-na inim an-na-ĝ[ál-x] [ĝiš]kim-ma-na inim an-na-/ĝál\
<b>22.</b> N1 rev. 3' X1 col. iii 17' X2 col. iii 21'	ad-da é-dub-ba-a-ka-ni da-bi ì-ur <sub>4</sub> -/ur <sub>4</sub> \ ad-da é-dub-ba-ka si an-na-[] ad-da é-dub-ba-ka-/ni\ si an-na-ab-sá [x]
<b>23.</b> N1 rev. 4' X1 col. iii 18' X2	šeš-gal-e ù-ba-dab <sub>5</sub> dub-bé igi bí-íb-kár-kár šeš-gal-e /ù-ba\-a-dab <sub>5</sub> dub igi /bí\-[] omits
<b>24.</b> N1 rev. 5' X1 col. iii 19' X2 col. iii 22'	ki gu-sum si nu-ub-sá-a si an-na-ab-sá-e ki gu-/sum si nu\-[] /ki\ gu-sum si nu-ub-sá-e si an-na-ab-sá-[e]
<b>25.</b> N1 rev. 6' X1 col. iii 20' X2 col. iii 23'	tukum-bi dumu é-dub-ba-a tur-re /x x\ [] tukum-bi šu dumu é-dub-/ba-a\ tur-ra nu-tag-ta[g-x]
<b>26.</b> N1 rev. 7' X1 col. iii 21' X2	sar šub-ba-ni ù mu-gub-ba-ni ka-ga <sub>14</sub> -na li-bí-in-sè /x x x x\ ù mu-[] omits

104

```
N1 rev. 8'
                   šeš-gal-e ad-da é-dub-ba-a ka-ni an-túd-dè
X1 col. iii 22'
                   šeš-gal-e ad-da é-dub-/ba\ [...]
X2 col iii 24'
                   šeš-/gal\-e /ad-da é\-[du]b-ba /ka\-ni an-/túd\-[dè]
28.
N1 rev. 9'
                   níĝ-kurum, ak-dè ù-ba-ab-til
X1 col. iii 23'
                   šid-kurum, /ak-da\ /ù-ba\-[ab-til]
X2 col. iii 25'
                   /šid-kurum<sub>7</sub>\ [. . .] /ù-ba-ab\-[til]
29.
N1 rev. 10'
                   [lú] a-a-ke<sub>4</sub> dug dab<sub>5</sub>-ba-ab lú im dug-zu ù-bí-in-du<sub>11</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>
X1 col. iii 24'
                   1ú a-a-ke<sub>4</sub> /dug<sup>?</sup> dab<sub>5</sub>-ba-ab lú im\ [dug-zu] ù-bí-/in\-[du<sub>11</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>]
X2 col. iii 6'
                   /lú\ [...b]a-ab /lú im dug\ [...]
30.
N1 rev. 10'
                   ab-dab<sub>5</sub>-bé-ne
X1 col. iii 25'
                   dug ab-dab<sub>5</sub>-bé-ne
X2 col. iii 27'
                   [...]
31.
N1 rev. 11'
                   íd šà iri-ka-ta àm-mi-ib-si-si-ne
X1 col. iii 26'
                   íd šà iri-ka-ta-a àm-mi-ib-/si\-[si-ne]
X2 col. iii 28'
                   [...]-ke_4 \ am-[...]
32.
X1 col. iii 27'
                   /diš\ lahtan-na ù-bí-in-si-[...]
33.
X1 col. iii 28'
                   [x] / x \acute{e}^{-d}utu / \acute{g}e\check{s}a ab-lá-e a-ab-gíd u-[...]
34.
X1 col. iii 29'
                   [...]/x\-NE ki \hat{g}e\check{g}/gu\-za dnin-[x(-x^?)]
35.
X1 col. iii 30'
                   [...]/x-ab-x - [...]
36.
X1 col. iii 31'
                   [...]/x-ĝar-re-eš ù-[...]
37.
X1 col. iii 32'
                   [...]/x ba-an-/x - [...]
   Section Four
1.
X2 col. iv 1'
                   [...]
2.
X2 col. iv 2'
                   [...] /é?\-dub [...]
3.
X2 col. iv 3'
                   [...] x da x [...]
4.
X2 col. iv 4'
                   [...]-/e KA hé-en-na-x-bi\ [...] /x\
```

```
5.
X1 col. iv 1'
                   dug /x\ [...]
X2 col iv 5'
                   [\ldots z]é-en šu-na x x DU x x [x]
6
X1 col. iv 2'
                  ì-šid-bi x x [...]
X2 col. iv 6'
                   [...] / x x x x \setminus [...]
7.
X1 col. iv 3'
                   a-na-aš-àm kurum<sub>6</sub>-ma-ne-ne al-e-tur
X2 col. iv 7'
                   [...] al-[...]
8.
X1 col. iv 4'
                   a-na-aš-àm kurum<sub>6</sub>-ma-ne-ne níĝ-gu<sub>7</sub> nu-ĝál
X2 col. iv 8'
                   a-[...-n]e-ne /x x níĝ-gu<sub>7</sub> nu-ĝál\
9
X1 col. iv 5'
                   lú lú-ù dumu ĝá-gi₄-a-ka x-x-en-nu
X2 col. iv 9'
                   /lú?\ [. . .]-a-ka x x [. . .] x x
10.
X1 col. iv 6'
                   gú-ne-ne zi-ga-an-zé-en
X2 col. iv 10'
                   [...g]ú-ne-ne /zi-ga-an-zé\-[en]
11.
X1 col. iv 7'
                   si sá-zé-en ù-bí-íb-dug<sub>4</sub> si sá-sá-e-ne-eš
X2 col. iv 11'
                   [\ldots b]í-in-dug<sub>4</sub> si sá-sá-/x\-[\ldots]
12.
X1 col. iv 8'
                  é-šè te-te-a-šè
X2 col. iv 12'
                  [...]
13.
X1 col. iv 9'
                   2-bi-šé dnisaba-šè ki <sup>ĝeš</sup>gu-za dnin-líl!
                   [\ldots \hat{g}^{e}]^{s}gu-/za dnin-[\ldots]
X2 col. iv 13'
14.
X1 col. iv 10'
                   dumu é-dub-ba ki <sup>geš</sup>gú-za um-mi-a
X2 col. iv 14'
                  /*dumu é-dub-ba ki\ [. . .] /x-x\ [. . .]
      *X2: two Winkelhaken before the first sign
15.
X1 col. iv 11'
                   dug<sub>4</sub>-ba-ne-ne-a ki ab-za-za-ne
X2 col. iv 15'
                   dug<sub>4</sub>-/bí\-ne-ne-a ki a[b<sup>?</sup>...]
16.
X1 col. iv 12'
                   ká lú bal-a-ka ki ĝeš KA šeš-a-ka
X2 col. iv 16'
                   ká lú bala<sup>la</sup>-ke₄ ki ĝe[š KA še]š-x [. . .]
17.
Ur1 rev. 1'
                   /x x\ [...]
X1 col. iv 13'
                   ki-ús-bi ba-ab-da-gíd-dè
X2 col. iv 17'
                   ki-ús-bi-šè /ba-ab-gíd-dè\
```

```
Ur1 rev. 2'
                šeš-gal-e [...]
X1 col iv 14'
                šeš-gal-e ù-ba-gub
X2 col iv 18'
                šeš-gal-e ù-ba-/gub\
19.
Url rev. 3'
                im šu-ka-ne-ne-a gù /x\-[. . .] an-na-dé<sup>!</sup>-/e\-ne
X1 col. iv 15'
                im šu-ne-ne-a gù an-na-dé-e-ne
X2 col. iv 19'
                im šu-ka-ne-ne gù /mu-x\-[(x)]-/(x)-dé-e-ne?\
20.
Ur1 rev. 4'
                dé-ma-da-ni-/ib\ x x [...] al-du-un-n[a?...]
X1 col. iv 16'
                dé-ma-da-ni-ib «ni-ib» al-DU
```

### X2 col. iv 20' /gù ak\-da-ni-ib al-DU-DU

21.	
Ur1 rev. 5'	lú tag-tag-ge da ke <sub>4</sub> -d[a] sahar mu-ab-gub-/x\
X1 col. iv 17'	lú tag-tag-ge da ke <sub>4</sub> -da úr-ra ab-gub
X2 col. iv 21'	lú tag-tag-ge da ke <sub>4</sub> -da-bi a[l]-gub

### 22.

Ur1 rev. 6'	lú búr-ra-bi al-DU-[] im-ma bí-in-du <sub>8</sub> []
	lú búr-ra-bi al-DU-na im-ma-na-dúb-bé
X2 col. iv 22'	lú búr-ra-bi al-DU-/un-na x bí?\-in-DU-bé-en

## 23.

Ur1 rev. 7'dumu é!-/dub\-ba-ke4 é!-[šid-da-na] sar?-[ra-ni]X1 col. iv 19'dumu é-dub-ba-a é-šid-da-na sar-ra-niX2 col. iv 23'dumu é-dub-/ba\-a é-šid-da-/na [sar-r]a-ni

## 24.

Ur1 rev. 8'im /šu šid\-na [. . .] /da\ [. . .]X1 col. iv 20'im šu-na šid-da-na ama-na nin-a-ni šeš-a-niX2 col. iv 24'[im šu-na šid]-da-na ama-/na nin-a-ni\ [šeš]-/a\-ni

### 25.

```
X1 col. iv 21'šu ti<sub>4</sub>-ab tag-ge gù ba-dé-eX2 col. iv 25'[šu ti<sub>4</sub>]-/ab tag-ge gù im\-[. . .] gú an-na-dé-e
```

# 26.

```
X1 col. iv 22' á-áĝ-ĝá é-dub-ba-a um-mi-a
X2 col. iv 26' [á-áĝ-ĝá] /é-dub-ba\ um-mi-a
27.
```

```
X1 col. iv 23′ <sup>d</sup>nisaba zà-mí
X2 col. iv 27′ <sup>[d</sup>nisaba] zà-mí
```

X1 Colophon šu-niĝin 3 šu-ši 5

#### UNPLACED LINES

 $N1 = CBS \ 4573 \ obverse$ 

Ll. 3–8 parallel UET 6/3, 620 reverse ll. 2–9 (see below). These lines likely fall at the end of col. ii of the composite above.

- 1. tukum-bi UŠ-a-ni
- 2. lú ki dùb gurum-ma túg ki-na u[n-n]a-tag UŠ-a-ni al-de5-de5
- 3. UŠ-a-ni un-/de5!-de5?\ nu-ub-tag-tag-{ge: erased}-ge«-en-en» à[m-m]i-ine11-dè
- 4. sar-šub-ba-ni ù mu-/gub\-ba-ni ab-/du<sub>10</sub>-ge\
- 5. dub-ba-ne-ne un-til-le-eš
- 6. sar-šub-ba-ne-ne ù mu-gub-ba-ne-ne inim-inim 13-ne-ne ù-bí-in-sè-ge5-eš
- 7. ki im-na4<sup>14</sup> na-de5-de5-ge-ne ki im-na4 na-ab-tag-tag-ge-ne
- 8. [. . .] NE A àm-ma-ib-si-si-ne

1. If . . .

- 2. After the man who sat down touched the cloth at his seat he gathers his ...
- 3. After he gathered his . . . he does not touch it but he gets up.
- 4. His exercise tablet and his lexical list are good.
- 5. After they have completed their tablets
- 6. (and) after they have placed their exercise tablet, their lexical list, and their assignments
- 7. they should not gather at the place of the im-stone, they should not touch (anything) at the place of the im-stone.

8. . . .

N2 = CBS 11786, reverse col. iv

1'. [x x] /a-rá 3-àm\ [é]-dub-ba-šè [...]

2'. ní $\hat{g}$ -zú-gub pa ù-ba-ab-[ $\hat{e}^{?}$ ...]

3'. KA-ĜAR-ke<sub>4</sub> lú nam-ta-du<sub>11</sub>-ga [. . .] im-ma bí-in-gub-b[é]

(double line ruling indicating the end of the exercise)

1'.... for the third time .... to the school

2'. After lunch was served . . .

3'... he set out the clay.

Ni 4103 (ISET 2, 72)

This tablet is included because of the verb  $\hat{u}$ -bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub>. This chain occurs frequently in Eduba R, but is otherwise poorly attested in Sumerian compositions.

obverse

(beginning broken)

```
1'. [...] /x\-šu-ne
2'. [...]-RU-ne-ne-eš
3'. [...e]n<sup>?</sup>-/KA\-en ù-bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub>
4'. [...]-/x\-e-ne
5'. [...]-/x\-v-šú šu-ne-ne àm-ĝál
6'. [...N]E in-ub-ra
7'. [...]-/x\-ba-ab-dug<sub>4</sub>
8'. [...]-/x\-kam
```

13. For inim-inim as "assignment" see col. i l. 6.

14. im-na<sub>4</sub>, Akkadian *immanakku*, is a stone used for making cylinder seals (CAD I 128). The lú-im-na<sub>4</sub>-a is attested alongside the lú-dug-lahtan and the lú-ká-na in OB Lu A 467ff. Alternatively, im-na<sub>4</sub>, Akkadian *kuššikku*, is a type of clay (AHw 517).

9'. [. . .]-ta-/x\-a 10'. [. . .]-/x\-dé-dé-e 11'. [. . .]-/x\

(rest broken)

reverse

(beginning broken)

1'. [. . .] /x\ [. . .] 2'. [. . .]-ma-an-DU-eš 3'. [. . . d]é-e 4'. [. . . a]n-/x\ ab-bé 5'. [. . .]-/x\ x mu-ba-a-BAD 6'. [. . .]-na-dug<sub>4</sub> 7'. [. . .] /x\-ba-te 8'. [. . .] /x\-ba-te 8'. [. . .] /x\ NI ù mu-gub-ba-ni 9'. [. . .] /x\ šúm-mu 10'. [. . .] /x\ im-ma-an-DU-eš 11'. [. . .] in x pad ba-ni-KU ab-ta-è 12'. [. . .] /x\ [. . .]

(rest broken)

Ur2 = UET 6/3, 620

Reverse II. 2–9 parallels CBS 4573 obverse II. 3–8 (see above).

obverse

[...]-/bé<sup>?</sup>\[...]
 [...]-ab-bé ba-a[n-x]
 [...]-na<sub>8</sub>-ne un-/x\-[x]
 [...]u kisa]l-lá-ke<sub>4</sub> si sá-a-[ab] si ba-sá-e-e[n]
 [...na]m-šeš-gal-ta diri lú AN-zu-gin<sub>7</sub>
 [...] x NE-NE-dè-eš [...]-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-dè-eš
 [lú kisal-lá-ke<sub>4</sub> sar-ra-ab-en]-zé-en ù-bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub> [ki-tuš-ne-ne-a ba]-dúr-ru-ne-dè-eš
 [...]-edè šu ti-ba-ab-zé-en
 [...] dub-ba-na-ka a-ab-šú [šu-n]e-ne-a àm-ĝál
 [...]a kisal búr-ra-bi in-gub-ba [...-n]i gù ba-an-dé
 [...] /x\ <sup>ĝeš</sup>dub-dím-ta-a ra-ra

11. [. . .] /X = uub-uuu-uuu - a - a - a

12. [lú ĝeš-hu]r-ra-ke4 ĝiri3-bi ĝeš bí-íb-hur-ra

- 13. [. . .] /x\-zé-en ù-ba-ab-du<sub>11</sub>-ga
- 14. [. . .] /x\-ga nam-šeš-gal-ta

15.[. . .] /x\-ne a-ab-til-le [. . .]-dé-e

#### reverse

1. [. . .] /x\ [. . .] 2. [. . . à]m-mi-in-/e<sub>11</sub>-dè\ 3. [. . . g]ub-ba-ni ab-du<sub>10</sub>-g[e]-en

108

4. [... u]n-til-le-eš 5. [...] mu-gub-ba-ne-ne 6. [...] /ù\-bí-in-sè-ge-eš 7. [... d] $e_{5}$ -ge-da 8.  $[\ldots]$ -de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>-ge-dè 9. [. . . m]a-ib-si-si-ne 10. [...]-dug<sub>4</sub> 11. [...] /x\ ù-da-dug₄ [...]-dé 12. [...u]n-DU-dè-eš 13. [...] níĝ al-sur-re 14. [...]-til-le-eš 15. [...] /x\ bí-ib-KU-/x\-a 16. [...] AN DU-a-aš [...] 17. [...] /x\ KA /x\ [...] /x x\ [...] 18. [...] /x x\ [...] 19. [...] /x [...]

#### TRANSLATION

#### Section One

- 1. [Teacher:] "Youngster, are you a student?" [Student:] "I am (indeed) a student."
- 2. [Teacher:] "If you really are a student,
- 3. (then) what are the rules of the school?"
- 4. [Student:] If you (were to) ask me about the rules of the school,
- 5. (then) let me put it to you: I would be speaking from sunrise until sunset,
- 6. and I wouldn't be able to finish my assignments!
- 7. But I do know the rules of the school, which are limitless.
- 8. [Teacher:] "Just as one who is mute, you do not know how to speak."
- 9. [Student:] When I go to school
- 10. it is the third (watch) of the night, it is raining, but I lift my head and eat (my breakfast).
- 11. After I ate (my breakfast),

12-13.

- X1: I took my stylus, my lentil-shaped tablet, the things that I was told (I needed) and the things I was requested (to have) for school.
- X2: After I took the things that I was requested (to have) for school
- 14. I went to school humbly, I was not looking (around).
- 15. Once I entered the school,
- 16. I set my hand in place (respectfully), and I prostrated myself.
- 17. The courtyard attendant placed the tablet (which had been) in my hands on the ground.
- 18. The man in charge of macerating clay, sitting down, ...
- 19. (Despite) sitting down, he beat my head against the ceiling? (lit. against the sky.)
- 20. If he touches . . .
- 21. he will set up the macerated clay.
- 22. After sitting down, I got up,
- 23. (but once again) the courtyard attendant placed my hands on the ground.
- 24. After he told me "Sit!", then I . . .
- 25. "(Only) if Nisaba tells me!"

- 26. [Courtyard attendant:] "You all sit down and recite (your work)!"
- 27. After the courtyard attendant placed them (i.e., the students) together for the second time,
- 28. as one recites to another,
- 29. he recites arithmetic to the one who, in turn, recites arithmetic.
- 30. He recites vocabulary to the one who, in turn, recites vocabulary.
- 31. If the children have not been assembled,
- 32. then the one who . . . went outside the  $\hat{g}\hat{a}$ -gi<sub>4</sub>-a (of the school to get them).
- 33. After the children have been assembled,
- 34. the courtyard attendant, the macerated clay, clay that has been cut up (to make tablets), the clay that is desired for school (work),
- 35. after several days he will examine it.
- 36. (Once) the macerated clay has been brought in,

37. . . .

(Approximately 13 lines are missing from the end of X1, which may be duplicated at the beginning of col. ii of X2.)

#### Section Two

- 1. The man in charge of the water jugs . . .
- 2. The man in charge of the lentils . . .
- 3. The man in charge of the water jugs . . .
- 4. The courtyard attendant, the man in charge of the tablet boards, and ...

5. . . .

- 6. The man in charge of the tablet boards . . .
- 7. Until he has fashioned his tablet,
- 8. each one fashions (and) prepares his own tablet.
- 9. In order to set up the tablet, one sets up the tablet.
- 10. Until he is able to set up his tablet,
- 11. he . . . before he can set up his tablet.
- 12. X1 Having written the wedge for him ....X2 He writes the wedge.
- 13. After the man . . . said "prepare the tablet board,"
- 14. they prepared it at their ki-ús.
- 15. Having sat at the ki-ús, they set it (= the tablet board) up.
- 16. X1 (He said:) "You all give it to the man!" ... his chest (and) ...
  - X2 (He said:) "You all give it to the man!" He brought his hand to his chest (and) prostrated himself.
- 17. X1 On account of (his) authority, he gave instructions.
  - X2 On account of (his) authority, he stood to give additional instructions.
- 18. He called out "You all give it!"
- 19. X1 As the man looked, he . . . his hand and he . . . his foot.
  - X2 The man having . . . eyes, having . . . his foot.
- 20. X1 He [called (out:)] "You all give it to the man!"
- X2 (He said:) "You all give it to the man!" He found something there ...
- 21. Once he was able to set the water at the ki-ús,
- 22. once, twice . . .
- 23. After the man in charge of the water [prepared] the bound pot,
- 24. the man in charge of flattening the clay [said:] "Flatten it!"
- 24a. . . . "Touch it!"
- 25. The canal, its water, ... the Canal in the Heart of the City ...

26. . . .

- 27. . . .
- 28. . . . the student . . .

29. . . .

- 30. The man in charge of drawing the water . . . from their hands.
- 31. The courtyard attendant . . . the scribe.
- 32. Having sat down, he . . . there.
- 33. The man in charge of the water, ... their water with authority.

34. . . .

- 35. After he . . . in their hands,
- 36. since they can carry each other . . .
- 37. The one who does not count . . .
- 38. . . . in his palm and on the back of his hand.
- 39. The man in charge of the water feeds them water.
- 40. He does not take his drinking water away. He says to him "gather (it) up!" and [they gathered it up].
- 41. The courtyard attendant said "put things in order (to get ready to work)!" and they put them in order.

42–43....

(Approximately 27 lines are missing at the end of X1 col. ii and the beginning of X1 col. iii, five of which are preserved at the beginning of col. iii of X2.)

#### Section Three

1–6. . . .

- 7. After he said "you eat," they ate
- 8. the food according to the food allocation tablet.
- 9. The man . . . into his hand and into his mouth . . .
- 10. After the man in charge of entwining accomplished (this), he ate.
- 11. The man in charge of the water was drinking water
- 12. because his water had not been taken away.
- 13. He touched and took their. . .
- 14. After he finished drinking,
- 15. he stretched a net (over the water jug) and dragged it (away). After he placed (...),
- 16. after he stretched the net (over the jug) and dragged (it away),
- 17. X1 then, once the courtyard attendant said "you write," they wrote.
  - X2 then, once the courtyard attendant said "get ready," they got ready.
- 18. After he said "you sit down," they sat down.
- 19. If a tablet is to be reviewed,
- 20-21. then the student will lay out words as his signs on his exercise tablet and his lexical list.
- 22. N2 and his teacher will hover by (his) side.
  - X1, X2 and his teacher will correct it.
- 23. After the senior student has collected the tablets, he will review them.
- 24. He will correct the places where the wedges are incorrect.
- 25. N1 If the student is junior,
  - X2 If the student is junior and an ignoramus,
- 26. is unable to recite his exercise tablet and his lexical list,
- 27. the senior student and the teacher will slap his face.
- 28. After the inspection is completed,

- 29. and after the man in charge of the water says "take the jars, you idiots, your jars,"
- 30. then they will take the jars.
- 31. They will fill them from the Canal in the Heart of the City.
- 32. After they have filled one jar,
- 33.... he dragged the net and stretched it. After ...
- 34.... at the place of the chair Nin-...

35–37....

(Approximately 13 lines are missing from X1, four of which the beginning of col. iv of X2 preserves.)

#### Section Four

- 1–6. . . .
- 7. Why are their food rations inadequate?
- 8. Why is there nothing to eat in their rations?
- 9. Everyone among the children of the  $\hat{g}\hat{a}$ - $g\hat{i}_4$ -a...
- 10. After he said "You lift your heads
- 11. and set (them) straight," once they set them straight,
- 12. as they approach the school,
- 13. just like Ninlil (does) at the chair of Nisaba,
- 14.-15. the students are obedient at the chair of the senior teacher, even when speaking.
- 16. At the gate of the man on duty, at the place of the . . . of the classmate,
- 17. they are able to drag their ki-ús.
- 18. After the senior student was present,
- 19. they read aloud from their lentil-shaped tablets.
- 20. (He said:) "read." (Then) he left.
- 21. Once the man in charge of the felted cloth arrived, he stood (on the ground).<sup>15</sup>
- 22. Once the man in charge of loosening the clay loosened it, he trampled it.<sup>16</sup>
- 23. While the student is writing in his storeroom,
- 24–25. he says, (referring to) his lentil and his account, "Take it! Touch it!" to his mother, his sister, and his brother.
- 26. These are the senior teacher's rules of the school!
- 27. Praise Nisaba!

Colophon: total = 185 (lines)

#### COMMENTARY

#### Section One

L. 1: Eduba R is attested in the Nippur Catalogue No. 2 l. 57 by its third line instead of by its incipit. As Civil (1985: 67) demonstrated, some literary compositions that opened with the same line were identified by the first divergent line in order to avoid confusion.

L. 3: Literally "What are the rules of the school?" However, what is meant is the entire routine of the eduba, as the student goes on to explain.

15. The manuscript tradition for the second half of this line is different. Whereas Ur1 and X1 specify where the subject stands (sahar and  $\hat{u}r$ ), X2 omits this specification.

16. We understand the main verb of this clause to be dúb, "to trample," and the other verbs (du<sub>8</sub> and DU) to be aural mistakes.

L. 5: In this line, "sunset" is expressed metaphorically, literally as "until (the sun) returns to the walls (of his abode)" (M. Civil pers. comm.). The expression is attested lexically; see OBGT I/1 xi 33' = 815.

L. 6: The postposition -da does not have a comitative nuance here but is a hyper-corrected form influenced by the abilitative nuance of the -da- verbal infix.

L. 10: We would like to thank M. Civil for providing us with the solution to this difficult line. He suggests that the latter part of this line parallels Eduba A l. 21, which reads:  $KA \times X$ - $\hat{g}u_{10}$  (b-ta-an-ak and where X appears to be  $\hat{G}AR$  in at least one manuscript. In view of ka ak-a = *patānu*, "to eat" (CAD P 271), the student is here eating his breakfast.

L. 12: For im-šu, "lentil(-shaped tablet)," see George 1993: 70-71.

L. 14: The meaning of sun<sub>5</sub> is problematic. The OB lexical tradition is as follows:

lú al-sun<sub>5</sub>-na = ša-al-tu "haughty" OB Lu-Azlag A 93

lú al-sun<sub>5</sub>-na = wa-aš-[rum] "humble" OB Lu-Azlag A 95

 $sun_5$  as a variant for  $sun_7$ , "to be haughty," is attested lexically and in only one literary composition (Inana and Bilulu). Therefore, and given the context, we prefer the meaning "to be humble." We interpret igi nu-bar-bar-re as indicating that the student keeps his head down, wishing to remain inconspicuous.

L. 17: The lú kisal-lá is also attested in Eduba A 31, where he orders the students to write (as in our text col. iii 15). Kramer (1949: 211) suggested that "the courtyard was utilized for classroom purposes when the weather permitted" and that "it would seem that the 'man of the courtyard' acted as a kind of proctor and saw that the pupils kept to their assigned writing tasks." Charpin (2011: 26) proposed the translation "recess attendant."

L. 18: lú pa-mušen-na is attested lexically in OB Lu A 462 (MSL 12 171, a bilingual in which it is equated to *ša gappi*, "of the feather") and OB Lu D 299 (MSL 12, 209), as well as in Eduba A. In all three texts it is associated with the lú ĝiš-hur, "man of the drawing."

We would like to thank our anonymous reviewer for suggesting a definition of the lú pa-mušen-na. The reviewer pointed out that "the clay used for school tablets was finely macerated" and that this may be what is happening in the present context: the clay was finely "feathered" and used to make tablets. As such, the lú pa-mušen-na would be the man in charge of macerating the clay.

L. 19: For an-šè sàg, describing upward motion, see Volk 1995: 57 n. 381.

Ll. 24–25: We understand this passage as follows: the courtyard attendant gives an order to the narrator, which he refuses to obey, claiming that Nisaba has more authority then the supervisor. The supervisor then turns to the other students, gathers them, and groups them into pairs. He then orders them to recite their lessons, which they do.

Ll. 25–26: Implied here is the sentiment "then I will do it." For a similar example of a conditional clause with the /u/ prefix see Jagersma 2010: 524 ex. 34.

L. 26: The verb in X2 has the suffix -en-dé-en, an error for -en-zé-en, perhaps due to dittography given the verbal root.

L. 27: To the best of our knowledge the expression 2-ta-bi-šè is otherwise unattested. We propose that this is a synonym for teš-bi, stressing the idea that the students are paired.

L. 28: For lú lú-ù, "one to another," see Steinkeller 1989: 47.

L. 32: The term  $\hat{g}\hat{a}$ -gi<sub>4</sub>, gag $\hat{u}$ , is usually translated as "cloister" or "women's quarter," in reference to the area in which the Old Babylonian *nadītus* lived. This meaning, however, is not suitable to the present context. The term is also known from a few Ur III contexts (e.g., BPOA 6, 1329, SAT 2, 393), which, however, do not offer conclusive evidence as to its meaning.

### Section Two

L. 11: Both hé-DU and al-DU are possible.

L. 12:  $dab_5$  as a synonym of sar, "to write," occurs in a small fragment (Ni 4217+) that fills in part of the end of OBGT III (Civil 1998: 5).

L. 13: The identity of the lú ki-ús is unclear. Interpreting ki-ús as a cultic dais seems unlikely in this context; perhaps it refers to a platform on which the students sat.

L. 17: The basic meaning of níĝ-zid is "righteousness" or "reliability." However, a translation such as "authority" better fits our context.

L. 24: For the reading of sum<sub>6</sub> for TAG see Proto-Ea 847 (MSL 14 62).

#### Section Three

Ll. 7–8: The syntax of these lines is unexpected, but parallels that of SP 3 100. We presume a compound verb  $n\hat{g}$ - $gu_7$  ak, and assume that an -eš has been lost at the end of the verb in l. 7. The reading of PAD as  $\hat{s}ukur_2$  or kurum is uncertain. The grammatical relationship between dub and PAD is also unclear, but we assume a genitival relationship from context.

L. 10: For šu dug<sub>4</sub>, "to accomplish," see Attinger 1993: 699. For <sup>na4</sup>saĝ-ĝar, "upper millstone," see Stol 1979: 89, 92–93; Civil 2006: 123. For lú saĝ-ĝar-ra = ta-mu-<sup>r</sup>u<sub>2</sub>-um<sup>1</sup>, "the one who braids, twists, spins, entwines" (CAD T 45; OB Lu B iii 47 = MSL 12 181) is perhaps involved with braiding or entwining reed mats or baskets.

L. 20: Note the following lexical equivalents:

im-sar-ra	ţuppu	(Hh X 441 = MSL 7 102)
im-sar-šub-ba	ŠU-и	(Hh X 442 = MSL 7 102)
im-mu-gub-ba	ŠU-и	(Hh X 443 = MSL 7 102)
im-mu-gub-ba	ši-pir-tum	(Hg to Hh X 115, MSL 7 112)
mu-gub-ba	$[\check{s}i-ti]r \check{s}[u]-m[i]$	(Erimhuš VI 67, MSL 17 83)

L. 28: The translation follows the Nippur text. X1 and X2 have  $id-kurum_7$ ; perhaps something like "after the recitation is finished" was intended.

L. 31: For the "Canal in the Heart of the City," the name of a canal in Nippur according to a Middle Babylonian map, see Gibson et al. 1998–2001: 560. Cf. Section Two, 1. 25.

#### Section Four

Ll. 11–12: We understand the final verb in both lines here as dependent on the finite verb in l. 15.

Ll. 13–14: 2-bi-šè is the equivalent of Akkadian *šanîš*, with the meaning "similarly" attested in OB (CAD Š/I 386–87). For Nisaba as the mother of Ninlil, see Krebernik 1998–2001: 456; Michalowski 1998–2001: 576–77. We understand ll. 13–14 as a chiastic structure in which Ninlil is to Nisaba as the students are to the professor.

L. 16: We translate lú-bal-a as "man on duty" following Civil 1992: 304. Kramer (1949: 205) translates "monitor" (see Eduba A 24). While there was likely a gate between the house and the street, this was certainly not an imposing barrier (Stone 1987: plts. 17–19). A better sense here is something like "station" or "post."

L. 20: This line is problematic. Contextually, the imperative is unexpected since there is no real sequence of events from II. 19–21 that would justify I. 20 as it stands. Moreover, the imperative is never written in this text without the verb "to speak." As such, we are unsure of the reading of DU. While we might assume it as a mistake for  $dug_4$ , its occurrence in three manuscripts makes this assumption unlikely. We amend the second ni-ib in X1 as a dittography.

As for the verb gù ak in X2, this is an Akkadianism modeled on the expression  $p\hat{a}m$   $ep\bar{e}sium$ . For parallels see George 2009: 107 and commentary to col. i 10 above.

L. 21: For the "man of the felted cloth" see Civil 1992: 304. For da ak as a variant of á ak ("to approach, to enter"), see Attinger 2005: 220 with references. We understand úr in this context as "ground." For úr dun-dun, "to sit on the ground," see Wilcke 1969: 190–91; Volk 1995: 202.

L. 22: du-un (X2) is a syllabic spelling of dun "to dig." Lexically, lú-al-búr-ra is equated to *pašru* (OB Lu B iii 22 = MSL 12 180) "man in charge of procuring (lit: loosening up) the clay."

L. 23: For the tenative translation of é-šid as "storeroom," see the discussion of šid nibru<sup>ki</sup> in Tinney 1996: 131-32.

#### APPENDIX: SCHOOL STAFF

Several of the school officials appearing in Eduba R (presented in order of appearance below) are attested in the Old Babylonian Lu list (MSL 12), often grouped together. For example, the lú pa-mušen-na occurs together with the lú <sup>la</sup>lahtan-na and lú dub-dím, although they are separated by other professional titles that are not preserved in the surviving sections of Eduba R. This may be nothing more than coincidence. Alternatively, it may suggest that the list was extracted from this composition, or, more likely, that this composition was elaborated from this section of the list. A third possibility is that both Eduba R and OB Lu refer back to a third source, currently unknown. The relationship between Sumerian literature and lexical lists is a well-documented phenomenon (Civil 1987; Michalowski 1998; Rubio 2004), but is at present still poorly understood.

lú kisal-lá	courtyard attendant	
lú pa-mušen-na	man in charge of macerating clay	MSL 12 157A: 462; MSL 12 209: 299
lú <sup>la</sup> lahtan-na	man in charge of the water jugs	MSL 12 157A: 468; MSL 12 209: 308
lú im-šu	man in charge of the lentils	
lú dub-dím	man in charge of the tablet boards	MSL 12 157A: 465;
		MSL 12 209: 305
lú ki-ús	_	
lú a-a	man in charge of the water	
lú im-tag	man in charge of preparing the clay	MSL 12 181: 51
lú ab-lá-e	man in charge of drawing water	
lú ab-ta-lá	_	
lú saĝ-ĝa	man in charge of entwining	MSL 12 181: 47
ad-da	teacher	
šeš-gal	senior student	
um-mi-a	senior teacher	
lú tag-tag-ge	man in charge of the felted cloth	
lú búr-ra-bi	man in charge of loosening the clay	MSL 12 209: 301

#### REFERENCES

Attinger,	P.	1993.	Eléments	de	linguistique	sumérienne:	La	construction	de	du <sub>11</sub> /e/di	$\ll$ dire $\gg$ .
Göttin	ger	1: Vand	lenhoeck &	k R	uprecht.						
	. 2	005. A	propos de	A	K ≪faire≫. Z	A 95: 46–64,	208	-75.			

Charpin, D. 2011. Reading and Writing in Babylon. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

- Civil, M. 1964. A Hymn to the Beer Goddess and a Drinking Song. In From the Workshop of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary: Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, ed. R. D. Biggs and J. A. Brinkman. Pp. 67–89. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
  - . 1985. Sur les "Livres d'écolier" à l'époque Paléo-Babylonienne. In *Miscellanea Babylonica: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, ed. J.-M. Durand and J.-R. Kupper. Pp. 67–78. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
  - . 1987. Feeding Dumuzi's Sheep: The Lexicon as a Source of Literary Inspiration. In *Language, Literature and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, ed. F. Rochberg-Halton, Pp. 37–55. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
  - . 1992. Education. In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* 2: 301–5.
  - \_\_\_\_\_\_. 1998. Bilingual Teaching. In *Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994*, ed. Stefan M. Maul. Pp. 1–7. Groningen: STYX Publications.
  - \_\_\_\_\_\_. 2006. The Song of the Millstone. In *Šapal tibnim mû illakū: Studies Presented to Joaquín Sanmartín on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. G. del Olmo Lete, L. Feliu, and A. M. Alba. Pp. 121–38, Barcelona: Editorial AUSA.
- Delnero, P. 2010. Sumerian Literary Catalogs and the Scribal Curriculum. ZA 100: 32-55.

George, A. 1993. Ninurta-Pāqidāt's Dog Bite, and Notes on Other Comic Tales. *Iraq* 55: 63–75.

- \_\_\_\_\_\_. 2009. Babylonian Literary Texts in the Schøyen Collection. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press. Gibson, M., D. P. Hansen, and R. L. Zettler. 1998–2001. Nippur, B. Archäologisch. *RLA* 9: 546–65.
- Jagersma, B. 2010. A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian. PhD diss., University of Leiden.
- Kleinerman, A. 2011. Education in Early 2nd Millennium BC Babylonia: The Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany. Leiden: Brill.
- Kramer, S. N. 1949. A Sumerian Composition Relating to the Education of a Scribe. *JAOS* 69: 199–215.
- Krebernik, M. 1998-2001. Ninlil. RLA 9: 453-61.
- Michalowski, P. 1998. Literature as a Source of Lexical Inspiration: Some Notes on a Hymn to the Goddess Inanna. In *Written on Clay and Stone: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Krystina Szarzynska*, ed. J. Braun et al. Pp. 65–73. Warsaw: Agade.
  - \_\_\_\_\_. 1998–2001. Nisaba. A. Philologisch. RLA 9: 575–79.
- Robson, E. 2001. The Tablet House: A Scribal School in Old Babylonian Nippur. RA 95: 39-66.
- Rubio, G. 2004. Early Sumerian Literature: Enumerating the Whole. In *De la tablilla a la inteligencia artificial: Homenaje al Prof. J. L. Cunchillos en su 65 aniversario*, ed. J.-P. Vita and A. González Blanco. Vol. 1, pp. 131–42. Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo.
- Sallaberger, W. 1993. Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Sjöberg, Å. 1972. A Commemorative Inscription of King Šūsîn. JCS 24: 70-73.
- Sladek, W. R. 1974. Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld. PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University.
- Snell, D. 1982. Ledgers and Prices: Early Mesopotamian Merchant Accounts. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press.
- Steinkeller, P. 1989. Sale Documents of the Ur III Period. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Stol, M. 1979. On Trees, Mountains, and Millstones in the Ancient Near East. Leiden: NINO.
- Stone, E. 1987. Nippur Neighborhoods. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- Tinney, S. 1996. The Nippur Lament: Royal Rhetoric and Divine Legitimation in the Reign of Išme-Dagan of Isin (1953–1935 B.C.). Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Vanstiphout, H. L. J. 1997. School Dialogues. In *The Context of Scripture, I: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, ed. W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger. Pp. 588–93. Leiden: Brill.
- Volk, K. 1995. Inanna und Šukaletuda. Zur historisch-politischen Deutung eines sumerischen Literaturwerkes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Wilcke, C. 1969. Das Lugalbandaepos. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.