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ANALYSIS OF TWO TERMS RELATED TO MUSIC

IN ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA:

NAM-NAR AND *NĀRŪTU*(*M*)

A Dissertation written by

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under the supervision of

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To Juan Manuel Fernández Soler, *amicissimo historico*.

To José Andrés Morales Prados, *amicissimo tibicini*.

To my beloved grandparents José María Muñoz Cañadas and Carmen Díaz Arenas.

Sadly, all of you have already left this world, but your love and my good memories of

you will always be with me.

Ohne Musik wäre das Leben ein Irrtum

Götzen-Dämmerung oder Wie

man mit dem Hammer philosophiert

Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Then, and following a recommendation from Dr. María Érica Couto Ferreira, we followed up on the Sumerian and Akkadian courses offered on an online platform of the *DULA* (*Diplôme d'Université de Langues Anciennes*) by the *Université de Strasbourg*. These courses were taught by Dr. Anne-Caroline Rendu Loisel, whose research on Sumero-Akkadian soundscapes was very interesting for us as a part of the larger world of the Mesopotamian music. We could have never found a better teacher. Certainly, she has been an excellent and very supportive teacher in all the possible academic aspects. Not only for the acquisition of that two-year degree, but also for many other aspects of our PhD trajectory: From discussion of texts, passing for the moment when she wrote for us some letters of recommendation. Se also helped us in our most stressful and saddest moments of those years. Sincerely, many thanks for everything.

The last thing that happened in those months in Würzburg was the start of our application for a research and study stay at the *Universiteit Leiden* from the 09/07/2018–20/12/2018 as a visiting scholar. Our supervisor there was Dr. Abraham H. Jagersma, whom we had already contacted in January 2017. Our stay in that Paradise, Leiden, started with the attendance at courses of the 13th Edition of the renowned Leiden Summer School of Languages and Linguistics: "Sumerian" (with Dr. Abraham H. Jagersma, including a later assignment for extra ETCS Credits), "Introduction to Ugaritic" (with Prof. Agustinus Gianto), "Introduction to Classical Mandaic" (with Prof. Holger Gzella and Paul Noorlander) and "Dutch for beginners" (with the enthusiastic Petra Couvée). From those courses, and the other activities of that Summer School, we obtained some interests in Comparative Linguistics which we have tried to reflect in this study. Many thanks.

Then, we had time for exploring in depth the facilities of the library of the NINO (*Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten*), and we tried to write a bit of this dissertation with some feedback from Dr. Abraham H. Jagersma. After the summer, we attended some courses of that institution as guest student: "Royal Inscriptions from the Assyrian to the Persian Empire" (with Dr. Melanie M. Groβ, whom we thank also for our conversations in German), "Werkcollege Akkadisch 1: Oudbabylonische brieven" and "Advanced Cuneiform Epigraphy" (with Dr. Jan Gerrit Dercksen) as well as "Advanced Sumerian" with Dr. Abraham H. Jagersma.

Thanks for these courses, especially the last two ones. In the first one, we had our first contact with real clay tablets from the *Böhl Collectie* written in Sumerian, Akkadian, and Elamite (many thanks for this invitation for initiating ourselves in that language). This was very useful for later stages of our study. In the second course, we edited in score and

commented on the first 141 lines of *Lugalbanda and the Anzud Bird*. That was definitely a high point for us. There, we definitely learned how to prepare scores for (Sumerian) literary texts. In fact, all the scores prepared for this PhD dissertation have followed on that. Moreover, we got familiar with reading photos from CDLI. As a part of that course, we discussed our first drafts of *Ur-Namma A*, 187–188 with Dr. Jagersma. He was an excellent teacher (one of the best we have known) and taught us how to go much further. That is not only for Sumerian grammar and literary texts (where his knowledge is out of question), but also for the academic world in general. Infinite thanks for that.

Many thanks also to other Leiden Assyriological colleagues, as Prof. Caroline Waerzeggers, PD Jeanette Fincke, Dr. Lidewij van de Peut, Dr. Jonathan Valk, Julia Giessler, Maarja Seire, Ivo dos Santos Martins, Akiko Tsujita and Stephen Moore. We could not forget to our classmates. Among others, Jasper Cremers, Martijn Kokken, Jet Vellinga, Jolieke van't Hoff, Lucrezia Menicatti, Alba de Ridder, and Lisa van Oudheusden. All of them made those months so nice and productive for us concerning Assyriology and life in general. We need to give thanks also to our friends of the *Leids Harmonie Orkest*. They let us to play as 1ˢᵗ Oboe with them during those months and the final concert. However, above all, they reminded us of the universality of music. Finally, thanks to my landlady, Welmoet Wels, and her family, for all their help and support, even for the Academia, since Welmoet is also a PhD Candidate at the *Universiteit Groningen*.

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Then, we would like to give thanks to the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology for allowing us to collate some tablets in 01–02/08/2019 and 19–23/08/2019 respectively. In London, we could return to the fantastic library of the SOAS. We already were there in December 2016 for the ICONEA conference (where we met Richard Dumbrill and Theo J. H. Krispijn) and, as in that occasion, our stay was very productive thanks to its facilities. In Philadelphia, we

ABBREVIATIONS AND WRITING CONVENTIONS

1. Index of abbreviations

   1.1. Bibliographical abbreviations

As is usual in Assyriology, some publications referred in this study will be cited with an abbreviation in a footnote. For such abbreviations, we follow the list of CDLI (http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/abbreviations_for_assyriology; [Last search on 12/10/2019])[1]. That list seemed to us very updated and complete, especially for electronic publications and Sumerological collections. Moreover, it was also easier to search there our abbreviations than in AHw, CAD or RlA. We have also these other abbreviations (normally volumes of collections referred to on CDLI) and exceptions:

AbB 9	= Stol, 1981
AbB 14	= Veenhof, 2005
aBZL	= Mittermayer, 2006
Achemenet	Briant, P. (1999 -), *Achemenet Project*, [Online database] <http://www.achemenet.com/fr/> [Last search on 12/10/2019].
AIHA	*The Ancient Inscriptions in Himrin Area*
AIHA 4	= Rašīd, 1981
AnOr 7	= Schneider, 1932
Archibab	*Archibab. Archives Babyloniennes* (XXe-XVIIe siècles av. J.-C.), [Online database] <http://www.archibab.fr/> [Last search the 12/10/2019]. Editions from this site will be cited with the catalogue numbers used in that database (a T + a number with four digits)
ARET 5	= Edzard, 1984
ARET 9	= Milano, 1990

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[1] Obviously, in a study focused on Mesopotamian music like this one, we cannot follow the abbreviation "Musik" of CDLI for the Henrike Hartmann's PhD Dissertation (= Hartmann, 1969) since there are many other works of this study with this "Musik" in the title (for instance, Volk, 1994).

ARM 1	= Dossin, 1950
ARM 5	= Dossin, 1951
ARM 10	= Dossin, 1978
ARM 13	= Dossin, *et alii,* 1964
ARM 18	= Rouault, 1977
ARM 21	= Durand, 1983
ARM 22/1	= Kupper, 1983
ARM 23	= Bardet, *et alii*, 1984
ARM 24	= Talon, 1985
ARM 25	= Limet, 1986
ARM 32	= Arkhipov, 2012
Atiqot 4	= Levy and Artzi, 1965
AUCT 1	= Sigrist, 1984
AUCT 3	= Sigrist, Gavin, Stein and Menard
BDTNS	*Base de Datos de Textos Neo-Sumerios*, [Online database] <http://bdtns.filol.csic.es/> [Last search on 12/10/2019]. Editions from this site will be cited with the catalogue numbers used in that database (BDTNS + a number with six digits)
BIN 3	= Keiser, 1971
BIN 5	= Hackman, 1937
BIN 9	= Crawford, 1954
BIN 10	= van de Mieroop, 1987
BLMS	*Bilinguals of Late Mesopotamian Scholarship*, [Online database] <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/blms/corpus> [Last search on 12/10/2019]. In order to access the editions, just write the abbreviation or the museum number of the manuscript.
BPOA 2	= Ozaki and Sigrist, 2006
BPOA 6	= Sigrist and Ozaki, 2009a
BPOA 7	= Sigrist and Ozaki, 2009b
BPOA 9	= Peterson, 2011
BPOA 10	= Paoletti, 2012

bo. e.	Bottom edge (for textual editions)
CAL	*The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*, [Online database] <http://CAL.huc.edu> [Last search the 12/10/2019].
CAMS/GKAB	*Corpus of Ancient Mesopotamian Scholarship: Geography of Knowledge Corpus*, [Online database] <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cams/gkab/corpus/> [Last search the 12/10/2019]. In order to access a concrete edition, write the abbreviation or catalogue number of the text following this edition.
CCP	*Cuneiform Commentaries Project*, [Online database] <https://ccp.yale.edu/> [Last search the 12/10/2019]. Editions from this database will be mentioned with their CCP numbers.
CT 4	= Pinches, 1898
CT 11	= Thompson, 1900
CT 12	= Thompson, 1901
CT 14	= Thompson, 1902
CT 15	= King, 1902a
CT 17	= Thompson, 1903
CT 18	= Thompson, 1904a
CT 19	= Thompson, 1904b
CT 28	= Handcock, 1910
CT 36	= Gadd, 1921
CT 45	= Pinches, 1964
CT 54	= Dietrich, 1979
CT 58	= Alster and Geller, 1990
CUSAS 11	= Visicato and Westenholz, 2010
CUSAS 12	= Civil, 2010
CUSAS 13	= Maiocchi, 2009
CUSAS 19	= Maiocchi and Visicato, 2012
CUSAS 20	= Pomponio and Visicato, 2015
CUSAS 35	= Bartash, 2016
DCCLT	*Diachronic Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts*, [Online database] <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/pager>

[Last search on 12/10/2019]. Composite editions from this database will be cited with a catalogue number of the type Q + six digits. For non-composite editions, write the abbreviation or the catalogue number of the text following an edition of this database.

DGS	= Jagersma, 2010
ELS	= Attinger, 1993
eSAD	*Supplement to the Akkadian Dictionaries*, [Online database] <http://altorient.gko.uni-leipzig.de/etymd.html> [Last search the 12/10/2019]. For checking references, look for the term in question by its first letter.
ETCSL	*Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*, [Online database] <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/> [Last search on 12/10/2019]. Editions will be cited using the catalogue numbers of that database.
FM	*Florilegium Marianum* (collection)
FM 3	= Durand and Guichard, 1997
FM 9	= Ziegler, 2007
FM 11	= Chambon, 2009
FM 16	= Reculeau, 2018
Gestirn-Darstellungen	= Weidner, 1967
HAO	*Hilprecht Archive Online*, [Online database] <http://altorient.gko.uni-leipzig.de/etymd.html> [Last search the 12/10/2019].
JANER	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion
LaBaSi	*Late Babylonian Signs*, [Online database] <https://labasi.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/> [Last search the 12/10/2019].
le. e.	Left edge (for textual editions)
NaBuCCo	Abraham, K., Jursa, M. and Gordin, Sh. (2013), *The Neo-Babylonian Cuneiform Corpus (NaBuCCo)*, KU Leuven, [Online database] <https://nabucco.arts.kuleuven.be/> [Last search on 12/10/2019]. Editions from that database will be cited with a catalogue number composed of four digits.

MDP 14	= Scheil, 1913
MVN 3	= Owen, 1975
MVN 5	= Sollberger, 1978
MVN 6	= Pettinato, 1977
MVN 7	= Pettinato and Picchioni, 1978
MVN 8	= Calvot, Pettinato, Picchioni and Reshid, 1979
MVN 10	= Grégoire, 1981
MVN 12	= Sigrist, Owen and Young, 1984
MVN 15	= Owen, 1991
MVN 20	= D'Agostino, 1997
MVN 21	= Koslova, 2000a
Nisaba 6	= al-Rawi and D'agostino, 2005
Nisaba 11	= al-Rawi and Verderame, 2006
Nisaba 15/2	= Owen, 2013
Nisaba 23	= al-Rawi and Verderame, 2009
Nisaba 24	= al-Rawi, D'Agostino and Taylor, 2009
Nisaba 26	= al-Rawi, Gorello and Notizia, 2013
Nisaba 30	= Owen, 2016.
o.	Obverse (for textual editions)
OECT 4	= van der Meer, 1938
OIP 11	= Chiera, 1929
OrSP 18	= Schneider, 1925
OrSP 47–49	= Schneider, 1930
PBS 1/1	= Myhrman, 1911
PBS 5	= Poebel, 1914
PBS 8/1	= Chiera, 1914
PBS 8/2	= Chiera, 1922a
PBS 12/1	= Langdon, 1917
PDT 2	= Yildiz and Gomi, 1988
PIHANS 117	= Eidem, 2011
Princeton 2	= Sigrist, 2005
Perseus	*Perseus Digital Library*, [Online database]
	<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>

[Last search the 04/09/2019].

r.   Reverse (for textual editions)

RINAP   *The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, [Online database]

                      <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/corpus/>

                      [Last search on 12/10/2019]. Editions from that database will be cited

                      with its catalogue numbers (Q + six digits)

SAA 3   = Livingstone, 1989

SAA 7   = Nissinen, 1998

SAA 10   = Parpola, 1993

SAA 20   = Parpola, 2017

SAAo   *State Archives of Assyria Online*, [Online database]

                      <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/saao/corpus>

                      [Last search on 12/10/2019]. In order to access to the editions from

                      this database, write the original SAA number in the search tool.

Sant'Agostino   *Sant'Agostino / Agustinus Hipponensis*, [Online database],

                      <https://www.augustinus.it/index2.htm>

                      [Last search 04/09/2019].

SANTAG 6   = Koslova, 2000a

TCL 5   = Genouillac, 1922

TCL 6   = Thureau-Dangin, 1922

TCL 11   = Thureau-Dangin, 1926

TCL 14   = Thureau-Dangin, 1928

TLA   *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, [Online database],

                      <http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html> [Last search 12/10/2019].

TMH 5   = Pohl, 1935

TMH 10   = Goddeeris, 2016

TH NF 4   = Kramer, 1967c

TUT   = Reisner, 1901

UET 3   = Legrain, 1947

UET 5   = Figulla and Martin, 1953

UET 6/1   = Gadd and Kramer, 1963

UET 6/2   = Gadd and Kramer, 1966

UET 6/3   = Shaffer and Ludwig, 2006

UET 7	= Gurney, 1973
UET 9	= Darlene, 1976
VAS 10	= Zimmern, 1913
VS 26	= Veenhof, 1992
Wb	= Erman and Grapow, 1924–1961
YOS 5	= Grice, 1919
YOS 6	= Dougherty, 1923
YOS 10	= Goetze, 1947b
YOS 15	= Goetze, 2009
YOS 18	= Snell and Lager, 1991

In printed books, an abbreviation + number refers a text in the book mentioned with that abbreviation. Thus, FM 9 13 is text 13 in Ziegler 2007. If the citation refers to a p. (= page) or pl, (=plate), that page or plate in the cited work it meant.

1.2. Grammatical abbreviations

Finally, this study uses some grammatical abbreviations (both for Sumerian and Akkadian) following those of DGS, p. 17. However, there are some exceptions. They follow on the new version of Jagersma's grammar, an unpublished and shortened text currently used for teaching purposes by his author and updated annually. These different abbreviations are from that grammar:

1SG.POSS	1st singular possessive (Sumerian and Akkadian)
3SG.POSS	3rd (human) singular possessive (Sumerian and Akkadian)
3NH.POSS	3rd non-human possessive (Sumerian; nouns)
3NH.IO	3rd non-human indirect object (Sumerian; verbal chains)
3NH.O	3rd non-human direct object (Sumerian; verbal chains)
PFV	Perfective Verbal Form (Sumerian; verbal stems)

2. About terms in ancient languages

Following some Assyriological conventions, these are the different types of letters we are going to use for our different terms in the ancient languages used in this study:

-   The few Elamite terms mentioned in this study will be written in normal letters. For instance, šu-ku-ri, a term of uncertain meaning.

-   Akkadian terms, and most of the rest of the foreign terms used in this study, will be written in *italics*. For instance, *ilu*(*m*) (Akkadian) for "deity". Concerning mimation in Akkadian terms, when we deal with texts before the end of the Old Babylonian Period, we shall always write the final *m*. For later periods, we shall always delete it. When we talk about a term without paying attention to a concrete period, said word will be written with an "(*m*)" in order to indicate the optional presence of that letter.

-   Sumerian terms will be written in **bold letters**, for instance, **diŋir** for "deity"[2].

-   Sumerograms[3] (here only for Akkadian texts) will be written in **BOLD SMALL CAPS**[4]. For instance, **DIŊIR**, which must be read as *ilu*(*m*) in an Akkadian text, *siuna-* or *siunis-* (*siuniya etymologically) in a Hittite text[5], or *eni-* in a Hurrian one[6]. All these terms mean "deity" as the original Sumerian **diŋir**.

-   Finally, we use CAPITAL LETTERS for names of signs. For instance, the sign AN, which can be read logographically (for instance, **diŋir**), but also phonetically (for instance, **an** as in the Sumerian **mu-na-an-du₃**, "he built it for him/her").

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[2] It is not relevant to use the conventions described in DGS, p. 12 because, as the author told us, they are used by nobody beyond DGS.

[3] We understand the Sumerogram (also the Akkadogram) to be something between the sign (which has logographic and phonetic readings) and a concrete word (a Sumerogram never gives a phoneme). In this sense, we find it convenient to make this distinction which is sometimes forgotten. See, for instance, Black, 1991 for a confusion between Sumerograms and signs (go to our section 2.4 for demonstration).

[4] We avoid the NORMAL SMALL CAPS as a matter of coherence with our conventions for the Sumerian.

[5] Tischler, 2001: 153.

[6] GLH, p. 80; Fournet, 2013: 32.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Approach to the topic of this study

The clay tablet RS 15.30 + 15.49 + 17.387 (Ugarit, modern Raʾs Šamra in Syria; 15th century BCE[1]) contains the world's oldest known (and complete[2]) musical piece: the fragment H.6 from the group of texts known as "Hurrian Songs"[3], a fragment usually called the "Hurrian Hymn of Ugarit". The content of that tablet (defined in its colophon as a "song", *zamāru* in Akkadian) is divided in two parts. On the one hand, a prayer of an infertile woman to the moon goddess Nikkal written in Hurrian[4]. On the other hand, there are some numbers with terms (for instance, *kablite*) designating string combinations or intervals with origin in the Sumero-Akkadian tradition[5] from southern Mesopotamia.

These technical musical terms (in addition to the *nīd qabli* describing the mode of this song[6]) are still difficult to understand for researchers. In fact, many monodic[7] and polyphonic[8] reconstructions for that piece have been proposed in the past. However, they are in any case a good example for knowing how rich the Sumero-Akkadian musical terminology could be. Certainly, we have many terms in these two languages for

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[1] According to Kilmer, 2014: 92. However, Krispijn, 2002: 473 proposes the chronology ± 1200 BCE.

[2] The usual agreement among Assyriologists/researchers on Mesopotamian music is that we have a complete melody here composed of an accompaniment and a melody. This melody would probably repeat the higher note of the dichord (see Kilmer, 1974: 80; Krispijn, 2002: 479 or Dumbrill, 2019: 65 for modern reconstructions of this song). However, Hagel, 2005: 290 and 2018: 109 thinks that those dichords would reflect just an accompaniment, not being necessary to write down the melody, learned by heart by the singer. In any case, neither option is perfect, as the dichords and text are notated separately in the tablet.

[3] See Dumbril, 2005: 111–175 for the complete group of Hurrian songs from Ugarit.

[4] See Krispijn, 2002: 474-475 for a grammatical analysis and translation of its content. That is based on Ilse Wegner's Hurrian grammar published in 2000. Perhaps it might be revised with Wegner, 2007.

[5] Certainly, the intervals of that tablet were already known by the Old Babylonian "Tuning Instructions" UET 7 74 and UET 6/3 899 (see Krispijn, 2002: 472 and Mirelman and Krispijn, 2009 for reference).

[6] Crocker, 1997: 195 and Kilmer, 2000: 114 said that it designated the Dorian Mode. However, Hagel, 2005: 298–311 gave some arguments for considering it the equivalent of the Lydian mode. Shehata, 2017b: 45 shared them. Nevertheless, Kilmer, 2014: 95 still maintained its identification with the Dorian mode.

[7] Wulstan, 1971: 380-381; Duchesne-Guillemin, 1975: 166 (also 1980: 22, 1984: 31); Vitale, 1979-1980: 61–62 (also 1982: 261–262); Dumbrill, 2005: 130 (last update in Dumbrill, 2019: 65).

[8] Kilmer, 1974: 80; Černý, 1988: 62 (also Černý, 2004: 30); West, 1994: 177; Krispijn, 2002: 479.

instruments and their parts[9], musicians[10], compositions (with their divisions)[11] in addition to performance techniques, and related topics[12]. In this way, those musical terms (and the texts containing them) are a very important source for understanding the relationships of Mesopotamian people with their music. However, was there any term for "Music" *per se* in Sumerian and/or Akkadian? Was there a term gathering all these aspects as in our own word for "Music"?

From a Western perspective, the absence of such a word in any culture may be surprising. Certainly, our Indo-European languages have specific words for "Music," itself coming from the Latin *musica*. That term would come in turn from the Greek μουσικὴ τέχνη (literally "the Muses' art"), a term which seems not to have been influenced by non-Indo-European languages[13]. However, outside this language family, the presence of a term for "Music" is not so common around the world[14]. It is relevant, for instance, that the languages of many African countries have only adopted the term for "Music" from the languages of the European countries which colonized them in the past. Instead, the native languages of these countries usually just refer to some concrete musical practices. This is the case of *kuimba* ("to sing") and *kuridza* ("to play an instrument") in Shona, a Bantu language from Zimbabwe[15]. The same happens in the modern Near East, where, for instance, the Arabic term *al-mūsīqā* seems to be a copy of the Greek μουσικὴ (even with the equivalences *ū* = ου and *ā* = ὴ) coming from the Middle Age[16].

In this sense, let us have a look in our next section at the various answers proffered to this question in the past — the existence (or not) of a word for "Music" in Mesopotamia.

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[9] Krispijn, 2010b: 131–148 (3rd and 2nd Millennia); Gabbay, 2014a: 84–154 (1st Millennium).

[10] Sassmannshausen, 2001: 66, 100–101 (Middle Babylonian Period); Jakob, 2003: 518–522 (Middle Assyrian Period); FM 9, p. 13–53 (Old Babylonian Mari); Shehata, 2009: 13–106 (Old Babylonian southern Mesopotamia); Gabbay, 2014a: 63–84 (1st Millennium, with focus on the **gala**/*kalû(m)* lamentation priest). In addition, Pruzsinszky, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2013 for the Ur III Period and Tonietti, 1988, 1989, 1997a and 1997b, 1998, 2010, 2018 for the Early Dynastic Period especially for Ebla.

[11] Shehata, 2009: 223–336 (Old Babylonian Period), and Gabbay, 2014a: 1–15 (1st Millennium).

[12] *Lato sensu*, Mirelman, 2008: 103–107. For concrete periods, Shehata, 2009: 351–360; Mirelman and Sallaberger, 2010 and Shehata, 2018b: 68–81 (Old Babylonian Period); Koubková, 2016; Mirelman, 2010a; Gabbay and Mirelman, 2011; Rendu Loisel, 2011: 292–332 Mirelman, 2018b (1st Millennium).

[13] Beekes, 2010: 972.

[14] Zemp, 1978: 37, but, in page 63, there is an approach between the 'Are'are term *'au* and "music".

[15] D'Amico and Kaye, 2004: 53–54.

[16] Al-Faruqi, 1981: 209; Sultan, 1988: 388.

1.2. Previous Research

1.2.1. About a Word for "Music" in Mesopotamia

1.2.1.1.   Introduction

The topic of our previously expressed question is not at all trivial for two reasons. First, to find a positive answer for that question is the first and main step to starting to reflect upon the concept of music in ancient Mesopotamia. Certainly, we cannot talk about a "Mesopotamian concept of music" if we do not even have such a word in Sumerian or Akkadian. This topic is still practically without studies for Mesopotamia[17], unlike in the study of music in ancient Egypt[18], India[19], China[20] or Greece[21].

Second, this topic has obtained a new interest in light of some Assyriological works[22] and research projects[23] showing how, before the Greeks, Mesopotamian people already had a philosophical mode of thought. That is, they had a discourse based on universal principles in contrast to a more particularistic, mythical way of approaching reality.

1.2.1.2.   Main Positions for this Question

1.2.1.2.1.   Anne Draffkorn Kilmer

After the previous considerations, we start now analysing each of the different positions about the question of this study, presenting them according to the chronology

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[17] Music is absent in a recent study about Aesthetics in ancient Mesopotamia (Selz, 2018). As the author of that study said to us, contributions of this type are a *desideratum* at the moment.

[18] Barahona, 1997, 2000, 2002 and 2005. We reflected a bit on this aspect in Sánchez Muñoz, 2017.

[19] Rowell, 1981 and, above all, the excellent monograph Rowell, 1992.

[20] Hidemi, 1987; Cook, 1995; Park, 2013.

[21] Among others, see Lippman, 1964; Mathiesen, 1984; García López, Redondo Reyes, and Pérez Cartagena, 2012: 199-268; Rocconi, 2012.

[22] Gabbay, 2016; Van de Mieroop, 2017.

[23] Like the ERC-2018-STG-funded project "Repetition, parallelism and creativity: an inquiry into the construction of meaning in ancient Mesopotamian literature and erudition", a project conducted by Nicla de Zorzi. See the space of that author on the web of the *Universität Wien* for more details.

of publication. The first of those reflections came from Anne Draffkorn Kilmer[24]. She said in 1993 that there "is no single word in Sumerian or Akkadian that means 'music' exclusively or as distinct from 'song', 'jubilation' or 'revelry'"[25]. Moreover, she made reference to some Sumerian and Akkadian words close to the concept of "music", among them, the terms **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)*[26], defined as "musicianship"[27]. That translation tries perhaps to respect the nuances of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)*, to be considered later. However, those ideas were presented without arguments for their defence and, above all, they are an heir of the previous (comprehensive but outdated) definitions of those terms.

1.2.1.2.2.   Konrad Volk

We are going to deal now with an interesting contribution by Konrad Volk[28] usually forgotten among the main works on Mesopotamian music[29]. According to the German author, **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* are technical terms based on **nar**/*nāru(m)*, a term for designating a musician as we shall see later. Therefore, **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* are translated there as "Musikertum"[30]. In any case, for that author, these terms designated all the aspects of music: musicians, instruments, vocal and instrumental music, even the musical teaching and performance. Unfortunately, he did not refer any text as an example.

Despite that, according to Volk, there is no specific term for "Music" in Sumerian or Akkadian since we lack a term describing explicitly[31] the organization of the sounds like

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[24] These considerations were repeated in Kilmer, 1995: 2606. However, **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* are paradoxically defined there as ""musicianship," "music"", and not only as "musicianship".

[25] Kilmer, 1990-1993: 468. Similar considerations are available on Kilmer and Mirelman, 2001.

[26] Kilmer, 1990-1993: 468, and later Volk, 2006: 5; Volk, 2000: 516; Michalowski, 2010b: 118; Ziegler, 2012: 30 n. 9 have considered both terms as equivalent, talking about **nam-nar**/*nārūtu(m)*. However, as Schramm, 2008: 10 n. 30 said, there is no text where such equivalence is explicitly referenced. In this sense, although they are too similar to consider as two different words, we shall never talk about them as **nam-nar**/*nārūtu(m)*, but always as **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)*.

[27] For other translations as "musicianship", see Collon and Kilmer, 1980: 22; CDA, p. 242; Kilmer and Mirelman, 2001; ePSD (and ePSD2); Parpola, *et al.* 2007: 74 and Foxvog, 2016: 45.

[28] Volk, 2006: 4-6.

[29] As far as we know, only referred in Ziegler, 2011: 305–306, 309.

[30] But not in this contribution (where there is no translation), but in Volk, 2000: 516.

[31] Volk, 2006: 5 recognises that we can infer that sense of sound combination in some allusions to **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)*. Nevertheless, according to him, that has to come mainly from our own deductions.

the Greek μουσικὴ. As a justification, he says that Mesopotamia seems to have never developed an abstract thinking like the Greeks. Therefore, Mesopotamia could never develop abstract and universal concepts like that of "Music". In fact, he says that the basis of Pythagoras' theorem are in Mesopotamia, and Pythagoras learnt there its principles. However, the Greeks would develop the abstract form of that theorem we know today by themselves[32]. However, we have already seen how current research has stated that Mesopotamia actually had a philosophical-abstract thought like the Greeks[33]. In addition, we have two main remarks for the Volk's argumentation[34].

First, the recognition and use of different sounds with an artistic purpose might have belonged to **nam-nar** (and, why not, to the Akkadian *nārūtu*(*m*)) according to three lines of *Šulgi B*, a text to analyse in depth later. Certainly, as a part of his devotion to **nam-nar**, Šulgi says first[35] that he designed rules (**ŋeš ḫur**) for the **ŋeššu-kar₂** lute concerning its **zi-zi** (literally "rising", in this context possibly "ascendant intervals") and **šu₂-šu₂** (literally "sinking down", probably "descendant intervals")[36]. In the second line[37], the king claims to know the "good tuning" (**kam-ma sa₆-ga**) of the **za₃-mi₂** and **gu-uš** instruments. That recalls, by the way, the "Tuning Instructions" of the tablet UET 7 74 [U. 7/80] noted by Konrad Volk in the same study[38]. Finally, Šulgi says that he could designate (**pad₃**), raise (**gid₂-i**), lower (**tu-lu**) and establish (**gen₆-na**) the musical intervals (**ad**, literally "voices") of a **ŋeš-gu₃-di** lute[39].

Then and finally, we do not understand why Volk here mentions the term μουσικὴ from Claudius Ptolemy's *Harmonics*[40]. Certainly, that text is a technical treatise from the

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[32] Volk, 2006: 4-5.

[33] As an example of the previously noted publications, see Van de Mieroop, 2017: 186–187.

[34] In addition, we should point to a contradiction of Konrad Volk contradicts himself. Certainly, he translates **nam-nar** as "Musik" on page 23 n. 55. However, that term is then translated as "musikalische Ausführung" on the page 33 n. 100 of the same contribution.

[35] *Šulgi B*, 160 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

[36] See Krispijn, 1990: 5–6 and Krispijn, 2002: 472 for identification.

[37] *Šulgi B*, 161 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

[38] Volk, 2006: 38.

[39] *Šulgi B*, 171 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02). See Krispijn, 1990: 14-15 and Krispijn, 2002: 472 for identification of **ad pad₃**, **gid₂-i**, **tu-lu** and **gen₆-na**.

[40] The quoted excerpt in that publication is "die Fähigkeit, die zwischen hohen und tiefen Tönen bestehenden Unterschiede zu erkennen". However, he did not cite it properly, and we could not find it having looked for it in the most updated edition of that text we had (Redondo Reyes, 2002).

2nd century CE. That is, it was created after the date of the last cuneiform text (ca. 79/80 CE)[41]. Instead of that, Volk might have chosen another of the many texts where μουσικὴ appears[42], such as Pindar's *First Olympian Ode* (l. 15). This text is dated to 476 BCE as Volk mentions in his study[43]. In this sense, it is still contemporary with the last stages of cuneiform culture. If we look at its content, we shall see how μουσικὴ is used there to designate the use of a Dorian φόρμιγξ lyre. This aspect of μουσικὴ is indeed closer to the references to **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* from that time. In any case, if we can make an allusion to μουσικὴ independently of its chronology as Konrad Volk did, we would like to mention an excerpt where it is said that Pythagoras learned music (μουσικὴ) with the Chaldean magicians[44]. In fact, this text might suggest (paying attention to its chronology and purposes) that Mesopotamian people had actually a word for "Music" like the Greeks.

1.2.1.2.3. Dahlia Shehata

Dahlia Shehata makes her reflections about the presence, or not, of a term for "Music" in Sumerian or Akkadian in the introduction[45] of her PhD dissertation[46]. There, she comments on an excerpt of the Sumerian literary text currently known as *The Father and his rude Son*[47]. In this way, she was the first author in using, at least, one concrete textual excerpt with **nam-nar** (as in this case) or *nārūtu(m)*. However, due to its introductory character, Shehata's analyses are sometimes highly imprecise.

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[41] See Hunger and De Jong, 2014 for evidence.

[42] See the word frequency statistics for μουσικὴ at Perseus for evidence.

[43] Before that date, the extent of the adjective μουσικὴ had experienced some changes. Certainly, the Muses are already mentioned in the Hesiod's *Theogony* by the 8th century BCE (see Clay, 1988 for an example of the role of the Muses in *Theogony*). However, Tragedy (one of the arts related to the Muses) appears in Greece by the 472 BCE (Winnington-Ingram, 1985: 258). Comedy and History would appear later in that century (Handley, 1985a: 362; Handley, 1985b: 426). In addition, the arts of the Muses might be originally non-musical by nature since they appear to pertain to the Muses' mother, Mnemosyne, Titan associated with the Memory (Grimal, 2008: 363). Many thanks to Stephanie Lynn Budin for this remark.

[44] Iamblichus' *Pythagoras' Life*, 4, 19 (Deubner, 1937: 13).

[45] Shehata, 2009: 1–2.

[46] Shehata's Dissertation was originally defended in 2004. However, her (revised) study was finally published in 2009. Therefore, we are dealing with her contribution at this moment, and not before.

[47] See our Section 4.2.2 for our edition of this excerpt and comments.

So, Dahlia Shehata begins by saying that **nam-nar** (translated as "'Handwerkskunst' des Musizierens") is found in other ancient Near Eastern texts[48]. However, she does not cite any text at the moment of doing that statement[49]. Then, there is an allusion to the several translations of **nam-nar** in the past, something correct in our opinion. However, again, there are no references to publications or exact translations of **nam-nar**. The author says that the term **nar** is relevant in the definition of **nam-nar** (something correct again). Nevertheless, she gives three different definitions for **nar** ("Sänger", "Instrumentalist" and "Musiker"), and she says that all of them will be equally considered in her work. Finally, she says that, in *The Father and his rude Son* (where **nam-nar** is opposed to **nam-dub-sar**, "writing" or "art of the scribe"), the translation of **nam-nar** as "Music"[50] might be correct without the risk of an anachronism. That is a very interesting idea although it is presented, again, without references. Certainly, it would have been very interesting to know in which period she thinks that we could find a first reference to "Music" in a modern sense.

In any case, although she seems to be open to the idea of the existence of a word for "Music" in Sumerian and/or Akkadian, she uses different translations for **nam-nar** such

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[48] The author talks about "Literatur". However, we do not know if she is talking about "literary texts" or simply "texts". This last option is more probable according to the content of her work (see following footnote for comments). For different positions about the concept of "Literature" in ancient Mesopotamia, see Jiménez, 2013a: 9–11.

[49] Shehata, 2009 comments the following texts with **nam-nar**: *The Father and his rude Son*, 107–112 (p. 1–2); *Šulgi E*, 155 (p. 24 n. 98); *Proverbs* 3.150 (variant N$_{U-JJ}$; p. 35 n. 164); *Enki and Ninmaḫ*, b 26–29 (p. 36–37); Geller, 2003: 111 [MS 2951] (p. 112–113); Wilcke, 1987: 106–107 [IB 1515a + 1515b + 1534], r. iii 1'–19' (p. 113–114, 152); ARN 4 [Ist. Ni 9201] (Būr-Sîn 00-12-10) (p. 173); *Šulgi B*, 157 (p. 252), 278 (p. 254); *Proto*-**lu$_2$**, 590 (p. 262); *Death of Nannā*, 19 (p. 265); ARN 35 [Ist. Ni 1922] (Rīm-Sîn I 37-10-00) (p. 384, 394-395). In addition, she makes reference to term *nārūtu(m)* mentioned in Szlechter TJA 151 [UMM G 40] (Ammī-ditāna, 23-10-02 (?)) (p. 38, n. 181). In this sense, we might suppose that she was making reference to all these texts. However, that list is not exhaustive. Therefore, we do not know how large her concept is of "altorientalischen Literatur" (page 1) in this context.

[50] For other general translations of **nam-nar** as "Music", see Kilmer, 1995: 468; Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 340; Edzard, 2003: 24 and Foxvog, 2016: 45. Dumbrill, 2005: 437; Parpola, *et al.* 2007: 74; Pruzsinszky, 2010: 31 and Pozzer, da Silva and Cerqueira, 2012: 47 (also as "musicalidade") do the same with the Akkadian *nārūtu(m)*.

as[51] "*nar*-Kunst"[52], "'Handwerkskunst' des Musizierens", "Gesangskunst"[53], "Musikkunst[54]", "Musik"[55] and "'Musik'"[56] (that is, as a provisional definition). Therefore, she might not be so convinced of this definition of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*). In any case, we should note the excessive influence of some previous translations (with their different conceptions concerning **nam-nar**) for the Shehata's interpretation of some textual excerpts presented in her monograph[57].

1.2.1.2.4.   Piotr Michalowski

The next example comes from two nearly identical contributions from 2010 by Piotr Michalowski[58]. According to this author, there is no word in Sumerian or Akkadian glossed as "Music", since **nam-nar** is only referred to the "practical knowledge of playing, singing, and performing". Therefore, it would not refer "the abstract notion of 'music'"[59] "or singing, as has sometimes been suggested"[60]. Unfortunately, he did not mention any publication as an example of those former suggestions.

Maybe he has a point in distancing himself from the modern Western concept of music. Certainly, many cultures around the world do not have a word for "Music" as we

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[51] In addition, **nam-nar** as "nam-nar-Pfründe" in administrative texts (Shehata, 2009: 173, 384, 394).

[52] Shehata, 2009: 262, 268 (here as "nar-Musikkunst"). Pay attention also to the "Kaufvertrag über ein Amt (nam-nar) (Zeuge)" (p. 395).

[53] Shehata, 2009: 1.

[54] Shehata, 2009: 112, 252 (here as 'Musikkunst', that is, with a provisional character).

[55] Shehata, 2009: 1–2, 112, 254 n. 1472.

[56] Shehata, 2009: 36.

[57] That is more evident in literary texts, since Dahlia Shehata follows the ETCSL editions (Shehata, 2009: 11). Certainly, for *Šulgi B*, 157, ETCSL 2.4.2.02 translates **nam-nar** as "art of music", and Shehata, 2009: 252 "'Musikkunst'" (compare with Castellino, 1972: 4, "musical training"; Krispijn, 1990: 1, "Musik" or Ludwig, 1990: 185, "Gesangeskunst"). In the same way, in *Šulgi B*, 279 ETCSL 2.4.2.02 has "the singers' repertoire", and Shehata, 2009: 254 "'Gesangsrepertoire'" (compare with Castellino, 1972: 59 "to the art of music" and Ludwig, 1990: 51, "der Gesangeskunst"). It might be also the case of *Enki and Ninmaḫ*, b 28 as "musical arts" (ETCSL 1.1.2) and "'Musik'" (Shehata, 2009: 36). Pay attention to the fact that three Shehata's translations have ' ' indicating, perhaps, a provisional character.

[58] Michalowski, 2010a: 204 n. 11–205 n. 13; Michalowski, 2010b: 118.

[59] Michalowski, 2010b: 118.

[60] Michalowski, 2010a: 204 n. 13.

have seen in the first part of this Introduction[61]. However, we find terms for "music" in other languages of the Western World, where, not everybody speaks an Indo-European language like English. This is the case of the Hungarian (an Uralic language) *zene*[62] or the Czech (a West Slavic language) *hudba*[63]. We also have a term for "music" in other world languages, like the Japanese *ongaku* (音楽 in *kanji*)[64] or the Tami̱l *isai*[65].

Concerning more "Assyriological" arguments, Michalowski has tried to justify his position saying that, in the Old Babylonian Sumerian legal texts, **nam-nar** seems to refer simply to "the profession of the **nar**"[66]. In addition, he translated the term **nam-nar** in *Šulgi B*, 157 and Geller, 2003: 109–111 [MS 2951] with a meaning fitting with this position[67]. However, beyond some minor contradictions[68], it is notable that he quoted *Gudea Cylinder* B15.20 without translation when, of course, he knows how to translate that text[69]. Certainly, in that text, as we shall see later[70], **nam-nar** referred to the action of some instruments, but not their musicians. Therefore, it cannot refer to something related to musical knowledge as Michalowski thought. Maybe he was conscious about that, and he did not translate that except in order to avoid contradicting himself.

In this sense, despite attempts at using more textual evidence than previously in order to justify the non-abstract meaning of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*), Michalowski still has many contradictions in his discourse.

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[61] Mirelman, 2010b: 115–116 for additional comments.

[62] Weissmann, 1964: 50.

[63] Kettnerová, Lopatková and Bejček, 2012: 441–442.

[64] Johnson, 1999: 293.

[65] Terada, 2008: 203.

[66] Michalowski, 2010a: 204 n. 11 makes reference to ARN 4 [Ist. Ni 9201] (Būr-Sîn 00-12-10), ARN 35 [Ist. Ni 1922] (Rīm-Sîn I 37-10-00), ARN 58 [Ist. Ni 2182] (Būr-Sîn 00-00-00) and Kraus, 1951: 200-201 [Ist. Ni 2181] (Būr-Sîn 00-00-00). There is a reference to Wilcke, 1987: 106–107 [IB 1515a + 1515b + 1534] in page 205 n. 13 of that study. He said that, at that time, many model contracts were still unpublished. However, the new works publishing this type of texts (Spada, 2018; George and Spada, 2019) have brought forth no new examples with **nam-nar** (thanks to Gabriella Spada for her communications).

[67] Michalowski, 2010a: 204 and 206.

[68] Michalowski, 2010a: 204 translates the first reference to **nam-nar** in Geller, 2003: 109-111 [MS 2951] (o. 3) as "music". Only the second (and reconstructed) one is translated as "*the skill of playing*", where the italics may indicate an unsure translation.

[69] Michalowski, 2010a: 206 n. 17

[70] See our section 2.2 (and especially 2.2.3) for comments. Michalowski, 2010a: 206 n. 17 already says the musical terms of that excerpt designated drums without making reference to their musicians.

1.2.1.2.5.   Sam Mirelman

We are going to deal now with a short archaeomusicological and ethnomusicological contribution by Sam Mirelman[71] which deserves our attention due to its interesting take on the concept of the music in ancient cultures[72]. In this study, the American composer and Assyriologist says that there was no Akkadian (Sumerian in this case is not considered) word embracing all aspects of musical practice in Mesopotamia. Far from that two words—*nārūtu*(*m*) and *kalûtu*(*m*)—only referred to the activity of two common types of musicians in Mesopotamia: the *nāru*(*m*) and the *kalû*(*m*)[73]. In any case, according to Mirelman, such absence of a word for "Music" does not imply *a priori* the absence of a concept which, through different words (like *nārūtu*(*m*) and *kalûtu*(*m*)), could certainly designate all aspects of the musical universe.

The author offers a very interesting group of ideas which, in any case and in our opinion, should be nuanced in two aspects. On the one hand, we should remember the beginning of the *Enūma Eliš*. In that text, the time before the existence of the heavens and the earth is not referred as the time when they exist (perhaps with *bašû*, "to exist"). However, the text say that they had not yet received a name (through the use of the stative forms of *nabû* and *zakāru*, "to call")[74]. In this sense, for the Mesopotamian people, something could not exist if it did not have a name. We may say something similar in our Western culture. In fact, according to Plato (as a more or less contemporary example of the *Enūma Eliš*), the name is the main way of representing a concrete reality[75].

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[71] Mirelman, 2010b (especially page 117).

[72] Mirelman, 2011: 300.

[73] Some textual sources to exemplify that idea would have been very interesting in this study. However, they may be skipped here due to the non-philological orientation of said study. In this attempted comparison of terms for musical professions, we miss a reference to *zammārūtu* defined in SAAo as "music". However, according to its unique reference (SAA 20 51 [Ass 13956cf], r. ii 11'–14' (SAAo)), this term seems to be actually referring to the activity of the *zammāru*. This figure had to be a performer of popular music, and not a mere singer (see CAD Z, p. 40 and FM 9, p. 18–19 for the debate). Certainly, the chief *zammāru* has a *sammû* instrument according to the Middle Assyrian Coronation Ritual text, KAR 135 + 137 + 216 + 217 [VAT 9583 + VAT 9936 +? VAT 10113 (+) VAT 09978], r. iii 10–11 (Müller, 1937: 14).

[74] *Enūma Eliš*, I 1–2 (Lambert, 2013: 50).

[75] Plato, *Cratyllus*, 439ᵃ; see also Luce, 1969: 225 and Rodríguez Adrados, 1989: 416.

On the other hand, *kalûtu*(*m*) usually describes the profession and the textual *corpus* of the *kalû*(*m*)[76], but almost never his activity[77], which is not necessarily a musical one. Certainly, the *kalû*(*m*) is mainly a priest who, like the *āšipu*(*m*)[78], used occasionally some percussion instruments for the cult[79]. However, the *kalû*(*m*) was not a musician like the *nāru*(*m*) who played many musical instruments. By the way, there is no equivalent with *kalûtu*(*m*) for the expression *enût nārūti*(*m*)[80] using the term *nārūtu*(*m*).

Therefore, *nārūtu*(*m*) and *kalûtu*(*m*) can be compared as offices or text *corpora*[81], but not as artistic musical activities.

1.2.1.2.6.   Nele Ziegler

The last precursor[82] to be considered here comes from Nele Ziegler[83]. She reflected on this topic when she explained how, in Mesopotamia, music was contrasted to chaotic noise. This idea was mentioned there without any explicit ancient source demonstrating

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[76] For the text *corpus* of the *kalû*(*m*) priest, see Gabbay, 2014c: 124–140.

[77] Ebeling, 1931: 16 (r. ii 11); Maul *Ershahunga*, p. 252–253, **er₂ ša₃ ḫun-ŋa₂** n. 49 [K. 9608], o. 2 (BLMS) (both in fragmentary contexts) and perhaps **Uru am₃-ma-ir-ra-bi**, XIX, 47 (Volk, 1989: 83).

[78] See our section 6.4.3.2 for reference. According to Gabbay, 2014c: 116, by the 1ˢᵗ millennium (that is, the best known period of the Mesopotamian history for Sam Mirelman), the *kalû* was less connected to the *nāru* musician than to the *āšipu* sorcerer. That was only possible keeping in mind this main function of the *kalû* as priest. See also Shehata, 2008: 124 and Shehata, 2013: 69 about the **gala**.

[79] Certainly, the *kalû*(*m*) is usually connected with the *lilisu*(*m*) kettledrum or the *ḫalḫallatu*(*m*) cymbals among others (see Gabbay, 2014a: 118–151 for reference). Rašīd, 1984: 122–123 says that those people playing the horizontal harp and having a tall fish-like hat in the relief BM 124948 were *kalû* priests. However, as Gabbay, 2014a: 75 n. 115 says, those hats were also worn by other priests. Certainly, the music of those parades is described in the royal inscriptions as *nigûtu*(*m*), "(joyful) music" (see *Aššurbānipal 3*, vi 46–47, RINAP 5 Q003702; *Aššurbānipal 4*, vi 48–49, RINAP 5 Q003703; *Aššurbānipal 6*, vii 53, RINAP 5 Q003705 and *Aššurbānipal 7*, vi 11" –12", RINAP 5 Q003704 for reference). That type of music does not fit with the type of music performed by the *kalû*(*m*) priests. In any case, even if those individuals were *kalû*, their use of the *sammû* instruments might be *ad hoc* for that moment (BM 124948 describes a procession to Ištar's temple).

[80] See our sections 5.4 and 6.2.1 for evidence and argumentation.

[81] See our sections 2.4 and 6.4.4.2 (specially the comments about our text 70) for reference.

[82] As far as we know, other researchers on this topic, such as Uri Gabbay, Regine Pruzsinszky or Richard Dumbrill, have not dealt with this topic.

[83] Ziegler, 2012: 30 n. 9.

that such a notion already existed in antiquity[84]. For the French author, there is no word in Sumerian or Akkadian which could be translated as "Music". That statement stands in contradiction to other publications of hers about Mesopotamian music, since they do have the word "Music" in their titles[85]. Perhaps she did this statement in order to follow the previous research. However, we find more problems in her reflection.

Certainly, she said, on the one hand, that **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* referred to an "art of singing"[86]. However, she never talked about "singers" in that work, only about "musicians". Moreover, she talks about the "chef de musique" for the *nargallu(m)* when, according to her statement, we should have "chef du chant"[87]. In addition, she had previously defined the *nārum* as an instrumentalist[88], so we would expect a wider definition of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)*. On the other hand, according to her, music as sound phenomenon was expressed by the Sumerian **mu7-mu7**[89] (from which would come

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[84] The sound of musical instruments could be very annoying at times. For instance, in *The Cursing of Agade*, 260 (ETCSL 2.1.5), the city sleeps while the **tige(2)** drums were still playing. In the same way, the sound production of the **a2-la2** drum is usually defined in Old Babylonian times (that is, the period of specialization of Nele Ziegler) with the expression **gu3 nun dug4** ("to produce a powerful sound") (*Uruk Lament*, H 16, ETCSL 2.2.5; *Iddin-Dagān A*, 79, Attinger, 2014a: 20). In our opinion, that is far from an image of music in Mesopotamia as something "sweet" or "relaxing". 1st-millennium texts also suggest that instruments could sometimes be noisy. See Rendu Loisel, 2011: 27, 84, 97, 295, 300 for evidence. For music as part of the "urban noises" of Mesopotamian cities, see also Grandpierre, 1997: 62–64.

[85] See Ziegler, 2005, 2006, FM 9 and Ziegler, 2011 for reference. We do not understand why Ziegler, 2013: 48–50 is entitled "La musique: un art savant et respecté".

[86] This type of translation has been popular, but always in translations of concrete texts. Therefore, we shall not repeat them here. They will be commented on in depth later. The sole generic translation we know beyond this one is Shehata, 2009: 1, already commented on in this introduction.

[87] See Ziegler, 2012: 30–42 for reference.

[88] FM 9, p. 17–18.

[89] She transliterates this term as "MU7-MU7". We might agree *a priori* with this type of transliteration for **mu7-mu7**, which is commonly used by the Akkadologists for Sumerograms and Sumerian terms in general (even in monolingual Sumerian texts). However, **nam-nar** is written there as "nam.nar", an old transliteration system still used, for instance, by Theo J. H. Krispijn (see Krispijn, 1990: 2 for an example). In this sense, we would understand "MU7-MU7" as a repeated sign. However, the sign name for **mu7** is KA×LI. See Rendu Loisel, 2011: 350–363 for comments about **mu7-mu7**. Anne-Caroline Rendu Loisel cites in pages 360–361 of that study Nele Ziegler's reflections on the *bīt mummi* or *mummum*, the conservatory of music of Mari. In this sense, we do not understand why Ziegler did not avail herself of Rendu Loisel's work (where, for instance, *ḫubûru(m)* is well-explained).

mummu(*m*)[90]) and the Akkadian *ḫubûru*(*m*). However, *ḫubûru*(*m*) actually describes the continuous noise of an enormous group of people, sometimes as a complaint and without musical connotations[91]. That is quite different from Nele Ziegler's definition of that term.

1.2.1.3.   Conclusions

Previous research has mostly agreed that there is no word for "Music" in Sumerian or Akkadian. Nevertheless, none of the said studies has taken into consideration the analysis of all the texts known at their respective publication times with **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*), the single Sumero-Akkadian terms referenced in all these previous reflections.

1.2.2.   Comprehensive Definitions of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*)

1.2.2.1.   Presentations and Specific Remarks

1.2.2.1.1.   AHw II, p. 789 and CAD 1, p. 382

We have said that none of the previous reflections about the existence (or not) of a word in Sumerian or Akkadian for "Music" had used all the evidence existing at their time of writing to prove their arguments. Those texts and references are usually contained in comprehensive definitions, but, what are those definitions in this case?

The earliest of these definitions (appeared in 1972) is the entry for *nārūtu*(*m*) in the *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (AHw)[92]. The Akkadian term was defined there as "Musiker(innen)beruf"[93]. The texts used in that definition were 1) the letters from Mari ARM 1 64 and 78 (both from the Šamšī-Addu's reign without precise date)[94], 2) the teaching contract Szlechter TJA, p. 151 [UMM G 40] (Ammī-ditāna, 23-10-02 (?))[95], 3)

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[90] See Heidel, 1948 for an overview about this word.

[91] See Rendu Loisel, 2011: 166–168 for comments.

[92] AHw II, p. 749.

[93] We find a similar definition for **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) in MEA, p. 330 ("office de chanteur"); Rašīd, 1984: 19 ("Kunst der Sänger und Musiker"); CDA, p. 242 ("profession of musician"); Sallaberger, 2006: 474 ("Amt/Kunst des Sängers") and DCCLT Glossary ("profession of musician").

[94] See our Texts 42 and 44 for editions and comments.

[95] See our Text 28 for edition and comments.

the 1ˢᵗ-millennium lexical excerpt **Mur-gu₄** = *imrû* = *ballu*, B, II [= **Ur₅-ra** = *ḫubullu(m)* VII B][96], and 4) the Achaemenid contracts BE 8/1 98 [CBS 3579] (Cambyses 14+-01-00) (about musical teaching) and *Dar.* 463 [BM 77393] (Darius (x)+3-1-18) (about the sale of a temple prebend)[97]. However, we miss from that definition the texts VS 6 169 [VAT 1180] (Darius I 00-00-00)[98] (first translated in 1937[99]) and ARM 5 73 (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)[100], already edited by 1952.

AHw's definition of *nārūtu(m)* was followed some years later (in 1980) by the entry for that same term in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD)[101]. In that other main dictionary for the Akkadian language, *nārūtu(m)* is defined as "musician's craft"[102], a more definition than the one of AHw. However, CAD used the same number of texts than AHw. In any case, the *corpus* of texts with *nārūtu(m)* has been augmented in the recent years with the publication of new texts from Old Babylonian Mari[103] and some Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid texts[104]. Moreover, we have texts from other periods. This is the case of the tablets IM 85455 and 85456 (Ur III Period)[105], or the Late Seleucid text BM 28825 published in 2005[106]. In this way, both definitions are already outdated.

1.2.2.1.2.   Theo J. H. Krispijn's Definition of **nam-nar**

The two definitions considered above concern just *nārūtu(m)* without any reference to the Sumerian **nam-nar**. For a definition of this term, we need to wait until 1990. At that time, Theo J. H. Krispijn, as a part of his study of the musical terms in *Šulgi B*, 154–

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[96] See our Text 58 for edition and comments.

[97] See our Texts 60 and 65 for edition and comments.

[98] See our Text 61 for edition and comments.

[99] NRV, p. 520.

[100] See our Text 44 for edition and comments.

[101] CAD N1, p. 382.

[102] We find a similar definition in Huehnergard, 2011: 552 ("musician's craft"). This definition has been more common for **nam-nar**. See ETCSL Glossary; Tanos, 2007: 257 and Foxvog, 2016: 45 for reference. In addition, keep in mind Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 340 ("activity of the musician").

[103] See our Chapter 5 for editions and comments.

[104] See our section 6.3 for editions and comments.

[105] Both published in al-Rawi, 1992: 185. See our Texts 7 and 8 for edition and comments.

[106] Frame and George, 2005: 270-277. See our Text 70 for edition and comments.

174[107], prepared the most complete definition of this term to date. In that contribution, he defined **nam-nar** in two different ways. The first definition was "hymnische Musik", that is, a concrete type of music, a definition only shared by him until today. The second one was "Tätigkeit als Musiker", which is closer to the "Musiker(innen)beruf" of AHw. Those definitions try to confront **nam-gala**, defined there as "elegische Musik, Tätigkeit als Klagesänger". That procedure is apparently logical but not without mistakes[108].

In any case, following with his definition, Krispijn said that **nam-nar** belonged to the list of divine powers called "**me**"[109]. Furthermore, he highlighted the connections of **nam-nar** with ceremonies (in contrast to lamentations). That would come from the participation of the **nar** in such events as singer and instrumentalist. In this sense, Krispijn cited excerpts about instruments with allusions to **nam-nar**[110] and the **nar**[111] and excerpts about the **s/šer₃-nam-nar** (literally "**nam-nar** s/šer₃ song[112]") besides other songs[113].

This description of **nam-nar** is quite good. However, among the many texts omitted in that description and known at that time[114], we miss some texts as *Enki and Ninmaḫ* b

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[107] Krispijn, 1990.

[108] Certainly, as Shehata, 2013: 69 states, the **gala**/*kalû(m)* is a priest who, on some occasions, could perform lamentations with music. That fact is especially clear when we see people accessing to the profession as **gala** priest (**nam-gala**) in the Ur III administrative texts. See our section 2.4 for comments.

[109] Citing *Inanna and Enki*, I v 33 and II v 51. See our section 4.5.3 for edition and comments.

[110] With reference to *Gudea Cylinders*, B15.20, *Šulgi B*, 162, *Šulgi E*, 155, 162–163 and *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 367. See our Texts 4, 26, 32, 35 and 39 for our editions of those excerpts.

[111] With reference to *Gudea Cylinders*, B10.14 (Römer, 2010: 34); *Šulgi A*, 78 (Delnero, 2006: 1900-1901). In Krispijn, 1990: 2 is the line 81 since he used another (unknown) edition. Other excerpts referred in Krispijn, 1990: 2 are *Šulgi B*, 167 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02) and *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 375 (ETCSL 2.5.4.01).

[112] For the Old Babylonian Period, *Proto-**aa**,* 757:1 (DCCLT Q000056) and *Proto-Ea*, 757 (DCCLT Q000055) write out the Sumerian reading of the sign EZEN meaning *zamārum* ("song") with the signs SI (= **si** or **se**; not the sign IGI = **ši** or ŠE = **še**) and IR (= **ir** or **er**). Therefore, we should read **ser₃** (**sir₃** means "to bind"). However, by the Middle Babylonian Period, *Syllabary B*, II 348 (DCCLT Q0001455) has already **še-er** = EZEN = ˹*za*˺-[*ma*]-˹*ru*˺. That fact is confirmed in Neo-Assyrian times in CT 11, pl. 20 [K. 7671], r. ii' 2 (DCCLT). Keep in mind that the Neo-Babylonian MSL 17, p. 6 [OIM A1595], o. i 2 EZEN**si-ir-da** (DCCLT) seems to be actually referred to **šir₃-da** ("to bind"), and not to our term for song.

[113] With references to *Proto-**Lu₂**; 590–591; *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 373–374 and *Examination Text A*, 24. See our Texts 9, 40 and 59 for edition and comments.

[114] Other Old Babylonian texts omitted are *Death of Nannā*, 19 (edited by the first time in Kramer, 1960: 52–63; it is relevant for **ser₃ nam-nar**) and several legal texts published in the 50s: ARN 4 [Ist. Ni 9201] (Būr-Sîn 00-12-10), ARN 35 [Ist. Ni 1922] (Rīm-Sîn I 37-10-00), ARN 58 [Ist. Ni 2182] (Būr-Sîn 00-00-00) and Kraus, 1951: 200-201 [Ist. Ni 2181] (Būr-Sîn 00-00-00). See our Texts 15–18 for editions

26–29[115], *The Father and his rude Son*, 107–112[116], or *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 94–99, 110–114[117]. Certainly, **nam-nar** is mentioned in those texts in more abstract contexts. In any case, Krispijn's definition is now outdated due to the publication of new texts like the hymns *Ur-Namma A*[118] and *Šulgi CC*[119]. We can refer also some Neo-Sumerian texts[120] and Old Babylonian model contracts[121] and real[122] administrative texts.

1.2.2.1.3. Review of Some Recent Contributions

Already in the 21st century, there is still no project gathering all the references to **nam-nar** and/or *nārūtu(m)*. Concerning **nam-nar**, ePSD gathered some lexical excerpts and the references originally contained in ETCSL, a *corpus* laking of some literary texts like *The Father and his rude Son* and *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*.

The new version of this dictionary, ePSD2, has incorporated the text Nisaba 11 33 [BM 104768] (Šulgi 36-11-00) and some[123] texts recently edited by Jeremiah L. Peterson as a part of his edition of the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts from Ur[124]. However,

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and comments. These texts would justify his definition as "Tätigkeit als Musiker". It also would have been interesting a comment on Wilcke, 1987: 106–107 [IB 1515a + 1515b + 1534], since that text had already been noted at that time by Wilcke, 1987: 104 and Waetzoldt, 1989: 33. Moreover, we would have expected a comment on the Seleucid text CT 17, pl. 15–18 [BM 34223+], iv 18–19 (already edited by Hunger, 1968: 123) due to the allusion, in Krispijn's definition, to the *Gudea Cylinders* (from the 3rd Millennium BCE), and *Examination Text A* (whose manuscripts are from the 1st millennium; Sjöberg, 1974: 137).

[115] This text was previously known (see Ceccarelli, 2016: 8–16 for historiography), but our reference to **nam-nar** comes with the Benito's edition (Benito, 1969: 27). See our Text 27 for edition and comments.

[116] Edited by the first time in Sjöberg, 1973. See our section 4.2.2 for editions and comments.

[117] A transliteration of the text N$_{I-A1}$ = TMH NF 3 42 [HS 1606] + TMH NF 4 86 [HS 1606a], o. ii 10-15 and 26–29 was already available on Sjöberg, 1976: 169.

[118] This text had already been edited in Kramer, 1967b: 116. However, it was necessary to wait for Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 133 to have a full transliteration with **nam-nar**. For the reading Ur-Namma instead of Ur-Nammû, see Sallaberger, 2014–2015: 423 (thanks to Theo J. H. Krispijn for this remark).

[119] Our text 37. *Šulgi CC*, UET 6/3 522 [U. 7774], edited by Peterson, 2019c: 698.

[120] Mainly our Text 5 (= Nisaba 11 33 [BM 104768] (Šulgi 36-11-00)). However, thanks to Sallaberger, 1993: 68, the **nar-ta** of TRU 41 [ICP 41] (Šulgi 41-00-00), r. 5 (our Text 6) as <**nam**>-**nar-ta** made sense.

[121] Our Text 12. Geller, 2003: 109–111 [MS 2951].

[122] Our Texts 19a, 19b, 20a, 20b and 21, published by Anne Goddeeris in 2016.

[123] Especially the reference to **ser₃ nam-nar** in *Šulgi CC* edited in Peterson, 2019c: 698–700.

[124] Peterson, 2019a, 2019b and 2019c.

some Old Babylonian (*The Father and his rude Son*) or Seleucid texts (our Text 67 = CT 17, pl. 15–18 [BM 34223+], iv 18'–19') are still missing. We shall probably see those texts in later updates of this Sumerological project.

Concerning *nārūtu*(*m*), the French project *Archibab* has gathered all those texts from Mari in addition to practically all the Sumerian model contracts with **nam-nar**[125]. The German project eSAD is the single current attempt of an actual update of our Akkadian comprehensive dictionaries. However, as far as we know, there is nothing in its database about *nārūtu*(*m*) by the moment.

1.2.2.2.   General Remarks

1.2.2.2.1.   Short Introduction

We appreciate the previous contributions concerning comprehensive dictionaries. However, in our opinion, any attempt in the creation of a new comprehensive definition for **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*) will be condemned to failure if, like in the past, we do not pay attention to some basic aspects of our texts.

Certainly, Theo J. H. Krispijn seemed not to have had problems in using the *Gudea Cylinders* and *Examination Text A* for explaining the term **nam-nar** of *Šulgi B*. That is, he considers correct to mix a 3rd- and 1st-millennium text for commenting on an Old Babylonian text without, at least, a reflection on this matter. Moreover, the definitions of *nārūtu*(*m*) in AHw and CAD mix sources from different periods (Old Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian), regions (Mari and southern Mesopotamia) and typologies (letters and administrative texts). The reason is that they are focusing just on apparent parallels.

This practice might be justified by a supposed lack of texts. However, we have already seen how many texts have been forgotten in those studies. We could also understand that procedure due to the mainly philological orientation of those works and the background of their authors. However, from our perspective, chronological and geographical aspects are perfectly complementary to the linguistic ones in a good and complete philological

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[125] Except Wilcke, 1987: 106–107 [IB 1515a + 1515b + 1534].

exercise[126]. Finally, this practice is scientifically problematic in several aspects as we are going to explain right now.

1.2.2.2.2.   About Chronological Variations in the Musical Lexicon

Despite the constant reference to tradition for any innovation in Mesopotamian culture[127], it is obvious that musical terms in Sumerian and Akkadian had to change their meaning or connotations in part or *in toto* at some point in the long history of Mesopotamia. That has happened in other cultures of the world. We might refer the case of the well-known Chinese *èrhú* (二胡) fiddle. Certainly, *èrhú* is a derivation of *húqin* (胡琴 literally "barbaric *qin*"). By the Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE), *húqin* designated a musical instrument to be plucked or strummed as a lute or zither. However, by the 11th century CE, *húqin* already designates a type of fiddle. The *èrhú* would be one of those fiddles and it would have two strings as it is indicated by the Chinese *èr*, (二) "two" [128].

Chronological considerations about the Mesopotamian musical lexicon are still not too common[129]. However, they have already offered some good ideas for understanding some musical terms. This is the case of **balaŋ**/*balaggu*(*m*), a term whose identification has always been quite controversial[130]. Certainly, according to Uri Gabbay[131], this term seems to refer to a stringed instrument in the 3rd millennium BCE, but to a type of drum by the 2nd millennium BCE onward, something which makes sense as we shall see later[132].

1.2.2.2.3.   Geographical Changes in Sumero-Akkadian Music terms?

We do not know of any publication reflecting in depth on this aspect[133]. However, we cannot dismiss the role of geography in the configuration of the meaning of a concrete

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[126] See Delnero, 2006: 35–63; DGS, p. 7 and Borkowski, 2018 for several examples of the importance of geography (with some references to archaeology) for Sumerian literature and grammar.

[127] The different contributions edited in Archi, 2011 are an example of this idea.

[128] Stock, 1993: 90 and 97. Thanks to Rubén García Benito for his help with the Chinese terms.

[129] Kilmer, 2000 seems to deal with this topic, but there is actually no reflection about that.

[130] See Gabbay, 2014a: 93–94 for a summary of these disputations.

[131] Gabbay, 2007: 57–65; Gabbay, 2014a: 93–102; Gabbay, 2014b; Gabbay, 2017: 46.

[132] See our sections 2.2.2.3 and 4.4.2.3.3 for reference.

[133] The unique consideration of this type is, perhaps, Michalowski, 2010a: 229 n. 67.

musical term. Certainly, lexical lists mention instruments coming originally from regions like Mari, Dilmun[134] or Elam[135]. In addition, we cannot forget those instruments whose name is derived from the name of a foreign region (being used, perhaps, by traveling musicians[136]). This is the case of the **mi-ri₂-tum**/*marītu*(*m*) (from Mari), the **sa(₃)-bi₂-tum**/*sabītu*(*m*) or *šebītu*(*m*) (from the land of Sabum), the **ur-za-ba-bi₂-tum**/*urzababītum* (from the city of Ur-Zababa)[137] or the *para*(*ḫ*)*šītu*(*m*) (from Marḫaši, near to Elam)[138]. There are other examples, such as the **ur-gu-la** instrument (also "lion")[139].

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[134] *ED Practical Vocabulary A*, 207–208 (DCCLT Q000293) mentions a **balaŋ** from Dilmun (**balaŋ dilmun**) and another one from Mari (**balaŋ ma-ri₂^ki**).

[135] There is a **ŋeš tigidla elam-ma** ("ŋeš**tigidla** of Elam") according to the Old Babylonian text **Ur₅-ra**, I 616 (DCCLT Q000039) and the Neo-Assyrian text MSL 6, p. 81 [K. 2028], r. i' 2' (DCCLT; collated the 01/08/2019). However, we have more allusions to the **ŋeš tigidla kaskal-la** ("ŋeš**tigidla** instrument of the way", perhaps an instrument used by itinerant musicians from different regions). For reference, see **Ur₅-ra**, I 614 (DCCLT Q000039), CUSAS 12 3.1.1 [MS 3214], b iv 11 (DCCLT) for the Old Babylonian Period, and Emar 6/1, p. 285 [Msk 74114d]. r. 7 (DCCLT) and Emar 6/2, p. 508–515 + 730 [Msk 74209a + 7526], r. ii 24 (DCCLT) for the Middle Babylonian Period.

[136] For this topic, see FM 9, p. 27–31; Michalowski, 2010b, and Pruzsinszky, 2018a: 105–107.

[137] See respectively our Sections 2.2.2.3, 5.2.2.1 and 6.2.1 for their texts and identification.

[138] For the identification of Marḫaši, see Steinkeller, 1982: 246–255 and Steinkeller, 2006: 261–266. For the instrument, see Steinkeller, 2006: 266–271; FM 9, p. 49 and Michalowski, 2010a: 229 n. 67.

[139] This instrument is accompanied by the determinative for wooden objects **ŋeš** in our Old Babylonian sources (*Šulgi B*, 166 = ETCSL 2.4.2.02, and **Ur₅-ra**, I 606 = DCCLT Q000039). The same happens in the Neo-Assyrian (MSL 6, p. 81 [K. 2028], r. i' 27' = DCCLT; collated the 01/08/2019) and Neo-Babylonian texts (MSL SS 1, p. 24 [Ashm. 1924-1883], o. 6'–7' = DCCLT). That suggests its identity as a stringed instrument. In any case, we should keep in mind that a lion is playing a drum in an 8th–7th-century Neo-Elamite cylinder-seal (Lawergren, 2018: fig. 3.8.5[a]), and a female drummer together with a lion on *kudurru* Sb 25 (see Collon, 2013: 27 for comments). The Middle Babylonian lexical texts Emar 6/1, p. 240 [Msk 7498f], r. ii 18; Emar 6/1, p. 285 [Msk 74114d], r. 3 and Emar 6/2, p. 508–515 + 730 [Msk 74209a + 7526], r. ii 20 suggest, in addition, its foreign origin concerning southern Mesopotamia. The reason is that it is mentioned together with a ˹**dim₃-ma**˺ **mar-ḫa-a-ši**/*para*(*ḫ*)*šu*, that is, an instrument from Marḫaši, perhaps the previously noted *para*(*ḫ*)*šītu*(*m*) (Steinkeller, 2006: 266–267). We would identify **ur-gu-la**, therefore, with a northern Syrian lyre. Certainly, we have a lion playing a lyre in a 9th–8th–century relief from Tell Halaf (North-East Syria) (see Lawergren, 2018: fig. 3.8.5[b] for reference). Furthermore, a lyre player is next to a lion in the Neo-Assyrian relief BM 118916 (see Collon, 2010: 59 for comments). The origin of that connection would be much older, since we have another lion with a lyre in the *Turin Papyrus* (Egyptian 19th Dynasty, 1295–1186 BCE; see Hickman, 1961: 32–33 for reference). That scene might have a foreign origin. In fact, that lion is playing with other animal musicians with foreign instruments in Egypt, like the lute or the double pipes (see Manniche, 1988: 194-195 for comments). Egyptian language is also

Certainly, geographic distance can perform changes in the meaning of some musical terms. This is the case of the Arabic *al-būq*, which designates a horn (therefore, a brass instrument) while the Spanish *alboka* (originated from the previous term by the time of al-Andalus) designates a double clarinet (therefore, a single-reed instrument) using two hollowed horns, one covering the space for the reeds and another one acting as the bell of the instrument[140]. Thus, a common musical term changes its meaning in two separated points of the same region. In our opinion, a similar phenomenon might be detected in the case of the term **za₃-mi₂**/*sammû(m)*. Certainly, while in southern Mesopotamia this seems to designate an angular harp[141], we cannot avoid identifying this term with the horizontal harp[142] in (Neo-)Assyrian[143] texts due to the similarities between the iconography and our lexical texts[144], royal inscriptions[145] and other texts[146].

interesting for this connection. Certainly, the sign E23 depicting a lion is used in some spellings of the Egyptian term *knnr* ("lyre", a Semitic loanword, Meeks, 1997: 53). This sign might act as determinative, since E23 is used for the letter "l" in Egyptian, a letter which does not fit in that transliteration *knnr*.

[140] Fagoaga, 1975: 45–47.

[141] See our Section 4.2.1.1 for argumentation.

[142] We are, in this sense, against Cheng, 2012: 75.

[143] As far as we know, there is no Old Assyrian sources for this term, and our Middle Assyrian sources are quite fragmentary. See the Middle Assyrian Coronation Ritual text KAR 135 + 137 + 216 + 217 [VAT 9583 + 9936 +? 10113 (+) 9978], r. iii 10–11 (Müller, 1937: 14), and the text of *Tukultī-Ninurta's epic* Lambert, 1957–1958: 44–47 [BM 98730], r. 32 (original publication) for reference.

[144] In the Neo-Assyrian text **Mur-gu₄** = *imrû* = *ballu*, B, I 47 (DCCLT), a **za₃-mi₂** instrument correctly tuned (**si sa₂**) is equated with *išartu(m)*. This term designates one of the Mesopotamian scales, which had 9 strings/notes (Krispijn, 2017: 226). Compare that with iconographical examples like the Neo-Assyrian relief BM 124533, where we find two horizontal harps with 9 strings (Lawergren and Gurney, 1987: 51).

[145] Compare *Aššarḫaddon 1*, iii 36–38 (RINAP 4 Q003230), *Aššarḫaddon 2*, i 50–56 (RINAP 4 Q003231) and *Aššarḫaddon 3* [BM 91029], ii 7'–10' (RINAP 4 Q003232) with the relief BM 124920. In that relief, as in the cited excerpts, we have two musicians with horizontal harps in front of soldiers holding the heads of some enemies. The *nāru* musicians of these inscriptions are certainly playing that instrument, as we can infer from the expression *nārū ina sammê* of *Aššurbānipal Assyrian Tablet 2* [K. 2694 + 3050], o. iii 3'–4' (RINAP 5 Q003772) and Ebeling, 1948: 416–422 [VAT 13832], 19-22 (Ebeling, 1948: 417).

[146] In SAA 3 39 = KAR 307 [VAT 8917], o. 3 (SAAo) and *Aladimmû G*, CT 28, pl. 37 [K. 2166 + Rm 935 + 1879-7-8,89], o. 19 (Böck, 2000: 284), the shape of the **za₃-mi₂**/*sammû* is compared to human hands. Compare that with the depictions of Neo-Assyrian horizontal harps, which have a hand at the top of their sound-boxes. Especially interesting is the relief BM 124948 + BM ANE Or. Dr. VI 45 (now lost). We might identify the bracelet of the hands of the harps of said relief with the expression **suḪuš** *kappīšu* ("the foundation of his hands") of *Aladimmû G*. For the hands of the horizontal harps, Cheng, 2012: 78–80.

1.2.2.2.4. Musical Terms vs. Textual Typologies

Finally, it is important to pay attention to the different textual typologies of our texts containing **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*). Certainly, the scribal training required for writing them could differ, especially when we compare administrative and literary texts (which required a longer training). In any case, we already have some contributions about musicians and songs in different types of texts[147].

1.2.3. General Conclusions

We definitely need to keep in mind all our references to **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*) in order to talk about the existence (or not) of a word for "Music" in Sumerian or Akkadian. Nevertheless, those references cannot be studied without paying attention to some basic aspects of their texts, like their chronology, geography, and textual typology.

1.3. Hypothesis to be proved

1.3.1. Exposition of the hypothesis

Only a little evidence for **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*) has been used in the past for answering to the question of the existence (or not) of a word in Sumerian and Akkadian for "Music". Therefore, we believe that a study of all our texts containing these two terms might reveal that "Music" was actually their (main) meaning. In this sense, there would actually be a word for "Music" in Mesopotamia. We do not rule out other meanings for them, like office or text *corpus* of the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*). However, they are secondary and, above all, they can be explained according to the chronology/typology of their texts.

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[147] See Shehata, 2009, *passim* (texts about each type of musician or composition are usually gathered according to their typology) and Gadotti, 2010.

1.3.2. About the definition of "Music" used in this study

We are going to defend the actual existence of a word for "music" in Sumerian and Akkadian. However, what are we going to understand as "music" in this study? The necessity of having a clear idea about "music" and making it explicit in a scientific contribution has already been expressed for ancient Near Eastern Studies[148]. The idea itself of "music" has been much debated around the world, and, in fact, not too many people (if anyone) are confident about its definition despite dealing with music every day. Perhaps it comes from the difficulty of disconnecting the "object" (music) from the "subject" (the individual) and its context (emotions)[149]. In our opinion[150], we cannot define "music" just as the combination of sounds with a certain purpose (we shall reflect shortly about this matter later)[151]. Far from that, as Jean Molino suggested[152], we need to include in our definition the social and personal circumstances around that sound combination and its production. We can neither forget its agents and instruments.

That idea is in the basis of the word from which the term "Music" comes: the Greek term μουσικὴ. Certainly, that word simply referred to something "of the Muses". That could be the use of a musical instrument. In fact, the Muse Euterpe is associated with the αὐλός. However, μουσικὴ could also designate something along the lines of Hstory, domain of Klio[153]. The same happens with the Latin *musica*. Its definition by Augustine of Hippo (*musica est scientia bene modulandi*)[154] implies the measure of musical sounds, but also their movement and use in singing and dance[155]. Maybe that movement of the sounds is not related at all to society. In any case, we cannot forget that music is the oldest form of social communication for humans, even earlier than spoken language[156].

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[148] Certainly, Mirelman, 2011: 300 already requires that definition concerning Schuol, 2004, where the Hittite *zinar* was understood (as we shall comment on later) as an interjection for "Music!"

[149] See Nettl, 1983: 26–35 for some reflections.

[150] What follows is mainly a personal reflection. In any case, of course, we refer to some studies.

[151] For instance, Clifton, 1983: 10.

[152] Molino, 1975: 37 said that music should be perceived as a total social fact.

[153] Grimal, 2008: 367–368.

[154] Augustine of Hippo, *De Musica* I, 1, 2 (Sant'Agostino).

[155] See Correa Pabón, 2009: 30–49 for an analysis of this expression.

[156] See Altenmüller, 2004, Levitin, 2006: 242-261; Sacks, 2007: xi–xii for comments.

In fact, we tend to think that nobody is thinking (just) in sounds combinations when (s)he says "I like music!"[157]. Certainly, many people become interested in music by playing an instrument or singing. That is not so common with the elaboration of random sound calculations without contact with any "material" reality. After all, if music were a numerical science like in the *Quadrivium*[158], why not just talk about "Soundology"? In this sense, for "Music" we understand here something as the combination of sounds with a communicative purpose. However, we include also in that definition the required instruments, agents, and personal and social circumstances of that sound combination.

1.3.3. Justification *A Priori* of our hypothesis

1.3.3.1.   About terms for "Music" in Ancient Cultures

Our hypothesis might be doomed to failure if we do not keep in mind that there is no word for "Music" in some languages contemporary with Sumerian and Akkadian. Among them, Hurrian[159], Hittite[160], Eblaite[161], Ugaritic[162] and other Semitic languages[163].

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[157] Compare this statement with our Texts 33 and 39.

[158] About the role of music in the *Quadrivium* in Late Antiquity, see Heilmann, 2007.

[159] See Richter, 2012, *passim* for different Hurrian musical terms.

[160] The Hittite *zinar* seems to be an interjection meaning "Music!", but it might just refer to the music of the *zinar* lyre (see Schuol, 2004, *passim*). In our opinion, *zinar* is not a (Proto-)Hattic term as is usually said (Krispijn, 1990: 12; Schuol, 2004: 97; Krispijn, 2010b: 148; Tischler, 2016a: IV, 741). However, it might come from the Semitic √KNR. Certainly, in MEE 4 2 + 3 + 61 [TM.75.G.15301], r. ii 4' (DCCLT), we have *gi-na-ru$_{12}$-um*. The sign GI might have been confused with ZI in very early times for rendering **zinarum > zinar*. This also happens in southern Mesopotamia, another "peripheral zone," concerning Ebla. There, two Old Akkadian texts (both collated 22/08/2019; see Bauer, 1992: notice 51 for comments) have **lu$_2$ ˊza`-ra-lu$_2$** (OSP 2 136 [N 278] (00-00-00), r. 5, CDLI P216290) and **lu$_2$ za-na-ˊru$_{12}$(EN)ˋ** (OSP 2 133 [N 433 + 581] (00-00-00), r. 12, CDLI P216287). That is, they have two early spellings of **za-na-ru**. The spelling **za-na-ru$_{12}$** recalls the Eblaite *gi-na-ru$_{12}$-um*: *gi-na-ru$_{12}$-um* > **zi-na-ru$_{12}$* > **za-na-ru$_{12}$** > **za-na-ru-um** > **za-na-ru**). That is confirmed by the Old Babylonian lexical text CUSAS 12 3.1.1 [MS 3214], b vi 21 (DCCLT). In that text we find **^{ŋeš}za-na-ru-um** with a classical *-um* Akkadian ending.

[161] We have only Eblaite texts about the NAR (see Tonietti, 2018: 14-22 for a recent overview) like Mesopotamia at that time (see section 2.1 for comments).

[162] Here we have the verbal stem *ḏmr* meaning "to sing" (Olmo de Lete and Sanmartín, 2003: 287).

[163] The Hebrew *zimrah* means "music", but also "singing" (Klein, 1987: 200). The same happens with other words from the same root (Holladay, 1988: 404; Clines, 2009: 201) and the Aramaic *zmār(ā)* (CAL).

However, any statement on this matter is provisional since musical terminology in some of these languages is still unknown or uncertain because of our knowledge of said languages. This is the case of Urartian[164] or Elamite[165]. Moreover, for us, ancient Egypt represents a contradiction. Certainly, Egyptian terms usually translated as "Music" never have the determinative Y1V for abstract nouns[166]. In addition, they seem to concern just the "music" of some instrument (like *iḥy*)[167] or a musical action (like *ḥst*[168] or *ḥn*[169]). However, some Greek sources use the word μουσικὴ for Egypt and its music[170].

Additionally, Greece (and, by extension, Rome) was not the unique ancient culture having a word for "Music". Certainly, the Ancient Chinese *yuè* (樂) "Music" is already mentioned in the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing*, 詩經) compiling poems from the 11th to 7th centuries BCE[171]. For its part, the Sanskrit *saṅgīta* is mentioned for the first time in the *Saṅgīta ratnākara* ("Ocean of Music") of Śārṅgadeva. That text is from the 13th century CE. However, some aspects of that book and the term *saṅgīta* make reference to the oldest texts of the Indian culture, as the *Ṛgveda* (composed in the 2nd millennium BCE)[172].

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[164] Previous musical research (Belli, 2007; Seidl, 2009) has been focused just on iconography and, according to Mirjo Salvini (personal communication), author of the main Urartian lexicon (Salvini, 2018), there is unfortunately no Urartian musical term (at the moment?)

[165] The *Elamisches Wörterbuch* (Hinz and Koch, 1987) contains several "musical terms". Some of them have been already dismissed like ka₄-si-ik-ki ba-ak-ki-ra ("Posaunenbläser" on Hinz and Koch, 1987: 451, "lancer" in Henkelman, 2002 and Velázquez Muñoz, 2013: 19 n. 18). Other terms are contained in uncertain texts. This is the case of šu-ku-ri ("vielleicht Sänger(?)" in Hinz and Koch, 1987: 1995), term contained in Böhl, 1933: 30 [LB 1003], o. 5 and the unpublished LB 1004, lo. e. 1 (collated in November 2018).

[166] Gardiner, 1927: 533.

[167] It might refer only to sistrum music when it is used with the determinative A239 (a person playing a sistrum) (Wb I, p. 122). Only known in the Ptolemaic-Roman Period (see TLA for reference).

[168] Probably referred just to "singing" since it usually appears with the determinative D41 (Wb III, p. 165). The arm depicted in that determinative is a human arm in horizontal position like that of some ancient Egyptian singers (Manniche, 1991: 94). Known from the New Kingdom onward. See TLA for reference.

[169] Probably referred just to the dance (with musical accompaniment) due to the use of the determinative A32A (a dancing person) (Wb III, p. 286). Only known in the Ptolemaic Period (see TLA for reference).

[170] Plato, *Laws*, II, 656e; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, I 18, 4 and 81, 7 and Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 13 A-B.

[171] Journeau, 2008: 495. The poem with our allusion is the 141 in the order of Waley, 1960.

[172] Rowell, 1992: 5–16 (overview); *Saṅgīta Ratnākara*, I, v, 21c–24b (Shringy, 1978: I, 10) (edition).

Finally, we should have a look for a second at the composition of the terms **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)*. On the one hand, they have a particle (a prefix, **nam-**, in Sumerian[173], a suffix, *-ūtu(m)* in Akkadian[174]) which give these terms an abstract connotation. On the other hand, **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* do not refer to a musical action like the Hebrew *zimrah*, the Aramaic *zmār(ā)*, the Ugaritic *ḏmr*, or the Egyptian terms *ḥst* and *ḥn*. They neither refer to a musical instrument as the Hittite *zinar*[175] or the Egyptian *iḥy*. Far from that, **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* are built from, **nar**/*nāru(m)*, a term which designated a musician. That is, they were referred to someone able to use his/her voice for making music as a singer, but also to use other instruments, what we call an instrumentalist.

None of these things is perceived in the other Hittite, Egyptian or Semitic terms which we have mentioned. In this sense, the scope of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* is much larger and, therefore, **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* have more potential for being a term for "Music".

1.3.3.2. About the condition of the **nar**/*nāru(m)*

A larger reflection on this topic as a consequence of an exhaustive study of the **nar**/*nāru(m)* in Mesopotamia is definitely out of the scope of this study for two reasons.

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[173] Concerning the debate if this **nam-** is equal to the noun **nam** ("destiny", "condition" or "state"), we are of the opinion of DGS, p. 118 that there is no reason for considering them two independent realities. At the most, following that contribution, **nam-** should be described as a lexical morpheme (Krecher, 1987: 71). Certainly, both **nam(-)** forms concern abstract entities (things which happen/are going to happen to someone/something). Furthermore, nouns with **nam-** can be translated as "condition of…" DGS, p. 118 does not cite Tanos, 2007, which defends the derivational condition of **nam-**. However, its example of **nam-a-ni** is not precise, and we have a **nam-bi** in *Enki and Ninmaḫ*, b 28 (see our Text 27 for edition and comments). This is a more explicit comment against Tanos, 2007 than those of Attinger, 2009: 132 (we agree with them in any case). Tanos, 2007 should have also kept in consideration the existence of the expressions **nam-bi-še₃** ("because of that") or the construction **nam** + Sentence + **a** [NMLZ] + **ak** [GEN] + **še** [TRM] ("at the occasion of…") (Foxvog, 2016b: 22, 50, 101, 103). Thanks to Daniel Foxvog, Bram Jagersma and Pascal Attinger for their bibliographical and grammatical orientations.

[174] On the contrary to **nam-**, this suffix is just a noun formative without an independent meaning. It is also found in other Semitic languages like Mandaic, but also Egyptian, a Hamito-Semtic language. Abstract words can be constructed through nominal constructions (GAG, p. 70–73), which is not so common in Sumerian (DGS, p. 281). See Barth, 1894: 411–413; Steiner, 1972; Correll, 1990; Hecker, 1990: 301–309; Farber, 1991; GAG, p. 86–87 for reference. Thanks to Josué Justel, John Huehnergard, Manfred Krebernik and Holger Gzella for their bibliographical comments and remarks (or reminders!) on this topic.

[175] There is also another Hittite word, *isḫamai-*, for "singing" (Tischler, 2001: 63; Tischler, 2016: 130).

On the one hand, we deal here mainly with the concept of "music" in Mesopotamia, not with musicians in that culture. This topic will be treated by Regine Pruzsinszky in depth a future study[176]. On the other hand, the number of textual allusions to that **nar**/*nāru*(*m*) in some periods of Mesopotamian history is very high, and the study of said period(s) might occupy a large monograph by itself[177]. In any case, here are some compulsory reflections on this topic. They will be also useful for justifying our hypothesis.

First, the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*) is a musician[178], and not an instrumentalist[179], a singer[180], or a "singer/musician"[181] as in previous discussions[182]. We can infer that from an excerpt of the Old Babylonian lexical list *Proto*-**lu₂** about the specializations of this figure[183]. Certainly, there we find specializations where the **nar** acts mainly as a singer[184] or as an instrumentalist[185]. However, the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*) is defined in other specialities just by the gender[186], age[187], position[188] or the context where (s)he used to perform music[189]. In this sense, Mesopotamian people seem to have not put exclusive attention on the instruments

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[176] See Pruzsinszky, *forthcoming* for reference.

[177] Certainly, only by the Ur III Period, BDTNS [Last search on 14/10/2019] has 823 mentions of **nar**. Only one of these allusions to the **nar** is a sure reference to **nam-nar** (= our Text 5).

[178] Among others, like AHw II, p. 748; CAD N1, p. 376; Collon and Kilmer, 1980–1983: 469; Charpin, 1986: 250; Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 341; Archi, 2003–2005: 205; Kilmer, 2003–2005: 371; ETCSL Glossary; ePSD; Gadotti, 2010: 73 (neither this nor any of the following lists aims to be exhaustive).

[179] Like FM 9, p. 17–18.

[180] Sjöberg, 1976: 170 n. 39; Krispijn, 1990: 2; Sigrist, 1992: 216–217; Kienast, 1994: 170; Visicato, 1995: 108; Volk, 1995: 210; Zgoll, 1997: 441; Sallaberger, 2006: 481; D'Agostino, 2012: 92–94.

[181] Gelb, 1976: 50; Pruzsinszky, 2010a: 96.

[182] For a reflection about this debate including the iconography, Oberhuber, 1991.

[183] *Proto*-**lu₂**, 641–650 (DCCLT Q000047). Following citations will refer to this text and edition. See Shehata, 2009: 16–17; Shehata, 2018b: 65 for previous comments on this text.

[184] **nar gu₃ silim-ma** ("**nar** of the healthy voice"; line 648); **nar inim/gu₃ bala-bala** ("**nar** of the responsorial chants"; line 648a); **nar gu₃ dug₃-ga** ("**nar** of the good voice"; line 648b); **nar gu₃ nu-dug₃-ga** ("**nar** of the unpleasant voice"; line 648c) and **nar ze₂-za** ("croaking(?) **nar**").

[185] **nar balaŋ** ("**nar** of the **balaŋ** instrument"; line 642), **nar sa** ("**nar** of the chordophones"; line 644).

[186] ᵐᵘⁿᵘˢ**nar balaŋ** ("female **nar** of the **balaŋ** instrument"; 643b).

[187] **nar ḫal-la-tuš-a** ("apprentice **nar**"; line 649). Shehata, 2009: 16 adds **nar tur** ("young **nar**").

[188] **nar gal** ("chief musician"; 642); **nar pad₃-da** ("designated **nar**", perhaps engaged for a sporadic performance; line 649b); **nar keše₂-da** ("attached **nar**", perhaps a **nar** with a permanent position; line 650).

[189] **nar igi suḫur-la₂** ("**nar** before the **suḫur-la₂**"; line 646); **nar igi lugal** ("**nar** before the king"; line 647); **nar eš₃-a** ("**nar** of the shrine"; 649a). Through Shehata, 2009: 16 / Shehata, 2018b: 65, as a variant called 648e, **nar a₂-na₂** ("**nar** of the **a₂-na₂** bedroom").

used by the **nar**, but also to other aspects. Therefore, a definition of that figure as "musician" fits better in this context without denying his/her vocal/instrumental abilities.

Some people[190] have defined the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*) as "singer" due to these specialities where **lu$_2$** ("person") is accompanied by a musical instrument: **lu$_2$ a$_2$-la$_2$**[191] ("player of the **a$_2$-la$_2$**")[192], **lu$_2$ bur$_2$-balaŋ** ("player of the **bur$_2$-balaŋ** instrument")[193], **lu$_2$ balaŋ(-di)** ("player of the **balaŋ-di**" or "reciter of **balaŋ** laments")[194], ***lu$_2$ za-na-ru**[195] ("player of the **za-na-ru** lyre/drum[196]"), **lu$_2$ gi-di-da** ("player of the **gi-di** pipes")[197], **lu$_2$ ^{ŋeš}tigidla**[198] ("player of the **^{ŋeš}tigidla**"), **lu$_2$ gi-gid$_2$-da** ("player of the **gi-gid$_2$** pipes")[199] and **lu$_2$ al-**

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[190] Among others, Shehata, 2009: 261; Pruzsinszky, 2013: 31; Pruzsinszky, 2016: 27–28.

[191] IAS 54 + 56 [IM 70293+], o. v 17 (DCCLT); *ED* **Lu$_2$** E, 101 (DCCLT Q000006); ARET 9 107 [TM75.G.576], o. i 3 (CDLI P240694); UET 3 1265 [U. 4611] (00-00-00), o. i 4 (BDTNS 011570); UET 9 821 (Ibbī-Suen 06-05-00), o. 3 (BDTNS 019577); UET 9 830 (Ibbī-Suen 06-11-00), r. 4 (BDTNS 19586); MSL 12, 157 A [IM 58433 + 58496], 247 (DCCLT); MSL 12, p. 203–211 [NBC 9830], r. i 32 (DCCLT).

[192] See our sections 2.2.2.2 and 4.4.3.2.3.3 for identification.

[193] SF 47 [VAT 12619], 58_(23) (DCCLT); IAS 54 + 56 [IM 70293+], o. v 19 (DCCLT); *ED* **Lu$_2$** *E*, 104 (DCCLT Q000006).

[194] MSL 12, 157 A [IM 58433 + 58496], 250-253 (DCCLT); MSL 12, p. 203–211 [NBC 9830], r. i 31 and 35 (DCCLT); **An** = *Anum*, I 362 (DCCLT Q000264); CT 19, pl. 23 [Rm. 344], r. i 38' (DCCLT).

[195] OSP 2 133 [N 433 + 581] (00-00-00), r. 12 (**lu$_2$ za-na-ˊru$_{12}$ˋ**) (CDLI P216287); OSP 2 136 [N 278] (00-00-00), r. 5 (**lu$_2$ ˊzaˋ-ra-lu$_2$**) (CDLI P216290) (collated the 22/08/2019).

[196] For the identification as a lyre, see our previous considerations about *zinar* and **za-na-ru**(-**um**). However, this identification does not fit with our Old Babylonian references to **za-na-ru**. Certainly, that instrument is equated to the *mazzû*(*m*) (a sistrum, see Gabbay, 2010: 26) and *alû*(*m*) in CUSAS 12 7.1.A [MS 4135], o. i 6'–8' (DCCLT). In addition, its sound is described as **gu$_3$ nun** ("powerful voice") in *Temple Hymns*, 183 (ETCSL 4.80.1). This sound does not fit with a stringed instrument, but does with percussion.

[197] SF 47 [VAT 12619], 60_9 (DCCLT); IAS 54 + 56 [IM 70293+], o. v 18 (DCCLT); *ED* **Lu$_2$** E, 102 (DCCLT Q000006); MVN 6 300 [Ist. L 7309] (xx-00-00), o. ii 16 (BDTNS 020465); SNAT 533 [BM 106111] (00-00-00), r. 4 (BDTNS 033997); MVN 10 96 [AO 10391] (Šulgi 42-11-00), o. ii 20 (BDTNS 23197); TCL 5 6038 [AO 6038] (Amar-Suena 07-00-00), r. iv 11 (BDTNS 006189); CDLI P235573 [USC 6763 = L.63] (Šu-Suen 03-00-00), r. 12 (CDLI P235573); UET 3 1070 [U. 4841] (Ibbī-Suen 08-09-00), o. 2 (BDTNS 11375); MSL 12, p. 157 A [IM 58433 + 58496], 242, 244 (DCCLT); MSL 12, p. 203–211 [NBC 9830], r. i 27 (DCCLT); *Proverbs* 2.54 (ETCSL 6.1.02).

[198] (All Ur III) UET 3 15 [U. 4864 (Iraq Museum envelope) + U. 7002 (British Museum tablet)] (Šulgi 47-00-00), o. 8 (BDTNS 10320); PDT 2 1120 [Ist. PD ---] (Amar-Suena 04-02-02), o. 7 (BDTNS 31251); UDT 97 [NBC 97] (Amar-Suena 04-09-19), r. 21 (BDTNS 005482).

[199] BPOA 6 1190 [NBC 618] (Šulgi 45-00-00), r. 1 (BDTNS 75208); MSL 12, p. 157 A [IM 58433 + 58496], 243 (DCCLT); MSL 12, p. 203–211 [NBC 9830], r. i 28 (DCCLT); *Proverbs* 2.54 (ETCSL 6.1.02).

ŋar-su-ra[200] ("player of the **al-ŋar-sur₉** friction drum")[201]. However, the **nar** sometimes played the **a₂-la₂**[202] and the **balaŋ**[203]. Furthermore, we have specialities of the type **lu₂** + a type of song for referring some types of singers: **lu₂ ser₃(-ra)** (literally, "person of the **ser₃** song")[204] and **lu₂ i-lu (di)** ("person of the **i-lu** song")[205].

The opposition **nar** vs. **lu₂ gi-di**(-**da**) was exposed in the Old Babylonian proverb 2.54. In proverbs like that, we find references to the **nar**'s throat (**meli₂**)[206] or mastering of the **en₃-du** songs[207]. We might identify, therefore, the **nar** with a singer. Moreover, some of its sounds are suitable for a singer. This is the case of the sounds **u₈ʾ-uₓ**(PA)-**a** and **a-la-la**)[208]. However, other sounds of the **nar** might also refer to instruments, like the sound **za-pa-aŋ₂**[209]. That term designated the cries of the people, but also the noise of some animals[210]. In this sense, the **nar** need not always have been a singer in these texts.

Another proverb referred to the use of the **ad ša₄** technique by the **nar**[211]. This technique is also found with some terms identifiable as musical instruments[212]. Moreover, **ad ša₄** is defined in Old Babylonian times[213] onward[214] as a term related to lamentations

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[200] MSL 12, p. 157 A [IM 58433 + 58496], 248 (DCCLT).

[201] Veldhuis, 1997–1998: 119-120; Shehata, 2006; Michalowski, 2010a: 225–228 for identification.

[202] *Gudea Statue L* [E3/1.01.07], a 41' (CDLI P431893).

[203] TMH 10 25 [HS 2205] (Šamšu-ilūna 12-07-03), r. 4 (Archibab T23363). In addition, see Gelb, 1976: 57; Tonietti, 2010: 83 and Tonietti, 2018: 19 for reference.

[204] SF 47 [VAT 12619], 57_(22) (DCCLT); IAS 60 [IM 70171], o. vi 2' (DCCLT); *ED* **Lu₂** *E*, 107 (DCCLT Q000006); MEE 3 8 + 9 + unpublished fragment [TM.75.G.11651+], o. vi 2 (DCCLT); *Nippur Lament*, 117 (ETCSL 2.2.4); **Im-ma-al gu₃-de₂-de₂**, c+201 (Bowen, 2017: 184 n. 341).

[205] MSL 12, p. 157 A [IM 58433 + 58496], 245–246 (DCCLT) and MSL 12, p. 203–211 [NBC 9830], r. i 33–34 (OB; DCCLT). Pay attention also to the **balaŋ di lu₂ i-lu ba-ab-be₂-a** ("The reciter of **balaŋ** laments who recites an **i-lu** song") of *Nippur Lament*, 109 (ETCSL 2.2.4).

[206] *Proverbs* 2.43 (ETCSL 6.1.02). For this reading instead of the traditional ŋili₃, Attinger, 2019d: 130 n. 173 (with bibliography). *Proto-Ea*, 327 has **mi-li** for KA×LI, which suggests **mili₂** or **meli₂**.

[207] *Proverbs* 2.39; UET 6/2 268 [U. 17207,88], o. 3–4 (Peterson, 2019b: 573); UET 6/2 290 [U. 17207,55], o. 1 (Peterson, 2019b: 582).

[208] *Proverbs* 3.87 (ETCSL 6.1.03).

[209] *Proverbs* 2.41 and 2.57 (ETCSL 6.1.02).

[210] See our Section 4.2.1.1 for additional explanations.

[211] *Proverbs* 2.39 (ETCSL 6.1.02); UET 6/2 268 [U. 17207,88], o. 3–4 (Peterson, 2019b: 573).

[212] *Šulgi B*, 171 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02; **ŋeš-gu₃-di** lute) and perhaps *Temple Hymns*, 183 (ETCSL 4.80.1; **za-na-ru** instrument).

[213] *Inanna G*, 61 (ETCSL 4.07.7) and *Dumuzi and Inanna H*, 17 (Attinger, 2019b: 2)

[214] See Cooper, 1987: 89, 96–97 and Rendu Loisel, 2011: 204–206 for comments.

to be equated with *nasāḫu*(*m*). Therefore, unlike some authors[215], the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*) was not only a ceremonial musician, but (s)he could also perform music suitable for lamentations[216]. Beyond other pieces of evidence[217], that fact fits with the specialization **nar balaŋ** ("**nar** of the **balaŋ** instrument"). As we shall comment on later[218], that term should not always be read as **tige₂**. In addition, remember our considerations about the **gala**/*kalû*(*m*) as a priest and not musician. All of that is very relevant for a justification *a priori* of our hypothesis. In fact, **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) would *a priori* both pertain to music, whether for festivals or lamentations. That happens also with the ideal musician. Certainly, a true musician is able to make good music in many musical styles.

Concerning the 1ˢᵗ-millennium evidence, Neo-Assyrian[219] and Seleucid texts[220] describe the performances of the *nāru* with the verb *zamāru* ("to sing"). That might help to identify this figure as a singer. However, the *nāru* usually plays some instruments in his/her performances[221]. In addition, we know instrumental specialities of that figure[222]

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[215] Krispijn, 1990: 2 ("(Hymnen)Sänger"); Volk, 1994: 183, 185 n. 48 and 51, 187; Volk, 2006: 7 n. 14, 22 ("Festmusiker" in both publications).

[216] For additional comments on this topic, see Löhnert, 2008: 426-428, 420.

[217] As a part of his devotion to music (**nam-nar**), King Šulgi expresses his practice of several types of lamentations (*Šulgi B*, 173–174; ETCSL 2.4.2.02). The same might happen in *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 373, where we find the expression **ser₃ še₁₁(LUL)-da**. See our section 4.4.4.2 for comments.

[218] See our section 3.2.2.2 for comments.

[219] SAA 3 37 = CT 15, pl. 43–44 [K. 3476], o. 21'; SAA 20 7 = KAR 215 [VAT ---] + PKT 16 [VAT 10464], o. ii 51', r. iii 2; SAA 20 16 [K. 3455 + 5660 + 9937 + 17525 + 17648 + 18029 + 18117 + 18309 + 18440], o. i 12', r. iv 13, 23; SAA 20 17 = PKT 19 [VAT 13597 + 13999] + OrSP 23, p. 115 [VAT 13830], r. 8, 11; SAA 20 18 [K. 9923], o. 14–15; SAA 20 19 = KAR [VAT 10112], o. ii 6–9, r. i 13', r. ii 1', 16', 28'; SAA 20 20 = CA, pl. 6 [Ist. A 127], o. i 22; SAA 20 21 = PKT 12–13 [VAT 13717], r. 1, 7; SAA 20 31 = BBR pl. 56 [K. 8380], o. 6', 15'–17', 22', r. 2, 8; SAA 20 32 = KAR 141 [VAT 13003], o. 20, r. 1, 3; SAA 20 52 = CA, pl. 1–2 [BM 121206], r. i 31'–32'; SAA 20 53 = PKT 14–15 [VAT 13596], o. i 16', r. vi 1'. All these texts have been cited according to their editions in SAAo and they have a historic-geographical precedent in *Middle Assyrian Coronation Ritual text*, KAR 135 + 137 + 216 + 217 [VAT 9583 + VAT 9936 +? VAT 10113 (+) VAT 09978], r. iii 2 (Müller, 1937: 14).

[220] TCL 6 41 [AO 6460], r. 31 (Linssen, 2005: 247).

[221] *Aššurbānipal Assyrian Tablet 2* [K. 2694 + 3050], o. iii 3'–4' (RINAP 5 Q003772); Ebeling, 1948: 416–422 [VAT 13832], 19–22 (Ebeling, 1948: 417); SAA 3 4 = *Nanaya Hymn of Sargon II*, ABRT 1, pl. 54–55 [K 3600 + DT 75], o. i 7'–9' (SAAo). In addition, but more indirectly, *Maqlû* VII 155 (Abusch, 2015: 188). All these texts are from the Neo-Assyrian Period.

[222] **Lu₂** Short 1, 205 (DCCLT) about the **nar balaŋ** ("**nar** of the **balaŋ** drum").

and some instruments put to his/her disposal[223]. In this sense, we shall still identify the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*) with a musician also by the 1st millennium.

1.4. Objectives of this study

In line with the aspects discussed in the previous section, the main objective of this study will be to demonstrate our hypothesis—to prove the existence of a word for "music" in Mesopotamia— through analysis of all the texts with **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) currently known.

As a consequence of this main objective, a secondary objective of this study will be the compilation of all references to **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) in the *corpus* of Sumerian and Akkadian texts. Said task is a bit complicated since, every year, many new cuneiform texts are published or (re)edited. That affects, of course, our total number of references to **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*)[224]. In this sense, why is it necessary? In Assyriology, when we try to define a concrete Sumerian or Akkadian term, we normally look at its different appearances in the lexical lists and series, the paradigms of Mesopotamian "science". In those texts, each natural/cultural entity known in Sumerian and/or Akkadian was ordered in different groups. As a consequence, all the terms with a similar meaning were ordered in those lists together creating, for instance, lists of wooden objects[225]. Once we have established the relationships of our word with other words from those lists, maybe we have already a plausible idea about the sense of our term to be confirmed with other texts.

However, this procedure (which we can find in some studies about Mesopotamian music)[226], has its limitations for **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*). Certainly, we have 70 allusions to both terms from the Old Akkadian Period until the Late Seleucid Period. However, we have just one Old Babylonian reference to **nam-nar** (perhaps as a generic abstract noun, perhaps as term for an office) and one to *nārūtu*(*m*) coming from the Neo-Assyrian Period

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[223] YOS 6 62 [YBC 7388] (Nabonidus 06-12-06), r. 7 (CAD S, p. 119).

[224] Since the start of the origins of this study, by October 2015, the texts 19–21 (in 2016 by Anne Goddeeris; see our section 3.3.3 for comments) and *Šulgi CC* (our Texts 37 and 41, in 2019, by Jeremiah Peterson, see our section 4.4.3.5 and 4.5 for comments) have been published. In addition, Manuel Ceccarelli published a new edition of *Enki and Ninmaḫ* (= Text 27) in 2016 (see our section 4.2.2 for comments).

[225] Civil, 1995: 2305–2306.

[226] In addition to Krispijn, 1990 and 2010, Shehata, 2009: 9–10, 15–18, 55–58, 228, 240, 262–264 or Rendu Loisel, 2011: 1–15, 29-54, 73–86, 122–158.

(perhaps about an instrument)[227]. Furthermore, we have two references to **s/šer₃ nam-nar** (literally "**nam-nar s/šer₃** song) from the Old Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian periods[228]. Therefore, most of our allusions to **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* remain unexplained from an exclusively lexical perspective, and we must also study other texts.

1.5. Methodology

1.5.1. General Definition

Since this work deals with Sumerian and Akkadian musical terms, its methodology will be mainly philological, and most concretely lexicographical. In any case, three disciplines are interconnected in this study:

- The main discipline, the Assyriology, encompasses the holistic study of the cultures sharing the (different varieties of) cuneiform script in the ancient Near East, especially from a philological perspective[229].

- In second place is Musicology, since we deal with musical terms. Some comments coming from Organology and the History of Music will be necessary in certain points of this study. One of these occasions will be the moment of identifying a term related for an instrument related to **nam-nar** or *nārūtu(m)* in a textual excerpt.

- Finally, our interest in the time and space comes from History and Historical Method[230]. We might also establish connections with Microhistory. This trend is focused on the history of small units of the past[231], such as an individual, concrete fact or a two terms as in this case. Concerning Archaeology, an independent discipline but in close connection with History, it will be not particularly relevant here since this study is mainly philological. However, some comments about ancient, preserved musical instruments and their iconography will sometimes be necessary in our

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[227] See our Texts 10 and 58 for reference and interpretation.

[228] See our texts 9 and 59 for reference.

[229] Römer, 1999: 139-141; Charpin, 2014: 6, 10-11.

[230] Garraghan, 1946: 168.

[231] Szijártó and Magnússon, 2013: 147.

identifications of some specific musical terms in close connection to **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*).

We offer, in this way, a multidisciplinary study whose methodology will be based on two main aspects: 1) the edition of each one of our excerpts with **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*), and 2) the commentary on these excerpts.

1.5.2. About the Textual Editions

1.5.2.1. Main texts of this study

All the texts presented in this study have already been published and edited to some extent[232]. We have also dealt with some unpublished texts. However, since they did not contain **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*), they have not been finally edited here[233]. Certainly, we have been edited only texts containing (possible) references to **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*) here as an attempt to give them their necessary relevance.

In any case, all the texts in this study are presented in the newest editions possible made by ourselves. For that, we have checked the available copies and photos of each of cuneiform tablets studied here, making minor[234] or major corrections (indicated in footnotes) on our most accurate[235] available transliterations. In addition to those reference editions, other editions have also been checked, and their variations concerning different

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[232] Except, perhaps, the editions of *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, which come from the generosity of Manuel Ceccarelli, who is editing the entire text for his *Habilitationschrift* (= Ceccarelli, *forthcoming*). In any case, we have tried to revise his edition (in its state as of 26/06/2019) with the ways to be explained right now. See our section 4.2.1 for editions and comments.

[233] In addition to tablet LB 1004, see the beginning of our last chapter for the results of our study of some unpublished Middle Babylonian tablets referring to the *nāru* musicians.

[234] For "minor corrections", we shall understand those concerning the degree of readability of a concrete cuneiform sign, corrections which depend to some degree upon the one who is reading the manuscript. For instance, putting a **gal** as ˹**gal**˺ since, according to what we have seen in the copy, photo or real manuscript (when we could collate it), the sign is damaged at a certain point. Generally, they are not specifically indicated in our editions, but the differences can be checked by having a look at our reference edition, normally indicated in the same footnote where these details are given.

[235] We have not always followed the most recent edition for a text. That is the case of *Inanna and Enki*, where the edition of Farber-Flüge, 1973 was to our mind much more reliable than the one of ETCSL.

aspects of the epigraphy or the textual criticism are included with footnotes in our editions. Likewise, with translations of these texts. Certainly, all the textual excerpts edited in this study have been translated by ourselves starting from the original texts and languages, but we have had to pay attention also to their previous translations.

Moreover, we have had the opportunity to collate some tablets of this study in their original museums. In any case, the personal collation of all the tablets edited for the present study is something certainly complicated for reasons beyond the large dispersal of these tablets around the world. Certainly, some tablets could not be found in their supposed locations[236]. Others tablets have been too recently collated for making a re-collation with a real impact in the current research[237]. Concerning the tablets in collections of the modern Near East, their location is usually unknown to us and probably dangerous. That is the case of the tablets from Mari studied here, which are now in Syria[238].

In any event, when these collations have been made, we have indicated the day of the collation in our edition. These collations have been especially relevant in texts with a unique tablet, like several administrative[239] and literary texts[240]. Certainly, those excerpts can be definitely considered as new editions presented for this study.

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[236] That is the case of our Text 67. CT 17 pl. 15–18 [BM 34223+], iv 18'–19'. Certainly, Enrique Jiménez could not find this tablet in 2013 (Jiménez, 2013b: 153, and personal communication). We could neither do it in 01/08/2019. The same seems to have happened with tablet N_{I-E} = Castellino, 1972: fig. 3 [N 1741] containing *Šulgi B*. However, it was fortunately found (again) by Philip Jones during our collation visit to the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (19–23/08/2019).

[237] This is the case of Geller, 2003: 109–111 [MS 2951] (Text 12), recently published in George and Spada, 2019: 116–117 profiting from the collations by Konrad Volk in June 2018. In any case, our edition tries to discuss these collations as a part of the many previous editions of this text. Texts 19–21 of this study are another example because of their edition and publication in 2016 by Anne Goddeeris as Manfred Krebernik wisely adviced us. We attempted to collate other texts from the *Hilprecht Sammlung* without success, as was also the case for several tablets from the *Museée du Louvre*.

[238] See our Chapter 4 for their edition and study.

[239] Like in Nisaba 11 33 [BM 104768] (Šulgi 36-11-00), r. i 3–10 (Text 5), BE 8/1 98 [CBS 3579] (Cambyses 14+-01-00) (Text 61); MacGinnis, 2002: 234, text n. 12 [BM 64026] (Cyrus 07-10-06) (Text 62); MacGinnis, 1991–1992: 83, text n. 3 [BM 70463] (00-00-00) (Text 64); Wunsch, 2003: 106, text n. 33 [BM 30515] (Nabonidus, 10-11-15) (Text 65) and *Dar.* 463 [BM 77393] (Darius (x)+3-1-18) (Text 66).

[240] Except for *Inanna and Enki*, where the different manuscripts have different parts of this text. Other examples are *Šulgi CC* (at the moment only preserved in the manuscript UET 6/3 522 [U. 7774]) and Koch, 2004: 106–108 [BM 55466 + 55486 + 55627] (Text 69). See their editions for more details. We advise to proceed in the same way for the cases to be examined in the following footnotes.

We have some texts preserved in several manuscripts, as most of our lexical and literary texts. For those cases, we have prepared score editions transliterating the content of the different "witnesses" of these texts, inspecting the available copies and/or photos of said tablets and collating them we could. In this way, many excerpts are presented here for the first time in a score edition. Certainly, some of these texts had only been edited in the past as composite lines with an overview of their different variants[241]. In other cases, composite lines were accompanied just by a list of manuscripts and[242] a short indication of the lines contained in each text[243]. Finally, for *Death of Nannā*, 19, the different variants of the text have been edited separately. Our task, in this case, was to gather them for our score[244]. In any case, the final result is, unfortunately, not very relevant[245].

In the case of pre-existing score editions[246], our task has mainly consisted of the consultation and discussion of these previous materials, as well as the attempt to improve said editions. On the one hand, we have tried to see if newly identified manuscripts of these texts according to CDLI— those not used in previous editions-— contain the excerpts we are using. This was the case for our editions of *Inanna and Enki*, *Ur-Namma A*, and *Išmē-Dagān A + V*. On the other hand, we have provided a composite line (something common to all our score editions) for those score editions without it[247]. The reason is that we tend to think that composite lines are useful in order to summarize what we have in the totality of the manuscripts for a single line.

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[241] That is the case of the *Šulgi B*, 154–157, 162, 277–279 (where we have used Casstellino, 1972 in addition to Krispijn, 1990: 21 for *Šulgi B*, 162) and *The Father and his rude Son* (Sjöberg, 1972).

[242] Except for *Šulgi E*. A list of manuscripts for *Šulgi E*, 155 (= Text 32) could be inferred from the score edition (revised and corrected in some points here) of *Šulgi E*, 162–163 (= Text 26) edited by BPOA 9, p. 166. In any case, we had to identify the lines contained in each manuscript for *Šulgi E* in order to prepare our edition of *Šulgi E*, 155.

[243] This has been the case of **Niŋ₂-ga**, 73–75 (Text 11), never tried to prepare completely in DCCLT according to a personal communication of Niek Veldhuis). Other texts are **Mur-gu₄** = *imrû* = *ballu*, B, II 169 (Text 58), *Examination Text A*, 24 (Text 59) or *Nabnītu*, Tablet IVa 329 (Text 60).

[244] Kramer, 1960: 52 and Sjöberg, 1983: 318.

[245] See our Text 38 for reference.

[246] *Proto-***Lu₂**, 590–591 (Text 9; edited by DCCLT); *Proto-***izi**, II 227–231 (Text 10; previously prepared by DCCLT and Crisostomo, 2019: 296); *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 94–99, 110–113 (in Ceccarelli, forthcoming); *Enki and Ninmaḫ*, b 26–29 (Text 27; previously edited by Ceccarelli, 2016: 110–112); *Ur-Namma A*, 188 (Text 31; previously edited by Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 133); *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 367, A 373–374 (Texts 39 and 40; already edited by Ludwig, 1990: 167).

[247] Basically, the texts edited by Manuel Ceccarelli: *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu* and *Enki and Ninmaḫ*.

Another important task in our editions has been the renovation of the *sigla* of the manuscripts used for these editions. Our purpose with that was to adapt them to new Assyriological conventions. Certainly, these new *sigla* are relevant for our study where we pay attention to the chronology, provenance, and textual typology of our texts. Certainly, these new *sigla* make explicit, at least, the provenance and tablet type of each of the manuscripts for a concrete text[248]. Those criteria have been used then in order to arrange the different manuscripts in our editions.

As final considerations for this section, here are some additional conventions for our textual editions normally used in Assyriology, but indicated here as a reminder:

[?]	*ka[?]*	Possibly the sign we have transliterated, but uncertain.
[!]	*ka[!]*	Sign incorrectly written.
x	*ka*-x	Unidentified sign, most probably because it is damaged.
⌜ ⌝	⌜*ka*⌝	Sign damaged but still mostly readable.
*	*ka**[249]	Collated sign. We used that also for "collations" through copies and photos when it is clear.
[!?]	*ka[!?]*	Sign needing a collation
[ ]	*k[a]*	Sign partially destroyed. It was restored here keeping in mind its shape in the copy, photo, or the original tablet.
	[*ka*]	Destroyed sign completely restored, normally taking into account the grammar of the text and/or the context.
[x]	*ka*-[x …]	Missing section where we know how many signs we could originally have.
[…]	*ka*-[…]	Missing section with an unknown number of missing signs.
{x}	*ka*-{KA}-*lu-u*	Redundant sign.
< >	*ka*-<*lu*>-*u*	Sign omitted/forgotten by the scribe. This sign is, however, necessary in the understanding of a word in a text.

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[248] See Delnero, 2006: 1857–1863 for an example.

[249] This * should not be confused with the * put before some words in order to indicate that they are only theoretical or even non-existent in any currently extant text.

1.5.2.2.   Secondary texts

Other relevant texts used for examining our excerpts with **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*) will be just mentioned in the footnotes. At the most, we shall offer a short transliteration and translation in that footnote. We shall make reference to these secondary texts through a reference to the concrete excerpt and an indication of the edition we have followed for consulting that text. Maybe we might make changes in that edition, but that would require a different study. For instance, when we say "*Šulgi B*, 167 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02)", we will mean that the excerpt to which we are making reference is the line 167 of the hymn *Šulgi B*, and the edition we have used for consulting that text is the one in ETCSL.

1.5.3.   About the Commentary of these Edited Texts

After its edition, we offer a commentary for each of our texts containing **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*). There, we shall try to discuss the strongest and weakest points of the different definitions previously given for those terms. Our purpose will be to justify why "Music" is, in most cases, the most suitable meaning for **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*) in our texts.

Our discussions will usually pay attention to several aspects of the grammar and linguistics of the Sumerian and Akkadian languages with some musicological comments. However, the most important part of our discussions will rely on a longer/shorter description of other terms from those texts. That will usually imply to discuss the previous definitions of those terms in our texts.

The study of these terms mentioned together with **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) in a given text will normally be performed through the consultation of other similar texts concerning their chronology, provenance, and textual typology. For instance, in our comment on **nam-nar** in *Gudea Cylinders*, we shall try to use mainly other excerpts from that text. Then, we will use excerpts from other royal inscriptions and administrative texts of the same period (2nd Dynasty of Lagaš). Finally, references to earlier and later periods will tried to be justified and contextualized as much as possible in our discussions.

1.6. Expected Results of this study

We expect, above all, to prove successfully our hypothesis that the main meaning of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) was "Music", although some secondary meanings also existed. Therefore, we hope to demonstrate there was a word indeed for "Music" in ancient Mesopotamia, something with its implications for future studies dealing with the most intellectual dimensions of music in that culture. Other secondary results are also foreseen. The most important of them is the hope to solve some debates about the identification of some Sumero-Akkadian musical terms to be studied here for their connections with **nam-nar** and/or *nārūtu*(*m*).

The results to expect may be *a priori* simple. However, we need to deal with great difficulties in order to exceed them. Some of them are the long chronology to be covered here (from the Old Akkadian Period to the Late Seleucid Period) or the different involved textual typologies: lexical, legal and administrative and literary texts, these with different typologies (commentaries, royal praise hymns, or wisdom texts). Certainly, each of the periods and textual typologies is usually the sole expertise of many Assyriologists more competent than ourselves, and, despite their brilliant skills, they usually must devote themselves many years to master adequately their knowledge of that typology/period.

In this sense, we have a big responsibility. However, we are partially relieved since some studies crossing chronologies and typologies, have already been conducted in other fields of Assyriology. This has been the case for the study of Mesopotamian demons[250] and hybrid creatures[251]. However, they are increasingly becoming common also in the research on Mesopotamian music[252]. Therefore, as it is, at least, possible to present an acceptable study of this kind, we shall do our best here.

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[250] Heeßel, 2002.

[251] Shehata, 2018a. We know just the abstract of that *Habilitationschrift* available on the website of the Lehrstuhl für Altorientalistik of the Universität Würzburg. In any case, while we wait for the publication of that study, see Shehata, 2017c for the main lines of that research.

[252] Pruzsinszky, *forthcoming*. A similar thing might happen with Mirelman, 2018b. We know from that study just an abstract amabily sent to us by his author (many thanks for that). In any case, the large scope of that research can be traced from previous publications of that author as Mirelman, 2010 and Mirelman and Sallaberger, 2010. We also recommend having a look at Mirelman, 2018a.

2. THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

2.1. The Old Akkadian Period

We have references to the **nar** and abstract nouns with the prefix **nam-** from as early as the Early Dynastic IIIa[253]. In this sense, it is probable that the term **nam-nar** was already in used at that time. However, we do not actually have such early references to **nam-nar** *per se*. Even if we had them, they would be probably of uncertain meaning. In fact, this is indeed the case for our earliest (possible) references to **nam-nar** coming from the Old Akkadian Period, 2340–2200 BCE. One of these references to **nam-nar** is contained in this text from Ǧirsu:

Text 1. CT 50, pl. 168 [BM 86313] (00-00-00)[254]

o. 5	1 **maš₂ ur-ᵈištaran**
o. 6	**dumu ˹x˺-KA-ki**
o. 7	1 **udu niga ˹lugal˺-nam(-)nar**
o. 8	1 **maš₂ ˹ur₂-a˺-ḫi**
o. 9	**dumu AN.˹BI˺.IR˺**[255]
o. 5	One kid (for) Ur-Ištaran,
o. 6	son of […]-ki.
o. 7	One barley-fed sheep (for) Lugal-namnar
o. 8	One kid (for) Uraḫi,
o. 9	son of […]

Certainly, our problems with this Text 1 begin with whether we read **lugal-nam nar** (that is, a **nar** called Lugal-nam with no reference to **nam-nar**)[256] or **lugal-nam-nar**. Following that second option, we would have in this text a personal name (Lugal-

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[253] According to CDLI, there are around 56 references to the **nar** in Early Dynastic IIIa texts, like the administrative text CUSAS 11 18 [CUNES 50-03-188], o. 2 (CDLI P329273). Concerning the abstract nouns, ePSD2 offers four terms already documented by this period: **nam-gu₂** ("oppression"), **nam-lu₂** ("condition as human being"), **nam-maḫ** ("majesty") and **nam-tur** ("smallness").

[254] Edition dependent upon CDLI P213074 with corrections derived from our inspection of the copy and photo of this manuscript available on that site.

[255] CDLI P213074 has "dingir-bi-ir". The shape of the last two signs is uncertain as, according to our inspection of the photo of this tablet, the central parts of the signs are erased.

[256] CDLI P213074 ("lugal-nam nar").

namnar)[257] meaning something like "master (of) **nam-nar**"[258]. Therefore, we would have here a reference to **nam-nar**. This option seems likely to us. Certainly, Lugal-nam is documented as personal name in several Old Akkadian texts[259]. However, most[260] of these texts come from Adab while our Text 1 comes from Ɖirsu. Furthermore, that Lugal-nam might be identified in one of these texts from Adab as scribe (**dub-sar**)[261]. In addition, we know other names of the type **lugal** + **nam** + noun in the Old Akkadian texts: Lugal-namdag[262] and Lugal-namme[263] from Ɖirsu, Lugal-nammes[264] and Lugal-namdu[265] from Adab[266], Lugal-namgusu from Umma[267], besides Lugal-namzitar(a)[268], Lugal-nammuru'e[269] and Lugal-namtare[270], three people from Nippur.

This **lugal-nam**(-)**nar** might be connected with the **lugal nam-nar-ra** of the Old Babylonian literary text *Šulgi E*, 162 to be commented on later. Regarding the 3ʳᵈ-

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[257] **lugal-nam-nar** lacks a preceding *Personenkeil*, which could indicate that it a professional and not a personal name. However, none of the other, more certain, personal names in this text have such a marker either.

[258] For "master of music" without any auxiliary brackets, we should have **lugal-nam-nar-ra**.

[259] Adab 658 [OIM A658] (00-00-00), o. 11 (CDLI P217476); CUSAS 13 2 [CUNES 47-12-177] (00-00-00), r. 8 and 11 (CDLI P328973); CUSAS 19 97 [CUNES 48-10-76] (00-00-00), o. 4', 7', r. 1, 5 (CDLI P323078); CUSAS 20 136 [CUNES 48-7-97] (00-00-00), o. 4 (CDLI P322791); CUSAS 20 164 [CUNES 48-06-173] (00-00-00), o. 2 (CDLI P329177); CUSAS 20 339 [CUNES 47-11-47] (00-00-00), o. 3 (CDLI P328933); CUSAS 35 360 [MS 4206] (Naram-Sîn 01-00-00?), o. ii 18 (CDLI P253281); STTI 1 20 [Ist. L 1176] (00-00-00), o. 5 (CDLI P217065); TCBI 1 212 [BdI 1,180] (00-00-00), r. 1 (CDLI P382464); TCBI 1 231 [BdI 1,86] (00-00-00), r. 2 (CDLI P382483).

[260] Except ITT 2 4409 [Ist. L 4409] (00-00-00), r. 2 (CDLI P214231), coming from Ɖirsu.

[261] Farber and Walter, 2003: 66 n. 1 [Anonymous 499911] (00-00-00), r. 8 (CDLI P499911). Keep in mind, in any case, the uncertain provenance of this text.

[262] ITT 1 1100 [Ist. L 1100] (00-00-00), o. 7 (CDLI P213570).

[263] RTC 96 [AO 31324] (00-00-00), o. 10' (CDLI P216875).

[264] Adab 1209 [OIM A1209] (00-00-00), o. ii 10 (CDLI P217636).

[265] CUSAS 20 168 [CUNES 48-10-115] (00-00-00), r. 1 (CDLI P323117).

[266] There is also a reference to one Lugal-namzitar(a) in a text from Adab, CUSAS 20 164 [CUNES 48-6-173] (00-00-00), o. 7 (CDLI P329177). That personal name is normally seen in texts of Nippur.

[267] CDLI P390448 [Kress 150] (03-00-00?), o. i 2.

[268] OSP 2 120 [CBS 6225] (00-00-00), o. 5 (CDLI P216274); OSP 2 134 [N 526] (00-00-00), o. 5 (CDLI P216288); OSP 2 136 [N 278] (00-00-00), o. 3 (CDLI P216290); OSP 2 149 [CBS 6223 + N 611] (00-00-00), o. 2 (CDLI P216303); OSP 2 154 [N 275] (00-00-00), o. 8 (CDLI P216308).

[269] OSP 1 24 [N 281] (00-00-00), o. iii 2 (CDLI P216091).

[270] OSP 2 100 [UM 29-15-202] (Šar-kali-šarrī 02-00-00), r. i 15 (CDLI P216254).

millennium, a personal name of the type **lugal-nam-nar** during the Old Akkadian Period would also be congruent with another Old Akkadian text from Adab (modern Bismaya). In this text, which deals with some grain deliveries, we might have the name **sipa-nam**(-)**nar**. This personal name might be translated as something like "shepherd (**sipa**) (of the) **nam-nar**". Here is the text:

Text 2. Adab 652 [OIM A652] (00-00-00)[271]

o. 6   **šu-niŋin₂**[!272] **10 la₂ 1 še gur**
o. 7   **e₂ ŋiri₃-ne₂**[ki] [...]
o. 8   ⸢**sipa**⸣[273]**-nam(-)nar**
o. 9   **mu-k[u$_x$(DU)]**[274]

[o. 9] Delivery: [o. 6] a total of 10 straps (?) and one **gur** of barley [o. 7] (from) the house of Ŋirine [...] [o. 8] (for) Sipa-nam(-)nar.

As in the previously noted Text 1, we know several people called Sipa-nam by the Old Akkadian period[275] acting as scribe (**dub-sar**)[276], overseer (**ugula**)[277], or royal secretary (**sukkal lugal**)[278]. Moreover, we have a term called **sipa nam-dumu** translated by Daniel Foxvog as "shepherd for all the (royal) children"[279]. That term is documented

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[271] Edition dependent upon CDLI with corrections derived from our inspection of the original copy (Adab, p. 398) and the photos of the manuscript available on CDLI P217475.

[272] CDLI P217475 has "szunigin" (= **šuniŋin** = ŠU.GAN₂*tenû*) while the original edition (Adab, p. 292–293) has "šu-nígin" (= **šu-niŋin₂**). According to our consultation of the copy and photo of this text, the original edition is closer to what we find in the text. In any case, the situation is a bit confusing since both signs are a bit "merged". In fact, the sign LAGAB (= **niŋin₂**) of this text has here several unusual straight wedges, perhaps because of its contact with the previous sign ŠU. In this sense, we would consider this sign LAGAB as an incorrectly written sign.

[273] CDLI P217475 has "sipa" (without any indication of damages) while the original edition (Adab, p. 292–293) has "⸢sipa⸣". Despite the lack of correspondence between the edition and the copy of this tablet, we agree with the original edition after having checked the photo available on CDLI.

[274] CDLI P217475 has "kux(DU)" without any damage on the sign. However, as we can see in the different copies and photos of this text, the tablet is broken by the end of this line.

[275] In addition to the texts to be listed in the following footnotes, see CDLI P270837 [Anonymous 270837] (00-00-00), o. ii 3 (text from Umma); Westenholz, 1974: 78, text 4 [NMC 10071] (00-00-00), r. 2 (CDLI P214873) a text of uncertain provenance.

[276] MDP 14 19 [Sb 1819] (00-00-00), r. 9 (CDLI P215583; text from Susa).

[277] TMH 5 186 + 202 [HS 936 + 952 + 994 + 1000] (00-00-00), r. i 22 (CDLI P020600; from Nippur).

[278] USP 26 [NMS A.1927.421] (00-00-00), r. 6 (CDLI P217383; text from Umma).

[279] Foxvog, 2014: 7.

in three Early Dynastic IIIb texts[280]. That is, it is documented in the immediately previous period to our Text 2. In this sense, we would defend a transliteration of the type **sipa-nam-nar** in Text 2 instead of **sipa-nam nar** (that is, a **nar** called Sipa-nam).

Lugal-namnar and Sipa-namnar are just two personal names contained in a couple of administrative texts. Therefore, we cannot discuss much about their exact reference to **nam-nar** as "Music" or any other musical aspect. In any case, they are still of interest in order to think about the evolution of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) during the Mesopotamian history to be described in the next chapters of this study. Certainly, we have another **lugal-nam-nar(-ra**) by the Old Babylonian Period (*Šulgi E*, 162). However, that will not be the case of **sipa-nam-nar**, a term which will disappear from Mesopotamian records in the 3rd millennium as other musical terms only known in the earliest stages of Mesopotamian history. Among them, we have **bur$_2$-balaŋ**, GI×TAK$_4$ and ŊEŠ×TAK$_4$[281].

2.2. The 2nd Dynasty of Lagaš

2.2.1. Introduction

By the 2nd Dynasty of Lagaš (2200–2112 BCE), another administrative text might contain a possible allusion to **nam-nar**:

Text 3. MVN 6 309 [Ist. L 7319] (00-00-00)[282]

o. i 12	[…]-**ki-aŋ$_2$**
o. i 13	+1.0.4 1/2 1/4 **gana$_2$**
o. i 14	[…]-**nam**(-)**nar**
o. i 15	[…] **gana$_2$**
o. i 12	[…] measured
o. i 13	340,5 and ¼ **gana$_2$** of land
o. i 14	[…]-namnar(?)
o. i 15	[…] field

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[280] All of them come from the 4th year of Urukagina's reign and probably from Ŋirsu (the provenance in the last of these text is, nevertheless, uncertain). These texts are DP 588 [AO 13796], o. i 6 (CDLI P221238); DP 590 [AO 13798], o. i 5 (CDLI P221240) and TSA 7 [MRAH O.653], r. i 3 (CDLI P221368).

[281] See *ED* **Lu$_2$** *E*, 103–105 (DCCLT Q000006) and *ED Practical Vocabulary A*, 210–212 (DCCLT Q000293) for reference.

[282] Edition dependent upon BDTNS 020474. We could not find any copy/photo of this manuscript.

However, as we can see, the context is highly fragmentary, and we cannot decide, for instance, if we are dealing with a person whose profession was **nar** or someone with a name including **nam-nar** as (possibly) in the previously studied Old Akkadian texts.

Therefore, in this section, we shall focus our attention on the other (and much surer) reference to **nam-nar** from this period. That reference is contained in the *Gudea Cylinders*. This is a literary text narrating the building of the E-ninnu temple by Gudea, ruler of Lagaš, for the god Ninŋirsu, the Enlil's son [283]. More concretely, our excerpt belongs to a section referring to the gifts given to Ninŋirsu after his arrival in Lagaš once the temple had been finished and ready for its occupation[284]. Here is the excerpt:

Text 4. *Gudea Cylinders*[285]

B15.20	**se-em-da a$_2$-la$_2$ balaŋ[286] nam-nar šu du$_7$-a**
B15.21	**balaŋ ki aŋ$_2$[287]-ne$_2$ ušum-gal[288]-kalam-ma**
B15.22	**saŋ-ba ŋen-na-da**
B15.20	With the **se-em**, the **a$_2$-la$_2$** (and) the **balaŋ** in perfect "music",
B15.21	with his **balaŋ**, Ušum-gal-kalam-ma,
B15.22	which goes at its head (= of the procession).

In line with what we expressed in the introduction, **nam-nar** has been translated here in different ways: office of the singer[289] or musician[290], art of singing[291], concert[292], a type

[283] For this overview, Sánchez Muñoz, 2016: 198–200 (with previous bibliography). We thank Abraham H. Jagersma, who read an earlier version of these lines and gave us several suggestions which we have tried to follow here.

[284] *Gudea Cylinders*, B14.25–B15.16 (Römer, 2010: 36). See Suter, 2000: 81 for comments.

[285] Edition dependent upon Römer, 2010: 37 with consultations of the copies of this manuscript on Thureau-Dangin, 1925: pl. 45 and Price, 1927: 77–78.

[286] Sign a bit erased at the beginning in Thureau-Dangin, 1925: pl. 45, but not in Price, 1927: 77–78.

[287] Römer, 2010: 37 has "áĝa" in order, perhaps, to make explicit the full 3SG.POSS {**ane**}. However, we should have, at the most, **ága** (= **aga$_2$**) and not Römer's "áĝa" (= **aŋa$_2$**). Moreover, the omission of "**a**" in the writing of that possessive was common in Gudea's time (DGS, p. 217).

[288] Averbeck, 1987: 702; Edzard, 1997: 97; ETCSL 2.1.7; CDLI P431882 and Elli, 2015: 444 have **ušumgal**(GAL.BUR$_2$). However, we have actually BUR$_2$-GAL (= **ušum-gal**) as in Thureau-Dangin, 1907: 136; Thureau-Dangin, 1925: 192; Wilson, 1996: 174, and Römer, 2010: 37. This confusion comes from the fact that **ušumgal**(GAL.BUR$_2$) is documented in other excerpts from *Gudea Cylinders*, like A6.24.

[289] Heimpel, 2015: 606 ("art of the singer").

[290] Krispijn, 1998: 50 ("het muzikant zijn"); Römer, 2010: 76 ("Musikertum").

[291] Averbeck, 1987: 702, Jacobsen 1987: 438 and Wilson, 1996: 174 ("the singing").

[292] Krispijn, 1990: 2 "hymnische(r) Musik".

of music[293], or just as music[294] in broad sense. In order to elucidate the meaning of **nam-nar** in this context, we propose an approach to the other musical terms mentioned in this excerpt whose identification has also been quite controversial in the previous research.

2.2.2. Lexicographical analysis of some terminology pertaining to this excerpt

2.2.2.1. **se-em-(da)**

Also known during the Ur III Period[295] and the Old Babylonian versions of some hymns for Šulgi[296], **se-em** is an archaic spelling of the instrument used for laments and known by the Old Babylonian Period as **šem₃**(AB₂×ŠAG₄)[297] or **šem₅**(AB₂×GAN₂)[298]. These terms are now read for that Old Babylonian Period[299] as **sem₃/₅**, perhaps because the spelling **šem₃/₅** can be documented only from Middle Babylonian times[300] onwards[301].

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[293] Edzard, 1997: 97; ETCSL 2.1.7 and CDLI P431882 ("concert"); Elli, 2015: 444 ("sintonia").

[294] Thureau-Dangin, 1907: 137 ("Musik"); Price, 1927: 52, ("music"); Krispijn, 1998: 50 ("muziek"); Suter, 2000: 398 ("music"); Sánchez Muñoz, 2016: 205 ("arte de la Música"; we don't support it anymore).

[295] MVN 7 235 [Ist. L. 7836] (00-00-00), r. 2 (BDTNS 021307); Fish and Lambert, 1963: 96 18 [BM 105348] (00-00-00), r. 12, 15, 17, 20 (BDTNS 014272); AAICAB 1/2, pl. 105 [Ashm. 1937-68] (Šulgi 48-04-00), o. 2 (BDTNS 158518); Mirelman, 2010c: 33 [U. 18857] (Šu-Suen 01-06-00), o. 1 (BDTNS 071143); Nisaba 15/2 342 [Adra 15] (Šu-Suen 05-12-00), o. 4 (BDTNS 192924); Nisaba 15/2 462 [Anonymous 388020] (Šu-Suen 08-00-00), o. 4 (BDTNS 173308).

[296] *Šulgi D*, 366 (ETCSL 2.4.2.04; see also Shulgi3Hymns, p. 68) and *Šulgi E*, 101 (ETCSL 2.4.2.05).

[297] Lexical texts: **Ugu-ŋu₁₀**, 147 (DCCLT Q002268) and Veldhuis, 2017: 363–373 1 [BM 85983], r. ii 30 (CDLI P247857). Literary texts: *Enki and the World Order*, 447 (ETCSL 1.1.3); *Inanna and Enki*, II, iv 48 (Farber-Flüge, 1973: 52); *Cursing of Agade*, 201 (ETCSL 2.1.5); *Ur Lament*, 356 (ETCSL 2.2.2); *Eridu Lament*, A 61 (ETCSL 2.2.6); *Winter and Summer*, 236 (ETCSL 5.5.3) and CDLI P355702 [Haddad 2], KXXIV.16 (ePSD2).

[298] Lexical texts: CDLI P247861 [IB 1612b], r i 7 (CDLI P247861); **Ur₅-ra**, II 565 (DCCLT Q000040); OIP 11 201 [CBS 6398 + 6522 + 6997], o. ii 5. Literary texts: *Iddin-Dagān A*, 70 (Attinger, 2014: 20); *Šulgi A*, 50 (Delnero, 2006: 1887); *Nippur Lament*, 38 (ETCSL 2.2.4); *Martu's Marriage*, 60 (ETCSL 1.7.1); *Temple Hymns*, 107 (ETCSL 4.80.1); CT 36, pl. 41–42 [BM 96940], o. 19 (ePSD2).

[299] Ceccarelli, 2012: 95; Delnero, 2015: 89, 93–94; Attinger, 2019d: 163.

[300] Emar 6/1, p. 376 [Msk 74148k], r. i' 13': [šem]₅$^{\text{ši-im.[MIN<(zabar])>}}$ […] (DCCLT with corrections derived from our consultation of the copy of the tablet).

[301] CT 11, pl. 14–18 [K. 110], iv 58: **še-em** AB₂×ŠA₃ ḫal-ḫal-la-tu (DCCLT with inspection of the copy). The Seleucid tablet SpTU 3 111 [W 23289], o. iii 9 (manuscript for **Ur₅-ra**, XII, Segment 1, 114)

Therefore, we prefer to read as **se-em(-da)** instead of the traditional **si-im(-da)**[302]. Two aspects of this term are controversial. First, whether **se-em** (attested several times in Gudea's time[303]) and **se-em-da** (only documented in our Text 4 during the 2nd Dynasty of Lagaš) represent the same (musical) concept. Some people translated **se-em-da** as a single word[304]. However, (urudu)**se-em-da** (a loanword from the Akkadian *šimtum*, "mark"[305]) designates in Ur III times a type of brand mark for any kind of object[306], and we do not believe that the meaning of that term could change so much in a century.

Theo J. H. Krispijn considered **se-em-da** as the complete orthography of the term normally written **se-em**[307]. That might make sense keeping in mind that our Text 4 already has a COM at the end of the sentence (**ŋen-na-da** = ŋen [PFV] + **a** [NMLZ] + **da** [COM]) and, therefore, another COM on **se-em** within the same sentence might be redundant. However, the first COM is referred to a nominalized sentence belonging to a much larger sentence of the text involving several lines, while the second COM would concern to an internal part of that nominalized sentence. In this sense, we believe that **se-em-da** would be a mere **se-em** with a COM {**da**}.

Our second difficult aspect of the **se-em** is its identity. Most previous translations[308] agree that the **se-em** pertains to percussion, which makes sense due to the mentions of the **se-em** with other terms for percussion[309]. However, these translations disagree on its exact identification: a generic term for a percussion instrument[310], a group of cymbals[311], a

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has ˹šem₄˺ˢᵉ⁻ᵉᵐˀᶻᵃᵇᵃʳ *ḫal-˹ḫal˺-[la-tu₂]* (DCCLT Q000087 with corrections from our inspection of the copy of the manuscript available on CDLI P274484).

[302] Thureau-Dangin, 1907: 108, 136; Witzel, 1922: 95; Thureau-Dangin, 1925: 158, 192; Averbeck, 1987: 652, 702; Wilson, 1996: 84, 174; Edzard, 1997: 80, 97; ETCSL 2.1.7; Römer, 2010: 21, 37; CDLI P431882; Elli, 2015: 214, 444. In addition, Krispijn, 1998: 62 and Krispijn, 2010b: 147.

[303] *Gudea Cylinders*, A18.18, A28.18 (Römer, 2010: 21, 27); Thureau-Dangin, 1902: 86 [AO 3367] (00-00-00), o. i 3, ii 7 (BDTNS 158703), and 88 [AO 3368] (00-00-00), o. i 1, iii 1, r. ii 1 (BDTNS 158704).

[304] Falkenstein, 1949: 67 ("simda- (und)…"); Wilson, 1996: 174 ("the *simda*").

[305] Sallaberger, 2011: 346.

[306] Foxvog, 1995: 1–7; Maaijer, 2001: 300–304.

[307] Krispijn, 2010b: 147.

[308] Except Thureau-Dangin 1907: 137, which left the term untranslated ("um....................").

[309] *Gudea Cylinders*, A18.18 (with the **a-dab₆** and **a₂-la₂** drums) and *Gudea Cylinders*, A28.18 (with the **a₂-la₂**) (Römer, 2010: 21, 27).

[310] Krispijn, 1998: 62 ("een trommelinstrument"); Maaijer, 2001: 305 ("percussion instrument"); (Sánchez Muñoz, 2016: 205 ("instrumento de percusión - s i - i m").

[311] Jacobsen 1987: 439 ("cymbals").

tambourine[312], a drum[313] or a kettledrum[314]. Following the more specialized research[315], we should identify the **se-em** with a group of cymbals. That makes sense taking in account that, in a text of Gudea's times, there is a mention of a 15 pairs of this instrument[316]. Such a number of instruments fits quite well with the **se-em** as a group of little cymbals (the unique instrument used in pairs, like zills). Certainly, it would be easier to produce than other and larger percussion instruments made of metal.

2.2.2.2.   **a₂-la₂**

The identification of this term seems to have been a bit difficult for the translators of the *Gudea Cylinders*, since we find many translations of **a₂-la₂** just as "musical instrument"[317]. Jacobsen identified it as a sort of lyre[318]. This identification was followed by Anne D. Kilmer[319], who offered a general identification for the **a₂-la₂** as a wooden lyre with a drummable skinned surface. Her identification was based on the writings of **a₂-la₂** with the determinatives for wooden (^{ŋeš}) and skinned objects (^{kuš}). This argumentation, however, does not make sense for Gudea's and earlier times, where the **a₂-la₂** almost never[320] appears with those determinatives. Far from that, the **a₂-la₂** seems to be a percussion instrument due to its appearance together with other similar instruments[321].

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[312] Suter, 2000: 398 ("tambourines").

[313] Averbeck, 1987: 702 ("sim-drum"); ETCSL 2.1.7. ("the sim drums"; followed by Kutzer, 2017: 86); Elli, 2015: 444 ("tamburi-'sim'") and Heimpel, 2015: 606 ("(the drums) sim").

[314] Edzard, 1997: 97 ("kettledrums(?)"; followed by Mirelman, 2014: 158 and CDLI P431882); Römer, 2010: 76 ("si-im - Pauken(?)"). In the same way, Sallaberger, 2006: 581 ("Pauke").

[315] See Gabbay, 2010: 24-25 and Mirelman, 2010c: 41 for details.

[316] Thureau-Dangin, 1902: 88 [AO 3368] (00-00-00), r. ii 5 (BDTNS 158704).

[317] Falkenstein, 1949: 67 ("ala-Instrument"), Wilson, 1996: 174 ("ala instrument"); Edzard, 1997: 97 ("ala instruments"; followed by Mirelman, 2014: 158 and CDLI P431882); Krispijn, 1998: 2 ("een muziekinstrument"); Heimpel, 2015: 606 ("ala"); Sánchez Muñoz, 2016: 205 ("a₂ - l a₂"). With our translation, we wanted to show the original term in the translation in order to avoid confusion for the reader. We were already familiar at that time with the common identifications of the **a₂-la₂**.

[318] Jacobsen 1987: 438 ("alu-lyres") in reference. Perhaps, to the Akkadian *alû(m)*.

[319] Kilmer, 1993–1995: 465 and Kilmer, 2003–2005: 369.

[320] Except the text from Ebla MEE 4 76 [TM.75.G.1445], r. iii 15 (DCCLT), where **a₂-la₂** appears with ^{ŋeš}. However, this text is too far in time and distance for being considered here more in depth.

[321] *Gudea Cylinders*, A18.18 (with the **a-dab₆** drum and **se-em** cymbals), *Gudea Cylinders*, A28.18 (with the **se-em**) (Römer, 2010: 21, 27).

Moreover, that instrument is compared with a storm (**u₄**), and the production of its sound is described with the expression **šeg₁₂ ge₄**[322], an archaic[323] variant for **šeg₁₁ ge₄** ("to roar")[324].

As a percussion instrument, the **a₂-la₂** has mainly been identified with cymbals[325] and a type of drum[326]. Sam Mirelman identified it with the giant drum[327]. That seems plausible in light of the etymology of **a₂-la₂** as "hanged (**la₂**) arm (**a₂**)", an attitude which we can see in the players of the giant drum depicted in the Ur III iconography[328]. However, according to a Gudea's royal inscription[329], a **nar** of the **a₂-la₂** instrument (**nar a₂-la₂**) "sits in front" (**igi-še₃ ba-gub**) of a temple gate. That is, a single musician seems to be able to play an **a₂-la₂** without the help of someone maintaining the instrument vertically[330]. Certainly, otherwise, we would expect a plural sentence like **nar a₂-la₂-ne-ka igi-še₃ ba-gub-be-eš₂**. Consequently, and concerning Gudea's times, the **a₂-la₂** might be just a type of drum played up high with the arm raised. In this sense, it might not be a giant drum, a type of instrument documented a century later in the iconography. In any case, we have scarce pieces of evidence for the **a₂-la₂** and musical iconography[331] in Gudea's times. Therefore, we should maintain the accepted identification of the **a₂-la₂** as a giant drum also for Gudea's times as a matter of prudence[332].

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[322] *Gudea Cylinders*, B15.20 (see our Text 4 for edition). Moreover, remember *Gudea Cylinders*, A28.18 (Römer, 2010: 27), where the sounds of the **a₂-la₂**, together with those of the **se-em** and the **šudu₃** prayers, fill the E-ninnu's courtyard (**kisal**).

[323] According to ePSD2, this variant is attested for the first time in the Early Dynastic IIIb, and it is the unique form of /**šeg**/ during Gudea's times.

[324] See Rendu Loisel, 2011: 10, 285 for comments.

[325] Thureau-Dangin, 1907: 137 ("die Cymbeln"), Price, 1927: 52 ("the cymbals").

[326] Averbeck, 1987: 702 ("ala-drum"); Suter, 2000: 398 ("tympana"); ETCSL 2.1.7 ("ala drums"); Römer, 2010: 76 "á - l á (Pauken/Trommel)"; Elli, 2015: 444 ("tamburi-'ala'").

[327] Mirelman, 2014: 149.

[328] See Rašīd, 1984: 68–73 for reference.

[329] *Gudea Statue L* [E3/1.1.7.StL], a 41' (CDLI P431893).

[330] Keep in mind also the text from the Early Dynastic IIIa IAS 54 + 56 [IM 70293 +], o. v 17 (**lu₂ ˣ⁷a₂-la₂**). Nevertheless, we should be careful with the distance between both texts.

[331] See Rašīd, 1984: 66–67 for reference.

[332] For instance, Attinger, 2019d: 5 ("un très gros tambour à doublemembrane de forme cylindrique").

2.2.2.3.   balaŋ

Defined in different ways simultaneously[333], or just as a "musical instrument" in general[334], the identification of **balaŋ** has always been highly controversial. Thus, in the *Gudea Cylinders*, it has been defined as a drum[335], but also as a stringed instrument[336] (whether a lyre[337], whether a harp[338]). In fact, Kilmer said that **balaŋ** (like the **a₂-la₂**) "seems to represent both stringed instruments and percussion instruments". She identified the **balaŋ** with a lyre in order to justify the use of the determinative ᵍᵉˢ with this term. In addition, she said that its sound-box acted as a drummable surface in order to justify the use of the determinative ᵏᵘˢ also used with **balaŋ**[339]. However, she is not right since the single determinative used with **balaŋ** in the 3ʳᵈ-millennium texts was ᵍᵉˢ. That fact would suggest the condition of the **balaŋ** as chordophone[340]. Moreover, we should remember its description as **ŋeš-gu₃-di** ("wooden speaking voice") in the *Gudea Cylinders*[341].

In this sense, like Uri Gabbay[342], we think that **balaŋ** would designate a bull lyre by the 3ʳᵈ millennium BCE and a drum by the 2ⁿᵈ and 1ˢᵗ millennia[343]. We think that Gabbay was right for the 3ʳᵈ millennium in some aspects. First, the early (pictographic) forms of

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[333] ePSD2 ("an instrument, a large drum or harp"); Attinger, 2019d: 19 (""*harpe*"; un tambour").

[334] Stauder, 1970: 214 ("Musikinstrument"); Sánchez Muñoz, 2016: 205. For **balaŋ** as a general term for "musical instrument", see Hartmann, 1967: 57; Civil, 2008: 99-100 (although MUŠ *gi-na-ri-im* might be the arm of a lyre!); Michalowski, 2010a: 221 n. 45 (in reference to the unpublished Michalowski, 2006 and generalizing on what is said on Cooper, 2006: 41–42 n. 6); Shehata, 2014: 123 and Shehata, 2017: 78 (about **balaŋ** as a divine concept; she did not actually refutre Uri Gabbay's proposal to present below).

[335] Suter, 2000: 398 ("drums"); ETCSL 2.1.7 ("balaĝ drum"); Römer, 2010: 76 ("b a l a ĝ - Pauken(?) (Trommel?)"); Elli, 2015: 444 ("i tamburi-'ala' e 'balag'").

[336] PSD B, 75; Krispijn, 1990: 2, 6–7; Krispijn, 1998: 9.

[337] Thureau-Dangin, 1907: 137; Price, 1927: 52; Averbeck, 1987: 702; Heimpel, 2015: 606.

[338] Jacobsen, 1987: 438; Wilson, 1996: 174; Edzard, 1997: 97.

[339] Kilmer, 1980–1983a: 573; Kilmer, 1993–1995: 465. See also Kilmer, 2003–2005: 369.

[340] For the Old Akkadian Period, see STTI 1 182 [Ist. L 9336] (00-00-00), r. 5 (CDLI P217215). For the Ur III Period, BDTNS has 41 mentions of ᵍᵉˢ**balaŋ**.

[341] *Gudea Cylinders,* A6.25 and A7.25 (Römer, 2010: 13–14). Old Babylonian texts describe some features of this term which allow to us to identify **ŋeš-gu₃-di** with a lute. However, none of these features are present in *Gudea Cylinders*. In this way, although lutes were already popular in Mesopotamia (Krispijn, 2011: 117), we would maintain the condition of **ŋeš-gu₃-di** as "musical instrument" by Gudea's times.

[342] With precedents in Cohen, 1974: 31.

[343] Mainly, Gabbay, 2014b: 132, 134, 139-141. See also Gabbay, 2007: 57–65 and Gabbay, 2017: 46.

the sign BALAŊ suggest the shape of a lyre[344] (but also a harp)[345]. Secondly, **balaŋ** might be an onomatopoeia for the strumming of a chordophone[346].

However, Gabbay's argumentation is not always perfect. An example is when he establishes a connection between the GU4.BALAŊ mentioned in **An** = *Anum* (deity list from the Middle Babylonian Period onwards and the **balaŋ** of the 3rd millennium[347]. Certainly, he contradicts himself because he says that **balaŋ** designates a type of drum by the 2nd millennium onward. However, he connects the GU4.BALAŊ mentioned in the Middle Babylonian text **An** = *Anum* (therefore, from 2nd millennium) with the bull lyres.

There are some recent supporters of the identity of the **balaŋ** as a lyre in the 2nd millennium[348]. However, connections between bulls and drums from the 2nd millennium onward makes sense with the **kuš-gu4-gal** (a drum used in exorcistic contexts)[349] and the *lilisu* kettledrum. In fact, a kettledrum qualified as **dLILIZ** and a bull are depicted together in an Achaemenid tablet[350]. Furthermore, the *lilisu* membrane should be made with the skin of an entirely black bull according to a Seleucid ritual text[351]. And so, GU4.BALAŊ in **An** = *Anum* is already transliterated as **gudgud10** ("hero")[352] and not **gu4-balaŋ**.

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[344] Gabbay, 2014b: 130 (signs), 133 (explanation).

[345] As we can see in Gabbay, 2014b: 130, BALAŊ signs depicting a lyre come from the Early Dynastic IIIa–b (ca. 2700–2340 BCE). However, BALAŊ signs depicting a harp are from the Uruk IV and III Periods (3350–3200, 3200–3000 BCE). An example from Uruk IV is ATU 5 89 [VAT 15061], ii 3 (CDLI P001443). In this sense, keeping in mind the distance of almost a millennium between these periods and their texts, we want to think that **balaŋ** designated first a harp and later a lyre. It is possible that the harp were called **bur2-balaŋ**, term only known in the Early Dynastic IIIa–b (see CDLI for evidence). It is true that we do not have texts from Uruk of the Early Dynastic IIIa–b with the sign BALAŊ, so we cannot know if it was just an Urukean particularity. In any case, it makes sense with our iconography, since harps are documented earlier than lyres in Mesopotamia (see Spycket, 1972: 158 and Rašīd, 1984: 52–59 for evidence).

[346] Gabbay, 2014b: 134 n. 7 (with references to Volk, 1994: 171 n. 22 and Selz, 1997: 195 n. 153). The name of the West African *bolon* harp might be also an onomatopoeia of its sound.

[347] Gabbay, 2014b: 139 in reference to **An** = *anum*, I 264, 267–268, 270, 272–273, II 311, 313, III, 157–158, 260–262, 264. In addition to the original edition on Litke, 1998, these excerpts are available on DCCLT Q000264 (Tablet I), Q003221 (Tablet II), and Q003222 (Tablet III).

[348] Shehata, 2017a. In page 70 she offers the translation of **balaŋ** as "Leier".

[349] See our chapter about the 1st Millennium evidence for more comments.

[350] TCL 6 47 [MRAH O.175], reverse (Livingstone, 1986: 194; see CDLI P363719 for an image).

[351] TCL 6 44 [AO 6479], i 1–6 (Linssen, 2004: 252).

[352] In addition to DCCLT Q000264 (Tablet I), Q003221 (Tablet II), and Q003222 (Tablet III), see Michalowski, 2010a: 221–222.

In any case, the identification of the **balaŋ** with the bull lyre is still possible in our opinion keeping in mind that, unlike **balaŋ**, other terms for chordophones are not well-documented before Gudea's times[353]. We have a similar issue in 3rd-millennium iconography: Bull lyres are much better known than harps or lutes at that time[354].

Despite this argumentation, some people might still believe that the **balaŋ** might also be a drum in the 3rd millennium, perhaps for two reasons. On the one hand, the expression **gu₄ gu₃ nun di** ("bull speaking loudly") is once used with the term **balaŋ**[355]. That expression implies the production of a loud sound hardly easy to imagine in the case of a lyre. However, as in the Old Babylonian Period[356], this expression does not refer to the **balaŋ**, but to a "rear" (**a-ga**) of the **balaŋ**. This rear should be a *cella* of the E-ninnu where the **balaŋ** instrument could be worshipped by the people with prayers and/or musical instruments[357] as a beloved object (**ki aŋ₂**) of Ninŋirsu (the E-ninnu's tutelary deity)[358] or as a (minor) deity itself[359]. In this sense, the sonorous environment of that rear/*cella* could be perfectly loud and, therefore, comparable to the sound of a roaring bull.

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[353] Texts about **al-ŋar**: CUSAS 20 194 [CUNES 50-1-10] (00-00-00), o. 5–6, r. 4 (CDLI P324633) (Old Akkadian). We are not sure if this text actually referred to a musical instrument. However, if it did, it should be a stringed instrument because of the reference to "excellent strings" (**sa dirig**) for one **al-ŋar**. Texts about **balaŋ-di**: SF 70 [VAT 12617], o. i 8 (CDLI P010663) (Early Dynastic IIIa); *ED Lu₂ E*, 98 (DCCLT Q000006) (Early Dynastic IIIb). Texts about **mi-ri₂-tum**: *Gudea Cylinders*, B10.11 (Römer, 2010: 33). Texts about the **za-na-ru**: OSP 2 133 [N 433 + 581] (00-00-00), r. 12 (CDLI P216287) and OSP 2 136 [N 278] (00-00-00), r. 5 (CDLI P216290) (Old Akkadian; collated the 22/08/2019; see Bauer, 1992: notice 51 for comments).

[354] Rašīd, 1984: 28–41, 44–45, 50–51, 64–67 (lyres), against 42–43, 52-59 (harps), 62–63 (lutes).

[355] *Gudea Cylinders*, A28.17 (Römer, 2010: 27). Gabbay, 2014b: 142 n. 37 connected this excerpt with the Seleucid Emesal prayer SBH 86 [VAT 2190], o. 18–19. Nevertheless, we should be very careful with this comparison between such two very distant texts.

[356] *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, 265 (Mittermayer, 2009: 188). The expression from the *Gudea Cylinders* was not discussed in ELS, p. 531 and Mittermayer, 2009: 254.

[357] As we have previously noted, in *Gudea Cylinders*, A28.18 (Römer, 2010: 27), the **šudu₃** prayers, and the sounds of the **se-em** cymbals and the **a₂-la₂** giant drum fill the E-ninnu's courtyard.

[358] In addition to our Text 4, *Gudea Cylinders*, A6.24–25 and A7.24–25 (Römer, 2010: 13–14).

[359] This might be the reason for which a **balaŋ** instrument receives a goat (**maš₂**) as an allotment in the text RTC 247 [AO 3432] (00-00-00), o. i 10' (BDTNS 158708). Thanks to Abraham H. Jagersma for his encouragement to think on this matter more in depth. For divinized musical instruments in Mesopotamia, see Franklin, 2013.

On the other hand, some **balaŋ** instruments in the *Gudea Cylinders* are called with names as **ušumgal kalam-ma**[360] ("great dragon of the land"[361]) or **lugal igi ḫuš-am₃** ("the reddish eyed-king"[362]). From a modern perspective, that suggests an identification of this term with a drum. Nevertheless, the sole reference to **ušum-gal** in the *Gudea Cylinders* is about a creature sleeping in the steppe[363]. That has nothing in common with the usual modern image of a furious and roaring dragon whose voice might remind one of a drum.

In any case, it is important to state that bull lyres are usually displayed in the 3rd-millennium iconography with several percussion instruments[364]. Moreover, the **balaŋ** is mentioned with some percussion instruments as we have already said. In fact, in our opinion and beyond the cultic reasons given by Gabbay[365], if the term **balaŋ** started to designate a percussion by the early 2nd millennium BCE, it was because of the close connection of the **balaŋ** with these percussion instruments. Their interactions increased by the end of the 3rd millennium BCE. Certainly, the instrument known in Gudea's times as **ti-ge₄**[366] will be written by Ibbī-Suen's reign as **tige₂**, that is, with a logogram using the signs LUL (= **nar**) and BALAŊ (= **balaŋ**)[367]. This logogram would suggest that this instrument was something like the **balaŋ** (still a lyre?) of the **nar**. It was probably a necessary distinction since the **gala** used to produce laments (**er₂**) from the **balaŋ**[368].

[360] *Gudea Cylinders*, A6.24, A7.24, B18.22 (Römer, 2010: 13, 14, 38). In addition, MVN 7 458 [Ist. L 8065] (Gudea 02-00-00), r. 1 (BDTNS 021527); Thureau-Dangin, 1902: 82 [AO 3324] (Gudea 02-00-00), o. 7' (BDTNS 180423) and Çiğ, 1976: 87 text 7 [Ist. L 40470] (Gudea 03-00-00), r. 4' (BDTNS 018361). A later mention of the **balaŋ ušumgal kalam-ma** is found the Ur III administrative document Amherst 17 [Amherst ---] (Šulgi 25-00-00), o. ii 18 (BDTNS 001551).

[361] Kilmer, 1993–1995: 464 translates that name as "Foremost of the Land". However, she said that the name of this instrument might come from a ""serpentine" shape or decoration of a balaĝ´s 'neck'?" For a similar translation, see also Krispijn, 1998: 78 ("koninklijk fabeldier").

[362] *Gudea Cylinders*, B11.1 (Römer, 2010: 34).

[363] *Gudea Cylinders*, B4.20–21 (Römer, 2010: 30).

[364] Rašīd, 1984: 40–41, 65 (with sistrum; see also Collon, 2010: 49), 50–51 (with clappers).

[365] Gabbay, 2014b: 139–143.

[366] *Gudea Cylinders*, B18.22 (Römer, 2010: 38).

[367] BIN 3 262 [NBC 2176] (Ibbī-Suen 02-09-01), o. 3 (BDTNS 016270); MVN 12 547 [FLP 2527] (Ibbī-Suen 02-09-02), o. 3 (BDTNS 027963); Princeton 2 435 [PTS 1357] (Ibbī-Suen 02-09-00), o. 4 (BDTNS 061452) and RTC 399 [AO 2444] (Ibbī-Suen 03-00-00), r. i 24 (BDTNS 000839). We agree with Pruzsinzsky, 2010: 36 that the NAR.BALAŊ from Gomi, 1980: 33 text 92 [BM 17810] (Amar-Suena 06-02-00), o. 1 (BDTNS 022721) should be read actually as **nar balaŋ** because of the context.

[368] *Gudea Statue B* [E3/1.1.7.StB], iv 3 (CDLI P232275).

However, that relationship would not be casual: the *Gudea Cylinders* already has a **nar** called **ušum**(-)**gal kalam-ma**[369] like the **balaŋ** lyre. However, that **nar** seems to not play the said instrument, but other instruments like the **al-ŋar** and the **mi-ri₂-tum**[370].

2.2.2.4.   **šu du₇-a**

This is not a musical term *stricto sensu*, but its correct understanding is very important to our elucidation of **nam-nar** in this excerpt. There are several translations for this expression in our Text 4[371]: 1) "to complete/finish something"[372], 2) "to make perfect"[373], and 3) "to be perfect"[374]. The first two translations might find a justification in some excerpts from the *Gudea Cylinders*. There, **šu du₇-a** makes reference to the condition of

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[369] *Gudea Cylinders*, B10.14 (Römer, 2010: 33).

[370] *Gudea Cylinders*, B10.11 (Römer, 2010: 33). Concerning the **mi-ri₂-tum**, we agree with Krispijn, 1990: 8 in its identification as a lyre from Mari. However, we cannot share its rationale, based on the comparison with **za₍₃₎-mi-ri₂-tum**. However, this term actually designates a type of sword (BPOA 10, p. 160). That makes sense with the references to **za₍₃₎-mi-ri₂-tum** with the determinatives ^{zabar} (bronze) and ^{ŋeš} (see BDTNS for evidence). Concerning our argumentation, Old Babylonian texts usually show the **mi-ri₂-tum** with the determinative ^{ŋeš}. Among them, we would focus our attention on *Enki's Journey to Nippur*, 63 (Ceccarelli, 2012: 64) and *Šulgi B*, 163 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02). In those excerpts, this instrument (like in *Gudea Cylinders*, B10.11) is connected with a "house of silence" (**e₂ si-ga**). On the other hand, according to *ED Practical Vocabulary A*, 208 (DCCLT Q000293), there is a **balaŋ** from Mari (**balaŋ ma-ri₂^{ki}**). The change to **mi-ri₂-tum** might have consisted of a harmonic vocalization and the addition of the typical suffix from Akkadian origin *-ītum* for geographic origins. Here is our proposal for the origin of **mi-ri₂-tum**: **balaŋ ma-ri₂^{ki}** > **balaŋ mi-ri₂** > **mi-ri₂-tum**. In any case, we should be careful, since we do not know relationships between Mari and southern Mesopotamia at this time justifying such hypothetical borrowings. We miss some comments about this matter in Marcetteau, 2010, mainly focused on archaeological sources.

[371] We cannot comment here in depth on Heimpel, 2015: 606, since it ignored this expression in its translation ("with the balang of the art of the singer, his beloved balang Great Dragon of the Homeland, having walked at the head of (the drums) sim (and) ala").

[372] Thureau Dangin 1907: 137 ("welche Musik vollführt"); Price, 1927: 52 ("that round out the music"); Wilson, 1996: 174 ("might complete the singing").

[373] Averbeck, 1987: 702 ("which makes the singing perfect"); Jacobsen 1987: 438 ("making the singing perfect"); Suter, 2000: 398 ("perfecting the music"); Sánchez Muñoz, 2016: 205 ("ejerciendo perfectamente"). In addition, keep in mind Krispijn, 1998: 68 ("voltmaakt, geschikt zijn/maken (+dir)").

[374] Edzard, 1997: 97 ("might sound in perfect concert"; followed by Mirelman, 2014: 158 and CDLI P431882); ETCSL 2.1.7. ("will sound in perfect concert"); Römer, 2010: 76 ("in vollkommenem Musikertum"); Elli, 2015: 444 ("suonando in perfetta sintonia").

the **išib** purification priest and the "cultic ordinances" (**me**)[375]. In addition, they might make sense with the COM {**da**} applied over the **se-em** cymbals in our excerpt. In this sense, the **balaŋ** and the **a₂-la₂** were making perfect music with the **se-em**. However, in what sense is music "made perfect" or "completed" by these instruments? Are we talking about melodic aspects, rhythm, or harmony? Since the sense of this "perfection" is unclear in this context, we prefer to understand **šu du₇-a** as "to be perfect". This meaning for **šu du₇-a** might have its parallels in other excerpts from the *Gudea Cylinders* about the sacrifice of perfect bulls and he-goats. However, they lack of the **šu** of **šu du₇-a** [376].

2.2.3. Discussion of the previous translations of **nam-nar** in this excerpt

Our Text 4 might describe a musical ensemble, in our opinion, heading a procession celebrating the Ninŋirsu's arrival in the E-ninnu temple. Perhaps, it would start in the interior of the E-ninnu and go around, at least, the circuit of its territories. The instruments participating in this ensemble would be the **se-em** cymbals, the **a₂-la₂** giant drum, and the **balaŋ** lyre. These instruments could participate in festive events, but also had connections with the funerary world and lamentations as we have previously seen.

Keeping these ideas in mind, **nam-nar** should describe the action of these musical instruments, a perfect (**šu du₇-a**) musical action not related exclusively to a ceremonial or funerary dimension[377]. In this sense, we should reject previous interpretations of **nam-nar** in this passage as literal ones taking this term as the office or condition of a musician or singer[378]. For identical reasons, we should proceed in the same way with the translations of **nam-nar** as a type of vocal art or singing[379]. It is true that those instruments should be played by musicians, and those musicians could sing at the same time that they were playing those instruments. However, we believe it is possible that those instruments would be rhythmically accompanying the movement of the people taking part into the religious procession described in our Text 4.

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[375] *Gudea Cylinders*, A2.15, A10.17–18, A20.13, B5.23, B16.4 (Römer, 2010: 10, 15, 22, 31).

[376] *Gudea Cylinders*, A1.14, A18.7, B7.4–10, B18.19 (Römer, 2010: 9, 21, 31–32, 38).

[377] We dismiss, therefore, the interpretations of Krispijn, 1990: 2 and Krispijn, 1998: 50 (see the introduction for reference).

[378] Krispijn, 1998: 50; Römer, 2010: 76; Heimpel, 2015: 606 (see the introduction for full quotations).

[379] Averbeck, 1987: 702, Jacobsen 1987: 438 and Wilson, 1996: 174 "the singing".

Concerning the translations of **nam-nar** as "concert"[380], they are incorrect in several aspects. First, if we talk about a "concert" as a public event where people attend to listen to music, we are dealing with a very modern concept[381]. Furthermore, our text suggests instead the enactment of a religious procession. In this sense, people would see the **se-em**, **a₂-la₂** and **balaŋ** instruments and listen to their music as in a concert, but they would also see other things like in any common procession. Additionally, and without dealing in depth with the polemic question of the existence of musical polyphony in the ancient Near East[382], the idea of a "concert" as an "assembly of sounds" has no sense in this passage. Certainly, we have an ensemble composed by two un-pitched percussions (the **se-em** and the **a₂-la₂**)[383] and a single stringed instrument (the **balaŋ**). It is true that this last instrument might have sounded several notes at the same time, but we would not expect the mention of the other instruments in order to talk of **nam-nar šu du₇-a**.

In this way, the most suitable translation for **nam-nar** in this passage, in our opinion and according to our previous analysis and discussions, is "music" [384].

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[380] Edzard, 1997: 97; ETCSL 2.1.7; Mirelman, 2014: 158; CDLI P431882 and Elli, 2015: 444 (see the introduction for full quotations).

[381] Ledent, 2009: 1 about the origins of concerts in Europe. FM 9, p. 19 has some reflections about this topic with focus on the city of Mari during the Old Babylonian Period.

[382] See Crocker, 2011 for a recent reflection on this aspect. Personally, we are open-minded to the possibility of the existence of polyphony in Mesopotamia. The reason is that we have the remains of an *aulos*-type instrument from that culture, the "Silver Ur Pipes", dated around 2450 BCE (see Lawergren, 2000 for reference). That instrument is able to produce two independent sounds at the same time. In any case, as Dahlia Shehata wisely said to us, due to our so scarce evidence for Mesopotamian music theory, we can neither affirm nor deny the existence of polyphony in Mesopotamia at the time.

[383] Perhaps one of these drums had snares and it could have a sort of "pitch" like some of the drums of a Japanese *taiko* drum ensemble. In any case, we would still deal with un-pitched percussion instruments (they produce a concrete note, so they do not have "pitch"), and we cannot confirm the existence of snares in the Mesopotamian drums. Many thanks to Stephanie Lynn Budin for the reference to the Japanese *taiko* instruments.

[384] For previous translations, Thureau-Dangin, 1907: 137; Price, 1927: 52; Krispijn, 1990: 2; Krispijn, 1998: 50; Suter, 2000: 398; Sánchez Muñoz, 2016: 205 (see the introduction to this text for full quotations).

2.3. The Ur III Period

2.3.1. Music and Weaving in a text from Šulgi's reign

2.3.1.1.   Introduction

We have many texts dealing with musicians[385] and instruments[386] during the Ur III Period (2111–2003 BCE). In addition, new abstract terms with the prefix **nam-** are known in the Ur III Period[387]. In this sense, the term **nam-nar** certainly had to be in use at the time. However, as far as we know, there are certain references to **nam-nar** only in one text from Umma (modern Tell al-Yoḫa, Iraq). This text is about the redistribution of barley, oil, lard, and wool rations for several workers from Umma[388], an important provincial centre of the state created by the 3rd Dynasty of Ur[389]. Here is our excerpt:

Text 5. Nisaba 11 33 [BM 104768] (Šulgi 36-11-00)[390]

r. i 3.   **ᵖnin-ezem**
r. i 4.   **ᵖ⸢geme₂-ᵈ⁇⸣dumu-zi-⸢da⸣**
r. i 5.   **lu₂ šu nu-**BAD/UŠ₂[391]**-a-me**

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[385] Michalowski, 2006, Pruzsinszky, 2007; Pruzsinszky, 2010a; Pruzsinszky, 2010b; Pruzsinszky, 2013; Pruzsinszky, 2015: 29–31; Pruzsinszky, 2018a: 97, 99–100, 107–111; Pruzsinszky, 2018b: 48–50.

[386] Rašīd, 1984: 66–73; Michalowski, 2010a: 222; Michalowski, 2010b: 120–123.

[387] In fact, we have many terms of this type only documented in the Ur III Period according to ePSD2: **nam-agar₄-niŋin₂** ("office as **agar₄-niŋin₂** official"); **nam-ˡᵘ²azlag₂** ("function as **azlag₂** fuller"); **nam-e₂-ge₄-a** ("*status* as bride"); **nam-egir-erin-na** ("*status* of the one behind other workers(?)"); **nam-enku** ("office of **enku** tax-collector"); **nam-gab₂-us₂** ("function as **gab₂-us₂** shepherd"); **nam-lu₂-gi-na-ab-tum** ("*status* as being guaranteed"); **nam-lu₂-la-ga** ("*status* of a cattle rustler"); **nam-lu₂-pi-lu₅-da** ("ritualist's art(?)"); **nam-mi₂-us₂-sa₂** ("status son-in-law"); **nam-niŋir-si** ("*status* as friend(?)"); **nam-u₄-da-tuš** ("office as **u₄-da-tuš** bear trainer"); **nam-uru₄(-a)** ("sowing").

[388] Nisaba 11, p. 1–2, 142.

[389] Sallaberger, 2013: 227–230.

[390] Edition dependent upon BDTNS 057430 with corrections derived from the inspection of the photo available on that database. We collated this manuscript in the British Museum on 01/08/2019. Thanks to Abraham H. Jagersma who read an earlier version of our analysis of this text, and helped us to prevent several significant mistakes about the sense of this text.

[391] According to our collation, this sign seems like the BAD on some parts of *Šulgi A*, manuscript S (= see aBZL 25 for context). Therefore, we agree with the original transliteration of this text. In any case, since BDTNS 057430 and CDLI 201735 are based on the presence of the similar sign UŠ₂, we include this sign

r. i 6.	**nam-nar i₃-in-ˊge₄ˋ**[392]
r. i 7.	**ᴾpa₄-a-pa₄-a**[393]
r. i 8.	**ᴾˊtabˋ-la-zu**
r. i 9.	**nam-nar-ta ˊib₂ˋ-/ta-ˊe₃ˋ**
r. i 10.	**uš-bar i₃-in-ge₄**

r. i 3.	Nin-Ezem
r. i 4.	(and) Geme-Dumuzida,
r. i 5.	who were not […],
r. i 6.	they returned (into) the music.
r. i 7.	Pāpā
r. i 8.	(and) Tablazu
r. i 9.	left the music
r. i 10.	(and) returned to the weaving

This text has been studied by several scholars[394], the most important being Regine Pruzsinszky. She has commented on this text several times[395] as a part of her research about the social *status* of musicians in Mesopotamian history. About this text, she has noted how several **nar munus** attached to the temple of the god Šara received barley allotments because they return or leave the weaving or **nam-nar**. Regine Pruzsinszky translated **nam-nar**[396] as "singing"[397] or "music"[398] without any translation of the type

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here. See *infra* for our discussion about the sense of this expression and the correct transliteration. For problems with the sign BAD in the 3ʳᵈ millennium, see Steinkeller, 1981: 21–24.

[392] BDTNS 057430 reads "nam-nar-ni in-gi₄" and "uš-bar-ni in-gi₄". However, Nisaba 11 33 (the *editio princeps*) has "nam-nar ì-in-gi₄" and "uš-bar ì-in-gi₄". This difference is based on two different readings of the sign NI: **ni** and **i₃**. Several editions agree with the original edition and have **i₃-in-gi/e₄** like Pruzsinszky, 2013: 42; CDLI P201735 and ePSD2. It is also the case of Lafont, 2016: 158. However, his translation seems like the one we might offer starting from BDTNS transliteration. We agree also with the original edition. Certainly, abstract nouns in Sumerian belong to the non-human gender. Therefore, they use the 3NH.POSS {**be**}, and not the 3SG.POSS {**ne**} for human nouns (DGS, p. 103). In the same way, the chain **i₃-in** + verbal stem is explained by DGS, p. 25 as a usual complete writing of the VP {**i**}.

[393] Previous editions have **pa₅(PAP.E)-pa₅**. However, that sign E is actually the sign A. That makes sense since there was no other mention to a person in Mesopotamia whose name was spelled **pa₅-pa₅**. About the female name **pa₄-pa₄**, see Foxvog, 2011: 85 n. 118, 92, 94, 96.

[394] Lafont, 2016: 158; Gabbay, 2014a: 63 n. 2.

[395] Pruzsinszky, 2007: 343 n. 43; Pruzsinszky, 2013: 34 n. 16, and 42; Pruzsinszky, 2015: 29; Pruzsinszky, 2018a: 108; Pruzsinszky, 2018b: 50. All these references are indicated at the site of this text in BDTNS 057430.

[396] She left this term untranslated in Pruzsinszky, 2007: 343 n. 43 ("nam-nar").

[397] Pruzsinszky, 2018b: 50 ("from the singing/music to the weaving mill").

[398] Pruzsinszky, 2013: 42 ("the music") and perhaps Pruzsinszky, 2018a: 108 ("ejercicio de la música"), although this expression is only indirectly referred to in our Text 5.

"office of the **nar**" as other authors have done[399]. In order to elucidate the meaning of **nam-nar** in this text, we propose a biographical outline of the four women of this text. We propose also an approach to the not yet considered chain **lu₂ šu nu-**BAD/UŠ₂**-a-me** (r. i 5)[400] and the term **uš-bar** to which our term **nam-nar** is compared in this instance.

2.3.1.2.   Biographical outline of the females mentioned in this text

2.3.1.2.1.   Nin-Ezem (ᴾ**nin-ezem**) (r. i 3)

Beyond some undated documents[401], Nin-Ezem is currently attested in the Ur III text *corpus* of Umma from the 32ⁿᵈ year of Šulgi's reign until the first years of the reign of Ibbī-Suen (2028–2003 BCE). In our earliest records of her, she is mentioned together with other workers of the temple of Šara (the tutelary deity of Umma)[402] as a daughter (**dumu**) of Geme-Iškur (**geme₂-ᵈiškur**), probably a weaver (**geme₂-uš-bar**)[403]. Therefore, she had to be a weaver at some point[404]. However, she had to act as musician before the date of our Text 5, since she does not enter (**kur₉**), but "returns" (**ge₄**) to **nam-nar**. Moreover, she will be attested several times as **nar**[405] from that point[406]. In fact, music

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[399] Gabbay, 2014a: 63 n. 2 ("nar service"); Lafont, 2016: 158 ("their function of musician").

[400] Pruzsinszky, 2013: 42 skipped this line in its edition of this excerpt.

[401] Nisaba 6 12 [BM 106051] (0000-00-00), o. v 6 (BDTNS 057977); YOS 15 118 [Private owner] (00-00- 00), o. i 5 and r. ii 3 (BDTNS 187632).

[402] Nisaba 6 27 [BM 106043] (Šulgi 32-05-00), r. iv 12 (BDTNS 057970).

[403] It is complicated to know her *status* by that exact date because her mention in TCNU 702 [MAT 702] (Šulgi 35-01-00), o. ii 3 (BDTNS 038521) is in a fragmentary context. Moreover, SAT 2 189 [YBC 11209] (Šulgi 38-00-00), o. 4 (BDTNS 048374) is about the return of a quantity of barley. However, in YOS 18 100 [CUL 9] (00-05?-00), o. 3 (BDTNS 034735), she works in the manufacture of a garment (ᵗᵘᵍ²**bar-dul₅**). In the same way, she is a **geme₂-uš-bar** in Nisaba 15/2 1031 [Unknown] (00-00-00), o. ii' 15' (BDTNS 193292) and Nisaba 15/2 1032 [Unknown] (00-00-00), o. ii 24 (BDTNS 193293). That last *status* is confirmed by Nisaba 15/2 668 [Private owner] (Ibbī-Suen 01-00-00), o. ii 22 (BDTNS 193119).

[404] Pruzsinszky, 2018b: 50 said that Nin-Ezem was **nar munus** in Nisaba 6 27 [BM 106043] (Šulgi 32-05-00). However, **nar** are only mentioned in r. v 9–15.

[405] Rochester 166 [Crozer 83] (Šulgi 44-00-00), o. 4 (BDTNS 034555); SNAT 377 [BM 106086] (Amar-Suena 07-00-00), r. i 2 (BDTNS 033841); STA 15 [PUL Ex. 833] (Ibbī-Suen 02-12-00), r. ii 15 (BDTNS 006149).

[406] Pruzsinszky, 2018a: 108 says that musicians seem not to have received a specific training. However, since Nin-Ezem was **nar** for a long part of her life, she had to have received some training. In our opinion,

seems to have been her main job before her death[407]. In any case, she will also be attested as "personnel" (**ŋiri₃-se₃-ga**) of milling[408] and as a weaver (**geme₂ uš-bar**)[409] before that.

2.3.1.2.2.   Geme-Dumuzida (ᴾ**geme₂-**ᵈ**dumu-zi-da**) (r. i 4)

Beyond some undated texts[410], we have records from Umma about Geme-Dumuzida from the 25ᵗʰ year of Šulgi's reign (2069 BCE) until the third year of the reign of Ibbī-Suen (2026 BCE). Before her "return to the music" of our Text 5, she seems to have performed several tasks, such as the transport of garments[411] or work at the milling for Šara's temple[412]. She had to act in any case as **nar** before the date of our Text 5, since, like Nin-Ezem, she "returns" (**ge₄**)— not "enters" (**kur₉**)— to **nam-nar**. However, we do not know when and how[413]. After that "return" to **nam-nar**, she had to act as **nar** at a certain time. However, we currently know just one text mentioning her more or less explicitly as musician[414]. In fact, it is difficult to know her professional life since some texts from Umma talk about a Geme-Dumuzida working as **lukur** priestess[415]. However,

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she could receive that training during the four years between the year of Nisaba 6 27 [BM 106043] (Šulgi 32-05-00), r. iv 12 (BDTNS 057970) and our Text 5 (dated to the 36ᵗʰ year of Šulgi's reign).

[407] Nebraska 49 [OPL 45] (00-00-00), o. 4 (BDTNS 015304). Keeping in mind the dates where Nin-Ezem is attested, we could date this tablet from the third year of Ibbī-Suen's reign onward.

[408] Nisaba 24 28 [BM 110122] (Amar-Suena 05-01-00), o. ii 37–o. iii 2 (BDTNS 069075); SAT 3 1708 [YBC 1166] (Šu-Suen 06-00-00), o. 3 (BDTNS 049891); STA 14 [PUL Ex. 835] (Ibbī-Suen 02-02-00), o. i 12, r. ii 4 (BDTNS 006148); STA 16 [PUL Ex. 665] (Ibbī-Suen 02-02-00), o. i 9, r. i 22 (BDTNS 006150); NYPL 120 [NYPLC 205] (Ibbī-Suen 02-02-00), o. i 9, r. i 23 (BDTNS 021779); Rochester 159 [Crozer 76] (Ibbī-Suen 03-04-00), o. i 17, r. ii 17–18: (BDTNS 034548); Nisaba 11 18 [BM 104752] (Ibbī-Suen 03ᵀ-03- 00), o. i 14 (BDTNS 057414).

[409] MVN 20 81 [Erm. 4040] (Ibbī-Suen 02-00-00), r. 1, 6–7 (BDTNS 044893).

[410] BIN 5 301 [NBC 1424] (00-00-00), r. 31 (BDTNS 009885); Nebraska 45 [OPL ---] (00-00-00), o. ii 34 (BDTNS 015300).

[411] Ontario 2 488 [ROM 925.62.8] (Šulgi 25-00-00), o. 8 (BDTNS 060591).

[412] Nisaba 6 27 [BM 106043] (Šulgi 32-05-00), o. vi 21, 32, o. viii 9, r. v 1 (BDTNS 057970) and Owen and Wasilewska, 2000: 15, text 57 [ASM 12054] (Šulgi 32-09-00), o. iv 14', r. ii 12, r. iv 4 (professional occupation) (BDTNS 047746).

[413] See *supra* for our comment against the interpretation of Pruzsinzsky, 2018b: 50.

[414] YOS 15 115 [PM 19] (Amar-Suena 05-01-00), o. iii 31, o. iv 16 (BDTNS 187630).

[415] AAICAB 1/1, pl. 166 [Ashm. 1911-480] (Šulgi 42-00-00) o. ii 15, r. i 13, r. i 6, r. ii 14-15 (BDTNS 038668); AAICAB 1/2, pl. 166 [Ashm. 1975-293] (Amar-Suena 02-09-00), o. ii 14 and 17, r. ii 5 (BDTNS

other texts refer to Geme-Dumuzida working as a (forced) labourer (**geme₂**) attached to a brewery[416] or the mill[417].

Which of these two women was our **nar munus** Geme-Dumuzida? The **lukur gal** (the chief **lukur** priestess) of Umma was associated with the **balaŋ** lyre[418]. However, while **lukur** priestesses used to live in a cloister, and they could not be slaves[419], female **nar** used to work in the weaving mill as a part-time work[420]. One example is the previously noted with Nin-Ezem. In this sense, we should connect the Geme-Dumuzida who entered "into the music" with the one who worked as forced labourer, and not with the **lukur** priestess despite the musical connections of that profession.

2.3.1.2.3.   Pāpā (^P**pa₄-a-pa₄-a**) and Tablazu (^P**tab-la-zu**) (r. i 7–8)

There is less information about the women of this document abandoning music to return as weavers than for the women previously addressed. Certainly, concerning Pāpā (**pa₄-a-pa₄-a**), our mentions of her are a bit uncertain[421].

158352); Nisaba 26 10 [BM 110149] (Amar-Suena 05-06-00), o. ii 9-10, 16, r. ii 11 (BDTNS 069099); Nisaba 23 24 [BM 110237] (Amar-Suena 05-06-00), o. ii 12, 18, r. ii 6 (BDTNS 069184); Nisaba 23 36 [BM 110272] (Amar-Suena 06?-00-00), o. ii 7, 14, r. ii 12 (BDTNS 069218); Mycenaean, p. 217 no. 7 [Ashm. 1924-668] (Šu-Suen 02-00-00), o. ii 20, r. i 16 and r. ii 7 (BDTNS 038739); NYPL 120 [NYPLC 205] (Ibbī-Suen 02-02-00), r. i 12 (BDTNS 021779). In addition, Nisaba 6 12 [BM 106051] (00-00-00) (BDTNS 057977) and AnOr 7 296 [MM 190] (00-00-00), o. ii 16 and r. ii 9 (BDTNS 008166).

[416] MVN 21 238 [Erm. 14487] (Amar-Suena 08-06-00), o. 4, 7 (BDTNS 046040).

[417] SET 274 [RC 929] (Amar-Suena 02-00-00), r. ii 5 (BDTNS 014195; see Englund, 1991: 273 n. 27, and 278 n. 37; Steinkeller, 2001: 37 n. 55; Englund, 2002: 2 for interpretation); Nisaba 24 28 [BM 110122] (Amar-Suena 05-01-00), o. ii 23–25 (BDTNS 069075). See BPOA 7 2401 [NBC 3641] (Amar-Suena 07-01-00), o. 1–2, 5–r. 2 (BDTNS 076756), and MVN 21 240 [Erm. 8087] (Šu-Suen 05-05-00), o. 4, r. 1–3 (BDTNS 046042) for other possible professional activities of Geme-Dumuzida as **geme₂**.

[418] UTI 4 2849 [Ist. Um 2849] (Šu-Suen 02-00-00), o. 6: 2 **kuš** ^{u2}**ḫab₂** 1/3 **ma-na še-gin₃ balaŋ lukur-gal si-ga** (BDTNS 045587) "Two pieces of ^{u2}**ḫab₂** leather and 1/3 minas of glue (for) the **balaŋ** lyre of the clear chief priestess **lukur**". Dahlia Shehata (2009: 99 n. 526) applied the adjective **gal** to the instrument. However, **gal** is placed after **lukur**, not **balaŋ**. She commented on this excerpt since the **balaŋ** and the **lukur** also seem to have been connected during the Old Babylonian Period.

[419] Stol, 2016: 584.

[420] Pruzsinszky, 2013: 39.

[421] See Nisaba 26 80 [BM 110247] (Amar-Suena 05-00-00), o. i 4 (BDTNS 069194) and BPOA 1 1364 [BM 107713] (Ibbī-Suen 02-01-05), o. 6 (BDTNS 059071) for evidence.

About Tablazu, we have an undated document[422] perhaps dealing with a different person to our woman musician/weaver[423]. Apart from that, we have several texts from the last years of Šulgi's reign and the beginnings of Šu-Suen's reign (2037–2029 BCE). In our first attestation of Tablazu (dated before our Text 5), she was a **nar munus** of Šara's temple[424]. After the date of our Text 5, she should have left the music, but she will receive rations in the next years as **nar munus**[425].

2.3.1.3.   Lexicographical approach to some complex expressions/terms

2.3.1.3.1.   **lu$_2$ šu nu-**BAD/UŠ$_2$**-a-me**

In the *editio princeps* of this text, this expression was transliterated as "lú šu nu-BAD-a-me"[426]. However, some years later, Manuel Molina collated the tablet[427] and saw in that manuscript the sign UŠ$_2$ and not BAD. In consequence, he transliterated this chain as **lu$_2$ šu nu-uš$_2$-a-me** for CDLI and **lu$_2$ šu nu-ug$_7$-a-me** for BDTNS[428].

Both readings of UŠ$_2$ (**uš$_2$** and **ug$_7$**) are forms of the verb **uš$_2$**. According to Pascal Attinger[429], **ug$_7$** would act as a plural base of that verb which always meant "to die", and not "to kill", during the Ur III Period. The form **uš$_2$** would be the singular base of said verb. Concerning our excerpt, we should keep in mind that this **lu$_2$ šu nu-**BAD/UŠ$_2$**-a-me** is referred to two people (Nin-Ezem and Geme-Dumuzida). That is confirmed by the

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[422] Nisaba 6 12 [BM 106051] (00-00-00), o. iv 12 (BDTNS 057977).

[423] AAICAB 1/4, pl. 262 [Bod. S 379] (Šu-Suen 02-04-12), r. 1–4 (BDTNS 166093) mentions a Tablazu having the condition of KA-**us$_2$-sa$_2$**, a profession sometimes associated with the secretary (**sukkal**) and the "court messengers/officials" (Johnson, 2006: 4). Bertrand Lafont, with the Manuel Molina's advice, considered it to be a dialectal variant of the term **aga$_3$-**us$_2$. That term would refer to a similar profession as the French *gendarme* (Lafont, 2009: 10 n. 62). That is, it has nothing in common with a **nar**. Moreover, rations delivered to this Tablazu are more varied than those given to women like the Tablazu of our study.

[424] TCNU 702 [MAT 702] (Šulgi 35-01-00), o. ii 23, r. ii 19-21 (BDTNS 038521).

[425] Nisaba 26 80 [BM 110247] (Amar-Suena 05-00-00), o. i 1–2, o. ii 17, r. ii 1–2 (BDTNS 069194); YOS 15 115 [PM 19] (Amar-Suena 05-01-00), o. ii 10–15, 21 (BDTNS 187630).

[426] Nisaba 11, p. 145.

[427] Collation on 2010 (*editio princeps* is from 2006). See BDTNS 057430 for reference.

[428] CDLI P201735 (originally "lu2 szu nu-usz2-a-me") and BDTNS 057430 respectively.

[429] Attinger, 2011. See also Bauer, 1970: 188–189; Steinkeller, 1979: 55 n. 4; Thomsen, 1984: 136; Krecher, 1985: 142–143, n. 25; ELS, p. 190; Volk, 1995: 208 n. 995; DGS, p. 315.

enclitic plural particle **-me(š)** of that expression. In consequence, we should dismiss the transliteration **lu₂ šu nu-uš₂-a-me** since it has a grammatical contradiction.

In any case, the presence of a verb meaning "to die" does not make sense. Certainly, the verbal base in this text is not **uš₂**, but *****šu uš₂**. That verbal form has never been taken into consideration in previous studies on Sumerian compound verbs implying a part of the human body as in this case (**šu** means "hand")[430]. Certainly, **šu uš₂** is actually a later form[431] of the expression known in Old Babylonian times as **šu nam-uš₂** (literally, "the hand (of) the death")[432]. It is true that we have sentences of the type **šu** + name of an animal (a donkey, **anše**, or an ox, **gu₄**) + **ba-uš₂** ("it has been killed") in several texts from the Ur III Period[433]. However, **šu** is not actually connected to **uš₂** in those contexts. Far from that, it seems to describe the killed animal as "old"[434].

In this sense, we are forced to use the original transliteration **lu₂ šu nu-**BAD**-a-me**. In fact, in our collation of this tablet, we have seen that the controversial sign seems like the sign BAD from a line of text S of the hymn *Šulgi A*[435]. Nevertheless, how should we understand this expression? According to Abraham H. Jagersma[436], we should read the sign BAD as **bad** or **ba₉** in order to obtain the verbal form /**šu ba.r**/ ("to release")[437]. But, what is its sense in our text? It is actually a bit difficult to be precise since, as we have seen, we do not know the exact profession of the two women referred to with this **lu₂ šu nu-**BAD**-a-me** (Nin-Ezem and Geme-Dumuzida) at the date of our Text 5. The same happens with the years before the facts of our Text 5. In any case, we suppose that this expression was saying that Nin-Ezem and Geme-Dumuzida were (still) not released from their provisional duties in another work to the one designed with **nam-nar**. Perhaps, we

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[430] Karahashi, 2000: 172.

[431] **Udug ḫul** / *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, IV 125 (Geller, 2016: 155).

[432] *Death of Nannā*, 66–67 (ETCSL 5.5.2).

[433] About **šu anše**: AAICAB 1/1, pl. 20 [Ashm. 1911-160] (Šu-Suen 02-09-00), o. 1 (BDTNS 038590). About **šu gu₄**: SANTAG 6 178 [Erm. 18768] (Amar-Suena 07-07-00), o. 4: (BDTNS 047977); BPOA 2 2318 [BM 112068] (Šu-Suen 04-00-00), o. 1 (BDTNS 070921), BPOA 6 137 [YBC 13653] (Šu-Suen 02-10-00), o. 1 (BDTNS 166366).

[434] Genouillac, 1924: 37; Oppenheim, 1948: 69, 150; Englund, 2003: 2; Stępień, 2006: 27.

[435] *Šulgi A*, manuscript S (= see aBZL 25 for context).

[436] Personal communication. Many thanks for this helpful remark which we shall try to expand and comment critically on here.

[437] See DGS, p. 328 (4); 329 (10); 332 (27); 422 (31a-b); 427 (42); 440 (111a-b and 112); 484 (96–97); 560 (57a-b); 561 (60); 712 (199) for some Ur III texts containing this expression.

might have here an indirect reference to the work of Nin-Ezem in the weaving and to Geme-Dumuzida in the mill (**kinkin**) as we have previously noted.

2.3.1.3.2.   **uš-bar**

Dietz Otto Edzard said that the etymology of **uš-bar** was relatively uncertain, and that **uš-bar** was not an abstract noun[438]. That fits with its lack of prefix **nam-**[439] and/or its origins from a verbal form[440]. However, its connotations are relatively wide. Certainly, it designates a profession, but also it may refer to a type of garment (always with the determinative [tug2]) such as the [tug2](**saŋ-**)**uš-bar**[441]. It might have even acted as an "adjective". In fact, the expression **e₂ uš-bar** ("house" + "weaving" without genitive = "textile mill") is more frequently attested in Ur III texts than **e₂ uš-bar-ra** (perhaps "textile mill", but mainly "house of the weaver", with a GEN {**ak**} connecting **e₂** and **uš-bar**)[442]. Therefore, we might understand **uš-bar** as an abstract noun *non de nomine sed de facto* dealing with the world of (physically hard[443]) weaving with all its steps[444].

This matter is important for dealing with another debatable aspect of this term **uš-bar**: its exclusive reference (or not) to the feminine world. Certainly, although some people have translated this term as "weaver"[445] (as in the previous translations of our Text 5)[446],

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[438] Edzard, 1963: 34.

[439] The term **nam-ušbar** (UR₂×NUN, not ***nam-uš**(UŠ)-**bar**(BAR)) means something like "status of father-in-law" (ePSD2 definition).

[440] De-adjectival nouns could act as abstract nouns without prefix **nam-** (DGS, p. 281–283).

[441] See García Ventura, 2012a: 97 for descriptions of [tug2]**uš-bar** and [tug2]**saŋ-uš-bar**.

[442] See BDTNS and ePSD2 for evidence. In addition, see DGS, p. 118 for "the left-headed noun-noun compounds" in Sumerian like **e₂ uš-bar**.

[443] García Ventura, 2012a: 234.

[444] For the weaving process, Waetzoldt, 1972: 138–140; García Ventura, 2012a: 81–101.

[445] Edzard, 1963: 33 ("Weber"); Cocquerillat, 1972–1975: 102 ("tisserand"); Hübner and Reizammer, 1985: 1147 ("Weber"); ePSD ("weaver"); DGS, p. 118 ("**geme₂ uš-bar** 'weaver maid' (< **geme₂** 'slave woman' and **uš-bar** 'weaver')"); Foxvog, 2016a: 70 ("weaver").

[446] Pruzsinszky, 2007: 343 n. 43 and Pruzsinszky, 2015: 29 ("Tätigkeit in der Weberei"); Pruzsinszky, 2013: 42 ("the weaving (mill)"); Gabbay, 2014a: 63 n. 2 and Lafont, 2014: 108 ("weavers"); Pruzsinszky, 2018a: 108 ("industria textil"); Pruzsinszky, 2018b: 50 ("the weaving mill"). It is interesting to note that *Weberei* in German (at least, according to our modest proficiency in this language) alludes to two different English words: "weaving" (= action of weaving) and "weaving mill" (= place where weaving takes place).

other people have translated it as "female weaver"[447]. However, this last translation does not keep in mind that Sumerian language does not make distinctions between masculine and feminine gender[448]. Moreover, there are references to **ŋuruš uš-bar** ("male weaver/worker of the weaving")[449] in addition to **uš-bar** or **geme₂/munus uš-bar**.

2.3.1.4.   Sense of **nam-nar** in this excerpt

Translations of this term of the type "office of the **nar**"[450] make sense in this context. Certainly, we deal with, at least, three women working at some point as musicians (we know little about Pāpā, so we cannot intuit her professional occupation). However, we have also noted before that **uš-bar** seems to designate the world of weaving *lato sensu*: the weaver, but also some garments, and even the space for the activity of weaving.

The terms **uš-bar** and **nam-nar** are equated in our text as the former and new offices of Pāpā and Tablazu. In this sense, like **uš-bar**, we should perceive **nam-nar** also as a larger reality not only pertaining to the office of musician. Therefore, we follow to Regine Pruzsinszky in her translations of this term as "singing"[451] and "music"[452].

Translation as "singing" might fit well in this context for two reasons. On the one hand, we are dealing with four women working not only in musical activities, but also in other hard labours such as weaving or milling. It is well-known around the world that the use of songs alleviates fatigue during the performance of hard and repetitive work, such as the aforementioned weaving and milling[453]. In this sense, since they probably sang during their work time, they would certainly have obtained a certain musical training (at least at an *amateur* level) as a consequence of that practice. Therefore, they could shift at

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[447] Waetzoldt, 1972: 42 n. 27, 92 n. 9 and 94 n. 50 (but not in page 14, where he translated **geme₂-uš-bar** as "Weberin"), Maekawa, 1980: 81; Neumann, 2004: 24 and ETCSL Glossary ("female weaver" although also "weaver"); and Sallaberger, 2006: 694 ("Weberin"). In any case, Harmut Waetzoldt (1972: 92 n. 9 and 94 n. 50) expressed that this term could allude also to a collective of male and female weavers.

[448] Kraus, 1990: 150; García Ventura, 2012a: 94, 105, 115–116, 262; García Ventura, 2012b: 26–27.

[449] UET 3 1449 [U. 3600] (Ibbī-Suen 07-10-00), r. ii 16 (CDLI P137774).

[450] Gabbay, 2014a: 63 n. 2 ("nar service"); Lafont, 2016: 158 ("their function of musician").

[451] Pruzsinszky, 2018b: 50 ("from the singing/music to the weaving mill").

[452] Pruzsinszky, 2013: 42; Pruzsinszky, 2018a: 108 ("ejercicio de la música").

[453] For different examples of connections between music and weaving around the world, see Dilley, 1992: 77; Willson Aedo, 1992: 18; Lamphere, 1992: 92; Reichard, 1997; Kelly, 1997: 14; Korczynski, Pickering and Robertson, 2013: 47; Andrés-Toledo, 2016.

some point to musical activities in the temple, performing those activities at an acceptable level. On the other hand, the god Šara is known in Old Babylonian times as a reciter (**(lu$_2$) du$_{11}$-ga**) of **en$_3$-du** songs[454], and we have some information[455] about the performance of **ser$_3$** songs and **bal-bal-e** responsorial chants in his honour[456].

However, we are not currently dealing with the Old Babylonian Period. In fact, we should not rule out the existence of possible changes in the elements used for Šara's cult at that time concerning the Ur III Period. In fact, we have some Ur III references to instruments used in the cult of Šara in his temple at Umma, like the **a$_2$-la$_2$** giant drum[457], the **li-li-is$_2$** kettledrum, and the **ub$_5$** frame drum[458]. It seems improbable that a woman could have played the **a$_2$-la$_2$** or the **li-li-is$_2$** since, according to the iconography, they are normally played by men[459]. However, females could play the **ub$_5$** frame drum since we have other women playing that instrument in the Ur III texts[460]. That agrees with our Ur III iconography[461]. In fact, women also played the **ma-ri$_2$-tum** lyre[462] and the ^{ŋeš}**tigidla**(ŠAG$_4$.TAR)[463]. Moreover, we have a text from Umma dealing with a long list of **nar nita$_2$** and **nar munus** from the "house of the **balaŋ** lyre" (**nar e$_2$-balaŋ-me**)[464] . Furthermore, we should say that, at least from our knowledge, terms referring to singing

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[454] *Inanna's Descent*, 335 (Attinger, 2019c: 62).

[455] There is also a hymn for the Šara's temple of Umma in *Temple Hymns*, 303–314, ETCSL 4.80.1).

[456] The hymn *Šara A* = Sjöberg, 1975: 322 [CBS 10222] is defined in its colophon (r. 6') as [**bal**]-**bal-e ^{d}šara$_2$-ˊkam**ˋ (CDLI P265461 with minor corrections derived from our inspection of the manuscript photo available in that site). Before that, line r. 3' has **ser$_3$-zu** ("your **ser$_3$** song") in reference to this deity.

[457] CDLI P218067 [WAM 2000.47] (Amar-Suena 05-00-00), o. i 32 (BDTNS 158254). See Mirelman, 2014: 154-155 for reference.

[458] BPOA 7 1559 [NBC 1516] (Amar-Suena 04-00-00), r. 4–5 (BDTNS 075735).

[459] See Rašīd, 1984: 68–73 for (Ur III) iconography of the **a$_2$-la$_2$** and 78–79 for the **li-li-is$_2$** (it is an Old Babylonian plaque since, unfortunately, we do not have earlier depictions of kettledrums).

[460] TUT 159 [VAT 2330] (Amar-Suena 01-05-00), o. v 25 (BDTNS 000509) The musician is called **i$_3$-na-na**. We are not sure if this pertains to a woman, but people mentioned in next lines seem to be women, so it seems probable. Other texts about that are STA 4 [PUL Ex. 183] (Amar-Suena 01-05-00), r. i 19 (BDTNS 006138; as a personal name); Atiqot 4 7–9 [IMJ 90.24.61] (Amar-Suena 05-04-00), o. ii 9 (BDTNS 014617; as personal name).

[461] Spycket, 1972: 180–181; Rašīd, 1984: 96–97; Dumbrill, 2005: 373–382.

[462] AUCT 1 942 [AUAM 73.724] (Amar-Suena 02-00-00), o. 8 (BDTNS 027384).

[463] PDT 2 1120 [Ist. PD ---] (Amar-Suena 04-02-00), o. 7 (BDTNS 031251). It is rather indirect evidence, since the text just mentions a **nar munus** together with several **lu$_2$ ^{ŋeš}tigidla** musicians.

[464] YOS 15 119 [Missouri 8] (00-00-00), o. 13 (BDTNS 187633).

are not very common in the Ur III texts[465]. In this sense, we cannot make abundant comments about this topic.

The phenomenon of women instrumentalists acting as weavers might not come exclusively from the Ur III Period. Certainly, some texts from Mari talk about the selection of women from a group of weavers so as to instruct and appoint them to the "Subarean ensemble (*šitrum*)"[466]. In that musical ensemble, female musicians used to play the *šebītum* harp[467], but perhaps, they also could sing[468]. Therefore, we would define **nam-nar** in our Text 5 as "music". In our opinion, Nin-Ezem, Geme-Dumzida, Pāpā and Tablazu could not only sing but also play some instruments as musicians.

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[465] ePSD2 gives two results for **ser₃** in Ur III times: *Šu-Suen 9* [E3/2.1.4.9], xii 12 (Frayne, 1997: 318; the text referred to a pure **ser₃** song, **ser₃ ku₃**) and UTI 5 3152 [Ist. Um 3152] (Amar-Suena 09-00-00), r. 3. BDTNS 050558 reads as **keš₂** instead of **ser₃**, which fits better in this context. Certainly, the **ma₂-la₂** mentioned at the beginning of that line is a freight boat and **keš₂-ra** (nominal form of **keše₂** "to bind") would suggest something attached in that boat. About **en₃-du**, see BPOA 10 558 [YBC 13384] (00-00-00), o. 3' (BDTNS 191980; commented by Pruzsinszky, 2013: 38) and Delaporte, 1911: 192 text 14 [NME H94673] (Amar-Suena 08-11-00), o. 3 (BDTNS 002145; noted by Pruzsinszky, 2007: 341 n. 39).

[466] ARM 10 126 (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), o. 8–r. 5 (Archibab T8687) and ARM 10 125 (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), o. 4–r. 4 (Archibab T8688). Moreover, some *nārtu* musicians and weavers are mentioned in FM 9 31 [A.3683] (Šamšī-Addu, 00-00-00), o. 6–10 (Archibab T6590). See Pruzsinszky, 2007: 343 n. 43 for comments on these texts and other from Nuzi and the Ottoman harems.

[467] See our chapter about texts from Mari for identification.

[468] See FM 9, p. 13–14 for comments.

2.3.2. A reference to **nam-nar** in TRU 41 [ICP 41] (Šulgi 41-00-00), r. 5?

We would now like to turn our attention to another text also dated to Šulgi's reign. This text, however, comes from Puzriš-Dagān (modern Dreḫem). Unlike the Umma of our Text 5, the archives of Puzriš-Dagān contained texts from the main institutions of the entire kingdom, and not from a single province like Umma[469]. Here is our next text:

Text 6. TRU 41 [ICP 41] (Šulgi 41-08-00)[470]

o. 1	ᴾ*ar-bi-tum*[471]
o. 2	**ᴾa-ti-ma-tum**
o. 3	**ᴾu₃-˹be₂˺**
o. 4	**ᴾaš-da-ga**
o. 5	**ᴾᵈšul-gi-**˹*tu*˺*-ri*
o. 6	ᴾ*ki-ni-ib-ši*
o. 7	**ᴾma-ma-***šar-ra-at*
r. 1	ᴾ˹AN˺**-na-a**
r. 2	ᴾ{˹1/2˺}[472]*ša-lim-*˹*nu*˺*-ri* **šu bar-ra**[473]
r. 3	ᴾ˹**na**˺**-na-ki-**˹**ga**˺**-ga**
r. 4	Anepigraphic space
r. 5	<**nam**>**-nar-**˹**ta**˺ **gur-ra**
r. 6	**eš₃-eš₃ u₄-sakar**[474]**-ka**
r. 7	*u-bar-um* **ugula-uš-bar i₃-dab₅**

[r. 6] By the **eš₃-eš₃** festivals of the New Moon, [r. 7] Ubārum, supervisor of the weavers, has taken (for the weaving (?)) (the women) [o. 1] Arbītum, [o. 2] Atimatum, [o. 3] Ube, [o. 4] Ašdaga, [o. 5] Šulgi-tūrī, [o. 6] Kinibši, [o. 7] Mama-šarrat, [r. 1] Annā, [r. 2] Šalim-nūrī, released (for that occasion (?) and) [r. 4] Nana-kigaga (…) [r. 5] who had returned from music.

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[469] BPOA 10, p. 19-20; Tsouparopoulou, 2013: 150.

[470] Edition dependent upon BDTNS 003318 with corrections derived from our inspection of the original publication copy and its photo available on CDLI P134805.

[471] For some names on this list, we follow Feliu and Millet Albà, 2017: 114 and 125 (ᴾ*ar-bi-tum* = Arbītum), 115 and 126 (Kinibši), 115, 116 n. 36 and 127 (**ᵈšul-gi-***tu-ri* = Šulgi-tūrī). A general remark about the Akkadian nature of these names is contained in Pruzsinszky, 2010b: 37.

[472] We keep in mind the description (based on collation) of this sign in Lafont, 1985: 167. Pruzsinszky, 2010b: 39 mistakenly said "All the other singers are marked with a '1/2' sign" (corrected then in Pruzsinszky, 2013: 39 n. 36). We consider this sign superfluous because it does not fit well in this context.

[473] CDLI P134805 and BDTNS 003318 have "ša-lim-nu-ri-šu bar-ra", but Šalim-nūrī ("Šalim is my light") is an Akkadian name (Steinkeller, 2015: 41). Therefore, **šu bar-ra** is a form of **šu bar** ("to release") as Pruzsinszky, 2007: 342–343; Pruzsinszky, 2010b: 39 and Pruzsinszky, 2013: 39 n. 36

[474] Pruzsinszky, 2010b: 39 has "u₄ šakar-ka". The correct concatenation is **u₄-sakar-ka** since **sakar** exists just as a reading of the sign SAR. If we had two independent words (**u₄** and ***sakar**), the expression would be *****u₄-sakar-ra-ka** (**u₄.d sakar** + **ak** [GEN] + **a** [LOC]), not **u₄-šakar** (/u₄.d.šakar.ak/).

This text deals with a group people who returned (**gur**) to weaving after a period (but not the **eš₃-eš₃** festivals[475]) devoted to something related to music[476]. Previous studies have dealt here with terms like "musical performance"[477], "singing"[478] or "music"[479] as if this text contained **nam-nar**. However, this text has only **nar** (there is no **nam-**). In this sense, we would talk in this text *a priori* just about **nar**, and not **nam-nar**.

However, the presence of **nam-nar** in this text as <**nam**>-**nar** makes sense from an epigraphic perspective. Certainly, as we have explained in our edition, there are some mistakes in this text, like a superfluous sign ½ before *ša-lim-ˈnuˈ-ri*. In the same way, <**nam**>-**nar** fits here due to the marker {**ta**} of the ablative ("from")/instrumental nature ("with")[480] accompanying **nar**. This marker fits with **nam-nar** as a non-human noun, and we have seen it in our Text 5 (**nam-nar-ta**, "from music"). However, it does not fit well with **nar** since we are not dealing with something coming from/through (= ablative sense of the ABL {**ta**}) a **nar** as if we had the term **ŋiri₃** (literally "foot", used as "via") as in

[475] Sallaberger, 1993: 68 ("zurückgekehrt vom Gesang bei *e.*-Feier zum Neulichtag") has a small grammatical explanation in page 41 n. 171 of the same publication. It makes sense since, otherwise, where were those musicians going to perform music (or whatever is <**nam**>-**nar** here)? However, in order to have this translation, we should have (<**nam**ˀ>)-**nar**-ˈtaˈ **eš₃-eš₃ u₄-sakar-ka gur-ra**. That is, the locative chain should be inside the nominalized verbal form, not after the verb as in this case. To understand both lines together makes neither sense from an epigraphic perspective, since there is an anepigraphic space between them. This new vision of the text partially invalidates the comments of Regine Pruzsinszky (2007: 342; 2010: 37; 2013: 39 n. 36 and 43; 2019a: 109). She had followed Walther Sallaberger who himself seems to have blindly followed Léon Legrain's interpretation (see TRU, p. 3, 31, 55, 133 for reference).

[476] Arbītum is documented as **geme₂ uš-bar** in PDT 1 525 [Ist. PD ---] (Amar-Suena 05-12-00), o. i 6, 14 (BDTNS 013232). On its behalf, Kinibši has this office in Nisaba 15/2 668 [Private owner] (Ibbī-Suen 01-00-00), o. i 4 (with reference to o. ii 30) (BDTNS 193119). That contributes to a partial rejection of Pruzsinszky, 2013: 39 n. 36, 43. See Feliu and Millet Albà, 2017: 113 for further reference. Atimatum is a miller (**geme₂ kinkin₂**) according to AnOr 7 285 [MM 188] (00-00-00), o. iii' 7' and 24' (BDTNS 009122). Šulgi-tūrī is fuller (**azlag₇**) in Nisaba 15/2 668 [Private owner] (Ibbī-Suen 01-00-00), o. iii 38 and iv 23 (BDTNS 193119). Other names, as ᴾ**u₃-bi**, ᴾ**aš-da-ga**, ᴾAN-**na-a** and ᴾ**na-na-ki-ga-ga** are unknown beyond this excerpt. In the same way, the professional occupation of other people in this text is much less certain to us. For instance, ᴾ**ma-ma-***šar-ra-at* usually appears with the word **i₇**, being, therefore, a name of a canal in those texts although not in ours. See Owen, 2019: 395–396 for reference about this last matter.

[477] Pruzsinszky, 2013: 39 n. 36 ("musical performance"); Pruzsinszky, 2010a: 109-110 ("practicar música vocal o instrumental").

[478] TRU, p. 3 ("chanter"); Sallaberger, 1993: 68 ("Gesang"); Pruzsinszky, 2007: 342 ("Gesang").

[479] Pruzsinszky, 2010b: 39 ("music").

[480] DGS, p. 191–196.

other texts[481]. Moreover, the instrumental value of the ABL {ta} is only applicable to non-human realities. If we had a concatenation of the type "with the musician(s)" indicating that the women of our text returned to some place with a musician, we should have **nar-da** (with COM {**da**}, which is applied to human nouns[482]).

As we can see, this text does not give many details about the people mentioned therein. In any case, we would like to be prudent in our interpretations. Furthermore, we might take into consideration our Text 5, which is from the same period and reign. In this sense, we would translate this **<nam>-nar** as "music"— the musical activity performed by these people. The proposed translation fits well in this context since we do not negate any possible use of instruments or singing by the people of this text.

2.4. The transition to the Old Babylonian Period

We want now to deal with two *quasi*-duplicate texts from the northern Mesopotamian city of Awal, which is situated in the current settlement of Tell al-Sulaima (close to al-Sa'adiya, east bank of the Diyala River)[483]. These texts are addressed to a person called Tulpipše (or Tulpibše). That name might be from a Hurrian origin if we consider the *-še* of his name as an abbreviation of the Hurrian *šenni* (*še-e-ni* in the writing), "brother"[484].

These texts concern the sister of an individual called Ilī-ṣummid about whom we have no more information beyond. This woman, according to these texts, is removed from an office/occupation called *kala'ūtum*[485]. That *kala'ūtum* and *nārūtum* will be given by an

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[481] See DGS, p. 151 for the grammatical analysis of one example.

[482] DGS, p. 200–202.

[483] They are almost the two unique texts found in this city. The other one is AIHA 4, p. 40 [IM 92363] (00-00-00), a text about the allotment of one sheep for each person. See BDTNS 175506 for an edition, Rašīd, 1981: 40 for an Arabic translation, and Steinkeller, 1984: 86 and Hilgert, 2002: 20 for its chronology.

[484] Bush, 1964: 43; Laroche, 1980: 225–226; Richter, 2012: 384; Fournet, 2013: 5, 31, 68.

[485] This spelling of *kalûtu(m)* is certainly singular concerning southern Mesopotamia. However, it recalls the spelling *girsega'um* for *gi/erseqû(m)* in Mari (Shehata, 2009: 55 n. 275; Peled, 2015: 760). It recalls also the term *kula'ūtu(m)* contained in the Middle Hittite text *The Siege of Uršu*, CTH 7/ KBo 1, 11 [VAT 7679], r. 13, 17-18 (Peled, 2015: 754). In that Hittite text, *kula'ūtu(m)* would designate the activity of the *kulu'u(m)*, a variant for *kuleššar* and it might make reference to the passivity of some generals. In any case, we cannot forget its connections with homosexuality (Peled, 2010: 78; Peled, 2015: 754).

anonymous king to a person called Wirri. That name might be also from Hurrian origin since the Hurrian *weri* means "sword"[486]. Here is our first text:

Text 7. al-Rawi, 1992:185 [IM 85455/as-Sulaima 410] (00-00-00)[487]

o. 1   *a-na tul₂-pi₂-ip-še*
o. 2   *qi₂-bi₂-ma*
o. 3   *ši₂-bu-tum*[488]
o. 4   *li-zi-zu*
o. 5   **NIN₉**[489] *i₃-li₂-ṣum-mi-i[d]*
o. 6   *i-⸢na* **GALA**⸣*-u₂-tim*[490]
o. 7   *na-as-ḫa-at*
r. 1   *šar-ru-um*
r. 2   *a-na* ¹*wi-ri*
r. 3   *ka₃-la-u₂-tam₂*
r. 4   *u₃* **NAR**[491]*-⸢u₂-tam₂?⸣*
r. 5   *i-ta-di₃-⸢in⸣*
r. 6   *a-na* **IRI**[492]**ki**-⸢*im*⸣
r. 7   *wu-di₃-šu*

[o. 2] Say [o. 1] to Tulpipše: [o. 3–4] "may the witnesses be present! [o. 5] Ilī-ṣummid's sister [o. 7] has been removed [o. 6] from the office of the *kala'um*. [r. 1] The king [r. 5] has given [r. 3] the office of the *kala'ûm* lamenter [r. 4] and the office of the *nārum* [r. 2] to Wirri. [r. 7] Say it [r. 6] to the city!"

Here is the *quasi*-duplicate of this text[493], much more damaged than the previous text and with a partially different ending. In this case, the author of the letter does not want to deal with the matter again and refuses to have it brought back to his attention.

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[486] Laroche, 1980: 296; Richter, 2012: 299-300; Arnaud, 2013: 86.

[487] BDTNS 170851 with corrections derived from our inspection of the copy and photo of this tablet.

[488] CDLI P381746 has "si-bu-tum". However, *sibūtu* is a type of festival and *sibûtu(m)* means "tavern" (CAD S, p. 232–233). The sign SI may be read *ši₂* (MZL, p. 84). CDLI transliterates "š" as "sz", so the "z" might have casually been forgotten. For his part, Black, 1991: 27 has "ši-bu-tum", which is also incorrect according to what we have in the manuscript.

[489] Black, 1991: 27 has "NIN". However, we should have the sign TUG₂ (**nin** = SAL.TUG₂ = "lady") instead of the KU of this document according to its copy and photo.

[490] Al-Rawi, 1992: 184 puts Akkadian syllables after Sumerograms in superscripts. However, they are not glosses for being transliterated in that way. In the same way, thanks to that procedure, he mistakenly mixes determinatives with main syllables, like in r. 6, where he has "URU^ki.im".

[491] Black, 1991: 27 seems to give the name of the signs. Otherwise, we would expect "GALA" instead of its "UŠ.KU". However, its writes "NAR" when, with his procedure, we would expect "LUL".

[492] We follow CDLI P381746. Al-Rawi, 1992: 184; Black, 1991: 27 and BDTNS 170851 have **uru**. However, URU is actually the name of the sign for **iri**, the usual form for saying "city" in Sumerian.

[493] For an additional (short) reference to this text, see Maul, 2002: 255 n. 1.

Text 8. al-Rawi, 1992: 185 [IM 85456/as-Sulaima 411] (00-00-00)[494]

o. 1	[*a-na* x]-ˊxˋ-[x][495]
o. 2	[*qi₂*]-ˊ*bi₂*ˋ-*ma*
o. 3	[**NIN**]₉ *i₃-li₂-ṣum-mi*-ˊ*id*ˋ
o. 4	ˊ*na*ˋ-*as-ḫa*-ˊ*at*ˋ
o. 5	<*a-na*>[496] ˊ¹ˋ*wi-ir-ri*[497]
r. 1	**NAR** *u₃* **GALA**-ˊ*tum*ˋ[498]
r. 2	ˊ*na*ˋ-*di₃-šum*
r. 3	*a-wa-tum*
r. 4	ˊ*la*ˋ *i-tu₃-ra-am*

o. 2 [S]ay o. 1 [to] […] : o. 3 "Ilī-ṣummid's [siste]r o. 4 has been removed. r. 1 The office of the *kala'um* and the office of the *nārum* r. 2 have been given to him, o. 5 to Wirri. r. 3 The matter (of this letter) r. 4 must not return to me!"

One of the most controversial aspects of these texts in the past has been their chronology. Certainly, Farouk al-Rawi, their publisher, debated between the Late Old Akkadian Period and the Early Old Babylonian Period, keeping in mind the information from the Iraq Museum about their archaeological context[499]. However, some authors have proposed a later Old Babylonian chronology[500]. On its behalf, Markus Hilgert said that they could belong to the Ur III Period or the Early Old Babylonian Period[501].

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[494] Edition dependent upon BDTNS 170852 with minor corrections derived from our inspection of the original copy and photo of this tablet.

[495] Al-Rawi, 1992: 184 and BDTNS 170852 suppose just two missing signs, while CDLI P381747 proposes three. Everything is possible in light of the preservation state of that tablet. However, we think that CDLI is right since we have *a-na tul₂-pi₂-ip-še* (with the *še* written in the edge) in our Text 7, that is, three signs in addition to those for *a-na*. Text 8 is supposed to be a duplicate of Text 7, so it makes sense.

[496] Al-Rawi, 1992: 184 does not have any preposition here, and he translates: "Wirri — the office of *nārum* and the office of *kala'um* are given to him". Similarly, Peled, 2014: 287 n. 27 translates: "Wirri is given the nar- and *kalû*-ship." However, keeping in mind the existence of the preposition *ana* in our Text 7, we might suppose its original presence also in this text, although it would be forgotten by the scribe.

[497] CDLI P381747 forgets the *Personenkeil* over *wi-ir-ri*.

[498] Al-Rawi, 1992: 184 and BDTNS 170852 have "tum" (Black, 1991: 27 "ˊ*tum*ˋ", where * = "over erasure"), but, according to the copy of the manuscript, the sign TUM might be incorrectly written. We would agree, therefore, with CDLI P381747, although we do not agree with its transliteration "_gala{tum#!}_" (= **GALA**ᵗᵘᵐ!). That is opposed to CDLI P381746 ("_gala_-u2-tim" = **GALA**-*u₂-tim*).

[499] Al-Rawi, 1992: 181. CDLI P381746 and P381747 situate them in the Old Akkadian Period (contrary to Peled, 2015: 760 n. 43), while Gabbay, 2014b: 63 n.2 maintains al-Rawi's duality.

[500] Black, 1991: 27; Shehata, 2009: 55 n. 275. Contrary to Peled, 2015: 760 n. 43, Black, 1991 never talks about "Early Old Babylonian Period", just "Old Babylonian Period".

[501] Hilgert, 2002: 45–46 ("Ur III-zeitlich oder früh-altbabylonisch"). Chronological proposal followed by Molina, 2008: 53 n. 116 and BDTNS (170851 and 170852).

In our opinion, these texts should have more Sumerograms in order to be considered as coming from the Old Akkadian Period[502]. In the same way, their style clearly recalls a typical Old Babylonian letter. Nevertheless, in addition to Hilgert's arguments[503], a (Late) Ur III chronology makes sense with our Ur III references to **nam-gala** (Sumerian equivalent of the *kala'utum* of our Texts 7 and 8). In fact, at that moment, many people acceded (**ku$_4$**)[504], went (**ŋen**)[505] or performed (**ak**)[506] that "office of the **gala**". Among them, there are Amorites[507] and local[508] cooks[509], messengers[510], military[511], and even the

[502] A clear example of that is the Old Akkadian hymn for Šamaš of IAS 326 + 342 [IM 70169 + 70297?], *passim*. Certainly, the majority of the text of this hymn-myth (the oldest Akkadian literary text in the history) is written with Sumerograms. In this sense, its Akkadian content must be mainly inferred through a comparison with the Eblaite text ARET 5 6 [TM.75.G.2421 + 75.G.5511]. See Krebernik, 1992 for editions and Krebernik, 1998: 320-321 for additional remarks.

[503] Concerning our Text 7: 1) Imperative G 2SG.M of *qabûm* ("to speak") of line o. 2 (Hilgert, 2002: 122, 423), 2) Preterite G 3PL.M of *izuzzum* ("to stand") of line o. 4 (Hilgert, 2002: 495), 3) Stative G 3SG.F of *nasāḫum* ("to remove") of line o. 7 (Hilgert, 2002: 312), 4) Perfect G 3SG.M of *nadānum* ("to give") of r. 5 (Hilgert, 2002: 306), and 5) Imperative D of *i/udûm* ("to know") (Hilgert, 2002: 483). Concerning our Text 8, Hilgert, 2002: 351 pays attention also to the Present G 3SG.M from *târum* ("to return") of line r. 4.

[504] Three texts with **u$_4$ nam-gala-še$_3$ in-ku$_4$-ra:** MVN 15 142 [Cornell 30] (Šulgi 00-00-00), r. 22–23 (BDTNS 034165); Nisaba 30 23 [Owen ---] (Šulgi 47-08-18), r. 2–3 (BDTNS 063986). See Oppenheim, 1948: 110; Wilcke, 1988: 26; Balke, 2006: 200; Michalowski, 2006: 51 and Hallo, 2008: 105 for comments.

[505] Nisaba 15/2 97 [Anonymous] (Amar-Suena 08-04-17), o. 10–r. 1 (BDTNS 192786).

[506] See Attinger, 2005: 238 and Michalowski, 2006: 51, 54 for general remarks about **nam-gala … ak**. For a textual example, see Amorites 20 (pl. 9) [OIM A4218] (Šu-Suen 04-09-02), r. 6–8 (BDTNS 015042).

[507] MVN 12 112 [FLP 592] (Šulgi 47-10-25), r. 13–14 (BDTNS 027529); MVN 8 122 [AO 19603] (Amar-Suena 01-08-20), o. 8–10 (BDTNS 022237); OrSP 47–49 21 [VAT 6966] (Amar-Suena 02-09-24), o. 1-2 (BDTNS 007078); SAT 2 724 [YBC 8255] (Amar-Suena 02-10-30), o. iii 15–19, iv 31–34, vi 15–16; r. i 22–23 (BDTNS 048907).

[508] See also AUCT 3 42 [AUAM 73.851] (Šu-Suen 01-12-00), o. 1–3 (BDTNS 029813) and TCBI 2/2 50 [BI C 11] (Šu-Suen 07-04-00), r. 2 (BDTNS 169759), about Šarrum-bāni and Du-iliam.

[509] UDT 97 [NBC 97] (Amar-Suena 04-09-19), o. 8–9 (BDTNS 005482); George, 1987: 35 text 317 [B1 44.317] (Amar-Suena 09-09-00), o. 10298132 (BDTNS 029056); PDT 1 464 [Ist. PD ---] (Šu-Suen 01-09-06), o. 1–2 (BDTNS 013171).

[510] CST 189 [JRL 189] (Šulgi 47-10-14), o. 10298133 (BDTNS 008420); CST 442 [JRL 442] (Šu-Suen 07-11-18), o. 10298132 (BDTNS 008673).

[511] OrSP 18 5 17 [Schneider ---] (Šulgi 48-09-09), o. 16–17 (BDTNS 006481; about an **u$_3$-kul**, see Freedman, 1977: 14; Michalowski, 2006: 53; Dahl, 2007: 154 for its possible military condition); Princeton 1 90 [PTS 540] (Amar-Suena 02-06-09), o. 6 (BDTNS 033023; about an **aga$_3$-us$_2$** soldier) and TRU 350

royal family[512]. These allusions are highly useful for understanding why a woman (like Ilī-ṣummid's sister) performed that office normally destined to men[513]. Certainly, some people have thought that *kala'utum* (and *nārūtum* by context) was just as a prebend[514], keeping in mind our current evidence about women performing that office[515].

However, we have already commented on the "flexibility" of **nam-gala**, an office which could be performed (for a short time) by very different people[516]. In this sense, we tend to think that Ilī-ṣummid's sister would not be a prebend holder of the *kala'utum*. In our opinion, she had to perform that office for a short time before being removed (*nasḥat*) then from it. We believe that expulsion could be caused simply because the period when that women had to perform that office ended, and it was perhaps necessary for the anonymous king of this text to announce the next holder of that office and *nārūtum*.

Therefore, we would agree with the chronological reckoning of our Texts 7 and 8 as the end of the Ur III Period, in transition to the (Early) Old Babylonian Period as Markus Hilgert proposed.

Concerning the meaning of *nārūtum* in those texts, we should keep in mind two things. On the one hand, *nārūtum* is something given to someone (*nadiššum*). On the other hand, it is equated to *kala'utum*, the office from which Ilī-ṣummid's sister is removed. In this sense, we would agree with the previous translations of this term as "office of the

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[ICP 350] (Šu-Suen 02-09-07), r. 1–2 (BDTNS 003627; about an archer, **lu₂-ⁿᵉˢban**). According to Carlos Langa Morales (personal communication), this figure was a civilian who worked for the army.

[512] In MVN 5 116 [Pinches 13] (Amar-Suena 07-03-09), o. 8–10 (BDTNS 020903), Šu-Šulgi, Amar-Suena's son, performed the office of the **gala** receiving three fattened sheep and two fattened billy goats.

[513] Gabbay, 2008; Shehata, 2009: 82–93; Shehata, 2013: 81; Peled, 2016: 135–144.

[514] Peled, 2014: n. 27 (which talks about a prebend holder) has simplified a bit what is said in Black, 1991: 26 and too much concerning al-Rawi, 1992: 182 in order to justify its own hypothesis.

[515] The text AWEL 1 [Erm. 14001] (Urukagina 02-00-00), r. iii 3 (CDLI P221708) deals with a **gala** priest whose name is written as **nin-e₂-balaŋ-ni-du₁₀** and who could possibly be a female **gala** priest. For other comments about female **gala** priests in Early Mesopotamia, see al-Rawi, 1992: 182–183; Black, 1991: 26; AWEL, p. 252 n. 1208.

[516] "Laboral flexibility" was common in Ur III Mesopotamia, and even more for professions with a certain musical content. We cannot forget in this study the connections between **nar** musicians, snake charmers (**muš-laḥ₄/₅**) and bear trainers (**u₄-da-tuš**). See D'Agostino, 2012: 92–95 and Pruzsinszky, 2013: 40 for reference.

nāru"[517]. In this sense, our Texts 7 and 8 would be a precedent for the Old Babylonian situation. There, as we shall comment and study in depth in the following chapters, **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* sometimes designate the office of the **nar**/*nāru(m)*. That will normally happen when **nam-nar** or *nārūtu(m)* are followed by the name of a deity. In those cases, therefore, **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* would designate the office of a musician devoted to said deity.

2.5. Conclusions

Concerning the 3rd millennium, our evidence for **nam-nar** and *nārūtum* is quite obscure/fragmentary (as in our Texts 1–3) or too schematic. This is the case of our Text 5 and 6, which deal with the access or return of some people to some professions.

However, it is possible that **nam-nar** and *nārūtum* designated "music" in a large sense as in our Text 4. There **nam-nar** did not refer the activity of some people as in our Texts 5–6. Far from that, it referred the activity of some instruments, perhaps together with their musicians. It is not a reference to the sound of these instruments, but it is already quite close to that notion, something surprising considering the antiquity of this text.

The 3rd millennium is also, in any case, the time when other, secondary meanings of **nam-nar** and *nārūtum* come to the fore. This is the case in our Texts 7–8, where the different verbs used suggest that we are dealing with some (temple) offices. In any case, we should be careful with its provenance much farther north than the rest of the texts studied in this chapter, which come from southern Mesopotamia.

In this sense, despite all the problems given by this documentation, we might say that the original meaning of **nam-nar** and *nārūtum* was "music" in this period. That will be very important to keep in mind for our later and final conclusions of this study.

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[517] Al-Rawi, 1992: 184 ("office of *nārum*"); Black, 1992: 27 ("office of *nārum*"); Hilgert, 2002: 483 n. 168 ("Amt des Musikers"); Shehata, 2009: 56–57 n. 282 ("nar- Amt"). Compare with Gabbay, 2014a: 63 n. 2 ("*nārūtu*"); Peled, 2015: 287 n. 27 ("nar- and *kalû*-ship").

3. NAM-NAR IN THE TEXTS OF THE OLD BABYLONIAN ELEMENTARY SCRIBAL *CURRICULUM* AND ADMINISTRATION

3.1. General Introduction to the Old Babylonian Sumerian Texts

After the collapse of the state built by the rulers of Ur at the end of the 3rd millennium BCE, the Amorites established several kingdoms in central and southern Mesopotamia in the period currently known as Old Babylonian/Amorite (2002–1595 BCE).

In southern Mesopotamia, the Amorites maintained the former Sumerian culture as a way of legitimizing their control over that region like the successors of the rulers of Ur[518]. However, the main language of that culture, Sumerian, was already dead as a native language[519]. In this sense, scribes (whose mother tongue was Akkadian) had to copy and create many texts of all kinds for learning that language and, in this way, "rejuvenate" that Sumerian culture[520]. As a consequence, the presence of the music (as a part of said culture), and, in particular, the musical terms describing that musical world, experienced an enlargement in our texts regarding previous times[521]. Among those musical terms, we need to include also our term **nam-nar**, whose textual allusions in this period will more abundant than ever as far as we know.

Those references to **nam-nar** will be studied in this and our next chapter following the Old Babylonian scribal *curriculum* of Nippur (paradigm of the Sumerian culture at that time[522]), where most part of our texts (or their tablets) come from. In that model, scribes used to copy fragments of lexical lists, model contracts and short literary texts[523]. Then, they dealt with the most complex texts, like real administrative texts or other longer literary texts as those of the "Decad"[524]. In this chapter we shall deal more specifically with texts from the scribal elementary *curriculum* and legal texts.

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[518] Charpin, 1995: 812–813.

[519] See Woods, 2006: 91–92 as a synthesis of previous discussions about this topic.

[520] Cohen, 1981: 1; BWL, p. 3; Michalowski, 2004: 21; DGS, p. 6.

[521] These observations must be cautiously considered since there is not still a comprehensive study of all our Old Babylonian musical terms. Musicians and songs were studied in Shehata, 2009, but a similar study on instruments is lacking. By the moment, see Krispijn, 2010b and Michalowski, 2010a and 2010b.

[522] *Nippur Neighborhoods*, p. 13–28; Stol, 1998–2000: 539; Shehata, 2009: 162–164, 172.

[523] EEN, p. 18–45, 63; Robson, 2001: 47; Spada, 2018: 3.

[524] Delnero, 2006: 25–26.

3.2. The Elementary Scribal *Curriculum*

3.2.1. Lexical texts

3.2.1.1. About a type of song

Our study will begin with this excerpt from the thematic and acrographic list about human occupations and kinship terms known as *Proto*-**lu₂**. This is the "easiest" text in the elementary scribal *curriculum* from Nippur where we have a reference to **nam-nar**:

Text 9. *Proto*-**lu₂**[525]

590.   **[s]er₃ ˊnamˋ-nar**

      N_{I-A}   r. ii 28.   **[s]er₃ ˊnamˋ -nar**

591.   **[se]r₃ nam-gala**

      N_{I-A}   r. ii 29.   **[se]r₃ nam-ˊgalaˋ**
      N_{I-S'}   o. ii' 8'.   **ser₃ ˊnam -galaˋ(ˊUŠˋ.KU!)**[526]
      N_{I-G4}   o. i 6'.   **[ser₃ n]am -gala**

590.   Musical (sung) text
591.   Lament (sung) text

Sigla[527]

N_{I-A}   MSL 12, p. 28 A [CBS 2241 + 9850 + 9851 + 11394 + N 4631 + 5222] (photo available on CDLI P227886; collated the 19/08/2019)
N_{I-S'}   MSL 12, p. 30 S' [Ni 5169] (photo on CDLI P228396; collated the 20/08/2019)
N_{I-G4}   Taylor, 2001: 210–211 [Anonymous 349945] (publication's handwritten copy)

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[525] Score edition dependent upon the one of DCCLT with changes derived from our consultation of the manuscripts through the copies/photos indicated down in addition to some collations.

[526] DCCLT has "šer₃-x- ra?", and considered it a variant of **ser₃ nam-nar** (**ser₃ nam-nar-ra**). However, its unknown sign seems UŠ. The second sign is a bit confusing because the tablet seems to have been rewritten by the scribe at this point. In any case, it makes sense to understand a wrongly written sign KU in order to read **gala**(UŠ.KU) and, therefore **ser₃ nam-gala**. That makes sense since the next composite line of *Proto*-**lu₂** contains **ser₃ nam-šub**. The same happens with manuscript N_{I-S'}, o. ii' 9'.

[527] They follow MSL 12, p. 28–32 except G₄, an own *siglum* inspired in that sequence. They are preceded by an "I" (= Type I; see MSL 12, p. 27) indicating their typology and an N (= Nippur) indicating their provenance.

In this excerpt, we find a reference to **ser$_3$ nam-nar**, term which has been previously translated in four different ways: 1) as a "subscript" for Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts[528], 2) as a "song (**ser$_3$**) of the **nam-nar** (term translated differently in each case)"[529], 3) as a "**ser$_3$** song of the **nar**"[530] and 4) as a "musical song"[531].

The first translation ("subscript") seems to be made in analogy with other terms (like **ser$_3$ gid$_2$-da**, "long **ser$_3$** song") mentioned in the colophons of some Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts[532]. However, **ser$_3$ nam-nar** has never been found in the colophon of an Old Babylonian Sumerian literary text. The unique exception to that is a 1st millennium text never taken into consideration for that definition[533].

The second translation ("song of the **nam-nar**") tries to observe the meaning of **ser$_3$** ("song") and **nam-nar**. However, that interpretation forgets the absence of a genitive marker in **ser$_3$ nam-nar**. Certainly, if we had a genitive, we would have **ser$_3$ nam-nar-ra** (**ser$_3$ nam.nar + ak** [GEN]), like in **ser$_3$ nam-erim$_2$-ma** ("song of the oath(?)"; **ser$_3$ nam.erim + ak** [GEN]), word mentioned shortly after **ser$_3$ nam-nar** in our lexical texts[534]. The third interpretation ("**ser$_3$** song of the **nar**") has also this same problem. In addition, it translates actually from **ser$_3$ nar-ra**, and not from **ser$_3$ nam-nar** as if both terms were equal. That procedure is dangerous since Christiane Ludwig[535] has already explained that we should not read **ser$_3$ LUL**[536] as **ser$_3$ <nam>-nar**. However, we should read it as **ser$_3$ kad$_x$** or **ser$_3$ še$_{11}$**. We shall comment on this expression later[537].

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[528] ePSD ("subscript"); ePSD2 ("a subscript").

[529] PBS 12/1, p. 11 ("song of the singer's art"); Kramer, 1960: 58 ("hymn of song"); Hunger, 1968: 123 ("Lied des Sängerberufes"); Kilmer, 1971: 143 ("song of the musician's craft", same translation in Rubio, 2009: 67 and Löhnert, 2016: 55); Sjöberg, 1974: 142 ("namnar(?)-Gesang"); Schramm, 2008: 9 ("Lieder der 'Sangeskunst'"); Peterson, 2019c: 698 ("song of musicianship").

[530] Krispijn, 1990: 2 ("Lied des Hymnsensängers"); Volk, 1994: 185 ("Kompositionen für die Tätigkeit als Fest-/Hymnenmusiker"); Krispijn, 2017: 226 ("song of the hymn singer"); Skelton, 2017: 49 ("nar song").

[531] Kramer, 1963: 207 ("musical hymns"); Geller, 1995–1996: 245 ("musical songs"); ETCSL 5.5.2. ("musical song"); Geller, 2011: 253 ("cultic song"), and Geller, 2018: 51 n. 46 ("musical song").

[532] See Shehata, 2009: 262–284 for the most comprehensive study of those terms until today.

[533] CT 17 pl. 15–18 [BM 34223+], iv 19'.

[534] *Proto*-**lu$_2$**, 590 (**ser$_3$ nam-nar**) (our own edition) and 593 (**ser$_3$ nam-erim$_2$-ma**) (DCCLT).

[535] Ludwig, 1990: 189–195.

[536] In *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 369, A 373–374 (ETCSL 2.5.4.01).

[537] For an alternative interpretation, see Klein, 1990: 76 n. 50.

Last interpretation ("musical song") is a bit redundant since all songs are musical by nature (at least, as far as we know). In any case, it is grammatically right since **nam-nar** acts here as an adjective of **ser₃** like, for instance, **nam-lugal** ("kingship") in the expression **aga nam-lugal**[538] ("royal crown")[539]. We should remember that **ser₃** also means "to sing" and "(sung) text"[540] as the equivalent of *zamāru(m)*[541]. In this sense, we might translate **ser₃ nam-nar** as "musical [**nam-nar**] composition (to be sung) [**ser₃**]".

As we can see, **ser₃ nam-nar** is mentioned just before **ser₃ nam-gala**. That is very important for seeing **ser₃ nam-nar**, not as a lament song[542], but as a (mainly) festive one.

3.2.1.2. About a type of music

We deal now with an excerpt of *Proto*-**izi**, another thematic and acrographic list placed just after *Proto*-**lu₂** (with which shares some features) in the scribal *curriculum*[543]:

Text 10. *Proto*-**izi**[544]

II 227	**nam-bur-šu-ma**		
	N$_{I-11}$	o. v 21'	˹nam˺-bur-šu-ma?
	N$_{P-1}$	c. iv 51	nam -bur-šu-ma

II 228	**nam-dub-sar**		
	N$_{I-11}$	o. v 22'	[nam]-dub -sar
	N$_{I-12*}$	o. iv 10'	nam -dub -sar
	N$_{II/2-62}$	r. vi 6	˹nam -dub-sar˺
	N$_{P-1}$	c. iv 52	nam -dub -sar
	Ur$_1$[545]	r. 3'	nam -dub -sar?

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[538] *Proto*-**izi**, II 397 (DCCLT).

[539] Literally **aga** ("crown") + **nam-lugal** ("kingship").

[540] Krispijn, 2010b: 147 proposed "composition" as the original meaning of this term.

[541] *Proto*-**aa**, 757:1 (DCCLT). For *zamāru(m)*, see CAD Z, p. 35.

[542] Shehata, 2009: 265.

[543] Taylor, 2001: 213.

[544] Score edition dependent upon the one of Crisostomo, 2019: 296 with changes derived from our inspection of the handwritten copies and photos of the manuscripts (some of them collated) indicated down.

[545] Omitted in Crisostomo, 2019 because of its provenance from Ur (its edition tries to reconstruct just the lexical list used in Nippur). However, we have used it since it is present in the edition of this text on DCCLT Q000050 in addition to the transliteration of the manuscript on CDLI P347041.

II 229	**nam-gala**		
	N$_{I-11}$	o. v 23'	[**nam**]-ˈ**gala**ˈ
	N$_{I-12*}$	o. iv 8'	**nam -gala**
	N$_{P-1}$	c. iv 53	**nam -gala**

II 230	**nam-nar**		
	N$_{I-11}$	o. v 24'	[**nam**] -**nar**
	N$_{I-12*}$	o. iv 11'	**nam -nar**
	N$_{II/2-62}$	r. vi 7	[**na**]**m -nar**
	N$_{P-1}$	c. iv 54	**nam -ˈnar**ˈ

II 230a	**nam-nar-balaŋ**		
	N$_{I-11}$	o. v 25'	**nam-nar-balaŋ**

II 231	**nam-ab-ba**		
	N$_{I-11}$	o. v 26'	**nam -ab-ba**
	N$_{I-12*}$	o. iv 12'	**nam -ab-ba**
	N$_{II/2-62}$	r. vi 4	ˈ**nam**ˈ-**ab-ba**

II 227	The profession of the **bur-šu-ma**
II 228	The writing
II 229	The profession of the **gala**
II 230	The music
II 230a	The profession of the **nar** of the **balaŋ**
II 231	The old age

Sigla[546]

N$_{I-11}$	MSL 13, p. 40 B [Ist. Ni 10262] (none copy/photo available)
N$_{I-12*}$	MSL 13, p. 40 C [IM 58795] (none copy/photo available)
N$_{II/2-62}$	MSL 13, p. 40 A [CBS 2145 + 2252 + 2273 + 2276 + UM 29-13-721 + 29-15-369 + 29-15-529] (photo available on CDLI P227870; collated the 19/08/2019)
N$_{P-1}$	TMH *forthcoming* [HS 1802] (none copy/photo available)
Ur$_1$	UET 7 78 [U. ---] (publication copy)

In this text, **nam-nar** is placed together with some terms designating professions or conditions mentioned with **nam-nar** in advanced texts of the scribal *curriculum*[547]. Therefore, **nam-nar** might designate the profession of the **nar**[548]. However, it might also

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[546] They follow those of Crisostomo 2019: 200–226, except Ur$_{U-1}$, which is ours. Ur indicates its provenance, $_U$ its uncertain condition, and the number 1 is adapted from its *siglum* A in MSL 13, p. 35. We have also changed the order of the manuscript N$_{II/2-62}$ in the score for coherence (Type II after Type I).

[547] **nam-bur-šu-ma** (TMH 10 55 [HS 2396] (Rīm-Sîn I 35-10-00), o. 5; TMH 10 59a [HS 2081] (Rīm-Sîn I, 54-01-00), o. 2–3); **nam-dub-sar** (*The Father and his rude Son*, 109-110); **nam-gala** (*Proto-***Lu₂**, 590–591); **nam-ab-ba** (*Inanna and Enki*, I v 33 and *Inanna and Enki*, II v 51–52). See our editions of the cited texts for reference.

[548] Like according to DCCLT Q000050 ("office of the singer").

refer music in general[549]. Certainly, not all the terms from that list beginning with **nam-** are professions. In fact, the single common thing to them is that their first sign is NAM[550].

We would like, however, to reflect more about the term **nam-**LUL.BALAŊ mentioned just after **nam-nar**. That term has been transliterated as **nam-tige₂** because of the logographic composition of **tige₂** as LUL.BALAŊ[551], and it has been defined as a reference to the musician of the **tige₂**[552] instrument or a type of music[553]. This last definition remembers to us the previous definitions of **nam-nar** as a concrete type of music[554]. In addition, we might remember the Akkadian *nigûtu(m)* which, among its many definitions, has the meaning "(joyful) music"[555]. However, we have just a tablet with this **nam-**LUL.BALAŊ and our conclusions must be provisional. We should also keep in mind several things:

- We are in a section of *Proto-***izi** mainly devoted to professions. In this sense, an interpretation of **nam-**LUL.BALAŊ as a concrete type of (instrumental) music does not fit in this context. In the same way, if **nam-**LUL.BALAŊ had been referred to that type of reality, we would have already found other similar terms like, for instance, *__nam-a-da-ab__ ("music of the **a-da-ab** (?)"). However, these terms have not been found to date.

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[549] Crisostomo, 2019: 393 ("musical arts").

[550] *Proto-***izi**, II 218 (**nam-maḫ**, "majesty"), II 219 (**nam-gal**, "greatness"), II 220 (**nam-kalag-ga**, "mightiness"), II 235 (**nam-sa₆-ga**, "goodness") (Crisostomo, 2019: 296–297).

[551] MSL 13, p. 48 has "nam-tigi". However, we should have **nam-**BALAŊ.LUL for that. For **nam-tige₂**, see DCCLT Q000050 and Crisostomo, 2019: 296.

[552] We read **tige₂** instead of the traditional reading **tigi₂** (for instance, Krispijn, 1990: 3) following aBZL 163, 195, 196 since *Proto-Ea*, 461 (DCCLT Q000055) contains GI₄-**e**. That makes sense with the original writing of /**tige**/ as **ti-ge₄** (*Gudea Cylinders*, B10.9, B18.22; Römer, 2010: 33, 38). That spelling might be etymologically understood as "to approach" (**ti** < **teŋ₄**) + "to return" (**ge₄**).

[553] DCCLT Q000050 ("office of the tigi player"); ePSD2 ("a designation of music"). However, Crisostomo, 2019: 393 ("*tigi* arts").

[554] Krispijn, 1990: 2 ("hymnische Musik, Tätigkeit als Musiker").

[555] Concerning the Old Babylonian times, we know only the reference to that term in the Hymn to Nannā for Šamšu-ilūna, VAS 10 215 [VAT 598], r. 16. In that text we find the sentence *šanîš nigûtam tēriš* ("she requested joyful music again"). However, it is in fragmentary context. See CAD N2, p. 217-218 for other (non-Old Babylonian) texts with *nigûtu(m)*.

- An administrative text has **nam-nar-sa**[556], term referred to the office of the **nar** specialized in the use of stringed instruments (**sa**), a speciality mentioned in the contemporary lexical evidence[557].

- The non-human gender of **tige₂** is expressed by the references to that term as an object (**niŋ₂**)[558] or with a 3NH.POSS {**bi**}[559]. Therefore, **tige₂** cannot designate the musician of the **tige₂** instrument, just the instrument. Otherwise, we would expect human-gender markers with **tige₂**. In this sense, LUL.BALAŊ may be read as **tige₂**, but also as **nar balaŋ**. That makes sense since musicians of the **balaŋ** instrument are known before[560] our spellings of /**tige**/ as **ti-ge₄**[561]. Furthermore, **nar balaŋ** is documented in some administrative texts[562].

Therefore, we would read **nam**-LUL.BALAŊ as **nam-nar-balaŋ**, whose meaning would be "office of the **nar** of the **balaŋ**" unlike the previous interpretations. That makes sense since **nar balaŋ** is known as specialization of the **nar** in the Old Babylonian lexical texts[563]. Moreover, the **balaŋ** is played sometimes in praise contexts[564]. Therefore, a **nar** (and not only the **gala**) might have sounded the said instrument too.

3.2.1.3. About *nārūtum* and *narūtum*

We shall comment here an excerpt of **Niŋ₂-ga**. This list is placed in the elementary scribal *curriculum* of Nippur after the *Proto*-**izi** and *Proto*-**ka₂-gal**, a list not commented on here since there is no reference to **nam-nar** in that text[565]. Here is our excerpt:

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[556] TMH 10 55 [HS 2396] (Rīm-Sîn I 35-10-00), o. 4 (see *infra* for our edition of this text).

[557] *Proto*-**lu₂**, 644 (DCCLT Q000047).

[558] *Keš Temple Hymn*, 116a (Delnero, 2006: 2230) and *Nanna N*, 23, 26 (ETCSL 4.13.14).

[559] *Enki and the World Order*, 448 (ETCSL 1.1.3).

[560] See Tonietti, 2010: 83 and Tonietti, 2018: 19 for Early Dynastic Ebla texts, and Gelb, 1976: 57 for an overview of the Ur III Period.

[561] *Gudea Cylinders*, B10.9, B18.22 (Römer, 2010: 33, 38).

[562] TMH 10 25 [HS 2205] (Šamšu-ilūna 12-07-03), r. 4 (Archibab T23363).

[563] *Proto*-**lu₂**, 643–643b (DCCLT Q000047).

[564] *Šulgi N*, 45 (ETCSL 2.4.2.14).

[565] EEN, p. 63; Robson, 2001: 47.

Text 11. **Niŋ₂-ga** (monolingual version)[566]

73   **niŋ₂-** *ri-ša-ˊaˀˋ-[tum]*-**me-ˈŋarˈ**

N$_{I-Q}$ o. iii 2'   **niŋ₂-**$^{ri-ša-ˊaˀˋ-[tum]}$-[   ]
N$_{II/2-A}$ r. iii 11'   ˈ**niŋ₂**ˀˋ   **-me** -[   ]
N$_{II/2-B}$ r. iii 6'   **niŋ₂**   -ˈ**me -ŋar**ˈ
N$_{II/2?-U}$ o. 4   **niŋ₂**   -ˈ**me**ˈ-**ŋar**
N$_{II/2-Y}$ r. i 8'   ˈ**niŋ₂**ˈ   **-me** -[   ]^{567}
N$_{II/2-Z}$ r. i' 5   **niŋ₂**   -ˈ**me**ˈ-[   ]
N$_{II/2-B1}$ r. i 5   ˈ**niŋ₂**ˈ   **-me -ŋar**$^?$

74   **niŋ₂-** *qu3-ˈlaˋ-[tum]*-**me-ŋar**

N$_{I-Q}$ o. iii 3'   **niŋ₂** $^{qu3-ˈlaˋ-t[um]}$-[   ]
N$_{II/2-A}$ r. iii 12'   ˈ**niŋ₂**ˈ   **-me**-[   ]
N$_{II/2-B}$ r. iii 7'   [   ]**-me-ŋar**
N$_{II/2-Y}$ r. i 9'   **niŋ₂**   **-me**-[   ]
N$_{II/2-B1}$ r. i 6   ˈ**niŋ₂**ˈ   **-me-ŋar**$^?$

75   ˈ**niŋ₂**ˈ-*na-ru-[tum?]*-ˈSARˈ-SA[R]^{568}

N$_{I-Q}$ o. iii 4'   ˈ**niŋ₂**ˀˈ-$^{na-ru-[tum?]}$-[   ]
N$_{II/2-A}$ r. iii 13'   ˈ**niŋ₂**ˀˋ   **-SAR** -[   ]
N$_{II/2-B}$ Omits^{569}
N$_{II/2-Y}$ r. i 10'   [ni]ŋ₂   -ˈSARˀˈ -[   ]
N$_{II/2-A1}$ r. i 7'   ˈ**niŋ₂**ˈ   -SAˈ[R]-ˈSA[Rˀ]
N$_{II/2-B1}$ r. i 7'   ˈ**niŋ₂**ˈ   -**SAR**ˈ -[   ]

73   Jubilation
74   Silence
75   A type of malt

Sigla^{570}

N$_{I-Q}$ MSL 13, p. 93 Q [CBS 13937 + N 6347 + 6562]
            (photo on CDLI P227752; collated the 22/08/2019)
N$_{II/2-A}$ MSL 13, p. 92 A [CBS 6560]
            (copy on SLT 14; photo on CDLI P229633; collated the 21/08/2019)
N$_{II/2-B}$ MSL 13, p. 92 B [CBS 4805]
            (copy on SLT 30; photo on CDLI P227955; collated the 21/08/2019)
N$_{II/2?-U}$ MSL 13, p. 93 U [N 4847] (photo on CDLI P229640; collated the 21/08/2019)
N$_{II/2-Y}$ MSL 13, p. 93 Y [CBS 6461]
            (copy on SLT 21; photo on CDLI P229644; collated the 21/08/2019)
N$_{II/2-Z}$ MSL 13, p. 93 Z [N 5072] (photo on CDLI P220645; collated the 21/08/2019)
N$_{II/2-A1}$ MSL 13, p. 93 A₁ [CBS 6471]
            (copy on SLT 25; photo on CDLI P229646; collated the 21/08/2019)
N$_{II/2-B1}$ MSL 13, p. 93 B1 [IM 58574] (photo on SP, pl. 27)

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566 Own score edition starting from the consultation of the copies and photos of the manuscripts (some collated) indicated down. Sincerely thanks to Niek Veldhuis for his help with the manuscript N$_{I-Q}$.

567 SLT 21 see a sign DAR, but the traces at that point have nothing in common with that sign DAR.

568 See our comments *infra* for this reading instead of **mu₂** of MSL 13, p. 98 and DCCLT Q000052.

569 Line r. iii 8' seems to be line 71 = [**niŋ₂-ŋal₂**]-**la₂**.

570 They follow those of MSL 13, p. 92–93 (paying attention also to the typology of each tablet, indicated on brackets in that publication), but we put before an N (= Nippur) for their provenance.

In the last line of this text, we find a reference to an Akkadian term probably written as *na-ru-tum* which is here the equivalent of a Sumerian term normally transliterated as **niŋ2-mu2-mu2**[571]. If we think in that *na-ru-tum* as the musical term *nārūtum*, we might think that the musical terms **nam-nar** and *nārūtum* studied here are not equivalent. That fact *a priori* might make sense since we have the Sumerogram NAM.NAR in an Akkadian Seleucid text[572], but there is no bilingual text with both term. We can only imagine that equivalence because of their similar connotations[573]. In addition, another **niŋ2-mu2-mu2** has the Akkadian gloss *ik-ri-b[u]* (= *ikrību*, "prayer", "blessing", "votive gift")[574], that is, another element related, in a certain way, with the cult, perhaps like *nārūtum*.

Nevertheless, in the previously reproduced excerpt of the monolingual **Niŋ2-ga**, the Akkadian glosses seem to have a similar meaning to the Sumerian terms. Certainly, **niŋ2-me-ŋar** may be equated with *qūlatum* ("silence") since **me ŋar** means "to make silence" in Sumerian[575]. However, it may be equated to *rīšātum* ("rejoice") since **niŋ2-me-ŋar** is sometimes mentioned in context of rejoice in the Old Babylonian Sumerian literature[576]. However, **niŋ2-mu2-mu2** does not make sense with the musical term *nārūtum* according to its literal meaning ("growing thing"). Therefore, that *na-ru-tum* might be actually a reference to the Akkadian *narûtum*[577] (or **narratu*)[578]. This term would designate a type of malt in some Old Assyrian letters from Kaniš[579]. That would make sense with the existence of the term **niŋ2-SAR** (**mu2** is a reading of SAR), a term which might designate

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[571] MSL 13, p. 98 and DCCLT Q000052.

[572] Koch, 2004: 106–108 [BM 55466 + 55486 + 55627], r. 26 (see our chapter about 1st Millennium evidence for an edition and comments).

[573] This fact was already suggested by Schramm, 2008: 10 n. 30.

[574] **Niŋ2-ga** = *makkūru* (bilingual version), 61 (MSL 13, p. 116).

[575] Jaques, 2006: 205–217; ePSD2; Attinger, 2019d: 83.

[576] Among them, *Inanna and Bilulu*, 145 (ETCSL 1.4.4) and *Instructions of Šuruppak*, 264 (CDLI P478969). See Jaques, 2006: 205–207 for other references.

[577] Michalowski, 2010a: 204 n. 11–205 n. 13; Michalowski, 2010b: 118 transcribes wrongly our musical term as *narūtu*, rendering a similar word to this another one. On its behalf, Michel, 2016: 176 n. 13 offers the same transcription (*narūtum*) for this another term *narûtum*.

[578] Suggestion of CAD N1, p. 382.

[579] TCL 14 47 [AO 8717], o. 7 (CDLI P357537; see Michel, 2001: 478–479; Larsen, 2002: 76–77 and Michel, 2016: 174 n. 28 for comments) and VS 26 75 [VAT 13516], r. 7' (CDLI P358227).

a type of plant in some Ur III administrative texts[580]. Therefore, we would read the Sumerian term of **Niŋ₂-ga**, 75 not as **niŋ₂-mu₂-mu₂**, but as **niŋ₂-SAR-SAR**[581]. About its connections with the Akkadian *ikrību*, we tend to think that **niŋ₂-SAR-SAR** = *narûtu* might be understood as a product offered as "votive gift"[582]. However, we do not have a clear opinion on this matter and, in any case, our textual evidence for this topic is scarce.

3.2.2. Model contracts

3.2.2.1. A text about musical teaching

We are now going to deal with the domain of model contracts[583]. Those texts were non-functional since they lacked real dates and a list of witnesses, two important elements for the legal validity of real administrative texts in Mesopotamia. Nevertheless, they were still relevant as an introduction for the scribes into real legal and administrative practice[584]. We shall first comment here on a text from the *Schøyen Collection* about the instruction of a young student in the use of several types of instruments and songs[585].

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[580] We follow the interpretation of Neumann, 2004: 22 for the **niŋ₂-SAR** in the text Snell, 1982: pl. 4 3 [CUL 2] (Amar-Suena 04-00-00), r. i 9 (BDTNS 024109). Snell, 1989: 202 read "níg-kéš" and translated as "bound (reed)". However, signs SAR and EZEN are not quite so identical at the time (to the contrary of Neo-Assyrian and later times). In this sense, we cannot have that confusion for Ur III times. See BDTNS for other references to **niŋ₂-SAR** from the 3rd Dynasty of Ur.

[581] Concerning **Niŋ₂-ga**, 145, MSL 13, p. 100 reads "níg-SAR", but DCCLT reads "niŋ₂-sakar". The last reading makes more sense in light of the following lines of that text, where **niŋ₂-sakar buru₃-buru₃** designates a tool (**niŋ₂-sakar**) for perforating something (**buru₃-buru₃**). In this sense, there is no apparent contradiction with our hypothesis about **niŋ₂-SAR-SAR** as a type of plant.

[582] See CAD I-J, p. 64–65 (entry 2') for different types of votive gifts called *ikribu*.

[583] EEN, p. 63–64; Robson, 2001: 47.

[584] Spada, 2018: 3.

[585] The following edition and comments have benefited from Gabriella Spada's help. She has shared with us her edition of this text at a time when the book containing it was not yet available for purchase. In addition, she indicated to us that Michalowski, 2013 and Démare-Lafont, 2017 (two texts she could not use for her edition) also commented on this text. Thanks for all that.

Text 12. Geller, 2003: 109–111 [MS 2951][586]

o. 1   **^{m}ḫe$_{[2]}$-du$_7$!^{587}-˹eridu˺^{ki}-ga**
o. 2   **˹dumu˺ ^{d}˹IM˺**-*la-ma-si$_2$*[588]
o. 3   **nam-nar zu-zu-de$_3$**
o. 4   **ki ˹DIŊIR˺**-*și-ri* **ba-tuš**
o. 5   **u$_4$-ba**[589] **<nam?> -nar ^{ŋeš}˹tigidla$_x$˺(˹ŠAG$_4$˺.MIN$_3$.<DI/TAR>)**[590]
o. 6   **asila$_3$(EZEN×A)**[591] **tige$_x$(˹LUL˺.TIN.LIŠ!)**[592] **a-˹da˺-ba**
o. 7   **˹a˺-ra$_2$ ˹7˺-kam zu-zu-de$_3$**
o. 8   **5 giŋ$_4$ ˹ku$_3$˺-babbar**
o. 9   **a$_2$ DIŊIR**-*și-ri*
o. 10 ^{md}˹IM˺-*la-ma-si$_2$*
o. 11   **˹in˺-na-˹an˺-šum$_2$**
r. 1   **u$_4$**[593] (anepigraphic space)
r. 2   [$^m i$]$_3$[594]-*li$_2$-ip-pa-al-sa$_3$-am*
r. 3   **˹dumu˺**[595] **um-mi-a**

[o. 1] Ḫedu-Eriduga[596], [o. 2] son of Adad-lamassī[597], [o. 4] sat with Il-șirī[598] [o. 3] in order to learn music. [o. 5–7] In those days, in order to learn the music of the **^{ŋeš}tigidla$_x$** lute (and) (how to produce) the **asila$_3$** rejoicing cries of the **tige$_x$** and **a-da-ab** songs seven times (without fatigueing the voice too much), [o. 9] Il-șirī [o. 11] gave [o. 8] five silver shekels [o. 10] to Adad-lamassī. [r. 1] Day (…) [r. 2] Ilī-ippalsam[599], [r. 3] master's apprentice.

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[586] Our own edition from checking the photos of this tablet on CDLI P252010.

[587] Konrad Volk (= George and Spada, 2019: 116) has **[d]u$_7$** perhaps since U (U.GUD = **du$_7$**) is missing. However, the manuscript is slightly erased there. In this way, we prefer to follow Michalowski, 2010a: 204.

[588] Démare-Lafont, 2016–2017: 50 mistakenly transcribed **si** and not **si$_2$** as in the rest of the editions (Geller, 2003: 109; Shehata, 2009: 112; Michalowski, 2010a: 204; George and Spada, 2019: 116).

[589] Geller, 2003: 109 mistakenly reads **ud-a**, and it was followed by Shehata, 2009: 113 and Démare-Lafont, 2017: 50. We agree, however, with Michalowski, 2010a: 204 and George and Spada, 2019: 116.

[590] The transliteration of George and Spada, 2019: 116–117 as MIN$_3$ is also probably right.

[591] Geller, 2003: 109; Michalowski, 2010a: 204 and Démare-Lafont, 2017: 50 have **asila(EZEN×LAL$_2$)**, but Shehata, 2009: 113 and George and Spada, 2019: 116 have **asila(l)$_3$(EZEN×A)**. We see two vertical signs inside EZEN. That fact supports the last reading **asila(l)$_3$** (= EZEN×A).

[592] This sign differs concerning BULUŊ (Geller, 2003: 109; Shehata, 2009: 205). We would follow Michalowski, 2010a: 204 ("NAR.BULUĜ!") or George and Spada, 2019: 116 ("NAR.TIN.LIŠ"). If we accept this last interpretation, we should take into consideration that the sign LIŠ is incorrectly written.

[593] Omitted in Michalowski, 2010a: 204 and George and Spada, 2019: 117, it is almost on the edge.

[594] Piotr Michalowski (2010: 204 and 2013: 17) reads ku/i$_6$, while all other editions read i$_3$. To our mind, the sign is too broken for any supposition, but we would follow the most popular transliteration (**i$_3$**).

[595] We follow George and Spada, 2019: 117, which makes sense with Michalowski, 2013: 17.

[596] Geller, 2003: 109 ("Hebe-Eridu") forgot the genitive of this name.

[597] Only Shehata, 2009: 112 and George and Spada, 2019: 117 remembered this -*ī* 1SG.POSS.

[598] We follow Geller, 2003: 109; Shehata, 2009: 112 and Démare-Lafont, 2016–2017: 50. For Ilī-șirī (Michalowski, 2010a: 204; Michalowski, 2013: 17; George and Spada, 2019: 117), we would expect **diŋir**-*i-și-ri*, and not **diŋir**-*și-ri*. Ziegler, 2017: 38 ("Ilu-șiri") tries to keep this aspect in mind.

[599] Michalowski, 2013: 17 George and Spada, 2019: 117. However, Geller, 2013: 111 has sign NI. We cannot verify, but Ilī-ippalsanni and Ilī-ippalsam both mean something like "My god looks at me".

We find a first reference to **nam-nar** in the third line of this text which has been normally understood as "Music"[600]. This translation fits well in this context, where Ḫedu-Eriduga is going to learn with Il-ṣirī how to master two main things:

- The **tige$_x$** and **a-da-ab**: They have sometimes been understood as two instruments[601]. However, following other authors[602], we prefer to identify them as songs in this case since both terms are in a genitive chain together with **asila$_3$**[603]. This said term cannot designate another instrument, but a vocal technique. Certainly, it is logographically written as EZEN×A. That suggests a connection with the **ser$_3$** song, a term also written with that sign EZEN. Moreover, **asila$_3$** is usually documented in Old Babylonian royal inscriptions and literary texts as a sort of cry for joy[604]. In our opinion, the **a-ra$_2$ 7-kam** accompanying that **asila$_3$** should be understood as "seven times" [605] and not "to the seventh degree" as Piotr Michalowski and others have sometimes understood[606]. Certainly, **a-ra$_2$** means "times" [607], not "degree". Furthermore, we should have **a-ra$_2$ 7-kam-ma-še$_3$** (that is, a sequence with a TERM {še}) for Michalowski's interpretation. The idea of learning how to produce many times a sort of shout without

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[600] Geller, 2003: 109 ("music"); Shehata, 2009: 112 ("die Musikkunst"); Michalowski, 2010a: 204 ("music"); Démare-Lafont, 2016–2017: 50 ("music"); Ziegler, 2017: 38 ("l'art de la musique"); Pruzsinszky, 2018a: 93 ("el arte de la música"); George and Spada, 2019: 117 ("the musician's craft").

[601] Geller, 2003: 109 ("*tigi* instrument and the *adab* instrument"); Démare-Lafont, 2016–2017: 50 ("the tigi and the adab"); George and Spada, 2019: 117 ("*tigi*, and *adab* instruments").

[602] Shehata, 2009: 112 ("den Jubel(gesang) von Tigi und Adab"). We miss, however, an additional explanation of this term beyond Shehata, 2009: 112 n. 606 in the same monograph.

[603] Forgotten in Geller, 2003: 109 ("the *asila*, *tigi* instrument"); Démare-Lafont, 2016–2017: 50 ("the asila, the tigi") and George and Spada, 2019: 117 ("*asila, tigi*, and *adab* instruments"). Michalowski, 2010a: 204 ("*the skill of playing* the tigidla, asila, tigi, and adab instruments/songs") and Ziegler, 2017: 38 ("la musique de la lyre-*tigidla*, de l'instrument-*asila*, les chants (accompagnés de) l'instrument-*tigi*, des (chants)-*adab*") supposed a long genitive **<nam>.nar … a.da.b + ak** [GEN] + **ø** [ABS]. However, since **^{ŋeš}tigidla$_x$** already ends in "a", we might suppose two genitives: **<nam>.nar ^{ŋeš}tigidla + a(k)** [GEN] + **ø** [ABS] and **asila$_3$.l tige$_x$ a.da.b + a(k)** [GEN] + **ø** [ABS].

[604] See Jaques, 2006: 35–38 for textual evidence and an etymological origin.

[605] Geller, 2003: 109 ("seven times"); Shehata, 2009: 112 ("sieben Male"); Démare-Lafont, 2016–2017: 50 ("seven times"); Ziegler, 2017: 38 ("sept fois").

[606] Michalowski, 2010a: 204 ("*to the seventh degree*"; followed by George and Spada, 2019: 117).

[607] ePSD ("times (with numbers)"); Attinger, 2019d: 4 ("fois").

damaging the voice makes sense to us. Certainly, doing that action without previous training might be harmful for a long-term musical career.

- The $^{\text{geš}}$**tigidla$_x$**: Nele Ziegler identified this term with a type of lyre[608]. However, its logographic writing (ŠAG$_4$.MIN$_3$.<DI/TAR>) suggests to us that we have a sound-box (ŠAG$_4$ = **šag$_4$**, "interior") traversed (TAR = **tar**, "to cut")[609] by two strings (MIN$_3$, a writing variation of MIN = **min**, "two"). Certainly, Egyptian lutes (which came from Mesopotamia) had only two strings[610]. This identification of the $^{\text{geš}}$**tigidla$_x$** seems to be confirmed by the three lexical specializations of that term: $^{\text{geš}}$**tigidla sa eš$_5$** ("three-stringed $^{\text{geš}}$**tigidla**")[611], $^{\text{geš}}$**tigidla elam-ma** ("$^{\text{geš}}$**tigidla** of Elam")[612] and $^{\text{geš}}$**tigidla kaskal-la** ("$^{\text{geš}}$**tigidla** of the way")[613]. Furthermore, another literary text might suggest a neck ($^{\text{geš}}$**kul**, "shaft") like the one of a lute for a **tigidla$_x$**(DI.TAR))[614].

This last term, $^{\text{geš}}$**tigidla$_x$**, is mentioned here together with a **nar** normally understood as <**nam**>-**nar** in previous editions[615] and translations[616] of this text. While <**nam**>-**nar** may be explained as one of the mistakes of the young scribe authoring this text, the supposition of a reference to **nar** implies a search for several non-existent words in this text[617]. There have been several previous translations for this <**nam**>-**nar**:

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[608] Ziegler, 2017: 38 ("la lyre-*tigidla*"). Other editions left it unidentified (Geller, 2003: 109; Shehata, 2009: 112; Michalowski, 2010a: 204; Démare-Lafont, 2016–2017: 50; George and Spada, 2019: 117).

[609] Civil, 1987b; Krispijn, 2010b: 148.

[610] Turnbull, 1972: 63; Manniche, 1988: 194; von Lieven, 2008: 155; Eichmann, 2011: 25; Emerit, 2013: 3; Köpp-Junk, 2018: 95.

[611] In light of our previous considerations, this instrument would have an extra, third string. Therefore, it would make sense to have a recognized identification for that variety of $^{\text{geš}}$**tigidla**.

[612] This speciality makes sense with the lute players depicted in several Old and Middle Elamite clay plaques. See Krispijn, 2011: 116–117 and Caubet, 2016: 37–40 for reference. In addition, see Ziegler, 1996: 479–480 [M. 8426+9046], o. 6' (original publication) for a *tikkittalû* female player together with another one of the *paraḫšītum* instrument, which comes from Marḫaši, an Iranian region.

[613] See Krispijn, 2011: 116 for the itinerant lute players of the Old Babylonian clay plaques

[614] *Proverbs* 5.124 (Michalowski, 2010a: 224).

[615] Michalowski, 2010a: 204 ("<nam$^?$>-nar").

[616] Geller, 2003: 109 ("singing"); Shehata, 2009: 112 ("die Musik"); Démare-Lafont, 2016–2017: 50 ("singing"); Ziegler, 2017: 38 ("la musique").

[617] Like George and Spada, 2019: 117 ("teach (his son to be) a musician (playing)").

- Something like "(profession) of the **nar**"[618]. This translation does not recognize that, in Old Babylonian times, the ^{ŋeš}**tigidla** seems to not be played by the **nar**[619]. On the one hand, a **ke-ze₂-er** uses a ^{ŋeš}**tigidla**(DI.TAR) in a literary text[620]. On the other hand, a letter from Mari has *ša* **munus** *ti-in-ki₂-ta-al-lim* ("of the woman of the *tikkittallû* instrument") after a reference to a group of *nārtu* musicians[621]. If that letter mentioned a *nārtu* musician of the *tikkittallû* instrument, we would expect just *ša ti-in-ki₂-ta-al-lim*. The *nārtu* musicians of this text are certainly referred as "these (= *an-ne₂-tim*) musicians". Therefore, we believe that the **nar** would not usually play such an instrument, and a reference to its profession would not be logical in this context.

- "Skill of playing"[622]. This translation requires the term **e-ne-di** ("play") sometimes used with instruments[623], or the verb **du₁₂** ("to play (an instrument)")[624].

- "Singing"[625]. This translation is also not suitable in this context, since <**nam**>-**nar** refers to an instrument (the ^{ŋeš}**tigidla**ₓ), and not a group of songs.

In this sense, we would agree with those having translated <**nam**>-**nar** as "music"[626]. Such a translation would imply that **nam-nar** could have a similar meaning to our "music" as an organized group of sounds with a certain artistic aim. That translation seems to be probable in light of the text *Šulgi B*, 157 to be considered below.

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[618] Geller, 2003: 109 ("singing"); Démare-Lafont, 2016–2017: 50 ("singing").

[619] This situation would come from the 3rd Dynasty of Ur, where the player of this instrument was simply known as **lu₂** ^{ŋeš}**tigidla**. For reference, see UET 3 15 [U. 4864 (IM envelope) + U. 7002 (BM tablet)] (Šulgi 47-00-00), o. 8 (BDTNS 010320); PDT 2 1120 [Ist. PD ---] (Amar-Suena 04-02-02), o. 7 (BDTNS 031251); UDT 97 [NBC 97] (Amar-Suena 04-09-19), r. 21 (BDTNS 005482).

[620] *The Slave and the Scoundrel*, 24 (Shehata, 2007: 523). See Shehata, 2009: 103 for additional comments on this excerpt.

[621] Ziegler, 1996: 479–480 [M.8426+9046], o. 5'–6' (Archibab T4845).

[622] Shehata, 2009: 112 ("die Musik"); Ziegler, 2017: 38 ("la musique").

[623] *Cursing of Agade*, 35 (ETCSL 2.1.5).

[624] ePSD; Attinger, 2019d: 44.

[625] Michalowski, 2010a: 204 ("*the skill of playing*").

[626] George and Spada, 2019: 117 ("a musician").

3.2.2.2.   A text about the construction of an instrument?

We are now going to deal with an excerpt of a very badly preserved, 12-columned tablet from Isin with different model legal texts[627]. Among these texts, we have a marriage contract with a parity divorce clause with waivers, custody clauses, and oath formula[628]. We have also an apprenticeship contract about the profession of the cook (**nam-muḫaldim**)[629] and this following contract involving the term **nam-nar**[630]:

Text 13. Wilcke, 1987: 106–107 [IB 1515a + 1515b + 1534][631]

r. iii 1'	[…]
r. iii 2'	[…]
r. iii 3'	[…] ˹x˺
r. iii 4'	[…] ˹x˺-**ra**
r. iii 5'	˹x˺ [… -**b**]**al**
r. iii 6'	**tukum-b**[**e₂** (x)] ˹x˺
r. iii 7'	ᵐ˹e₂˺-a-re-˹ṣu₂˺-šu
r. iii 8'	˹x˺-**ĐEŠ-lu₂-kam šeš šu du₈-a-ne₂**
r. iii 9'	**gu₂-ne₂ ba-ra-an-šub**
r. iii 10'	**a₂**ˀ **kalag-<ga>**[632] **nam-nar-r**[**a**]
r. iii 11'	**nu-mu-na-an-du₃**ˀ
r. iii 12'	**2/3 giŋ₄ ku₃-babbar**
r. iii 13'	KA **la-ba-**KAˀ.NIˀ-˹x˺
r. iii 14'	**šu-ta**(?) **ba-ab-**˹x x˺
r. iii 15'	**nam-nar-ra in-ne-d**[**a-x**]
r. iii 16'	**ku₃ šu ba-ab-te-ŋa₂**
r. iii 17'	ᵐ**gub-ba-ne₂-dug₃ ad-da-ne₂**
r. iii 18'	**kišib-ba-ne₂ in-na-an-taka₄**
r. iii 19'	**mu lugal-bi in-pad₃**

r. iii 1'–5' […] r. iii 6' i[f …] r. iii 7' Ea-rēṣušu r. iii 9' neglected r. iii 8' […] his captive brother, r. iii 10–11' he did not made the strong arm (?) o[f] the music for him. r. iii 13' […] r. iii 16' accepted r. iii 12' 2/3 of a silver shekel r. iii 14' from the hand of […] r. iii 15' for the music […]. r. iii 17' Gubbane-dug, his father, r. iii 18' left behind his seal (and) r. iii 19' swore that by the king.

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[627] See Wilcke, 1987: 104–105 for contents and their distribution in the tablet.

[628] Stol, 2016: 213.

[629] Waetzoldt, 1989: 33; Volk, 2011: 279.

[630] See Wilcke, 1987: 104; Waetzoldt, 1989: 33; Volk, 1994: 185 n. 50; Volk, 2006: 22 n. 52; Shehata, 2009: 113–114, 152 and Michalowski, 2010a: 205 n. 13 for previous comments, but no translation. We have tried to be as literal as possible in our translation of this text.

[631] Edition dependent upon Wilcke, 1987: 104–105 and Shehata, 2009: 114 n. 613. Unfortunately, there is no copy/photo of this manuscript available for consultation.

[632] Wilcke, 1987: 105 has "DA.KALAG" (followed by Shehata, 2009: 114 n. 613). As far as we know, there is no Sumerian word with DA and KAL(AG). However, keeping in mind the similarities between A₂ and DA, we might have **a₂ kalag**, a possible musical element as we describe *infra*. We would expect **a₂ kalag-ga** (like in *Winter and Summer*, 165, 261; ETCSL 5.3.3), but this might be a scribal mistake.

The term **nam-nar** has normally been understood in this excerpt as a learned profession[633]. However, it has also been suggested that it is a (temple) prebend[634]. Both interpretations are problematic in our opinion. On the one hand, unlike the apprenticeship contract about the profession of the cook (**nam-muḫaldim**) mentioned in the same text, we do not find any reference to the verb **zu** ("to learn") in this case[635]. On the other hand, it is true that **nam-nar du₃** might be understood as "to perform the profession of the **nar**". Certainly, **du₃** is lexically equated with *epēšum* ("to do/perform")[636]. This term is sometimes used with *nārūtum* for making reference to the performance of an office[637]. Nevertheless, in those cases we normally have **ak**[638] (also equated with *epēšum*)[639].

In addition to these considerations, we should keep in mind that we have **nam-nar-ra**, that is, **nam-nar** and a case marker. In r. iii 15' that case marker seems to be a locative according to the context (**in-ne-d[a**-x] seems to be a verbal form). However, in r. iii 10' **nam-nar** seems to have a GEN {ak} since it is placed after what we have read as **a₂**[?] **kalag**. The complete chain (**a₂**[?] **kalag-<ga> nam-nar-r[a]**, literally "strong arm of the music") might designate a musical element, perhaps the neck of a lute. In fact, the neck of the **ᵍᵉˢšu-kar₂** lute is called **a₂** (literally "arm")[640]. In addition, **du₃**, the verb modifying that chain, also means "to build" or "to erect"[641]. In this context, it might refer to the construction of the neck of a lute. Certainly, the Akkadian *epēšum* is used sometimes for the construction of musical instruments[642].

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[633] Wilcke, 1987: 104 ("Lehrvetrag über Gesangskunst"); Waetzoldt, 1989: 33 ("die Ausbildung zum Koch oder Sänger"); Volk, 1994: 185 referred to this text as one of our Old Babylonian contracts regulating the training of a young musician with a master; Volk, 2006: 22 n. 52 ("einem altbabylonischen Lehrvertrag, der die Ausbildung eines Jungmusikers regelt"); Shehata, 2009: 113 ("Lehrvertrag über Musik"); Volk, 2011: 279 ("Eine Ausbildung zum Koch/Bäcker bzw. Hymnoden").

[634] Michalowski, 2010a: 205 ("office or prebend rather than musical apprenticeship").

[635] Wilcke, 1987: 106–107 [IB 1515a + 1515b + 1534], r. ii' 9.

[636] *Karpeles 1*, CUSAS 12 13 [PAS 27], r. i 25 (DCCLT).

[637] ARM 1 78 (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), r. 4–5; FM 9 27 [M.13050] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), r. 2–4 (see *infra* for our editions of these texts).

[638] Attinger, 2005: 209.

[639] **Lu₂-azlag₂** B–C, Segment 2, 167 (DCCLT Q000302).

[640] *Šulgi B*, 159 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

[641] ePSD; Attinger, 2019d: 34.

[642] For instance, FM 9 11 [ARM 13 20] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), r. 1–4 (Archibab T6571).

Therefore, we would translate **nam-nar** here as "music" according to our hypothesis about **a₂$^?$ kalag-<ga>**. In any case, everything should be seen as hypothetical in light of the preservation of this text and our sources for accessing its content.

3.2.3. Elementary literary texts

We arrive finally at the last step in the elementary curriculum: the proverbs. These texts were an introduction to the Sumerian literary texts to be studied in depth in the second (and elective) part of the scribal curriculum[643]. In any case, they were useful for their moral lessons[644]. There is a reference to **nam-nar** in one of these proverbs:

Text 14. *Proverbs* 3.150[645]

1   **eridu^{ki} ḫe₂-ŋal₂-la du₃-a-ba ^{ugu}ugu₄-bi**

N$_{I-H}$	r. vii 8'	**eridu ^{ki}**	**ḫe₂ -ŋal₂-˹la˺**	**du₃ -a -ba**	**^{ugu} ugu₄ -bi** /
N$_{I-X}$	o. iv 23–24	**˹eridu ^{ki}**	**ḫe₂˺-ŋal₂ -la**	**[du₃]-a -ba** /	**˹ugu˺ugu₄-˹bi˺**
N$_{U-JJ}$	o. 3'	**˹eridu˺$^{[k]i}$**	**ḫe₂ -ŋal₂ -la**	**du₃ -a**	**˹ugu˺ ugu₄ -bi**

2   **e₂ nar <gal>-la-ka igi-la₂-bi ba-tuš**

N$_{I-H}$	r. vii 9'	**e₂**	**nar <gal>-˹la-kam˺**	**igi-˹tum₃˺-la₂**	**al -˹tuš˺**
N$_{I-X}$	o. iv 24–25	**˹e₂**	**nar˺ -ra-ka** /	**˹igi˺ -la₂ -bi**	**˹ba˺ -tuš**
N$_{U-JJ}$	o. 4'	**e₂**	**na[m]-nar -ra-ka**	**˹igi -la₂˺-bi**	**ba -[tu]š**

1   In its (city of) Eridu, built in abundance, the monkey
2   is seated with an eager look inside the house of the chief musician.

Sigla[646]

N$_{I-H}$	Alster, 1997: pl. 22 [Ni 3172][647] + ISET 2 100–101 + 103 + 120 [Ist. Ni 4444f. + 4457 + 9644] (publication copy).
N$_{I-X}$	Alster, 1997: pl. 31 [IM 58434] (publication photo)
N$_{U-JJ}$	ISET 1 168 [Ist. Ni 9493] (publication copy)

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[643] EEN, p. 63–64; Veldhuis, 2000: 383–386.

[644] Pearce, 1996: 2271; Veldhuis, 2000: 385.

[645] Our own edition in "real score" keeping in mind the variants of Alster, 1997: 106. We have corrected Alster's transliterations through the inspection of the copies/photos of the manuscripts indicated below.

[646] They follow Alster, 1997: 76–78, but we put an N (= Nippur) for their provenance and, since they belong to Nippur, we put also an I (= Type I) or U (= Uncertain). This procedure is more common in lexical texts, but it tries to follow Paul Delnero's procedure for literary texts, and we shall use it in all our following literary texts. See Delnero, 2006: 1857–2473 for examples, and Delnero, 2010: 54 for argumentation.

[647] Not collated since our excerpt is actually contained in the join ISET 2 101 [Ist. Ni 4457].

In this text, we have a mention of the expression **e₂ nam-nar-ra** (literally "house of music"). This expression, which will appear in *Ur-Namma A,* 187–188 (a text to be commented on in the next chapter) is a variant in the second line of this text together with **e₂ nar-ra** ("house of the **nar**") and **e₂ nar <gal>-la** ("house of the chief musician"). *A priori*, **e₂ nam-nar-ra** might be understood as a reference to the house of a musician[648]. However, we have two reasons for dismissing that identification.

On the one hand, in addition to other writing mistakes, signs E₂ (= **e₂**) and NUN (= **eridu**) are identical in manuscript N_U-JJ,. That makes sense keeping in mind that this text might have been copied by a young scribe who, perhaps, still had some problems with Sumerian. In this case, such mistake invite us to read ***nun na[m]-nar-ra** instead of **e₂ˈ na[m]-nar-ra**. On the other hand, the scene described in this text is similar to the one from *"Monkey" to his mother*[649]. In that text, the student Ugubi (ᵘᵍᵘ**ugu₄-bi** = "monkey") complains about his miserable life in Eridu, where he lives and learns music with the chief musician (**nar gal**) of said city[650].

Therefore, for *Proverbs* 3.150, 2, we should select **e₂ nar gal-la** or **e₂ nar-ra** for a composite line of that text. The variant **e₂ nar-ra** has usually been preferred[651]. Certainly, from a grammatical perspective, manuscript N_I-X is the best written variant of the three of this text. However, in this case, we prefer to sacrifice the grammar and to place an **e₂ nar <gal>-la** in order to reinforce the noted parallels of this text with *"Monkey" to his mother*. In addition, as we shall comment on later, the **nar gal** could act as a music teacher or musical organizer, but never as a performer.

3.3. Legal Texts

3.3.1. Introduction

The following pages will be a study of the presence of the term **nam-nar** in some legal texts from the Isin and Larsa Dynasties. We shall normally be constrained here to

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[648] Taylor, 2005: 29 translated **nam-nar** as "singers" (therefore, **e₂ nam-nar-ra** as "house of the singers"). However, we would have expected in the text something like **e₂ nar-e-ne-ka**.

[649] *"Monkey" to his mother*, 6 (Kleinerman, 2011: 158 and 278).

[650] Ziegler, 2013: 55; Pruzsinszky, 2016: 26–27.

[651] Alster, 1997: 106; ETCSL 6.1.03 and Shehata, 2009: 35.

translate **nam-nar** as "office of the **nar**". The reason is that **nam-nar** is usually mentioned with the name of the deity whom that musician served with music.

3.3.2. About musicians and anointed priests

We shall study some texts from the first conflict between Dudu-Kalla and Lugal-gabari-nutuku and their families due to the (supposed) irregularities in the distribution of the temple prebends of their father, the **nar** Lu-Ninurta I[652]. These prebends, or positions, concerned the office of the **nar**, but also the **gudu₄** priest[653] as in this case:

Text 15. ARN 4 [Ist. Ni 9201] (Būr-Sîn 00-12-10)[654]

o. ii 1"	ᵈ⸢n⸣[in?-…]
o. ii 2"	ᵈ⸢ni⸣[n?…]
o. ii 3"	ᵈin[anna? …]
o. ii 4"	ḫa-la-ba d[u-du-kal-la]
o. ii 5"	ibila-n[e-ne]
o. ii 6"	šu ba-an-[ti-eš]
o. ii 7"	1 nam-[nar][655]
o. ii 8"	ᵈnin-nibru[ki]
o. ii 9"	u₃ e₂ ᵈina[nna]
o. ii 10"	gudu₄ keše₂[656]-d[a ᵈnin-urta]
o. ii 11"	ᵈnin-ni[bruki(?)]
o. ii 12"	šu-ri-⸢a⸣-[be₂]
o. ii 13"	ᵈnin-⸢x⸣ […]
o. ii 14"	ᵈ[…]

o. ii 1–3" […] o. ii 5" The he[irs] o. ii 6" have [accepted] o. ii 4" the inheritance share of Dudu-Kalla: o. ii 12" the half [of] o. ii 7" the condition of **nar** o. ii 8" of Ninnibru, o. ii 9" and the temple of Inanna, o. ii 10" (in addition to) the (condition of the) "attached" **gudu₄** anointed priest of Ninurta o. ii 11" and Ninni[bru]. o. ii 13-14" […]

The process reflected in this document has some supplementary texts where the offices of the **nar** and **gudu₄** anointed priest are also mentioned. Here is one of those

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[652] See Kraus, 1951: 187–208 and Shehata, 2009: 162–164, 172 for references and descriptions of the complete legal/administrative process.

[653] For the functions of this priest, see Renger, 1969: 162; Hutter, 1996: 88.

[654] Edition dependent on Archibab "Renger Corpus Berlin" with modifications derived from the inspection of the handwritten copy from the original publication.

[655] Reconstruction as [**nar**] is possible in this context due to the condition of Lu-Ninurta I as **nar**.

[656] Renger, 1969: 162 read "gudu₄ šìr-da". However, sign EZEN/ŠER₃/KEŠDA (according to aBZL 152a-c, there are three subtypes of a similar sign in Old Babylonian times; what we see in the handwritten copy is more similar to KEŠDA) has normally been read as **keše₂**. See Kraus, 1951: 205; Shehata, 2009: 17–18, 57 n. 287, 173; Archibab "Renger Corpus Berlin", p. 11 for discussion.

supplementary texts. In this case, the **gudu₄** priest appears in the last inheritance share of the three mentioned here:

Text 16. ARN 58 [Ist. Ni 2182] (Būr-Sîn 00-00-00)[657]

o. 1	[**nam-nar**] ᵈ[**en-ki** *u₃* ᵈ**asal-lu₂-ḫi igi-3-ŋal₂-bi-še₃**]
o. 2	[x x] ⸢ᵈ⸣[658] ⸢x x x⸣[659]
o. 3	[**nam**]-**nar**? ᵈ**lugal-ban₃-**⸢**da mu-am₃**⸣ [**itu**]**d.**[**6**]
o. 4	⸢ᵈ⸣**i-šum** ⸢*ša* x x x⸣
o. 5	⸢ᵈ⸣**nin-si₄-an-**⸢**na**⸣ **ba-la-a**
o. 6	[ᵈ]**nin-maš-ku₃-ga**
o. 7	[ᵈ]**gu₂-**⸢**a₂-nun**?⸣**-ge₄-a**
o. 8	[ᵈ]⸢**šul**⸣**-pa-e₃-**⸢**a**⸣**-dar-a igi-3-ŋal₂-bi-**⸢**še₃**⸣
o. 9	**ḫa-la-ba-1-am₃**
o. 10	[**nam**]-⸢**nar**⸣ ᵈ**en-ki** ⸢*u₃*⸣ ᵈ**asal-lu₂-ḫi igi-3-ŋal₂-bi-še₃**
o. 11	⸢**nam**?⸣**-nar** ᵈ⸢**lugal**⸣**-ban₃-da** ⸢**mu**¡⸣**-am₃ itud-6**
o. 12	ᵈ⸢**lugal**⸣**-tilla**
o. 13	ᵈ**gibil**
o. 14	ᵈ**šul-pa-e₃-a** *ša*⁽?⁾ <**e₂**>**-sa₂-dug₄**
o. 15	[x x l]**u ak UM BI TUM**
o. 16	⸢ᵈ**šul**⸣**-pa-e₃-dar-a igi-3-ŋal₂-bi-**[**še₃**]
o. 17	⸢ᵈ⸣**igi-šag₅-šag₅**
lo. e	⸢**ḫa**⸣**-la-ba-2-am₃**
r. 1	⸢**nam**⸣**-nar** ᵈ⸢**en-ki**⸣ *u₃* ᵈ**asal-lu₂-ḫi igi-3-**⸢**ŋal₂**⸣**-bi-še₃**
r. 2	[x] **gudu₄(?) ta du₇ SAḪAR-ra**
r. 3	[ᵈ]**li-si₄**
r. 4	[ᵈ]**mar-tu a-KU GAN₂-nun-ti**
r. 5	[ᵈ]**nin-PA**
r. 6	[ᵈ]**i-šum** *ša* ᵈ**nin-urta-***ba-ni*
r. 7	[ᵈ]**gu-la**
r. 8	[ᵈ]**ir**?**-da**
r. 9	[ᵈ**šul-p**]**a-e₃-**⸢**dar-a**⸣ **i**[**gi**]**-3**?**-**[**ŋal₂-bi-še₃**]
r. 10	[**ḫa-l**]**a-b**[**a**] ⸢**3**⸣**-**[**am₃**]

ᵒ·⁹ First inheritance share is ᵒ·¹ [the condition of **nar** of Enki and Asalluḫi in one third], ᵒ·²· […] ᵒ·³ [the condition of] **nar** of Lugalbanda this year (for) [six mont]hs, ᵒ·⁴ (the condition of **nar** of) Išum of […], ᵒ·⁵ of Ninsi'anna in the libation, ᵒ·⁶ of Ninmaškuga, ᵒ·⁷ of Guanungia, ᵒ·⁸ (and) one third of (the condition of **nar** of) Šulpa'eadara.

ˡᵒ·ᵉ· Second inheritance share is ᵒ·¹⁰ [the condition of] **nar** of Enki and Asalluḫi in one third, ᵒ·¹¹ the condition of **nar** of Lugalbanda this year for six months, ᵒ·¹²· (the condition of **nar** of) Lugal-tilla, ᵒ·¹³ Gibil, ᵒ·¹⁴ Šulpae'a of the Esadug, ᵒ·¹⁵ […] ᵒ·¹⁶ Šulpa'eadara [in] one third ᵒ·¹⁷ (and) Igišagšag.

ʳ·¹⁰ Third [inheritance share is] ʳ·¹ the condition of **nar** of Enki and Asalluḫi in one third, ʳ·² […] the **gudu₄** priest […],ʳ·³ Lisi(n), ʳ·⁴ Martu […], ʳ·⁵ NinPA, ʳ·⁶ Išum of Ninurta-Bāni, ʳ·⁷ Gula, ʳ·⁸ Irda ʳ·⁹ (and) Šulpa'eadara [in one third].

This supplementary document for the administrative process we are commenting on does not contain any reference to the **gudu₄** priest. However, perhaps that profession was mentioned as a part of the original context of the text in light of our previous comments:

Text 17. Kraus, 1951: 200–201 [Ist. Ni 2181] (Būr-Sîn 00-00-00)[660]

o. 1'	[… k]ug-g[a$^{(?)}$]
o. 2'	[…]-e₃-a DAR-**a**
o. 3'	[… ḫ]a-la-ba-1-a[m₃]
o. 4'	n[am-n]a[r] ^{d}en˹-ki$_3$ ^{d}asal-l[u₂-ḫi …]
o. 5'	nam-nar ^{d}lugal-ban₃-da igi-3-ŋ[al₂ …]
o. 6'	˹zag ta˺ EŠ ^{d}nin-e₂-dar-a
o. 7'	[…] igi-3-ŋal₂-bi-še₃
o. 8'	˹^{d}li˺-si₄
o. 9'	^{d}nin-PA
o. 10'	^{d}˹igi˺-šag₅-˹šag₅˺

$^{o.\,1'}$ [… Nink]ugg[a], $^{o.\,2'}$ [… Šulpa]'eadara, $^{o.\,3'}$ […] i[s] one [in]heritance share.

$^{o.\,4'}$ The co[ndition of **n**]a[r] of Enki and Asal-l[uḫi…], $^{o.\,5'}$ one third of the condition of **nar** of Lugal-banda, $^{o.\,6'}$ from the side […] Ninedara, $^{o.\,7'}$ one third of […] $^{o.\,8'}$ Lisi, $^{o.\,9'}$ NinPA $^{o.\,10'}$ (and) Igišagšag. [… is one inheritance share].

The previously discussed texts concern the inheritance of several temple prebends. In this sense, connections between **nar** and **gudu₄** priests might just have an economic origin as two rentable incomes. However, Lu-Ninurta I was a **nar**[661] and, therefore, very probably had to perform music for the deities as indicated in our Texts 15–17. As a consequence of that, we suppose that he also sometimes had to act as a **gudu₄** priest or, at least, to participate in some rituals performed by this type of priest. We suppose the same concerning his sons (also musicians)[662].

However, how that was possible? What things were in common in the professions of the **nar** and **gudu₄** priest? In order to answer that question, we should keep in mind that **gudu₄** priests performed bloodless rituals like offerings to the dead[663] or lustrations[664]. In

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[660] Edition dependent upon Kraus, 1951: 200–201 with corrections derived from our inspection of the handwritten copy of Kraus, 1951: 185.

[661] Shehata, 2009: 169–170 n. 955, 172–173.

[662] Shehata, 2009: 170 n. 955, 174. Because of that we prefer the translation of **nam-nar** in these texts by Kraus, 1951: 205 ("die Sängerstelle") instead of Sommerfeld, 1972: 13 ("Sängerpfründen") or Shehata, 2009: 173 ("(die) nar-Pfründen"). In our opinion, the idea of "position" reflects better the duties of this people in addition to the prebendary benefices, beneficies whose existence we are not negating for this case.

[663] Renger, 1969: 162; Hutter, 1996: 88.

[664] *Enlil A*, 58 (Attinger, 2015: 21); *Grain and Sheep*, 110–112 (Mittermayer, 2019: 200).

this sense, in order to remain pure for those rituals, they used to smear their bodies with oil[665]. Certainly, the performance of some musical activities in those rituals might have been common because some instruments[666], songs[667], even intervals[668] (and possibly musicians[669]) were also considered to be "pure" in Old Babylonian texts.

Therefore, musical agents could share the same purity as that required for the **gudu₄** priests. In this sense, **nar** and **gudu₄** priests could take part in the same rituals and, as a consequence, their prebends could be easily inherited/assumed by the same person despite the differences between both professions.

3.3.3.   Some comments about several recently published texts

3.3.3.1.   Introduction

The publication in 2016 of the Old Babylonian legal texts from Nippur conserved in the *Hilprecht Sammlung* has provided several new legal texts about prebends from Nippur with the term **nam-nar**[670]. Their information is certainly relevant for the understanding of **nam-nar** (again referred to the office of the **nar**, and not "music" *lato sensu*[671]) in this type of texts. Nevertheless, because of their still recent publication, they have not yet been fully analysed regarding their musical information[672]. In consequence, we shall consider them in the following pages.

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[665] Renger, 1969: 161; Steinkeller, 2017: 86–87.

[666] *Enki's journey to Nippur*, 66 (Ceccarelli, 2012: 95) (ᵍᵉˢ**al-ŋar** instrument); *Iddin-Dagān A*, 35–43 (Attinger, 2014a: 18) (ᵍᵉˢ**al-ŋar**, **ub₇, li-li-is₃** and **balaŋ** instruments); *Inanna and Enki*, II vi 24 (Farber-Flüge, 1973: 60) (about the **tige₂** drum); *Šulgi C*, B 90 (ETCSL 2.4.2.03) (about the **balaŋ** drum).

[667] We think especially about the **ser₃ ku₃** ("the pure **ser₃** song"). See Shehata, 2009: 266–268 for a description and reference to many Old Babylonian sources for this type of song.

[668] UET 7 74 [U. 7/80], o. 4–7 (Krispijn, 2002: 472).

[669] ARM 10 126 (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), lo. e. 1–r. 1 (Archibab T8687) talks about a group of 30 weavers destined for the Subarean ensemble (*šitrum*) who could have no defects on their bodies. Nevertheless, this "purity" obviously referred to their physical beauty. See Ziegler, 2015: 203 for comments.

[670] TMH 10, p. 3–4.

[671] TMH 10, p. 495 ("office of the musician").

[672] Some of them have been considered to be part of the purchase activities of their main protagonist, Ur-Pabilsaŋ (van Wyk, 2018: 18). However, there is no specific reference to music in those studies.

3.3.3.2.   Musicians and **bur-šu-ma** officials

The following text concerns the activities of Ur-Pabilsaŋ, the youngest son of the **nar** Ubārum[673]. When his father died, Ur-Pabilsaŋ will buy a field and temple offices in Nippur with the purpose of rivaling his brothers[674]. Our Text 18 is an example of those purchases involving the office of the **nar**. This Text 18 dates before the texts 19a and b published by Anne Godderis and to be commented here in a moment. Here is said text:

Text 18. ARN 35 [Ist. Ni 1922] (Rīm-Sîn I 37-10-00)[675]

o. 1   **nam-nar ᵈlugal-ˊabˋ-{ta}-a**[676]
o. 2   *u₃* **ᵈmar-tu niŋ₂** *ša-am-na-am a-ku-ul*[677]
o. 3   **nam-nar ŋir₃-ne₂-i₃-sa₃ dumu ᵈsuen**-*iš-me-ni*
o. 4   **ki ŋir₃-ne₂-i₃-sa₃ dumu ᵈsuen**-*iš-me-ni*
o. 5   **ᵐur-ᵈpa-bil₂-saŋ-ke₄ dumu** *u-bar-ru-um*
o. 6   **in-ši-in-sa₁₀**
o. 7   **šam₂-til-la-bi-še₃**
o. 8   **2/3 gin₂ ku₃-babbar**
o. 9   **in-na-an-la₂**
o. 10   **u₄-kur₂-še₃ ŋir₃-ne₂-i₃-sa₃**
o. 11   **u₃ ibila-a-ˊne₂ a-na-meˋ-a-bi**
r. 1   **inim nu-um-ŋa₂-ŋa₂-a**
r. 2   **mu ˊlugalˋ-bi in-pad₃**

[o. 5] Ur-Pabilsaŋ, son of Ubārum, [o. 6] has bought [o. 4] (that) from Ŋirne-Isa, son of Sîn-išmēni: [o. 1] the condition of **nar** of Lugal-a'abba [o. 2] and Martu, property of […], [o. 3] the condition of **nar** belonging to Ŋirne-Isa, son of Sîn-išmēni. [o. 9] He (= Ur-Pabilsaŋ) has paid to him (= Ŋirne-Isa) [o. 8] 2/3 shekels of silver [o. 7] in total, and [r. 2] he (= Ŋirne-Isa) has sworn by the king's name that, [o. 10] in the future, Ŋirne-Isa, [o. 11] or his heirs, [r. 1] will not make a claim [o. 11] about all that.

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[673] Renger, 1969: 185.

[674] Stone and Owen, 1991: 11, 14–15, 18; TMH 10, p. 361, 365.

[675] Edition dependent upon Archibab "Renger Corpus Berlin" with corrections derived from our inspection of the handwritten copy in the original publication.

[676] We follow Richter, 1999: 115. Shehata, 2009: 170 has Lugal-abta, a wholly unattested deity. We recommend the consultation of Richter, 1999 for all the divine names appearing in these legal texts, divine names whose nature and identification are unfortunately a bit far from the aim of this study.

[677] Our reading of the line combines the readings from Kraus, 1951: 143 and Archibab "Renger Corpus Berlin". We agree with Renger that the first sign of this line should be read **niŋ₂** ("thing", "property") since it describes that these temple conditions belong to someone. However, the Akkadian *ša* is incompatible with **niŋ₂** because it has the same function as relative pronouns. In the same way, we prefer the reading of the rest of the signs by Fritz Kraus, especially the sign GU₄×KUR (= **am**). Certainly, the interior of the sign we can read on ARN 35 has three *Winkelhaken*. These three *Winkelhaken* may be a sign KUR. In any case, the meaning of this line still remains unclear to us.

Here is one of the texts published by Anne Goddeeris involving the term **nam-nar**:

Text 19a. TMH 10 58a [HS 2072]
(Rīm-Sîn I 54-01-00)[678]

o. 1	˹nam˺-nar ᵈlugal-˹ir₉˺-ra
	niŋ₂ ud-da-da
o. 2	<nam-nar> ᵈiškur
	niŋ₂ ḫa-bi-il-˹ki˺-nu-um
o. 3	˹u₃˺ bur-šu-ma tur₃-ra-na
o. 4	˹a˺-na me-a-bi
o. 5	ki ku₃-ᵈnin-gal dumu *ib-ni-ia*
o. 6	ᵐur-ᵈpa-bil₂-saŋ-ŋa₂
	dumu *u-bar-ru-um*
o. 7	in-ši-in-˹sa₁₀˺
o. 8	šam₂ til-la-bi-˹še₃˺
o. 9	˹1/3˺ giŋ₄ 15 še ku₃-babbar
r. 1	in-na-an-la₂
r. 2	u₄ kur₂-še₃ ku₃-ᵈnin-gal
r. 3	˹u₃˺ ibila-a-ne₂ a-na-me-a-bi
r. 4	nam-nar inim nu-um-ŋa₂-ŋa₂-a
r. 5	˹mu˺ lugal-bi in-pad₃

Text 19b. TMH 10 58b [HS 2116]
(Rīm-Sîn I 54-01- 00)[679]

o. 1	nam-nar ᵈlugal-ir₉-ra
o. 2	niŋ₂ ud-da-da
o. 3	nam-nar ᵈ˹iškur˺
o. 4	niŋ ḫa-bi-il-ki-nu-um
o. 5	u₃ bur-šu-ma tur₃-˹ra˺-na
o. 6	a-na me-a-bi
o. 7	ki ˹ku₃˺-ᵈ˹nin˺-gal dumu *ib-ni-ia*
o. 8	ᵐur-ᵈpa-bil₂-saŋ-˹ŋa₂˺
	dumu *u-bar-ru-um*
o. 9	in-˹ši˺-in-sa₁₀
o. 10	šam₂ til-la-˹bi˺-še₃
o. 11	1/3 giŋ₄ 15 ˹še ku₃-babbar˺
r. 1	in-˹na˺-an-la₂
r. 2	u₄ ku[r₂-š]e₃ ˹ku₃˺-ᵈnin-gal
r. 3	u₃ ibil[a]-˹a˺-ne₂ a-na-me-a-bi
r. 4	nam-nar ini[m] nu-um-ŋa₂-ŋa₂-a
r. 5	mu lugal-bi in-˹pad₃˺

o. 6 / o. 8 [680] Ur-Pabilsaŋ, son of Ubārum, o. 7 / o. 9 has bought o. 4 / o. 6 all these things o. 5 / o. 7 from Ku-Ningal, son of Ibnīya: o. 1 / o. 1-2 the condition of the **nar** of Lugal-Irra belonging to Udada, and o. 2 / o. 3-4 the condition of the **nar** of Iškur belonging to Ḫabil-Kinum o. 3 / o. 5 in addition to the condition of the **bur-šu-ma** of his courtyard.

r. 1 / r. 1 He (= Ur-Pabilsaŋ) has paid to him (= Ku-Ningal) o. 9 / o. 11 1/3 shekel of silver and 15 shekels of barley o. 8 / o. 10 in total. r. 5 / r. 5 He (= Ku-Ningal) has sworn by the king's name that, r. 2 / r. 2 in the future, Ku-Ningal, r. 3-4 / r. 3-4 or his heir, will not make a claim (about) the office of the **nar**.

For uncertain reasons[681], this text is a *quasi*-duplicate of the following (together with its envelope) also published by Anne Goddeeris:

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[678] Edition dependent upon TMH 10, p. 143 with corrections derived from our inspection of the handwritten copy (TMH 10, pl. 75), the image on the CD attached to that publication, and the photo/3D model available on HAO.

[679] Edition dependent upon TMH 10, p. 143 with corrections derived from our inspection of the handwritten copy (TMH 10, pl. 75) and the image on the CD attached to that publication (no image available on HAO).

[680] Numbering respectively from TMH 10 58a [HS 2072] (Rīm-Sîn I 54-01-00) and TMH 10 58b [HS 2116] (Rīm-Sîn I 54-01- 00).

[681] TMH 10, p. 144.

Text 20a. TMH 10 59a [HS 2081]
(Rīm-Sîn I 54-01-00)[682]

Text 20b. TMH 10 59b [HS 2350 (case)[683]]
(Rīm-Sîn I 54-01-00)[684]

	Text 20a	Text 20b	
o. 1	**nam-nar ⸢d⸣lugal-⸢ir$_9$⸣-[r]a** **niŋ$_2$ mud-da-⸢da⸣**	[...]	
o. 2	**nam-nar diškur niŋ$_2$ mḫa-bi-il-ki-nu-um**	[...]	
o. 3	**u$_3$ nam-bur-⸢šu⸣-ma tur$_3$-⸢ra⸣-na**	[...]	
o. 4	**a-na me-a-bi**	[a-na-me-a-b]e$_2$	o. 1'
o. 5	**ki ⸢ku$_3$⸣-dnin-gal dumu ib-ni-ia**	[ki ku$_3$-dnin-ga]l [dumu ib-ni-i]a	o. 2'
o. 6	**u$_3$ na-ra-am-tum** **dumu-munus dutu-u$_2$-a**	[u$_3$ na-ra-am-tum dumu-munus dutu-u$_2$-a][685]	o. 3'
o. 7	**mur-dpa-bil$_2$-saŋ-ŋa$_2$ ⸢dumu⸣ u-bar-ru-um**	[mur-dpa-bil$_2$-s]aŋ-ŋa$_2$ [dumu u-bar-ru]-um	o. 4'
o. 8	**in-ši-in-s[a$_{10}$]**	[in-ši-i]n-sa$_{10}$	o. 5'
o. 9	**šam$_2$ til-la-bi-še$_3$**	[šam$_2$ til]-la-bi-še$_3$	o. 6'
r. 1	**2/3 giŋ$_4$ ku$_3$-babbar**	⸢2/3 giŋ$_4$⸣ [...]	r. 1"
r. 2	**in-ne-en-⸢la$_2$⸣**	**in-ne-⸢en⸣-[la$_2$]**	r. 2"
r. 3	**u$_4$ kur$_2$-še$_3$ ku$_3$-dnin-gal**	**u$_4$ kur$_2$-še$_3$ ku$_3$-dn[in-gal]**	r. 3"
r. 4	**m!na-ra-am-tum ⸢u$_3$ ibila⸣-ne-ne**	**mna-ra-am-t[um] ⸢u$_3$⸣ ibila-ne-ne a-na-me-a-bi**	r. 4" – r. 5"
r. 5	**inim nu-⸢um⸣-ŋa$_2$-ŋa$_2$-ne-a**	**inim nu-um-⸢ŋa$_2$⸣-ŋa$_2$-⸢ne⸣-a**	r. 6"
r. 6	**mu lugal-⸢be$_2$⸣ in-pad$_3$-⸢de$_3$⸣**	**mu lugal-bi in-⸢pad$_3$⸣-de$_3$**	r. 7"

o. 7 / o. 4', [686] Ur-Pabilsaŋ, son of Ubārum, o. 8 / o. 5' has bought o. 4 / o. 1' all these things o. 5 / o. 2' from Ku-Ningal, son of Ibnīya o. 6. and Naramtum, daughter of Utu'ua: o. 1 the condition of **nar** of Lugal-Irra, (condition) belonging to Udada, and o. 2 the condition of **nar** of Iškur, (condition) belonging to Ḫabil-Kinum o. 3 in addition to the condition of the **bur-šu-ma** of his courtyard.

r. 2 / r. 1" He (= Ur-Pabilsaŋ) has paid to him (= Ku-Ningal) r. 1 / r. 1" 1/3 silver shekel and 15 barley shekels o. 9 / o. 6" in total. r. 6 / r. 7" He (= Ku-Ningal) has sworn by the king's name that, r. 3 / r. 3" in the future, Ku-Ningal, r. 4 / r. 4"-5" Naramtum or (their) heirs r. 5 / r. 6" will not make a claim about it.

According to what we have observed about Texts 15–17, connections between the office of the **nar** and the **bur-šu-ma** were unknown until this moment in our textual documentation. As in Texts 15–17, the mention of both offices might have economic in origin, referring to two sources of income for Ur-Pabilsaŋ. However, he was son of a **nar** (Ubārum) and his brothers were also musicians[687]. In this sense, we suspect that Ur-

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[682] Edition dependent upon TMH 10, p. 144–145 with corrections derived from the consultation of the handwritten copy (TMH 10, p. 76), the image on the CD attached to the publication, and the photo/3D model available on HAO.

[683] Joint to HS 2350 + 2351 + 2368 + Ist. Ni 9309 (See TMH 10, p. 144 for details).

[684] Edition dependent upon ARN, p. 110 (o. 1'–6', without copy for verifying the transliteration) and TMH 10, p. 144–145 with corrections derived from the consultation of the handwritten copy (TMH 10, p. 76), the image on the CD attached to the publication, and the photo/3D model available on HAO.

[685] Restitution from Archibab T23435. This line appears in TMH 10, p. 144 without content.

[686] Numbering respectively from TMH 10 59a [HS 2081] (Rīm-Sîn I 54-01-00) and TMH 10 59b [HS 2350 (case)] (Rīm-Sîn I 54-01-00).

[687] Shehata, 2009: 107, 170 n. 955.

Pabilsaŋ had to act as a musician at some point because of a family tradition. However, his exact occupation (as musician or as another worker) is unknown at the moment[688].

He might also have acted as **bur-šu-ma** according to two logics. First, **bur-šu-ma** concerns the elderly in general (not only women as some people say[689]). We can see that much better with *puršumum* (masculine) / *puršumtum* (feminine). Then, Ur-Pabilsaŋ would already be advanced in age when he purchased that office. It is true that we do not know the exact date of the death of his father Ubārum[690]. However, our Text 18 was situated in the 37th year of Rīm-Sîn I's reign, while our Texts 19–20 are dated to the 54th year of the reign of that same king. In this sense, after 17 years, Ur-Pabilsaŋ might have been a mature or elderly person. However, can we talk about a specific professional connection between the **nar** and **bur-šu-ma** officials in order to explain Ur-Pabilsaŋ's purchases? We should keep in mind that, because of his/her old age, the **bur-šu-ma** was a respected person[691] and is thought to have had a high social *status*[692]. As a consequence, (s)he performed several tasks in palaces[693] and temples[694] like the **nar**[695].

Therefore, Ur-Pabilsaŋ's purchases would make sense according to his origins (as son and brother of musicians) and his (possible mature/old) age. It makes also sense with the

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[688] FM 9, p. 15; Shehata, 2009: 175.

[689] Bauer, 1998: 437 ("alte Frau"); Krebernik, 1998: 265 (""Greis(in)" auch Titel oder Berufsbezeichnung"); Heimpel, 1998–2000: 155 ("old woman"); ePSD ("dowager, matriarch, matron; an official; senior; old"); Foxvog, 2016a: 12 ("old woman, matron, matriarch"); Attinger, 2019d: 18 ("matrone, matriarche"); ePSD2 ("an official; dowager, matriarch, matron; old; senior"). Pay attention also to Wilcke, 1998: 24 ("alderman" for **nam-bur-šu-ma**, while "old woman office" for **nam-um-ma**).

[690] See Stone and Owen, 1991: 12 for details.

[691] In Goetze, 1957: 106 [CUA 57] (00-00-00), 16–19 (original publication), Ipatum, a *kalûm* priest, is called *puršum bītim* (= *pu-ur-šu-um bi-tim*), "the old person of the house".

[692] In *Gilgameš and the Netherworld*, Ur$_6$ rev. 6–7, 12–13 (Gadotti, 2014: 79, 103), the **bur-šum$_2$-ma** are with the foremost (**saŋ-tuku**) of Uruk. In the same way, in *Ḫendursaŋa A*, 207 (Attinger and Krebernik, 2005: 46), the "pauper" people (**uku$_2$**) is set in opposition to the respected one (**bur-šu-ma**).

[693] In *Iddin-Dagān A*, 99–100 (Attinger, 2014a: 21), the matriarchs **bur-šu-ma** are the queen's assistants who provide copious food and drinks for banquets.

[694] In *Lugalbanda in the mountain cave*, 251–253, the **bur-šu-ma** and **ab-ba** old people praise the god Utu. In addition, we should remember all those documents where **nam-bur-šu-ma** is a temple prebend sold together with the offices of the **gudu$_4$** priest (**nam-gudu$_4$**), brewer (**nam-lu$_2$-bappir**), overseer (**nam-ugula**) or courtyard sweeper (**nam-kisal-luḫ**). See ePSD2 for a long list of those documents.

[695] For the palatial sphere, see our section about royal praise poetry in the next chapter in order to reflect (always with focus on **nam-nar**) on this aspect.

character of the two purchased professions. As two professions closely connected with the palace and the temple, a person acting as **bur-šu-ma** might have a basic knowledge of the activities of the **nar** and vice versa. However, we do not have much evidence about **bur-šu-ma/**_puršumu_(_m_) explicitly regarding music[696].

3.3.3.3.   About the term **nam-nar-sa**

Finally, we are going to look at a text from the archive of the descendants of Damiq-ilīšu, an individual about whom we do not have many documents. The reason for this is that his father Lugal-ḫeŋal (elder brother of Ur-Pabilsaŋ about whom we have written above), had a long life. In consequence, Lugal-ḫeŋal blocked his son's access to the family estate for a long time[697]:

Text. 21. TMH 10 55 [HS 2396] (Rīm-Sîn I 35-10-00)[698]

o. 1	^{d}**mar-ˈtuˈ** _ša_ ˈ**puzur$_4$**ˈ-^{dˈ}**mar-tu**ˈ
o. 2	^{d}**nin-ˈsi$_4$-anˈ-na** _ša_ ˈ_ku-bi_ˈ-_ia_
o. 3	^{d}**nin-si$_4$-an-na** _ša ka-ˈri_ˈ-_ru-um_
o. 4	**nam-nar-ˈsa**ˈ
o. 5	_u$_3$_ **nam-bur-šu-ma tur$_3$-ˈra**ˈ-**na**
o. 6	**ki** _tab-ni-ištar$_3$_ **lukur** ^{d}**nin-urta dumu-munus ur-**^{d}**ba-ˈba$_6$**ˈ
o. 7	^{mˈ}_da-mi-iq-i$_3$-li$_2$-šu_-**ke$_4$**ˈ
o. 8	**in-ši-in-ˈsa$_{10}$**ˈ
o. 9	**šam$_2$ til-la-bi-še$_3$**
o. 10	**1 giŋ$_4$ ku$_3$-ˈbabbar**ˈ
o. 11	ˈ**in**ˈ-**na-an-ˈla$_2$**ˈ

[o. 7] Damiq-Ilīšu [o. 8] has bought [o. 6] from Tabni-Ištar, **lukur** priestess of Ninurta, daughter of Ur-Baba [o. 4] the office of the **nar** of the stringed instruments [o. 5] and the office of **bur-šu-ma** of the courtyard of [o. 1] the god Martu, (condition) belonging to Puzur-Martu, (the one of) [o. 2] the goddess Ninsianna, (condition) belonging to Kubīya, (and the one of) [o. 3] the goddess Ninsi'anna, (condition) belonging to Karirum. [o. 11] He has paid (to her = Tabni-Ištar) [o. 10] one shekel of silver [o. 9] in total.

This text concerns the purchase of two temple offices of several deities (or their statues)[699]: the **bur-šu-ma** (**nam-bur-šu-ma**) and a sub-type of **nam-nar** called the **nam-**

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[696] In the Neo-Assyrian text SAA 10 226 = ABL 1 2 [K. 183], o. 16–18, the _puršumū_ dance while the young people sing. However, that is all our information on this matter.

[697] See Shehata, 2009: 45 and 170; TMH 10, p. 361, 366 for reference and additional details.

[698] Edition dependent upon THM 10, p. 138 with corrections derived from our inspection of the handwritten copy (TMH 10, pl. 72), the image on the CD attached to the publication, and the photo/3D model available on HAO.

[699] We follow the suggestion of TMH 10, p. 139.

nar-sa. This term has been controversial in previous research[700]. Certainly, this is the first time that we know of this sub-type of **nam-nar**, but its presence in this text can be explained in several aspects.

On the one hand, the **nar sa** ("**nar** of stringed instruments") is mentioned in the Old Babylonian lexical texts close to the **nar balaŋ**[701]. At this moment, we should recall the existence of the term **nam-nar-balaŋ** for the office of the **nar balaŋ** as we commented on concerning our Text 9, an excerpt from the lexical list *Proto*-**izi**.

On the other hand, the **nar sa** (also groups composed of several individuals of this specialization[702]) is attested in the Old Babylonian administrative texts receiving beer and bread rations[703]. Sometimes, that musician also received fields[704]. Moreover, a legal text makes mention of a musician of this type, a **nar sa**, devoted to the god Enki[705]. Therefore, we have a similar situation to that of our Text 21, where **nam-nar-sa** ("office of the **nar** of the stringed instruments") would pertain to some deities.

3.4. Conclusions

The understanding of some texts of this chapter is difficult due to their ambiguous context (as in our Text 10). In other cases, we have some problems with the epigraphy.

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[700] TMH 10, p. 138 simply translated as "office of musician". However, we should have **nam-nar** for that. The author herself (personal communication) recognized that the sense of some references to **nam-nar** in this documentation was a bit obscure to her.

[701] *Proto*-**lu₂**, 643–644 (**nar balaŋ** and **nar sa**) (DCCLT Q000047).

[702] YOS 5 163 [YBC 5418] (Warad-Sîn 10-10-00), r. 2 (Archibab T22379) mentions a **nar sa** together with a **nar gal** chief musician and a **gala maḫ** chief lamenter (in lines r. 1 and r. 3 respectively). However, we cannot agree with Shehata, 2009: 45 (who considered the **nar sa** to be a high-ranking musician). Certainly, we find mentions of several **nar** of the stringed instruments (**nar-sa-me(š)**) in CT 45, pl. 84 [BM 78284] (00-00-00), r. 15–16 (Archibab T4883); TCL 11 146 [AO 8430] (Ḫammu-rāpi 33-09-06), r. 3–4 (Archibab T20388) and CT 4, pl. 8 [BM 78210] (Šamšu-ditāna 07-12-20), r. 13 (Archibab T4882). In this sense, the **nar sa** had to be a relatively common musical profession. The similar ration to the **nar sa**, **nar gal** and **gala maḫ** might come just from their participation as musicians in the cult of Nanna.

[703] Beer (**kaš**): Sigrist, 1977: 169–183 [CBS 8550 + 14217] (Ḫammu-rāpi 35-00-00), r. viii 19 (Archibab T22070). Bread (**ninda**): CT 4, pl. 8 [BM 78210] (Šamšu-ditāna 07-12-20), r. 13 (Archibab T4882) and YOS 5 163 [YBC 5418] (Warad-Sîn 10-10-00), r. 2 (Archibab T22379). Beer and bread: Lerberghe, 1986: text 4 [CBS 50] (Abī-ešuḫ 28-03-25), o. 7 (Archibab T4681).

[704] TCL 11 146 [AO 8430] (Ḫammu-rāpi 33-09-06), r. 3–4 (Archibab T20388).

[705] UET 5 191 [U.31352] (Rīm-Sîn I 54-01-00), r. 22–23 (Archibab T6256).

This is the case of the bad preservation state of our Text 13 or the scribal mistakes of our Text 14. In addition, some texts of this chapter (as our Text 11) are not definitely related to **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*). In any case, we can perceive two tendencies.

First, in our texts of the elementary scribal curriculum, **nam-nar** means "music". This term, **nam-nar**, makes reference to some parts or types of songs as in our Text 9, with **ser₃ nam-nar**. In our Text 13, **a₂ kalag nam-nar-ra** is perhaps referred to the neck of a lute. However, we find also references to music as sound. This is the case of our Text 12, with the music/sound of the ^{ŋeš}**tigidla$_x$** lute. In that text, in addition, **nam-nar** also referred to the **asila₃** cry of joy of the **tige$_x$** and **a-da-ab** songs.

Second, in our administrative texts, **nam-nar** designates the office of the **nar** since it appears in genitive constructions with divine names. However, there is no verb related to the musical performance (for instance, **ak**) for translating those expressions as "music of the deity …." We know also from these texts that **nam-nar** could be specialized concerning the instrument used by the **nar**, and not only the god worshipped by that musician. This phenomenon might be suggested also in the lexical texts of this time if we remember the **nam-nar-balaŋ** of our Text 10. In any case, it is relevant to note that this meaning of **nam-nar** appears in real administrative texts. Moreover, as far as we know, it always concerns the purchase/inheritance of temple prebends. Certainly, our model contracts (Texts 12 and 13) are also, in theory, legal texts, but they refer to other situations, and **nam-nar** has a different meaning in those texts, not the one of "office of the **nar**" or similar.

In this sense, by the beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE, we see the transformation of **nam-nar** into a term with two meanings. This change was already announced in the end of the 3rd millennium BCE with our Texts 7 and 8. In any case, as we shall see in the next chapter about literary texts, "music" *sensu lato* will still be the main meaning for **nam-nar** at this time.

4. NAM-NAR IN THE OLD BABYLONIAN SUMERIAN LITERARY TEXTS

4.1. Introduction to this Chapter

Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts represent, without doubt, the most complex group of texts to be analysed in this study. In fact, they were mastered by just a few of those scribes wishing to work in the temples and the palace after have completed the stage of elementary scribal stage discussed in the previous chapter.

This complexity comes, among other reasons, from our impossibility to know some basic aspects of these texts like their exact creation date[706], their provenance[707], and of course their authors. As such, we are still far from being able to understand them completely since we cannot situate them in an exact historical and socio-cultural context. This lack of context is highly regrettable since we cannot know how much of their content actually comes from the 3rd millennium. That is especially important in the case of our royal praise hymns for the Neo-Sumerian kings Ur-Namma and Šulgi[708]. In the same way, this lack of context prevents us from knowing how much of the content of these texts is real as opposed to simple rhetorical exercises in order to impress their audience[709].

Keeping in mind these considerations, we shall study the excerpts with **nam-nar** coming from these Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts in four steps. First, we shall study those excerpts coming from the debates which, in this case, concern the (musical) education. Second, we shall focus our attention on two mythical episodes. On the one hand, the contest between Enki and Ninmaḫ shortly after the creation of the human beings at the dawn of history. On the other hand, we shall talk about the visit of the goddess Inanna to Enki once the latter had ordered the world. Third, we shall analyse several (very complex) excerpts from the laudatory hymns of the kings, mediators between the gods and humans according to Mesopotamian ideology. Finally, we shall comment on a text only very recently edited and of uncertain typology.

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[706] See Delnero, 2006: 2 and DGS, p. 6 for two different positions on this topic.

[707] Most of our manuscripts for these texts come from Nippur, but also from other Mesopotamian cities. In this sense, we cannot know their place of creation. See Delnero, 2006: 35–63 for comments.

[708] The same happens with *Enki and Ninmaḫ* as we can see in Ceccarelli, 2016: 35–38.

[709] See Steinkeller, 2017: 174 for the audience of Sumerian literary texts, and Mittermayer, 2019: 30–34 for the idea of "rhetoric" in Old Babylonian literary texts, with focus on the debates.

4.2. Debates

4.2.1. Music at school according to two excerpts of *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*

4.2.1.1.   *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 94–99

4.2.1.1.1.   Introduction

The first text to be studied here is known as *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, but also *Dialogue 2* or *Edubba'a 5*[710]. The majority of its content is currently being edited for the first time by Manuel Ceccarelli[711]. In any case, according to the excerpts already published[712], we know that the central part of this text contains a dialogue between two students, Enkiḫeŋal and Enkita(lu). In that dialogue, they compare their musical abilities[713]. As part of that "musical" disputation, we have two excerpts with **nam-nar**. Here is the first of them:

Text 22. *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*[714]

94   ᵑᵉ[ˢ]ˊza₃ʔ-mi₂!?ˋ[715] **an-da-ŋal₂ nam-nar nu-un-zu**[716]

N_{I-A1}	o. ii 10'	ᵑᵉ[ˢ]ˊza₃ʔ-mi₂!?ˋ an-da-ˊŋal₂ˋ	nam-nar	nu-un-zu	
N_{U-AA}	r. i' 3'	[ ] an-da -ŋal₂	nam-nar	nu-u[n-]	
N_{U-LL}	o. 2'	[ ]-ˊnarˋ	nu	-ˊzuˋ	
U_{NA}	r. iii 1	Deliberately omitted in this score[717]			

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[710] For this last (and less common) name of this text, see ELS, p. 33 and Volk, 2011–2013: 221.

[711] See Ceccarelli, 2018: 133 n. 2 and Mittermayer, 2019: 5–6 n. 37 for reference.

[712] In addition to the excerpts to be noted here, see Ceccarelli, 2018, *passim*.

[713] Civil, 1992: 303; Michalowski, 2010a: 201; Volk, 2011–2013: 220; Ceccarelli, 2018: 136–137.

[714] Edition dependent upon that of Ceccarelli, *forthcoming* (we thank this author for sharing it with us) with changes derived from our inspection of the copies/photos indicated below and some collations.

[715] Ceccarelli, *forthcoming* does not have anything here. Our transliteration (similar to Sjöberg, 1976: 169 and Michalowski, 2010a: 201) keeps in mind the content of the handwritten copy of the manuscript (there is no available photo on HAO). In any case, the presence of the **za₃-mi₂** instrument makes sense here, just as we shall comment *infra*.

[716] Michalowski, 2010a: 201 n. 3 says "There are no significant variants in these lines, but l. 99 is a problem". However, he does not specify why.

[717] This tablet of the Crozer Collection of the Oriental Institute of Chicago (Gordon, 1960: 140–141 n. 148, 143 n. 175) is still unpublished. In this sense, and because of the Oriental Institute publication rights, Manuel Ceccarelli could not share with us any material on that tablet beyond its line numbering, reflected here as a guide. About this tablet, see ELS, p. 33; Ceccarelli, 2018: 142 and Matuszak, 2018: 265.

95   **a-ga-aš ge$_4$ ge$_4$-me-a-aš-e-ne**

N$_{I-A1}$	o. ii 11'	⸢a$^?$⸣-[g]a-aš ge$_4$ -me-a-aš -⸢e⸣-ne
N$_{U-D2}$	r. 1'	[g]e$_4$$^?$ [ ]
N$_{U-AA}$	r. i' 4'	a -ga ge$_4$ ge$_4$-me-a-aš -e-[ ]
N$_{U-LL}$	o. 3'	[ ]-⸢e⸣-ne
U$_{NA}$	o. iii 2	Deliberately omitted in this score

96   **ad šа$_4$ za-pa-aŋ$_2$ nu-sa$_6$**[718]

N$_{I-A1}$	o. ii 12'	⸢ad⸣ šа$_4$ za -pa -⸢aŋ$_2$⸣ nu-sa$_6$
N$_{U-D2}$	r. 2'	⸢ad šа$_4$$^?$⸣ [ ]
N$_{U-AA}$	r. i' 5'	ad ⸢šа$_4$⸣ za -pa -aŋ$_2$ nu-s[a$_6$]
N$_{III-GG}$	o. 1'	[ ] ⸢šа$_4$$^?$⸣ za-[ ] -⸢aŋ$_2$$^?$⸣ [ ]
N$_{U-LL}$	o. 4'	[-sa]$_6$
U$_{NA}$	omits	Deliberately omitted in this score

97   **eme-gi$_7$-še$_3$ al-dugud eme-ne$_2$ si nu-ub-sa$_2$**

N$_{I-A1}$	o. ii 13'	eme -⸢gi$_7$ -še$_3$⸣ al -dugud eme*⸢-bi si nu-ub-sa$_2$
N$_{U-D2}$	r. 3'	eme -⸢gi$_7$⸣-še$_3$ al -du[gud]
N$_{U-AA}$	r. i' 6'	[e]me -⸢x x al⸣-dugud eme -ne$_2$ [ ]
N$_{III-GG}$	o. 2'	[em]e$^?$⸣-gi$_7$ -še$_3$ ⸢al⸣-dugud e[me-]
U$_{NA}$	o. iii 3	Deliberately omitted in this score

98   **en$_3$-du nu-mu-un-da-DI**[719] **ka**[720] **ŋal$_2$ nu-un-da$_{13}$-da$_{13}$**

N$_{I-A1}$	o. ii 14'	en$_3$ -du nu -un-da-⸢DI ka$^?$ ŋal$_2$$^?$ nu-un -taka$_4$
N$_{U-D2}$	r. 4'	en$_3$ -du nu -un-⸢da⸣-[ ]
N$_{U-Q}$	o. 1'	[ ]-mu-da$_{13}$-da$_{13}$
N$_{U-AA}$	r. i' 7'	en$_3$-⸢du nu-mu-un -DI⸣ ka ŋal$_2$ [ ]
N$_{III-GG}$	o. 3'	en$_3$ -du nu -un-da-⸢DI x⸣ [ ]
U$_{NA}$	o. iii 4	Deliberately omitted in this score

99   **u$_3$ ze$_4$-e lu$_2$ til$_3$-le-me-en**

N$_{I-A1}$	o. ii 15'	⸢u$_3$⸣ ze$_4$-⸢e⸣ lu$_2$ til -me -en
N$_{U-D2}$	r. 5'	u$_3$ ze$_4$ -e l[u$_2$]
N$_{U-Q}$	o. 2'	[ ]-me-⸢en⸣
N$_{U-AA}$	r. i' 8'	u$_3$ ze$_4$-⸢e⸣ lu$_2$ til$_3$ -l[e-x-x] (erasure)
N$_{III-GG}$	o. 4'	u$_3$ ze$_4$ -e ⸢lu$_2$ til$_3$⸣-l[e-x-x]
U$_{NA}$	o. iii 5	Deliberately omitted in this score

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[718] See Löhnert, 2009: 335 n. 927 for a reference to this line.

[719] Sjöberg, 1976: 169 and Michalowski, 2010a: 201 have "di". However, **di** is a NFIN verbal form, and it cannot have verbal prefixes. Gragg, 1973: 58 has "sá", but the sense of his translation is strange ("You are not equal (to the task of) singing"). Moreover, we would expect the verb **du$_7$** ("to fit", "to be suitable") for that sentence as in *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 110 (see *infra* for our edition). In this sense, we prefer to maintain the Ceccarelli's DI.

[720] Gragg, 1973: 58 transliterates "[ka]", but we do not know to which variant the author is making reference. That study is supposed to have followed a forthcoming edition (at that time) by Miguel Civil which, unfortunately, never came to fruition because of the death of said author.

94	(Even if) a **za₃-mi₂** was at his disposal (literally, "with him"), he did not learn music.
95	He is the most awkward among (his) colleagues:
96	unable to make well the **ad ša₄** (or) the **za-pa-aŋ₂** sound,
97	(and too) heavy for Sumerian language, he cannot correctly move his tongue.
98	He cannot recite an **en₃-du** song, (and) he (even) does not open the mouth.
99	However, you are an accomplished person!

Sigla[721]

N$_{I-A1}$	TMH NF 3 42 [HS 1606] + TMH NF 4 86 [HS 1606a]
	(publication copy and notes of Wilcke, *Kollationen*, p. 40)
N$_{III-GG}$	N 1049 + 3370 (photo on CDLI P276195; collated the 21/08/2019)
N$_{U-D2}$	ISET 2 108 [Ist. Ni 4114 + 4139] (publication copy)
N$_{U-Q}$	ISET 1 146 [Ist. Ni 4352] (publication copy) + ISET 3 167 [Ist. Ni 13154]
N$_{U-AA}$	3N-T 406 (none copy/photo available ; Ceccarelli's original transliteration)
N$_{U-LL}$	CBS 10397 (photo on CDLI P265614; collated the 21/08/2019)
U$_{NA}$	OIM A24192 (none copy/photo available)

4.2.1.1.2.   Terms only referred to singing?

In this excerpt, **nam-nar** (in line 94) has usually[722] been translated as "art of singing"[723]. This translation makes sense with the following lines of this excerpt. Here we find references to the use of the Sumerian language (**eme-gi₇**) with a specific mention to the tongue (**eme**) (line 96), but also the recitation of the **en₃-du** (epic) songs[724] and the opening of the mouth (**ka ŋal₂ taka₄**) (line 97). However, we have some doubts about the (exclusive) connection with singing in the case of **ad ša₄** and **za-pa-aŋ₂** (line 95).

Concerning **ad ša₄**[725], it seems to be a *tremolo* mainly connected with the **en₃-du** (epic) songs[726] and the **i-lu** ceremonial/lament songs[727]. However, we should not forget its etymology as **ša₄** (an auxiliary verb) + **ad** "(soft) sound" (in opposition to the **šeg₁₁**

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[721] They follow Ceccarelli, *forthcoming*, but we have put in the middle an I (= Type I), III (= Type III) or U (= Uncertain) according to their typology when they come from Nippur. This classification might change once Manuel Ceccarelli publishes his edition of this text.

[722] Except Michalowski, 2010a: 201 ("the craft of music making").

[723] Sjöberg, 1976: 169 ("art of singing"); Ceccarelli, 2018: 136 n. 24 ("Sängerkunst").

[724] Volk, 2006: 23 n. 55 talks directly of "Hymnus" for this text. It makes sense mainly because of *Gilgameš and the Bull of An*, A 1–6 (ETCSL 1.8.1.2), where **en₃-du** describes the text to be narrated.

[725] For the use of this technique by the **nar**, see *Proverbs* 2.39 (ETCSL 6.1.02); UET 6/2 268 [U. 17207,88], o. 3–4 (Peterson, 2019b: 573).

[726] *Proto-***Lu₂**, 600–603 (**en₃-du** songs), 604–605 (**ad ša₄**) and 606 (**sa-gid₂-da**, term designating division of stanzas) (DCCLT Q000047) and *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, C 8 (ETCSL 2.5.4.01).

[727] Shehata, 2009: 234 for this double nature. For texts, *Inanna G*, 61 (ETCSL 4.07.7) and *Dumuzi and Inanna H*, 17 (Attinger, 2019a: 2), where **ad ša₄** is equated with *nasāsu(m)* ("to lament"). That anticipates the post-Old Babylonian situation quite well delineated in Rendu Loisel, 2011: 204–206.

"loud sound")[728]. Certainly, the **ad** is type of sound also produced by some instruments[729]. A similar thing happens with the **ad ša₄** technique[730].

For its part, **za-pa-aŋ₂** designates a type of powerful cry/sound produced by human beings, but also by animals or some objects such as weapons[731] or the "Mighty Copper" (**urudu-niŋ₂-kalag-ga**), a sort of copper bell used to terrify demons[732]. This expression also referred to the **nar** in some proverbs as we saw in the introduction of our study[733]. However, as we also said there, **za-pa-aŋ₂** might refer in that context not only to the voice of the musician like in other proverbs[734], but also to what (s)he could do with some instruments. Certainly, **za-pa-aŋ₂** appears after **akkil** ("clamour", "uproar") and before **ŋeš-gu₃-di** (a type of lute as we shall comment on later) in the lexical list *Proto*-**lu₂**[735].

4.2.1.1.3.   Identification of the **za₃-mi₂**/*sammû(m)*

The condition of **nam-nar** in *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu,* 94–99 as "music" (as a larger category than just "singing") makes sense when keeping in mind that **nam-nar** is mentioned in line 94 together with a musical instrument: the **ŋešza₃-mi₂**[736]. Beyond its

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[728] Krispijn, 1990: 15; Rendu Loisel, 2011: 205 n. 862.

[729] *Šulgi B*, 171 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02; **ŋeš-gu₃-di** lute) and perhaps *Temple Hymns*, 183 (ETCSL 4.80.1; **za-na-ru** instrument).

[730] *Enki's Journey to Nippur*, 64–65 (Ceccarelli, 2012: 94).

[731] See Rendu Loisel, 2011: 306–309 for comments and texts.

[732] **Udug ḫul** / *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, VII 15–20, 47–48, 87–88 (Geller, 2015: 253–254, 261, 268). This edition includes the Old Babylonian forerunners we wish to refer to in this particular case. For a specific edition of those forerunners, see Geller, 1985: 56–80. For more comments about this musical instrument, the **urudu-niŋ₂-kalag-ga**, see our chapter about the 1st-millennium evidence.

[733] *Proverbs* 2.41 and 2.57 (Attinger, 2018: 8).

[734] *Proverbs* 2.39 (Attinger, 2018: 9); UET 6/2 268 [U. 17207,88], o. 4–6 (Peterson, 2019b: 573), and UET 6/2 290 [U. 17207.55], o. 1 (Peterson, 2019b: 582).

[735] *Proto*-**lu₂**, 638–640 (DCCTL Q000047). CUSAS 12, 7.1 B [MS 4158], r. i 11'–15' (DCCLT) mentions this term before **za-na-ru**, an instrument whose voice is loud (**gu₃ nun**) according to *Temple Hymns*, 183 (ETCSL 4.80.1). In any case, be careful, since that excerpt, *Temple Hymns*, 183 says then that the sound of the **za-na-ru** is making good (**sa₆-sa₆**) the sounds (**ad**) of a calf (**amar**).

[736] The reading **za₃-mim** (Ceccarelli, 2012: 94; Attinger, 2014: 25; Attinger, 2019d: 214) is based on *Proto-Ea*, 423 (DCCLT Q000055) where one of the readings of the sign SAL is spelled ME-**im** (= **mi₃-im** = **mim**). This might agree with the Neo-Assyrian text Meek, 1920: 119 [K. 945], o. 3 (edition dependent upon DCCLT), where we find **za-ME-in** (= **za-mi₃-in**). In any case, we have the variant **za₃-me**ⁱ (or **za₃-**

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definition as a stringed instrument, its exact identification has been controversial[737]. We would propose its identification with an angular harp because an Old Babylonian lexical text mentions a **ᵑᵉˢŋeštug za₃-mi₂** ("ear of the **za₃-mi₂**")[738]. Certainly, this term should be considered similar to **ab₂ za₃-mi₂** (literally, "cow of the **za₃-mi₂**") due to their common Akkadian equivalent *ḫasīs sammîm*[739].

This **ab₂ za₃-mi₂** cannot be understood as a reference to the cow-shaped sound-box of a bull-lyre as has been previously suggested[740]. Certainly, those lyres were common in Early Dynastic times (when **za₃-mi₂** did not exist yet[741]) but had almost disappeared in the Near East by the 2ⁿᵈ millennium BCE, just when we find references to **za₃-mi₂**[742]. In addition, Early Dynastic zoomorphic lyres depicted bulls and calves, but never cows[743]. A similar thing happens in literary texts, since **ab₂ ḫi nun** ("Cow, noble charm")[744] is the

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mi₃ⁱ) for the **za₃-mi₂/mim** as an instrument in *Šulgi B*, 161, manuscript N_U-q = Castellino, 1972: pl. 17 [3N-T300], o. ii 6. Moreover, several administrative documents from the Išbī-Erra's reign contain **ᵑᵉˢza₃-mi** for **za₃-mi₂/mim** as in BIN 9 185 [NBC 8416] (Išbī-Erra 22-12-00/23-01-00), r. 1 (CDLI P236195; see CDLI for other texts). This writing is similar to the **ᵑᵉˢza-mi** of Fish, 1958: 84–87 [BM 106055] (Šulgi 45-01-00), r. i 12' (BDTNS 012371). Therefore, we would maintain **ᵑᵉˢza₃-mi₂** instead of **ᵑᵉˢza₃-mim**.

[737] Identifications with (zoomorphic) lyres: Krispijn, 1990: 7; Kilmer, 2000: 116; Mirelman and Krispijn, 2009: 45; Krispijn, 2010b: 148; Mirelman and Kilmer, 2013. Volk, 2006: 34 n. 100 talks, concerning *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, about "Leier". Harps *lato sensu*: Lawergren and Gurney, 1987: 49-51; Dumbrill, 2014: 28 and Gabbay, 2014: 134. Horizontal harp/lute: Michalowski, 2010a: 229. Dahlia Shehata (2002: 490; 2009: 350; 2017: 45) usually defines this terms as "harp/lyre".

[738] CUSAS 12 3.1.1 [MS 3214], b iv 7 (DCCLT).

[739] The expression **ᵑᵉˢŋeštug za₃-mi₂** is known only in the monolingual lexical text mentioned in the previous note, being *ḫasīs sammîm* a literal translation. For **ab₂ za₃-mi₂** as *ḫasīs sammîm*, see the Middle Babylonian texts Emar 6/1, p. 240 [Msk 7498f], r. ii 17; Emar 6/1, p. 285 [Msk 74114d], r. 1, and Emar 6/2, p. 508–515 + 730 [Msk 74209a + 7526], r. ii 1 (editions dependent upon DCCLT).

[740] Krispijn, 1990: 25; Kilmer, 2000: 116; Mirelman and Krispijn, 2009: 50.

[741] The **za₃-me** of the Early Dynastic times is just referred to a doxology. Our earliest reference to the **za₃-mi₂** (in this case **ᵑᵉˢza-mi**) as instrument is contained in the Ur III administrative text Fish, 1958: 84–87 [BM 106055] (Šulgi 45-01-00), r. i 12' (BDTNS 012371). See Michalowski, 2010a: 219 for comments.

[742] The latest depictions of zoomorphic lyres come from two stamp seals from Failaka, ancient Dilmun, by 2100–2000 BCE. We have also a copper head of a bull found in the level IIA of the Barbar temple in Bahrain (2000 BCE) (Kutzer, 2017: 200–201). From that moment, we start to have giant lyres without zoomorphic features in the Ancient Near East. See Shehata, 2017: 70–73 for a recent overview on this topic.

[743] Lawergren, 2010: 86-88.

[744] *Našše A*, 40 (Attinger, 2019e: 84).

name of a **tige(2)**[745] term to be identified with a drum[746], not with a lyre[747]. However, **ab₂ za₃-mi₂**/*apsamikku(m)* might be an alternative writing for **ab za₃-mi₂**/*apsamikku(m)* ("window of the **za₃-mi₂**"). This term describes in the Old Babylonian mathematical texts a concave square[748]. That fact is very relevant since the interior of that concave square is similar to the X-hole of the angular harps in the Old Babylonian iconography[749].

Anne Draffkorn Kilmer seems to connect **ab(2) za₃-mi₂**/*apsamikku(m)* with the "nose (*appu*) of the *sammû* instrument" (*ap sammîm)[750] since the nose of the head of these bull-lyres usually have the shape of a concave square. However, that detail is obviously irrelevant in the configuration of that instrument[751], and not all the noses of the bull heads of bull-lyres are exactly like a concave square[752]. Furthermore, the Sumerian equivalent for *appu(m)* is **giri₁₇**[753]. This **giri₁₇** related to the physical aspect of a human being since it is written with the sign KA whose pictographic form describes a human head[754]. Returning to *appu(m)* this term is documented only from Old Akkadian times and later[755], that is, after the main period of development of bull-lyres in Mesopotamia. If it were not enough, later depictions of bull-lyres are not so explicit in this type of detail[756].

Our identification of the **za₃-mi₂** with an angular harp makes sense in the context of our Old Babylonian administrative texts[757]. In those texts the **za₃-mi₂** appears as made of

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[745] As Uri Gabbay, 2014a: 110 commented.

[746] See our Section 4.4.3.2.3 for identification.

[747] As in Kilmer, 1980–1983b: 574 or Kilmer and Mirelman, 2013.

[748] See Robson, 1999: 51; Friberg, 2007: 214 and Robson, 2007 for texts and philological and mathematical comments and rejection of **ab₂ za₃-mi₂** as "cow of the lyre" on Kilmer, 1980–1983b: 574.

[749] See Rašīd, 1984: 80–85 for evidence. Unlike the Elamite horizontal harp from the Neo-Assyrian relief BM 124802 (Rašīd, 1984: 136–137, fig. 151), Old Babylonian horizontal harps do not have holes in their sound-box. See Rašīd, 1984: 86–89 for evidence.

[750] Kilmer, 1980–1983b: 572, without any reference to a concrete excerpt with that expression.

[751] Certainly, we should remember the "boat-lyre" UM 30-12-253, whose sound-box does not have the shape of a bull or calf, but a boat with a stag on its top (Rašīd, 1984: 36–37; de Schauensee, 2002: 17).

[752] See Dumbrill, 2010: 67-80 for heads of bull-lyres.

[753] CAD A2, p. 184; ePSD; Attinger, 2019d: 67.

[754] MEA 15; Couto Ferreira, 2009: 150-153.

[755] CAD A2, p. 184.

[756] See Rašīd, 1984: 36–37; Michalowski, 2010a: 230–231, and Kutzer, 2017: 200–201 for bull-lyres after the Early Dynastic Period.

[757] In addition to the texts commented on in Michalowski, 2010a: 224, see BIN 9 185 [NBC 8416] (Išbī-Erra 22-12-00/23-01-00), o. 5–r. 1 (CDLI P236195); BIN 10 104 [NBC 10075] (Išbī-Erra 13-02-00),

wood covered with a goat-skin surface like the Egyptian angular harps[758]. One of those texts talks about three **za₃-mi₂** instruments for the house of the **nar munus**[759]. In this sense, the **za₃-mi₂** could be played by women in addition to men[760], just as is the case of angular harps in the Old Babylonian iconography, which are played by both sexes[761].

Another of those administrative texts talks about a ^{ŋeš}**za₃-mi₂** covered with a silver layer[762]. That may recall the "Silver Bull Lyre" BM 121199 dated in the Early Dynastic Period[763]. However, metal layers for wooden instruments were not unique to bull-lyres, a type of instrument no longer extant in Mesopotamia by Old Babylonian times as we have already stated. On the one hand, a letter from Mari referred to the elaboration of a wooden instrument (a lute (?)) with gold (^{ŋeš}*i-nu-ut* **KU₃.SI₂₂**)[764]. On the other hand, a metal layer over the sound-box of an angular harp makes sense with the Old Babylonian depictions of players of those harps. Certainly, they usually wear opulent clothes typical of the royal sphere. In this sense, they might play an instrument with a metal layer like the **za₃-mi₂**[765].

Another letter from Mari has been used to prove the identification of the **za₃-mi₂**/*sammû(m)* as a lyre because of the reference to the *kirrum* ("collar-bone") of a supposed *sammûm* instrument[766] which has been identified with the crossbar of a lyre[767]. However, what was transliterated at the time of this identification as *sa-mi-im* (and normalized as *sammîm*), now it is just written x-*mi-im*. That is closer to the actual content of the clay tablet in its current state of preservation[768]. In any case, a spelling of *sammîm*

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o. 1–8 (CDLI P236648), Fish, 1955: 115, text 1 [Wahbi 1] (Išbī-Erra 13-02-00/13-10-00), o. 4–7 (CDLI P500660) and the lexical text CDLI P231749 [YBC 2127], d i 16 (DCCLT).

[758] Emerit, 2017: 132.

[759] BIN 10 104 [NBC 10075] (Išbī-Erra 13-02-00), r. 4 (CDLI P236648).

[760] For instance, BIN 9 352 [NBC 5684] (Išbī-Erra 13-08-00), o. 5 (CDLI P236362), where we find an **e₂ nar** ("house of the **nar**").

[761] Michalowski, 2010a: 224 said that "men are restricted to lutes, certain types of horizontal harp, and various pipes", but men also played the angular harp (Rašīd, 1984: 80–85, figs. 62, 63–64, 66–68).

[762] PBS 8/2 194 [CBS 345], o. i 20 (CAD S, p. 119).

[763] Dumbrill, 2010: 28, 31–39.

[764] FM 9 43 [A.1185] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), o. 5–lo. e. 1 (Archibab T6601). This instrument is made on gold in FM 9 12 [ARM 10 137] (Zimrī-Līm 13-00-00), r. 4 (Archibab T6206). See also FM 9, p. 49.

[765] Thomas, 2017: 304.

[766] ARM 32, p. 421–422 (= earlier ARM 25 752) [M.10449] (00-07-10), lo. e. 1 (Archibab T12035).

[767] Kilmer, 2000: 116, which simplified the considerations of Durand, 1989. Kilmer's contribution is followed by Mirelman and Krispijn, 2009: 45.

[768] See photos of the tablet in Archibab T12035 through Archipix for reference.

(genitive of *sammûm*) as *sa-mi-im* is generally unusual for *sammû*(*m*)[769]. That term is spelled as *sa₃-am-mi-im* in our only other reference to this instrument in Mari[770]. That is, it is written with ZA (= *sa₃*), and not SA (= *sa*), and two "m", not a single one. Moreover, the spelling *sa-mi-im* is normally used with people (^{p}*sa-mi-im*)[771] or places ((^{uru})*sa-mi-im*^{ki})[772]. In this sense, that text cannot be used for an identification of **za₃-mi₂**/*sammû*(*m*).

Finally, although it does not concern *stricto sensu* Old Babylonian times, we would consider the use of the sentence [^{ŋeš}TE].⌜UNUG$^?$⌝.KU = MIN<(*il*-x-[x])> *ša₂ sa-am-me-e* of a Neo-Babylonian lexical list in the identification of **za₃-mi₂**/*sammû*(*m*)[773]. Previous research has seen here the "cheek (**unu₂**/*usukku*(*m*)) of the **za₃-mi₂**/*sammû*(*m*)" understood as the cheek of the bull of the sound-box of the zoomorphic lyre[774].

However, the expression [^{ŋeš}TE].⌜UNUG$^?$⌝.KU might refer to a different instrument. Certainly, in the Sumerian column, this [^{ŋeš}TE].⌜UNUG$^?$⌝.KU is followed by two allusions to the ^{ŋeš}**ḫar-ḫar**, another instrument[775]. Then, *usukku*(*m*) (= **unu₂**(TE.UNUG)-*ku* = *usukku*) may also make reference to the side of an object[776]. Furthermore, **unu₂** referred to the cheek (always the human one)[777], but also it referred to a type of ornament[778]. That last remark is very interesting, since *sammû* instruments in Neo-Babylonian administrative texts appear decorated with "rings" (*qullu*)[779] and "mountings"

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[769] See CAD S, p. 118–119 for references, especially for later periods.

[770] FM 9 62 [M.7281], r. 8". See our chapter about texts from Mari for our edition.

[771] See AbB 14 137 [AO 6907] (00-00-00), o. 1 (Archibab T13275); ARM 13 142 (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), r. 17 (Archibab T8923); ARM 21 106 (Zimrī-Līm 03-08-25), r. 5 (Archibab T14484); Charpin, 1984: 69 [TH 82.67] (Ṭab-ṣilli-Aššur eponym 196-09-11), o. 5 (Archibab T19671), and FM 11 180 [M.10447] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), r. 2 (Archibab T8128) for evidence.

[772] See ARM 1 103 (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), r. 21 (Archibab T4521) and PIHANS 117 80 [L. 87-627] (00-00-00), r. 2 (Archibab T14472) for evidence.

[773] CT 14, pl. 47 [BM 42339], o. 4 (DCCLT). According to our inspection of the copy of this manuscript, we prefer this transliteration to the one of MSL 6, p. 121 ("[giš.TE+U]NU.KU").

[774] Mirelman and Krispijn, 2009: 50.

[775] CT 14, pl. 47 [BM 42339], o. 5–6 (DCCLT). See Krispijn, 1990: 11–12 and Krispijn, 2010b: 146.

[776] CAD U-W, p. 283.

[777] Couto Ferreira, 2009: 206–208.

[778] Attinger, 2019d: 208.

[779] GCCI 2 24 [GCBC 389] (Nabopolassar 17-08-27$^?$), 1 (CAD S, p. 119). Here these rings are in gold, but they could be made in other materials, such as silver (CAD Q, p. 298).

(*mandītu*)[780]. The *sammû* had to be an angular harp at that time. Certainly, a Late Achaemenid text (by 400 BCE) defines **AB₂.ZA₃.MI₂** as the opening of that instrument[781]. That makes sense with the holes in the sound-box of Seleucid angular harps[782], but not with cows, just as **ab₂ za₃-mi₂** had been previously defined[783].

4.2.1.1.4.   The musical role of the **za₃-mi₂**/*sammû*(*m*) and conclusions

Although it is normally played with other instruments without any reference to singing[784], the ᵍᵉˢ**za₃-mi₂** angular harp seems to accompany the song performed by a group of **nar**[785]. In this sense, we might understand its connection with **nam-nar** in *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 94 because of its condition as a suitable instrument for musical accompaniment. However, we should remember that the ᵍᵉˢ**za₃-mi₂** was the instrument used for the Old Babylonian Tuning Texts UET 7 74 [U. 7/80] and UET 6/3 388[786]. Moreover, its "good tuning" (**kam-ma sa₆-ga**) is also known through other contemporary texts[787]. Perhaps the ᵍᵉˢ**za₃-mi₂** was an "easy" instrument for learning some important aspects in musical practice, like tuning sense. Maybe for that reason this ᵍᵉˢ**za₃-mi₂** seems to be described in *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 94 as a basic instrument for musical learning.

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[780] CAD M1, p. 209. See YOS 6 192 [YBC 7536] (Nabonidus 15-09-07), r. 1 (CAD S, p. 119) for an example involving a *sammû* instrument.

[781] SpTU 1 72 [W 22307/12], r. 10–11: ʳ·¹⁰ […] **AB₂.ZA₃.MI₂** *ḫa-si-si*: *aš₂-šu₂* U ʳ·¹¹ *ap-ta ša₂ sa-am-mu-u₂* […] (CCP 3.6.3.E; no photo available to with the copy checked for this edition), "ʳ·¹⁰ […] (The expression) **AB₂.ZA₃.MI₂** (means) "ear" ʳ·¹¹ (since the sign) U (referred to) the opening of the *sammû* […]".

[782] See Rašīd, 1984: 150–151 for reference.

[783] Kilmer, 1980–1983: 575; Mirelman and Krispijn, 2009: 50 and Krispijn, 2010b: 148. Those works tried to make a connection between **ab₂ za₃-mi₂** and the Ugaritic *rʾimt* (defined as "cow" by comparison with the Akkadian *rīmtu*) (Koitabashi, 1999: 374; Mirelman and Kilmer, 2013). However, *rʾimt* means "beloved" in Ugaritic (Olmo de Lete and Sanmartín, 2015: 713). Furthermore, it actually describes the *knr* lyre of the previous line (*Baal's Myth*, CAT 1.101, 17–18; Smith and Wayne, 2009: 216).

[784] *Enki's Journey to Nippur*, 62 (Ceccarelli, 2012: 94).

[785] *Iddin-Dagān A*, 206–207 (Attinger, 2014: 25). Concerning Old Babylonian iconography, that idea makes sense with clay plaque IM 11135 (Rašīd, 1984: 82–83, fig. 65). In said plaque, an open-mouthed woman plays an angular harp, perhaps singing in accompaniment to that instrument.

[786] See Mirelman and Krispijn, 2009; Michalowski, 2010a: 208–209; Kilmer, 2014: 92–94, and Dumbrill, 2019: 31–46 for the most recent comments about these texts.

[787] *Šulgi B*, 161 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

Therefore, we would define **nam-nar** in this excerpt *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 94 as "music"[788] and not "art of singing"[789]. Certainly, the connections of the **za₃-mi₂** with nam-nar might have nothing in common related to singing and other musical terms of this excerpt might refer not only to singing, but also instrumental music (as **za-pa-aŋ₂**).

4.2.1.2.   *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 110–113: music and morality

Here is the next excerpt of *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu* to be commented on this study:

Text 23. *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*[790]

110   **nam-nar-e nu-ub-du₇ kiŋ₂-ge₄-a-aš la-ba-ab-du₇**

N$_{I-A1}$	o. ii 26'	**nam -nar-e nu -ub-du₇ kiŋ₂-ge₄ -a -aš la -ˈbaˈ -ab -d[u₇]**
N$_{I-N}$	o. ii' 3'	**ˈnamˈ-nar nu-ˈubˈ-[ ]**
N$_{I-BB}$	r. ii 7'	**nam -nar nu -ub-du kiŋ₂ -ge₄ -a -ˈašˈ laˈ -ba -ˈabˈ -du₇ˈ**
N$_{III-GG}$	r. 5	**[ ]-ˈe²ˈ nu -ub-du / [-g]e₄ -a -aš la -ba -ab -ˈdu₇ˈ**
N$_{U-D1-3}$	r. 16'+5'+4'	**ˈnamˈ-[ ] nu -ub-du₇ kiŋ₂-g[e₄]-a -aš la -ba -ab -du**
N$_{U-FF}$	o. ii' 7	**ˈnamˈ-nar-e nu -ub-du ˈkiŋ₂ˈ-[ ] / ˈla -baˈ -ab -d[u₇]**
N$_{U-HH}$	4'	**[-b]a -ˈabˈ -du₇**
U$_{NA}$	o. iii 16	Deliberately omitted in this score

111   **e₂ lu₂-še₃ u₃-un-DU lu₂ nu-mu-un-da-sa₂-e**

N$_{I-A1}$	o. ii 27'	**ˈe₂ˈ lu₂ -ˈše₃ˈ u₃ -un-DU ˈlu₂ˈ nu -mu -e -ˈda-sa₂ˈ**
N$_{I-N}$	r. ii' 4'	**ˈe₂ˈ lu₂ -še₃ u[₃-]**
N$_{I-BB}$	r. ii 8'	**e₂ ˈlu₂ -še₃ˈ u₃ -DU lu₂ nu -mu-ˈunˈ-da-sa₂-ˈeˈ**
N$_{III-GG}$	r. 6	**[ ] ˈxˈ [l]u₂ ˈnu²-mu²-un²ˈ]**
N$_{U-D1-3}$	omits	
N$_{U-FF}$	o. ii' 8'	**ˈe₂ lu₂ˈ -še₃ ˈu₃ -DUˈ lu₂ ˈnuˈ-[ ]**
Ur$_W$	r. 1'	**[l]u₂-ˈše₃ˈ [ ]**
U$_{NA}$	o. iii 17	Deliberately omitted in this score

112   **a₂-ne₂ ŋal₂ u₃-bi₂-in-taka₄ ser₃ gid₂-da nu-ub-be₂**

N$_{I-A1}$	o. ii 28'	**ˈa₂ˈ -ne₂ ŋal₂ u₃-<bi₂>-ˈinˈ -taka₄ ser₃ gid₂ -da nu -ud -b[e₂]**
N$_{I-N}$	r. ii' 5'	**a₂ -ne₂ ŋal₂ [ ]**
N$_{I-BB}$	r. ii 9'	**ˈa₂ˈ -ne₂ ˈŋal₂ˈ in² -taka₄ ser₃ gid₂ -ˈdaˈ nu -ˈubˈ-be₂**
N$_{III-GG}$	r. 7	**ˈa₂²ˈ -ne₂ ŋal₂ˈ u₃ -ˈbi₂ˈ-[ ] / ˈser₃ gid₂ˈ -da [ ]**
N$_{U-D1-3}$	r. 17'+6'+5'	**ˈa₂²ˈ-[n]e₂ ŋal₂ u₃ -bi₂ -i[n]-taka₄ ser₃ gid₂ -da nu -ub -be₂**
N$_{U-FF}$	o. ii' 9'	**a₂ -ne₂ ŋal₂ u₃ -bi₂ -ˈinˈ-[ ] / ser₃ <gid₂>-da ˈnuˈ-da-ˈxˈ**
Ur$_W$	r. 2'	**ˈxˈ -ne₂ ŋal₂ u[₃-]**
U$_{NA}$	o. iii 18	Deliberately omitted in this score

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[788] Therefore, we would agree with Volk, 2006: 33 n. 100 ("musikalische Ausführung") and Michalowski, 2010a: 201 ("craft of music making"). However, we understand **nam-nar** in this context in a more abstract way than Piotr Michalowski did for the previously commented reasons.

[789] Sjöberg, 1976: 169 ("art of singing"); Ceccarelli, 2018: 136 n. 24 ("Sängerkunst").

[790] See the previous excerpt for all the details of this edition (including the omission of U$_{NA}$).

113		**igi dumu um-mi-a-ke₄-še₃ u₃-ba-tuš / tige₂ a-da-ab nu-ub-be₂**[791]

N_{I-A1}	o. ii 29'	˹igi˺ dumu um-mi -a-˹ke₄˺-še₃ u₃-ba-tuš / ˹tige₂˺ a-da-ab nu-ub-˹be₂˺
N_{I-N}	r. ii' 6'	igi dumu um-m[i]
N_{I-BB}	r. ii 10'	igi ˹dumu˺ um-˹mi˺-a -ke₄-˹še₃˺ u₃-ba!-tuš / ˹tige₂˺ a-da-ab nu-ub!-be₂
N_{III-GG}	r. 8	˹igi˺ dumu um˺-[-š]e₃? ˹u₃˺-[ ]
N_{U-D1-3}		omits
N_{U-FF}	o. ii' 10'	˹igi˺ dumu um-˹mi˺-a -še₃ u₃-˹ba˺-[] / ˹tige₂˺ a-da-ab nu-u[b-]
Ur_{W}	r. 3'	igi dumu ˹um˺-mi-˹a-x˺ [ ]
U_{NA}	o. iii 19	Deliberately omitted in this score

110	He is not fit for music, he is not fit for (its) content(s)[792].
111	(When) he goes to the house of (another) person, he is not respectful to him.
112	After he has "opened" his arm, he does not recite a long **ser₃** song.
113	After he has sat before the master, he does not recite any **tige₂** or **a-da-ab** hymn.

Sigla[793]

N_{I-A1}	TMH NF 3 42 [HS 1606] + TMH NF 4 86 [HS 1606a]
	(publication copy and notes of Wilcke, *Kollationen*, p. 40)
N_{U-D1}	ISET 2 108 [Ist. Ni 4114 + 4139] (publication copy)
N_{U-D2}	ISET 2 97 [Ist. Ni 4056] (publication copy)
N_{U-D3}	ISET 2 108 [Ist. Ni 4241] (publication copy)
N_{I-N}	ISET 1 148 [Ist. Ni 4384] (publication copy)
N_{I-BB}	UM 55-21-307 (photo available on CDLI P257246; collated the 21/08/2019)
N_{U-FF}	N 4104 + 4115 (photo available on CDLI P278992; collated the 21/08/2019)
N_{III-GG}	N 1049 + 3370 (photo on CDLI P276195; collated the 21/08/2019)
N_{U-HH}	CBS 15004 (photo available on CDLI P269583; collated the 21/08/2019)
Ur_{W}	UET 6/3 634 (photo available on CDLI P346671)
U_{NA}	OIM A24192 (none copy/photo available)

In this text, someone is considered "not fit" (**nu-ub-du₇**) for **nam-nar** (line 94) with some explanations mixing tips about the recitation of songs (the **ser₃ gid₂-da**[794] or the **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** hymns) and good behaviour: to be respectful with a host (line 111)[795],

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[791] 1) *um-mi-a-ke₄-ne-še₃ (Sjöberg, 1976: 169; Shehata, 2009: 257 and Attinger, 2019: 20 n. 147) vs. um-mi-a-ke₄-še₃: There is actually no sign NE here. 2) um-mi-a-ke₄-še₃ is confirmed by manuscript N_{BB}. Volk, 2006: 23 n. 55 has "igi-(dumu-)um-mi-a-ke₄-e-ne". However, there is no variant of this text where **dumu** is optional. 3) **tige** (Sjöberg, 1976: 169; Ceccarelli, *forthcoming*) vs. **tige₂** (Attinger, 2019: 20 n. 147): we find LUL.BALAN (= **tige₂**) and not BALAN.LUL (= **tige**).

[792] Sjöberg, 1976: 169 "task". However, that meaning is too free concerning the meaning of **kiŋ₂-ge₄-a** as "messenger", and, as extension, "message" (Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 331; Attinger, 2019d: 63).

[793] They follow Ceccarelli, *forthcoming*.

[794] Volk, 2006: 23 n. 55 talks about **ser₃ gid₂-da** just as "Liedtypus". That contrasts with the precise reference of that publication to the **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** of this text as songs/hymns.

[795] That is the way in which we understand line 111th: the student goes to the house of someone who has invited him. However, because is very arrogant, he will not be polite to that person. In any case, we should keep in mind that the verb **sa₂** literally means "to be equal".

to greet other people (line 112)[796], or to sit before his masters with the intention of learning (line 113). Åke Sjöberg translated **nam-nar** as "art of singing"[797]. That translation makes sense with the perception of musicians as learned people[798], but also with (the apparent sense of) *Proverbs* 2.54, 2–3[799], where "singers" seem to be more valuable than (wind) instrumentalists. There, the "defiled" (**pe-el-la₂**) **nar** (traditionally seen here as a "singer"[800]) becomes a musician of the **gi-di** pipes (**lu₂ gi-di-da**)[801], while the **pe-el-la₂ gala** (sometimes understood as a singer of laments[802]) becomes a player of the **gi-gid₂**[803] pipes (**lu₂ gi-gid₂-da**)[804]. That interpretation of *Proverbs* 2.54, 2–3, however, does not keep in mind the rest of the proverb. There, two professions without any hierarchical

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[796] Volk, 2006: 23 n. 55 is referred to **a₂-ne₂ ŋal₂ taka₄** as "in Haltung (Armzeichen?) zu gehen". On its behalf, Shehata, 2009: 278 defined it as a musical performance indication. However, she forgot the reference to a similar expression in *Gilgameš and the Netherworld*, 264 (Gadotti, 2014: 226). In that excerpt, like someone who does a formal gesture before an important activity (Attinger, 2019a: 20 n. 147), the scribe "opens his arm" before entering into the palace. Our interpretation as "greeting" comes from *Šulgi B*, 350 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02), where it is followed **ki silim-eš₂ di-ŋa₂** ("of my place of saying "health!"").

[797] Sjöberg, 1976: 169 ("He is not fit for the art of singing, not fit for that task").

[798] See FM 9, p. 16–18 for the difference between the *aštalûm/aštalītum* and *nāru/nārtu* musicians.

[799] Edition dependent upon Attinger, 2018: 10.

[800] Alster, 1997: 55 ("singer"); ETCSL 6.1.02 ("singer"); Attinger, 2018: 10 ("chanteur").

[801] Attinger, 2018: 10 has "lu₂ ge-di-da-kam". The reading of GI as **ge** as is based in the composite version of *Proto-Ea*, 460 (DCCLT). However, each variant of this text has a different thing: MSL 14, p. 18 B₄ [UM 55-21-347], r. iv 37 = ˹GI˺-**e** (collated the 22/08/2019); MSL 14, p. 29 L_e [HS 1756], o. 5 = ˹GI˺-**i** and MSL 14, p. 19 B_g [CBS 15221], o. 10 = ˹GI^?˺-[x^?] (collated the 23/08/2019). Therefore, we prefer to maintain by the moment the traditional **gi-di** as a matter of prudence

[802] Attinger, 2018: 10 ("chantre").

[803] Attinger, 2018: 10 has "lu₂ ge-SU₃-(-a)-kam". In addition to our previous comments about the sign GI, we cannot share his "ge-SU₃" since manuscript AA of this text (= Kramer, 1952: 12 fig. 2 [Ist. Ni 5376], o. 13 = checked through its photo on CDLI P229706) has **lu₂-gi-˹gid₂˺-a-kam** (Alster, 1997: 55 forgot the sign GI "lu₂-˹gíd˺-a-kam"), where the third sign seems like the BU (= **gid₂**) of *Šulgi R*, 50, manuscript B (= aBZL 265), not SUD (= **su₃**). We find **lu₂-gi-gid₂-˹kam˺** in the text CC (= SP, pl. 46 [UM 55-21-439], o. 3 = collated the 22/08/2019). Sign BU seems in that text and chain like the one of *Šulgi X*, 120 (see Attinger, 2019f: 10 for edition), manuscript C (see aBZL 265 for reference). Therefore, we would write here **gi-gid₂**.

[804] The expression **lu₂-gi-gid₂-˹kam˺** is apparently used in Manuscript CC of *Proverbs*, 2.54 with the **nar**, while the **gala** is connected there with **lu₂-gi-di-˹da˺** (we say apparently since **nar** and **gala** do not appear actually in the tablet because it is broken at that part as we saw in our collation of the tablet the 22/08/2019). The opposition **nar** vs. **lu₂ gi-di-da** is ensured by UET 6/2 267 [U. 17207,21], o. 7–8 (Peterson, 2019b: 572), and Alster, 2005: 396–403 [Cornell University Lib05], 7 (Alster, 2005: 397). Moreover, see the reference to **nar** and **gi-di** in **Lugal u₄ me-lam₂-bi nir-ŋal**, 617 (ETCSL 1.6.2).

distinction confront each other. We can see that in its first line, where the scribe (**dub-sar**) is opposed to the "person of incantations" (**lu₂ mu₇-mu₇**). Certainly, the scribe was familiar with the refined Sumerian dialect of high literature. In contrast, the incantations of the **lu₂ mu₇-mu₇** must have seemed as thought they were composed in a barbaric language, not Sumerian (although exorcists were not at all illiterate![805]) In our opinion, *Proverbs* 2.54 deals with professionals who are doing the opposite of their usual jobs due to their lack of talent, something fitting with the usual irony of Sumerian proverbs[806].

That makes sense with the opposition **nar** vs. **lu₂ gi-di-da** and **gala** vs. **lu₂ gi-gid₂-da**. In fact, the **nar** performed mainly (but not exclusively) in festivals[807], but the **gi-di** pipes were mainly used for lamentations[808]. In the same way, the **gala** was mainly occupied with the lamentations[809]. However, the **gi-gid₂** pipes were used in ceremonial events[810]. In this sense, **nar** and **gala** might be respectively understood as "musician" and "lamentation priest" without any exclusive connection to singing. Certainly, if *Proverbs* 2.54 wished to establish an opposition between singers and instrumentalists, why not use the term **lu₂ i-lu** ("singer", literally "person of the **i-lu** song")[811] instead of **nar**? Why not mention other instruments whose musicians were designated by the term **lu₂**[812]?

In light of these considerations, and those of our previous comments on *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 94–99, we would translate the term **nam-nar** from *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 110 also as "music" (like Konrad Volk)[813] and not "art of singing" as Åke Sjöberg did.

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[805] For this interpretation, Rendu Loisel, 2018: 94–95. In addition, see Pedersén, 1986: 41–76.

[806] Shehata, 2013: 78–79.

[807] Shehata, 2009: 29–31.

[808] See *Proto-ka₂-gal*, 374 and PBS 5 149 [CBS 10466], o. 10 (DCCLT) for lexical evidence on the laments of the **gi-di** (**er₂ gi-di(-da)**). In addition, see CT 15, pl. 18 [BM 15821], r. 14 (Cohen, 1981: 91); CT 36, pl. 41–42 [BM 96940], o. 21 (Cohen, 1981: 104) and *The Raging Sea*, a+38 (Cohen, 1988: 386).

[809] Shehata, 2013: 69.

[810] See *Inanna's Descent*, 353 (Attinger, 2019c: 66) and *Cursing of Agade*, 36 (ETCSL 2.1.5) for evidence. In addition, *Ur-Namma A*, 187 (see *infra* for our edition) and *Šulgi E*, 38 and 56 (ETCSL 2.4.2.05) for this term as a praise hymn (see Shehata, 2009: 259–260).

[811] MSL 12, p. 157 A [IM 58433 + 58496], 245–256 (DCCLT)

[812] MSL 12, p. 157 A [IM 58433 + 58496], 247–252 (DCCLT) mentions four specialities of this type: **lu₂ ᵏᵘˢ̌a₂-la₂**, **lu₂ al-ŋar-su-ra** ("player of the **al-ŋar-sur₉**"), **lu₂ balaŋ** and **lu₂ balaŋ(-)di-da** ("player of the **balaŋ-di** instrument" or "reciter of **balaŋ** laments").

[813] Volk, 2006: 55 n. 23 translates the entire line 110 as "Für die Musik ist er ohne jedes Talent, (aber auch) für jede (sonstige) Arbeit untauglich".

4.2.2. *The Father and his rude Son*, 107–112

In this composition, a father talks to his son, receiving back curt replies from the latter. In the excerpt to be studied here, the father wishes for his son a future as a scribe[814], while the son wants to become a musician[815]. Here is the first part of that discussion:

Text 24. *The Father and his rude Son*[816]

107   **nam-lu₂-ulu₃ gašam-ta ma-da al-tuš-a**

N$_{\text{I-K}}$	r. i 11	˹nam˺-lu₂-ulu₃	gašam	-ta	ma -da	al -tuš-a
N$_{\text{I-BB}}$	r. iii 13	nam-˹lu₂˺-x-ba˹?˺	gašam	-ta ˹ma˺-[		]
N$_{\text{I-GG}}$	r. i 3	nam-lu₂ -˹ulu₃˺	g[ašam˹?˺-			]
N$_{\text{I-II}}$	o. 1-2	[-u]₁₈˹?˺-lu˹	gašam-[		] / [-d]a ab-tuš	
N$_{\text{III-Z}}$	r. 8	nam -lu₂-˹ulu₃˺	gašam$_x$(NUN.ME)-ta	ma -da	ab-tuš-a	
N$_{\text{III-AA}}$	r. 4	˹nam-lu₂-ulu₃	gašam˺	-ta	˹ma˺-d[a	]
N$_{\text{III-DD}}$	o. 15	nam-˹lu₂˺-[ ]	gašam	-ta	m[a-	]
N$_{\text{III-EE}}$	o. 10	˹nam-lu₂˺-u₁₈-lu	˹gašam˺	-ta	ma-da	˹al˺-tuš-˹a˺
N$_{\text{III-EE1}}$	o. 6'	[		]-ta	ma-da	˹tuš -a˹˺
N$_{\text{III-FF}}$	o. 3-4	˹nam-lu₂˺-[ ]	˹gašam˺	-ta / ˹ma-da a	ab˺-tuš-a	
N$_{\text{III-HH}}$	o. 1	[			]-tuš-[ ]	
Ur$_2$	r. i 17'	[	gaša]m	-ta	ma-da˹	ab-tu[š-a]
Ur$_4$	o. 13	n[am]-lu₂ -lu$_x$(URU)	˹gašam˺-[	] ˹ma-da˺	tuš -˹a˺	

108   **ᵈen-ki-ke₄ niŋ₂-nam mu-sa₄-a-ba**

N$_{\text{I-K}}$	r. i 12	ᵈen	-ki -ke₄	niŋ₂ -a-na	mu -sa₄	-ba
N$_{\text{I-BB}}$	r. iii 14	ᵈ˹en˺	-ki-˹ke₄	n[iŋ₂]-˹a-na˺ [		]
N$_{\text{I-GG}}$	r. i 4	ᵈen	-ki-˹ke₄	niŋ₂˺ [		]
N$_{\text{I-II}}$	o. 3	[	]-˹ke₄˺		mu-˹sa₄˺-[	]
N$_{\text{I-JJ}}$	o. 1'	[		-˹nam	mu -sa₄ -a-[ ]	
N$_{\text{III-Z}}$	r. 9	ᵈen	-ki -ke₄	niŋ₂ -nam	mu -sa₄ -a	-˹ba˺
N$_{\text{III-AA}}$	r. 5	ᵈen	-ki -ke₄	niŋ₂ -nam	˹mu -sa₄˺ -a-a˹?˺-˹ba˺	
N$_{\text{III-DD}}$	o. 16	[		] ˹mu˺ -s[a₄-	]	
N$_{\text{III-EE}}$	o. 11	ᵈ˹en˺-{LIL}-ki -ke₄	˹niŋ₂ -nam	mu˺ -sa₄ -a		
N$_{\text{III-EE1}}$	o. 7'	[		] mu -sa₄ -˹a	-ba˹?˺	
N$_{\text{III-FF}}$	o. 5	ᵈen	-˹ki -ke₄˺	niŋ₂ -˹nam˹?˺	mu˺-sa₄ -a	-ba
N$_{\text{III-HH}}$	o. 2	[	-k]e₄	niŋ₂ -nam	mu -s[a₄-	]
Ur$_2$	r. i 18'	[	n]iŋ₂˹?˺ -nam	mu -˹še₂₁˺ -a -x		
Ur$_4$	o. 14	[	]-˹ke₄˹?˺	[ni]ŋ₂ -˹nam˺	še₂₁ -a -˹ba˺	

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[814] Römer, 1999: 201.

[815] Wilcke, 2002: 22; Volk, 2011: 277–278. Alster, 1975: 81 misunderstood of the term **ŋeš-gid₂-da** ("lance", "length", by context "trajectory"). In addition, he does not keep in mind that musicians might have had some problems for reading some texts written by scribes (*Šulgi E*, 249–251; ETCSL 2.4.2.05).

[816] Own score edition following the variants of Sjöberg, 1973: 146–147 (composite line on page 112), and the inspection of the copies/photos indicated below. Line 109 has been divided here in two since several manuscripts divided that line into two/three parts, and it was easier for us to arrange the edition in this way.

109a   **kiŋ₂-ge₄-a ki nam-dub-sar-ra-gen₇ al-ge₁₇-ga**

N_I-K	r. i 13	**kiŋ₂-ge₄ -a**		**nam -dub -sa[r]**	**-gen₇**	**al**	**-ge₁₇ -ga** x		
N_I-BB	r. iii 15	**kiŋ₂-ge₄ -a**	**ki**	**n[am-**					]
N_I-GG	r. i 5	˹**kiŋ₂-ge₄ -a**˺ [							]
N_I-II	o. 4	[ ]-˹**a**˺		**nam -dub** -˹**sar**˺		**al**˹-[			]
N_I-JJ	o. 2'	[ ]-**ge₄ -a** ˹**ki**˺		**nam**? -**dub -sar-**˹**ra**˺		**al** -[**ge**]₁₇-˹**ga**˺			
N_III-Z	r. 10	**kiŋ₂**		**nam -dub -sar –ra -gen₇**		**al** -˹**ge₁₇**˺ -ga			
N_III-AA	r. 6	**kiŋ₂ -ge₄**?-˹**a**˺ **ki**ˈ		**nam -dub** -˹**sar**˺-**ra -gen₇**ˈ		**al** -**ge₁₇ -ga**			
N_III-EE	o. 12	**kiŋ₂-**˹**ge₄-a**˺	**ki**	**nam** -˹**dub**˺-**sar -ra**		**al**ˈ -**ge**[₁₇			]
N_III-EE1	o. 8'	[		]-**gen₇**		**al** -˹**ge₁₇**˺			
N_III-FF	o. 6–7	˹**kiŋ₂-ge₄**˺-**a**	**ki**	˹**nam**˺ -**dub-sar**˺-**ra -še₃** /		˹**al** -**ge₁₇**˺ -ga			
N_III-HH	o. 3	[ ]-**ge₄ -a**	**ki**	**nam -dub-**˹**sar**˺ [					]
Ur₂	r. i 19'	[		**sa]r**? -**gen₇**		˹**al**?˺ -**ge₁₇**			
Ur₄	o. 15	**kiŋ₂ -gi-**˹**a**˺		**nam** -˹**dub** -**sar**˺-**r[a-g]en₇**?		**al** -**ge₁₇ -ga** [ ]-˹**še₂₁**˺ /			
	o. 16	**a-**˹**na**˺?-[…]-**e-NE** ˹**x**˺ [**x**] **nam-dub-**˹**sar**˺ […]							

109b   **ga-na mu-ni-in-pad₃-da**

N_I-K	r. i 13	˹**ga**˺ -**na**	**mu**	**-ni**	-˹**pad₃**˺ -**da**
N_I-BB	r. iii 15	[			]
N_I-GG	r. i 5	[			]
N_I-II	o. 4	**KI**	**mu**	-**ni -in-**[	]
N_I-JJ	o. 3'	˹**ga**˺ -**na**	**mu**	-**ni-[i]n-pad₃** -˹**da**˺	
N_III-Z	r. 10	**ga -<na> mu**		-**ni -in** -˹**pad₃ -de₃**˺	
N_III-AA	r. 6	**ga -**˹**na**˺	**mu**	-**ni-**˹ **pad₃ -da**ˈ˺	
N_III-EE	o. 12	˹**ga -na**˺	**mu**	-**ni**˺-[	]
N_III-EE1	o. 8'	**ga -na**	**mu**	-**ni**	-˹**pad₃**?˺-**da**
N_III-FF	o. 8	**ga -**˹**na**˺	**mu-**[	-˹**pad₃ -da**˺	
N_III-HH	o. 3	**ga-<na**	**mu>**	-**ni -x-**[	]
Ur₂	r. i 19'	**ga -na**	˹**mu**˺	-**n[i-**	]
Ur₄	o. 17	˹**ga -na**˺?	**mu**	-˹**ni**?˺ **ḫe₂**˺-**x-**[	]

110   **mu-še₃ la-ba-sa₄ tukum-bi nam-nar-nu**

N_I-K	r. i 14	**mu-**˹**še₃**˺	**la -ba**	**-sa₄**	**tukum -bi**	**nam -nar -nu**	
N_I-BB	r. iii 16	**mu -še₃**	**la -**[	] /	**tukum -b[i**	]	
N_I-II	o. 5	**mu -še₃**	**la-**[	]-˹**sa₄**˺	**tukum**˺ -**b[i**	]	
N_I-JJ	o. 4'–5'	[**m]u-še₃**	**la -ba-{ḪU}**[817]-˹**sa₄**˺ /		˹**tukum -bi**˺	**nam -nar -nu**	
N_III-Z	r. 11	**mu -še₃**	**la -ba**	**-sa₄**	**tukum**ˈ -**bi**	**nam -**˹**nar -ŋu₁₀**˺	
N_III-AA	r. 7–8	˹**mu -še₃**˺	**la**ˈ -**ba**	-˹**sa₄**˺ /	**tukum -bi**	**nam -[n]ar-nu**˺	
N_III-EE	o. 13	˹**mu -še₃**˺	**la -ba**	**-sa₄** /	˹**tukum**˺ -**bi**	**nam-**˹**nar**˺ -**nu**	
N_III-EE1	o. 9'	[	]-˹**ba**˺	**-sa₄** /	[	**n]ar -**˹**nu**˺	
N_III-FF	o. 9–10	**mu-**˹**še₃**˺	**la**?-˹**ba**˺	**-sa₄**˺ /	˹**tukum -bi**˺	**nam**˺ -**nar -**˹**nu**˺	
N_III-HH	o. 4	[		]	**tukum -bi**	**nam-**[	]
Ur₂	r. i 20'	[		]	**tu[kum]-bi**	**nam -**˹**nar**˺ [ ]	
Ur₄	o. 18	˹**mu-še₂₁**˺-**a**	**la -**˹**ba-še₂₁**˺		**tu[kum**	]	

(Father:) "[107] Among the people living in the country with (their) craftsmen, [108] when Enki gave a name to all the things, [110] he did not designate [109a] contents which are so painful like those of the place of the scribal art! [109b] Come on! (Can) you name something (like that)?"

[110] (Son:) "Except (those of) music!"

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[817] The scribe probably tried to write here the sign ḪU of the logogram **sa₄**(ḪU.NA₂). However, perceiving that it might be confusing, he tried to erase that sign and rewrote it a bit closer to NA₂. Obviously, we say "he tried" because that sign is still readable in the tablet.

N[I-K]	FTS, p. 62 [2 N-T 376] (publication copy)
N[I-BB]	Wilcke, 1973: 35–37 [HS 1478 + 1538 + 1602] (publication copy)
N[I-GG]	Sjöberg, 1973: 166 [N 3218] (publication copy; collated the 20/08/2019)
N[I-II]	SEM 60 [CBS 13950] (publication copy; photo on CDLI P268950; collated the 20/08/2019)
N[I-JJ]	SEM 61 [CBS 13964] (photo on CDLI P268962; collated the 20/08/2019).
N[III-Z]	Kaneva, 1966: 70–73 [Hermitage 15234] (publication copy and photograph)
N[III-AA]	Sjöberg, 1973: 158 [N 1063] (publication photo; collated the 20/08/2019)
N[III-DD]	SEM 62 [CBS 13297][819] (publication copy; photo on CDLI P268378; collated the 22/08/2019)
N[III-EE]	TMH NF 3 39 [HS 1459] (publication copy; photo/3D model on HAO)
N[III-EE1]	Sjöberg, 1973: 166 [3 N-T 927,518] (publication copy) [820]
N[III-FF]	Sjöberg, 1973: 159 [UM 29-15-195] (publication photo; collated the 20/08/2019)
N[III-HH]	Sjöberg, 1973: 167 [3 N-T 919,462] (publication copy)[821]
Ur[2]	UET 6/2 161 + 164 + 619 [U. ---] (photo on CDLI P346246; collated the 02/08/2019)
Ur[4]	UET 6/2 162 [U. ---] (photo on CDLI P346247; collated the 02/08/2019)

In this excerpt, the father tries to highlight the "aspects" (**kiŋ₂-ge₄-a**)[822] of the writing (literally, "the place of the writing", **ki nam-dub-sar-ra**)[823] among the crafts (**gašam**) of the humanity (**nam-lu₂-ulu₃**)[824]. For that, he uses the expression **ge₁₇** referring to

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[818] They follow Sjöberg, 1973: 107–109, but manuscripts from Nippur have an initial N (= Nippur) and an I (= Type I) or III (= Type III) according to their textual typology.

[819] Sjöberg, 1973: 108 confused the manuscripts and assigned SEM 62 to CBS 7099. Certtainly, this tablet is a manuscript for the text *Two Scribes* (ETCSL 5.04.01) as we can see on CDLI P262138.

[820] This tablet was not available for its collation on 19–23/08/2019 in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology since it had already been returned to Iraq at that time.

[821] This tablet was not available for its collation on 19–23/08/2019 in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology since it had already been returned to Iraq at that time.

[822] Previous translations: Sjöberg, 1973: 117 ("Beruf", *idem* in Shehata, 2009: 1); Farber-Flüge, 1973: 110 ("Arbeit"); Römer, 1990: 85 ("Aufgabe"); Wilcke, 2002: 22 ("Handwerken"); Ziegler, 2013: 48 ("specialization"); Ceccarelli, 2018: 141 n. 64 ("Beruf"); Peterson, 2019b: 463 ("assigned task(?)"). See our thoughts on the meaning of this word in the previously studied text.

[823] Sjöberg, 1973: 117 ("Schreiberhandwerk", idem in Shehata, 2009: 1); Farber-Flüge, 1973: 110 ("Schreibkunst"); Römer, 1990: 85 ("Schreibkunst"), Wilcke, 2002: 22 ("Schreibkunst") and Ziegler, 2013: 48 ("art du scribe") forget the presence of **ki**, but not Peterson, 2019b: 463 ("place of(?) scribal art").

[824] Sjöberg, 1973: 117 ("Unter den sachkundigen Meistern", idem in Shehata, 2009: 1); Römer, 1990: 85 ("Unter den Menschen, (*die*) jeweils Weisheit (*besitzen*)"); Civil, 1994: 73 ("the people who live at the artisans"); Wilcke, 2002: 22 ("Unter der Menscheit, die nach Handwerken"); Ziegler, 2013: 48 ("Parmi les spécialistes"); Ceccarelli, 2018: 141 n. 64 ("Für die Menschen, die unter Fachmännern im Lande wohnen"); Peterson, 2019b: 463 ("From the (ranks of) skilled humanity"). Our translation of lines 107–108 is based on this grammatical analysis: **nam.lulu ø** [ABS] **gašam** + **ta** [ABL] **ma.da** + **a** [LOC] **a(l)** [VP] + **tuš** [PFV] + **a** [NMLZ] + **a** [distributive LOC = DGS, p. 257] **ᵈen.ki.k/g** + **e** [ERG] **niŋ₂.nam** + **ø** [ABS] **ø** [VP] + **mu** [VNT] (+ **n** [3SG.A]) + **sa₄** [PFV] + **ø** [3NH.O] + **a** [NMLZ] + **be** [3NH.POSS] + **a** [LOC].

something able to sicken the one who practices it[825]. The father tries to show in this way that the scribal office is something so difficult that only a few people are able to master it completely. The son replies that **nam-nar** is also very complex. This term, **nam-nar**, has usually been translated here as "art of singing"[826], something making sense with the comparison between the scribe's hand and the **nar**'s throat (**meli$_2$**)[827]. However, our text compares here two professions *sensu lato*. Therefore, a meaning as "music" [828] (as a larger entity than just "singing") might fit better. The son argues his reply in these lines:

Text 25. *The Father and his rude Son*[829]

111   **peš$_{10}$ a-ab-ba-gen$_7$ peš$_{10}$ ⌜peš$_{10}$-e⌝ bad-bad-ra$_2$**

N$_{I-K}$	r. i 15	pe[š$_{10}$] a -ab -ba -gen$_7$	peš$_{10}$-e	bad -bad -ra$_2$	
N$_{III-Z}$	r. 12	peš$_{10}$ a -ab -ba -gen$_7$	peš$_{10}$ peš$_{10}$-bi	šag$_4$ -nar -ka	
N$_{III-AA}$	r. 8	peš$_{10}$ a-⌜ab -ba⌝-gen$_7$	peš$_{10}$ ⌜peš$_{10}$-e⌝		
N$_{I-BB}$	r. iii 17	peš$_{10}$ a -ab -ba -g[en$_7$			]
N$_{III-EE}$	o. 14	peš$_{10}$ a -ab -ba -gen$_x$	peš$_{10}$-⌜peš$_{10}$-e⌝	ba -bad -ra$_2$	
N$_{III-EE1}$	o. 10'	[	pe]š$_{10}$?	⌜ba⌝ -bad -ra$_2$	
N$_{III-FF}$	o. 11	⌜peš$_{10}$ a -ab -ba -gen$_7$⌝	[pe]š$_{10}$ pe[š$_{10}$ x	⌜ba⌝ -bad -ra$_2$	
N$_{III-HH}$	o. 5	peš$_{10}$ ⌜a⌝-ab -ba -ka⌐ x [			]
N$_{I-II}$	o. 6	peš$_{10}$ a-⌜ab -ba -gen$_7$⌝ x ⌜pe[š$_{10}$-			]
N$_{I-JJ}$	o. 6'	[pe]š$_{10}$ ⌜a⌝-ab -ba -gen$_7$?	⌜peš$_{10}$ peš$_{10}$⌝-a	ba -⌜bad⌝ -ra$_2$	
Ur$_2$	r. i 21'	[		] ba]d-⌜bad -ra$_2$⌝	
Ur$_4$	o. 19	peš$_{10}$ a -ab -ba -gen$_7$	⌜peš$_{10}$⌝ pe[š$_{10}$]-⌜še$_3$⌝ [		]

112   **šag$_4$ nam-nar-ra ur$_5$-gen$_7$ al-su$_3$-ud**

N$_{I-K}$	r. i 16	šag$_4$ nam -nar-ra$^{!?}$	ur$_5$ -gen$_7$	al -su$_3$ -ud	
N$_{III-Z}$	r. 13	nam-dub-sar	ur$_5$ -gen$_7$	al -su$_3$ -ud	
N$_{III-AA}$	r. 9	[šag$_4$ n]am-nar-ra-ka	⌜ur$_5$⌝-gen$_7$	⌜al?⌝ -s[u$_3$ -u]d	
N$_{I-BB}$	r. iii 18	⌜šag$_4$ nam -na⌝[r			]
N$_{III-EE}$	o. 15	[š]ag$_4$ nam -nar-ra	ur$_5$?-gen$_7$	al -su$_3$ -ud	
N$_{III-FF}$	o. 12	⌜šag$_4$⌝ nam?-nar-⌜ra-ka⌝	ur$_5$ -gen$_7$	al -⌜su$_3$ - ud?⌝	
N$_{III-HH}$	o. 6	šag$_4$ nam -⌜nar⌝-[			]
N$_{I-II}$	o. 7	šag$_4$ nam -⌜nar⌝-ra	ur$_5$ -gen$_7$	⌜al⌝-[	]
N$_{I-JJ}$	o. 8'	[ ] nam -⌜nar⌝-ra	ur$_5$ -gen$_7$	al -⌜su$_3$⌝ -ud	
Ur$_2$	r. i 22'	[		] ⌜al?⌝-[ ] x	
Ur$_4$	o. 20	šag$_4$ nam-nar-ra-⌜ke$_4$⌝ [	] x [		]

111   Like a shore of the ocean is very remote to the (other) shores,
112   so the (deep) sense of music (is) remote (to us)!

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[825] Attinger, 2019d: 65 for **ge$_{17}$(-g)** and related entries.

[826] Sjöberg, 1973: 117 ("Gesangkunst", *idem* in Shehata, 2009: 1); Farber-Flüge, 1973: 110 ("Gesangskunst"); Thomsen, 1984: 84 ("art of singing"); Zamudio, 2017: 81 ("arte de cantar"); Wilcke, 2002: 22 ("Sängertum"); Ceccarelli, 2018: 141 n. 64 ("Sängertum").

[827] *Proverbs* 2.43 (ETCSL 6.1.02).

[828] Falkenstein, 1950: 150 n. 4 ("Musikantentum"); Römer, 1990: 85 ("Musikkunst"); Ziegler, 2013: 48 ("art de la musique"); Peterson, 2019b: 463 ("art of the musician").

[829] See *supra* all the details of this edition (also the *sigla*).

This excerpt has the **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** (literally, "heart (**šag₄**) of music"[830]), expression defined in the past as "knowledge[831] / secrets"[832] / sense[833] / content(s)[834] of music"[835]. We should keep in mind that only "sense" and "content" are accepted meanings for **šag₄**[836]. Rest of these translations have their own words in Sumerian[837]. Furthermore, we need to analyse the term **su₃-ud** explaining **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** in our excerpt. We have four **al-su₃-ud** in the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts. The term **su₃-ud** describes how distant are the richness[838] or the roads to be crossed[839] for a common person. However, it also describes how long life may be for the righteous person[840].

The expression **al-su₃-ud** might thus refer in our excerpt to something remote, which does not fit with **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** as "aspect(s) of music". Certainly, aspects of an entity can be "extensive" (**daŋal**), but not "remote" (**su₃-ud**). In this sense, we should define **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** as "(deep) sense of music". That fits well with the sense of this expression in the excerpt *Šulgi B*, 162 to be discussed later. As we shall see again, **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** is mentioned in *Šulgi B*, 162 in an enumeration of musical terms mainly referring to instruments, not to songs. Certainly, **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** as "(deep) sense of singing"[841] is not suitable since a **nar** used to become a good musician when he has already mastered just one song (**en₃-du**)[842]. Therefore, in our opinion, there was not too much to explore concerning singing to have a "(deep) sense of singing". However, music

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[830] Translated in this way in Sjöberg, 1973: 117 ("das 'Herz' der Gesangkunst"); Römer, 1990: 85 ("'Herz' der Musikkunst") and perhaps Ziegler, 2013: 48 ("coeur (savoir?) de la musique!").

[831] Wilcke, 2002: 22 ("vom Wesen des Sängertums" *idem* in Pruzsinszky, 2007: 331 and 2010: 97). Volk, 2011: 278 ("Wesen des Musikertums").

[832] Shehata, 2009: 1 ("die 'Geheimnisse' der Musik/Gesangskunst").

[833] Farber-Flüge, 1973: 110 ("Sinn der Musik").

[834] Peterson, 2019b: 463 ("the content of the art of the musician").

[835] Alster, 1975: 83 translates the complete line as "so difficult is to learn the art of the singers".

[836] Attinger, 2019d: 176 ("contenu (d'un message)" and "sens (profond)").

[837] See ePSD for **niŋ₂-umun** and **niŋ₂-zu** ("knowledge"), **umun₂** ("knowledge", also "workshop" as we shall discuss below) in addition to LIL₂ ("secret knowledge").

[838] *Proverbs* 1.15 (Attinger, 2018: 3).

[839] *Aba-taḫ-lugalŋa to his brothers*, 3 and 11 (ETCSL 3.3.06).

[840] UET 6/2 258 [U. 17207,27] (Peterson, 2019b: 568.).

[841] As in Sjöberg, 1973: 117; Alster, 1975: 83; Wilcke, 2002: 22; Pruzsinszky, 2007: 331; Shehata, 2009: 1 and Pruzsinszky, 2010: 97 (see our previous notes for translations).

[842] *Proverbs* 2.39 (Attinger, 2018: 9).

might certainly have that "(deep) sense" as discipline/practice (perhaps a reflection of the type "what is the authentic purpose of music in our lives?"). Certainly, its contents were already very specialized by Old Babylonian times as we shall see, *inter alia*, in our section on Sumerian royal praise poetry.

In light of these considerations, we believe that the son tries to convince his father in this excerpt that difficulties of the writing concern just the body and its weakness, difficulties which can be solved with an additional training. However, problems of music concern the mind, something not so easy to train or to solve.

4.3. Mythological Narrations

4.3.1. Introduction: about a master of the music (**lugal nam-nar-ra**)

As an introduction to this section, we shall consider an excerpt dealing with the gods Enki and Ŋeštinanna. It does not come from a mythological text but from a royal praise hymn. In any case, maybe this excerpt is useful for contextualizing what follows:

Text 26. *Šulgi E*[843]

162   **lugal nam-nar-ra ᵈen-ki** […]

      N_{I-I} r. i' 7'   [**na]m-nar -ra ᵈen-ˊkiˋ** […]
      N_{U-J} 13'   [**-na]r-ˊra ᵈsuenˋ** […]
      X_{I-B} r. i 14'   **lugal   nam -nar -ra ᵈe[n-**   …]

163   **ᵈlamma ˊnamˋ-nar-ra ᵈŋeštin-an-[na**[844] …]

      N_{I-I} r. i' 8'   [**na]m -nar -ra**   **ᵈŋeštin-[-** …]
      N_{U-J} 14'   [**-n]ar-ˊra   diŋir-ˊbe₂ˋ**[845] **ᵈŋeš[tin-** …]
      X_{I-B} r. i 15'   **ᵈlamma ˊnamˋ-nar -ra ᵈ[**   …]

162   The master of music, Enki, […]
163   The protective deity of music, Ŋeštinan[na, …]

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[843] Our own score edition keeping in mind that of BPOA, p. 166. However, we made some changes in that edition as a consequence of having consulted the copies/photos of the manuscripts indicated below.

[844] ETCSL 2.4.2.05 has "ᵈĝeštin-an-/na\", but there is no evidence of the last sign NA in the manuscripts according to our inspection.

[845] Connections with the Kassite text PBS 1/1 11 [CBS 11341], r. 10 (CKST) are especially evident here due to the presence in that text of a **lamma-bi** ("their protective goddess"). See Westenholz, 2005: 362–363 for a previous comment and thanks to Luděk Vacín for the reference to this text and publication.

The first line of this text has usually been understood as a reference to the moon god Nanna/Suen as "master" (**lugal**) of music[847] starting from the variant N$_{\text{U-J}}$. However, the manuscript N$_{\text{I-I}}$ suggested that Enki might be actually that master of music[848]. We are faced with two different conceptions about the supreme musical figure in Mesopotamia since manuscript N$_{\text{U-J}}$ seems to have actually ᵈEN.˹ZU˺ (= ᵈ˹**suen**˺)[849] and not ᵈ**en-ki**! Moreover, Nanna/Suen was also praised with songs[850] and instrumental music[851].

In any case, some legal texts[852] and the excerpt of *The Father and his rude Son* previously commented on here invite us to privilege the variant ᵈ**en-ki** for this excerpt of *Šulgi E*. Certainly, the fourth string of the instrument described in our Mesopotamian

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[846] They follow Klein, 2005: 149, but we have put an N (= Nippur) or X (= Uncertain) for their provenance. Manuscripts from Nippur have I (= Type I) or U (= Uncertain) for their typology. For other *sigla* of Klein's forthcoming edition of *Šulgi E*, see Klein and Sefati, 2013 and Klein, 2014: 174 n. 35.

[847] Krispijn, 1990: 2 translates "Der Gott Sīn ist Herr der Musiker und der Musik, und Ĝestinanna ihre Schutzgöttin". However, he confuses here **lugal nar-e-ne-ka** ("master of musicians") with **lugal nam-nar-ra** ("master of music"). For his translation, we should have **u₃ nam-nar-ra**. The sentence **nam-nar-ra** ᵈ**lamma-bi** is neither explained well in that translation. We would follow Ludwig, 1990: 207 ("Der Herr der Gesangeskunst, Sîn…") since the translation of **lugal** in ETCSL 2.4.2.05 translation ("King of the singer's art, Suen ……,") does not fit correctly here. Certainly, we are dealing with a hymn for King Šulgi, and, therefore we should just have a king. That is, the god Suen cannot be another king.

[848] BPOA 9, p. 166.

[849] BPOA 9, p. 166 read "ᵈEn-˹ki˺?" However, the second sign is far from being KI (even incorrect) in our opinion, at the most ZU or BA (we have chosen the first one in light of the context).

[850] **tige** (*Ibbī-Suen A*, 38 (ETCSL 2.4.5.1), *Nanna I*, 42 (ETCSL 4.13.09) and **a-da-ab** hymns (*Ibbī-Suen C*, 71; ETCSL 2.4.5.3); **bal-bal-e** responsorial chants (*Nanna A*, 6; ETCSL 4.13.01); **šer₃ nam-šub** sung texts (*Nanna K*, 28; ETCSL 4.13.11); **u₃-lu-lu-ma-ma** (*Ibbī-Suen D*, 16; ETCSL 2.4.5.4) and **i-lu** songs (*Nanna A*, 34–36; ETCSL 4.13.01).

[851] *Šulgi A*, 49–51 (Delnero, 2006: 1886–1888 with Vacín, 2011: 273, music of the **šem₅** cymbals, the **a₂-la₂** giant drum and the **tige₂**); *Temple Hymns*, 107 (ETCSL 4.80.1; music of the **a-da-ab** in the **ŋešbun** banquets of the Nanna's temple in Ur, and music of the **šem₅** and the ᵏᵘˢ**a₂-la₂** play in its **unu₂** dining hall).

[852] See our Texts 16–17 for reference.

music theory texts is called in Akkadian *a ba-nu-u$_2$* or ^{d}*e$_2$-a* **DU$_3$** = "Ea the creator"[853]. In the following pages, we shall consider two excerpts from mythological narrations where **nam-nar** and the god Enki are related.

4.3.2. Music as destiny: **nam-nar** in *Enki and Ninmaḫ*, b 26–29

At the dawn of the universe, the gods will demand for a solution that allows them to survive without working. At that moment, Enki, god of wisdom, together with the "Mother Goddesses" like Ninmaḫ, decides to create human beings who will work for the gods henceforth. That fact was then celebrated at an after-party where Enki and Ninmaḫ will get deeply drunk. At that moment, Ninmaḫ threatens to curse humanity. Enki answers her that he will reverse all her evil actions. Because of this, Ninmaḫ challenges Enki to decree a good destiny for seven disabled beings created by her[854]. In these pages, we shall focus our attention on the second of the said disabled beings of Ninmaḫ:

Text 27. *Enki and Ninmaḫ*[855]

b 26   **ge$_4$-bi ŋeš-nu$_{11}$ ge$_4$-ge$_4$ lu$_2$ u$_6$-e am$_3$-ma-ni-in-dim$_2$**

     OB-N$_{I-A}$ o. ii 2   ⌈**ge$_4$-bi**⌉ [**am$_3$ -ma -ni-in-dim$_2$**[856]]
     OB-X$_{I-C}$ o. ii 26'   **ge$_4$-bi   ŋeš-**⌈**nu$_{11}$**⌉[857] **ge$_4$-g[e$_4$] lu$_2$** ⌈**u$_6$**⌉**-e am$_3$-**⌈**ma**⌉**-ni-in-dim$_2$**

b 27 ^{d}⌈**en-ki**⌉**-ke$_4$ ŋeš-**⌈**nu$_{11}$**⌉ **ge$_4$-ge$_4$ lu$_2$ u$_6$-e i[gi du$_8$-a-ne$_2$-ta]**

     OB-N$_{I-A}$ o. ii 3' ^{d} ⌈**en -ki**⌉**-**[858][**igi   du$_8$-a-ne$_2$-ta**[859]]
     OB-X$_{I-C}$ o. ii 27' ^{d} ⌈**en -ki -ke$_4$ ŋeš-**⌉**nu$_{11}$ ge$_4$-ge$_4$**⌉ **lu$_2$** ⌈**u$_6$**⌉**-e ig[i du$_8$-a-ne$_2$-ta**[860]]

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[853] Krispijn, 2002: 469; Shehata, 2002: 488. The connections of Enki with the instrumental music help to dismiss the translation of **nam-nar** as "singing" defended on Ludwig, 1990: 207 and ETCSL 2.4.2.05.

[854] For the most recent overview of this narration, see Ceccarelli, 2016: 2–3.

[855] Score edition dependent upon that of Ceccarelli, 2016: 110–112 with corrections derived from our consultation of the copies/photos of the manuscripts indicated below (some of them collated).

[856] Restitution ensured by OB-X$_{I-C}$ o. ii 23' (Ceccarelli, 2016: 110).

[857] Ceccarelli, 2016: 110 forgot a sign ŊEŠ between BI (= **bi**) and NU$_{11}$/ŠIR (= **nu$_{11}$**) reading **ŋešnu**(NU$_{11}$/ŠIR). However, we should read **ŋeš-nu$_{11}$** for keeping in mind that sign ŊEŠ. In this sense, we should follow the previous editions of this text (for instance, ETCSL 1.1.2 or, better, Lambert, 2013: 338).

[858] Lambert, 2013: pl. 58 has here the beginning of an additional sign. However, our collation of the manuscript allows us to say that there is actually no sign in that part of said manuscript.

[859] Restitution ensured by OB-N$_{I-A}$ o. ii 15' (Ceccarelli, 2016: 114).

[860] Restitution ensured by OB-X$_{I-C}$ o. ii 24' (Ceccarelli, 2016: 110).

| b 28 | **na[m]-bi i-ni-in˻-tar ˹nam˺-nar ˹mi˺-ni-˹in-ba˺** |
| | |

| OB-N_{I-A} | o. ii 4' | **na[m]-˹bi˺ [ ]-˹in˺-[   ]** |
| OB-X_{I-C} | o. ii 28' | **na[m] -bi   i-˹ni -in˺-tar ˹nam˺-nar ˹mi˺-ni-˹in-ba˺** |

| b 29 | **[nar]⁸⁶¹-˹gal zag gu˺-la⁸⁶² ˹igi lugal-la˺-ke₄ ˹am₃˺-[m]a-ni-i[n-gub⁸⁶³]** |

| OB-N_{I-A} | Omits |
| OB-X_{I-C} | o. ii 29' | **[nar]-˹gal zag gu˺-la ˹igi lugal-la˺-ke₄ ˹am₃˺-[m]a-ni-i[n-gub]** |

b 26	Second, she (= Ninmaḫ) created a "damaged-sighted man", a "man to admire".
b 27	[After] Enki [sa]w the "man with the damaged sight", the "man to admire",
b 28	he decreed his destiny: He allotted (to him) music (and)
b 29	he [established] (him as) Chief [Musician] in a pre-eminent position before the king.

*Sigla*⁸⁶⁴

| OB-N_{I-A} | Ceccarelli, 2016: pl. 1–10 [CBS 2168 + 2202 + 11327 + 12738 + 13368 + N 1889] (publication photo; RTI model on CDLI P259234; collated the 19/08/2019) |
| OB-X_{I-C} | Ceccarelli, 2016: pl. 11–12, 14–15 [AO 7036] (copy on Lambert, 2013: pl. 60; publication photo; photo on Thomas, 2017) |

The term **nam-nar** describes here the destiny (**nam**) of an individual who, according to the expressions **ŋeš-nu₁₁ ge₄ ge₄** ("a damaged-sighted person")⁸⁶⁵ and **lu₂ u₆-e** ("man

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⁸⁶¹ This is the most popular (Sauren, 1993: 198; Casey, 1998: 207; Shehata, 2009: 37; Gadotti, 2010: 52; Ceccarelli, 2016: 46, 113) and logical restitution here. However, there have been other restitutions: 1) [**en**] (Benito, 1969: 27, 39), 2) [**balaŋ**] (perhaps Wilcke, 2007: 32) and 3) [**e₂**] (Rodin, 2014: 287, 340).

⁸⁶² This has usually been transliterated as **ušumgal-la** (Benito, 1969: 27; ETCSL 1.1.2; Shehata, 2009: 37). However, we agree with Ceccarelli, 2016: pl. 13, but, we should be careful, since the ZAG of OB-X_{I-C}, r. i 4' has a central vertical wedge not present in OB-X_{I-C}, o. ii 29'. In any case, OB-X_{I-C}, r. i 4' is damaged at that part, and both shapes are still similar to ZAG. In our opinion, Henri de Genouillac (author of the copy of this tablet in TCL 16 71) confused the beginning and the end of ZAG respectively with another GAL and the beginning of BUR₂ (**ušumgal** = GAL.BUR₂). The term **ušumgal kalam-ma** is mentioned in *Šulgi T*, 10 (ETCSL 2.4.2.20), but it comes from Gudea's times as we saw in our first chapter.

⁸⁶³ Restitution ensured by OB-X_{I-C} o. ii 25' (Ceccarelli, 2016: 110).

⁸⁶⁴ They follow Ceccarelli, 2016: 89–91, but we put OB (= Old Babylonian) for the chronology of the tablets of this text. Certainly, there are also some Neo-Assyrian tablets for *Enki and Ninmaḫ*. See Ceccarelli, 2016: 90 for reference. In addition, we put an I (= Type I) for their tablet typology when the tablets come from Nippur, and N (= Nippur) or X (= Uncertain) for their provenance.

⁸⁶⁵ We agree with Ceccarelli, 2016: 47–48 as a consensus between the main positions for this expression. On the one hand, those understanding it as "blind person" (Renger, 1969: 184, n. 839; Bottéro and Kramer, 1989: 191; Ziegler, 2006b: 39; Lambert, 2013: 339; Ziegler, 2017: 32). On the other hand, those translating as "someone who turned back the light" (ETCSL 1.1.2: 61–64; Shehata, 2009: 36; Gadotti, 2010: 53; Westenholz, 2013: 265; Rodin, 2014: 287). In addition, see Couto Ferreira, 2009: 145, 240, **Lugal u₄ me-lam₂-bi nir-ŋal**, 514 (ETCSL 1.6.2) and *Dumuzi-Inanna T*, 22 (ETCSL 4.08.20) for comments about the ^{na4}**ŋeš-nu₁₁-gal**/*ašnugallu*(*m*), a brilliant object able to project light like the human eye.

to admire")[866], seems to be blind. In this way, the content of this excerpt recalls those Old Babylonian texts about blind musicians[867], like this one (of uncertain provenance). In this text, the blind female, Šinunutum, is going to learn music (*nārūtum*)[868]:

Text 28. TJA, p. 151 [UMM G 40] (Ammī-ditāna, 23-10-02 (?))[869]

o. 1   *iš-tu* **ITI AB.˹E₃˺.A U₄.18.KAM**[870]
o. 3   ^{pf}*ši-nu-nu-tum* **IGI.NU.<DAL₂>**[871]
o. 4   ˹*a-na*˺ *na-ru-tim a-ḫa-zi-im*
o. 5   ˹*a-na*˺ *ma-aḫ-ri-ia*
o. 6   *ub-lu-*˹*ni*˺*-iš*

o. 1. From the 18th day of the month Ṭebētum, o. 2–6. he brought to me Šinunutum, a blind female, for learning music (with me).

In order to elucidate the meaning of **nam-nar** in *Enki and Ninmaḫ*, we should have a look at the term **nar gal**. This term, placed at the last line of our excerpt, designates the exact condition of the blind individual of Ninmaḫ once Enki has decided his musical destiny (**nam**). According to the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts, the **nar gal** could be 1) the teacher of some inexpert musicians[872], 2) a sort of professional colleague of the **um-mi-a** ("scholars") in charge of the hymns for the king[873], or 3) a supervisor of

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[866] See Ceccarelli, 2016: 48 for the most plausible interpretation of this expression.

[867] See FM 9, p. 21–22 for those texts, all of them coming from Mari.

[868] Previous translations of *nārūtum* in this excerpt: CAD A1, p. 177b ("the art of singing"); TJA, p. 151 ("le chant"); CAD N1, p. 382 ("the art of the musician"); Gelb, 1976: 59 ("singing"); Shehata, 2009: 38 ("nar-Kunst"); Démare-Lafont, 2011: 14 ("musique"); Cohen and Kedar, 2011: 240 ("the musician's craft"); Stol, 2012: 550 and 2016: 362 ("music"); Ziegler, 2017: 38 ("la musique"); Pruzsinszky, 2018a: 98 ("música"). We prefer the translations as "music" since we do not have sufficient information about Šinunutum to know her concrete musical specialization as singer (in reference to the translations of CAD A1, p. 177b and TJA, p. 151) or another type of musician.

[869] Edition dependent upon TJA, p. 151 and CDLI P315346. We have corrected their transliterations inspecting the handwritten copy and photo of this manuscript on CDLI P3153456.

[870] TJA, p. 151 and CDLI P315346 have considered **U₄.18.KAM** as an independent line. However, as TJA, p. 151 showed it, this sequence actually does not start at the beginning of the supposed line 2.

[871] Restitution following Fincke, 2000: 61, which helps to dismiss TJA, p. 151 n. 1.

[872] *"Monkey" to his mother*, 6 (Kleinerman, 2011: 158 and 278), and *Proverbs* 3.150.

[873] *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 333, C 6–7 (ETCSL 2.5.4.01).

music[874]. In fact, the **nar gal** appears just once[875] in those texts using an instrument (the **a₂ taraḫ**, "ibex horn") which probably was used just as a signal instrument, and not as a true melodic instrument like the other instruments mentioned in that excerpt[876].

Therefore, the **nar gal** should not be considered in our excerpt a performer as it has usually been understood[877]. Far from that, and even if he had to be an excellent musician in an earlier point in his career[878], the **nar gal** should be seen as a musical organizer. According to the Old Babylonian administrative texts from southern Mesopotamia, his competences could *a priori* pertain to all kind of musicians[879]. However, they differed concerning those in northern Mesopotamia, and especially the kingdom of Mari. Certainly, in that kingdom, a single *nargallum* used to be the in charge of all the musical activities of the state in addition to other, occasional non-musical activities[880]. In Southern Mesopotamia, the musical competences of the **nar gal** became more limited in the most important cities from a cultic perspective. Certainly, we have several references to two **nar gal** at the same time in Nippur. Each of them might be in charge of the musical activities of some temples as in other southern Mesopotamian cities at that time[881].

The said condition of the **nar gal** as a specialization of the **nar** makes sense also in light of our Old Babylonian lexical evidence, where this figure is just one of the different

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[874] *Šulgi E*, 155. See the beginning of the next section of this study for our edition and comments.

[875] Unlike Shehata, 2009: 24, **nar gal-zu** of *Uruk Lament*, H 27 (ETCSL 2.2.5) is not a variant of **nar gal** since **gal-zu** ("skilful") is an adjective of **nar**, as in *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 338 (ETCSL 2.5.4.01) with **nar gal-an-zu-ne** (**gal-zu** is as alternative spelling of **gal-an-zu**).

[876] *Našše A*, 41–44 (Attinger, 2019e: 84–85). See Kümmel, 1972–1975: 469 for comments.

[877] Sauren, 1993: 198 n. 3 ("king's singer"); Kikawada, 1994: 171 ("singer"); Casey, 1998: 207 ("singer"); Stol, 2000: 109 ("singer"); FM 9, p. 22 ("grand musicien"); Espak, 2010: 197 ("a musician in the king's court"); Westenholz, 2010: 202 ("singer and musician"); Ziegler, 2011: 294 ("musician"); Zgoll, 2012: 48 ("Sänger"); Rodin, 2014: 290 ("musician of the king"); Westenholz, 2013: 265 ("a court rather than a sacerdotal musician"); Ceccarelli, 2016: 55 ("großer Sänger"); Ziegler, 2017: 32 ("musicien").

[878] FM 9, p. 9 talked about the *nargallum* in Mari texts. However, that idea still makes sense since, in many Spanish *amateur* wind orchestras, the conductor is usually the most veteran musician of that group.

[879] In AbB 9 193 [NBC 5309] (Ḫammu-rāpi 31+), r. 1 (Archibab T767), the *nargallum* Šu-Amurrum is responsible for a group of *ḫuppûm* acrobatic dancers.

[880] See the different works by Nele Ziegler (2006a: 347–348; 2006b: 36–37; 2007: 7–12; 2011: 90; 2012: 35–41; 2013: 50–62) for an overview of the *nargallum* in that kingdom.

[881] Shehata, 2009: 22 besides Mayer, 2005: pl. 35–36 [IB 211] (Rīm-Sîn I 38-11-00), r. 4–5 (Archibab T19565) (not commented on by Shehata, 2009: 22) and TMH 10 8 [HS 2077] (Šamšu-ilūna 15-02-01), o. 8–9 (Archibab T23260).

specialities of the **nar**[882]. Therefore, we would follow to those who have understood **nar gal** in *Enki and Ninmaḫ* as a "chief musician"[883].

In this sense, **nam-nar** cannot designate the profession of the **nar**[884] since we are dealing with a different type of musical figure. In the same way, we should dismiss the translations of **nam-nar** as "art of song"[885] or "art of singing"[886] (in addition to "musicianship"[887]). The reason is the **nar gal** was a musical organizer, not a performer, and, at the most, he should be understood as an instrumentalist, and not as singer.

We arrive finally to the translations of **nam-nar** in *Enki and Ninmaḫ* as "art of music"[888] and "music"[889]. Both translations are very similar. However, if we consider "art" as "technique" (as in "the art of war"), we shall transform our **nar gal** in a specialist when his profession as "musical administrator" was certainly generalist within the field of music. On the other hand, if we consider "art" as "artistic manifestation", we shall forget that the **nar gal** should also deal with the non-artistic parts of the music (for instance, the good maintenance of the musical instruments). In this sense, we would support the interpretations of **nam-nar** as "music", whose generic character is in line with the profession of the **nar gal**.

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[882] *Proto-**lu₂***, 642 (DCCLT Q000047).

[883] Kramer and Maier, 1989: 34 ("[chief] musician"); Klein, 1997: 518 ("chief-[musician]") and perhaps Shehata, 2009: 36 ("großen/Ober-[Musiker]").

[884] Renger, 1969: 184, n. 839 ("Amt des nar").

[885] Kramer and Maier, 1989, 34 ("art of song").

[886] Benito, 1969: 39, 65 ("art of singing"); Bottéro and Kramer, 1989: 191 ("art du chant"); Saporetti, 1993: 121 ("arte del canto"); Wilcke, 2007: 32 ("Sangeskunst"); Lambert, 2013: 339 ("art of singing"); Ceccarelli, 2016: 46, 111, 113 ("Sangeskunst").

[887] Gadotti, 2010: 53 ("musicianship").

[888] Jacobsen, 1987: 159 ("musical arts"; same translation in ETCSL 1.1.2; Walls, 2007: 17; Westensholz, 2013: 265 and Rodin, 2014: 287, 340); Klein, 1997: 518 ("musical art"; same translation on Schipper, 2006: 64) and Ziegler, 2006b: 39 and Ziegler, 2017: 32 ("art de la musique").

[889] Römer, 1993: 394, n. 64a ("Musik"); Fincke, 2000: 63 ("Musik"); Shehata, 2009: 36 ("'Musik'").

4.3.3. About *Inanna and Enki* I v 33–34 and II v 47–52

4.3.3.1. Introduction

The goddess of love and war and the lady of Uruk, Inanna, was disappointed with the cultic/ordinances (**ŋarza**) received from Enki during the Ordering of the World. In this sense, she decided to go to Enki's city, Eridu, in order to speak with him and to obtain additional powers. Once she arrived in that city, Enki decided to prepare a welcoming feast for her where he got (again) very drunk. As a consequence, he unconsciously gave to Inanna many of his "divine powers" (**me**)[890], among which we find a reference to **nam-nar**, and the goddess decided to carry these to Uruk. When she was arriving in her city, Enki, recovered from his drunkenness, asked his assistant, Isimud, where his divine powers were. We find our first allusion to **nam-nar** in one of those questions:

Text 29. *Inanna and Enki*, PBS 1/1 1 [CBS 13571 + 13602 + 13617 + 13623 + 13629][891]

I v 33	[…] ˹ku₃˺ DAR? AN **nu-ge₁₇ an-na ŋeš-gu₃-˹di**[892] **nam?-nar? nam˺-ab-ba me-˹a˺**[893]
I v 34	[**lugal-ŋu₁₀**] ˹**dumu**˺-[**ne₂-er ba-an-na-šum₂**]

I v 33	(Enki:) "Where are the pure […], the […], the heaven's **nu-ge₁₇**, the **ŋeš-gu₃-di**, the music and the old age?"
I v 34	(Isimud:) "[My lord, they were given to his] daughter!"[894]

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[890] About the "**me**" and their relationships with Inanna, see Cavigneaux, 1978 and Glassner, 1992.

[891] Edition dependent upon Farber-Flüge, 1973: 28 with consultation of the photo and RTI model of the tablet available on CDLI P268601. This tablet was collated on 19/08/2019. BPOA 9 16 [N 4838] has Tablet I, iii 2 and 10 and iv 32–41, and BPOA 9 17 [N 5730] has several lines from the end of the myth whose position in the whole text is still unclear.

[892] In this case, everybody seems to agree in the transliteration as **ŋeš-gu₃-di** and not **ŋešgu₃-di**: Farber-Flüge, 1973: 29 ("ĝiš-gù-di"); Krispijn, 1990: 2 ("ĝiš.gù.di"); Glassner, 1992: 65 ("ĝiš.gu₃.di"); Selz, 2003: 252 ("ĝiš-gù-di"); ETCSL 1.3.1. ("ĝiš-gu₃-di"); Slobodzianek, 2012: 40 ("ĝiš-gu₃-di") (Bottéro and Kramer, 1989: 233, and Farber, 1998: 522 give just a translation of this term). We shall return to this matter for our commentary on *Ur-Namma A*, 187–188, where there is more controversy about it.

[893] Last lines of this column are bad preserved in general, and signs are very compressed in the writing just as we could see in our collation of the tablet. In this sense, the transliteration is not entirely sure.

[894] Farber-Flüge, 1973: 29; Bottéro and Kramer, 1989: 233; ETCSL 1.3.1 have seen a transitive sentence. However, we should have **mu-un-na-šum₂**, not **ba-an-na-šum₂** since the MM {**ba**} usually gives a passive sense to the verb (DGS, p. 386, 402, 468, 488). In this way, **lugal-ŋu₁₀** might be analysed as a vocative. See DGS, p. 160, 300–301 for vocatives with the 1SG.POSS {**ŋu**}.

Enki's attempts to recover those powers were unsuccessful, and Uruk praised her mistress for having brought them, now individually enumerated in the text:

Text 30. *Inanna and Enki*, Farber-Flüge, 1973: pl. 1 [CBS 15283][895]

II v 47	**niŋin₃-ˈŋarˋ [ku]g [b]ˈaˋ-<e-de₆>**
II v 48	**ˈxˋ AN […] [b]ˈaˋ-<e-de₆>**
II v 49	**ˈnuˋ-ge₁₇ a[n-n]a [b]a-<e-de₆>**
II v 50	**ŋeš-gu₃-ˈdiˋ [b]a-<e-de₆>**
II v 51	**nam-nar ˈbaˋ-<e-de₆>**
II v 52	**nam-ab-ba ˈbaˋ-<e-de₆>**

II v 47	<You have brought> the [pur]e **niŋin₃-[ŋar]**
II v 48	<You have brought> the […]
II v 49	<You have brought> the **nu-ge₁₇** [o]f the hea[ven]
II v 50	<You have brought> the **ŋeš-gu₃-di** lute
II v 51	<You have brought> music
II v 52	<You have brought> old age

Concerning these excerpts and their previous translations, **nam-nar** has been defined here as 1) "profession of the **nar**"[896] or similar[897], 2) "art of the song/singing[898]", and 3) "music"[899]. In order to elucidate its exact meaning, we propose a lexicographical study of some terms mentioned together with **nam-nar** in these excerpts.

4.3.3.2.   Lexicographical approach to the terms of this excerpt

4.3.3.2.1.   **ŋeš-gu₃-di**

This term has sometimes been translated as "musical instrument" *lato sensu*[900] in this excerpt. From that, and keeping in mind the non-human gender of **ŋeš-gu₃-di**[901], this term

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[895] Edition dependent upon Farber-Flüge, 1973: 56 with consultation of the photo and RTI model on CDLI P269824. This tablet was collated on 19/08/2019.

[896] Slobodzianek, 2012: 40 ("l'office de musicien").

[897] Hartmann, 1960: 151 ("nar-Amt"); Waetzoldt, 1975: 383 ("Sänger" as "ein 'künstlerischer' Beruf"); Krispijn, 1990: 2; ("(Hymnen)Sänger"); Glassner, 1992: 65 ("l'office du chantre").

[898] Bottéro and Kramer, 1989: 233 ("l'Art du chant"); Farber, 1997: 522 ("the art of singing"); Selz, 2003: 252 ("Sängeramt/Sangeskunst"); ETCSL 1.3.1. ("the art of song").

[899] Farber-Flüge, 1973: 29 ("die Musik").

[900] Farber-Flüge, 1973: 29 ("das lauttönende Instrument"); Glassner, 1992: 65 ("l'instrument sonore").

[901] *Šulgi B*, 168 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

has also been understood here as "musical instruments"[902], even as "orchestra"[903]. However, this interpretation of **ŋeš-gu₃-di** is anachronistic. On the one hand, it is based on an excerpt from an earlier text, the *Gudea* Cylinders. In that text, **ŋeš-gu₃-d** is an epithet describing the Ninŋirsu's beloved **balaŋ** lyre Ušumgal-kalamma[904], and not an independent instrument. On the other hand, according to other Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts, the **ŋeš-gu₃-di** is an object having strings (**sa**)[905] and frets (**si**-EZEN)[906], and it is also played with a "fingering technique" (**aga šu-si**). Such features[907] fit suitably with the description of a lute, just as the term **ŋeš-gu₃-di** has occasionally been translated[908]. In fact, the term **ŋeš** ("wood") and the etymological construction of **ŋeš-gu₃-di**, recalls the Arabic term *al-ʾūd* (literally "wood") used for designating the lute in Arabic[909].

The terms **ŋeš-gu₃-di** and **nam-nar** are closely connected in Old Babylonian literary texts. On the one hand, the **ŋeš-gu₃-di** is the unique instrument connected to the **e₂ nam-nar-ra** of *Ur-Namma A*, 188 to be studied below. It was also one of the instruments mastered by Šulgi and Išmē-Dagān in their devotion to the music (**nam-nar**)[910]. On the other hand, the **nar** plays the **ŋeš-gu₃-di** on several events[911]. Some authors argued that the origin of this connection might be the condition of the **ŋeš-gu₃-di** as an instrument enabling the musicians to sing while playing a melody or accompaniment with said **ŋeš-gu₃-di**[912]. However, it is evident that this instrument would not be the only[913] one allowing

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[902] ETCSL 1.3.1. ("loud musical instruments"); Selz, 2003: 252 ("Holz(-Blas?)-Instrument")

[903] Bottéro and Kramer, 1989: 233 ("l'Orchestre sonore"; same translation in Slobodzianek, 2012: 40).

[904] *Gudea Cylinders*, A6.25 (Römer, 2010: 13).

[905] *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 370 (ETCSL 2.5.4.01.)

[906] *Summer and Winter*, 235 (ETCSL 2.2.5).

[907] Forgotten in Gabbay, 2014: 117, who focused on the lexical evidence and defined this term just as an instrument in order to explain what we have in *Gudea Cylinders,* A6.25 (Römer, 2010: 13). However, we tend to think into a chronological evolution of the meaning of the term **ŋeš-gu₃-di** towards its identification with a lute in Old Babylonian times. That makes sense with the increasingly bigger popularity of lutes in Mesopotamia by the Early 2nd Millennium BCE (Krispijn, 2011: 117).

[908] Krispijn, 1990: 2 ("Laute(nspieler)"); Farber, 1997: 522 ("the resounding lute").

[909] Kilmer 1980–1983a, 512.

[910] *Šulgi B*, 167–168 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02) and *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 370 (ETCSL 2.5.4.01).

[911] *Iddin-Dagān A*, 204–207 (Attinger, 2014a: 25); *Šulgi B*, 159–160 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

[912] Personal communication of Dahlia Shehata.

[913] This fact might be suggested by *Iddin-Dagān*, 204: **ŋeš-gu₃-di ulu₃-ta eme ŋar-ra** (Attinger, 2014a: 25) "with the **ŋeš-gu₃-di**, which places the tongues against the south wind(?)". However, its sense is still unclear for us. See Attinger, 2014a: 58 for comments about this excerpt.

the musician to do that[914]. In our opinion, and keeping in mind the information from our Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts, we tend to think that the **ŋeš-gu₃-di** might be a very common musical instrument because it would be an easy instrument for learning some basic musical aspects, like the designation (**pad₃**), raising (**gid₂-i**), lowering (**tu-lu**) and maintaining (**gen₆-na**) of the musical intervals (**ad**, literally "voices")[915].

4.3.3.2.2.   nam-ab-ba

This term was mentioned after **nam-nar** in our lexical Text 10. Many people have understood **nam-ab-ba**[916] in this context as something like "the profession of the **ab-ba**"[917]. However, that term seems to refer only to old age as a human vital phase[918] in other Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts[919], and nothing related to a profession.

Music and old age had to be related in ancient Mesopotamia. Certainly, **nam-nar** and **nam-bur-šu-ma** were mentioned together in our Texts 18–20, and the **nar gal** might be defined as a chief musician because of his/her experience as a "mature (**gal**)[920] musician". It is true that young people could already be accomplished musicians, and a person could become a good musician if (s)he were able to perform a single **en₃-du** song well[921].

In any case, as Farber-Flüge said[922], relationships between music and old age should come from the fact that old age would probably be the unique moment where a person

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[914] For instance, in *Šulgi A*, 78 (Delnero, 2006: 1900–1901), a group of **nar** used seven **tige₂** drums for accompanying themselves during the performance of a **ser₃** song.

[915] *Šulgi B*, 171 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

[916] For a description starting from **Ugu-ŋu₁₀**, 284 (DCCLT Q002268), see Couto Ferreira, 2009: 358.

[917] Bottéro and Kramer, 1989: 233 ("l'Office d'Ancien"); Krispijn, 1990: 2 ("(Kult)ältester"); Glassner, 1992: 65 ("l'office d'abba"); Selz, 2003: 252 ("Amt/Funktion des Ältesten").

[918] We agree, in this sense, with Farber-Flüge, 1973: 29 ("das Alter" although it is actually a translation from **ab-ba**, not from **nam-ab-ba**); Farber, 1997: 522 ("the (wise) state of old age"); ETCSL 1.3.1. ("venerable old age") and Slobodzianek, 2012: 40 ("l'ancienneté"). This last translation is, in our opinion, the best possible, since Farber, 1997: 522 and ETCSL 1.3.1 suppose a "venerable" condition which we can infer from other allusions to this term (see previous note) but it is not explicitly indicated in the text.

[919] *Enlil A*, 34 (Attinger, 2015: 13); *Death of Nawirtum*, 59 (ETCSL 5.5.3); *Heron and Turtle*, 17 (Peterson, 2007: 297); UET 6/2 371 [U. 17207,76], o. 5 (Peterson, 2019b: 622).

[920] For this meaning of **gal**, see ePSD ("(to be) retired, former; (to be) mature (of male animals)").

[921] *Proverbs* 2.39; UET 6/2 268 [U. 17207,88], o. 6 and UET 6/2 290 [U. 17207,55], o. 1 (Peterson, 2019b: 573, 582).

[922] Farber-Flüge, 1973: 110.

could actually be a good musician, always according to the Mesopotamian mentality. That would be due to the long time for mastering all the difficulties of music described, for instance, in *The Father and his rude Son*, a text previously studied in this chapter.

4.3.3.3.   Conclusions

The term **ŋeš-gu₃-di** helps us to dismiss the previous translations of **nam-nar** in this context as "art of song/singing". Certainly, if **nam-nar** referred to something pertaining to singing, we would have expected the mention of a term from that domain, and not a musical instrument such as the **ŋeš-gu₃-di**. Additionally, **nam-ab-ba** is not at all referred to a profession, but to a phase of the human life. In this sense, we cannot translate **nam-nar** (mentioned just before that term) as another profession.

The terms **niŋin₃-ŋar ku₃**[923] and **nu-ge₁₇ an-na**[924] of this text have not been studied here. However, they are irrelevant for an identification of **nam-nar** beyond, perhaps, the mention of **niŋin₃-ŋar ku₃** in *Temple Hymns*[925], or the relationships of the *qadištum* (Akkadian equivalent of **nu-ge₁₇**) with the **gala**(-**maḫ**) in the Old Babylonian texts[926].

In this sense, we would translate **nam-nar** as "music" in *Inanna and Enki* despite the mention of other instruments (the **tige**(2), **li-li-is₃**, **ub₃**, **me-ze₂** and **ᵏᵘˢa₂-la₂** drums) in a separate part of the enumeration of the divine realities brought to Uruk by Inanna[927]. Certainly, their mention in that place might suggest that **nam-nar** is actually just a concrete part of music, and those instruments represent another part of that music. However, **tige₂** is connected with **nam-nar** in other contemporary texts[928], and the section where those instruments are mentioned is highly damaged. In this sense, we cannot know

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[923] Farber-Flüge, 1973: 29 ("Das reine [niğìn-gar]"); Bottéro and Kramer, 1989: 233 ("saint Nigingar"); Glassner, 1992: 64 ("le saint nigin.gar"); Farber, 1997: 523 ("holy NIGINĜAR shrine"); Selz, 2003: 252 ("Heilige Cella"); ETCSL 1.3.1. ("holy niĝin-ĝar shrine"); Slobodzianek, 2012: 40 ("pur ningingar").

[924] Farber-Flüge, 1973: 29 ("die Himmelshierodule"); Bottéro and Kramer, 1989: 233 ("la Hiérdolie-céleste (?)"); Glassner, 1992: 64 ("la femme du rang nugig.anna"); Farber, 1997: 523 ("the hierodule of heaven"); Selz, 2003: 252 ("Himmlische Hierodule"); ETCSL 1.3.1. ("mistress of heaven"); Slobodzianek, 2012: 40 ("la souveraine du ciel"). For "mistress of heaven" and similar translations, Slobdzianek, 2012: 40 n. 136 starting from Cavigneaux and al-Rawi, 1995: 193–194; Zgoll, 1997: 194.

[925] *Temple Hymns*, 206, 316, 513 respectively (ETCSL 1.4.1).

[926] See Shehata, 2009: 108, 186, 188 n. 1082, 200–201 for reference.

[927] *Inanna and Enki*, II vi 24 (Farber-Flüge, 1973: 60).

[928] *Šulgi B*, 157 (see *infra* for our own score edition of this text).

their actual context in the list of divine powers of Inanna and, therefore, the reason for which they are separated from **nam-nar**.

4.4. Royal Praise Poetry

4.4.1. Introduction

We proceed now to have a look at our references to **nam-nar** in the Old Babylonian royal praise poetry. These texts usually contain many musical allusions. Certainly, music itself was the mechanism for making "alive" and rendering "eternal" the praises addressed to the Mesopotamian kings[929]. In addition, some of these kings were very involved in said musical practice as we shall see in some textual excerpts to be studied here[930]. As a result, we find a very complex musical terminology in the royal praise hymns, and the term **nam-nar** will take part in the said complexity as we shall see.

4.4.2. About a musical room in *Ur-Namma A*, 187–188

4.4.2.1. Introduction

In this section[931], we are going to deal with an excerpt of hymn *Ur-Namma A*, a text which "is unique within the corpus of literary Sumerian compositions, insofar as it honours a king posthumously and tells of his actual death"[932]. Certainly, it is a singular combination of two different subgenres: royal praise poetry and city laments. This is the excerpt:

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[929] *Šulgi E*, 249–259 (ETCSL 2.4.2.05).

[930] In addition, *Šulgi B*, 196 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02); *Šulgi C*, B 75–82 (ETCSL 2.4.2.03) and *Šulgi E*, 51 (ETCSL 2.4.2.05).

[931] An earlier version of these lines will appear in Sánchez Muñoz, *forthcoming* – a. This version uses some later remarks of Theo J. H. Krispijn and our collations of the manuscripts of this text at the University of Pennsylvania Museum (thanks to Theo J. H. Krispijn and Philip Jones for making it possible).

[932] Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 16.

Text 31. *Ur-Namma A*[933]

187 **tige₂ a-[d]a-ab gi-gid₂¹ za-am-za-am-ŋu₁₀ [e]r₂-ra mu-da-an-ku₄**[934]

N$_{I-A}$	r. v 21	**tige₂ a-[d]a-ab gi-gid₂¹**[935] **za-am-za-am-ŋu₁₀ / er₂**[936]**-ra mu-da-ˊanˋ-ku₄**
N$_{U-E}$	o. 24'	[ ]
Sb₃	r. 4'	[ ] ˊaˋ-da-ˊabˋ **gi-gid₂**ˀ **za₃-za₃-mi₂** **er₂** **ba-ˊni-xˋ-[ ]**

188 **ŋeš-gu₃-di e₂ na[m]-ˊnarˋ-ra-ka zag e₂-ŋar₈-e ˊiˋ-ni-in-us₂**

N$_{I-A}$	r. v 22	**ŋeš-gu₃-di**[937] **e₂ na[m]-ˊnarˋ-ra-ka zag e₂-ŋar₈-e / ˊiˋ -ni-in-us₂**
N$_{U-E}$	o. 25'	[ ] ˊxˋ [ ]
Sb₃	r. 5'	[**-d]i e₂** ˊx x(-)[k]a?ˋ[938] **zag e₂-ŋar₈** ˊba?ˋ**-ni**ˀ **-us₂**

187 My **tige₂**, **a-da-ab**, **gi-gid₂**, and **za-am-za-am** changed into **er₂** laments with me.
188 (About) the **ŋeš-gu₃-di**, someone was inactive in the (palace) music room.

Sigla[939]

N$_{I-A}$ *Kollationen*, p. 66–67 [HS 1428 + 1450 + 1528 + 1548 + 1549 + 1560 + 1570 + 1581] (publication copy) + PBS 12/1 24 [CBS 4560] (photo on CDLI P260874; collated the 20/08/2019)
N$_{U-E}$ *Kollationen*, p. 68–69 [HS 1440 + 1529] (publication copy)
Sb₃   Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: pl. 11–13 [Sb 12358 + 12362] (photo on CDLI P357266)

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[933] Score edition dependent upon that of Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 133 with changes derived from our inspection of the copies/photos of the manuscripts of this text indicated below.

[934] Composite lines follow here the Nippur manuscripts (N$_{I-A}$ and N$_{U-E}$) due to the uncertain readings and peculiarities of manuscript Sb₃ (from Susa), like the unusual spelling **za₃-za₃-mi₂** for /**zamzam**/.

[935] The sign is more similar to SUD (= **su₃**). However, we would consider it a *Sonderform* of BU (= **gid₂**) (aBZL 265). Certainly, the preservation of SUD and BU is not the same in manuscript A, and Sb₃ might contain BU and not SUD according to Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 133 n. 131.

[936] Kramer, 1967b: 116; Ludwig, 1990: 53; Kramer, 1991: 208 have **a-nir**, but N$_{I-A}$ has ˊAˋ.IGI = **er₂**.

[937] Some editions have ^ŋeš^**gu₃-di** (Kramer, 1967b: 120; Alster, 1974: 104; Krispijn, 1990: 13; Kramer, 1991: 209; Krispijn, 2008: 177). However, other editions have **ŋeš-gu₃-di** (Ludwig, 1990: 53; Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 133; ETCSL 2.4.1.1; CDLI P469688). Old Babylonian Emesal lamentations have **mu-gu₃-di** with the typical substitution of the Standard **ŋeš** by the Emesal **mu** (Schretter, 1990: 223–225; Gabbay, 2014a: 116). For two examples, see CT 36, pl. 41–42 [BM 96940], o. 22 (Cohen, 1981: 104), and **Er₂ na-mu-ma-al**, 12 (Bowen, 2017: 188). In addition, spellings without **ŋeš** are not Old Babylonian: **gu-di** (Rudik, 2013: 481–482 [HS 1556], o. 2–4; Ur III Period); **gu₃-de₂-gu₃-de₂** (LKA 66 [VAT 10843], r. 4a, Neo-Assyrian; BLMS); **gu₃-di** (Veldhuis, 1996: 233 [UM 29-15-134], r. ii 1', Neo-Babylonian; DCCLT).

[938] Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 133 has "NE?" However, as Theo J. H. Krispijn suggested to us, we might also have the right side of KA. That would make sense with text N$_{I-A}$. In any case, a chain **e₂ nar-e-ne**(NE) ("to the house of the musicians") might also make sense with the singularities of manuscript Sb₃.

[939] They follow Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 98–99, but we have put an N (= Nippur) for the manuscripts coming from Nippur. After, that, I (= Type I) or U (= Uncertain) precise the tablet typology. Concerning Sánchez Muñoz, *forthcoming* - a, we returned to Flückiger-Hawker's text "A" as a matter of coherence with other texts of this study as *Proverbs* 3.150 (see *supra* for our edition).

In the second line of this text, we find **e$_2$ nam-nar-ra** a nominal chain almost never explored in previous studies about Mesopotamian musical spaces[940]. This expression has been understood in previous editions of *Ur-Namma A* as a house for the singing[941], the music[942] or the musicians[943] besides to a "conservatory of music"[944].

However, we can arrive to a better explanation of that expression in *Ur-Namma A*, 187–188 with a deeper study of the entire excerpt where it is contained.

4.4.2.2. Lexicographical analysis of this excerpt

4.4.2.2.1. **tige$_2$, a-da-ab, gi-gid$_2$**, and **za-am-za-am**

The nature of those terms in this text has been controversial in the past: beyond some generic translations[945], they have been understood as songs[946], but also as instruments[947]. This last identification might be supported by an excerpt from *Cursing of Agade*[948] (text closely related to *Ur-Namma A*)[949]. There, **tige$_2$**, **gi-gid$_2$**, and **za-am-za-am** may designate instruments due to the reference to the **^{ŋeš}al-ŋar-sur$_9$** instrument in the previous line[950].

However, **tige$_2$** is already used in *Ur-Namma B* for designating that text as a praise hymn for Ur-Namma and the god Enlil[951]. In addition, other musical terms in Ur-Namma hymns are referred to songs[952], like the **er$_2$**, a type of lament similar to the **a-nir** and **i-**

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[940] For (very short) previous references to **e$_2$ nam-nar-ra**, see Sallaberger, 2006: 139 and Shehata, 2009: 35. In addition, see Shehata, 2009: 158–161 for the houses of the musicians, and FM 9, p. 77–79; Michalowski, 2010a: 199-207 and Ziegler, 2013: 51–52 for the learning spaces of those musicians.

[941] Ludwig, 1990: 53; CDLI P469688.

[942] Krispijn, 1990: 13; Kramer, 1991: 209; ETCSL 2.4.1.1; Krispijn, 2008: 177.

[943] Alster, 1974: 104.

[944] Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 133, 312.

[945] Kramer, 1967b: 120; Kramer, 1991: 209.

[946] Ludwig, 1990: 53; ETCSL 2.4.1.1; Shehata, 2009: 258; CDLI P469688.

[947] Krispijn, 1990: 4; Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 133; Krispijn, 2008: 177.

[948] *Cursing of Agade*, 36 (ETCSL 2.1.5).

[949] Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 94.

[950] For its identification as a percussion, see Shehata, 2006 and Michalowski, 2010a: 225–228.

[951] *Ur-Namma B*, 72 (Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 199).

[952] **bal-bal-e** ("responsorial chant") (*Ur-Namma G*, 28; Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 134); **balaŋ-di** ("reciter of **balaŋ** lamentations") (*Ur-Namma A*, 194; Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 284); **ser$_3$ nam-šub** ("incantation text (to be sung)(?)") (*Ur-Namma E-F*, 52; Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 294).

lu[953]. Therefore, **tige₂**, **a-da-ab**, **gi-gid₂**, and **za-am-za-am** would designate in *Ur-Namma A* four types of praise hymns[954] transformed into four types of laments[955]. On the one hand, this change has parallels in other texts[956], and it is more logical than a substitution of four instruments for a group of laments. On the other hand, those hymns might have been accompanied by their homonym instruments: the **tige₂**, **a-da-ab**, and **za-am-za-am** percussions[957], and the **gi-gid₂** pipes[958].

Certainly, to identify those terms as instruments would imply to propose a non-existent word in *Ur-Namma A*, 187 for describing their sound[959], or to suppose that the **er₂** laments were also accompanied by instruments. The instrumental accompaniment of those **er₂** laments seems plausible according to some lexical[960] and literary[961] texts. However, it is partially opposed to *Ur-Namma A*, 188, and we cannot always ensure the connections between *Ur-Namma*, 187 and the said texts[962]. In any case, it is clear that we deal in this line with a scenario related to the royal sphere.

4.4.2.2.2. ŋeš-gu₃-di and zag e₂-ŋar₈-e us₂

The condition of the **ŋeš-gu₃-di** lute[963] is expressed in this text by the expression **zag e₂-ŋar₈-e us₂**, a verbal chain usually understood here as a reference to putting the **ŋeš-**

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[953] See Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 301–361 for reference to these terms.

[954] These songs are "(epic) songs" (**en₃-du**) in *Šulgi E*, 53–58 (ETCSL 2.4.2.05).

[955] Since it is a non-human noun, **er₂** may also designate a single lament (Kramer, 1967b: 120; Krispijn, 2008: 177), but it makes sense to translate **er₂** as "laments" due to the mention of four types of praise hymns.

[956] A **tige₂** hymn becomes an **a-nir** lament in *Ur Lament*, 360 (Samet, 2014: 74).

[957] Shehata, 2009: 258–259.

[958] Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 133 and Krispijn, 2008: 177 translate it as "flute" starting from the **gi-su₃** ("empty/hollow reed") previously dismissed. See Shehata, 2009: 260 for the identification of **gi-gid₂**.

[959] Krispijn, 2008: 177 "(The music of) my bass-lyre, the *adab*-drum, flute and *zamzam*-instrument".

[960] *Proto-ka₂-gal*, 370–374 (DCCLT Q000048), where we find four types of laments: **er₂ balaŋ-ŋa₂** ("lament of the **balaŋ** drum"), **er₂ ub₃-a** ("lament of the **ub₃** frame drum"), **er₂ s/šem₃-ma** ("lament of the **šem₃** cymbals"), and **er₂ gi-di** ("lament of the **gi-di** pipes").

[961] The **balaŋ** instrument is played for the king in *Šulgi N*, 45 (ETCSL 2.4.2.14).

[962] The **za-am-za-am** of *Proto-ka₂-gal*, 371 might have been transformed into the **er₂ ub₃-a** lament since **za-am-za-am** and **ub₃** are equated to the *lilisu* in Langdon, 1931: 128 [K. 4547], r. ii 9–10 (DCCLT). However, that text is Neo-Assyrian, so, we should be careful with the said connection.

[963] Some authors have defined **ŋeš-gu₃-di** as a concrete instrument (Kramer, 1967b: 120; Alster, 1974: 104; Krispijn, 1990: 13; Kramer, 1991: 209; Krispijn, 2008: 177). However, other people have translated

gu₃-di lute beside a wall (of the **e₂ nam-nar-ra**, we guess) for not using it any more[964]. This interpretation might be based on an analysis of **zag e₂-ŋar₈-e** as an archaic spelling of **zag e₂-ŋar₈-ra-ke₄** (**za₃.g e₂.j.ŋar₈** + **ak** [GEN] + **e** [DIR]) in order to build a nominal chain in the directive case meaning "to/for the right side of the wall", while **ŋeš-gu₃-di** would have an ABS. However, on the one hand, we do not have too many archaisms in Ur-Namma hymns[965]. On the other hand, the expression **zag e₂-ŋar₈-e us₂** is known in other Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts[966]. In those texts, **zag e₂-ŋar₈-e us₂** means literally "to approach (**us₂**) the right side (of the body) (**zag**, in ABS) to the wall (**e₂-ŋar₈**, with the DIR {**e**})"[967]. Therefore, **ŋeš-gu₃-di** would not be the unique ABS here[968], and the idea of storing the **ŋeš-gu₃-di** lute would not make sense in this context.

Taking into consideration that **zag e₂-ŋar₈-e us₂** makes allusion to the inactivity of something/someone[969], *Ur-Namma A*, 188 would indicate that the **ŋeš-gu₃-di** lute would be inactive. That fact makes sense with the death of the king. In fact, the **ŋeš-gu₃-di** lute is documented in praise contexts[970], not in lamentations.

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that term just as "(musical) instrument(s)" in general (Ludwig, 1990: 53; Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 133; ETCSL 2.4.1.1; CDLI P469688; Attinger, 2019d: 211). See the argumentation for our position in the commentary of the term **ŋeš-gu₃-di** in our edition of *Inanna and Enki*, I v 33 and II v 50.

[964] Kramer, 1967b: 120; Ludwig, 1990: 53; Kramer, 1991: 209; Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 133; ETCSL 2.4.1.1. For a contrary position, see Krispijn, 1990: 13 and Krispijn, 2008: 177.

[965] For archaisms in Ur-Namma hymns, see Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 22–23, 68, 143–144.

[966] *Instructions of Šuruppak*, 156 (Alster, 2005: 84) and *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, 373–374 (Mittermayer, 2009: 136).

[967] See Alster, 1974: 104 for this grammatical analysis. Theo J. H. Krispijn (personal communication) placed the DIR {**e**} in **zag**. Nevertheless, he was unable to explain the grammatical function of **e₂-ŋar₈**.

[968] The term **ŋeš-gu₃-di** cannot be in locative case since we should have **ŋeš-gu₃-di e₂ nam-nar-ra-ka-ka** (= **ŋeš.gu₃.di.d e₂.j nam.nar** + **ak** [GEN] + **ak** [GEN] + **a** [LOC]) or **ŋeš-gu₃-di-da e₂ nam-nar-ra** (inspired on *Iddin-Dagān A*, 204; see Attinger 2014, 25 for edition and 39, n. 154 for comments. Not can it be the transitive subject taking into consideration by the {**n**} infix in the verbal chain (**i-ni-in-us₂** = **i** [VP] + **ni** [LOC] + **n** [3SG.A] + **us₂** [PFV] + **ø** [3NH.O]) (Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 178). Certainly, its non-human gender is indicated in other texts. For instance, in *Šulgi B*, 168 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02), we have **ŋeš-gu₃-di ŋeš la-ba-ra-ab-tuku-a** (= **ŋeš.gu₃.di.d** (+ **e** [DIR]) **ŋeš** + **ø** [ABS] **nu** [NEG] + **ba** [MM] **ra** [ABL] + **b** [3SG.A] + **tuku** [PFV] + **ø** [3NH.O] + **a** [NMLZ] + **ø** [ABS] = "a **ŋeš-gu₃-di** lute which had never been listened to"). Therefore, it cannot be an agent (with ERG {**e**}, used only with human nouns).

[969] Römer, 1990: 59.

[970] *Iddin-Dagān A*, 204–207 (Attinger, 2014a: 25); *Summer and Winter*, 235–236 (ETCSL 2.2.5).

4.4.2.2.3.   **e₂** and **e₂-gal**

Finally, we should have a look at **e₂** ("house", "temple", "room"), the term connected to **nam-nar** in **e₂ nam-nar-ra**. Beyond some secondary meanings[971], **e₂** seems to be highly connected in Ur-Namma hymns with the palace (**e₂-gal**). In that space Ur-Namma rules[972], makes offerings (**ŋeš tag**)[973] or sleeps (**nu₂**)[974] as in his house. In fact, **e₂** is a variation of **e₂-gal** in an excerpt of *Ur-Namma A*[975]. In this sense, we should privilege these palatial connotations of **e₂** in our analysis of *Ur-Namma A*, 187–188, albeit mentions of **e₂** as "temple" are also common in *Ur-Namma A*[976]. To see the **e₂ nam-nar-ra** as a palace room makes sense with other expressions referred in that text to possible palace rooms[977]: **e₂ sumur-ra** ("furious room") and **e₂ zu₂-ra-aḫ-a** ("tooth-gnashing room")[978].

4.4.2.3.   Towards a new definition of **e₂ nam-nar-ra**

The terms previously studied are all connected in some way to the palatial sphere, and the identification of **e₂ nam-nar-ra** as a palace room seems highly probable in light of the connotations of the term **e₂** in *Ur-Namma A*. In this sense, the translation of **e₂ nam-nar-ra** as "house of music" [979] is not suitable since it supposes an independent building when we do not have evidence for one in this case.

The translation "house of singing"[980], in addition to that, does not keep in mind that the text refers to songs (the **tige₂, a-da-ab, gi-gid₂**, and **za-am-za-am** hymns), but also some instruments (the **ŋeš-gu₃-di** lute). Therefore, the translation "singing" here is less

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[971] *Ur-Namma A*, 88 mentions the **e₂-mar-ru₁₀**, "arrow quiver" (Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 117).

[972] *Ur-Namma A*, 224 (Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 140).

[973] *Ur-Namma A*, 91, 96, 101, 105, 109, 113, 119, 128 (Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 117–128).

[974] *Ur-Namma A*, 42, 48 (Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 108, 112).

[975] *Ur-Namma A*, 149–150 (Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 127).

[976] *Ur-Namma A*, 199, 201–202, 212 (Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 135–136, 138). Surprisingly, we find in *Ur-Namma A* no reference to the Ekišnuŋal, a widely mentioned temple in other hymns for King Ur-Namma. See Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 312–313 and 368 for reference.

[977] Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 166.

[978] *Ur-Namma A*, 40–41 (Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 108).

[979] Krispijn, 1990: 13; Kramer, 1991: 209; ETCSL 2.4.1.1; Krispijn, 2008: 177.

[980] Ludwig, 1990: 53; CDLI P469688.

suitable than "music" for **nam-nar**. The similar translation "in the house of the singers"[981] has two problems in our opinion. On the one hand, it referred just to the **nar** (translated there as "singers") when, for instance, the **gi-gid$_2$** pipes has their own player (the **lu$_2$-gi-gid$_2$-da**, literally "person (of) the **gi-gid$_2$**")[982], therefore, we are dealing with more types of musicians besides the **nar** in this text. On the other hand, it is not grammatically well-written since we should have here **e$_2$ nar-e-ne-ka**, not **e$_2$ nam-nar-ra-ka**.

In this sense, we would translate **e$_2$ nam-nar-ra** as "(palace) music room" for making explicit the condition of **e$_2$** in this text and the presence of the instruments, musicians and songs involved in our excerpt. However, what would be its function? Flückiger-Hawker translated **e$_2$ nam-nar-ra** as "conservatory of music"[983]. Moreover, we can deduce from her translation a secondary function of said room as a storehouse for instruments[984]. In fact, she established a parallel between our excerpt and *Enki and the World Order*[985].

On the one hand, it is possible that the **e$_2$ nam-nar-ra** acted as a storehouse for musical instruments. However, the expression **e$_2$-ba ge$_4$** (literally "to return to their house") from that excerpt of *Enki and the World Order* mentioned by Esther Flückiger-Hawker is actually a literary way to say "to make inactive/silent"[986] something (in this case, the **tige$_2$** and **a-da-ab** drums). On the other hand, most of the music teaching in Mesopotamia had to happen in the private sphere[987]. Moreover, **e$_2$/ki umun$_2$** ("workshop") might have already referred to a sort of conservatory, a space where students could receive a musical education[988]. In any case, even if this were a palatial school of music, it should have been also devoted to musical performances at some point, as in the case of the *bīt tegêtim* ("house of the *tigû* female players") of Mari[989].

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[981] Alster, 1974: 104.

[982] *Proverbs* 2.54, 3 (Attinger, 2018: 10).

[983] Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 133.

[984] Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 178–179.

[985] *Enki and the World Order*, 448 (ETCSL 1.1.3).

[986] Attinger, 2019d: 63, with references to *Ur Lament*, 4, 483–485 (ETCSL 2.2.3). Civil, 2011: 255 n. 49 mentions also *Enki and the World Order*, 50 (ETCSL 1.1.3) besides the unclear *Ur-Namma C*, 89 (Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 216). Furthermore, said publication cites the possible case of *Copper and Silver*, A 33 due to a chain of the type **ama ge$_4$**. However, we have not found that excerpt in the main current edition of *Copper and Silver* (ETCSL 5.3.6).

[987] FM 9, p. 16; Shehata, 2009: 112–114.

[988] Michalowski, 2010a: 201–202 for **e$_2$/ki umun$_2$**, and FM 9, p. 78 for the Akkadian *bīt mummim*.

[989] See FM 9, p. 79; Shehata, 2009: 114 for more about this building.

If it is not a palatial music school nor a storehouse for musical instruments, could the **e₂ nam-nar-ra** be, perhaps, a space for musical performances like our concert halls? It is complicated to talk about such spaces in Mesopotamia. Certainly, our textual[990] and archaeological[991] evidence usually shows music only as a sort of accessory for other non-musical events in the daily life of Mesopotamia. However, *Ur-Namma A*, 188 says that someone was inactive with the **ŋeš-gu₃-di** lute in the **e₂ nam-nar-ra**. In this sense, the said space had to be musically active at some point for the use of that **ŋeš-gu₃-di** or other instruments, like those accompanying the **tige₂**, **a-da-ab**, **gi-gid₂** and **za-am-za-am** hymns from *Ur-Namma A*, 187. Therefore, the **e₂ nam-nar-ra** could be the home for some musical performances in the palace[992].

That condition of the **e₂ nam-nar-ra** might be supported with our references to the **e₂ tige(₂)** ("room of the **tige(₂)** drum"). Certainly, the praises for the king (perhaps accompanied by the **tige₂** drum) should never stop in that **e₂ tige(₂)**[993]. Other excerpts suggest, in addition, the performance of pure **ser₃** songs (**ser₃ ku₃**) by the **a-u₃-a** singer in that place[994]. Nevertheless, we believe that the **e₂ nam-nar-ra** would involve more instruments and songs than the **e₂ tige(₂)**. In addition, the content of its performances would be more related to the palace, not to the temple as in the case of the **e₂ tige(₂)**.

Therefore, according to our scarce evidence, the **e₂ nam-nar-ra** would designate a space destined as the locus of some musical performances in palatial daily life. In this sense, its best translation, in our opinion, would be "(palace) music room".

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[990] For instance, the **a-da-ab** drum plays during a **ŋešbun** banquet, while the **šem₅** cymbals and the ^(kuš)**a₂-la₂** drum play in the **unu₂** dining hall (*Temple Hymns*, 107; ETCSL 4.80.1).

[991] For instance, the Old Babylonian clay plaque BM 91906 (Rašīd, 1984: fig. 60) shows a kettledrum played during a wrestling match.

[992] Theo J. H. Krispijn (personal communication) speculated that musicians might change the tuning of their instruments in this space. That might make sense since we have three tunable instruments here: the **gi-gid₂**, the **ŋeš-gu₃-di**, and perhaps the **tige₂** (see *infra* for comments). In any case, we would not consider that as the unique function of the **e₂ nam-nar-ra**.

[993] *Šulgi E*, 255–257 (ETCSL 2.4.2.05; to be completed with Zólyomi, 2003: 98).

[994] *Sumer and Ur Lament*, 436–437. We follow the edition of *Kollationen,* p. 60 since it makes more sense than Michalowski, 1989: 180 according to the content of our manuscripts for that text. We shall prove in Sánchez Muñoz, *forthcoming* - a, where we shall present a new edition of that text.

4.4.3. Šulgi and **nam-nar**

4.4.3.1. Introduction: a king devoted to music

The Neo-Sumerian king defines himself as the "supervisor (**nu-banda₃**) of music (**nam-nar**)"[995] in the following excerpt of the hymn *Šulgi E*:

Text 32. *Šulgi E*[996]

155 **šul-ˊgiˋ-me nar ˊgalˋ nu-banda₃ nam-n[ar-ra …] / nar ki-nu₂ x […]**

N$_{I-I}$	r. i 1'	[šu]l$^{?997}$-[ ]
N$_{U-J}$	r. 5–6'	[ ] x **nu-banda₃ nam-n[ar-ra … / na]r ki -n[u₂]**
X$_B$	r. i 7'	š[ul -g]iˋ-me nar ˊgalˋ nu-banda₃ ˊnamˋ-[ ] / ˊxˋ nar ˊkiˊˋ-nu₂ x

155 I am Šulgi, the chief musician[998], the supervisor [of] mus[ic …]
The **nar** [of] the **ki-nu₂** bedroom […]

Sigla[999]

N$_{I-I}$	Ni 3281 + BPOA 9 140 [Ni 3450] + Ni 3487 + 3497
	(copy of BPOA 9 140; photo on CDLI P467839; collated the 19/08/2019)
N$_{U-J}$	ISET 1 117 [Ist. Ni 9619] (publication copy)
X$_B$	TCL 15 14 [AO 5380] (publication copy and photo on CDLI P345358)

In our opinion, there is nothing strange in that statement. Certainly, the same king says in another hymn that he gave (**šum₂**) his entirety (**gu₂**, literally "neck") to music, that is, he devoted himself to that art. This is the said excerpt:

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[995] Previous translations: Krispijn, 1990: 2 ("Leiter der Musiker") and ETCSL 2.4.2.05 ("superintendent of the art of music"). We prefer ETCSL translation since Krispijn's translation would imply in the text **nu-banda₃ nar-e-ne-ka** ("supervisor of the musicians").

[996] Our own score edition based on the consultation of the copies/photos of the tablets (some of them collated) indicated below.

[997] Just two straight wedges according to our collation.

[998] Krispijn, 1990: 2 ("Großmusiker"); ETCSL 2.4.2.05 ("great musician"); Shehata, 2009: 24 ("großen Musiker'"). However, **nu-banda₃ nam-nar-ra** might be an epithet of **nar gal** as chief musician.

[999] They follow Klein, 2005: 149, but we have put an N (= Nippur) or X (= Uncertain) according to the provenance of the manuscripts. Manuscripts from Nippur have an additional I (= Type I) or U (= Uncertain) according to their tablet typology.

Text 33. *Šulgi B*[1000]

154   **šul-gi lugal urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma-me-en**

N_I-A	o. iii 46'	**šul -gi** [			]**-ma-**[	]
N_I-E	r. ii 5	ᵈˊšulˋ**-gi**	**lugal**	**urim₅ᵏⁱ**	**-ma -ˊmeˋ-en**
N_I-t	o. 13	ˊšulˋ**-g[i]-m[e]-ˊenˋ lugalˋ**	**urim₅ˊᵏⁱˋ**	**-ˊmeˋ-en**
N_III-L	r. 16	**šul -gi**[1001]	**lugal**	**ur[im₅ᵏⁱ**	]
N_U-aa	r. 5	[		**urim₅ᵏ]ⁱ -ma-**[	]
Ur_M	o. 32	ᵈˊ**šul -giˋ**	**lugal**	ˊ**urim₅ˋᵏⁱ -ma -me -en**
X_ll	r. ii 6	**šul -gi**	**lugal**	**urim₅ᵏⁱ -ma -me -en**

155   **u₃ nam-nar-ra gu₂-ŋu₁₀ ḫa-ba**[1002]**-šum₂**[1003]

N_I-A	o. iii 47'	**u₃ nam -nar -ra gu₂ -ˊŋu₁₀ˋ** [		]
N_I-E	r. ii 6	ˊ**u₃ˋ** [	]**-nar -e gu₂ -ŋu₁₀ ḫa -ba -ˊšum₂ˋ**
N_I-t	o. 14	[ ] **nam-ˊnarˋ-ra gu₂ -ŋu₁₀ ˊḫaˋ-ba -ˊšum₂ˋ**
N_III-L	r. 17	**u₃ nam -nar -ra** [		]
N_U-aa	r. 6	[	] **gu₂ -ŋu₁₀ ḫ[a-**	]
N_U-kk	r. 1'	[		]**-ˊšum₂ˋ**
Ur_M	r. 1	ˊ**u₃ˋ nam -nar -a ˊgu₂?ˋ-ŋu₁₀ ḫa -ba**[1004] **-šum₂**
X_ll	r. ii 7	**u₃ nam-ˊnarˋ-e gu₂ -ˊŋu₁₀ˋ ḫa -ˊbaˋ -šum₂**

156   **niŋ₂-na-me-ŋa₂ la-ba-da-gi₁₆-e**

N_I-A	o. iii 48'	[ ]**-ˊna -meˋ-bi** [		]**-ˊanˋ**[1005]**-**[	]
N_I-E	r. ii 7	[ ]**-ˊmeˋ -ba ˊlaˋ-ba-da-an -ˊgi₁₆ -enˋ**
N_I-t	o. 15	[ ]**-na -me -ŋa₂ la-ˊba -daˋ -gi₁₆ -ˊeˋ**
N_III-L	r. 18	**niŋ₂ -na -me -ŋa₂ l[a?-**	]
N_U-aa	r. 7	[	]**-x-da -ˊgi₁₆ˋ-**[	]
N_U-kk	r. 2'	[	]**-ˊxˋ -en**
Ur_M	r. 2	**niŋ₂ -na -me -bi la -ba-an-da -ˊgi₁₆ˋ -e**
X_ll	r. ii 8	**niŋ₂-ˊna-meˋ -ba ˊla -ba-da-anˋ -ḪA -e**

[1000] Our own score edition following the variants given in Castellino, 1976: 46, and Peterson, 2919a: 212–213 and having consulted the copies/photos of the manuscripts indicated below.

[1001] According to Castellino, 1972: 46, only manuscripts N_I-A and N_I-t did not have a **ᵈ** before **šulgi**. However, according to our inspection of its handwritten copy, manuscript N_III-L also lacks that sign.

[1002] Krispijn, 1990: 1 has "**ḫa.ma.sum**" in the composite line. However, that variant is contained only in manuscript Ur_M, and we need a prefix for explaining the **nam-nar-a** of that sentence. It is true that **ḫa-ma-šum₂** might be explained as **ḫa** [MOD] + **mu** [VNT] + **ba** [3NH.IO] + **?** [1SG.A] + **šum₂** [PFV] + **ø** [3NH.O]. However, for that we would expect something like **ḫa-am-ma-šum₂** as a parallel with the **ḫe₂-em-ma-ab-šum₂-mu** of *Gilgameš and the Bull of An*, D 28 (ETCSL 1.8.1.2).

[1003] Jaques, 2006: 14 calls attention to the connection between this excerpt and *Išmē-Dagān Z*, Text D (= Ludwig, 1990: 22) TRS 27 [AO 5392], o. 11 (Cavigneaux, 1996: 40).

[1004] Castellino, 1972: 46 read "ma", but it might be also **ba**. The sign MA of the previous line is a bit different.

[1005] Castellino, 1972: 46 saw "-da-an-" just in manuscript N_I-E. However, manuscript N_I-A also suggests the sign AN according to CDLI photo. The copy also seems to contain a part of the sign DA.

154	I am Šulgi, the king of Ur,
155	and I have devoted myself to music[1006].
156	For me, nothing was difficult about it.

Sigla[1007]

N_I-A	STVC 52 [CBS 7076] + CBS 8029 + Castellino, 1972: 27 [CBS 13992] + N 2804 + 2805 + 2806 + 2807 + 2808 + 2809 + 2810 + 2811 + 2812 + 2813 + 2814 + 2815 + 2816 (photo on CDLI P262125)[1008]
N_I-E	Castellino, 1972: fig. 3 [N 1741] (photo on CDLI P259086; collated the 21/08/2019)
N_I-t	Castellino, 1972: pl. 19 [OIM A30219] (photo on CDLI P356651)
N_III-L	SLTN 73 [Ist. Ni 4028] (copy on CDLI P345204)
N_U-aa	ISET 2 60 [Ist. Ni 4211] (reference on CDLI P343707)
N_U-kk	ISET 2 93 [Ist. Ni 4078] (reference on CDLI P343752)
Ur_M	UET 6/1 81 [U. 16848] (photo on CDLI P346166; collated the 01/08/2019)
X_ll	Volk, *forthcoming* [MS 3343] (photo on CDLI P252284)

As a consequence of that devotion to music, musical terminology in Šulgi hymns is especially complex, including the term **nam-nar** as we shall see here.

4.4.3.2.   *Šulgi B*, 157: **nam-nar** as musical sound

4.4.3.2.1.   Introduction

The hymn *Šulgi B* is one of the most important texts for the study of Old Babylonian musical practice due to the long enumeration of musical terms in its lines 154–174. They were studied in depth by Theo J. H. Krispijn some decades ago[1009]. However, his new reflections[1010] and those coming from other authors[1011] show how far we still are from a

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[1006] Castellino, 1972: 47 ("music"); Edzard, 1976: 172 ("der Musik"); Krispijn, 1990: 1 ("die Musik"); Jaques, 2006: 14 n. 38 ("l'art musical"); ETCSL 2.4.2.02 ("the art of music"); Charpin, 2006: 59 ("la musique"); Woods, 2008: 281 ("music"); Civil, 2013: 39 ("music"); Ziegler, 2017: 39 ("musique"); Peterson, 2019a: 213 ("the art of the musician").

[1007] They follow Castellino, 1972: 27–29, but we have put an N (= Nippur), Ur (= Ur) or X (= Uncertain) according to the provenance of the manuscripts they are designing. Manuscripts from Nippur have an I (= Type I), III (= Type III) or U (= Uncertain) according to their tablet typology.

[1008] This tablet was not available for collation during 19–23/08/2019 since it belonged to the material displayed in the galleries of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

[1009] Krispijn, 1990.

[1010] Krispijn, 2008: 176–178; Krispijn, 2010b: 144–148, and Krispijn, 2011.

[1011] Shehata, 2009: 238–239 (about **za₃-mi₂** in *Šulgi B*, 161), 251–257 (about **tige₍₂₎** and **a-da-ab** in *Šulgi B*, 157), 301 (about **gi-di** in *Šulgi B*, 172); Michalowski, 2010a: 123 n. 10 (about **ur-za-ba-bi₂-tum**

definitive understanding of these terms. Therefore, new studies are necessary in order to arrive at a proper definition of them. In this section, we focus our attention on line 157:

Text 34. *Šulgi B*[1012]

157   **tige₂**[1013] **a-da-ab nam-nar šu du₇-a buru₃ daŋal-bi mu-zu**

N$_{I-E}$	r. ii 8–9	[ ] BALAŊ*[1014] ´a-da`-ab [n]am-´nar` šu du₇-´a`/ buru₃ daŋal-´bi mu` -zu˹
N$_{I-G}$	r. 1	´tige₂?` [ ] mu -zu
N$_{I-t}$	o. 16	[ ].´LUL` [                  ]-´nar šu du₇`-a [ ]
N$_{III-L}$	r. 19	tige₂ a-da-[ ]
N$_{U-q}$	o. ii 2	tige₂ a-da-[ ]
N$_{U-aa}$	r. 8	[ ] nam -nar šu d[u₇]
N$_{U-kk}$	r. 3'	[daŋ]al-bi mu -zu
Ur$_{M}$	r. 3	tige₂ a-da -ab nam -nar šu du₇-a buru₃ daŋal-´bi mu`[1015]-zu
X$_{ll}$	r. ii 9	´tige₂?`       a-da -ab n[am   ] šu ´du₇ -a` buru₃ daŋal-´bi mu-un -zu`

157   I know the depth and width of the **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** drums, (instruments of) perfect music.

Sigla[1016]

N$_{I-E}$	Castellino, 1972: fig. 3 [N 1741] (photo on CDLI P259086; collated the 21/08/2019)
N$_{I-G}$	Castellino, 1972: fig. 5 [UM 29-16-408 + 29-16-214G]
	(photo on CDLI P256906; collated the 19/08/2019)
N$_{I-t}$	Castellino, 1972: pl. 19 [A 30219] (photo on CDLI P356651)
N$_{III-L}$	SLTN 73 [Ist. Ni 4028] (copy on CDLI P345204)
N$_{U-q}$	Castellino, 1972: pl. 17 [3N-T300 = OIM A30203] (publication photo)
N$_{U-aa}$	ISET 2 60 [Ist. Ni 4211] (publication copy)
N$_{U-kk}$	ISET 2 93 [Ist. Ni 4078] (publication copy)
Ur$_{M}$	UET 6/1 81 [U. 16848] (photo on CDLI P346166; collated the 01/08/2019)
X$_{ll}$	Volk, *forthcoming* [MS 3343] (photo on CDLI P252284)

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in *Šulgi B*, 165); Michalowski, 2010b: 218–225, 228–229 (about **za₃-mi₂**); Shehata, 2014: 106–109 (about **tige₍₂₎**).

[1012] Our own score edition taking in account the variants given by Castellino, 1972: 47 and Peterson, 2019a: 213, but mainly coming from our consultation of the copies/photos of the tablet indicated below.

[1013] Most of the editions have **tige**(BALAŊ.LUL) (Castellino, 1972: 46; Krispijn, 1990: 1; ETCSL 2.4.2.02; Shehata, 2009: 252; Michalowski, 2010a: 206). This option is only suggested by the manuscript N$_{I-t}$. The rest of the manuscripts seem to have the **tige₂**(LUL.BALAŊ) of Ludwig, 1990: 185.

[1014] It is not a canonical shape of BALAŊ, nor does it seem to be another sign. In fact, it would be strange to have here a term for a different instrument than the **tige₍₂₎**. Certainly, **a-da-ab** never appears immediately mentioned with any other instrument (see ePSD2 for evidence). In any case, we would maintain BALAŊ since the shape of this sign is similar to the wrongly written sign BALAŊ of UET 6/1 140 [U. 16881], r. 19, an Old Babylonian manuscript of **Uru am₃-ma-ir-ra-bi** (Peterson, 2019c: 405).

[1015] Castellino, 1972: 47 read "gál" and Peterson, 2019a: 213 "mu┐ ?". In our collation, we found two crossed wedges and a *Winkelhaken*. It might be an incorrect MU; IG (= **gal₂**) does not make sense here.

[1016] They follow Castellino, 1972: 27–29, but we have put an N (= Nippur), Ur (= Ur) or X (= Uncertain) according to the provenance of the manuscripts they are designing. Manuscripts from Nippur have an I (= Type I), III (= Type III) or U (= Uncertain) according to their tablet typology.

In this excerpt, the term **nam-nar** (translated in different ways in the past[1017]) is connected to two musical terms: **tige₂** and **a-da-ab**. Since the first edition of this text[1018], those words haven normally been identified, with two praise[1019] (vocal) compositions[1020], music or songs[1021]. Other excerpts of the hymns for Šulgi [1022] make mention of them as (vocal) compositions. Nevertheless, the nature of the **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** as hymns is not so evident, at least in these two cases:

- In *Šulgi C*[1023], the king claims to know the **ad ša₄** technique of the **tige₍₂₎**, **a-da-ab**, and **ma-al-ga-tum**. These terms have been traditionally defined as hymns[1024] starting from the idea that **ad ša₄** was a singing technique[1025]. However, we have already seen that several instruments were able to produce the same **ad ša₄** technique[1026]. Certainly, **ad** referred to a "soft sound" by opposition to the **šeg₁₁** ("loud sound")[1027]. Therefore, **tige₍₂₎**, **a-da-ab**, and **ma-al-ga-tum** might designate here a group of instruments.

[1017] Castellino, 1972: 47 ("musical training"); Krispijn, 1990: 1 ("Musik"); Ludwig, 1990: 185 ("Gesangeskunst"); ETCSL 2.4.2.02 ("art of music"); Charpin, 2006: 56 ("musique"); Shehata, 2009: 252 ("'Musikkunst'"); Michalowski, 2010a: 206 ("the practice of music"); Wolfe, 2015: 228 ("music"); Ziegler, 2017: 39 ("musique"); Peterson, 2019a: 213 ("the musician's craft(?)").

[1018] Castellino, 1972: 47 ("the tigi and adab compositions").

[1019] See Shehata, 2009: 251–257 for the most complete current study of those compositions.

[1020] Krispijn, 1990: 1 ("Tigi- und Adab-Kompositionen"); Ludwig, 1990: 185 ("t í g i und a - d a - a b"); Michalowski, 2010a: 206 ("the tigi and adab instruments/songs") (he states in n. 18 their meaning as songs); Wolfe, 2015: 97 ("the tigi and adab (compositions)").

[1021] Shehata, 2009: 252 ("Tigi - und Adab-Lieder"); Ziegler, 2017: 39 ("(les chants accompagnés) de l'instrument-*tigi* et les chants-*adab*"); Peterson, 2019a: 213 ("tigi and adab songs (or instruments?)").

[1022] In *Šulgi B*, 272 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02) and 278 (see our edition *infra*) they are **en₃-du** ("(epic) songs") and **ser₃ gid₂-da** ("long **ser₃** song"). *Šulgi E*, 14–22 (ETCSL 2.4.2.05) describes their content, and they are again classified in its line 53 as **en₃-du**. *Šulgi G* (ETCSL 2.4.2.07) is an **a-da-ab** hymn to Enlil for Šulgi according to its colophon (line 70), and the text Peterson, 2015a: 46–47 [N 2821a] is an **a-da-ab** hymn of Nergal for King Šulgi.

[1023] *Šulgi C*, B 76 (ETCSL 2.4.2.03).

[1024] ETCSL 2.4.2.03 ("I can perform *tigi*, *adab* and great *malgatum* compositions"); Shehata, 2009: 257 ("Tigi, Adab und die groß(artig)en Malgatum-Lieder, ihre ad-ša₄-Technik kenne ich"); Wolfe, 2015: 231 ("I know the sound of the tigi and adab in great (matters of) advice").

[1025] Shehata, 2009: 231–232, 296.

[1026] *Enki's Journey to Nippur*, 63–67 (Ceccarelli, 2012: 94).

[1027] Krispijn, 1990: 15; Rendu Loisel, 2011: 205 n. 862.

- In another text, *Šulgi E*, 34[1028], the king claims to know the place (**ki**) of the **zi-zi** (possible equivalent of our *crescendi* here, literally "rising") and the **šu₂-šu₂** (literally "sinking down", possible equivalent of our *diminuendi* in this particular context) of a **tige₍₂₎** and a **za-am-za-am**. Dahlia Shehata identified them with hymns due to a supposed connection of **zi-zi** and **šu₂-šu₂** with singing[1029]. However, they also referred to the **ᵑᵉˢˣšu-kar₂** lute[1030]. Moreover, when **šu₂-šu₂** referred to a hymn, it is usually accompanied by **ŋa₂-ŋa₂** (literally "placing") not **zi-zi**[1031]. In this sense, **tige₍₂₎** and **za-am-za-am** might be two instruments[1032].

The exact identity of **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** is relevant for the correct understanding of our term **nam-nar** in this excerpt. Since **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** did not always refer to songs in the *corpus* of hymns for Šulgi as we have already noted, we would propose their identification in *Šulgi B*, 157 as two instruments. That new identification fits better with the musical terms mentioned in *Šulgi B*, 158–174, where we normally find instruments with their playing techniques, but not compositions. In addition, that identification is also very relevant for the definition of **nam-nar** as "music".

In order to arrive at the aforementioned new identification of **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** in this excerpt, we propose an analysis of some of the other terms mentioned in *Šulgi B*, 157: **buru₃**, **daŋal** and the expression **šu du₇-a**.

[1028] *Šulgi E*, 34 (ETCSL 2.4.2.05).

[1029] Shehata, 2009: 256 and 352. Theo J. H. Krispijn (personal communication) defined **tige₂** and **za-am-za-am** as "compositions, although originally referring to musical instruments". For that definition, he started from a supposed connection of the term **ki** of *Šulgi E*, 34 with **ki-ru-gu₂**. This term, which is well-known in the Sumerian hymns, would mean originally "place where one (re)tunes (the instrument)" according to Krispijn. However, that definition does not fit with **ru** (form derived from **ri** "to impose") and **gu₂** ("pulse" (?)), and there are other rubrics with **ki** (Shehata, 2009: 348–351).

[1030] *Šulgi B*, 160 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

[1031] Shehata, 2009: 352–354.

[1032] ETCSL 2.4.2.05 ("about how I know exactly at what point to raise and lower the *tigi* and *zamzam* instruments"); Foxvog, 2016b: 135 ("About how I always knew the places for the raising and lowering of the tigi and zamzam instruments"). Ludwig, 1990: 37 was impartial ("daß ich weiß, und welcher Stelle (die Stimmung) von t i g i und z a - m - z a - a m zu erhöhen und zu erniedrigen war").

4.4.3.2.2.1.   **buru₃**

Theo J. H. Krispijn[1033] said that "**buru₃.daĝal**" was mathematical and arithmetic nature, and it was referred to the measuring of land surfaces in other Sumerian literary texts[1034]. However, he forgot that **buru₃** and **daŋal** are better documented as independent terms, and, above all, they have a more extensive meaning beyond the mathematical.

Concerning **buru₃** ("(to be) deep", "to perforate")[1035], it is not documented in other hymns for Šulgi. However, there are many allusions to this term in other contemporary literary texts. As a verb, **buru₃** describes an action mostly applied to physical realities[1036]: the entry of a thief into a house for stealing[1037], the holes of several materials[1038], or the action of plant roots growing into the ground[1039]. As a noun, it designates the hiding places of enemies or deep sites[1040] like the Engur. In that place, Enki slept far from the protests of the deities against the obligation of working for survival[1041].

In light of this information, **buru₃** might refer in our excerpt to the depth of an object, something which fits better with **tige₍₂₎** and **a-da-ab** as musical instruments. The **tige₍₂₎** and **a-da-ab** hymns have a "depth" since they have a certain quantity of lines of text. However, this "extension" is already expressed in Sumerian by the expression **mu šid-bi** ("total of lines", literally, "its counting (**šid**) of lines (**mu**) (gives a total of)…")

[1033] Krispijn, 1990: 4.

[1034] *Utu Incantation,* 19–20 (Castellino, 1969: 9); *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 360 (ETCSL 2.5.4.01).

[1035] In *Šulgi B*, 157: Castellino, 1972: 47 ("depth"); Krispijn, 1990: 1 ("Tiefe"); Ludwig, 1990: 185 ("Tiefe"); Geller, 2003: 109 ("depth"); Charpin, 2006: 59 ("profondeur"); Shehata, 2009: 252 ("Tiefe"); Michalowski, 2010a: 206 ("depth"); Wolfe 2015: 46 ("depth"); Ziegler, 2017: 39 ("profondeur").

[1036] In *Asalluḫi A*, 16–17 (ETCSL 4.01.1) and *Nuska A*, D 1 (ETCSL 4.01.1), they are referred to the penetration of the mind of a person.

[1037] *Diatribe C*, 12 (ETCSL 5.4.12); *Instructions of Šuruppak*, 29, 214 (ETCSL 5.6.1); *Proverbs* 13.8 (ETCSL 6.1.13).

[1038] Wood (*Flood Story,* D 7; ETCSL 1.7.4); earth (*Hoe and Plough*, 52; Mittermayer, 2019: 307.).

[1039] *Heron and Turtle*, 17 (Peterson, 2007: 297).

[1040] *Gilgameš and Aga*, 7, 13, 22 (ETCSL 1.8.1.1); *Inanna and Ebiḫ*, 86 (ETCSL 1.3.2); *Ibbī-Suen B*, A 29 (ETCSL 2.4.5.2); *Šu-Suen to Šarrum-bāni*, 17 (Michalowski, 2011: 409).

[1041] *Enki and Ninmaḫ*, a 13–14 (Ceccarelli, 2016: 98).

4.4.3.2.2.2.   **daŋal**

Unlike **buru₃**, **daŋal** ("(to be) broad/wide/large")[1042] is indeed documented several times in the *corpus* of hymns for Šulgi. In those texts, **daŋal** is used once as an expression for the enemies dispersed by the king[1043]. However, it usually describes the width of the human ears (in reference to the wisdom)[1044] and other objects[1045]. In this sense, **daŋal** might refer in *Šulgi B*, 157 to the breadth of two objects. That fits better with **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** as instruments. Certainly, if we had to think of the "breadth" of two hymns, we can evoke their "metrical structure", a still very little studied aspect of Sumerian poems[1046].

4.4.3.2.2.3.   **šu du₇-a**

The presence of the expression **šu du₇-a** ("(to be) perfect")[1047] together with **nam-nar** in *Šulgi B*, 157 recalls to us the excerpt of the *Gudea Cylinders* (as one of the many parallels between Gudea's and Šulgi's texts[1048]) noted in our Chapter 1. There, that expression described the musical action of a stringed instrument (the **balaŋ**) and two percussion instruments (the **se-em** cymbals and the **a₂-la₂** giant drum). As we shall see later, **balaŋ** and **tige₂** are etymologically connected. Therefore, despite the long chronological distance between the *Gudea Cylinders* and *Šulgi B*, this excerpt is useful for our identification of the **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** in *Šulgi B*, 157 as two musical instruments.

[1042] In *Šulgi B*, 157: Castellino, 1972: 47 ("width"); Krispijn, 1990: 1 ("Breite"); Ludwig, 1990: 185 ("Weite"); Geller, 2003: 109 ("breadth"); Charpin, 2006: 59 ("largeur"); Shehata, 2009: 252 ("Weite"); Michalowski, 2010a: 206 ("breadth"); Wolfe 2015: 46 ("breadth"); Ziegler, 2017: 39 ("largeur").

[1043] *Šulgi D*, 217, 333 (ETCSL 2.4.2.04).

[1044] *Šulgi B*, 18–19 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02), *Šulgi C*, A 115, B 95 (ETCSL 2.4.2.03), *Šulgi D*, 15, 37, 62 (ETCSL 2.4.2.04), *Šulgi R*, 5 (ETCSL 2.4.2.18), and *Šulgi T*, 14, 22 (ETCSL 2.4.2.20).

[1045] Tree branches (*Šulgi D*, 224, 396, ETCSL 2.4.2.04; *Šulgi T*, 2, ETCSL 2.4.2.20); tiaras (*Šulgi D*, 295, ETCSL 2.4.2.04; *Šulgi X*, 156, Attinger, 2019f: 13); boats (*Šulgi R*, 52, ETCSL 2.4.2.18), temples (*Šulgi G*, 21, ETCSL 2.4.2.07), and the sunbeams (*Šulgi A*, 47, Delnero, 1886 with Vacín, 2011: 272).

[1046] See Izre'el, 2001: 70 n. 20 for a *status quaestionis* on that topic.

[1047] Previous translations in *Šulgi B*, 157: Castellino, 1972: 47 ("the consummate"); Krispijn, 1990: 1 ("vollkommene"); Ludwig, 1990: 185 ("in Vollendung"); ETCSL 2.4.2.02 ("the perfection"); Geller, 2003: 109 ("to perfection"); Charpin, 2006: 59 ("perfection"); Shehata, 2009: 252 ("vollendete"); Michalowski, 2010a: 206 ("which are perfect"); Wolfe, 2015: 97 ("perfect"); Ziegler, 2017: 39 ("perfection").

[1048] Klein, 1989: 292–294. We have not found this parallel in said publication.

The use of the terms **buru₃** and **daŋal** in *Šulgi B*, 157 is essential for the identification of the **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** as two instruments. Certainly, these two terms mainly referred to physical things, and not abstract concepts like the lines or the metrical structure of two hymns. The expression **šu du₇-a** here is also highly relevant due to the parallel with the aforementioned *Gudea Cylinders*, B15.20–22 where it referred to some instruments and contained that same expression. We believe, therefore, that **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** were referred in *Šulgi B*, 157 to two instruments, and not two compositions.

4.4.3.2.3.   **tige₂** as musical instrument in *Šulgi B*, 157

4.4.3.2.3.1.   Introduction

What type of instruments exactly would the **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** be? They have sometimes been identified with melodic instruments[1049]. That implies their *quasi-automatic* identification with stringed instruments. Certainly, we have not found pitched percussions (like xylophones) in Mesopotamia yet, and the **gi-di** (an aerophone, also a melodic instrument) is later mentioned in *Šulgi B*[1050]. Therefore, why aerophones should appear again in *Šulgi B*, 157? However, that identification sets out some problems, so we shall propose an alternative identification for both **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** in this excerpt.

4.4.3.2.3.2.   A supposed connection between **tige₂** and **tigidla**

Krispijn has identified the term **tige₂** with several stringed instruments[1051] starting from the supposed etymological connection between ᵑᵉˢ**tigidla** and **tige₍₂₎** given by an Akkadian Old Babylonian omen about the gallbladder (*martum*)[1052]. Certainly, that text has the expression *ti-gi-dal-li*[1053], which Krispijn analysed as ***tige₍₂₎-dal** ("crossbar (**dal**)

[1049] ETCSL 2.4.2.02; Charpin, 2006: 59.

[1050] *Šulgi B*, 172 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

[1051] Krispijn, 1990: 3 (a big lyre; followed by Ziegler, 1999: 94 n. 583); Krispijn, 2010b: 147 (a harp).

[1052] YOS 10 59 [Smith College 12], r. 6 (9ᵗʰ omen) (Goetze, 1947a: 255).

[1053] Goetze, 1947a: 255; Lieberman, 1977: 504, word 670.

of the **tige(2)**"). We would have here, therefore, a reference to the upper part of a lyre, the crossbar[1054]. However, the writing **ti-gi** for /**tige**/ is mostly absent in Old Babylonian texts, and it should be understood as a variant[1055] of **ti-ge4**, an old-fashioned spelling of /**tige**/ at that time[1056]. In the same way, for *tigû*(*m*), we would expect the reduplication of the second vowel (*ti-i-gu-um*). Therefore, we should not have just *ti-gi* as in this case[1057].

Moreover, *ti-gi-dal-li* may be read as *ti-ki2-tal-li*, a form of *tikittallû*(*m*) (the Akkadian version of **tigidla**)[1058]. As we have already discussed, this instrument seems to be a lute[1059] which, among others, had the speciality **ᵑᵉˢtigidla kaskal-la** ("ᵑᵉˢ**tigidla** of the way")[1060]. That makes sense in this context since *ti-ki2-tal-li* is part of a chain with *apim*[1061], a form of *apum* ("marsh"[1062]), having *tikittallî apim* ("*tikittallû* instrument of the marsh"). In addition, lutes' sound-boxes usually have the shape of a pear, just like the gallbladder. In this sense, we believe that the text YOS 10 59 [Smith College 12], r. 6 (9ᵗʰ omen) was comparing the shape of the gallbladder to the *tikittallû* lute. Therefore, there would be no reference here to the **tige(2)**, to the contrary of Krispijn's suggestion.

In any case, even if we understood **tigidla** (< *****tige(2)-dal**) as "crossbar of the **tige(2)** instrument", there is no obligation of seeing here a reference to a lyre. Certainly, crossbars are also present on some drums like the Irish *bodhrán*[1063].

4.4.3.2.3.3. **balaŋ** during the Old Babylonian Period

Krispijn also identified **tige(2)** with a stringed instrument based on the notion that the **balaŋ** (contained in the *Diri* **tige2** = LUL.BALAŊ) was another chordophone. This term

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[1054] Krispijn, 1990: 3; Krispijn, 2010b: 148.

[1055] *Nanna N*, 23, 26–27 (ETCSL 4.13.14).

[1056] See *Gudea Cylinders*, B10.9, B18.22 (Römer, 2010: 33, 38) for evidence.

[1057] Like *ti-ig-gu-um* in OECT 4 153 [Ashm. 1923-400], c 2–4 (DCCLT).

[1058] CAD T, p. 397.

[1059] We agree in this sense with Krispijn, 2010b: 148 and Krispijn, 2011: 117.

[1060] That makes sense with the naked and itinerant lute players depicted in the Old Babylonian clay plaques. See Krispijn, 2011: 116 for reference.

[1061] Goetze, 1947a: 205 reads *aga'im* (from *agûm*, "tiara") since the second sign is broken, and it might be GA. However, the reading of that sign as BI is more recent (Zorzi, 2011: 270, n. 94). Therefore, *apim* might be an improved reading, and we should follow it.

[1062] CAD A2, p. 199.

[1063] Woods, 2015: 57.

has recently been identified as a giant lyre[1064]. However, as we have already seen, according to Uri Gabbay[1065], **balaŋ** actually seems to designate a percussion instrument by the early 2nd millennium BCE (the period of our *Šulgi B*) and later times. We can check that statement with the information given by the contemporary Sumerian literary texts.

In those texts, the sound production of the **balaŋ** is described with the verbs **sag₃** ("to beat") and **šu dar**[1066]. This expression might refer to a playing technique of an instrument using the edge of the hands[1067]. Both verbs suggest the condition of **balaŋ** as a percussion.

In addition, **balaŋ** appears in those literary texts with the determinatives **ŋeš** (for wooden objects)[1068] and **kuš** (for leather objects)[1069] in line with the lexical evidence[1070]. There, and together with **a₂-la₂** (identified with a giant drum[1071]), the **balaŋ** appears as a wooden[1072] and leather object[1073]. We have already seen how Kilmer thought that they referred to chordophones whose sound-box (partially covered in leather) would act as a sort of "percussive surface"[1074]. This idea makes sense with the modern acoustic guitar sound-boxes, drummed with the hand in some modern styles. It is also interesting the case of the Japanese *shamisen*: A wooden sound-box covered in cat-skin it is strummed with a *bachi* (a plectrum) that thwacks the cat-skin to create a percussive effect[1075].

However, sounds produced from those surfaces are not very loud while the sound of the **a₂-la₂** is described in the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts with the expressions

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[1064] Shehata, 2017a: 73–74.

[1065] Gabbay, 2007: 57–63; Gabbay, 2014: 132, 134, 139–141; Gabbay, 2017: 46.

[1066] *Šulgi N*, 45 (ETCSL 2.4.2.14) and *Iddin-Dagān A*, 41 (Attinger, 2014a: 18) respectively. Literally, **šu dar** means "to split (**dar**) with the hand (**šu**)".

[1067] Attinger, 2019d: 28.

[1068] *Enki's Journey to Nippur*, 62 (Ceccarelli, 2012: 94, 98); *Man and his god*, 4 (ETCSL 5.2.4).

[1069] *Old Babylonian Catalogue possibly from Sippar*, A 8 (edition dependent upon ETCSL 0.2.07).

[1070] But not in the administrative one, where we find only **kuš**: BIN 9 213 [NBC 7594] (00-10-03), o. 1 (CDLI P236223), and BIN 9 312 [NBC 7172] (00-00-00), o. 8 (CDLI P236322). Moreover, UET 3 282 [U. 6708] (00-00-00), o. 15 mentions a **balaŋ** made of bronze (**zabar**) (CDLI P136599).

[1071] See our Section 2.2.2.2 for identification in the 3rd millennium.

[1072] EEN, p. 303 Ni II-075 [UM 29-16-294], r. i 6'–7' (DCCLT); SLT 175 [CBS 8164], o. i 1'–2' (DCCLT).

[1073] MSL 7, p. 211 V₁₆ [N 5056 + UM 29-16-391], o. ii 18–19 (DCCLT); MSL 7, p. 211 V₂₄ [3N-T649], c i' 2'–4' (DCCLT).

[1074] Kilmer, 1993–1995: 465.

[1075] Many thanks to Stephanie Lynn Budin for this interesting reference.

gu₃ nun dug₄ ("to produce a powerful sound")[1076] and **šeg₁₁ ge₄** ("to roar")[1077], two expressions making sense with the sound of a percussion, not a stringed, instrument. In the same way, Anne D. Kilmer's argument forgets that **balaŋ** and **a₂-la₂** are connected with the term **ŋᵉˢgur₂** ("circle", "circumference"[1078]) in Old Babylonian lexical texts[1079]. Certainly, a rounded shape fits well with the Old Babylonian depictions of drums[1080], but not with those of chordophones except, perhaps, those depicting lutes[1081]. Therefore, **balaŋ** and **a₂-la₂** might actually designate two types of drums with a leather membrane, perhaps fastened to their wooden frame with cords of animal gut or sinew.

4.4.3.2.3.4. tige₂: the balaŋ instrument of the nar

If **balaŋ** designated a type of drum and is contained in the logographic composition of **tige₍₂₎**, we should suppose that **tige₂** would designate a similar type of instrument. Certainly, the **tige₂** is mentioned together with other percussion instruments like the **sem₅** cymbals, the **a₂-la₂** giant drum[1082], and the **balaŋ** drum[1083]. Both instruments, **tige₂** and **balaŋ**, had a pure condition (**ku₃**)[1084], and texts talk about seven **tige₂** and seven **balaŋ**[1085]. Therefore, their single difference might be in their players and performance contexts[1086].

[1076] *Uruk Lament*, H 16 (ETCSL 2.2.5); *Iddin-Dagān A*, 79 (Attinger, 2014a: 20).

[1077] *Keš Temple Hymn*, 115a (Delnero, 2006: 2229-2230); *Hoe and Plough*, 28 (Mittermayer, 2019: 302). See Rendu Loisel, 2011: 10, 285 for comments.

[1078] Sallaberger, 2006: 265.

[1079] MSL SS 1, p. 96 [Ashm. 1923-402], a ii 37'–38' (DCCLT); CUSAS 12 3.1.1 [MS 3214], c iv 28–31 (DCCLT).

[1080] See Rāšid, 1984: 74–75 (fig. 58), 76–77 (fig. 59), 96–97 (figs. 91–96; to be completed with Dumbrill, 2005: 373–382). We would pay attention to fig. 59 (VA 7224) due to its connections with Dumuzi and Inanna (connections also established with the **balaŋ**; see Shehata, 2014: 118 for comments).

[1081] See Rāšid, 1984: 80–91 (harps and lyres), 92–93 (lutes).

[1082] *Inanna and Enki*, II iv 47-48 (Farber-Flüge, 1973: 52); *Sumer and Ur Lament*, 436 (ETCSL 2.2.3); *Uruk Lament*, H 16–17 (ETCSL 2.2.5; with an **ub₃**, a **za-am-za-am**, and an **a₂-la₂** giant drum); *Šulgi A*, 50–51 (Delnero, 2006: 1887–1888 with Vacín, 2011: 273); *Iddin-Dagān*, 79 (Attinger, 2014a: 20).

[1083] *Našše A*, 41 (ETCSL 4.14.1 vs. Attinger, 2019e: 84, which has **sur₉** without indication of variants).

[1084] *Inanna and Enki*, II iv 48 (Farber-Flüge, 1973: 52) for **tige₂**; *Sumer and Ur Lament*, 441 (ETCSL 2.2.3), *Šulgi C*, B 90 (ETCSL 2.4.2.03), *Iddin-Dagān A*, 41 (Attinger, 2014a: 18) for **balaŋ**.

[1085] *Enki's Journey to Nippur*, 122 (Ceccarelli, 2012: 106) and *Šulgi A*, 78 (Delnero, 2006: 1900–1901) for **tige₂**; *Cursing of Agade*, 200 (ETCSL 2.1.5) for **balaŋ**.

[1086] For considerations, see Gabbay, 2007: 61–62; Gabbay, 2014: 101–102 and Gabbay, 2017: 46.

Certainly, while the **balaŋ** would be played for lamentations by the **gala** priest[1087], the **nar** would use the **tige₂** mainly for situations of general rejoicing[1088], food offerings[1089], royal praise[1090], or religious festivals[1091].

An interesting example of this opposition between the **tige₍₂₎** and the lamentations might be an excerpt of the Old Babylonian tablet YBC 9862 belonging to the **er₂ sem₃-ma** lament **A uru₂-ŋu₁₀ im-me** (““Oh, my city!” She says”)[1092]. In that text, the goddess Inanna seems to say that the groups of **gala** (**nam-gala**)[1093] and **bur^ur2** priests (**nam-bur-ra**) disappear for her (**mu-ra-re₆**(DU), literally “march for you”) before the sounds of her **tige₍₂₎** (**tige₍₂₎-ŋa₂**, literally “before my **tige₍₂₎** instrument”).

From this perspective, the expression **si sa₂** (“to arrange”; “to tune”) —sometimes mentioned with **tige₍₂₎**— might be understood as a reference to adjusting the leather membrane of the **tige₂**, and not to tuning it as a lyre[1094]. That makes sense since, unlike the modern percussion instruments (whose membranes are usually made in synthetic

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[1087] See *Cursing of Agade*, 198–200 (ETCSL 2.1.5) for its use by the chief lamenter (**gala maḫ**), and see *Ur Lament*, 86 (Samet, 2014: 58), *Inanna B*, 33 (Delnero, 2006: 2045), and *Dumuzi and Inanna F*, 37 (ETCSL 4.08.06) for its use in lamentation contexts (normally in connection with **er₂** “tears”).

[1088] *Cursing of Agade*, 36 (ETCSL 2.1.5).

[1089] *Inanna and Enki,* II iv 48 (Farber-Flüge, 1973: 52); *Šulgi A*, 51 (Delnero, 2006: 1888 with Vacín, 2011: 273); *Nanna N*, 23 (ETCSL 4.13.14).

[1090] *Šulgi A*, 78 (Delnero, 2006: 1900–1901).

[1091] *Ur Lament*, 356 (ETCSL 2.2.2).

[1092] **A uru₂-ŋu₁₀ im-me**, Cohen, 1988: 647–649 [YBC 9862], 43 (Cohen, 1988: 648). We have not found any copy/photo of this manuscript to check the transliteration. For that reason we have put **tige₍₂₎**.

[1093] Here is one of the few references to **nam-gala** we know of for the Old Babylonian Period beyond the lexical texts already commented on in our section 3.2.2 and the administrative texts where this term referred to the office of the **gala** priest (see Shehata, 2009: 175, 382–383, 385, 389–390, 394 for texts and comments). The other references to **nam-gala** we know for this period come from VS 2 29 [VAT 1339], o. 6–7: ᵒ· ⁶ [ga]-ša-an-e nam-ga[la]-ˊeˋ eden-ˊnaˋ ᵒ· ⁷ [e₂-a]n-na-e nam-ga[la-e eden-na?] (Cohen, 1988: 556 with corrections derived from our inspections of the original handwritten copy of the manuscript), “ᵒ· ⁶ (what has) the lady (brought) for the office of the **ga[la]** priest? ᵒ· ⁷ (what has the lady brought) for the [E-a]nna and the office of the **ga[la]** priest?” Cohen, 1988: 556 also transliterates **nam-gala** in line 11 of the same text. However, it is actually **nam-ur-ˊsaŋˋ** according to the copy of that text, which makes sense with the previous line. Maybe **nam-gala** means here “lamentation music”, but the context is uncertain. In this sense, there is no clear reference to a “lamentation music” with the term **nam-gala** by the Old Babylonian Period, an important fact in order to define **nam-nar** as “music” *lato sensu*.

[1094] *Šulgi A*, 51 (Delnero, 2006: 1888 with Vacín, 2011: 273); *Nanna N*, 23, 26–27 (ETCSL 4.13.14). None of those references isin Wilcke, 2005. For these contradictions of **tige₍₂₎**, Michalowski, 2017: 223.

materials) the leather membranes of ancient percussions used to become loosened because of humidity and the repetitive use of said instruments[1095].

4.4.3.2.4. **a-da-ab** as musical instrument in *Šulgi B*, 157

The identification of the **a-da-ab** as a melodic instrument in *Šulgi B*, 157 has been made exclusively by derivation from the identification of **tige₂**. The **a-da-ab** is mentioned with the **sem₅** cymbals and the **a₂-la₂** in an excerpt from *Temple Hymns*[1096]. In the same way, the **a-da-ab** is mentioned with the **tige₂** drum[1097] in another text where both instruments were made silent[1098]. We suppose, in this sense, a certain similarity or complementarity between both instruments for their size or elaboration materials, but we cannot be more precise about that relationship, at least, for the Old Babylonian Period[1099].

4.4.3.2.5. Conclusions

In *Šulgi B*, 157, the king boasts about his knowledge of the **tige₂** and **a-da-ab**, two types of percussion instruments, and not hymns as they have been traditionally defined. This new identification gives a new sense of the rest of the terms mentioned in that line.

Concerning **buru₃** and **daŋal**, they would make allusion to the depth and breadth of both instruments. The depth (**buru₃**) would affect to the "profundity" of the timbre of the **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** drums. On its behalf, the breadth (**daŋal**) would be important for the pitch of both instruments together with the tension of their percussive membranes.

In our opinion, the king would have learned both aspects by an active use of those instruments. Certainly, the verb of this sentence, **zu** ("to know"), referred to a cognitive process based on the use of the sight (**igi**) and ears (**ŋeštug₂**)[1100]. That fact also makes

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[1095] Raman, 1922: 475.

[1096] *Temple Hymns*, 107 (ETCSL 4.80.1).

[1097] Krispijn, 1990: 4; Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 133; Krispijn, 2008: 177, have identified **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** in *Ur-Namma A*, 187 with two instruments, but we have previously dismissed that identification.

[1098] *Enki and the World Order,* 448 (ETCSL 1.1.3). TMH NF 4 1 [HS 1475 + 1476 + 1502], r. vi 18 has **tige₂** and not **tige**(BALAĜ.LUL) as in Benito, 1969: 113; Vanstiphout, 1999: 37 and ETCSL 1.1.3.

[1099] In the Neo-Assyrian document CT 14, pl. 8 [K. 4330], o. i 26'–27' (DCCLT), they are two copper (**urudu**) objects, supposing, therefore, a difference concerning their size or shape.

[1100] Wolfe, 2015: 205–206.

sense in the modern musical practice, where musicians learn the (ideal) measures of their instruments by the regular use and experimentation with said instruments.

If the king spent a long time playing those instruments, maybe he liked them. That might be due to their sound. In fact, in our opinion, **nam-nar šu du$_7$-a** in *Šulgi B*, 157 would mean "perfect music" as "perfect sound". Therefore, **nam-nar** might mean here the same as our current term "music": a combination of sounds with (artistic) purposes. This idea makes sense with the place of the **tige$_2$** and **a-da-ab** at the beginning of the list of instruments mastered by the king, and with the description of the **tige$_2$** as a something (**niŋ$_2$**) sweet (**dug$_3$**)[1101] which is able to gladden the heart (**šag$_4$ ḫul$_2$-la**)[1102].

4.4.3.3.   *Šulgi B*, 162: about Šulgi's musical limits

We now are going to deal with another reference to **nam-nar** in the section of hymn *Šulgi B* about king's musical abilities whose line 157 we have just analysed:

Text 35. *Šulgi B*[1103]

162   ᵍᵉˢ**sa-eš$_5$ u$_3$ šag$_4$ nam-nar-ra-ka šag$_4$ du-bu-ul-la mi-ni-zu**

N$_{I-B}$	o. iv 4–5	ᵍᵉˢ⌐**sa**⌐**-eš$_5$** ⌐**u$_3$**⌐ [ ] / **šag$_4$ du -bu-ul**![1104] [ ]
N$_{I-E+d}$	r. ii 14	ᵍᵉˢ **sa$_2$-eš** x [-k]a? **šag$_4$ d[u-**]-**zu?**
N$_{I-G}$	r. ii 6	ᵍᵉˢ **sa -eš u$_3$ šag$_4$ nam-nar-ra -ka**! **šag$_4$ du -gu -la** ⌐**mi**⌐**-ni-zu**
N$_{U-q}$	o. ii 7	**sa -eš$_5$ u$_3$ šag$_4$ nam-nar-ra-**⌐**ka šag$_4$**⌐ **du-[**]
N$_{I-t}$	r. 2–3	ᵍᵉˢx[1105][ ] **šag$_4$ nam-nar-ra -ka** / [ ] **du -bu -la mi-ni –zu**
N$_{U-aa}$	r. 13	[ ] **u$_3$ šag$_4$ nam-nar-ra -k[a**]
N$_{U-kk}$	r. 8	[ ] **du -bu-ul-la**![1106] **mi-ni-zu**
Ur$_M$	r. 8	ᵍᵉˢ**sa -eš u$_3$ šag$_4$ nam-nar-ra -ka šag$_4$ du -g[u-**]
X$_{ll}$	Omits	

[1101] *Inanna and Enki,* II iv 48 (Farber-Flüge, 1973: 52); *Cursing of Agade*, 260 (ETCSL 2.1.5); *Nippur Lament*, 83 (ETCSL 2.2.4); *Uruk Lament*, H 17 (ETCSL 2.2.5); *Šulgi A*, 51 (Delnero, 2006: 1888 with Vacín, 2011: 273); *Nanna N*, 23, 26 (ETCSL 4.13.14).

[1102] *Winter and Summer*, 237 (ETCSL 5.5.3).

[1103] Our own score edition taking into consideration the edition in composite line with notes about the variants of Castellino, 1972: 47 and Gerd Haayer's score (through Krispijn, 1990: 21). We have corrected their transliterations inspecting the copies/photos of the tablets (some of them collated) indicated below.

[1104] Castellino, 1972: 47 has "BU.UL$^{(!)}$", while Gerd Haayer (= Krispijn, 1990: 21, *siglum* B) has "bu-ul". We agree with Castellino because the sign lacks a straight wedge, and it seems rather a TI.

[1105] It might be AL, but that sign does not make sense in this context.

[1106] Gerd Haayer (= Krispijn, 1990: 21, *siglum* Ah) has "du.bu.ul.šè?", but his EŠ$_2$ (= **še$_3$**) seems LA! We consider it as incorrect due to the unusual length of its straight wedges, which "trample" the sign MI.

162   I know how to "stir" the interior of the ^{ŋeš}**sa-eš₅** three-stringed instrument
and the (deep) sense of the music.

Sigla[1107]

N_{I-B}	Castellino, 1972: pl. 1–6 [CBS 2345 + 2354 + 7071] (photo on CDLI P259350; collated the 19/08/2019)
N_{I-E+d}	Castellino, 1972: figs. 3 and 15 [N 1492 + 1741] (photo on CDLI P259086; collated the 21/08/2019)
N_{I-G}	Castellino, 1972: fig. 5 [UM 29-16-408 + 29-16-410 + 29-16-214G + 29-16-411 + 29-16-414A] (photo on CDLI P256906; collated the 19/08/2019)
N_{U-q}	Castellino, 1972: pl. 17–18 [3N-T300 = OIM A30203] (publication photo)
N_{I-t}	Castellino, 1972: pl. 19 [OIM A30219] (photo on CDLI P356651)
N_{U-aa}	ISET 2 60 [Ist. Ni 4211] (publication copy)
N_{U-kk}	ISET 2 93 [Ist. Ni 4078] (publication copy)
Ur_M	UET 6/1 81 [U. 16848] (photo on CDLI P346166; collated the 01/08/2019)
X_{ll}	Volk, *forthcoming* [MS 3343] (photo on CDLI P252284)

Giorgio Castellino translated **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** literally as "the essence (heart) of the musical craft"[1108]. However, Theo J. H. Krispijn supposed (without too many arguments) that **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** described a musical instrument (maybe the ^{ŋeš}**sa-eš₅**). Starting from that, he translated that term as "music sound-box"[1109]. This translation has been followed in the later research[1110]. However, we miss in Krispijn's identification of this **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** a comparison with the allusion to the same expression in *Father and his rude Son*, 112. In fact, that text had already been published at the time of Krispijn's proposal[1111]. As we have already said, in *The Father and his rude Son*, 112, **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** did not describe a musical instrument. However, that term described a much more abstract reality; the "(deep) sense (**šag₄**[1112]) of music (**nam-nar**)".

In our opinion, the entire excerpt *Šulgi B*, 162 might be on the limits of Šulgi's musical capacities. On the one hand, the text talks about an "easy" musical ability: the playing of the three-stringed instrument ^{ŋeš}**sa-eš₅**. Certainly, since it has just three strings, that instrument would have little musical possibilities and, therefore, it would be easy to play it. On the other hand, we have the Šulgi's knowledge (**zu**, "to know") of how to master

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[1107] They follow Castellino, 1972: 27–29, but we have put before an N (= Nippur), Ur (= Ur) or X (= Uncertain) according to the provenance of the manuscripts they are designing. Manuscripts from Nippur have an I (= Type I) or U (= Uncertain) according to their tablet typology.

[1108] Castellino, 1972: 47.

[1109] Krispijn, 1990: 1 ("dem Schallkasten der Musik"), 8.

[1110] ETCSL 2.4.2.02; Charpin, 2006: 59; Wolfe, 2015: 53; Ziegler, 2017: 39–40; Peterson, 2019a: 213.

[1111] This text cited by Castellino, 1972: 164 and Sjöberg, 1973: 128 (cited in Krispijn, 1990: 21!).

[1112] See Attinger, 2019d: 176 ("sens (profond)").

(literally "stir", **du-bu-ul**) a very complex and abstract musical reality, the "(deep) sense of the music" (**šag₄ nam-nar-ra**).

4.4.3.4.   *Šulgi B*, 277–279: study of **šu nam-nar-ra**

We move now to a different section of the same hymn *Šulgi B*. In that section, the king boasts about his interest in the ancient knowledge of the humanity. As an example, he shows how, under his reign, the "ancient" **tige₂** and **za-am-za-am** songs have returned to musical practice[1113]. Here is an excerpt of that section:

Text 36. *Šulgi B*[1114]

277   **ser₃ gid₂-da-bi e₂ dug₃-ga-ŋa₂ pa ˹e₃˺ ḫa-ba-˹ni˺-in-ak**[1115]

N_{I-B}	r. ii 1'	˹s[er₃ -gid₂]-da ˹e₂˺ dug₃-˹ga˺ -na / ˹e₃ ḫa˺ -ba -ni-˹in˺-ak
N_{U-y}	6	[ ]-da -bi e₂ [ ]
Ur_w	r. 9	˹ser₃˺-gid₂ -˹da˺-bi? e₂ dug₃ -ga -˹ŋa₂˺ pa?-˹e₃˺ [ ]
X_T	o. 15	ser₃ -gid₂ -da-˹bi [e]₂ dug₃-˹ga˺ -ŋa₂ pa UD.[-b]a-ni -ak

278   **niŋ₂ šu-ta ba-ra-šub-bu-da-˹bi˺**^{˹lu˺-u2 ar-mi}

N_{I-B}	r. ii 2'	˹niŋ₂ šu -ta ba -ra˺ -šub-ba-˹bi˺
N_{U-y}	7	[ ]-ta ba -˹ra˺-[ ]
Ur_w	r. 11	˹niŋ₂?˺ [ ]-˹ta?˺ [b]a -ra -˹šub˺-[ ]^{1116}
X_T	o. 16	niŋ₂ šu -˹ta˺ š[i]-˹ra -šub -bu -da˺-x-[ ]^{˹lu˺-u2 ar-mi}

279   **˹šu˺ nam-nar-ra-˹ke₄˺ ḫe₂-bi₂-la₂-˹la₂˺**^{˹lu-u2 u3 x-x}

N_{I-B}	r. ii 3'	˹šu nam˺ -nar -˹ra˺-kam ḫe₂-bi₂-la₂ -˹la₂˺
N_{I-R}	o. ii 1	˹šu nam˺-[ ]
N_{U-y}	8	[ ]-nar -r[a-]
X_T	o. 17	˹šu˺ nam -nar-˹ra -ke₄˺ ḫe₂-bi₂ -la₂ -˹la₂˺^{˹lu-u2 u3 x-x}

[1113] This is clearly royal propaganda. Certainly, **tige₂** and **za-am-za-am** hymns were already known in a text about Šulgi's predecessor: *Ur-Namma A*, 187 (see above for our own edition). Moreover, in Ur III times, the chain LUL.BALAŊ = **tige₂** is document only after Šulgi's reign and it is not referred to a hyn (see BDTNS for evidence).

[1114] Our own score edition taking into consideration the composite line and variants in Castellino, 1972: 58 and Ludwig, 1990: 48, corrected with our consultation of the photos of the manuscripts indicated below.

[1115] Probably this excerpt has been studied by Anna Glenn in her recently finished and (successfully) defended PhD Dissertation (Glenn, 2019) about the role of the **ser₃ gid₂-da** songs in the cult in the Old Babylonian Period. In this sense, we could not access its content yet, we know just the Dissertation's title. In any case and by the moment, see Glenn, 2018 and Glenn and Peterson, 2018 for a sample of her work.

[1116] Peterson, 2019a: 216 has a more fragmentary transliteration. However, the standard shape of some signs of this line does not differ too much from what we can read in the erased parts of that manuscript.

277 I caused to appear those long **ser₃** songs in my good house
278 (and), in order to avoid their oblivion[1117], (Akkadian gloss) or be covered (?)[1118]
279 they were bound (again) to musical practice. (Akkadian gloss) may […]

Sigla[1119]

N_I-B Castellino, 1972: pl. 1–6 [CBS 2345 + 2354 + 7071]
    (photo on CDLI P259350; collated the 19/08/2019)
N_I-R Castellino, 1972: fig. 14 [UM 29-16-451 + N 3312A]
    (photo on CDLI P256948; collated the 20/08/2019)
N_U-y Castellino, 1972: fig. 15(y) [3N-T 902,068] (photo on CDLI P356140)[1120]
Ur_w UET 6/1 82 [U. 16847] (photo on CDLI P346167; collation the 01/08/2019)
X_T TCL 16 50 [AO 6712] (photo on CDLI P345394)

The last line of this text has **šu nam-nar-ra**, an expression understood in many ways in the past: 1) **šu** and **nam-nar** as separated words[1121], 2) as a normal allusion to **nam-nar**[1122], 3) as an allusion to the **nar**[1123], and 4) as a musical repertoire[1124]. The first of these interpretations is the most correct because it keeps in mind the presence of **šu** ("hand") and **nam-nar**. Nevertheless, both terms are separated in their translation when we actually have a genitive marker connecting them (**šu nam.nar** + **ak** [GEN] + **e** [DIR]). Therefore, **nam-nar** is not an inserted noun between **šu** and the verb of the sentence, (**la₂**, "to hang", "to suspend") as Giorgio Castellino thought[1125]. Other translations forget **šu** and, therefore, the GEN {**ak**} connecting **šu** and **nam-nar**[1126]. Moreover, we have these specific remarks for some of those translations:

- The third option also forgets the prefix **nam**-. For that option, we would have expected something like **šu nar-e-ne-ke₄** ("to the musicians' hand") or **nar-e-ne-ra** ("for the musicians", with the DAT {**ra**}). There is one manuscript (N_U-y) without **nam**-.

[1117] Literally "their fall from the hand". See Lämmerhirt, 2010: 95 n. 620 for comments.

[1118] Our translations of the glosses should be considered as provisional due to their fragmentary context.

[1119] They follow Castellino, 1972: 27–29, but we have put before an N (= Nippur), Ur (= Ur) or X (= Uncertain) according to the provenance of the manuscripts they are designing. Manuscripts from Nippur have an I (= Type I) or U (= Uncertain) according to their tablet typology.

[1120] This tablet was not available for its collation during 19–23/08/2019 in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology since it had been already returned to Iraq.

[1121] Castellino, 1972: 59 ("his hand to the art of music").

[1122] Ludwig, 1990: 51 ("der Gesangeskunst"); Pitts, 2015: 63 n. 248 ("to musicianship").

[1123] Jáka-Sövegjártó, 2019: 48 ("to the musicians").

[1124] ETCSL 2.4.2.02 ("to the singers' repertoire"); Shehata, 2009: 254 ("dem 'Gesangsrepertoire'").

[1125] Castellino, 1972: 213–214. Shehata, 2009: 254 n. 1472 summarizes some of Castellino's points.

[1126] For Ludwig, 1990: 51 ("der Gesangeskunst"), we would expect in the text **nam-nar-re**.

However, that line in said manuscript is broken at its beginning. Therefore, it might have originally contained **nam-** too.

- The fourth translation forgets that **šu** refers to "writing" like "calligraphy"[1127]. Moreover, if we are right in understanding "repertoire" as "group of songs", we must say that Sumerian abstract nouns referred to groups concern mainly numbers. This is the case of **nam-ia**, ("group of five")[1128], or **nam-ŋeš₂** ("group of 60", **ŋeš₂** "60")[1129]. In fact, **nam-nar** as "text *corpus*" is only mentioned in 1ˢᵗ-millennium texts[1130].

Therefore, how should we understand **šu nam-nar-ra**? In order to propose a new definition for **šu nam-nar-ra**, we should study other expressions with **šu** ("hand") and a Sumerian abstract noun[1131]. Two examples are **šu nam-sa₆-ga** (literally, "the hand of the goodness")[1132] and **šu nam-uš₂** (literally, "the hand (of) the death")[1133]. In those cases, **šu** might allude to the "action" of the goodness and the death, an action metaphorically made by a hand (**šu**)[1134]. Therefore, we would translate **šu nam-nar-ra-ke₄** as "to the action of music"[1135]. That expression might refer to the musical practice to which the "ancient" **tige₂** and **za-am-za-am** hymns are supposed to have returned thanks to Šulgi.

4.4.3.5.   *Šulgi CC* and the term **ser₃ nam-nar**

The hymn *Šulgi CC*, recently edited for the first time, is one of our last new sources for the study of the term **nam-nar** in the Old Babylonian period because of this excerpt:

[1127] Attinger, 2019d: 183 about *Edubba'a A*, 41 (CDLI P464238).

[1128] The word **ia** would be variant of **ia₂** ("five").

[1129] For a larger list, see ePSD and ePSD2.

[1130] See our chapter about the 1ˢᵗ millennium for details.

[1131] For a complete catalogue of those expressions, see Cavigneaux and al-Rawi, 2000: 40–42.

[1132] *Edubba'a C*, 48 (ETCSL 5.1.3). Attinger, 2019d: 66 translated **šu nam-sa₆-ga** as "une main bienfaisante". However, we would have used just **šu sa₆-ga** ("good hand") for that.

[1133] *Death of Nannā*, 66–67 (ETCSL 5.5.2).

[1134] For instance, *Edubba'a C*, 48: **a-šag₄-za šu nam-sa₆-ga ḫe₂-bi₂-ge₄** (ETCSL 5.1.3) "I have returned the prosperity (literally, "the action/hand of the goodness") in your fields".

[1135] In this sense, we might agree with Cavigenaux and al-Rawi, 2003: 42 ("qu'il l'intègre dans son art musical ('qu'il attache à la main de musicalité')"). Nevertheless, they suppose a non-existent possessive and do not take into account that the sentence is referred to several songs, and not to a single chant.

Text 37. *Šulgi CC*, UET 6/3 522 [U. 7774][1136]

o. i 1	**ur-ᵈˈlammaˈ-ra ᵈlamma ˈki-gal-ˈla-taˈ** […]
o. i 2	**ˈulutimˈ sag₉ ˈalanˈ z[ag]-še₃ˈ ŋar AN ˈgišgalˀˈ** […]
o. i 3	**ˈnarˈ saŋ keše₂ ˈi₃ˈ-ŋal₂ ser₃ ˈnam-nar PIˀˈ PI GA ˈMI KAKˀˈ M[I** …]
o. i 4	**ˈkiŋ₂ˈ maḫ kiŋ₂ˀ galam eme ˈSUḪˀˈ dara₃-ˈban₃ˈ-da ˈzag GALAMˀˈ x** […]

o. i 1	For Ur-Lamma, a protective deity from a pedestal […]
o. i 2	Good signs towards a statue on the ri[ght side], … stand(?)… a station […]
o. i 3	The "very careful" **nar** was present, a sung musical composition […]
o. i 4	A majestic work, an artfully made work, (created by) the sophisticated language of Darabanda, the right side made artfully […]

This excerpt helps us to revisit the character of the **ser₃ nam-nar** composition. The exact nature of this term is difficult to describe since we do not have texts having the rubric **ser₃ nam-nar** as, for instance, we have in the case of **ser₃ nam-gala**[1137]. In order to describe the nature of **ser₃ nam-nar**, let us have a look at another text:

Text 38. *Death of Nannā*[1138]

19		**ˈdumuˈ er₂ in-ˈpad₃ saḫarˈ-ta ma-ra-ˈdaˈ-šub ser₃ na[m]-ˈnarˈ mu-un-na-ab-e**
	N₁-A	o. i 19 **ˈdumuˈ er₂ in-ˈpad₃ saḫarˈ-ta**
		ma-ra-ˈdaˈ-šub ser₃ na[m]-ˈnarˈ mu-un-na-ab -e
	N₁₁₁-B	r. 1–2 [ ]-ˈanˈ-taˀ[1139] /
		[ ] ma-ab[1140]-eˈ

19	The son wept, fell down into the dust, and recited a "musical, sung text" for him.

Sigla[1141]

N₁-A	Kramer, 1960: pl. [G.1.2.b.1725] (publication photo)
N₁₁₁-B	Sjöberg, 1983: 317 [CBS 14063 + N 4205]
	(photo available on CDLI P269079; collated the 20/08/2019)

[1136] Edition dependent upon Peterson, 2019c: 698 with corrections derived from our inspection of the original copy and photo (on CDLI P346560) of this tablet. We collated it on 01/08/2019.

[1137] See *Ibbī-Suen B*, C 13 (ETCSL 2.4.5.2), *Lipit-Ištar E*, 31 (ETCSL 2.5.5.5) and *Nanna L*, 53 (ETCSL 4.13.12) for reference and Shehata, 2009: 268 for description.

[1138] Our own score edition starting from Kramer, 1960: 52 and Sjöberg, 1983: 318. We have corrected their transliterations consulting the photos of the manuscripts indicated below.

[1139] According to the manuscript photo and our collation, there is here a sign TA due to a vertical wedge on the top, and not ŠAR₂ as in Sjöberg, 1983: 318.

[1140] Copy shows an erased TAB after this sign. However, according to the manuscript photo and our collation, there is actually no such sign in the original clay tablet.

[1141] They follow Sjöberg, 1983: 315, but we have put before an N (= Nippur) insofar both tablets come from Nippur. Their typology is indicated with I (= Type I) and III (= Type III).

Dahlia Shehata, author of the longest description of **ser₃ nam-nar** to date, defined it as "die Bezeichnung einer melodiös ausgestalteten Vortragsweise für Klagegesänge"[1142] in light of this excerpt where **ser₃ nam-nar** seems to appear in a context of lamentation. However, Anne Löhnert[1143] talked about that **ser₃ nam-nar** as a song connected with the **nar** as opposed to the **gala**. At that time, Löhnert's opinion made sense vis-à-vis our Text 9 *Proto*-**Lu₂**, 590–591. In that Text 9, as we saw, there was a "lament (sung) text" (**ser₃ nam-gala**) together with **ser₃ nam-nar**. We would expect this **ser₃ nam-gala** in our Text 38 if Lu-diŋira were actually performing a lamentation for his father Nannā.

The new reference to **ser₃ nam-nar** in a praise context contained in the hymn *Šulgi CC*[1144] confirms this impression of the ceremonial character of the song called **ser₃ nam-nar**. Furthermore, it invites us to rethink in the sense of **ser₃ nam-nar** in *Death of Nannā*, 19. In our opinion, the **ser₃ nam-nar** would also act as a ceremonial song in said text. That song would be a way of remembering and immortalizing the deeds of Nannā's father (Lu-diŋira), once Nannā has wept (**er₂ pad₃**) at his death[1145]. This interpretation makes sense in light of *Šulgi E*, where different types of hymns performed by the **nar** praised several specific abilities of King Šulgi[1146].

In this sense, thanks to *Šulgi CC*, o. i 3, we can change the previous identification of **ser₃ nam-nar** established by Dahlia Shehata, and we can identify this term now as a musical composition to be sung with a mainly ceremonial nature *lato sensu*.

4.4.4. Išmē-Dagān and **nam-nar**

4.4.4.1. *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, 367: devotion to the music

Ur-Namma and Šulgi were not the sole rulers interested in the music according to the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts. Certainly, in line with the rich musical life of

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[1142] Shehata, 2009: 265.

[1143] Löhnert, 2016: 55.

[1144] The reference to a certain *Šulgi Cc* hymn (STVC 59) in Flückiger-Hawker, 1999: 53 is actually a reference to the manuscript F of the *Šulgi C* hymn (see Castellino, 1972: 247). See Sallaberger, 2011–2013: 278 for the reference to UET 6/3 522 [U. 7774] as *Šulgi CC*.

[1145] We give thanks to Anne Löhnert for her feedback on this interpretation.

[1146] *Šulgi E*, 16–38 (ETCSL 2.4.2.05).

their cities at that time[1147], some rulers of the Isin and Larsa Dynasties of the early second millennium BCE were also interested in music. This is the case, for instance[1148], of Išmē-Dagān of Isin (1889–1871 BCE)[1149]. We can see that in this excerpt[1150]:

Text 39. *Išmē-Dagān A + V*[1151]

A 367   [n]am-[n]ar-ra ˹a₂˺-ŋu₁₀ ba-e-šum₂-ma

N_III-A	o. 10	[na]m-nar -˹ra	a₂˺ -ŋ[u₁₀	ba]-˹e˺-šum₂	-ma		
N_III-B	o. 5'	[-n]ar -a	˹a₂˺-ŋu₁₀	ba -e -šum₂	-ma		
Ur_C	r. iii' 4'–6'	[-na]r -e^{?1152} /	˹a₂^{?}˺-ŋu₁₀ /	[-šu]m₂ -˹ma˺			

A 367   That I have devoted myself to music.

Sigla[1153]

N_III-A   Ludwig, 1990: pl. 4–5 [3N-T 386 = A 30230] (publication photo)
N_III-B   Ludwig, 1990: pl. 6–7 [3N-T 727 + 3N-T 925,506 = IM 58657]
           (copy in OPBF 4 18; publication photo and CDLI P356556)[1154]
Ur_C   UET 6/3 529 [BM – PJ] (publication copy; photos on Ludwig, 1990: pl. 8 and CDLI
           P346567; collated the 01/08/2019)

[1147] For their musical life during this period, see Shehata, 2009: 126–147 (Larsa), 149–162 (Isin).

[1148] We might remember also Išbī-Erra (ca. 1953–1921 BCE). Certainly, in the lexical text CUSAS 12 3.1.1 [MS 3214], b iv 14 (DCCLT) we possibly find a reference to the **balaŋ** of that king (**˹ŋeš˺balaŋ^{?˺}** […] **˹d˺*iš-bi*˺-[*ir₃-ra*]; DCCLT with corrections derived from our inspection of the photo of CDLI P273880). Moreover, in the text Civil, 1987a: 14–15 [IM 58336] (Išbī-Erra 00-00-00), o. 7 (original publication; see also Frayne, 1990: 6–7), Išbī-Erra offers a majestic (˹**maḫ**˺) **balaŋ** to Enlil. In the same way, we can recall some instructions for the accompaniment of a hymn for Lipit-Ištar (ca. 1870–1860 BCE). See Kilmer and Civil, 1986; Kilmer and Tinney, 1996 and 1997; Kilmer and Peterson, 2009; Colburn, 2009; Michalowski, 2010a: 208 for editions and comments. Finally, see Shehata, 2019 for music under other Amorite kings.

[1149] We have chosen the middle chronology given in Edzard, 1976–1980: 194.

[1150] We follow the ETCSL edition of this text because Marie-Christine Ludwig also used that edition in Ludwig and Metcalf, 2017: 12 n. 14, 14 n. 15. We should remember that Marie-Christine Ludwig was the author of the *editio princeps* the (originally separated) hymns *Išmē-Dagān A* and *Išmē-Dagān V*.

[1151] Score edition dependent upon Ludwig, 1990: 167 with corrections derived from our inspection of the copies/photos of the manuscripts indicated down. CDLI P277029 [N 1915 + N 6268] contains lines A 37–50 of *Išmē-Dagān A + V* according to our collation of the tablet the 22/08/2019. Therefore, we cannot update Ludwig's edition with new manuscripts as we would like to.

[1152] Ludwig, 1990: 167, Peterson, 2019c: 711 and CDLI P346567 have the sign RA, but it seems more like E (= **e**) since it has two superposed vertical wedges, not one like in the sign RA. That makes sense as a writing mistake since abstract nouns are non-human, and we must use the DIR {**e**}, not the DAT {**ra**}.

[1153] They follow those of Ludwig, 1990: 163, but we have put an N (= Nippur) or Ur (= Ur) for the provenance of their manuscripts. Tablets from Nippur have also an III (= Type III) indicating their typology.

[1154] This tablet was not available for its collation since it had been already returned to Iraq.

In this excerpt, the king expressed his devotion to music, literally saying that he has given (**šum₂**) his strength (**a₂**)[1155] to music (**nam-nar**)[1156]. This expression has a parallel with the previously studied excerpt *Šulgi B*, 155[1157]. There, the king claims to have given, not his "arm" or "strength" (**a₂**), but his "neck" or "entirety" (**gu₂**) to music. Both expressions (**a₂ šum₂** and **gu₂ šum₂**) may be translated as "to devote oneself to". However, **gu₂ šum₂** may be also translated as "to pay attention"[1158]. Therefore, Išme-Dagān might have focused less attention to music than Šulgi.

That makes sense with the musical contents of *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, 367–377 and *Šulgi B*, 154–174. While Išmē-Dagān only masters some songs and instruments, Šulgi claims to have mastered more complex concepts, like the tuning of some instruments[1159] or the "(deep) sense of music" (= **šag₄ nam-nar-ra**). Furthermore, he was able to adjust the frets (**si**-EZEN) of the ⁿᵉˢ**šu-kar₂** lute without damaging its neck (**a₂**, literally "arm")[1160].

4.4.4.2. *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 373–374: the difficulties of music

Even if Išmē-Dagān might have not had paid as much attention as Šulgi to his musical activities, the king from Isin thus speaks to us in this excerpt:

[1155] ePSD ("to give power (to somebody)"); Attinger, 2019d: 188 ("octroyer la puissance"). We prefer to translate **a₂** as "strength" for the reasons to be discussed below.

[1156] Ludwig, 1990: 173 ("der [Ge]sangeskunst") and ETCSL 2.5.4.01 ("the art of singing") ignore the instruments of *Išmē-Dagān A + V*: **ŋeš-gu₃-di** (A 370), ⁿᵉˢ**al-ŋar-sur₉**, ⁿᵉˢ**sa-eš**, **sa-bi₂-tum** (A 371), ⁿᵉˢ**ḫar-ḫar** and **za-na-ru** (A 372). There is a player of the ⁿᵉˢ**al-ŋar-sur₉** instrument (**lu₂ al-ŋar-su-ra**) in MSL 12, p. 157 A [IM 58433 + 58496], 248 (DCCLT). Therefore, we can follow neither to Klein, 1990: 76 ("the art of the musician") nor Peterson, 2019c: 711 ("the art of the musician"). Both translations are focused on the **nar** when we actually find here references to different musicians, instruments and songs. We would instead follow Ziegler, 2013: 49 ("la musique").

[1157] This parallel was briefly suggested, but not commented on, in Klein, 1990: 76 n. 48.

[1158] Civil, 2013: 39, with several examples.

[1159] *Šulgi B*, 161, 171 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

[1160] *Šulgi B*, 158–159 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

Text 40. *Išmē-Dagān A + V*[1161]

A 373   **nam-nar-a ki bal-bal-[l]a-bi**

    N$_{III-A}$ o. 16   **nam -nar-a ki bal-ba[l-la**[1162]**-b]i**
    N$_{III-B}$ o. 11'   [**]-nar-a ki bal-bal -a   -bi**
    Ur$_C$ r. iii' ?'   [   ]

A 374   **šag₄ ser₃ še₁₁(LUL)-da ki dul-dul-la-bi zag im-mi-ˊus₂-sa˼**[1163]

    N$_{III-A}$ o. 17   **šag₄ ser₃ še₁₁ -[d]a k[i dul]-dul-l[a -bi z]ag ˊim˼-mi-ˊus₂-sa˼**
    N$_{III-B}$ o. 12'   **[š]ag₄ ser₃ še₁₁ -d[a k]i dul -dul-la -bi zag im   -til-ˊla˼**
    Ur$_C$ r. iii' ?'   [   ]

[17] That I have devoted myself to [16] the troublemaking parts of music (and) [17] to the most difficult aspects of the soothing of the heart (with) the **ser₃** songs.

Sigla[1164]

N$_{III-A}$ Ludwig, 1990: pl. 4–5 [3N-T 386 = A 30230] (publication photo)
N$_{III-B}$ Ludwig, 1990: pl. 6–7 [3N-T 727 + 3N-T 925,506 = IM 58657]
             (copy in OPBF 4 18; publication photo and CDLI P356556) [1165]
Ur$_C$ UET 6/3 529 [BM – PJ] (publication copy; photos on Ludwig, 1990: pl. 8
             and CDLI P346567; collated the 01/08/2019)

In this excerpt, we find the term **nam-nar** in an inverse genitive chain together with the expression **ki bal-bal**[1166]. The sense of **ki bal-bal** in this text is obscure since the usual meaning of **ki-bal** ("rebel land") does not fit well in this context[1167]. However, it should designate something complicated[1168] concerning music[1169]. Certainly, the expression **ki**

[1161] Score edition dependent upon the one in Ludwig, 1990: 167 with corrections derived from our inspection of the copies/photos of the manuscripts indicated below.

[1162] Ludwig, 1990: 167 has "bal-bal-[a-b]i". However, the *lacuna* in the tablet is quite large, and we might have LA instead of the sign A. That might make sense with the following line of that manuscript.

[1163] We adopt the variant ˊim˼-mi-ˊus₂-sa˼ for our composite line since it contains a 3NH.OO in reference to **ki bal-bal-[l]a-bi** and **ki-dul-dul-la-bi**, directive of **us₂** ("to follow") (Attinger, 2019d: 211).

[1164] They follow those of Ludwig, 1990: 163, but we have put an N (= Nippur) or Ur (= Ur) for the provenance of their manuscripts. Tablets from Nippur have also an III (= Type III) indicating their typology.

[1165] This tablet was not available for collation on 19–23/08/2019 in the University of Pennsylvania's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology since it had been already returned to Iraq.

[1166] Krispijn, 1990: 2 saw a LOC {a} in **nam-nar-a** and **šer₃ še₁₁(LUL)-da**. However, the 3NH.POSS {be} of **ki bal-bal-la-bi** and **dul-dul-la-bi** would remain unexplained in that way.

[1167] Attinger, 2019d: 109 in addition to ePSD and ePSD2.

[1168] We agree with Ludwig, 1990: 173 ("den widerspenstigen Stellen") and Ziegler, 2013: 49 ("des passages difficiles"), but we do not understand the ETCSL 2.5.4.01 translation ("the developed aspects").

[1169] Except Krispijn, 1990: 2 (who translates **nam-nar** as "den (hymnischen) Musik") **nam-nar** is referred to the singing in other translations: Ludwig, 1990: 173 ("der Gesangeskunst"), ETCSL 2.5.4.01

dul-dul-la (literally, "covered (**dul**) places") of the following line of this text means "difficult aspects" in other texts[1170]. The use of **bal** ("to turn against") would imply a reference to a confusing reality. That fact recalls to *Šulgi B*, 156, where anything (**niŋ₂-na-me**) about music was "difficult to understand" (**gi₁₆**) for Šulgi[1171].

Šulgi B, 162 and *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 373–374 both referred to the difficulties of music. However, while *Šulgi B*, 162 mentions an instrument with **šag₄ nam-nar-ra**, *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 373–374 makes reference to "the soothing (**še₁₁**) of the heart (**šag₄**) (by) the **ser₃** songs"[1172] with **nam-nar-a ki bal-bal-la-bi**. In our opinion, we might have here a reference to the performance of lamentations. Certainly, **šag₄ še₁₁** (literally "to make cold the heart") may describe the action of soothing the heart of a deity, the usual action in the performance of lamentations in Mesopotamia[1173]. Therefore, Išmē-Dagān, as Šulgi[1174] and as a part of his musical expertise, would master some laments in addition to some instruments (like the **ŋeš-gu₃-di**) and praise songs (as the **za₃-mi₂** hymns)[1175].

4.5. A last (and uncertain) literary text

We present here a final reference to **nam-nar** contained into a fragment belonging to a probable multi-column tablet from Ur[1176]. The nature of its content as a literary text is uncertain as it has some aspects more suitable to an administrative text[1177], such as the

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("art of singing"), Ziegler, 2013: 49 ("l'art du chant"). However, we find many instruments (in addition to songs) in *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 368–372 (ETCSL 2.5.4.01). We prefer, therefore, to translate as "music" in this sense in order to keep in mind those instruments in our translation.

[1170] *Edubba'a A*, 62 (CDLI P464238). See Attinger, 2019d: 46 for interpretation.

[1171] Ludwig, 1990: 199–200 for comments about **ki bal-bal** and connections with *Šulgi B*, 156.

[1172] In this occasion, **šag₄** ("heart", "interior", "content") is part of a chain together with **ser₃ še₁₁**(LUL), not an independent word. Otherwise, we would find **šag₄ ser₃ še₁₁**(LUL)**-da-ka** in our text. Ludwig, 1990: 189-195 suggested the reading **kad_x** and **še₁₁**. In her opinion, the reading of LUL **ka₅** might be connected with the verb **kad₄** ("to tie"). However, we would expect rather *__kad₄-ser₃__ to have something like the **kešda nam-nar**. This term, **kešda nam-nar**, will be discussed later in our chapter on 1st-millennium evidence.

[1173] Gabbay, 2007: 95–96.

[1174] *Šulgi B*, 173–174 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

[1175] *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 368 and A 371 respectively (ETCSL 2.5.4.01).

[1176] UET 6/3, p. 21.

[1177] For that reason, Jeremiah Peterson did not include this text among the texts edited in Peterson, 2019a-c. In any case this author might include this text in a future update of those editions. This text has

reference to two individuals attested in the Old Babylonian administrative texts: Šešmakal (only known in texts from Nippur as far as we know)[1178] and Ku-Enlila, known in texts from Nippur[1179] and Ur[1180] (something very relevant in this context).

In any case, nobody could join the content of this text to another more complete text (literary or not) by the moment[1181]. This text has been only recently edited by ePSD2 with an almost complete lemmatization of its content although with no translation. Due to the various novelties of this text, we present here an edition of the entire content of this recently edited Old Babylonian cuneiform tablet:

Text 41. UET 6/3 721 [U. ---][1182]

o. 1'   […] ˹x? x?˺
o. 2'   […] ˹x RI-gen₇˺ ka-na ba-e-si
o. 3'   [… u₃ nu]-um-ši-ku-ku-˹ne˺
o. 4'   […] x-˹am₃˺ du₁₄˹[1183] i₃-ak nu-˹be₂?˺
o. 5'   [… -b]i?-˹še₃ diri mu˺-un-ŋa₂-ŋa₂
o. 6'   […]-ta ˹ur₅˺-ra-˹gen₇˺ uzu ga-˹na˺-[…] nam-˹ab?˺-ba ᵈḫa[-ia₃? …]
o. 7'   [… D]U nu-un-na-kal KAR₂ g[a- …]
o. 8'   […] ˹PA? x RU?˺-ra pad₃-da? […]
o. 9'   […] ˹x˺ gur₃?-ru ˹x˺ […]
o. 10'   […] ˹x˺ […]
Unknown number of missing lines

also been identified as a literary text in ePSD2 in the edition of Niek Veldhuis and Stephen Tinney. Thanks to Jeremiah Peterson and Niek Veldhuis for their personal communications.

[1178] PBS 8/1 27 [CBS 13947] (00-00-00), o. 3 (Goddeeris, 2018: 107) and PBS 8/1 92 [CBS 10888] (00-00-00), r. 2 (our own consultation the photo of the tablet on CDLI P266081; see *Nippur Neighborhoods*, p. 239 and 280 for reference).

[1179] TMH 10 13a [HS 2352 + Ist. Ni 9207 + N unnumbered] ([…]-[…]-[…]), ii 14" (TMH 10, p. 59); TMH 10 26 [HS 2390] (Sumu-el 22-10-00), r. 6 (Archibab T23364).

[1180] UET 5 170 [U. 7795a + U. 7786d] (Sumu-El 07-10-00), r. 6' (Archibab T12141).

[1181] The verbal chain **ga-ni-ib-zu** (r. 3') is only known currently in *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 227 (Ceccarelli, 2018: 144), where we have **ga-ni-ib-zu-zu** (that is, the same verbal chain although with the verbal stem in the imperfective form). However, this manuscript is not among those to be used in the forthcoming edition of that text by Manuel Ceccarelli. In any case, there are no additional common elements between both texts.

[1182] Edition depending upon http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/epsd2/literary/P346758 [Last consultation 11/10/2019] with some corrections derived from our own inspection of the hand copy and photo of the manuscript, both available on CDLI P346758.

[1183] We see just three *Winkelhaken* from the supposed sign NE for writing the **du₁₄**(LU₂×NE, "combat") transliterated by ePSD2. Actually, it seems as if we had **am!**(GU₄!×KUR) and not **du₁₄**. In any case, **am** ("wild bull", a non-human noun) does not make much sense with the 3SG.POSS {**ne**} of this sentence.

r. 1'   [...] ˹na[r$^{?}$ ...]
r. 2'   [...] ˹x KIŊ₂˺ ḫa-˹ba$^{?}$˺[1184]-[...]
r. 3'   [...]-a-ne₂ šu ga-ba-ab-[TI$^{?}$ ...] [e₂/ki umun₂[1185]]-˹a˺[1186] **nam-nar** ga-ni˹-ib-zu IM-[...]
r. 4'   [...] šeš a-na lu₂ in-na-an-˹šum₂˺ [...]
r. 5'   [...] ˹sir₃˺-sir₃-ra-ni in-duḫ x U[Š$^{?}$[1187] ...]
r. 6'   [...] ˹gu₄˺ eden˹-e ba-˹ni˺-in-˹ge₄$^{?}$˺[1188] u₄-1-[...][1189]
r. 7'   [...] ˹imin$^{?}$˺-am₃ mu-un-˹ḫa-za˺ [...]
r. 8'   [... D]U DU ^{p}šeš-ma-kal
r. 9'   [...] ^{p}ku₃-^{d}en-lil₂-la₂
r. 10' [...] ˹^{d}mar˺-tu
r. 11' [...D]U-˹de₃˺ [...]
Unknown number of missing lines

o. 1'   [...]
o. 2'   [...] filled in his mouth like [...]
o. 3'   [...] they do [not sl]eep
o. 4'   He does not say: "[...] he fighted [...]!"
o. 5'   He places the radiance towards i[ts ...]
o. 6'   I want the flesh thus from [...]! [...] the Old Age, Ḫa[ya ...]
o. 7'   he provided for him [...]
o. 8'   [...] designated for [...]
o. 9'   [...] the bearer [...]
o. 10' [...]
Unknown number of missing lines

r. 1'   [...] the musician [...]
r. 2'   May the [...]
r. 3'   I want to approach [...] to his [...], I want to learn music in [the conservatory]! [...]
r. 4'   [...] What did the brother give (to that) man? [...][1190]
r. 5'   [...] He released (him from) his "bindings" [...]
r. 6'   He returned the bull to the stepe, one day [...]
r. 7'   He holds seven [...]
r. 8'   Šeš-makal [...]
r. 9'   [...] Ku-Enlila [...]
r. 10' [...] Martu [...]
r. 11' [...]
Unknown number of missing lines

As we can see, our term **nam-nar** appears in the line r. 3' of this text. In that part of the text, someone seems to wish to study music (**nam-nar**) in a place, probably the **e₂/ki umun₂** conservatory restored for our edition. These words ("I want to study music in the

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[1184] While the manuscript photo seems to have BA, the copy has IGI.

[1185] Our own restitution inspired in *Proto*-**lu₂**, 59 (DCCLT Q000047) and making sense with the role of the **e₂/ki umun₂** in the musical education (see Michalowski, 2010a: 201–202 for reference).

[1186] Omitted in ePSD2, but perceptible in the copy and photo of the manuscript. It makes sense with the LOC infix {**ni**} of the verbal chain.

[1187] However, on the copy, this sign seems to be NI.

[1188] The sign is a bit erased and it might be IG. However, GI₄ makes grammatically more sense.

[1189] ePSD2 has "˹x˺ ba-an-šum₂$^{?}$" after the break, but the tablet is definitely broken after that part.

[1190] Very hypothetical translation. We should have actually something like [...] **šeš-e a-na lu₂-ra in-na-an-šum₂** [...].

conservatory!") would be suitable for the son of the composition *The Father and his rude Son* which we have previously commented on in this study. However, that son never said such words. In addition, our Text 41 is broken on the right and the left sides. Therefore, the context of that sentence is currently highly obscure. Certainly, only a small portion of its content may actually be related to anything musical, for instance, the possible reference to the musicians (**nar**) in line r. 1'[1191].

In this sense, only with additional research (search of joins, edition of unpublished fragments, etc.) might we arrive at a better understanding of this text and, more specifically, its reference to **nam-nar**.

4.6. Conclusions about **nam-nar** in the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts

We currently lack of all the basic data pertaining to our Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts, such as their chronology or original provenance. Therefore, we are still far from a definitive understanding of our allusions to **nam-nar** in this type of texts. In any case, if we continue the trend of recent years, where new references to **nam-nar** have been published, it is probable that our understanding of **nam-nar** in the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts will experience some changes in the future.

These changes will be ensured, at least, by two aspects suggested in this study. First, the finalization and publication of the *forthcoming* edition of the full text of *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu* by Manuel Ceccarelli. That *editio princeps* will definitely be an interesting source for further discussions and, probably, new and fresh approaches to the many musical terms contained in that text, some of them analysed in this study. Second, we have stressed the necessity of looking for some joins for the current tablet of our Text 41 and/or to find tablets with a similar content. Certainly, we need to improve what we currently know regarding this fragmentary text.

There is a recent example of what new publications and/or editions of specific tablets can do for our understanding of **nam-nar** in the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts. We are talking about our Text 37, an excerpt from the hymn *Šulgi CC* edited in 2019 by Jeremiah L. Peterson. Certainly, that text has helped us to propose a new interpretation

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[1191] In r. 5', **sir₃-sir₃** might be read as **ser₃-ser₃** in order to refer something related to the **ser₃** songs, but it does not fit with **duḫ**, probably the most suitable reading for the sign GAB in this context.

for the term **ser₃ nam-nar**, traditionally seen as a literary designation for the performance of lamentations in light of our Text 38, an excerpt of the *Death of Nannā*.

We pay attention now to what we have currently about **nam-nar** in the Sumerian literary texts from the Old Babylonian Period. In practically all our current references to **nam-nar** in that type of texts, a translation as "Music" is correct. That normally happens because there is an equal representation of elements of the instrumental and vocal music in close connection to **nam-nar**. Some of our Old Babylonian references to **nam-nar** are especially very interesting. This is the case of *Šulgi B*, 157. Certainly, in that text, **nam-nar** might designate the sounds of the (probably) favourite instruments of King Šulgi: the **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** drums. This sense of **nam-nar** is also found in the Text 12, a model contract discussed in our previous chapter, and it is very relevant in our argument for the existence of a word for "Music" in Sumerian and/or Akkadian. Certainly, we are definitely dealing with a word with the same connotations as our modern term "Music".

Other literary excerpts studied in this chapter are also very interesting. In them, **nam-nar** appears in situations where we would still use the word "music":

- In *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 110 (= Text 23), someone is not suitable for **nam-nar** in the same way that, still today, we can say that someone is not fit for music in the sense of having little/no musical talent or inclination.

- In *The Father and his rude Son*, 107–112 (= Texts 24–25), the son wishes to become a musician. However, his father believes that the scribal profession would be more honourable (and, perhaps, economically profitable) for him.

- In *Enki and Ninmaḫ*, b 26–29 (= Text 27), **nam-nar** is defined as the destiny or condition (**nam**) of a blind individual.

- In *Šulgi B*, 154 (= Text 32) and *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 367 (= Text 39), the kings claim to have devoted themselves to music as someone still may say that (s)he is devoted to music, probably as his/her (main) professional occupation.

This term **nam-nar** not only designates music *lato sensu* in our Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts, but also some more concrete musical aspects. Among them, we have the notion of "musical practice" (**šu nam-nar-ra**, *Šulgi B*, 279 = Text 36) or some

place for that musical practice (the **e₂ nam-nar-ra** of *Ur-Namma A*, 187–188 = Text 31). We have also a reference to the most difficult aspects of the music (**nam-nar-a ki bal-bal-la-bi**) in *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, A 373 (Text 40).

However, the most striking the reference to **nam-nar** we have from this Old Babylonian Period is the one to the "(deep) sense of Music" (**šag₄ nam-nar-ra**) in *The Father and his rude Son*, 112 (Text 24) and *Šulgi B*, 162 (Text 26). Certainly, that expression makes reference to a deeper reality than the mere ability for playing music suggested by Piotr Michalowski as the meaning for **nam-nar**.

All these facts are very relevant for the definition of **nam-nar** mainly as "music" and the defence of the existence of a word for "music" in ancient Mesopotamia. Someone might say that this meaning might be a mere literary variation of the meaning of **nam-nar** available in the contemporary legal texts. However, we must remember the existence of some connections between the literary texts studied here and our texts coming from the earliest stages of the scribal curriculum, which were studied in the previous chapter. This is the case of *Inanna and Enki*, I v 33–34 and II v 47–52 (= Texts 29–30), to be compared with *Proto*-**izi,** II 227–231 (= Text 10). Moreover, we might compare our texts *Šulgi CC*, o. i 3 and *Death of Nannā*, 19 (= Texts 37–38) with our Text 9 (= *Proto*-**lu₂**, 590–591).

In any case, for further reflections, we recommend proceeding with the next chapter. There, this dichotomy of Old Babylonian literary vs. legal texts containing **nam-nar** will be considered from another perspective.

5. *NĀRŪTUM* IN THE OLD BABYLONIAN TEXTS FROM MARI

5.1. Introduction

In the two previous chapters, we have seen that **nam-nar** meant "office of the **nar**" in the legal texts, while **nam-nar** as "Music" was mainly found in the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts. One might think that the real meaning of **nam-nar** was, in consequence, "office of the **nar**" because that was the meaning of **nam-nar** in the texts of the daily life of the real people from that time. On the contrary, "music" might be just a mere "distortion" of the original meaning of **nam-nar** with literary purposes.

However, we have also said that **nam-nar** as "music" is equally found in some texts of the elementary scribal curriculum. In addition, most of the literary texts discussed here were performed before an audience. As a consequence, that audience could also have been familiar with "music" as a meaning for **nam-nar**. Therefore, the main meaning of **nam-nar** by Old Babylonian times might still have been "music". The meaning "office of the **nar**" would be, in this sense, a secondary meaning of that term in some legal texts.

This situation might be better illustrated in the case of the texts from Mari during the Old Babylonian Period. There, because of the rich musical life developed in this city at that time[1192], we find 16 references to *nārūtum*[1193]. That means that we are confronted by the largest group of allusions to this term in the early 2nd millennium BCE. Certainly, the closest thing we have from that period are two Old Assyrian texts from Kaniš[1194] with *narûtum*, term actually designating a type of malt.

But, why should we go to Mari, a northern Mesopotamian city, in order to understand a problem located in southern Mesopotamia? The reason is that all the texts containing

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[1192] In addition to the Nele Ziegler's contributions (2005, 2006, FM 9, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2015), Soden, 1988; Marcetteau, 2008; Colonna d'Istria, 2011; Dumbrill, 2014; Franklin, 2015: 73–88; Shehata, 2017a.

[1193] FM 9, p. 332 transcribes "*nârûtum*" instead of the Babylonian form *nārūtum*. This type of transcription of *nāru(m)* as *nâru(m)* or *nuāru(m)* is more common for later periods and northern regions (see Groß, 2014: 223–224 for Neo-Assyrian times). However, as FM 9, p. 332 shows, there is no spelling of *nârûtum* like *na-a'-ru-tum (following what happens in Kassite Babylonia, see Sassmannshausen, 2001: 100 for reference) or *nu-a-ru-tum*. The same happens with *nārum* (FM 9, p. 332). In this sense, we prefer to maintain the usual transliterations *nārum* and *nārūtum* for the records from Old Babylonian Mari despite the northern location of that cityand the hypothetical presence of some spelling regional variations.

[1194] TCL 14 47 [AO 8717], o. 7 (CDLI P357537; see Michel, 2001: 478–479; Larsen, 2002: 76–77 and Michel, 2006: 174 n. 28 for comments) and VS 26 75 [VAT 13516], r. 7' (CDLI P358227).

references to *nārūtum* in Mari belong to a single textual typology (letters), unlike southern Mesopotamia. Therefore, the suitability of a meaning for a reference *nārūtum* as an office or music does not depend upon the textual typology, but the context of said reference.

5.2. Texts from the reign of Šamšī-Addu (1795–1776 BCE)

5.2.1. Texts with *nārūtum* as "office of the *nārum*"

5.2.1.1.   ARM 1 78 (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

This first text recalls to us our Texts 7 and 8. There, the sister of an individual called Ilī-ṣummid was expelled from her position as *kala'um* in Awal, the said position (together with *nārūtum*) then being given to a person with the Hurrian name Wirri. In our text from Mari, a man with another Hurrian name, Kulpi-Atal[1195], son of Ḫaṣrī-Āmîm (name of Western Semitic origin, "Āmûm is my 'fold'")[1196] is removed by the king Yasmaḫ-Addu from his position as *nārum* of Āmûm (local form of the Netherworld god Nergal)[1197] in the north Mesopotamian city of Ḫubšalum (also called Ḫubšil)[1198]. After that, he is deported to the city of Mari. In this letter, the Yasmaḫ-Addu's father, Šamšī-Addu[1199], will try to convince his son to attach that musician, not to a temple of Mari, but to Āmûm's temple in the near-by city of Šubat-Ellil[1200].

[1195] In addition to LAPO 16, p. 91 (with reference to NPN, p. 229), see GLH, p. 151; Fournet, 2013: 53 for the Hurrian term *kul-* ("to say" (?)), and Maidman, 2010: 23, 50, 73, 78, 241 for personal names. Pay special attention to Maidman, 2010: 50, where we find a Kulpen-dayyān not mentioned in LAPO 16, p. 91. We have transliterated Kulpi-Atal instead of Kulpi-Adal in order to reinforce this Hurrian origin.

[1196] LAPO 16, p. 91 (which saw here a Western Semitic origin) translated this name as "Mon-secour-est-Āmûm". This is a bit of a free translation of that name since *ḫasīru(m)* means in CAD Ḫ, p. 130 just "enclosure for sheep" or "enclosed area for delivery of dates".

[1197] About Nergal and Amûm in Mari and its cult places, see Durand, 1993a and 1993b.

[1198] About this city, Ziegler and Langlois, 2017: 146.

[1199] We prefer the transcription Šamšī-Addu instead of Samsi-Addu since *sa-am-si* can be read as *ša₁₀-am-ši₂*. For Addu instead of Adad, see Schwemer, 2000: 34–72 and 292. Moreover, we find the Proto-Semitic **śamš* ("sun") in other North-Western Semitic languages like the Amorite: *šemeš* (Hebrew), *šmš* (Phoenician) (Krahmalkov, 2000: 472) or *špš* (Ugaritic; Olmo de Lete and Sanmartín, 2003: 836). From an Akkadian perspective, Šamšī-Addu explains better its meaning as "My Sun (Šamšī) is Addu".

[1200] See FM 9, p. 65 for this interpretation of the content.

Text 42. ARM 1 78 (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)[1201]

o. 1   [*a-na i*]*a-as₂-ma-aḫ-*ˈᵈIŠKURˈ
o. 2   [*qi*]₂-*bi₂-ma*
o. 3   [*u*]*m-ma* ᵈUTU-*ši-*ᵈIŠKUR *a-bu-*[*k*]*a-a-ma*
o. 4   [ˡ]*ku-ul-pi₂-a-tal*
o. 5   [DU]MU *ḫa-aṣ-ri-a-mi-im* N[A]R*[1202]
o. 6   *ša* ᵈNERGAL[1203]
o. 7   *ša ḫu-ub-ša-lim-*x[?1204]-[ᵏⁱ]
o. 8   ˈ*a*ˈ-*na na-si-ḫu-tim*
o. 9   [*a-n*]*a ma-ri*ᵏⁱ
o. 10   [*t*]*a-*ˈ*su-uḫ*ˈ
r. 1[1205]   *i-na-an-na* ˈLU₂ˈ *ša-a-t*[*i*]
r. 2   *wa-aš-še-ra-aš-šu*
r. 3   *an-ni-ki-a-am*
r. 4   NAR-*tam*[1206] *ša* ᵈNERGAL
r. 5   *li-pu-*{x x}[1207]-*uš*

ᵒ·²[S]ay ᵒ·¹ [to Y]asmaḫ-Addu, ᵒ·³ [t]hus (speaks) Šamšī-Addu, [y]our father: ᵒ·¹⁰ [Y]ou expelled ᵒ·⁴ Kulpi-Atal, ᵒ·⁵ [s]on of Ḫaṣrī-Āmîm, *n*[*ār*]*um* ᵒ·⁶ of Āmûm ᵒ·⁸ in Ḫubšalum, ᵒ·⁹ [t]o Mari ᵒ·⁸ as deported! ʳ·² Release ʳ·¹ right now thi[s] man[1208]! ʳ·⁵ Let him perform ʳ·³ here ʳ·⁴ the *nārum*'s office of Āmûm!

In this text, *nārūtum* appears together with a precative form of the verb *epēšum* ("to perform"). That expression (*nārūtam epēšum*) can be translated as "to make/perform

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[1201] Edition dependent upon Archibab T4497 with corrections derived from our inspection of the original copy of this tablet (available also on CDLI P254279). ARM 1 78 is actually the edition of the tablet copied in TCL 22, pl. 101 when it was still conserved at the Louvre Museum (it is now in Syria).

[1202] CDLI P254279 has **i₇** ("canal"). It is true that we do not have the most canonical written form of LUL (= NAR), but the CDLI transliteration does not make sense in this context.

[1203] Usual transliteration is NE₃.ERI₁₁.GAL (like Archibab T4497). However, ePSD already gave the reading **nergal** for the combination of signs PIRIIJ (= **ne₃**) AB*gunû* (= **eri₁₁**) GAL (= **gal**) and it is established in this way in aBZL 291a (here as KIŠ.UNUG.GAL; KIŠ is practically identical to PIRIIJ in Old Babylonian cursive writing). Therefore, we prefer to use this more updated transliteration.

[1204] However, between ŠI (= *lim*) and the lacuna, there is another sign that we cannot connect with some other forms of this place name. CDLI P254279 reads ᵏⁱ, but we should have ᵏⁱ! since that sign is not similar to the sign KI of line o. 9.

[1205] CDLI P254279 says "reverse / beginning broken", but the copy shows perfectly that there is no erasure or broken section in the tablet for saying that.

[1206] CDLI P254279 has "_i7_". The reading of the first sign in this way is based on what we have said about line o. 5. However, sign LUL is clear here, and that transliteration of CDLI P254279 omits the second sign of this line, UD (to be read here as *tam*).

[1207] CDLI P254279 omits these two superfluous signs clearly depicted in the copy of this tablet.

[1208] We follow ARM 1 78. LAPO 16 14 (followed by Archibab T4497) "rends-lui sa liberté" supposes a non-existent noun with a 3SG.POSS feminine and ignores the *awīlam šâti* as "this man".

music". However, in this case, because of the genitive chain *nārūtam ša Āmîm*, we should translate this expression as "to practice/perform the office of the *nārum* of Āmûm" as it has usually been translated in the past[1209]. Certainly, for a sentence of the type "may he perform music for Āmûm!" we should find in the text something like *nārūtam ana Āmûm līpuš* (**NAR**-*tam a-na* **ᵈNE₃.ERI₁₁.GAL** *li-pu-uš*), that is, with *ana* instead of *ša*.

The first edition of this text proposed the translation "service du chant"[1210]. Whether the cult of Nergal/Āmûm in Mari and related regions mainly required the use of songs or instruments is difficult to say. Certainly, we know several *gerseqqûm* eunuchs having acted as musicians for Nergal[1211]. However, they are known just as **ˡᵘ²NAR DIRI₃.SAG₁₀.GA**[1212] and their musical functions cannot be specified, for instance, by going to other texts where they are with other musicians[1213]. In any case, the use of instrumental music in addition to the singing for the Nergal/Āmûm's cult might be possible. For that, we should keep in mind[1214] that the *Nergal C* and *E* are defined in their colophons as **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** hymns[1215]. That is, they supposed for their performance the use of the **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** and the singing[1216]. In this sense, we would understand *nārūtum* in this text as a reference to the *nārum* as a musician in the broad sense, and not just as a singer.

[1209] CAD N1, p. 382 ("the duty of musician"); LAPO 16 14 ("l'office de musicien"; followed by Archibab T4497); FM 9, p. 65 ("fonction de musicien"). AHw II, p. 749 has this text among those used there for giving the definition of *nārūtu*(*m*) as "Musiker(innen)beruf".

[1210] ARM 1, p. 147. In addition, Læssøe, 2014: 56 ("his singing").

[1211] FM 9 9 [M.7618+M.14609] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), r. 3, o. e. 1 (Archibab T6569), and FM 9 10 [A,93+A.94] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), o. 5, lo. e. 1 (Archibab T6570). About FM 9 10 [A.93+A.94] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), lo. e. 1, Nele Ziegler (= FM 9, p. 66) talks about a "chanteur yamhadéen" when the text has **ˡᵘ²NAR DIRI₃.SAG₁₀.GA**. Moreover, according to FM 9, p. 17–18, the **nar**/*nārum* was an instrumentalist.

[1212] This reading following the Attinger's transliteration system fits with FM 9, p. 23 n. 116. There it was said that the Akkadian reading for the Sumerogram normally written as **DIR₃.SIG₅.GA** was *kirisakkum*.

[1213] In FM 9 38 [A.78] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), o. 5–r. 5 (Archibab T6596), one **DIRI₃.SAG₁₀.GA** accompanies several young *nārtum* musicians from Mišlan to Ṣuprum in a boat. In the same way, according to FM 3 2 [A.3165], r ii 17' (FM 3, p. 54), the **DIRI₃.SAG₁₀.GA** are present in the Eštar rituals performed by the *kalûm* lamentation priests. Nevertheless, they were just as attendants in the said rituals.

[1214] Obviously keeping in mind the geographical distances between Mari and southern Mesopotamia.

[1215] *Nergal C*, 75 (Peterson, 2015a: 52) and *Nergal E* (ETCSL 4.15.5; only catalogued). In addition, *Šu-ilīšu A* is defined in its line 68 (ETCSL 2.5.2.1) as an **a-da-ab** hymn for Nergal. See Shehata, 2009: 253 n. 1404–1405 for reference. Pay attention to the fact that some variants of *Nergal C* defined this composition as **a-da-ab** hymn, and not as **tige₂** hymn. See Peterson, 2015a: 45 for reference.

[1216] The use of **šer₃** songs in order to praise the name of Nergal appears in *Nergal C*, 57 (ETCSL 4.15.3).

5.2.1.2. FM 9 24 [M.5160] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

The following excerpt comes from a letter where, possibly, the *nargallum* Rîšīya[1217] is explaining to his king Šamšī-Addu some aspects of musical instruction for a group of *aštalûm* musicians, *kalûm* priests and *nārum*:

Text 43. FM 9 24 [M.5160] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)[1218]

r. 7	[š]a-ni-ˊtamˋ a[š]-ˊšumˋ **LU₂.TUR.MEŠ** *aš-t[a]-ˊliˋ-ia*
r. 8	*be-ˊli₂ ke-emˋ iš-ˊpuˋ-ra-am*
r. 9	*um-ˊmaˋ-mi* **LU₂.TUR.MEŠˋ**-*ka*
r. 10	ˊu₃ˋ **LU₂.TUR.ˊMEŠˋ** *ša* **ˊDIDIRˋ**-*šu-i-bi-šu*
r. 11	*pu-uḫ-ḫi-ˊra-ma* **LU₂ˋ.TUR.MEŠ** *aš-ta-li* **ˊDUMUˋ** / **ˊka**?ˋ-*l[e]-e*
r. 12	[*li-li-ku*]-ˊnimˋ **lu2**[**NAR**].ˊMEŠˋ-*ru-ni*
r. 13	[*ul-la-nu-um na-ru-tam*] ˊiˋ-*ḫa-zu*

r. 7–8 [A]nother thing: My lord wrote to me in the following terms [conce]rning my young *ašt[a]lûm* musicians: r. 9–13 "Gather your young people and the young ones of Ilšu-Ibišu! May the *aštalûm* young musicians and *kalûm* lamentation priests come to me! Our musicians will learn [music there]!"

The term *nārūtum* is hypothetical because of the relatively uncertain context, as **NAR** in [*nārū*]*ni* (= **lu2**[**NAR**].ˊMEŠˋ-*ru-ni*) of the previous line is also hypothetical. In this sense, any interpretation of the exact content of this text is provisional. This *nārūtum* has normally been understood as "music"[1219] or "art of music"[1220]. Nevertheless, this term seems not concern anything general about music in this context. Far from that, it concerned something highly related to the musicians mentioned in the previous line of this text. Certainly, the *aštalûm* young musicians and the *kalûm* priests seem to not be affected by *nārūtum* in this case. In fact, they had already their instructions in this text (to be gathered and to come together in the presence of Rîšīya). Therefore, we tend to think that *nārūtum* should be understood in this case as "office of the *nārum*". This term would make reference to the musical "subject" to be learned by those *nārum* in this text.

[1217] For "Rîšīya" and not "Rišiya" (for instance, in Ziegler, 2011: 293) or "Rišīya" (for instance, in de Boer, 2014: 378), see Schneider, 1992: 157. There, this term is seen as an adaptation from the Hebrew *rôš* ("head", "chief"). We would translate the name Rîšīya as "(He (= in reference to a deity)) (is) my chief".

[1218] Edition dependent upon Archibab T6582 with corrections derived from our inspection of the photo of the manuscript available on that site through Archipix.

[1219] Ziegler, 2006a: 349 ("Musik"); Ziegler, 2010: 125 ("music").

[1220] FM 9, p. 16 and 130 ("l'art de la musique"; followed by Archibab T6582).

5.2.2. Texts with *nārūtum* as "music"

5.2.2.1. ARM 1 64 (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

The first text of this section (possibly dated to the early years of Šamšī-Addu's reign)[1221] deals with instructions to teach music to a group of women. These females had to be hosted in Ekallātum and Šubat-Ellil as part of the organization of the facilities of the new royal residence. However, they seem to have been ultimately hosted in Mari[1222]:

Text 44. ARM 1 64 (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)[1223]

o. 1   *a-na ia-as₂-m[a-aḫ-*^d**IŠKUR**]
o. 2   *qi₂-bi₂-˹ma˺*
o. 3   *um-ma* ^d**UTU**-*ši-*^d**IŠKUR**
o. 4   *a-bu-ka-a-ma*
o. 5   *ṭup-pi₂ an-ne₂-em*[1224] *la-u₂-um*
o. 6   *ma-aḫ-ri-ka li-iš-me*
o. 7   **MUNUS.TUR.MEŠ** ˹*ia*˺-*aḫ-du-ul-li-im*
o. 8   *ša ad-di-na-kum*
o. 9   **MUNUS.TUR.MEŠ** *ši-na ir-ta-be₂-e*
o. 10   [*u*]₃ ˹*ki-a*[?]˺-[*am*] ˹*i*˺-*na sa-ga-ra-tim*^{**ki**}
o. 11   [*aš-šu-mi-ši-na i*]*q-bu-nim*
o. 12   [*um-ma-mi*] ˹*ši*˺-*na si₂-in-ni-ša*
o. 13   […]-˹x-*ni*˺-*iš-ma*
r. 1   […]-x
r. 2   [… *u₃ i-na-a*]*n*^{*!*}-*na*
r. 3   [*a-na e₂-kal₂-la-ti*]*m*^{***ki**}
r. 4   *u₂-lu-ma a-*[*na šu-b*]*a-at-*^d**EN.LIL2**^{**ki**}
r. 5   *šu-re-eš-š*[*i*[?]-*n*]*a-ti-˹ma˺*
r. 6   *i-na* **e₂**-*ka lu-u₂ wa-aš-*[*b*]*a*[?]
r. 7   *na-ru-tam li-ša-ḫi-zu-ši-n*[*a*[?]-*ti*]
r. 8   [*u*]₃ *a-na* **U4**-*um t*[*a*]-*a*[*l-la-ka*]*m*

^{o. 1–4} Say to Yasm[aḫ-Addu], thus (speaks) Šamšī-Addu, your father: ^{o. 5–6} May Lâ'ûm listen to this tablet of mine before your presence! ^{o. 7–8} (Concerning) the young women whom I gave to Yaḫdun-Lîm, ^{o. 9} these young women have (already) become adults, ^{o. 10–12} [an]d [they (masc.) said to m]e in Sagaratim [about them] (fem.) in this [way]: "they are nubile!"

[1221] See LAPO 16, p. 91–92 for this matter.

[1222] See FM 9, p. 32, 42–43 for reasons.

[1223] Edition dependent upon Archibab T4484 with some corrections derived from our inspection of the original copy (available also on CDLI P254265).

[1224] CDLI P254265 has "ṭ,up-pi an-ni-im", but we see the sign BI (= *pi₂*), not PI (= *pi*). Moreover, its "an-ni-im" ignores the contraction in Mari of *anniam* by *annêm* (accusative singular of *annûm*, "this").

<superscript>o. 13–r. 2</superscript> […and no]w <superscript>r. 3–5</superscript> carry t[he]m [to Ekallātu]m or t[o Šub]at-Ellil and <superscript>r. 6</superscript> may they li[v]e in your house <superscript>r. 7</superscript> (and) may they teach th[em (fem.)] music! <superscript>r. 8</superscript> [an]d, for the day yo[u will] c[ome to m]e […]

The term *nārūtum* has normally[1225] been translated here as "music"[1226] or something similar[1227]. We tend to think that this makes sense in this context. Certainly, those women (possibly instructed by the *nargallum* Rîšīya[1228]) could be destined to join one of the harem ensembles[1229] where they could play the *šebītum*[1230], the *tigû* drum[1231] and/or to sing as *zammertum*[1232] or other types of singers[1233]. In this way, *nārūtum* as a reference

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[1225] Except Oppenheim, 1952: 134 ("art of singing"); CAD N1, p. 382 ("the musician's art").

[1226] ARM 1, p. 127 ("la musique").

[1227] LAPO 16, p. 91 ("l'art de la musique"; followed by FM 9, p. 42 and Archibab T4484). Stol, 2016: 360 talks about "music lessons".

[1228] FM 9, p. 43 in light of FM 9 17 [A.2806] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), o. 9'–20' (Archibab T4274).

[1229] See FM 9, p. 13–14, 31–48 for reference about this aspect in general.

[1230] FM 9 38 [A.78] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), bo. e. 3 (Archibab T6596) and FM 9 41 [M. 14663] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), r. 1 (Archibab T6599). In the translations of these texts (see their editions on Archibab for reference), *šebītum* is defined as a lyre (see also FM 9, p. 330, where it is defined as "une petite lyre"). However, this term might be a variation of the **sa₃-bi-tum**/*sabītum* (as it is defined in CAD S, p. 4 and Š2, p. 251) according to the Middle Babylonian lexical text Emar 6/2, p. 508–515 and 730 [Msk 7526 + 74209a], r. ii 6–7 (DCCLT). In light of this possibility, *sabītum*/*šebītum* should be considered an instrument coming from Sabum (probably the modern Baneh; see Liverani, 1992: 54 and Stol, 2006–2008: 480). Since that settlement has given no iconography with musical instruments as of yet, we cannot know what instruments were typical from there. In any case, we should pay attention to the text ARM 18 9 (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), o. 8 (Archibab T8799). In that text, a *sabītum*/*šebītum* should be returned to the king contained into a red leather bag(?) (**KUŠ.ḪI.A** *ṣa-ar-pu-tim*) together with some bows (*qaštum*). The most similar instrument to a bow is a harp. Therefore, we would identify the *sabītum*/*šebītum* with a small harp.

[1231] The identification of the *tigûm* as a lyre in FM 9, p. 13 comes probably from Krispijn, 1990: 3–4, identification already dismissed in this study. In addition, concerning *Takil-ilissu 2* [E4.11.2.2], 52 (FM 9, p. 13 n. 37, originally in Frayne, 1990: 674), the idea of 200 lyre players is very difficult to imagine because of the amount of wood and strings required for that, even when the production of the strings was abundant in Mari (see FM 9 23 [A.4336] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), l. e. 7–8 (Archibab T6581) for reference). On the other hand, the term *ḫubûrum* ("noise") in *Takil-ilissu 1* [E4.11.2], 54 fits better with 200 drummers.

[1232] FM 9 17 [A.2806] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), o. 18' (Archibab T4274).

[1233] See FM 9, p. 14 n. 45 for reference. We should be careful with this argumentation. Certainly, at least from our knowledge, *šērum* ("song" in CAD Š2, p. 335 and not "to sing" as suggested in FM 9, p. 14 n. 45) is only attested in FM 3 2 [A.3165], r. i 12 (FM 3, p. 55). In addition, we have already discussed some evidence for reading **ser₃** instead of **šir₃/šer₃** by the Old Babylonian Period. In any case, *šērum* might be considered a forerunner to the reading of **ser₃** as **šir₃/šer₃** from Middle Babylonian times onward as we saw in the introduction of this PhD Dissertation.

to a general musical training (and not to a more focused training such as that of the *nārtum*) may be correct here.

5.2.2.2.   ARM 5 73 (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

Our next excerpt concerns Nanna-manšum[1234], a musician who was supposed to receive a house from the king. However, some people complained about that since this musician moved to Mari without the permission of the *nargallum*. "His" house was finally purchased by someone. In any case, Nanna-manšum still seems to have worked in Mari during the Zimrī-Līm's reign. However, he would be paid for his (musical (?)) actions, but not for his status as a public servant as with other musicians[1235]. Here is our excerpt:

Text 45. ARM 5 73 (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)[1236]

r. 2'   [… š]u-ub-ši
r. 3'   [ᵐᵈNA]NNA-ˈMA.AN.ŠUM2ˈ[1237] er-se-ˈemˈ-ma
r. 4'   [aš-šum[1238] na]-ˈruˈ-tam dam-ˈqi₂-išˈ aḫ-zu
r. 5'   [it]-ti be-li₂-ia uš-ta-ˈmeˈ-er-šu-ˈmaˈ
r. 6'   ˈbeˈ-li₂ E₂-tam na-ˈda-namˈ u₂-ša-ˈḫiˈ-iz-ma
r. 7'   u₂-ul ˈidˈ-di-nu-ˈšuˈ

r. 2' [… ma]ke it is […] r. 3' [Na]nna-Manšum is well-trained, and r. 4' [since] he has learned well [mu]sic, r. 5' I made that he know my lord, and r. 6' my lord ordered the concession of a house (for him), although r. 7' they have (finally) not given it (to him).

[1234] The spelling "Nanna-mansum" starts from an outdated reading of SUM as **sum** for "to give". We read nowadays that Sumerian verb as **šum₂**, a reading which has its justification in *Proto-Ea*, 275 (DCCLT Q000055). There, one of the readings of SUM is spelled **šu-um** (for **sum**, we should have **su/su₂-um**).

[1235] FM 9, p. 259; Ziegler, 2013: 57.

[1236] Edition dependent upon Archibab T8866 with corrections derived from our inspection of the copy (= TCL 26 65–67) and the photo of that tablet available on Archibab T8866 through PSL-DIGIBARCHI.

[1237] ARM 5 78 has "[s]è". However, as LAPO 17, p. 554 says, this personal name is based on a sentence "Nanna has given it to me". This translation is, by the way, more correct than the "Le-Dieu-Lune-m'a-fait-un-present" of LAPO 17, p. 554. Certainly, there is no term in the sentence for "present". The term **se₃** of ARM is a writing of **sa₂** ("to be equal"), but we should have another sentence for justifying its presence.

[1238] FM 9 259 n. 88 and Archibab T8866 have *u₃* because they have *ki-ma* ᵐᵈ in the previous line. However, concerning line r. 3', the scribe might have had problems writing four signs in that space of the tablet. Concerning r. 4', a coordinative conjunction *u* might be redundant with the enclitic conjunction *-ma* at the end of the previous line. It is important to state that *aššum* would act here as a particle introducing a subordinate sentence with *aḫzu* (Stative G of *aḫāzum* (here, "to learn") + Subordinate Particle *-u*: **aḫiz + u = aḫzu*). Therefore, it is not as a preposition going with *nārūtam*. Otherwise, we would find *nārūtim*.

The term *nārūtum* has been normally[1239] translated here as "musical arts"[1240], a variant of "music". Perhaps that is the most suitable translation for *nārūtum* in this context. Certainly, the content of the tablet containing this term is not always certain as we have previously seen in our edition. Moreover, it is difficult to distinguish this Nanna-manšum from other people in Mari with that same name but working as scribes[1241], merchants[1242] or with the *ṣābum* workers[1243]. Furthermore, the single (possible) alternative reference to Nanna-manšum as musician[1244] says only that he received a garment.

5.2.2.3.   FM 9 13 [M.6851] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

In this letter, Šamšī-Addu tries to convince to his son Yasmaḫ-Addu that the *nārum* Rîšīya cannot be the new *nargallum* of Mari due to his apparent lack of (supposed) basic musical qualities. Instead of him, Šamšī-Addu suggests the appointment of Gumul-Dagān in that position together with the assistance of Ilšu-Ibbīšu:

Text 46. FM 9 13 [M.6851] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)[1245]

o. 1	*a-na ia-as₂-ma-a*[*ḫ-*ᵈ**IŠKUR**]
o. 2	˹*qi₂*˺-*bi₂*-˹*ma*˺
o. 3	[*u*]*m-*˹*ma*˺ ᵈ**UTU**-*ši*-ᵈ**IŠKUR**
o. 4	[*a-bu*]-*ka-a-ma*
o. 5	[ˡ]*ri-ši-ia* **NAR**
o. 6	[*ša*] ˹*ba*˺-*ad-de-e ku-ul-la-*˹*am*˺
o. 7	[*l*]*a i-le-lu-*˹*u₂*˺
o. 8	*a-na* **NAR.GAL**-*tim i-na* ˹*ma*˺-*ri*ᵏⁱ
o. 9	*ta-aš-ku-*˹*un*˺-*šu-ma*
o. 10	**NAR**-*tum i-na ma-ri*ᵏⁱ *uḫ-ta-li-iq*
o. 11	*ma-a gu-mu-ul-*ᵈ*da-gan-ma*
o. 12	*a-na aḫ-ḫi-šu* **LU₂** *ma-ra-yi*ᵏⁱ
o. 13	*a-na* ˹**NAR**˺**.GAL**-*tim šu-*˹*ku-un*˺-*šu*
o. 14	*u₃* **DIŊIR**-*šu-*˹*ib*˺-[*bi-šu*]
r. 1	[*ša*] **NAR.GAL**-*tam l*[*a i-le-u₂*]
r. 2	˹*šu-ku*˺-*un-*[*šu-um*]

[1239] ARM 5 73 ("le [ch]ant").

[1240] LAPO 17, p. 553 ("art musical", followed by FM 9, p. 259; Ziegler, 2013: 57; Archibab T8866).

[1241] FM 16 41 [ARM 24 6 + M.6473 + M.12387] (Zimrī-Līm 00-07-10), o. i 28 (Archibab T19384).

[1242] FM 3 8 [ARM 22/1 205] (Zimrī-Līm 05-00-00), o. i' 9'–10' (Archibab T11218).

[1243] FM 16 12 [A.309] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), r. 1–2 (Archibab T22384). This text has been recently published, therefore, it could not be used at the time of the publication of FM 9.

[1244] ARM 23 375 (Zimrī-Līm 13-01-10 = Zimrī-Līm 8), 15 (ARM 23, p. 297).

[1245] Edition dependent upon Archibab T6572 with corrections derived from our inspection of the photo available on that site through Archipix.

o. 2 Say o. 1 to Yasma[ḫ-Addu], o. 3 [t]hus (speaks) Šamšī-Addu, o. 4 your [father]: o. 5 (I speak to you about) the *nārum* Rîšīya, o. 7 [who] can[n]ot o. 6 return the […].o. 9 You have installed him[1246] o. 8 in the position of *nargallum* in Mari, and o. 10 (in this way) the music has been destroyed in Mari!

o. 11–13 What? Gumul-Dagān, install him into the position of *nargallum* for his Mariote brothers, o. 14–r. 2 and (concerning) Ilšu-Ib[bīšu, who is] (actually) i[nappropriate] (for) the condition of *nargallum*, place (him) [under his authority]!

The term *nārūtum* has been normally translated in this context as "music"[1247]. That makes sense since we do not deal here with a normal *nārum*, but with the *nargallum*, the chief musician. In fact, this letter is the only text, as far as we know, containing the term *nargallūtum* ("office of *nargallum*")[1248]. That term is without equivalent by the moment (as far as we know) in Sumerian (where we would expect something like ***nam-nar-gal**). In addition, it should not be confused with the *nargallutu* ("female chief musician") from Neo-Assyrian times[1249]. Therefore, for Šamšī-Addu, music (*nārūtum*) had been destroyed (*uḫtalliq*) in Mari because of the appointment for the "*nargallum*-ship" of Rîšīya, defined

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[1246] Our translation tries to justify the presence of the *taškunšuma* with its Accusative 3SGM *-šu* ("him" in our translation), which referred to a direct object previously stated in the sentence.

[1247] Durand, 1991: 36 ("la musique"); Ziegler, 2006a: 347 ("die Musik"); FM 9, p. 100 ("La musique"; followed by Ziegler, 2013: 50; Archibab T6572); Ziegler, 2011: 291 ("music"). Sasson, 2012: 533 translates that term as "music". However, his translation of the entire line ("in the death of music at Mari") omits the meaning of the 3SG.M of the Dt stem of *ḫalāqu(m) uḫtalliq* ("it has been destroyed").

[1248] The *nārūtum* of this text might have been another reference to *nargallūtum* since its spelling (NAR-*tum* = *nārūtum*) might be understood as NAR.<GAL>-*tum* (*nargallūtum*). That might give more coherence to the text, which mainly referred to the *nargallum*. In any case, the spelling NAR-*tum* for *nārūtum* is already contained in our aforementioned Text 42 = ARM 1 78 (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), r. 4. In addition, the signs LUL (= NAR) and TUM (= *tum*) seem to be connected in the writing of our Text 46 through the prolongation of the straight wedges of the sign LUL. Therefore, we cannot suppose any empty space in the tablet for a hypothetical sign GAL (= GAL).

[1249] Only known with Sumerograms: SAA 7 24 [K. 1473 + 1944a + 10447], o. 20 (^{munus}NAR.GAL) and SAA 20 9 [Ist. A 125 + 181], r. iii 22' (^{munus}NAR3.GAL2). The usual transcription of this term is *nargallutu* (Teppo, 2007: 401–402, 411; Shehata, 2009: 22 n. 88; Pruzsinszky, 2010a: 101 n. 19; Çavuşoglu, Işik, and Göcke, 2014: 238; Groß, 2014: 223, 228, 231, 244; Joannès, 2016: 32; Álvarez Mon, 2017: 16; Pruzsinszky, 2018b: 95; Svärd, 2018: 118). However, we prefer to follow those having transcribed *nargallatu* (CDA, p. 242; Maul, 2000: 399; Stol, 2015: 702). Certainly, in ^{munus}NAR3.GAL2, the GAL2 can be read as GALA7, being the new reading ^{munus}NAR3.GALA7 closer to *nargallatu* than to *nargallutu*. We also avoid confusions with *nargallūtu(m)* in this way.

here as unable (*lā ilelû*)[1250] to hold (back) (*kullâm*) someone/something written in the text as *ba-ad-de-e*.

Jean-Marie Durand[1251] connected *ba-ad-de-e* with *baddum* and proposed its definition as "*individu/isolé*" through a comparison with the Hebrew root √BDD. From that point, Nele Ziegler[1252] defined that term as "solistes". That identification makes sense with the plural form of this word. Otherwise, we would have *ba-ad-de-em*. However, Michael P. Streck has remarked[1253] that the repetition of the vowel "e" suggests the presence of a long vowel in this word which, therefore, should be normalized as *baddê*, and not *baddē* as in the case of a word of the type *baddum*. Therefore, we would have a root √BDʾ[1254] (not √BDD) and a different meaning for this word. Streck defined *baddûm* as "a musical instrument(?)" only, since the context rather speaks in that case for an instrument.

We are dealing with a delicate matter, since the verb *kullum* modifying this *baddum / baddûm* may mean "to control" / "hold back" as Durand[1255] or Ziegler[1256] translated, a translation fitting with an identification of this term as "soloists". However, that verb also means "to hold something physically" or "to handle" it[1257] as Michael P. Streck translated[1258], and it may fit, therefore, with *baddum/baddûm* as an instrument.

Dominique Charpin has tried to refute Streck's identification saying that, in such a case, we would have a musical *hapax*, while we have many musical terms in the texts of Mari[1259]. However, his reply is irrelevant since *baddûm* would not be the first musical *hapax* in Akkadian[1260]. On the other hand, Streck's identification makes sense with an

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[1250] The normalization "*ileʾʾû*" (eSAD B; Streck, 2018: 3) ignores LU (= *lu*) in the tablet. We would be before an R-Stem of *leʾû(m)* ("to be able") for Durand, 1993: 61 (see Groneberg, 1989: 29 for details).

[1251] Durand, 1991: 36.

[1252] FM 9, p. 100.

[1253] eSAD B; Streck, 2018: 3; Streck's personal communication). See also Charpin, 2018: 207.

[1254] The Semitic root √BDʾ has the meaning "to start" in languages like Arabic (بَدَأَ, [*badaʾa*]) (Bar-Moshe, 2016: 137, 140). However, we are afraid that a similar meaning might not fit in this context.

[1255] Durand, 1991: 36 ("absolument incapable de diriger des *baddê*").

[1256] FM 9, p. 100 ("[qui] est absolument incapable de tenir des « solistes »").

[1257] CAD K, p. 508.

[1258] eSAD B and Streck, 2018: 3 ("[who] is not able to hold *b.*s").

[1259] Charpin, 2018: 207.

[1260] Concerning Old Babylonian times, the term *zennum* was originally considered a *hapax* (Kilmer and Civil, 1986: 95). Howver, later it was identified with a term referring to tuning (Kilmer and Tinney, 1996:

important aspect. We know Rîšīya mainly as a chief musician. However, in this text he is still a mere *nārum* as we know from line o. 5. Therefore, he could not yet control under his authority any group of musicians like those "soloists" of Nele Ziegeler. However, he could, quite to the contrary, hold or use a musical instrument, or a group of musical instruments. This last option would fit with *baddê*, plural form of *baddûm*.

5.2.2.4. FM 9 26 [M.14611] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

The following excerpt for consideration here belongs to a letter where Rîšīya asks Šamšī-Addu, among others, about his musical labour in general and, more concretely, about some types of musicians:

Text 47. FM 9 26 [M.14611] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)[1261]

r. 1	[… *a-na* **LU₂.MEŠ** *ḫu*]-ˊ*up*ˋ-*pi₂-ia* […ˀ]
r. 2	[*u₃ a-na*] *iḫ*-ˊ*zi*ˋ-{LUL?}-*im*
r. 3	[*ša na-ru-ti*]-ˊ*im*ˋ ˊ*a-ḫi la na-de-*ˊ*e*ˋ-[*k*]*u-u₂*
r. 4	[*i-na ka-ša*]-ˊ*di*ˋ-[*š*]*u*
r. 5	[*mi-im*]-ˊ*ma*ˋ *ša uš-ta-a*[*ṣ-bi-t*]*u₂*-ˊ*u₂*ˋ
r. 6	[*be-li₂ im-ma*]-ˊ*ar*ˋ-*ma* ˊ*i*ˋ-*ḫa-a*[*d-du*]
r. 7	[*u₃ ki-ma* **MUNUS.NAR**].ˊ**TUR.MEŠ**ˋ *i-na* [*ši-ip-ri-ši-n*]*a*
r. 8	[*er-se-e be*]-*li₂ i-*ˊ*de*ˋ-[…*-e*]
r. 9	[**U₄**-*um ṭup-p*]*a₂-am an-ne₂-em* [*a-na be-li₂-i*]*a*
r. 10	*u*[*š-t*]*a*ˋ-[*b*]*i*-[*lam*]
r. 11	**U₄**-*um* ˊ*e*ˋ-*se-*ˊ*si*ˋ-[*im-ma*]
r. 12	[*ma*]-*za-za-am ra-*ˊ*be₂-em*ˋ *a*[*š₂-ta-ka-an-ma*]
r. 13	[*i*]*t-ta-ṣe₂ š*[*i-pi₂-ir-ši-na*]
lo. e. 1	*ka-ṣi₂-*ˊ*ir*ˋ *b*[*e-li₂ lu-u₂ i-de*]

[r. 1–3] [I] am not careless [about my *ḫu*]*ppûm* acrobats [and about] the learning [of musi]c! [r. 4] (Certainly) [once he arri]ves, [r. 5–6] [my lord will see] [everyth]ing that I [provided] (for these two matters) and he will rej[oice]. [r. 7–8] [In addition], he will know [if] the young [*nārtu*]*m* are well-trained in [the]ir [art].

[r. 9–10] [The day] that I made this [tabl]et be sent [to m]y [lord], [r. 11–12] is (the same) day of the *eššêšum* festival. I [have provided] (for this festival) a big [*ma*]*zzâzum* ensemble (with these females), [r. 13–Lo. e. 1] (and) [they] have already gone out (to the place of this festival). May the *kāṣirum* official [of m]y [lord know (those things)]!

The first thing to keep in mind is the highly fragmentary preservation state of the whole tablet and of this excerpt in particular. As a consequence, our term *nārūtum* is

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53–54). For later times, see *Maqlû*, VII 155 (Abusch, 2015: 188) for a reference to the *ni'u* instrument (of unknown identification; Meier, 1966: 79).

[1261] Edition dependent upon Archibab T6584 with corrections coming from our inspection of the photo of the manuscript available on that site through Archipix.

almost a restoration here and, therefore, any conclusion about this excerpt is hypothetical. Having said that, *nārūtum* (whose context recalls our Text 39[1262]) has been translated as "musical teaching" (together with *iḫzum*, "learning")[1263].

This translation makes sense in light of the comparison between that musical teaching and something[1264] about the *ḫuppûm*. Nevertheless, despite their subordination to the *nargallum* as any other musicians in Mari, these *ḫuppûm* were not musicians. Far from that, they were acrobatic dancers using some sort of knives[1265] as those usually recognized on the clay plaque AO 12443[1266]. In this sense, their profession was not entirely musical, but it was also related to (theatrical) fighting[1267]. Moreover, music and dance[1268] were not always so closely related in Mesopotamia (at least for Old Babylonian times[1269]) as we might believe from our Western perspective. An example of that is the hymn *Šulgi B*. In that text, there is nothing about dance in the section devoted to music analysed in our previous chapter. Far from that, the term for "dance" (**gu₄-ud** or **gud₂**, which also means "to jump") is mentioned in an excerpt dealing with the king's strength[1270].

In this sense, *nārūtum* is not compared here with another (and, we suppose, subordinate) musical aspect. It is, however, compared but with a different reality, the one of the *ḫuppûm* acrobat dancers. In this sense, it is worthwhile to see *nārūtum* as a reference to the music in a broad sense, even if our excerpt mentions (in restoration) a *nārtum*.

[1262] Certainly, while Išmē-Dagān gave (**šum₂**) his arm (**a₂**) to the music (**nam-nar**), Rîšīya literally says that he is not "abandoned" (G Stative 1sgc from *nadû(m)*) concerning his "arm" (*aḫu(m)*).

[1263] FM 9, p. 134 ("l'enseignement [*de la musique*]", followed by Archibab T6584).

[1264] Previous editions have restored only [… *a-na* LU₂.MEŠ *ḫu*]-ˊ*up* ˋ-*pi₂-ia* …ˀ and we believe that they have a point in this sense. However, that restitution might have been always more complex in light of the expression *iḫzim nārūtim* of this excerpt.

[1265] FM 9, p. 261–263; Shehata, 2009: 49-51 and Ziegler, 2013: 63–65.

[1266] See FM 9, p. 263 for a photograph of the said plaque.

[1267] FM 9, p. 264. Music and wrestling are also connected in the Old Babylonian clay plaque BM 91906 (see Rašīd, 1984: 78 for illustration and comments). For acrobat dancers and wrestlers in the Old Babylonian Period, see also Feliu and Millet, 2008: 97.

[1268] For an overview of dance in Mesopotamia across the times, see Gabbay, 2003 and Ambos, 2012 (texts) and Collon, 2003 and Seidl, 2012 (iconography).

[1269] Certainly, by the 1ˢᵗ Millennium, several *riqdū* ("dances", a term from Neo-Assyrian times and coming from *raqādu(m)*, "to dance") (CAD R, p. 166, 367) are mentioned in the ritual texts (Gabbay, 2007: 122, 130 for evidence). That is, at that time, there was in Mesopotamia a specific term for "dance". That contrast with the situation in the Old Babylonian Mesopotamia.

[1270] *Šulgi B*, 128 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

5.2.2.5. FM 9 27 [M.13050] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

In this letter, Rîšīya complains to King Šamšī-Addu about Muḫaddum, who accuses the *nargallum* of having taught immoral/incorrect things to his sons:

Text 48. FM 9 27 [M.13050] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)[1271]

o. 1	[*a-na*] ˹*be*˺-*li₂*-*ia*
o. 2	[*qi₂*]-*bi₂*-˹*ma*˺
o. 3	˹*um-ma*˺ *ri-ši-ia*
o. 4	**IR₃**-*ka-a-ma*
o. 5	¹*mu-ḫa-*˹*ad*˺*-du-um ma-ri-šu*
o. 6	*id-de₄-*˹*em*˺*-ma*
o. 7	*na-ru-ta-*˹*am*˺ *u₂-ša-ḫi-iz*
o. 8	˹*da*˺*-ma-am i-na* ˹*pu*˺*-ur-si-tim*
o. 9	˹*ak*˺*-ṣu₂-ur*
o. 10	[*u₃*] ˹*u₂*˺*-ra-*˹*bi*˺*-šu-nu-ti*
o. 11	[*i*]-˹*na-an-na*˺ *il-l*[*i-ka*]*m-ma*
o. 12	[**DIŊIR**-*lam l*]*a-ma-su₂* ˹*ib*˺*-bi*
Lo. e. 1	[**DIŊIR**-*tam na-ṣi₂-r*]*a-su₂ ib-*˹*bi*˺
Lo. e. 2	[*iṭ-ṭe₄-ḫ*]*e-em* ˹*i*˺*-na*
Lo. e. 3	[*ša-ma-al-l*]*i la-ma-*˹*ad*˺
r. 1	˹*a*˺*-wa-*˹*tim bi*˺*-ša-tim* ˹*id*˺*-bu-ba-am*
r. 2	*um-ma a-*˹*na-ku*˺*-ma* ˹*it-ti*˺
r. 3	*ma-*˹*ri-ka ṣe₂-eḫ*˺*-ri-im*
r. 4	*na-*˹*ru*˺*-ta-am e-*˹*pu-uš₂*˺
r. 5	˹*um*˺*-ma šu-ma it-*˹*ti*˺*-ka-a-*˹*ma*˺
r. 6	*e-pu-uš₂ be-*˹*li₂*˺ *ḫu-ṣa-*˹*ba*˺*-a*[*m*]
r. 7	*i-na pa-ni ma-ka-al-*˹*tim*˺
r. 8	˹*ip*˺*-ri-ik*
r. 9	*i-da-bu-ba-am an-ne₂-*˹*tim*˺

^o. 2 [S]ay ^o. 1 [to] my lord, ^o. 3 thus (speaks) Rîšīya, ^o. 4 your servant. ^o. 5–6 Muḫaddum has abandoned to me his sons, and ^o. 7 I taught music to them: ^o. 9 "I organized ^o. 8 the blood in the veins" ^o. 10 [and] I made them grow! ^o. 11 [Ho]wever, he ca[me to] me, ^o. 12 he invoked his p[ersonal god], ^Lo. e. 1 he invoked his p[rotective goddess], ^Lo. e. 2–r. 1 [he approached] to me, (and) he accused me of having instilled bad things into [the apprentices]. ^r. 2–4 (I said to him) "I performed music with your son!" ^r. 5–8 (and) he (answered to me) "Make it with yourself! My lord has rejected a branch of *ḫuṣabu*[*m*] firewood in front of a *makaltum* wooden dish". ^r. 9 He says it to me!

There are two references to *nārūtum* in this letter. In the first (o. 7), *nārūtum* referred to the content of the teaching provided by Rîšīya to Muḫaddum's sons. This educational process is described in mythological terms with the expression *dāmam ina pursītim akṣur*

[1271] Edition dependent upon Archibab T6585 with corrections derived from our inspection of the photo of the manuscript available on that site through Archipix.

("I organized the blood in the veins") of lines o. 8–9[1272]. The term *nārūtum* has been translated here as "art of music"[1273] or just "music"[1274], which makes sense keeping in mind that, although Rîsîya is known as *nārum* in our Text 13[1275], he had to act at the time of our Text 48 already as a *nargallum*, and not as *nārum*. In this sense, the musical contents that he could teach to Muḫaddum's sons would be probably more generic than those of the profession of the *nārum*.

The musical teaching provided by Rîsîya had to be annoying to Muḫaddum for some reason[1276]. In any case, Rîsîya had to offer a complete musical education to Muḫaddum's sons including some musical performances[1277]. It is in that context that we find our second allusion to *nārūtum* in our Text 48. The term *nārūtum* (modified here by the verb *epēšum*) has been translated as "music"[1278], something which makes sense with the expression *nigûta epēšu* ("to perform (joyful) music") found in 1st-millennium texts applied to

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[1272] See Ziegler, 2005 (with additional comments in FM 9, p. 138 and Ziegler, 2013: 55) for a comparison with the *dāmī lukṣurma eṣmēta lušabšīma* ("may I gather the blood and create a skeleton!") from *Enūma Eliš*, VI, 5 (Lambert, 2013: 110). Unfortunately, this parallel has not been noted in the most recent editions of *Enūma Eliš* (for instane Tallon, 2005 or Lambert, 2013). We might be dealing with a different conception of musical teaching regarding our southern Mesopotamian texts. Keep in mind our Texts 33 (= *Šulgi B*, 154) or 39 (= *Išmē-Dagān A + V*, 367) besides *"Monkey" to his mother*, 6 (= Kleinerman, 2011: 158 and 278). In those texts, the student makes efforts in the musical learning without many references to his master (see also our Texts 12 and 28 for reference). The same happens in the myths. In addition to our Texts 24 and 27, see the text Kramer, 1981: 2–6 [BM 29616], o. 21–23 (Shehata, 2009: 67) and *Inanna's Descent*, 223 (Attinger, 2019c: 45. In them, the creation of musical figures is not a big problem for the deities. We find the opposite in our Text 48. It is Rîsîya, the master, who makes the efforts.

[1273] Ziegler, 2005: 5 ("art de la musique"; followed by FM 9, p. 136; Démare-Lafont, 2011: 15 and Archibab T6585).

[1274] Ziegler, 2010: 124 ("music").

[1275] FM 9 13 [M.6851] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), o. 5. See our Text 45 for edition.

[1276] The reason is unclear because *bištu(m)* may describe something of bad quality, but also something morally evil (CAD B, p. 270–271). In addition, as far as we know, most of our references to this word come from Middle Assyrian/Babylonian Period onward. Therefore, we might have here one of our earliest references to *bištu(m)*. Both senses of this word are interesting here. However, we wanted to pay attention to the meaning "bad quality", since the musical abilities of Rîsîya were already questioned in our Text 46. Muḫaddum might have questioned Rîsîya's abilities in order to have his children returned to him. Certainly, once a child was abandoned, it was difficult to have him return to his parents (Ziegler, 2010: 124).

[1277] That makes sense with FM 9 51 [A.3115] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), r. 2–5 (Archibab T6609), where the activity of the *mummum* conservatory is described as continuous.

[1278] FM 9, p. 136 ("la musique"; followed by Archibab T6585).

musicians[1279] and other people[1280]. In this way, *nārūtum* might have acquired in the Mari texts a similar connotation to our word "music" as something "playable".

5.2.2.6.   FM 9 30 [M.7321] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

We find another reference to *nārūtam epēšum* as "to perform/make music" in this letter of an unknown author. Its central part deals with a musician whose name is lost due to the preservation state of the tablet:

Text 49. FM 9 30 [M.7321] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)[1281]

o. 5	[… o] *u₃* **DUG** *na-aš-pa-ˈak* **I₃ˈ** *s[i]-i[r-di-im]*
o. 6	[*a*]-*na ma-ši-im* ˈ*it*ˈ-*ta-na-*ˈ*ad*ˈ-*di-i[n]*
o. 7	ˈ*u₃ na*ˈ-*ru-tam a-na* ˈ*la*ˈ-*i-im i-pe₂-*ˈ*eš*ˈ
Lo. e. 1	*ma-*ˈ*ti*ˈ-*ma* {HA} *ma-ḫa-ar* ˈ*be-li₂-ia*ˈ
Lo. e. 2	*i-na* {SIZKUR} ˈ*ni*ˈ-*qi₂-im* {x}
Lo. e. 3	ˈ*u₂*ˈ-*ul iz-zi*[1282]-*iz*
r. 1	ˈ*u₃ i-na*ˈ-*ia-*ˈ**d**ˈ**UTU** **lu₂***ra-pi₂-*ˈ*qa-yu***ki**ˈ
r. 2	ˈ*i-ip-pe₂-eš*ˈ

[o. 5] […] and he gives regularly to Mašim [o. 6] one pot with o[l]i[ve] oil. [o. 7] In addition, he performs music for Lâ'ûm, [Lo. e. 3] (but) he never stands [Lo. e. 1] before my lord [Lo. e. 2] during the (execution of the) prayers. [r. 1] Nevertheless, it is Inaya-Šamaš, from Rapiqûm, [r. 2] who does.

Line o. 7 of this text has been previously translated as "and he acts as musician in Lâ'ûm"[1283]. However, for that translation, we should have *ina* ("in", "into", "from", "with") instead of *ana* ("to", "for", "in order to")[1284]. Moreover, we should find the place determinative **ki** after ˈ*la*ˈ-*i-im* in order to classify it as a place name. In fact, this supposed place name does not appear in the list of place names of the study where this text was published[1285]. In addition, Lâ'ûm was the name of the king of Samānum and the land of

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[1279] *Aššurbānipal 3*, vi 46–47 (RINAP 5 Q003702); *Aššurbānipal 4*, vi 48–49 (RINAP 5 Q003703), *Aššurbānipal 6*, vii 53 (RINAP 5 Q003705); *Aššurbānipal 7*, vi 11" –12" (RINAP 5 Q003706). Here, in these texts, the *nāru* musicians are performing joyful music when entering into Nineveh.

[1280] *Azzû's Epic* (Standard Babylonian Version), III 29 (CAMS Q002771), and perhaps *Sênnaḫērib 37*, r. 11' (RINAP Q003511) and *Aššarḫaddon 33*, lo. e. 1 (RINAP Q003262).

[1281] Edition dependent upon Archibab T6588 with corrections derived from our inspection of the photo of the manuscript available on that site through Archipix.

[1282] On the contrary to Archibab T6588, we do not see a superfluous sign ZI here.

[1283] FM 9, p. 142 ("il sert de musicien à La'um", followed by Archibab T6568).

[1284] CAD A2, p. 100 and CAD I-J, p. 141–142.

[1285] FM 9, p. 329. It neither appears in the database of HIGEOMES (see Archibab for access).

Uprabum according to the Yaḫdun-Līm's foundation inscription[1286]. We should also keep in mind that other personal names in this text (as Inaya-Šamaš) do not have *Personenkeil*. Therefore, this identification of Lâ'ûm as the name of an individual (of course different from the one of the Yaḫdun-Līm's inscription[1287]) might be suitable in this context.

Therefore, since Lâ'ûm is a personal name, *u nārūtam ana lâ'îm īpeš* (ʿu₃ naʾ-ru-tam a-na ʿlaʾ-i-im i-pe₂-ʿešʾ) should be translated as "and he makes music for Lâ'ûm".

5.2.2.7.   FM 9 49 [A.3925] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

The following excerpt for study is a letter addressed to King Šamšī-Addu and written by Ilšu-ibbīšu, a musical instructor under the authority of the *nargallum* Rîšīya. This musical instructor will go to Mari and ask Šamaš-magir (an official of Yasmaḫ-Addu (?)[1288]) to hurry up with the construction of several musical instruments. This is the best preserved part of this letter, and we are going to analyse it now:

Text 50. FM 9 49 [A.3925] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)[1289]

o. 1	ʿaʾ-na be-li₂-ia qi₂-bi₂-ʿmaʾ
o. 2	ʿumʾ-ma **DIDIR**-šu-i-bi-šu **IR₃**-ka-a-ʿmaʾ
o. 3	[be-li₂] ʿkiʾ-a-am u₂-wa-i-ra-an-ni
o. 4	[um-m]a-ʿa-miʾ at-la-ak a-na ma-r[iᵏⁱ]
o. 5	[a-na š]i-ʿpi₂ʾ-ir na-ru-tim ʿu₃ʾ ᵑᵉˢ[si₂-id-di]
o. 6	[šu-ḫ]u-zi-im a-aḫ-ʿka la taʾ-n[a-ad-di]
o. 7	[i-na-a]n-ʿnaʾ a-na ma-ʿriʾᵏⁱ ʿalʾ-l[i-kam-ma]
o. 8	[aš-šum] ši-pi₂-ʿirʾ ᵑᵉˢsi₂-ʿid-diʾ
o. 9	[a-na ᵈ]**UTU**-ma-ʿgirʾ aq-bi-ʿmaʾ
o. 10	[um-ma a]-ʿnaʾ-ku-ʿmaʾ ᵑᵉˢsi₂-id-ʿdiʾ
o. 11	[li-id-di-n]u-nim-ʿmaʾ u₃ ši-pi₂-ir ᵑᵉˢs[i₂-id-di]
o. 12	[ki-ma] ša be-ʿli₂ u₂-wa-i-laʾ-an-[ni]
o. 13	[a-na] pa-ni ʿbeʾ-li₂-ia lu-u₂ ʿušʾ-t[a-aṣ-ba-at]

[1286] Dossin, 1955: 4–11 [M. 2802], iii 4–5 (Matthews, 1977: 208). See Matthews, 1977: 208–210; Wossink, 2009: 128 and Burke, 2018: 94 for comments.

[1287] Certainly, that Lâ'ûm is one of the kings who decided to counteract the power of Yaḫdun-Līm at the beginning of his reign in Mari, which is before that of the Šamšī-Addu of our text.

[1288] Heimpel, 2003: 558. In any case, according to FM 9, p. 213, his exact professional career is still uncertain. Moreover, the new texts published after FM 9 (from southern Mesopotamia) do not furnish too much information about him. For these texts, see YOS 15 35 [University of Michigan 849–469] (Ḫammu-rāpi 31+-00-00), o. 5 (Archibab T6076) and YOS 15 44 [YBC 13339] (00-00-00), o. 10, r. 1 (own consultation of the copy of the tablet; see also Archibab T5602 and Veenhof, 2012 for comments).

[1289] Edition dependent upon Archibab T6607 with corrections derived from our inspection of the photo of the manuscript available on that site through Archipix.

o. 1 Say to my lord, o. 2 thus (speaks) Ilšu-ibbīšu, your servant. o. 3 My [lord] has ordered of me the following: o. 4 "Go to Mar[i]! o. 5–6 [You] must not ne[glect] your effort [for] the [instr]uction of the [m]usic and (more concretely) [the *siddum* instruments]!

o. 7 I w[ent imme]diately to Mari (after that), [and] o. 9 I spoke [to] Šamaš-magir, o. 8 [about] the work of the *siddum* instruments. o. 10–12 [Thus] I (spoke to him): "[May] they [give] me the s[*iddum* instruments]! Furthermore, [as] my lord ordered [me], o. 13 [I wish to start the work] with these *siddum* instruments [for] (the arrival) of my lord!"

In this excerpt, the term *nārūtum* has been understood as "art of music"[1290]. This translation might be *a priori* strange because the musical terms (*nārūtum* and *siddum* perhaps designating a type of stringed instrument[1291]) seem to be compared here as is suggested by the use of *u₃* ("and") placed between them. In this sense, *nārūtum* might refer the "office of the *nārum*", while the use of the *siddum* (and their instrumentalists) would be another music specialization.

However, the text later deals more in depth with some concrete aspects of the *siddum* instruments. In this sense, it is possible that Ilšu-ibbīšu was saying that he was attentive to all the musical aspects (*nārūtum*) under his purview, but he was especially careful with the *siddum* instruments.

It is true that the letter seems to make reference later to several *nārum*[1292], so *nārūtum* might designate the office of the *nārum*. Nevertheless, the context of that reference is highly fragmentary. In any case, that allusion seems to have been said by the king (in response to Ilšu-ibbīšu) and not by Ilšu-ibbīšu. Therefore, it is possible that the king was simply asking about that aspect (the *nārum* musicians) supervised by Ilšu-ibbīšu. In this sense, we would support the condition of *nārūtum* in this text as "music" in a broad sense, and not as "office of the *nārum*". The use of the *siddum* instruments would be, in consequence, just a part of that "music", and not a separate music specialization.

[1290] FM 9, p. 212 ("l'art de la musique"; followed by Archibab T6607).

[1291] The identification of FM 9, p. 210 (followed by Dumbrill, 2014: 325) of the term *siddum* as a stringed instrument seems to make sense with our Standard Babylonian texts containing *sadādu* ("to make a raid", "hold a thread (?)"). However, in our opinion, we should be careful with the chronological distance between these Standard Babylonian texts with *sadādu* and our Old Babylonian texts from Mari having this term *siddum*.

[1292] FM 9 49 [A.3925] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), o. 18 (Archibab T6607).

5.2.2.8.   FM 9 55 [A.905] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

This letter was written by Imgur-Šamaš, probably an instructor (*mušāḫizum*) whose main residence was in Šubat-Ellil, although he went occasionally to Mari for various activities. He had a certain familiarity with Yasmaḫ-Addu, the king to whom this letter is addressed. In our excerpt, Imgur-Šamaš had entrusted to the king two of his former students: Ilšu-Ibbīšu and Lipit-Ellil. Imgur-Šamaš was supposed, therefore, to have received some gifts from the king. However, that never happened:

Text 51. FM 9 55 [A.905] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)[1293]

o. 12   **ᴾDIDIR**-*šu-ib-bi-šu u₃ li-pi₂-it-*⸢**ᵈEN.LIL₂**⸣
o. 13   **LU₂.TUR.MEŠ** *qa-ti-ia* ⸢*ša*⸣ *na-ru-ta-am*
o. 14   *u₂-*⸢*ša*⸣*-ḫi-zu-šu-nu-ti ma-ḫar be-li₂-ia*
o. 15   *uš-zi-is-su₂-nu-*⸢*ti*⸣
o. 16   *ma-ti-i-ma* ⸢*be-li₂*⸣ [*z*]*i-*[*ki*]*-*⸢*ir*⸣ [*š*]*u-*⸢*mi-ia*⸣
o. 17   *aš-šum* **LU₂.ME**[**Š** … *šu-nu-t*]*i*
o. 18   *u₂-ul* ⸢*iḫ*⸣*-s*[*u₂-…-u*]*s*
o. 19   *u₂-*⸢*lu-ma*⸣ *be-l*[*i₂ da-ḫa-ti u₂-u*]*l i-ša-al*

ᵒ·¹²⁻¹⁵ I set before my lord to Ilšu-Ibbīšu and Lipit-Ellil, (two) young people to whom I taught music. ᵒ·¹⁶⁻¹⁸ (However) my lord has never considered the [r]e[p]utation of my [n]ame because of [thes]e (two) me[n], ᵒ·¹⁹ or [my] lord is [n]ot worried [with my explanations].

The term *nārūtum* has been translated here as "art of music"[1294]. We believe that a translation of this type is suitable in this context. Certainly, Lipit-Ellil, one of the students of Imgur-Šamaš mentioned in this letter, worked as a *nārum*[1295] using the *lē'um*[1296] instrument[1297]. Ilšu-Ibbīšu, the other student of Imgur-Šamaš, is documented, among

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[1293] Edition dependent upon Archibab T6613 with corrections derived from our inspection of the photo of the manuscript available on that site through Archipix.

[1294] FM 9, p. 226 ("l'art de la musique"; followed by Archibab T6613)

[1295] FM 9 36 [A.2521] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), o. 10–16 (Archibab T6594) it is actually indirect evidence for his condition as *nārum*. The reason is that this musician and his family receive the house of another *nārum* called Akšaya.

[1296] FM 9 57 [ARM 1 63 + M.11322] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), o. 5–8 (Archibab T4483).

[1297] The term *lē'um* has the meaning "board" in other contexts (see, for instance, Arkhipov, 2019: 136, where it describes a part of the throne for the god Dagān given by Zimrī-Līm). In light of this, *lē'um* has sometimes been defined as a type of percussion instrument (Krispijn, 2010a). It might be identified with the chalcophone, a type of percussion instrument depicted twice with their musicians in the Neo-Assyrian *pyxis* of Nimrūd N.973 (see Rašīd, 1984: 108–109 for image and comments). However, the *lē'um* was made of ebony or *elammakkum* wood (= a wood from Elam (?)), and covered with a layer of gold according to

other tasks, as musical instructor (*mušāḫizum*), instructor for the performance of the incantations and supervisor of the fabrication of musical instruments[1298]. In this sense, Imgur-Šamaš had to teach general musical skills to his two students because of their different trajectories, and not a single discipline as the profession of the *nārum*. Therefore, we would translate *nārūtu(m)* in this context as "music".

5.2.2.9.   FM 9 62 [M.7281] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

We are now going to deal with a very much damaged letter probably written by Rîsīya or Ilšu-Ibbīšu[1299]. This letter is about Tir-Ea, a person first documented in the Mari texts as a musician of the *lē'um* instrument together with the previously mentioned Lipit-Ellil. Then he is known in those texts as *aštalûm* and *nārum*[1300]. Here is the excerpt:

Text 52. FM 9 62 [M.7281] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)[1301]

r. 6'   *na-ru-tam ˹ti-ir˺-[e₂-a]*
r. 7'   *i-na li-˹bi˺ be-li₂-i[a la e-pu-uš*[1302]]
r. 8'   *ma-an-nu-˹um an-nu-um˺ ša ˹AL˺.[ḎAR.SUR₉]*[1303]
r. 9'   *˹u₃˺ sa₃-am-˹mi-im˺ i-na ˹qa-at˺ [be-li₂-ia]*
r. 10'   *˹i-ma˺-˹ḫa-˹ru?˺ a-na na-˹ru-tim?˺ [u₂-ul re-di]*

[r. 6"-7"] Tir-[Ea] [did not make] music according to the will of m[y] lord. [r. 8"-10"] Who is the one who accepted from the hands [of my lord] an *algasurrûm* friction drum and a *sammîm* angular harp (but) [is not suitable] for music?

We have two references to *nārūtum* in this text. The first one has been translated as "music"[1304]. That might make sense keeping in mind the fragmentary state of the part of

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FM 9 43 [A.1185] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), lo. e. 2–le. e. 3 (Archibab T6601). In this sense, it might be perhaps a type of lyre or zither, an identification perhaps suggested in FM 9, p. 76.

[1298] FM 9, p. 206–207.

[1299] FM 9, p. 245. We can see there how the date is also hypothetical

[1300] FM 9, p. 241.

[1301] Edition dependent upon Archibab T6619 with corrections derived from our inspection of the photo of the manuscript available on that site through Archipix.

[1302] Our own restitution keeping in mind the following lines of this text.

[1303] This restoration makes sense, although we might have restored also just **AL.ḎAR**. Certainly, a ⁿᵉˢ**al-ŋar** and a ⁿᵉˢ**al-ŋar-sur₉**, both instruments, appear together with a ⁿᵉˢ**za₃-mi₂** in the different variants of *Enki's Journey to Nippur*, 62 (Ceccarelli, 2012: 94, and 98 for the variants).

[1304] FM 9, p. 244 ("la musique"; followed by Archibab T6619).

this text where *nārūtum* is mentioned. The second reference to *nārūtum* in our Text 52 is similar to *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 94 (= Text 22). There, as we have previously discussed, someone was unable to learn (**zu**) music (**nam-nar**) despite having a **za₃-mi₂** angular harp with him. In our Text 52, Tir-Ea seems to not be fit (*ul redī*) for *nārūtum* despite having with him a *sammûm* (the same instrument as in our Text 22!) besides an *algasurrûm* instrument. If we could translate **nam-nar** in *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*, 94 as "music", we believe that is also possible to translate *nārūtum* in our Text 52 as "music" and not *nārum*'s "office"[1305] or "path"[1306] as in previous studies. These texts might be dealing, therefore, with an expression that still makes sense in English: "to be good at music", something useful for proving our hypothesis.

5.3. Texts from the reign of Zimrī-Līm (1775–1761 BCE)

5.3.1. Texts with *nārūtum* as "office of the *nārum*"

The sole excerpt belonging to this section comes from a letter written by a Ḫitte and addressed to a person probably called Išar-Līm[1307]. The content of our excerpt seems to be described as "another matter" (*šanītam*). However, it is actually the only preserved part of this letter. Here is the excerpt in question:

Text 53. FM 9 5 [A.4377] (Zimrī-Līm[1308] 00-00-00)[1309]

lo. e. 1	*š[a-ni-tam na-ru-tam]*
r. 1	^{munus}*na-ra-ˈtuˋ-k[a]*
r. 2	*it-ti* ^{munus}*na-ra-ˈtimˋ*
r. 3	*ša sa-mi-ia ˈiˋ-ḫa-[za]*
r. 4	*i-nu-ˈmaˋ ša-al-ma-nu-m[a]*
r. 5	*u₃ ni-ˈinˋ-na-ˈamˋ-ma-ru*
r. 6	*i-na u₄-mi-šu ta-ˈam-maˋ-ar-[ši-na-ti]*

[1305] FM 9, p. 244 "(au métier de) musicien"; followed by Archibab T6619).

[1306] Michalowski, 2010a: 225 ("a musician's path").

[1307] See FM 9, p. 41–42 for reference.

[1308] For this transcription giving the meaning "The Tribe (*līm*) is my protection (*zimrī*)", we follow Rubio, 2002: 239 n. 3. See eSAD Z for *zimru(m)* (from *zamāru(m)* III "to protect") as "protection". At the moment, *zimru* is defined just as "song" in AHw (III, p. 1528) and CAD (Z, p. 119). That last meaning does not fit here since the *zimru* songs are known only in Standard Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian dialects.

[1309] Edition dependent upon Archibab T6565 with corrections derived from our inspection of the photo of the manuscript available on that site through Archipix.

^{Lo. e. 1–r. 3} A[nother matter:] yo[ur] *nārtum* are lear[ning] music with the *nārtum* of Samīya. ^{r. 4} When we are fine ^{r. 5}, and we see ourselves, ^{r. 6} you will see [them] at that moment[1310]!

The term *nārūtum* (in restoration, so, any conclusion is considered hypothetical) has been translated here as "music"[1311]. This meaning fits well in this context, especially keeping in mind other texts dealing with musical teaching, where we have normally translated *nārūtum* as "music". In any case, a group of *nartum* is going to teach to another group of *nartum*. Therefore, a translation of *nārūtum* as "office of the *nārum*" might also fit well here, since that office would be probably the content of that instruction.

5.3.2. Texts with *nārūtum* as "music"

The sole excerpt to be studied in this section[1312] belongs to a letter where Rîšīya complains that his musical activities are being forgotten by Zimrī-Līm. Certainly, Zimrī-Līm seemed to have been not very interested in music, and was distrusting with his musicians, especially those having worked for the previous king, such as Rîšīya[1313]:

Tetxt 54. FM 9 18 [A.903] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00)[1314]

o. 1	[*a-na be-li₂-i*]*a qi₂-*⸢*bi₂-ma*⸣
o. 2	[*um-ma ri-ši-i*]*a* **IR₃**-*ka-a-*⸢*ma*⸣
o. 3	ᵈ*d*[*a-gan*] ⸢ᵈ*i-tur₂*⸣-*me-er*
o. 4	*u₃ la-ma-as-sa₃-at ma-ri*^{<ki>} *li-iṣ-*⸢*ṣu₂-ru-ka*⸣
o. 5	*a-na mi-*⸢*nim*⸣ *be-li₂ me-*⸢*ša*⸣-*an-ni*
o. 6	*u₃ ši-*⸢*it*⸣-*r*[*i*] ⸢*u₂*⸣-[*ul i-de-ek-ke*]
o. 7	[…] x x […] x
r. 1	[… **E₂**].**GAL**-⸢*lim*⸣
r. 2	*a-*[… x].**MEŠ** *be-*⸢*li₂*⸣ *li-*⸢*di-*⸣⸢*nam-ma*⸣
r. 3	*na-ru-t*[*a*]*m-*⸢*ma*⸣ *li*⸣-⸢*ḫi-*⸣⸢*ṭu₂*⸣
r. 4	*u₃ mu-um-*⸢*ma*⸣-*am* ⸢*li*⸣-*id-ku-*⸢*u₂*⸣
r. 5	*i-ba-aš-ši-*⸢*i*⸣ *mu-*⸢*um*⸣-*mu-um*
r. 6	⸢*ša*⸣ *de-*⸢*ke*⸣-*e-*⸢*em la*⸣ *i-šu-*⸢*u₂*⸣
r. 7	[*a*]-⸢*nu*⸣-*um u₃* ᵈ**EN.LIL₂** *li-ra-mu-ka*
r. 8.	[*ma-ma*]-⸢*an*⸣-*ma* ⸢*ša*⸣ *pa-qa-di-im*
lo. e. 1	[*be-li₂ li*]-*ip-qi₂-da-*⸢*an-ni*⸣

[1310] Literally "day".

[1311] FM 9, p. 41 ("[la musique]"; followed by Archibab T6565).

[1312] Other texts from the Zimrī-Līm's reign where *nārūtum* means "music" will be commented on in the next section of this chapter.

[1313] See FM 9, p. 114 for the rest of the argumentation. In any case, we have interesting things concerning music during this reign. See Lacambre and Millet, 2008 for reference.

[1314] Edition dependent upon Archibab T6576 with corrections derived from our inspection of the photo of the manuscript available on that site through Archipix.

o. 1 Say [to m]y [lord], o. 1 [thus (speaks) Rišīy]a, your servant. o. 3–4 May Dagān, Itūr-Mēr, and the protective deities from Mari guard you! o. 5 Why my lord forgets me o. 6 and does not call my *šitrum* ensemble? o. 7–r. 1 […] of the [pa]lace.

r. 2 May my lord give […] to me, r. 3 may they control the(ir) music[a]l activity and r. 4 employ (at least) a workshop (for providing them)! r. 5 Is there a workshop r. 6 with nobody calling him (for that task)? r. 7 May [Ā]nûm and Ellil love you Lo. e. 1 (and) [may my lord] appoint for me r. 8 [anybod]y who can be appointed!

The term *nārūtum* has been translated here as "music"[1315] or "music(al service)"[1316]. That makes sense, but not as an independent or general "musical service"[1317]. For that, we would expect to find in the text something like *apāl nārūtim* (from *apālum* "service"). In our opinion, *nārūtum* might refer to the activity of the *šitrum* mentioned in the text. Certainly, if the activity of Rîšīya's *šitrum* ensemble was perceived as positive, that music group might get more relevance in the musical life of the kingdom. As a last consequence, Rîšīya's *šitrum* might obtain some (material) support from the different *mummum* (term meaning probably here just "workshop" [1318]) of Mari.

5.4. About the expression *enût nārūtim*

We would like to dedicate some final lines to the study of the expression *enût nārūtim* found in two letters respectively dating from the reigns of Šamšī-Addu and Zimrī-Līm. However, before considering these letters, we would like to make two general remarks. First, *enût nārūtim* should be translated as "instrument of music (*nārūtim*)", and not as "instrument of the *nārum*'s office". Certainly, a variant of that expression (*enût nārī* = *e-nu-ut* lu2NAR.MEŠ[1319]), seems to concern several musicians. The translation "instrument of the *nārum*'s office" refers, however, to a single musician and his profession. Second,

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[1315] Ziegler, 2011: 295 ("music").

[1316] FM 9, p. 114 ("le (service de) la musique"; followed by Ziegler, 2013: 56 and Archibab T6576).

[1317] FM 9, p. 114; Ziegler, 2013: 56; Archibab T6576). Similarly, Ziegler, 2011: 295 talks about the "music in Mari". However, Mari is not explicitly mentioned in our excerpt.

[1318] FM 9, p. 115 understood *mummum* here as a reference to the artists in general, and not the physical building of the *mummum* conservatory of the city. However, that meaning is far from the nature of *mummu(m)* as "workshop" (CAD M, p. 197; FM 9, p. 77) and, as a plausible extension per the context, "conservatory" or "musical workshop". Our interpretation of that term is probably far from the usual for Mari texts (FM 9, p. 77–78). However, we believe that it makes sense here.

[1319] FM 9 12 [ARM 10 137] (Zimrī-Līm 13-00-00), lo. e. 5 (Archibab T6206). The musical instrument designated by this term seems to be made with gold (**KU3.SI22**). See Zigler, 2015: 202 for comments.

enût nārūtim had to concern a specific musical instrument. Certainly, there is already an expression in Mari for designating "musical objects" in general: *ḫišeḫtum ša nārūtim*. This expression is found in this excerpt of a letter written by Ellil-īpuš to King Zimrī-Līm. That letter deals with the services of the new provincial palace in Dūr-Yaḫdun-Līm, being music one of these palace services[1320]:

Text 55. FM 9 3 [A.4202] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00)[1321]

o. 23   ⸢u₃⸣ ḫi-še-eḫ-ta-⸢am ša⸣ na-⸢ru-tim⸣
o. 24   [m]i-im-ma ⸢el⸣-t[e]-⸢qe₂⸣ (Anepigraphic space)

o. 23-24 On the other hand, I have taken all the necessary musical objects[1322].

Having said that, we present now the first of our two excerpts with the expression *enût nārūtim*. This excerpt is contained in a letter where Ilšu-Ibbīšu, the musical instructor, writes to Šamšī-Addu about some *aštalûm* young musicians and the construction of several (stringed (?)) musical instruments. In addition, he requests to have with him the new musical instructor Sîn-aḫam-iddinam. Here is the excerpt in question:

Text 56. FM 9 48 [M.6900] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)[1323]

o. 8   ši-⸢ip⸣-ri i-la-ak ⸢u₃ aš⸣-[t]a-li
o. 9   ša be-li₂ iq-bu ṣa-ab-ta-ku
o. 10   aš-šum ⸢e⸣-nu-ut na-⸢ru⸣-tim
o. 11   ⸢u₃⸣ ⁿᵉˢ̌si₂-id-di be-li₂ ⸢da⸣-an-na-tim
o. 12   ⸢a⸣-na u₂-ṣur-a-wa-⸢su₂⸣ li-iš-pu-⸢ur₂-ma⸣
o. 13   u₃ ar-ḫi-iš li-⸢pu⸣-lu-ni-in-ni

o. 8–9 My work is going (well), and I have with me the *aštalûm* young musicians which my lord said! o. 10-12 May he send firm (orders) to Uṣur-Awassu about the "instruments of music" and the *siddum* stringed instruments, o. 13 and satisfy me immediately!

[1320] FM 9, p. 32

[1321] Edition dependent upon Archibab T6563 with corrections derived from our inspection of the photo of the manuscript available on that site through Archipix.

[1322] Literally "all (*mimma*) the necessary objects (*ḫišeḫtam*) of (*ša*) the music (*nārūtim*)". "For the music" (= FM 9, p. 35, followed by Archibab T6563), would require *ana* instead of *ša*.

[1323] Edition dependent upon Archibab T6606 with corrections derived from our inspection of the photo of the manuscript available on that site through Archipix.

In this excerpt, *enût nārūtim* is probably in plural, and not singular, per the context[1324]. In addition, it is mentioned together with the *siddum* stringed instruments. However, we do not have more information about this instrument beyond, perhaps, the reference to the *pitnum* strings requested by Ilšu-Ibbīšu several lines below in the same letter[1325]. Our information is not more abundant in our second excerpt about the *enût nārūtim*. There, this *enût nārūtim* is "made to be equipped" (*ušaṣbit*, Š 3SG.M Preterite of *ṣabātu(m)*, in Š Stem "to equip") as a part of a group of several instruments prepared for the king[1326]:

Text 57. FM 9 44 [M.8181] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00)[1327]

o. 1	˹a-na˺ *be-li₂*-˹*ia*˺
o. 2	˹*qi₂*˺-*bi₂-ma*
o. 3	[*um*]-*ma* ˹**IR₃**-*i₃*˺-[*li₂-š*]*u* **IR₃**-*ka-a-ma*
o. 4	[*aš-šum e*]-*nu-ut* ˹*na*˺-*ru*-[*tim*] ˹*ša be-li₂ u₂*˺-*w*[*a-e-ra-an-ni*]
o. 5	[*e-nu-ta*]*m* ˹*ša-a-ti*˺ [*u₂-ša-aṣ-bi-i*]*t*[?]
o. 6	[1 *e*]-˹*nam ša a-na*˺ *b*[*e-li₂-i*]*a u₂*-[*še-pi₂-šu*]
o. 7	˹*e*˺-*nam ša-a-tu* ˹*ṣa-ab-ta-ku*˺ *i-na mu*-˹*um*˺-*m*[*i-im*]
o. 8	˹*u₃*˺-*ša-ak*-˹*pa-la-šu*˺ *aš-šum* ᵑᵉˢ*pa-ra-aḫ-ši-ti* ˹**NIN**˺.[**IGI**?.**ZI**?.**BAR**?][1328]
o. 9	[ᵑᵉˢ]*pa*-˹*ra*˺-˹*aḫ-ši*-[*ta*]*m* ˹*ša*˺-*a-ti qi₂*-˹*iš*˺-*ti*-ᵈ*nu*-[*nu*]
o. 10	[*u₂*]-*ul iṣ-ba-as-s*[*i₂*]

ᵒ·² Say to ᵒ·¹ my lord, ᵒ·³ [th]us (speaks) Warad-Ilišu, your servant. ᵒ·⁴ [Concerning the in]strument of mus[ic] which my lord or[dered me], ᵒ·⁵ I [equippe]d this instrument[1329]. ᵒ·⁶⁻¹⁰ I have taken [one ins]trument which I [built] for m[y lor]d, (and) I will "curve" it in the *mumm*[*um*]. Concerning the *paraḫšitum* "Lady [of the righteous sight]", Qišti-Nunu did not take this (said) *paraḫši*[*tu*]*m*.

In our opinion, this *enût nārūtim* might be an Akkadian version of the **ŋeš-gu₃-di** mentioned close to **nam-nar** in *Inanna and Enki*, I v 33 and II V 50–51 and *Ur-Namma A*, 188. It is true that **ŋeš-gu₃-di** has already been compared to the Akkadian

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[1324] We agree, therefore, with FM 9, p. 210 ("instruments de musique"; followed by Archibab T6606). Theo J. H. Krispijn (personal communication) translated this term as "tools of the musicians".

[1325] FM 9 48 [M.6900] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00), r. 2–4 (Archibab T6606).

[1326] Perhaps these instruments would be covered with a layer of gold. Certainly, in FM 9 12 [ARM 10 137] (Zimrī-Līm 13-00-00), lo. e. 5 (Archibab T6206), we have an "instrument of the *nāru* of gold" (*enût nārī ša ḫurāṣim*) (*e-nu-ut* ˡᵘ²**NAR.MEŠ** *ša* **KU₃.SI₂₂**). See also FM 9 43 [A.1185] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00), o. 5–9 (Archibab T6601), about a ᵑᵉˢ*inûtum* of gold sent to the metalworkers (*kutīmū* = **LU₂.KU₃.DIM₂.MEŠ**).

[1327] Edition dependent upon Archibab T6602 with corrections derived from our inspection of the photo of the manuscript available on that site through Archipix.

[1328] See FM 9, p. 192 for comments about the restitution. We miss a comment, even a short reference, to this text in Shehata, 2017: 73–74.

[1329] Concerning the commentary of lines o. 3–4 in FM 9, p. 192, personally, we would talk about just an *enût nārūtim* due to *enûtam šâti* (singular form is marked by *enûtam*), and not about several instruments as in FM 9, p. 192 ("[ins]truments de musique"; followed by Archibab T6602).

ēnum/īnum[1330]. In addition, other instruments will sometimes be called *enût nārūtim* too, like the *urzababītum* in Neo-Assyrian times[1331]. Nevertheless, those equivalences are only based on 1st-millennium sources[1332]. In this sense, we cannot apply them to the texts of Mari. Certainly, relationships between Sumerian and Akkadian musical terms might have changed at that time. Even the meaning itself of *enût nārūtim* might have changed by that time as we shall discuss at the beginning of our next chapter.

In this sense, we find it plausible that *enût nārūtim* was an Akkadian equivalent for the Sumerian **ŋeš-gu₃-di** by the Old Babylonian Period. Therefore, we might have here a type of lute. In any case, we do not rule out that the identification of *enût nārūtim* could change in later periods of Mesopotamian history. Maybe that identification already changed by the 2nd half of the 2nd millennium BCE[1333].

5.5. Conclusions

As we said in the introduction to this chapter, our references to *nārūtum* in the texts from Mari are contained in texts belonging to a common single textual typology (letters). In this sense, the exact sense of *nārūtum* in our textual excerpts depends mainly upon the context where this term is mentioned. Other factors do not seem to be particularly relevant in the configuration of that meaning. We talk about, for instance, the reign during which the letters were written. Certainly, we have talked about the different attitudes towards the music shown by Šamšī-Addu and Zimrī-Līm in their respective reigns.

In our study of these references to *nārūtum*, we have found two different meanings in the texts from Mari: "office of the *nārum*" and "music". However, those meanings have a different representation in our documentation. We have only three texts (42, 43 and 53) with *nārūtum* referring to the office of a (specific[1334]) *nārum*. However, *nārūtum* designates music *lato sensu* in the rest of the texts of this chapter (10 in addition to the three excerpts about the *enût nārūtim*).

[1330] Collon and Kilmer, 1980: 13–28; Krispijn, 1990: 13.

[1331] See the commentary of the Text 57 in the next chapter for evidence and previous bibliography.

[1332] **Erim-ḫuš**, III Segm. 2, 40 (DCCLT Q000205); **Mur-gu₄** = *imrû* = *ballu*, B, II 117 (MSL 6, p. 125).

[1333] Certainly, Weidner, 1931–1932: pl. 7–8 [VAT 5744], o. ii 33 (CDLI P282337), is a Middle Assyrian manuscript for the aforementioned **Erim-ḫuš**, III Segment 2, 40 (DCCLT Q000205).

[1334] In reference to our Text 42, where this term referred to the office of a *nārum* specifically devoted to the cult of the god of the Netherworld Nergal/Āmûm.

This situation replicates what we had in southern Mesopotamia at that time, where **nam-nar** meant "office of the **nar**" in our legal texts (7 texts in total) and "music" in our literary texts (20) and the texts from the elementary scribal *curriculum* (6, although without, the **nam-nar-balaŋ** from *Proto*-**izi**, II 230 = Text 10).

Concerning the meaning as "music", sometimes this sense is suitable simply due to a general reference to musical teaching (like, among others, our Text 47) or the musical activity in general, as in our Text 46. There, we find a reference to the "destruction" (with the Dt Stem of the verb *ḫalāqu(m)*) of that music. However, at other times this "music" probably referred to a possible musical performance. In any case, according to our knowledge, there is no example of *nārūtum* as the sound of a musical instrument beyond, perhaps, our references to *enût nārūtim*. They might be understood as "instrument for making music". Nevertheless, that translation ignores the grammar of that expression. Certainly, we should have something like *enûtum ana nārūtim epēšim* for that.

One example of the texts from Mari with *nārūtum* meaning "music" pertaining to a performance might be our Text 48. There, as we saw in the commentary, the expression *nārūtam epēšum* said by the *nargallum* Rîšīya could be related to the *nigûta epēšu* of later texts which was referred, on some occasions, to something done by the musicians[1335]. We might also make a connection (always keeping in mind the chronological distances) with the reference to **nam-nar** in *Gudea Cylinders*, B15.20–22 (= Text 4), where **nam-nar** designated the activity of some musical instruments.

In any case, we can still establish in "music" the main meaning for **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* by the early 2nd millennium BCE with a secondary meaning as "profession of the **nar**/*nārum*". This secondary meaning only happens when **nam-nar** or *nārūtu(m)* are mentioned in a genitive chain together with a divine name (as in our Text 42). In addition, according to our Texts 43 and 54 from Mari, this meaning should also be considered when **nam-nar** or *nārūtu(m)* are mainly making reference to a (group of) **nar**/*nārum* musician(s) without any reference to instruments and/or other musicians. With this situation in mind, we are ready to pass to the next and last chapter of this study.

[1335] Remember the excerpts *Aššurbānipal* 3, vi 46–47 (RINAP 5 Q003702); *Aššurbānipal* 4, vi 48–49 (RINAP 5 Q003703), *Aššurbānipal* 6, vii 53 (RINAP 5 Q003705); *Aššurbānipal* 7, vi 11" –12" (RINAP 5 Q003706).

6. THE FIRST MILLENNIUM

6.1. General Introduction

We proceed now to a study the references to **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* in the 1st millennium BCE because there is no reference to those terms in the Middle Babylonian and/or Assyrian texts. That is certainly a pity since we have several interesting texts for the musical life of those periods[1336]. At the moment, we have only references to *nār(t)u* in both letters and personnel lists in Akkadian[1337]. Some of them are as yet unpublished[1338], like the tablets CBS 7826[1339], CBS 8500[1340], UM 29-15-72[1341] and UM 29-15-211[1342]. Unfortunately, their edition and in-depth analysis are out of the scope of this study whose sole aim is the study of the terms **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)*.

[1336] See Westenholz, 2005: 357–373 for a lexicographical analysis of PBS 1/1 11 [CBS 11341], a text with many references to musicians and chants. Krispijn, 2002: 469–475 and Michalowski, 2010a: 208–217 offer recent and musically and philologically well-balanced commentary on music theory texts from that time and Shehata, 2009: 319, 329 makes comments about the song catalogue KAR 158 [VAT 10101].

[1337] See AHw II, p. 748–749 and CAD N1, p. 363–364, 378 for evidence. For comments on Middle Babylonian texts, see Sassmannshausen, 2001: 101–102, Tenney, 2011: 99 n. 41, 231; Sibbing Plantholt, 2014: 172 (thanks to Lynn-Salammbô Zimmermann for this reference); Zimmermann, 2017 and Arroyo Cuadra, 2018: 158-161. See Jakob, 2003: 520–522 and Pruzsinszky, 2018a: 104–105 for the Middle Assyrian Period, and Pruzsinzsky, 2007: 330 n. 3 for musicians in the texts from Nuzi.

[1338] The following comments come from our collation of these tablets on 22–23/08/2019, whose aim was just to check if they contained any possible reference to *nārūtu* (although they don't).

[1339] Photo available on CDLI P262831. See Sassmannshausen, 2001: 101 n. 1705 and Sibbing Plantholt, 2014: 172, n. 9 and 173 n. 17 for some comments. The reference to the *nāru* is on o. 2 (*a-na na-a'-r*[*e-e*]). The obverse of the letter is mostly broken, so the context of this reference is uncertain.

[1340] See CDLI P263307 for a photo, and CAD N1, p. 378; Mayer and van Soldt, 1991: 118; Sassmannshausen, 2001: 56 n. 839, 58 n. 890, 100 n. 1707, 102 n. 1743, 121 n. 2057, 154 n. 2609; Brinkman, 2004: 295 and Murai, 2018: 206 n. 579 for comments. Line o. i 24 has […] 16.1.4 ^{lu2}*na-a'-ˈru-u₂ˈ*, so, we are looking at ration list (and not a personnel list as Sassmannshausen said).

[1341] See CDLI P255925 for a photo, and Brinkman, 1988: 20 n. 47; Sassmannshausen, 2001: 101 n. 1724, 133 n. 2287, 136 n. 2314, 151 n. 1547; Brinkman, 2004: 297 and Tenney, 2011: 252 for some comments. It is a list of workers where the *nāru* are mentioned in line r. 4 (*na-a'-ru-ˈu₂ˈ*). However, we do not know the quantity of musicians mentioned in this text because the tablet is broken at that point.

[1342] See CDLI P256042 for a photo and Sassmannshausen, 2001: 60, 82 n. 1337, 84, n. 1354 and 1365, 85 n. 1401, 98 n. 1669, 102 n. 1729 for comments on the whole tablet. Said tablet is a list of bread rations where the *nāru* are mentioned in r. ii 18.

Concerning the 1st millennium, this chapter will be divided into three sections based on chronological considerations: 1) the Neo-Assyrian Period, 2) the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods, and 3) the Seleucid Period. In any case, we should take into consideration that Assyria and Babylonia interacted very intensively throughout this period, and that fact is reflected in our texts. Certainly, the lexical texts to be studied here are composed by Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian manuscripts. In the same way, our Seleucid texts (from Babylonia) sometimes make allusion to the earlier Neo-Assyrian textual tradition. In this sense, we should avoid here too strict a separation of the different periods involved in this chapter.

6.2. The Neo-Assyrian Period

6.2.1. Reflections about a "musical instrument" in a lexical text

This section deals with an excerpt of the recension B of **Mur-gu$_4$** = *imrû* = *ballu*. This text is a three column commentary of the canonical version of the bilingual lexical text **Ur$_5$-ra** = *ḫubullu*(*m*) which, in the first column, contains a Sumerian word from an entry of the canonical version of **Ur$_5$-ra** = *ḫubullu*(*m*). The second column contains an Akkadian equivalent of the Sumerian word. Finally, the third column contains a commentary of the Akkadian term of the second column of the type *ṣâtu u šût pî* ("explanatory word list and comments") that is, a synonym and/or a short clarification[1343].

These early 1st-millenium commentaries had their origin in the necessity of preserving and understanding old Mesopotamian terms and traditions because, at that moment, the Akkadian language was experiencing a situation similar to what Sumerian experienced in the early 2nd millennium BCE. Certainly, by the 2nd millennium BCE, many typical words in Akkadian had already disappeared from the daily language by the early 1st millennium BCE. The reason is that Akkadian was being replaced by Aramaic as the main spoken language of the Mesopotamian people. Here is our excerpt:

[1343] Vedeler, 2002: 4–5; Frahm, 2011: 250; Veldhuis, 2014: 365.

Text 58. **Mur-gu₄** = *imrû* = *ballu*, B II [= **Ur₅-ra** = *ḫubullu(m)* VII B][1350]

169			ᵍᵉˢ**ur-za-ba-bi-tu₂** ᵈ**nin-ˈurta**ˈ		ŠU	[*e*]-ˈ*nu**- *tu₂**ˈ *ša₂ na-ru-*[*ti*]

NA-Ni_{I-A1}	r. i 20	[...]		[...]	[*e*]-ˈ*nu**- *tu₂**ˈ *ša₂ na-ru-*[*ti*][1351]
NA-Ni_{I-A7}	o. i' 4	[ᵈ]ˈ**nin**ˈ -**urta**		ŠU	[...]
NA-Ni_{I-C2}[1352]	r. i' 20'	ᵍᵉˢ **ur-za-ba-bi-ˈtu₂**ˈ		[...]	[...]
	r. i' 21'	ᵍᵉˢ MIN ᵈ **nin -ˈurta**ˈ		[...]	[...]
NB-X_{L2}	r. i' 10'	MIN ᵍᵉˢ **nin-<urta> ur-za-ba-bi -tu₂**		ŠU*[1353]-ˈ*tum**ˈ[1354]	[...]

169 ᵍᵉˢ**ur-za-ba-bi-tu₂** ᵈ**nin-urta** (is equal to) *urzababīt Ninurta* (and it means) musical instrument.

Sigla[1355]

NA-Ni_{I-A1}   Meissner, Suppl. 11 [K. 4341 + 4556] (photo on CDLI P365391; not available for its collation the 01–02/08/2019)
NA-Ni_{I-A7}   MSL 6, p. 139 [K. 16156] (photo on CDLI P401797; collated the 01/08/2019)
NA-Ni_{I-C2}   MSL 6, p. 81 [K. 2028] (photo on CDLI P238140; collated the 01/08/2019)
NB-X_{I-L2}   MSL 6, p. 108 [BM 34129] (collated the 01/08/2019)

[1350] Our own edition in score. We have revised the individual transliterations of the manuscripts of this score (all of them available on DCCLT) consulting the photos of those manuscripts, most part of them collated by us. Thanks to Niek Vieldhuis for making available on DCCLT by our request the transliterations of some of those manuscripts.

[1351] MSL 6, p. 142 has "*šá na-ru-ti*" and DCCLT "[...]-ˈ*x*ˈ *ša₂ na-ru-ti*". According to the photo on CDLI P365391, final *ti* is practically absent. Where DCCLT places an unknown sign, we see a sign UD lacking the vertical wedge (always following CDLI's photo, this manuscript was not available for its collation on 01/08/2019). Moreover, we still see what might be a sign NU with damage in its horizontal wedge. Our restored [*e*] is made according to the context.

[1352] This manuscript actually belongs to **Ur₅-ra** = *ḫubullu* VII B, not to **Mur-gu₄**. However, we have used it here in order to complete our main text.

[1353] DCCLT has *ur*!. According to our collation, it seems to be the sign ŠAG₄. Keeping in mind the context (see the following note), it might be an incorrect sign ŠU. In any case, we are not totally confident, since that sign is repeated several times in the previous lines.

[1354] Omitted in DCCLT, our collation has allowed us to see a shape similar to the sign TUM. It makes sense with the previous lines of that manuscript, where we have several ŠU-*tum* as abbreviations for lexical entries.

[1355] They follow MSL 5, p. 43 (A₁), 81 (C₂), 108 (L₂) and 139 (A₇). However, we have put before NA (Neo-Assyrian) or NB (= Neo-Babylonian) according to their chronology, Ni (= Nineveh) and X (= Uncertain) according to their provenance, and I (= Type I) for their typology paying attention to Civil, 1995: 2308.

This excerpt pertains to the ^{ŋeš}**ur-za-ba-bi-tu$_2$**, a musical instrument mastered by King Šulgi according to the Old Babylonian hymn *Šulgi B*[1356]. This instrument has usually been connected with King Ur-Zababa of Kiš overthrown by Sargon of Akkad[1357]. However, it should rather be connected with Ur-Zababa, a city known during the Ur III times[1358].

That would fit better with the earliest and latest mentions of that city during the Šulgi's reign[1359] and the Old Babylonian times[1360] respectively. In addition, it makes sense with the Akkadian names of certain "ethnic instruments" which have the suffix *-ītum* and are mentioned in some texts[1361] with the ^{ŋeš}**ur-za-ba-bi-tu$_2$**. In fact, that name is actually an Akkadian loanword. Moreover, at least for the Neo-Assyrian period, we would identify the term ^{ŋeš}**ur-za-ba-bi-tu$_2$** with a lute, and not with a lyre as it is usual[1362]. It is true that it has the determinative ^{ŋeš} for wooden objects, main construction material for all stringed instruments[1363]. However, ^{ŋeš}**ur-za-ba-bi-tu$_2$** is preceded by the term ^{ŋeš}**gu$_2$** ("wooden neck") in a line of a manuscript of **Mur-gu$_4$** = *imrû* = *ballu*[1364]. This term makes us think that it is a lute, since the lute is the only instrument having a sort of "neck"[1365].

In our opinion, in this excerpt, *enûtu ša nārūti*[1366] would describe ^{ŋeš}**ur-za-ba-bi-tu$_2$** just as a "musical instrument", and not as an "instrument of the *nāru*'s profession" as Krispijn suggested[1367]. Certainly, in the section of **Mur-gu$_4$** = *imrû* = *ballu* where our

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[1356] *Šulgi B*, 165 (ETCSL 2.4.2.02).

[1357] Falkenstein and Matouš, 1922: 147; Kramer, 1967a: 374 n. 13; Stauder, 1970: 217; Spycket, 1972: 184; Krispijn, 1990: 11; Franklin, 2015: 35.

[1358] Michalowski, 2010b: 121 n. 10 and Krispijn's personal communication.

[1359] MVN 3 136 [FLP 157] (Šulgi, 33-04-00), o. 4 (BDTNS 018079).

[1360] MSL 11, p. 56–59 [IM 51143 + 51153], 131 and 196 (original publication).

[1361] Although it is prior to our text, Emar 6/2, p. 508–515 + 730 [Msk 74209a + 7526], r. ii 6–9 is the best textual example for this matter. Certainly, we find a **sa$_3$-bi-tum**/*sabītum* (r. ii 6; "instrument from Sabum", see the comments to our Text 44 for reference) and a **ma$_2$-ri$_2$-tum**/*mārītum* ("instrument from Mari (?)") with an **ur$_2$-za-ba$_4$-ba$_4$** / *urzababītum*.

[1362] AHw III, p. 1437, and then, Krispijn, 2010: 148; Gabbay, 2014b: 139 without (many) arguments.

[1363] Pay attention, in any case, to the use of the **a$_2$-la$_2$**/*alû* in the cult of Zababa, the deity referred in the name Ur-Zababa connected with ^{ŋeš}**ur-za-ba-bi-tu$_2$** (Mirelman, 2014: 159; Shehata, 2014: 110).

[1364] MSL 6, p. 81 [K. 2028], r. i' 19' (collated the 01/08/2019).

[1365] Thanks to Theo J. H. Krispijn for helping us to improve an earlier version of these reflections.

[1366] It is usual for Neo-Assyrian texts to have *nuāru* (see Groß, 2014: 223–224 for argumentation), but we would maintain here *nāru* (and, therefore, *nārūtu*) since we do not have *nu-a-ru-ti* here.

[1367] Krispijn, 1990: 11.

excerpt comes from[1368], musical terms are normally compared with similar concrete terms for other instruments[1369]. That stands in contrast to our ^{ŋeš}**ur-za-ba-bi-tu₂**.

The reason for that description might be that the compilers of **Mur-gu₄** = *imrû* = *ballu* did not know the exact nature of the ^{ŋeš}**ur-za-ba-bi-tu₂**, and, they defined it just as "musical instrument". That definition would be an orientation for other scribes about what had to be an already ancient instrument not in use any more by the Neo-Assyrian period. That makes sense with the previously described early origins of the musical term ^{ŋeš}**ur-za-ba-bi-tu₂**. In addition, if we had here an instrument of the *nāru*'s office (following Krispijn's interpretation) we would expect to find said instrument in close association with the *nāru*. These *nāru* are abundantly mentioned in Neo-Assyrian texts[1370]. However, from what we can tell, that connection *nāru — urzababîtu* never happens in those texts.

6.2.2. The term **šer₃ nam-nar** during the Neo-Assyrian Period

As we have previously noted, **ser₃ nam-nar** in Old Babylonian texts should be defined as a "musical (**nam-nar**) composition to be sung (**šer₃**)", a type of song whose content would mainly be ceremonial and not related to laments. In Neo-Assyrian times, the presence of **šer₃ nam-nar** has been proposed for the excerpt of *Examination Text A* to be presented on next page. This text pertains to ancient (= Old Babylonian) school practices[1371]. However, none of its manuscripts actually comes from that period[1372]. Most of this text consists of questions of a teacher to his student in order to test his knowledge in several domains, including music[1373]. Here is our excerpt:

[1368] **Mur-gu₄** = *imrû* = *ballu* B, II [= **Ur₅-ra** = *ḫubullu* VII B], 162–170 (MSL 6, p. 142). See Veldhuis, 1997–1998: 121; Shehata, 2006: 370 for additional comments.

[1369] For instance, manuscript NA-Ni$_{I-C2}$, r. i' 2' has ^{ŋeš}**a-la₂** = *a*-[*lu-u₂*] (collated the 01/08/2019) (most of this side of the tablet is broken, so we cannot offer closer equivalences to our **ur-za-ba-bi₂-tum**). In the same way, manuscript NB-X$_{L2}$, r. i' 12 has ^{ŋeš}**sa-eš₅** = *pit₂*-⸢*nu*⸣⸢?⸣ [x]-x-[x⸣?⸣] (collated the 01/08/2019).

[1370] For a recent and complete overview of the *nāru* in Neo-Assyrian times, see Groß, 2014: 223–244. Thanks to the author of that contribution for this useful and remarkable reference.

[1371] Maybe for this reason Krispijn, 1990: 2 used this text in order to discuss the term **nam-nar** in *Šulgi B*, but he has also used this text for comments about the Neo-Assyrian Period (Krispijn, 2017: 226).

[1372] For this reason, we discuss this text here, and not in our chapter on Old Babylonian literary texts.

[1373] Sjöberg, 1974: 137–138.

Text 59. *Examination Text A*[1374]

24   [… **šer₃ nam-gala**[1375] **š]er₃ nam-en-na šer₃ nam-u[ru-na ki-ru-g]u₂ šid gul-la ´i₃-zu`-u₃**
          [… *š]er₃-nam-gala-ke₄ šer₃-na[m-en-na-k]e₄ [šer₃-nam]-´u₂-ru`-na-ki per-si-šu₂-nu pa-r[a-s]u* […] *mi-iḫ-ra e-ni e-ni u ki-la ti-de-e*

NA-Ni[III-F]	o. 1'	[… -n]e-ki [šer₃-nam]-´u₂-ru`-na-ki […]-´ki?`/pe`-er-si-šu₂-nu pa-ra-su […] mi-iḫ-ra [...] u ki-la ´KI.MIN`
NA-Ni[U-H]	o. 2'	[… **š]er₃ nam -en-na** […]-´x`-**zid-da** [… ]-´**zu**`-**u₃** […]-´x`-*ne* […]-´x`
NA-X[III-E]	o. 3	[… **šer₃ nam-gala šer₃ na]m-en-na šer₃ nam-u[ru-na ki-ru-g]u₂ šid gul-la ´i₃**-[…]
		[… *š]er₃-nam-gala-ke₄ šer₃-na[m-en-na-k]e₄ [... šer₃-na]m-gi-na-ke₄ per-si-šu₂-un pa-r[a-s]u […-r]a e-ni ki-li ti-de-e*
NB-Ba[III-M]	o. 1'	[…] ´x` […]
NB-Si[U-R][1376]	o. 13'	[... -b]a-´**lam**` **sa-am-sa-a[m**-...] [...]-´x` *sa-am-sa*-[...]

24   (Sumerian) Do you know [… the lament text to be sung, the **š]er₃** song of the lordship, the **šer₃** song of the exal[tedness, the **ki-ru-g]u₂**, how to restrain the count?
        (Akkadian) Do you know [… the *š]ernamgalakku* song, the *šerna[mennakk]u* song, the [*šernam]urunakku* song, and how to "separate" their "divisions", […] the "answer" and how hold back the "change"?

Sigla[1377]

NA-Ni[III-F]	Gadd, 1957: 256 [K. 2459] (photo available on CDLI P357082)
NA-Ni[U-H]	Sjöberg, 1974: 138 [K. 9345] (photo available on CDLI P357121)
NA-X[III-E]	Gadd, 1957: 256 [DT 147] (photo available on CDLI P357076)
NB-Ba[III-M]	van Dijk, 1987: pl. 24, text n. 64 [VAT 17071] (photo available on CDLI P347183)
NB-Si[U-R]	CT 58, pl. 64 [BM 54981 + 69265 +?] (copy available on CDLI P274260)

[1374] Our own edition in score starting from the edition in composite line in Sjöberg, 1974: 142 and the transliterations of the individual manuscripts available on BLMS. We have revised those transliterations inspecting the manuscripts mentioned in the score through the copies/photos indicated below.

[1375] For other 1st-millennium references to **nam-gala**, see **Uru am₃-ma-ir-ra-bi**, XIX, 47–48 (Volk, 1989: 83). This excerpt refers to the things brought by Inanna for the office of the **gala** priest (**nam-am₂-gala-e**) as the Old Babylonian VS 2 29 [VAT 1339], o. 6–7 (Cohen, 1988: 556). In addition, see Maul *Ershahunga*, p. 252–253, **er₂ ša₃ ḫun-ŋa₂** n. 49 [K. 9608], o. 2 (BLMS). It is in fragmentary context, but, perhaps, **nam-gala** referred to a group of **gala**. Otherwise, we should find **nam-gala-e**, not **nam-gala-ra**.

[1376] CT 58, pl. 64 [BM 54981 + 69265 +?], o. 12' contains part of line 23 of this text and the following lines are damaged. See this variant as provisional.

[1377] They follow Sjöberg, 1974: 138 except manuscript R, whose *siglum* follow ELS, p. 36. However, we have put before all the *sigla* an NA/NB (Neo-Assyrian/Neo-Babylonian), Ba/Ni/Si/X (= Babylon/Nineveh/Sippar/Uncertain) and III/U (Type III/Uncertain) according to their chronology, provenance, and tablet typology respectively.

In the *editio princeps* of this Text 59, Åke Sjöberg proposed the term **šer₃ nam-nar** as a part of the restoration for the gap in the Sumerian line[1378]. That restoration might have followed the Old Babylonian lexical text *Proto-***Lu₂**, 590–599[1379]. However, the songs of that text differ from those mentioned in our excerpt of *Examination A*, whether in its Sumerian or Akkadian versions. We can perhaps explain these differences due to the chronological distance between both texts. Therefore, even if that restoration might make sense, we should be careful with it[1380].

We have another (and more certain) reference to **šer₃ nam-nar** in this text[1381]:

Text 60. *Nabnītu*, IVa[1382]

329	**[š]er₃ [n]am-nar**			[*ka-am-mu*(?)]
	Ni_{I-D}	r. i 38	**[š]er₃ [** **]**	[…]
	Ka_{U-I}	r. i 17	**[** **n]am-nar**[1383]	[…]

329   **[š]er₃ [n]am-nar** (is the correct Sumerian word for the Akkadian) [*kammu*(?)]

Sigla[1384]

Ni_{I-D}	Rawlinson, 1866: 7 [K. 197] (publication copy) + CT 12, pl. 34–35 [Sm. 294] (photo on CDLI P365268; object on display (G55/dc8) and, therefore, not available for collation)
Ka_{U-I}	Wiseman and Black, 1996: pl. 129 n. 217 [ND 2555] (publication copy; CDLI P274514 contains just the obverse).

The *editio princeps* of this text transliterated this line as "[S]AR-nam-LUL" [1385]. However, the signs SAR and EZEN (= **šer₃**) are very similar in Neo-Assyrian script. The

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[1378] Sjöberg, 1974: 142, translated **šer₃ nam-nar** as "namnar(?)-Gesang" (followed by Ceccarelli, 2018: 137 n. 33). Later, Volk, 1994: 185 has "Kompositionen für die Tätigkeit als Fest-/Hymnenmusiker". Finally, Krispijn has translated this term as "Lied des Hymnsensängers" (Krispijn, 1990: 2) and "song of the hymn singer" (Krispijn, 2017: 226).

[1379] DCCLT.

[1380] In this sense, we agree with Peterson, 2015b: 3, who did not do any restoration in the Sumerian *lacuna*. Shehata, 2009 did not make comments about **šer₃ nam-nar** in *Examination Text A*.

[1381] Thanks to Enrique Jiménez for his comments about this text, which we have tried to follow here.

[1382] Our own edition starting from the copies and photos of the manuscripts indicated below.

[1383] To the contrary to MSL 16, p. 90 and according to our inspection of its copy, this manuscript seems not contain a broken sign SAR or EZEN.

[1384] *Sigla* follow MSL 16, p. 90, but we have put before an N/K (= Nineveh/Kalḫu) and I/U (= Type I/Uncertain) according to, respectively, their provenance and tablet typology.

[1385] MSL 16, p. 90.

main difference between them is their beginning, which is the broken part of the sign from the tablets of this text. Therefore, the transliteration as EZEN (= **šer₃**) might be possible in this context in our opinion. From that point, the reading of the sign LUL as **nar** is a personal proposition according to the context. In any case, it makes sense insofar as ****šer₃ nam-lul** ("song of falseness (?)") is documented nowhere. Moreover, **šer₃ nam-nar** might fit with the mention of the term **niŋin₃** ("shrine")[1386] in *Nabnītu*, IVa 332, that is, four lines after our line IVa 329. Certainly, a similar expression (**niŋin₃-ŋar**) was already mentioned with **nam-nar** in Old Babylonian times[1387]. In that excerpt, these two words referred to two elements related to cultic activities. Despite the chronological distance, this relationship should not be ruled out for our Neo-Assyrian case.

We cannot derive too much information about **šer₃ nam-nar** in this case since the Akkadian column is broken. However, since *Nabnītu*, IVa 325–344 is based on Akkadian terms with the radicals K and M, Enrique Jiménez[1388] proposed two possible restorations for the Akkadian part: *kammu* ("literary composition") or *kamû* ("external"). That author preferred the second term (we shall return to this matter later). However, we would rather follow the first one (*kammu*) as a short definition for **šer₃ nam-nar**.

To conclude, if **šer₃ nam-nar** experienced some changes between the Old Babylonian and the Neo-Assyrian Period, it is a matter that we cannot resolve at the moment due to the highly fragmentary preservation state of our texts.

6.2.3. Conclusions

Despite its possible interest, and in contrast to Mari in Old Babylonian times (as a "northern Mesopotamian" case studied here) we cannot say much for certain about **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* in Neo-Assyrian times. That happens because of the fragmentary preservation state of many of the texts studied here.

[1386] This meaning of **niŋin₃** as "shrine" (instead of the homonym word meaning "foetus") is ensured by the Akkadian word *kummu* ("cella, private room", CAD K, p. 533) and the following line of *Nabnītu* IVa, 333: **agrun** = MIN, where **agrun**(E₂.NUN = "noble room") means also "cella" (ePSD).

[1387] *Inanna and Enki*, I v 33 and II, v 47–52 (see our Texts 29 and 30 for edition).

[1388] Personal communication.

6.3. The Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods

6.3.1. Introduction

We base this section on a contract excerpt from Nippur. In this text, Ellil-šumu-ibni (probably a temple musician)[1389] will teach music for three years to Nabī-Ellil[1390], the son (or the slave[1391]) of an individual called Aplāya:

Text 61. BE 8/1 98 [CBS 3579] (Cambyses II 14+-01-00)[1392]

o. 1	ᵐ*ap-la-a* A-˹*šu₂*˺ *ša₂* ᵐᵈMAŠ.TIN-˹*iṭ*⁇˺ [*a-na*]
o. 2	ᵐᵈ⁺EN.LIL₂-MU-DU₃ A-*šu₂* ˹*ša₂*˺ ᵐUR˺-ᵈ˹NIN.TIN˺.[UG₅.GA][1393]
o. 3	*ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma* ˹ᵐ˺*na-bi-* ᵈ⁺EN.LIL₂ D[UMU-*u₂-a*]
o. 4	*iḫ-z*[*i*] ˡᵘ²NAR-*u₂-tu*[1394] *šu-ḫi-*˹*zi*˺-*su*
o. 5	˹ᵐᵈ˺EN.LIL₂-MU-DU₃ *iḫ-*˹*zu*˺ ᶦ[ˡᵘ²]NAR-˹*u₂*˺-*tu ša₂ z*[*i*⁇-*im*⁇-*ri*⁇][1395]
o. 6	*ša₂* ˹*kal*˺-*la* MU.AN.NA *u₂-ša₂-aḫ-*˹*su zi*˺-[*i*]*m-*˹*ri*˺
o. 7	*u₂-ša₂-az-mur-šu₂*[1396] ˹*ṣi-mit-tu₄ u₂*˺-*ša₂-as-sak-šu₂* [(x x)]
o. 8	[*i*]*š-ka-ri ḫar-ri* ˹*a-di*˺ *muḫ-ḫi* ˹*u₂*˺-*lu-u*[₂-*lu ul*]
lo. e. 1	˹*u₂*˺-*ša₂-am-mar-šu₂ a-d*[*i*] ˹3˺ MU.˹AN˺.N[A.MEŠ]
r. 1	˹*iḫ*˺-*zu* ˡᵘ²NAR-*u₂-t*[*u u₂*]-˹*ša₂*⁇-*aḫ*⁇˺-[*su il-ku ša₂*]
r. 2	*ina* E₂.˹MEŠ˺ DIŊIR.MEŠ ˹*in*˺-[*d*]*u** ˹*il*!˺-*la-*˹*ku ša₂*˺
r. 3	˹MU.AN.NA˺ 5 ˹GIŊ₄ KU₃.BABBAR˺ NIŊ₂.˹BA˺-[*šu₂*]
r. 4	˹ᵐ˺*ap-la-a a-na* ᵐᵈEN.LIL₂-MU-DU₃ ˹*i-qa-a-šu₂*˺
r. 5	˹*a*˺-*di* ˹3˺ MU.AN.NA.MEŠ 15 GIŊ₄ KU₃.˹BABBAR˺ NIŊ₂.˹BA˺-[*šu₂*]
r. 6	˹ᵐ˺*ap-la-a a-na* ᵐᵈ˹50˺-MU-DU₃ ˹ŠUM₂˺-*i*[*n*]

[1389] Petschow, 1980–1983: 570; Sandowicz, 2018: 50.

[1390] Stol, 2016: 361 n. 105 talks about a possible girl, but we do not know to whom he is making reference exactly in that publication.

[1391] Petschow, 1980–1983: 570 offers the restoration IR₃-*i* ("my slave") in addition to DUMU-*i* ("my son"). In our collation of the tablet, we saw the beginning of TUR (= DUMU). Therefore, the restoration as IR₃ does not make sense. However, it might still make sense in light of the mentions of the "yoke team" (˹*ṣi-mit-tu₄*, o. 7) and the work in the moats ([*i*]*š-ka-ri ḫar**-*ri*, o. 8), two expressions fitting with a slave.

[1392] Edition dependent upon Hackl, 2007–2010: 15–16 with corrections derived from our inspection of the copy in BE 8/1 and our collation of the tablet the 20/08/2019. In that collation, we saw that the photo of this tablet available on CDLI P259952 was definitely made with a bad use of the lighting.

[1393] For this reading, instead of Hack, 2007–2010: 92, see the reference to Ellil-šumu-ibni in Sandowicz, 2018: 48–51, text n. 3 [BM 16996], r. 5. Read also the comments on Sandowicz, 2018: 50.

[1394] The sign seems to be TU (= *tu*), although the context would require TI (= *ti*) for the genitive chain *iḫzī nārūti*. Oppenheim, 1952: 134 has here a lacuna, although we do not understand why.

[1395] Oppenheim, 1952: 134 has "*iḫ-z*[*u*] L[Ú.NAR]ᵘ⁻ᵗᵘ … *ú-šá-aḫ-zu*". Nevertheless, that does not make sense with the following line (not cited in that publication).

[1396] CAD Z, p. 38 has "*ú-šá-az-mar*ₓ(MUR)-*šú*". However, the conjugation of *zamāru*(*m*) as an *a/u* verb only happens in Old Babylonian times (CDA, p. 444).

o. 1–o. 4 Aplāya, son of Ninurta-uballiṭ spoke [to] Ellil-šumu-ibni, son of Kalbi-Nintin[uga] in this way: "Instruct Nabī-Ellil [my] s[on] (in) the precepts of the *nāru*'s profession!"

o. 5–o. 7 (And consequently) Ellil-šumu-ibni will teach him the profession of the *nāru* of the z[*imru* songs] of the entire year. He will teach (how) to sing (these) *zimru* s[o]ngs to him (= Nabī-Ellil), and he will make him to abandon the yoke team [...]

o. 8–r. 4 (And) he (= Ellil-šumu-ibni) will make him (= Nabī-Ellil) avoid the assigned work in the moats until the beginning of the month *Ulū*[*lu*] (because) he (= Ellil-šumu-ibni) will instruct (him = Nabī-Ellil) (in) [the p]recepts of the *nāru*'s profess[sion] unti[l have passed] three yea[rs]. [The work] imposed (on him) in the temples of the gods will be done (in this way). Each year, Aplāya will give five silver shekels to Ellil-šumu-ibni (as) his fees.

r. 5–r. 6 Over the course of three years, Aplāya will give 15 silver shekels to Ellil-šumu-ibni (as) his fees.

According to lines o. 4 and r. 1 of this text, Nabī-Ellil will be trained in "the precepts of the profession of the *nāru* musician" (*iḫzī nārūti*). The object of his musical training seems to be described in more detail in line o. 5 with the expression *nārūtu ša zimrī*. That expression literally might mean "the profession of the *nāru* of the *zimru* songs". However, Johannes Hackl proposed a long restoration in his translation in order to connect *nārūtu* and *zimrī* as two independent terms[1397]. That is a consequence of the previous research. Certainly, the *nārūtu* had always been discussed without any reference to *zimrī*[1398].

Hackl's interpretation makes sense in light of the other mentions of *nārūtu* in this text. However, it omits the presence, between *nārūtu* and *zimri*, of *ša*. That particle implies the existence of a genitive chain where *zimrī* depends on *nārūtu*. Therefore, we suggest that, what we have here, is a specialization of *nārūtu* focused in the mastering of the *zimru* songs. The name of that profession would be abbreviated in lines o. 4 and r. 1 since the exact content and consequences of that musical training are already explained in detail in lines o. 5–r. 1. The mention of a concrete specialization of *nārūtu* here makes sense in light of other contemporary legal texts with *nārūtu*. In those texts we sometimes find specializations of that *nārūtu*. We are going to comment that right now.

[1397] Hackl, 2007–2010: 16 ("den Musikerberuf (einschliesslich der Kenntnis sämtlicher) Lieder des gesamten (kultischen) Jahres").

[1398] Oppenheim, 1952: 134 ("the articling of a slave(?) to an artist who was to teach him the art of singing"); CAD J, p. 47 ("instruct PN in the art of the singer"); CAD A1, p. 180 ("instruct PN in the art of singing"); AHw II, p. 749 ("*iḫzi* lú*n.-ú-tu* lehre sie!"); CAD N1, p. 382 ("teach her the musician's art", this translation forgets the *iḫzu*); Petschow, 1980–1983: 570 ("Musiker/Sängerkunst") and, perhaps, Stol, 2016: 360. This one talks about "musical education" as the topic of this contract. For additional comments although without any translation, see Kedar, 2014: 539–540.

6.3.2. *nārūtu* in other Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid legal texts

6.3.2.1. *nārūtu* as "profession of the *nāru*" *lato sensu*

First of all, we would like to consider this excerpt of a text from Sippar:

Text 62. MacGinnis, 2002: 234, text n. 12 [BM 64026] (Cyrus 07-10-06)[1399]

o. 1 ⸢f⸣*zi-it-ta-a* ⸢f⸣*ši-iš-ka-*⸢*tu₄*⸣[1400]
o. 2 ⸢*al-ti*⸣ ⸢m⸣*e-ṭe₃-ru* ⸢lu2⸣ENGAR *ša₂* ⸢d⸣UTU
o. 3 *ša₂* ⸢f⸣*su-ud-du-uš-*⸢*tu₄*⸣ DUMU.MUNUS-*su* ⸢f⸣NAR-*tu₄*
o. 4 ⸢m⸣*u₂-bar-*⸢*ia*⸣⸢ *ina na-ru-tu₄ tu-li-du*⸣[?]-*ma*

o. 1 Zittāya (is) an oblate
o. 2 and the wife of Eṭeru, farmer of Šamaš,
o. 3 whose daughter, Sadduštu, the *nārtu*,
o. 4 gave birth to Ubaria during (her) status as *nāru*.

Martha Roth[1401] has proposed that the *na-ru-tu₄* of this text (referring to the oblate[1402] Sadduštu) would not have any connection with music. On the contrary, that term would be an abstract form of **nu'artu* ("non-virgin"), a term connected with *batultu* ("virgin" (?)) in the 1st-millennium legal texts. This matter has divided the research[1403]. However, we cannot share Roth's opinion mainly because of her weak arguments. Certainly, she said that there are texts where *nāru* and *nārtu* might not necessarily designate musicians, as in two Neo-Assyrian colophons. In her first example[1404], Roth understood the chain *na-ru* as a reference to the youthful state of the "apprentice (*šamallû* = ⸢lu2⸣ŠAMAN2.LA2) *āšīpu*" just mentioned[1405]. However[1406], it is a bit redundant to have a "young apprentice"

[1399] Edition dependent upon MacGinnis, 2002: 234 with (minimal) corrections derived from our collation of the manuscript on 01/08/2019 in the British Museum.

[1400] CAD Š3, p. 106 has "*ši-iš-ka-tum*", but that is an out-dated spelling for Neo-Babylonian times.

[1401] Roth, 1987: 741–746 and Roth, 1989: 6–7, later followed by van Driel, 1998: 192–193.

[1402] She had this status since her mother, Zittāya, was an oblate, according to Bongenaar, 1997: 296.

[1403] Van Driel, 1998: 192 translated *nu'artu* just as "function", but seems to follow Martha Roth since he did not talk about music. Joannès, 2013 also translates this *na-ru-tu* as "status as a single woman". However, on the contrary, MacGinnis, 2002: 234 translated ⸢f⸣NAR-*tu₄* as "singer" and *na-ru-tu* as "status as singer" as later Stol, 2016: 409 ("position of a singer"). Jursa, 1995: 7 n. 33 said nothing about this matter.

[1404] TDP, pl. 48–49 [AO 6680], r. 33 (CAD N1, p. 379; this edition, to the contrary of Roth's opinion, supports our interpretation).

[1405] Roth, 1987: 746.

[1406] See CAD N1, p. 379 for a similar opinion to ours.

because an apprentice should be already young. Furthermore, we might understand here a reference to the *nāru*. Therefore, we would have in this text a reference to a young *āšīpu* and *nāru*. That makes sense since the *nāru* and *āšīpu* are mentioned together in the 1st-millennium ritual texts as we shall see later. Furthermore, about Roth's second example[1407], we have references to young (*šamallû*) *nāru* musicians already in the Old Babylonian records from Mari[1408].

In this sense, we would like to see in this text a reference to the "profession of the *nāru* musician"[1409] *lato sensu*, since Roth's arguments are not strong enough in our opinion. The profession of the *nāru* is also present in this another text probably also coming from Sippar[1410]:

Text 63. VS 6 169 [VAT 1180] (Darius I 00-00-00)[1411]

o. 1	⸢EN⸣[1412] u_4-*mu* […][1413]-u_2-*tu ina* ⁱᵗⁱDU₆
o. 2	U₄.**9**.KAM₂ *ša₂* ⁱᵗⁱAPIN!ⁱ ˡᵘ²DIR₂.⸢LA₂⸣-u_2-*tu*
o. 3	SAD.DU *ša₂* ˡᵘ²⸢NAR-*tu*⸣ U₄.⸢**8**.⸣⸢KAM₂⸣ *ša₂* ⁱᵗⁱ⸢APIN!⸣
o. 4	ḪA.LA-*šu₂ ša₂* ˡᵘ²⸢DIR₂⸣.LA₂-u_2-*tu ša₂-lam-mu* E₂-⸢*ti*⸣[1414]
o. 5	*ša₂ a*-<*na*> *kal* ⸢MU.AN⸣.NA *ša₂ ina* E₂-UL.MAŠ E₂ ᵈ*iš*-⸢*ta*⸣-[*ri*][1415]
o. 6	ᵐARAD-*an-nu-ni-tu* A-*šu₂* ᵐDUB.NUMUN A ˡᵘ²SADA-A.GA.DE₃? *a-na*[1416]
o. 7	*e-piš-an-nu-tu a-*⸢*na*⸣ ᵐᵈ⸢AG-PAP A-*šu₂ ša₂*
o. 8	ᵈMARDUK-**15**-SUR A ˡᵘ²SADA-A.GA.DE₃? *ma-ḫi?-ru?*[1417]

1407 SCT 110 [Unknown], 18 (see CAD N1, p. 379 for edition and reference, we could not access the original publication for further details).

1408 FM 9, p. 15 and 85 as a commentary for the text FM 9 27 [M. 13050], lo. e. 3 (Archibab T6585).

1409 Stol, 2016: 409 ("the position of a singer") in addition to MacGinnis, 2002: 234.

1410 See McEwan, 1981a: 10–11 and Oelsner, 1980–1983: 12 for general comments about this text.

1411 Our own edition starting from the original copy, the translation given in NRV, p. 520 and the partial transliterations on CAD E, p. 240 and CAD Š1, p. 203.

1412 For the Sumerogram EN = *adi*; see Schramm, 2010: 43.

1413 NRV, p. 520 n. 1 suspected another ˡᵘ²DIR₂.LA₂-u_2-*tu*. However, according to the copy of this tablet, what we have here is different from the ˡᵘ²DIR₂.LA₂-u_2-*tu* of line o. 3.

1414 NRV, p. 520 read "*bîta-an-n[i](?)*". However, the -*an*- of this edition seems rather a -*ti* according to our consultation of the copy of this document.

1415 This part of the manuscript is damaged. In any case, we believe we found a sign IŠ, which helps to read the next sign as TA). In addition, the E'ulmaš was the Ištar's temple in Sippar (Frame, 1993: 22).

1416 For a partial transliteration of this line, see McEwan, 1981a: 14. However, he has "A-Gada (Sippar)" when the possible signs for that "Gada" are a bit different from what we have in the copy.

1417 The last sign seems to be KUR. We are not sure of our transliteration, but, following NRV, p. 520, we read *ma-ḫi-ru* as a form of *maḫāru* with an incorrectly written sign RU (= *ru*).

^{o. 1} During the days […] from the month of Tašrītu ^{o. 2} (until) the 9th day of the month of Araḫsamnu, ^{o. 6–8} Arad-Anunnitu, son of Šāpik-zēri, son of Sangu-Akkad, has given(?) to Nabû-naṣir, son of Marduk-ēṭir, son of Sangu-Akkad, for the(ir) performance ^{o. 2–5} the prebend of the butcher, the first amount of the prebend of the *nāru* of the 8th day of Araḫsamnu, (and) his share of the prebend of the butcher for the greeting of the temple for the entire year, in the E'ulmaš, the house of Ištar.

In this text[1418] about the *šalam bīti* ("greeting of the temple") ceremony of the E'ulmaš of Sippar, we find a mention of a first amount (SAḌ.DU = *qaqqadu*) of the prebend of the *nāru* (*nārūtu*)[1419]. The presence of the *nāru* is highly relevant, because the musical life in 1st-millennium Sippar[1420] is mainly known for the activities of the **gala**/*kalû* priest, like the performance of **balaŋ** and **er₂ šem₃-ma** laments or the use of the *lilisu*[1421]. However, we do not have much information on the activities of the **nar**/*nāru*[1422]. In the same way, *nārūtu* is mentioned after a reference to the profession of the butcher (*ṭābiḫu*; ^{lu2}ḌIR₂.LA₂-*u₂-tu* = *ṭābiḫūtu*), something to keep in mind for the next section of this chapter.

Finally, we should have a look at this other (very fragmentary) text from Sippar:

Text 64. MacGinnis, 1991–1992: 83, text n. 3 [BM 70463] (00-00-00)[1423]

o. 4'	[…] *u₃ mi-šil* U₄.⌜15?⌝(+).**KAM₂** […]
o. 5'	[… ^{lu2}NA]R[1424]-*u₂-tu* ḌEŠ.ŠUB.BA *ina* E₂.⌜BABBAR.RA⌝ […]
o. 6'	[…] *pa-ni-šu₂ a-na u₄-mu ṣa-a-tu₄* […]
o. 7'	[… ^{md}X-*u₂*]-*bal-liṭ iš-me-ši-ma* […]
o. 8'	[…] ⌜x⌝ *a-na* ^{lu2}DUMU-*u₂-tu*[1425] ⌜*id-din-šu₁₁*⌝^{!?}[1426]

[1418] In addition to NRV, p. 520, see Bongenaar, 1997: 289; Streck, 2001: 85, Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet, 2003–2005: 634 and Linssen, 2004: 60–61 for previous comments.

[1419] Bongenaar, 1997: 289 ("(cultic) singer's prebend"); Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet, 2003–2005: 634 ("Pfründe des Sängers"); Still, 2019: 249 n. 24 ("the temple-enterer's prebend (cultic singer)").

[1420] For Old Babylonian Sippar's musical life, Harris, 1975: 172–175, and Shehata, 2009: 177–209.

[1421] See Maul, 1999: 311 and 2002: 256–257; Linssen, 2004: 30 and Gabbay, 2007: 88, 102, 132, 158.

[1422] See Bongenaar, 1997: 289 for evidence.

[1423] Edition dependent upon MacGinnis, 1991–1992: 83 and Wunsch, 2003: 231–232 and some corrections from our inspection of the copy from the tablet (not available for its collation on 01/08/2019).

[1424] Wunsch, 2003–2004: 232 thinks that LUNGA₂ might fit better here than NAR. However, a comparison of the signs ŠIM (LUNGA₂ = ŠIM×A) and LUL (=NAR) in the texts available on LaBaSi allows us to say that what we have in the manuscript (according to MacGinnis's copy) is closer to LUL.

[1425] MacGinnis, 1991–1992: 83 has LUL. However, as Wunsch, 2003: 232 says, it might be a misreading. Certainly, in Neo-Babylonian script, signs LUL and TUR are not equal, and *ana mārūti nadānu* ("to give in adoption") is known in other Neo-Babylonian texts. See CAD M1, p. 320–321 for evidence.

[1426] We follow Wunsch, 2003: 232 (which has *su*) but keeping in mind that 1) we should actually have *id-di-iš-šu*, 2) there is only the MacGinnis' copy of the tablet, and 3) we could not collate this tablet.

o. 4'   […] and half of the 15ᵗʰ day […]
o. 5'   […] the profession of the [*nār*]*u* (as) prebend in the Ebabbar […]
o. 6'   […] before him for the future […]
o. 7'   [*…-u*]*balliṭ* listened to it (= the tablet?) and […]
o. 8'   […] he gave him for adoption […]

Here, *nārūtu* is again mentioned independently. However, the expression ᴅᴇŠ.Šᴜʙ.ʙᴀ *ina* ᴇ₂.ˈʙᴀʙʙᴀʀ.ʀᴀˈ ("(as) prebend in the Ebabbar temple") of line o. 5' invites us to think in an indirect reference to a specialization of *nārūtu* as "the profession of the *nāru* of the Ebabbar temple". That brings us to our next section of this chapter…

6.3.2.2.   Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid specializations of *nārūtu*

As mentioned, *nārūtu* sometimes designated the profession of a *nāru* worshipping a specific deity in some Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid legal texts. That already happened in Old Babylonian times with **nam-nar**[1427] and *nārūtu*[1428]. Here is one of these texts, which comes from the Egibi/Nūr-Sîn's archive[1429]:

Text 65. Wunsch, 2003: 106, text n. 33 [BM 30515] (Nabonidus, 10-11-15)[1430]

r. 2   ˈ*e*ˈ-*lat* 4-ˈ*u₂*ˈ Ḫᴀ.ˈʟᴀˈ-*šu₂ ša₂* ˈ*it-ti*ˈ ŠᴇŠ.ᴍᴇŠ-*šu₂ pa*-ˈ*ni*ˈ ᵐᵈ*za-ba₄-ba₄*-ˈʙᴀˈ-*ša₂*
r. 3   ᴅᴜᴍᴜ-*šu ṣa-ḫar ku*-ˈ*ma*ˈ *ša₂ ip-qid-aš₂-ši-im-ma a-na il-ki ša₂* ˡᵘ²ɴᴀʀ-ˈ*u₂-tu*ˈ
r. 4   *ša₂* ᵈᴇɴ *la ib-ṭi-il u ma-aṣ-ṣa-aš₂*-ˈ*tu₄*ˈ *ša₂* ᵐᵈᴍᴀʀᴅᴜᴋ-ˈᴅᴜ₃-ɴᴜᴍᴜɴˈ ᴀᴅ-*šu₂* ˈ*u₂*ˈ-*ṣur-ru*ˈ

ʳ. ²⁻ʳ. ⁴ In addition to his ¼ share[1431] which (Zababa-iqīša will inherit) together with his brothers, he (= Marduk-bān-zēri) entrusted[1432] unto Zababa-iqīša, his youngest son, to be concerned about the *ilku* service (of the inherited lands[1433]), (but also) not to abandon the office of the *nāru* of Bēl and to keep the duties of his father Marduk-bān-zēri.

In this document, Zababa-iqīša is going to become *nāru* of the god Bēl. Such specialization makes sense if we consider a Seleucid text[1434] about the rituals of the

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[1427] See our Chapter 3 for evidence.

[1428] See our Text 42 for reference.

[1429] Kessler, 2008: 89 n. 43. This text is described on LaBaSi without any musical reference.

[1430] Edition dependent upon Wunsch, 2003: 106 with corrections derived from our inspection of the copy available on that publication, in addition to the collation of the manuscript on 01/08/2019.

[1431] For comments about this sentence and the Marduk-bān-zēri's life, see Baker, 2002: 18 n. 72.

[1432] This verb (*ušadgil*, Š Preterit of *dagālu*(*m*), "entrust") actually appears at the beginning of r. 5. That section of the text already deals with the consequences of neglecting the clauses of this document.

[1433] They are described in o. 1–r. 1 of this text, not presented here due to their length.

[1434] Çağirgan and Lambert, 1991–1993: 89–90; Linssen, 2004: 11.

second New Year Festival (in the month of Kislīmu) for the Esaŋil of Babylon. That text talks about a *nāru* devoted to the gods Bēl and Bēltīya[1435]. Said *nāru* could be the same person who recited the *Enūma Eliš* for Bēl on the 4th day of that festival and "stay" (*ušābu*) while the ˡᵘ²DUMU.NIŊ₂.LA.LA recited a ŠU.IL₂.LA₂ prayer for Bēl and Bēltīya[1436].

The other text to be discussed here comes from the Nappāḫu's archive in Babylon:

Text 66. *Dar.* 463 [BM 77393] (Darius I (x)+3-1-18)[1437]

o. 1	[ŊEŠ].˹ŠUB˺.BA ˡᵘ²˹NAR˺*[1438]-u₂-tu!˹ pa-ni ˹ᵈˀiš-ḫa-˹ra˹ […]
o. 2	[1]-˹en˺ˀ SAŊ˹.DU GU₄ ˹u₃˺ 1-en SAŊ.DU ˹UDU.NITA ša₂ NU <il>-˹lu˺ˀ-[u₂](?)[1439]
o. 3	u ˹ḫa˺-ab[1440]-su-ru-uk-˹ka˺ la il-lu-u₂ ša₂ U₄.˹8.˺KAM₂˺
o. 4	ša₂ ˹ⁱᵗⁱBAR₂ ša₂[1441] ᵐKA₅.A ˹DUMU˺-ša₂ˀ ᵐŠUM₂-na-a DUMU ˡᵘ²SIMUG?ˀ
o. 5	ina qa-at ᵐᵈˀMARDUK˺-re˺ˀ-man-ni DUMU-ša₂ ᵐ˹ki˺-din-nu
o. 6	˹DUMU˺ ᵐᵈEN-e-ṭe₃-ru a-˹na˺ KU₃.˹BABBAR a-˹na ŠAM₂˺ TIL-[tim]
o. 7	˹im-ḫu˺-ru u KU₃.BABBAR ŠAM₂ ŊEŠ.ŠUB.BA šu-a-tim
o. 8	ᵐᵈMARDUK-˹re˺-man-ni ina ŠU.2 ᵐKA₅.A ˹TI˺-u₂
o. 9	[a]r₂-ki[1442] 2 GIŊ₄ KU₃.BABBAR ᵐKA₅.A ut-tir-ma
o. 10	[a]-na ᵐᵈMARDUK-re-man-ni id-din ᵐS[U-ᵈMARDUK]
lo. e. 1	˹DUMU-ša₂˺ ᵐᵈNA₃-na-ṣir DUMU ᵐᵈEN-e-ṭe₃-[ru]
r. 1	ina ⁱᵐDUB KI.˹LAM˺ ša₂ ˹ŊEŠ.ŠUB˺.BA šu-a-tim
r. 2	a-na ši-bu-u₂-tu ina lib₃-bi a-ši-ib!

ᵒ. ¹⁻ᵒ. ⁸ (Concerning) the [pre]bend of a *nāru* before the goddess Išḫara (including) the head of an ox and the head of a non-choic[e](?) male sheep in addition to a non-choice(?) cut of meat *ḫabsurukku* of the

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[1435] Çağirgan and Lambert, 1991–1993: 93–100 [BM 32206 + 32237 + 34723 (S+ 76-11-17,1933+1964 + Sp II 213) (+) F 220], o. ii 2 (Çağirgan and Lambert, 1991–1993: 93–100).

[1436] *Ibidem*, o. ii 15–16, o. iii 24–25. See, in addition, Çağirgan and Lambert, 1991–1993: 90.

[1437] Edition dependent upon MacGinnis, 1991–1992: 84–85 with corrections from our inspection of the copy of the tablet and the remarks of Baker, 2004: 136. In addition, we collated this tablet on 01/08/2019.

[1438] Most of the previous editions of this text have ˡᵘ²NAR-u₂-tu! or similar (San Nicolò, 1947: 295; AHw II, p. 749; CAD N1, p. 382; MacGinnis, 1991–1992: 84; Baker, 2004: 38; Pirngruber and Waerzeggers, 2011: 140 n. 79; Sciandra, 2011: 140; NaBuCCo 8261). However, (beyond Peiser, 1890: 136 = *paḫ-ḫir*(?)-tu, untranslated) Achemenet (Strassmaier, Darius 463) has ˡᵘ²ŊIR₂!.LA₂-u₂-tu. MacGinnis's copy depicts here a different sign regarding lines o. 4, 8–9, where we find the name Šēlebi (= ᵐKA₅.A). However, like Strassmaier, *Dar.* 463 and our collation, what we find in o. 1 is similar to o. 4, 8–9.

[1439] Achemenet reads *nu-ur*-[x]. However, *nūru* ("light") does not make much sense in this context. In addition, the expression *lā illu* ("non-choice(?)") appears again in the next line of this text.

[1440] On the contrary to MacGinnis, 1991–1992: 84, we believe that this sign is AB and not DU.

[1441] MacGinnis, 1991–1992: 84 forgot this *ša₂* ("which") in his translation. As a consequence, he forgot that *imḫuru* (o. 7) has the final *-u* for subordinate clauses. This might be the reason why, according to Baker, 2004: 136, MacGinnis' translation does not respect the grammar of the text.

[1442] We agree with Baker, 2004: 136: the sign seems definitely a damaged sign UB = *ar₂*. Second sign is KI and not DI according to the number of straight wedges in the interior of that sign.

8th day of the month Nisānu which Šēlebi[1443], son of Iddināya, son of Nappāḫu), bought by its comp[lete] price to Marduk-rēmanni, son of Kidinnu, son of Bēl-eṭēri, and (then) Marduk-rēmanni took from Šēlebi the silver, the purchase price of that prebend, o. 9–r. 2 Šēlebi returned [la]ter two silver shekels, and he gave them [t]o Marduk-rēmanni. Erība-[Marduk], so[n] of Nabû-nāṣir, descendant of Bēl-eṭē[ri], was present as a witness in (the drawing up of) the purchase tablet of that prebend.

The reference to a *nāru* makes sense here, since musicians perform several activities in the *akītu* New Year Festival, event which was celebrated in the month of Nisānu mentioned in line o. 4 our text. Among these activities, we find musicians (*nāru*) in the main procession of that festival[1444] or in the ceremony for "awakening" the temple, a ceremony to be celebrated 7th day of that festival according to the Uruk calendar[1445]. In addition, they perform some activities in the 8th day of the Nisānnu month of our text, like accompanying the golden chariot of Anu to its temple[1446], and pouring libations[1447].

In this sense, we might have in our Text 66 a concrete specialization of *nārūtu*, in this case as *nārūtu pāni Išḫara* (literally "the profession of the *nāru* before Išḫara"). In our opinion, it would be a singular way[1448] to make reference to "the profession of the *nāru* of (the temple of)[1449] Išḫara"[1450]. Certainly, the formula *pāni Išḫara*[1451] recalls, in a certain way, to some Old Babylonian specializations of the **nar**: the **nar igi suḫur-la₂** ("the **nar** in front of the **suḫur-la₂**") and the **nar igi lugal** ("the **nar** in front of the king")[1452].

[1443] Peiser, 1890: 137 has as "Šíllibi", and later editions Šellebi (San Niccolò, 1947: 295; MacGinnis, 1991–1992: 86; Achemenet; van Driel, 2002: 80 n. 53; Baker, 2004: 135). ᵐ*še-el-le-bi* is well-documented in Neo-Babylonian texts (Baker, 2004: 369–370). However, **KA₅.A** is *šēlebu* ("fox") in Akkadian (Schramm, 2010: 79). Furthermore, Šēlebī might explain the ᵐ*še-le-bi* of Baker, 2004, text no. 233 [BM 77544], o. 3.

[1444] KAR 132 [VAT 7849], o. i 18', 22', 26', r. i 14 (Linssen, 2004: 201–202).

[1445] TCL 6 39 [AO 6459], o. 7, 12 (Linssen, 2004: 185).

[1446] TCL 6 39 [AO 6459], o. 3 (Linssen, 2004: 184).

[1447] TCL 6 39 [AO 6459], o. 35 (Linssen, 2004: 185).

[1448] It has sense keeping in mind that this is the newest administrative text with *nārūtu* we have.

[1449] Precision from John MacGinnis (personal communication), to whom we give thanks for that.

[1450] Perhaps like CAD N1, p. 382 ("the musician's prebend in the service of Išḫara"). In any case, other translations are also good, like San Nicolò, 1947: 295 ("das Einkommen(srecht) der Sängerschaft vor der Göttin Išḫara") or MacGinnis, 1991–1992: 86 ("The prebend of … a singer before Išḫara"). See also Baker, 2004: 135 ("the singer's [pr]ebend before Išḫara"); Pirngruber and Waerzeggers, 2011: 140 n. 79 ("singer's prebend"); Sciandra, 2011: 140 ("the perquisite of the *nāru*"). See, in addition, Van Driel, 2002: 80.

[1451] We found nothing about music in Išḫara's cult. For the cult to that goddess in Neo-Babylonian times, see Prechel. 1997: 147–162.

[1452] *Proto-***lu₂**, 646–647 (DCCLT).

6.3.3. Conclusions

As we have seen, *nārūtu* sometimes referred to "the profession of the *nāru*" *lato sensu* in some Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid legal texts. However, in other texts, that term designates a concrete specialization of the *nāru* according to the deity worshipped by that musician. However, in the case of our Text 66, that speciality is mainly musical, the performance of the *zimru* songs. This last speciality is certainly singular and it might be explained as a later innovation in the specialities of the *nāru*. However, we have seen in our Chapter 3 how the office of the **nar** also had some specialities according to a particular musical instrument, such as the **balaŋ** or the stringed instruments (**sa**). Perhaps this *nārūtu ša zimrī* should be considered as a sort of continuation of said former specializations.

6.4. The Seleucid Period

6.4.1. Introduction

This section will be based on these lines of a tablet written in Babylon the 13th of April 183 BCE. Their content is about an incantation of the *Compendium* exorcistic series[1453]:

Text 67. CT 17, pl. 15–18 [BM 34223+][1454]

iv 18'   **en₂ saŋ-gig an-eden-na i₃-du₇-du₇ im-gen₇ mu-un-ri-ri**
iv 19'   **im-dub 24-<kam>**[1455] EZEN **nam-LUL eš₂-gar₃ udug ḫul-ˊmešˋ nu al-til**

iv 18'   Incantation: "The (demon of the) headache battles in the steppe,
          and it blows there like the wind"[1456] (= **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš**, IV, Incantation 1)
iv 19'   24th Tablet […] Series **Udug ḫul** / *Utukkū Lemnūtu* ("Evil demons") series. Not complete.

[1453] Jiménez, 2013b: 153.

[1454] Edition dependent upon Schramm, 2008: 9 with corrections derived from our inspection of his copy of the manuscript (p. 339). Manuscript was not available for collation on 01–02/08/2019.

[1455] In this way, we try to keep in mind the grammatical considerations of Schramm, 2008: 9.

[1456] We follow Oshima, 2015: 249 ("Headache thrusts in the field, like a wind it blows"). Certainly, Linton, 1972: 79 ("Head disease butted in the steppe, blowing like the wind") kept in mind the equivalences **du₇** ("to push"; ePSD) with *nakāpu* ("to butt"; CAD N1, p. 156) and **ri** ("to impose", "to pour out"; ePSD) with *zâqu* ("to blow"; CAD Z, p. 64). However, we should have **du₇-du₇** and **ri-ri** without verbal prefixes for "butted" and "blowing". Geller, 2018: 51 n. 46 ("the headache demon circles around in the steppe and blows like the wind") was grammatically correct, but not in the meaning of **du₇** and **ri**.

The reading of the sequence EZEN **nam-**LUL in line iv 19' has generated much controversy in two main aspects. On the one hand, the reading of **nam-**LUL as **nam-nar** ("music") or **nam-lul** ("falseness"). On the other hand, the reading of EZEN as **šer₃** ("song") or **kešda** ("cycle")[1457]. In the following lines, we shall try to arrive at a clear conclusion about the reading and the exact interpretation of this nominal chain.

6.4.2. EZEN **nam-lul** instead of EZEN **nam-nar**?

6.4.2.1. Exposition of the hypothesis

We shall study here a yet unpublished interpretation of this excerpt by Enrique Jiménez, who has kindly shared it with us for this study[1458]. This reflection merits our attention since this author has edited a previously ignored section from the tablet containing our chain[1459]. According to him, we should not read the chain **nam-**LUL as **nam-nar** ("music")[1460], but as **nam-lul** (literally "falseness"). That word would act here as a strange way to qualify the term under the sign EZEN as "external" or "additional". Jiménez chose the word **šer₃** as reading of EZEN in this particular case. To his mind, the entire line would make allusion to an apocryphal text from the **Udug ḫul** / *Utukkū Lemnūtu* incantation series.

In order to justify his hypothesis, Jiménez establishes a connection with *Nabnītu*, IVa 329 (excerpt previously studied in the Neo-Assyrian section of this chapter). In contrast to us, Jiménez reads [**š**]**er₃ nam-lul** and proposes, as its equivalent, the word *kamû* ("external"). That word appears in a Late Babylonian colophon[1461] and its meaning would be close to the term *aḫû* ("uncanonical") used to designate some apocryphal tablets[1462].

[1457] Schramm, 2008: 9–10 vs. Geller, 2018: 51 n. 46.

[1458] Personal communication of Enrique Jiménez, to whom we give thanks for his invaluable comments.

[1459] Jiménez, 2013b: 153–154.

[1460] As Geller, 1995–1996: 245, Schramm, 2008: 9–10 and Geller, 2018: 51 n. 46.

[1461] George, 1992: pl. 29, n. 18e [BM 38413], o. 2–3, le. e. 19'–20' (George, 1992: 162).

[1462] See Rochberg-Halton, 1987: 328–329 for comments.

6.4.2.2.   Discussion

Enrique Jiménez's hypothesis tries to contextualize the text **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš**, IV Incantation 1 of our Text 67 in the group of texts belonging to the **Udug ḫul** / *Utukkū Lemnūtu* series. In the same way, it fits with the particular style of the colophon of that tablet, which was edited by Jiménez[1463]. However, we find several problems in his argumentation:

- The author seems to contradict himself in avoiding a musical connotation for that sequence but maintaining the reading of EZEN as **šer₃**. Certainly, **šer₃** is equated in Neo-Assyrian lexical texts (the most recent ones for that matter) just with *zamāru* ("song")[1464] and *ṣarāḫu* ("to sing a lament")[1465]. Therefore, we should translate **šer₃ nam-lul** as an additional "song", and not "tablet" as Jiménez was suggesting.

- Even if **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš**, IV Incantation n. 1 were not a chant, it might be in any case recited by a musician as a part of his/her text *corpus*. Certainly, the witch (*kaššāptu*) recited a *šiptu* incantation "like the musicians (*nāru*)" in an anti-witchcraft text[1466].

- Far from sharing the unusual style of the colophon of its tablet, our excerpt is even more correct than the original text. Certainly, our excerpt corrects the original hypercorrect form ***an-na**-**eden-na**[1467] by **an-eden-na** ("in the steppe (**eden**)") as a part of the collation of the original text described in the tablet[1468]. In this sense, why should we expect here a strange word like ***šer₃ nam-lul**, which is nowhere attested?

[1463] Jiménez, 2013b: 153.

[1464] CT 12, pl. 40–41 [K. 39], o. i 1 (DCCLT); Bezold, 1887–1888: pl. 3 [K. 4603], o. i' 2' (DCCLT).

[1465] CT 12, pl. 40–41 [K. 39], o. i 14 and 17 (DCCLT).

[1466] Abusch and Schwemer, 2016: 110 [W 22316], 2' (original publication).

[1467] Falkenstein, 1952: 72; DGS, p. 118. The entire text of CT 17, pl. 19–20 [K. 3169 + 7848], o. 1 (where that *incipit* is contained) is: ˹en₂˺ **saŋ-gig an-na-eden-na i₃-du₇-du₇ im-gen₇ mu-un-ri-ri** (our own transliteration from the cuneiform copy). It cannot be understood as a reference to something happening "in heaven" (**an-na**) and "in the steppe" (**eden-na**) because the Akkadian version of that text just says "in the steppe" (CT 17, pl. 19–20 [K. 3169 + 7848], o. 2: *mu-ru-uṣ qaq-qa-di ina ṣe-e-ri it-tak-kip ki-ma ša-a-ri i-zaq-qa*). We might transliterate, therefore, **an**-{NA}-**eden-na** with NA as an unnecessary sign.

[1468] CT 17 pl. 15–18 [BM 34223+], iv 20' (Jiménez, 2013b: 153).

- The Sumerian **lul** is well-documented in the Seleucid texts contemporary to our Text 67. In these texts, **lul** is used for describing something false/unreal (normally a "false dream", **lul-la ku-ku**)[1469]. However, it is also used for qualifying as treacherous those **a-zu** diviners and **šim-mu₂** priests who worked with the "words" (**e-ne-eŋ₃-ŋa₂**) of other people instead of their own or those of the deities[1470]. This sense of **lul** as something false is closer to the meaning of **nam-lul** documented in Old Babylonian literary texts. In those texts, **nam-lul** is used to describe the treacherous plans of the fox (**ka₅-a**), who wants to carry its city to the river[1471] perhaps in order to destroy it. In this sense, to see **nam-lul** as a way to say something like "strange" might suppose a misunderstanding of the actual connotation of that word.

- We find several risks in Jiménez's procedure, like to compare Neo-Assyrian text (canonical version of *Nabnītu*) with our Seleucid Text 67, or making a hypothesis from a *lacuna* (like the Akkadian column of *Nabnītu*, IVa 329 = our Text 60). However, the most relevant is that Jiménez does not keep in mind that *Nabnītu*, IVa 325–344 only repeats the same Akkadian word in consecutive lines. Moreover, the equivalence of **bar** = *kamû* ("external") is already established in line 335 (our Text 60 is the line 329). It is true that line 331 has a *kamû* as the equivalent of **izi šu ḫu-uz**. However, this *kamû* is a late form of *kawû* ("to burn"), that is, an equivalent of the Sumerian **izi šu ḫu-uz** of *Nabnītu*, IVa 331. Therefore, we would support the presence in our Text 60 of *kammu* ("literary composition") as the equivalent of [**š**]**er₃ nam-nar** as we have already noted in the Neo-Assyrian section of this chapter.

- If we restore *kamû* as the equivalent of [**š**]**er₃ nam-nar/lul**, we should remember that the context of that word in the text George, 1992: pl. 29, n. 18e [BM 38413] (o. 2–3, le. e. 19'–20') discussed by Jiménez is still uncertain. Basically, we lack of evidence

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[1469] SBH 13 [VAT 214], o. 7'; SBH 14 [VAT 248 + 396], r. 9'; SBH 21 [VAT 288 + 318 + 553 + 1828 + 1858], o. 10; SBH 22 [VAT 283 + 401], r. 8; SBH 25 [VAT 406 + 1782], o. 11; SBH 26 [VAT 298 + 1736 + 1748 + 1791 + 1825 + 2178], o. 20'. In SBH 44 [VAT 555], r. 21'–28', we find the variant **lul-la-bi-se₃** […] **al-nu₂** ("to lie down in the falseness (?)", perhaps "to sleep badly"). All the aforementioned texts are cited according to their respective editions on BLMS.

[1470] SBH 1 [VAT 269 + 272 + 285 + 417 + 438 + 1774 + 1705], o. 54–57 (BLMS); SBH 2 [VAT 247 + 1815], o. 10'–12' (BLMS), and SBH 5 [VAT 427], o. 6–7 (BLMS).

[1471] UET 6/2 217 [U. 17207,92], *passim* (Peterson, 2019b: 553) and *Proverbs* 8.b33 (ETCSL 6.1.08).

showing *kamû* in similar contexts[1472]. Certainly, Uri Gabbay translated *malsûtu* in that text as "lesson". However, the traditional meaning of *malsûtu* ("reading"[1473]) fits better with the scene of that text, where something is "read by the mouth of a scholar"[1474]. That change might imply a dismissal of Gabbay's translation of *kamû* as "external interpretations". In fact, we think that "attached (parts)"[1475] might be a better translation for *malsûtu* in this context. Moreover, the sentence with *kamû* appears twice in the same text: at the beginning (o. 2–3, the usually cited part of this text[1476]) and the end of the tablet (le. e. 19'–20', a damaged section)[1477]. In this sense, we do not deal with a "colophon", just with a "scribal mark"[1478]. Therefore, it is not so suitable to compare this text with our Text 67. In fact, the tablet of our Text 67 finishes in the lines edited by Jiménez, not in the lines we are studying here.

6.4.2.3.   Conclusions

To sum up, Enrique Jiménez's hypothesis is interesting for the understanding of our text. Furthermore, it comes from his experience with Late Babylonian colophons[1479] and expertise in 1ˢᵗ-millennium Babylonian literature in general. However, in light of the previous reflections and problems in his argumentation, we would definitely read here EZEN **nam-nar**, and not EZEN **nam-lul** as that author proposed.

[1472] Gabbay, 2014c: 14 n. 7.

[1473] AHw II, p. 619; CAD M1, p. 171. This translation was also adopted by George, 1992: 162. Gabbay, 2016: 21–22 bases his translation of *malsûtu* as "lesson" mainly on George, 1992: pl. 29, n. 18e [BM 38413], o. 2–3 and le. e. 19'–20' because of the Stative of *šemû* ("to hear") contained in that line. However, we can listen to a lesson, but we cannot read a "lesson" (just the text exposing that lesson). In addition, Gabbay's translation "the lesson of their external interpretations(?)" does not make sense to us. Certainly, we would expect "the lesson about…" However, we would need a preposition like *aššu* ("concerning") for that sentence. This preposition, unfortunately, is not contained in this text.

[1474] George, 1992: pl. 29, n. 18e [BM 38413], o. 2: *ana pi-i* **UM.ME.A** ˹*ša*˺-*mu*-˹*u₂*˺ (own transliteration).

[1475] For this meaning of *kamû*, CAD K, p. 130.

[1476] George, 1992: 162; Gabbay, 2016: 14.

[1477] George, 1992: pl. 29, n. 18e [BM 38413], le. e. 19'–20': [*ša₂-me*]-˹*e*˺ *ša₂ ka-mu-ti-šu-nu* **Z**[**I**-*ni*] **MU.**˹**ME**˺ […] x ˹**TIL**˺**.LA** ˹**DAR**˺-[…] (own edition starting from the copy of George, 1992: pl. 29).

[1478] Gabbay, 2016: 14.

[1479] In addition to Jiménez, 2013b, see Jiménez, 2013a: 403–405 and Jiménez, 2016b.

6.4.3. **šer₃ nam-nar** or **kešda nam-nar**?

6.4.3.1. Previous discussions

According to Markham J. Geller, we should read EZEN as **kešda** (*riksu* in Akkadian), a term referring to the 'binding' of several items together. In his opinion, the "usual interpretation" of EZEN **nam**-LUL as **šer₃ nam-nar**[1480] is not suitable since "this term is rare and does not apply to any known corpus of texts, and bears no special relationship to Udug-hul incantations"[1481].

However, Geller does not make comments on other references to **šer₃ nam-nar** in that statement, and his evidence seems to contradict him when he talks about the term *šerkugû*[1482]. Certainly, the Sumerian **ser₃ ku₃** is mentioned very close to **ser₃ nam-nar** in several manuscripts from the Old Babylonian lexical text *Proto*-**lu₂**[1483]. Moreover, **šer₃ ku₃** is mentioned in the **Udug ḫul** / *Utukkū Lemnūtu* series[1484] to which the EZEN **nam-nar** of our Text 67 is supposedly connected.

In any case, we shall give some arguments here to read **kešda nam-nar** instead of **šer₃ nam-nar** in our Text 67 not previously kept in mind by Markham J. Geller.

6.4.3.2. Evidence for the reading **kešda nam-nar**

We noted in the Neo-Assyrian section of this chapter that evidence for **šer₃ nam-nar** at that time was highly fragmentary and hypothetical. Consequently, we could not say anything certain about the nature of **šer₃ nam-nar** in this or later periods, like the Seleucid one. Additionally, the reading **šer₃ nam-nar** does not fit with the musical world drawn in

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[1480] This is a tendentious simplification of the previous research. Certainly, Hunger, 1968: 123 had "ŠÌR.NAM.NAR", but Schramm, 2008: 9–10 accepted "ŠÌR-NAM-NAR" and "KEŠDA-NAM-NAR" as possible readings without choosing any of them. In addition, Geller, 1995–1996: 245 and Geller, 2011: 253 have transliterated "šir-nam-nar" (respectively translated as "musical songs" and "cultic song").

[1481] Geller, 2018: 51 n. 46.

[1482] On which, paradoxically, he bases his reflections as he mentioned to us personally (thanks for his feedback for our interpretations of this text).

[1483] MSL 12, p. 28 A [CBS 2241 + 9850 + 9851 + 11394 + N 4631 + 5222], r. ii 26–28 (DCCLT) and MSL 12, p. 30 S' [Ni 5169], o. ii' 6' (DCCLT).

[1484] Tablet VII, 131 (Geller, 2015: 279).

the textual *corpora* involved in our Text 67: *Compendium,* **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš***,* and **Udug ḫul** / *Utukkū Lemnūtu*. Certainly, we find in these texts only[1485] allusions to the *šerkugû*[1486], the sole song to be mastered by the *āšipu*[1487]. In fact, the *āšipu* seems to act rather as an instrumentalist since a Neo-Assyrian lexical text[1488] equates **nar balaŋ** and *āšipu*. This is very relevant[1489], since *Compendium,* **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš,** and **Udug ḫul** / *Utukkū Lemnūtu* usually mention two instruments played the *āšipu*[1490]:

- The "Big Bull Skin" (**kuš-gu₄-gal**), perhaps a sort of drum per the term **kuš** which might make reference to the skinned membrane of that instrument[1491]. However, its identity and features remain unclear because of the bad state of preservation of the excerpts referring to that **kuš-gu₄-gal**[1492]. This instrument was also used against the headache demon of **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš**, IV Incantation 1[1493].

- The "Mighty Copper" (**urudu-niŋ₂-kalag-ga**), a copper[1494] bell, perhaps similar to the bell VA 2517 from the *Vorderasiatisches Museum* of Berlin[1495]. It was sometimes

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[1485] Except **Udug ḫul /** *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, I 7' (Geller, 2015: 45), where Enki is the "lord of song" (**en šer₃-ra**).

[1486] **Udug ḫul /** *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, II 46 and VII 131 (Geller, 2015: 73 and 279).

[1487] *Exorcist's Manual*, 28 (Geller, 2018: 300).

[1488] **Lu₂** Short 1, 205 (DCCLT).

[1489] We might compare it with *Maqlû*, VII 155 (Abusch, 2015: 188), where the warlocks are playing, like the *nāru*, the *ni'u* instrument (by the moment, unidentified).

[1490] Linssen, 2004: 215–224 [DT 15 + DT 109 (+ BM 32485) + DT 114, MNB 1848], 338–342 (Linssen, 2004: 221), a *mašmaššu* plays a *nigkalagû* instrument. Moreover, the mention of **kuš-gu₄-gal** in **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš**, A, Incantation 1, 20 (Linton, 1975: 143) is preceded by a mention of a **lu₂ mu₇-mu₇** incantation priest (literally a "person of the **mu₇-(mu₇)** incantation").

[1491] For its identification, see Schramm, 2008: 192, 196; Mirelman, 2014: 151.

[1492] *Compendium*, Incantation 1, 52–57, 78 (Schramm, 2008: 97), and Incantation 9, 24–26 (Schramm, 2008: 143); **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš**, A, Incantation 1, 20 and 36 (Linton, 1975: 143–144) and C, Incantation 3, 27–29 (Linton, 1975: 200).

[1493] *Compendium*, Incantation 9, 24–26 (Schramm, 2008: 58); **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš**, C, Incantation 3, 27–29 (Linton, 1975: 200).

[1494] *Compendium*, Incantation 2, 11'–12' (Schramm, 2008: 101); **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš**, A, Incantation 2, 7 (Linton, 1975: 148).

[1495] Panayotov, 2013: 83–84. For previous identifications, Rendu Loisel, 2015: 216 n. 11.

beaten with a stick to increase its sound[1496]. According to the aforementioned textual *corpora*, its nature fluctuates between the wild[1497] and the divine, in this case, as an object ritually purified by the gods[1498]. Moreover, the "terrifying splendour" (**me-lam₂**) of its sound[1499] was able to frighten (**ḫu-luḫ**)[1500] demons. In this sense, it became an essential musical-ritual instrument for the *āšipu*[1501].

6.4.4. How should we define **kešda nam-nar**?

6.4.4.1. Introduction

The reading **šer₃ nam-nar** for EZEN **nam**-LUL in our Text 67 does not fit with the elements previously considered. In this sense, we should adopt the reading **kešda nam-nar**, but, what is its exact meaning? Schramm defined this term as "Zyklus der Sangeskunst"[1502] while Geller defined it as "*riksu* of chanting" and "corpus of liturgy (lit. 'song')"[1503]. These definitions fit well with **kešda**/*riksu* as "cycle" and the *rikis zamārī* ("cycle of songs") of a tablet[1504] belonging to the 1ˢᵗ-millennium version of **Uru am₃-ma-**

[1496] **Udug ḫul** / *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, VII 47–48, and XVI 120'–121', 147'–148' (Geller, 2015: 261–262, 527, 529–530).

[1497] We follow Rendu Loisel, 2015: 219, who keeps in mind its provenance from the mountain: *Compendium*, Incantation 1, 79 (catch line) and Incantation 2, 1' (Schramm, 2008: 98–100); **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš**, A, Incantation 2, 1 (Linton, 1975: 148).

[1498] *Compendium*, Incantation 2, 1'–25' (Schramm, 2008: 100–101). See comments on that matter in Schramm, 2008: 195 and Rendu Loisel, 2015: 220–221.

[1499] *Compendium*, Incantation 2, 34'–37' and 10, 41 (Schramm, 2008: 102, 151); **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš**, A, Incantation 2, 17 and D, Incantation 1, 47 (Linton, 1975: 150, 210); **Udug ḫul** / *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, VII 18–20, 47–48 (Geller, 2015: 254, 261–262, 268).

[1500] **Udug ḫul** / *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, VII 15–17, IX 48', and XVI 120'–122' (Geller, 2015: 253, 310, 527, 530).

[1501] *BID*, Hauptritual A, IIa 66–67 (Farber, 1977: 131) mentions two wind musical instruments in an exorcistic ritual, the *ebbubbu* and the *ṣinnatu*. However, nothing is said about the identity of the musician of those instruments, but nothing prevent us from identifying it with the *āšipu*. See CAD Ṣ, p. 201 for the identification of *ṣinnatu* and see Rendu Loisel, 2011: 329 and 2016: 174 for comments about this ritual.

[1502] Schramm, 2008: 10.

[1503] Geller, 2018: 51 n. 46.

[1504] Volk, 1989: 74 text H [K. 7598 + 19304 + Sm. 1294], o. 4' (Volk, 1989: 82).

ir-ra-bi[1505]. However, *rikis zamārī* is found in a fragmentary context, and connections with the ⁿᵉˢ**BALAŊ** *za-ma-ri* of the other variant for this line of **Uru am₃-ma-ir-ra-bi**[1506] cannot be ensured[1507] since ⁿᵉˢ**BALAŊ** suggests an instrument. Moreover, neither Schramm nor Geller say nothing about other Seleucid allusions to **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*[1508]. We are going to study now these allusions for our identification of **kešda nam-nar**.

6.4.4.2.   Seleucid evidence for **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*

6.4.4.2.1.   A Seleucid prebend of the *nāru*?

There are three texts for **nam-nar** and *nārūtu* from the Seleucid Period including this first excerpt coming from a text about the sale of some temple prebends in Uruk[1509]. Here, Marc Linssen, following Gilbert McEwan[1510], saw a "*nārūtu* (singers)-prebend"[1511]:

Text 68. VS 15 19 [VAT 8552] (Seleucid Era 109-09-24)[1512]

o. 1	ᵐ**NU.TEŠ₂ DUMU** [*ša₂*[1513] ᵐ*ina-qi₂-bit-*ᵈ**60** …] ˹x˺ […]
o. 2	*ina ḫu-ud* **ŠAG₄-**˹*bi-šu₂*˺[1514] [10]-˹ʾ*u-u*ʾ˺ […]˹x x x x DU*ʾ*.MEŠ˺ *ša₂* **GU₄.MEŠ** *ga*[*b-bi*][1515]
o. 3	*ša₂* ˹*ina*˺ ᵉ²[**EŠ₃.GAL** ᵉ²*re-eš u* ᵉ²]˹*a*˺-*ki-tu₄*-**MEŠ** *a-na gi-nu-u₂*
o. 4	˹*a-na*˺ […] ᵈ˹**60**ʾ˺ *an-*[*tu₄*] ᵈ**30** ᵈ**UTU** ᵈ**IŠKUR**
o. 5	[…] ˹ᵈ˺[*n*]*a-na-a* ᵈ**GAŠAN.EDIN** ᵈ**GAŠAN** *ša₂* ᵉ²**SAŊ**
o. 6	[… **DI**]**ŊIR.MEŠ E₂-***šu₂*ʾ˺-*nu gab-bi* **e₁₁-***u₂*
o. 7	[… **IT**]**I-**˹*us*˺-*su* […]+5-˹**KAM₂**˺ […]-˹*a gab*˺-*bi ša₂* **KI** ˡᵘ²**NAR**[1516]˹.**MEŠ**˺

[1505] It is a variant of the 38ᵗʰ line of the XIX tablet of this text in the Konrad Volk's edition (1989: 82).

[1506] Volk, 1989: pl. Ia–III [BM 38593], r. iv 24.

[1507] For a different position, see Shehata, 2009: 96 n. 514; Klein and Sefati, 2013: 101 n. 114.

[1508] Schramm, 2008: 10 n. 30 had a look only to other Old Babylonian mentions of **nam-nar**.

[1509] Corò, 2005: 447.

[1510] McEwan, 1981b: 89 (the exact excerpt was copied on Wright, 2007: 377).

[1511] Linssen, 2004: 72. Previously, Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet, 2003–2005: 634.

[1512] Edition dependent upon Corò, 2005: 415–416 with some corrections derived from our inspection of the copy of that manuscript (VS 15 19).

[1513] According to VS 15 19, the sign ŊAR (= *ša₂*) is actually missing.

[1514] Corò, 2005: 415 has "*lib-bi-šú*", but the first sign seems actually to be ŠAG₄ and not LUL (=*lib/p*).

[1515] Sign BI (= *bi*) is missing in VS 15 19.

[1516] McEwan, 1981b: 89 (followed later by Corò, 2005: 416) read **NAR** without arguing against the **LU₂.DEŠTIN.MEŠ** ("wine makers(?)") of Doty, 1977: 222. Having checked VS 15 19, we agree with McEwan, 1981b: 89: sign LUL would be similar to the one in our Text 67.

o. 1   Labaši, son [of Ina-qibīt-Anu …] […]
o. 2   (has sold) with satisfaction in his heart, 1/[10] […] the legs(?)[1517] of all the bulls
o. 3   which are for the regular offerings inside the [Ešgal] temple, [the Rēš temple and] the Akītu temples
o. 4   for […] Anu, An[tu], Sîn, Šamaš and Adad
o. 5   [… N]anā, Bēlet-ṣēri, Bēlet-ša-rēš
o. 6   […] (and) all the [go]ds associated (with) their temples
o. 7   [… m]onthly […] 5+[…] days, everything which is with the *nāru*.

Linssen confused *nārū* ("musicians") with *nārūtu* ("the office of the *nāru* musician"). However, that does not happen in his reference to *ittinnūtu* as "office of the building master" instead of an expected translation as "building masters". Moreover, he simplified McEwan's interpretation. Certainly, McEwan only said that *ša₂* KI ^{lu2}NAR.MEŠ[1518] was an indirect argument for proving the existence of a (then non-existent by the moment) "prebend of the *nāru*" in the Seleucid period. In any case, if we remember the texts about temple prebends noted in previous chapters, none of them made reference to a single prebend belonging to several musicians as Linssen tries to defend here. Therefore, we would just see here a reference to a group of musicians, just as Paula Corò has[1519].

6.4.4.2.2.   About a "musical festival"

Our second document is an astral-mythological commentary dated to the time of the *Diadochenkämpfe* (Early Seleucic Period, late 4th century BCE):

Text 69. Koch, 2004: 106–108 [BM 55466 + 55486 + 55627][1520]

r. 25   [… PA]N ˹a˺-bu-bu kak-ka-šu₂ GAL-a˹ aš₂˺-šu₂ ša₂ ᵈ˹nin˺-urta a-ṣe aš₂-šu₂ an-˹ni-i˺ […]
r. 26   […] ˹x i˺-qab-bu-˹u˺ KI[1521] ˹IZIN˺ ˹NAM˺.NAR ˹ša₂ U₄˺.17.˹KAM˺ ina ˹KID₂.SIG˺ […]

r. 25   […] the flood, its great weapons. Because of the exit of Ninurta, because of that […]
r. 26   […] it will be said at the "musical festival" of the 17th day (of the month Ṭebētu) during the afternoon meal […]

[1517] Corò, 2005: 417 translated "teste dei buoi" from DU.MEŠ. Following Schramm, 2010: 35–36, we should find SAD.DU.MEŠ. However, previous sign to DU (= DU) does not seem to be SAD. Keeping in mind the equivalence DU = *išdu* ("lower extremities"; CAD I-J, p. 235), we might translate DU.MEŠ as "legs".

[1518] This expression is mentioned again in this document in r. 3 (Corò, 2005: 416).

[1519] Corò, 2005: 417 "con i *nārū* (cantori)".

[1520] Edition dependent upon Koch, 2004: 108 with corrections derived from our inspection of the copy on STC, pl. 72 and the photo on the British Museum website. The tablet was collated on 01/08/2019.

[1521] For KI as *itti* ("at"), see CAD I-J, p. 302 and Schramm, 2010: 83. KI.IZIN (= **ki-ezem**, "festival place", see ePSD2 for evidence) does not fit well here. Moreover, we would need a preposition before that.

It is the first time in Mesopotamian history that we find a Sumerogram involving **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)*. However, the mention together with **IZIN**[1522] ("festival"), the late date of the text, and the absence of an explicit equivalent of **nam-nar** = *nārūtu(m)* in earlier times invites us for reading **NAM.NAR** as *nigûtu* ("(joyful) music") instead of the expected *nārūtu*. Certainly, *nāru* and *nigûtu* were mentioned together in some Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions[1523]. Furthermore, *nigûtu* appears in a Seleucid microzodiacal text, that is, an astronomical text of the same typology as the one we are considering now[1524].

In any case, according to a Neo-/Late Babylonian commentary of **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš**[1525], *nigûtu* seems merely to designate actually just the spontaneous consequence (to sing joyfully, to make merry) of a more general mood (to be happy), nothing specifically musical as **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)*. Moreover, according to a Seleucid ritual text[1526], the *nāru* used to sing in the celebrations for the 17th day of the month Ṭebētu. In this sense, we would still consider this **NAM.NAR** as a reference to the Akkadian *nārūtu(m)*.

This last information is useful for situating this "musical (**NAM.NAR**) festival (**IZIN**)" in the month of Ṭebētu as Julia Krul proved with several astronomical arguments[1527]. We would dismiss, therefore, the Johannes Koch's proposal for the month of Kislīmu [1528]. It is true that festivals for the month Kislīmu in the Esaŋil had many musical performances according to a Late Babylonian ritual text[1529]. However, nothing about music is actually known for the ceremonies on the 17th day of the month mentioned in our Text 69.

[1522] We believe that the reading of sign EZEN for the word "festival" at Seleucid times was **izin**. This is supported by the text Langdon, 1919: 73–84 [Bod. S 302], o. 14 (BLMS), where we find **i-zi-inezem**. That reading might explain the Akkadian *isinnu*. The Akkadian version of this text has *ina i-sin-nu* ("in the festival"), therefore, **i-zi/si2-in** is not an Akkadian gloss in the Sumerian version of that bilingual text.

[1523] *Aššurbānipal* 3, vi 46–47 (RINAP 5 Q003702); *Aššurbānipal* 4, vi 48–49 (RINAP 5 Q003703), *Aššurbānipal* 6, vii 53 (RINAP 5 Q003705); *Aššurbānipal* 7, vi 11" –12" (RINAP 5 Q003706).

[1524] *Gestirn-Darstellungen*, p. 15–34 [VAT 7847 + AO 6468], o. C Aquarius (= o. 12) (Monroe, 2016: 169) and r. C Aquarius (= r. 13) (Monroe, 2016: 172).

[1525] CCP 4.1.7.C.a-**Saŋ-gig** VII C [BM 48727 + 48741], o. 7' (CCP). See Jiménez, 2016a for comments.

[1526] TCL 6 41 [AO 6460], r. 31 (Linssen, 2004: 247).

[1527] Krul, 2018: 130–132, 134.

[1528] Koch, 2004: 110 and 2006: 129.

[1529] Çağirgan and Lambert, 1991–1993: 93–100 [BM 32206 + 32237 + 34723 (S+ 76-11-17,1933+1964 + Sp II 213) (+) F 220]. See p. 90 of that work for a synthesis of that aspect.

6.4.4.2.3. The text *corpus* of the *nāru*

Finally, we have our third text, published in 2005[1530]. It is Late Seleucid (end of 2nd–early 1st century BCE)[1531] copy of a Neo-Assyrian literary letter about the reaction of the Babylonian scholars to the Aššurbānipal's request for texts for his library in Nineveh[1532]:

Text 70. Frame and George, 2005: 270–277 [BM 28825][1533]

o. 8   [x] x *kil*?-ʾ-*a kul*-˹*lat*˺ ˹lu2˺**DUB.**˹**SAR**˺-*ţu2 gab-bi ne2-me-*˹*qi2*˺ d*e2-a u* d*asal-*˹*l*˺[*u2-ḫi…*]
o. 9   [**BE** *iz*]-˹*bu*˺ **URU** *ina* ˹**SUKUD**˺-*e* **DAR**-˹*in*˺ lu2˹**MAŠ.MAŠ**-*tu2* lu2**GALA**-*tu2 na*˹?˺-*ru-tu2 u kul-lat* lu2˹**D**˺[**UB.SAR**-*tu2 ma-la ba-šu-u2*? *ša*]
o. 10 [**ŠAG4 NID2.**]˹**GA** d**MARDUK** d**EN GAL**˺-*u2* **EN-**ia2 12 lu2**UM.ME.A.MEŠ** ˹*an-nu*˺-*tu2* md**30-**˹**SUR**˺ [**DUMU** m… m… **DUMU** m…]

o. 8   […] the totality of the repertoire of the scribe, all the wisdom from Ea and Asall[uḫi…],
o. 9   [… (the series of) *Šumma iz*]*bu* (and) *Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin*, the textual repertoires of the *āšipū,* the *kalû,* the *nāru* (and) the s[cribe as large as they are],
o. 10 (and) what is among the properties of Marduk, the great lord, my lord. These twelve scribes, Sîn-ēţir [son of …, … son of …]

Line o. 9 of this text[1534] makes allusion to the omen series *Šumma izbu* and *Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin*. In addition, we have in said line o. 9 the terms *āšipūtu*[1535] and *kalûtu*[1536], whose meaning as "text *corpus* of…" is well-known in the 1st millennium. Therefore, we would define *nārūtu* as a text *corpus* of the *nāru*[1537]. Its meaning would differ from our Text 69, where **NAM.NAR** meant "music" in general. Moreover, unlike some authors[1538], we cannot this *nārūtu* as "the profession of the *nāru*". The reason is that said meaning does not fit with the allusions to *Šumma izbu* and *Šumma ālu* in this text.

[1530] That makes more surprising the absence of references to this text (or Koch, 2004: 106–108 [BM 55466 + 55486 + 55627], r. 25–26) in the comments of CT 17, pl. 15–18 [BM 34223+], iv 18'–19'.

[1531] It might already be from the Parthian Period (247 BCE–224 CE) according to its features and the scribal family mentioned in the colophon (Frame and George, 2005: 266, 270, 277; Goldestein, 2010: 200).

[1532] Frahm, 2005: 43, contrary to the original publication (Frame and George, 2005: 270), saw here a letter from that king to the scholars of Babylon. However, Frahm's interpretation seems not to be accepted lately (Beaulieu, 2010: 2; Goldstein, 2010: 199–200; Zorzi, 2011: 19 indirectly).

[1533] Edition dependent upon Frame and George, 2005: 272–274. The copy was used for correcting this edition. The tablet was not available for its collation on 01/08/2019.

[1534] For other aspects of this text, Garrison, 2012: 40; Beaulieu, 2017: 553; Finn, 2017: 70.

[1535] See Pedersén, 1986: 41–76 for the library hC/D/E81 belonging to a Neo-Assyrian exorcist family.

[1536] For *kalûtu* as the text *corpus* of the *kalû* lamentation priest, see Gabbay, 2014c: 124–140.

[1537] Compare with Frame and George, 2005: 275 ("song corpus", followed by Fincke, 2017: 385).

[1538] Wee, 2017: 238 ("the arts of the musician").

The presence of *nārūtu* as textual *corpus*[1539] in this line instead of *bārûtu* ("text *corpus* of the *bārû* diviner") has previously been considered as a scribal mistake[1540]. The reason is that *bārûtu* is much better documented than *nārūtu* in the 1st millennium[1541]. However, that proposal has some problems concerning the epigraphy[1542]. In the same way, it overlooks some important aspects about *nārūtu* and *bārûtu*[1543].

First, it is true that *bārûtu* is quite well-documented in the cuneiform texts[1544]. Nevertheless, we do not have many allusions to that term together with the other terms mentioned in our Text 70: *āšipūtu*[1545] and, specially, *kalûtu*[1546]. In addition, all those references come from the Neo-Assyrian Period. However, in the Seleucid textual documentation contemporary to our Text 70, the *bārû* diviner is mainly related to the dream interpreter (*šāʾilu*)[1547]. However, said *bārû* is not professionally related with the *āšipu* sorcerer or the *kalû* priest as in our text.

Then, against the suppositions about the **nar**/*nāru* as an illiterate people[1548], we need to remember the existence of a library in Aššur, the iC6III-iB6III, belonging to a family of *nargallu* from the 8th century onward[1549]. In that library we find tablets belonging to

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[1539] Stevens, 2019: 188 n. 183 just says that *nārūtu* here is a textual *corpus* but there is no translation of this term, just a transcription of the Akkadian text. For her part, Fincke, 2003: 130 n. 152 talked about some texts belonging to *nārūtu*, defined as "musician's lore". Nevertheless, that author does not make any additional comment about possible texts belonging to that "musician's lore".

[1540] Frahm, 2005: 46 n. 9.

[1541] Frame and George, 2005: 276.

[1542] Frame and George, 2005: 276 compared signs BA and NA of the entire tablet for confirming that the first sign is NA (for *na-ru-tu₂*) and not BA (for *ba-ru-tu₂*). Frahm, 2005: 46 n. 9 talked about a confusion of the Assyrian shapes of signs BA and NA. However, according to their shapes in MEA 5 and 70 and MZL 14 and 110, we would not consider them so similar in Assyrian script as Eckart Frahm thought.

[1543] Thanks to Andrew R. George and Grant Frame for their feedback on our interpretations.

[1544] See AHw I, p. 110 and CAD B, p. 131–133 in addition to SAAo and CAMS/GKAB for evidence.

[1545] SAA 7 51 = ADD 1053 [BM 1882-5-22,533], o. i 9', b. e. i 15', b. e. ii 2' (*bārûtu*) and b. e. ii 6' (*āšipūtu*) (SAAo); SAA 10 160 = CT 54, pl. 57 + 106 [K. 7655], r. 13–14 (*āšipūtu*) and r. 17 and 31 (*bārûtu*) (SAAo). Moreover, *Compendium*, Incantation 5, 15 (Schramm, 2008) mentions a *bārû* diviner and *āšipu*.

[1546] SAA 7 49 = ADD 943 (+) 944 [BM 80-7-19,262], o. i 17' (reference to *bārûtu*) and 19' (reference to *kalûtu*), o. ii 11' (reference to *āšipūtu*) (SAAo).

[1547] *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*, I 52 and SpTU 2 22 [W 22666,1 + 22666,2], o. i 27 (CAMS/GKAB).

[1548] Shulgi3Hymns, p. 19.

[1549] Pedersén, 1986: 34–41; Mirelman, 2008: 103; Fahdil, 2012: 34. In addition, keep in mind SAA 13 95 = ABL 13 440 [K. 493], r. 1, where the *nargallu* is writing a letter.

hymns, mythological narrations or incantations in addition to some daily administrative texts. That says that, at least[1550], those *nargallu* were literate, participated in a scribal education[1551] and, why not, could have a sort of text *corpus* for their work.

Finally, Seleucid ritual[1552] texts make references to the *āšipu*, the *kalû* and the *nāru*[1553] (normally mentioned in this same order[1554], just as in our Text 70[1555]) as "scholars" (*ummânū*)[1556]. In those texts, the three professionals (sometimes just two of them[1557]) perform exactly the ritual tasks. That fact, which has its precedents in the Neo-Assyrian period (where the original version of our Text 70 should have been written)[1558], was possible because of their common condition as "cultic experts"[1559]. Moreover, we should recall their common musical abilities, since, as we have already seen, the *āšipu* also knew how to sing and to use some musical instruments[1560]. On the contrary, we do not know of

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[1550] Fahdil, 2012: 34 suggested that these texts fit with the profession of the *nāru*. However, he is mixing two different figures: the *nāru* and the *nargallu*. As we have previously said, the *nargallu* was just a chief musician in charge of the organizational aspects of the musical performance, not a performer like the *nāru*.

[1551] Mirelman, 2008: 103 and personal communication of Andrew George.

[1552] Similar observations concerning magic are available on Ambos, 2011: 5.

[1553] KAR 132 [VAT 7849], o. i 18', 22' and 26' (Linssen, 2004: 201); TCL 6 41 [AO 6460], o. 33' (Linssen, 2004: 239); TCL 6 42 [AO 7439], o. 25' and r. 6' (Linssen, 2004: 246).

[1554] TCL 6 42 [AO 7439], r. 6' (Linssen, 2004: 239) mentions these professions in the inverse order: *nāru*, *kalû* priests and *āšipu* sorcerers.

[1555] In this sense, we might have a case of intertextuality between those Seleucid ritual texts and our Text 70, and not a scribal mistake as Eckart Frahm (2005: 46 n. 9) suggested.

[1556] TCL 6 38 [AO 6451], r. 45 (Linssen, 2004: 175).

[1557] TCL 6 39 [AO 6459], o. 12 (Linssen, 2004: 185) mentions the performance of songs (*zimrī*) by the *kalû* lamenter and the *nāru*. For a mention of *āšipu* sorcerers and *nāru* without the *kalû* lamentation priests, see TCL 6 39 [AO 6459], o. 35 (Linssen, 2004: 185).

[1558] *Aššarḫaddon* 53, 13'–15' (RINAP 4 Q003282), *Aššarḫaddon* 105, vi 25–27 (RINAP 4 Q003334), and *Aššarḫaddon* 110, i' 3'–5' (RINAP 4 Q003339). There, *āšipu*, *kalû* and *nāru* are "those who have mastered the(ir) entire craft" (*ša gimir ummânūti ḫammu*).

[1559] Farber, 1995: 1903; Ambos, 2008: 501 and 2011: 5. In the Neo-Assyrian text SAA 20 31 = BBR pl. 56 [K. 8380], the *nāru* performs some tasks more typical of a priest: o. 24' (washing of the hands), r. 16 (to bring honey, oil and water to the pail of a bed), r. 20 (performance of some blessings). That clearly contrasts with the Ur III Period. There, the **nar**(**-nita₂**) was a professional of the entertainment usually connected with the bear trainers (**u₄-da-tuš**) and the snake charmers (**muš-laḫ₄/₅**).

[1560] SpTU 2 16 [W 22758/1] about the ritual to be executed by the *āšipu* for the building a house (as we can see in r. ii 16) mentions the use of the **kuš-gu₄-gal** and **urudu-niŋ₂-kalag-ga** instruments (o. ii 14'–15'). We have not found evidence for the *šerkugû* songs in the Seleucid Period. However, an Achaemenid

any textual record about the hypothetical musical abilities of the *bārû* diviner. That complicates the defence of the presence of the term *bārûtu* instead of *nārūtu* in our literary letter—Text 70.

Therefore, in our opinion, the presence of *nārūtu* in our Text 70 is not at all as strange as Eckart Frahm believed[1561]. Furthermore, we can use this text for a new definition of the **kešda nam-nar** of our Text 67 to be delineated right now.

6.4.4.3. A new definition for **kešda nam-nar**

In light of the previous considerations, we might define **kešda nam-nar** as "group of tablets (**kešda**/*riksu*)[1562] of the text *corpus* of the **nar** (**nam-nar**)"[1563]. That text *corpus* would contain at some point the text **Saŋ-gig-ga-meš**, IV, Incantation 1 mentioned in our Text 67. Furthermore, as a part of that text *corpus*, that incantation might be recited by the **nar**/*nāru*, perhaps with the use of some musical instruments.

This recitation of an incantation by a musician would be possible because the *āšipū* and the *nāru* collaborated together as "scholars" (*ummânū*) in ritual activities according to the 1st-millennium ritual texts. The origin of that collaboration, as we have also previously noted, might be based on the musical knowledge possessed not only by the *nāru*, but also by the *āšipu*. Certainly, that figure was able to perform some types of chants (like the *šerkugû* songs) and to play some musical instruments, like the "Big Bull Skin" (**kuš-gu₄-gal**) and the "Mighty Copper" (**urudu-niŋ₂-kalag-ga**).

That fact might cause occasional overlaps between the texts and the activities of those professions[1564]. We are in face of one of those situations In this case, an incantation (usual domain of the *āšipū*) would actually be performed by the *nāru* as if it were, for instance, a royal praise hymn.

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manuscript for *Exorcist's Manual*, 28, SpTU 5 231 [W 23293/04], still mentions in r. 7 those songs. Therefore, we suspect that they might still have been performed by the *āšipu* during the Seleucid Period.

[1561] Frahm, 2005: 46 n. 9.

[1562] For this meaning, see CAD R, p. 351 4e.

[1563] Or, perhaps better, "music(al) text *corpus*" since we have **kešda nam-nar**, not **kešda nam-nar-ra**. This procedure is similar to the one we have done with **s/šer₃ nam-nar**. There, **nam-nar** acts as an adjective of **s/šer₃**, not as a *nomen rectum*. Otherwise, we would have **s/šer₃ nam-nar-ra**.

[1564] For some comments, also common to other disciplines at that time, see Geller, 2018: 295–296.

6.5. General Conclusions of the Chapter

It is complicated to make any conclusion about **nam-nar** and *nārūtu* in the 1st millennium BCE for two reasons.

First, pay attention to our Neo-Assyrian texts, that is, those texts occupying approximately the first part of the 1st millennium. In those texts, the presence of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu* is sometimes merely hypothetical, as in our Text 59. In other cases that presence has been only proved recently. That is the case of our Text 60, where we have read an allusion to **šer₃ nam-nar** for the first time in the research on this text. In this sense, our considerations about **nam-nar** and *nārūtu* in the 1st millennium mainly concern just to the second half of the millennium in an uncertain extension. We say "uncertain extension" since our Text 70 is between the Late Seleucid and the Parthian Period without a precise date.

Secondly, as we saw in the introduction of this chapter, we do not have yet any reference to **nam-nar** and/or *nārūtu* in any Middle Babylonian/Assyrian text. In this sense, it is more difficult to establish any continuity or innovation regarding our many texts with **nam-nar** and *nārūtum* from the Old Babylonian Period and from earlier times.

In any case, we can establish the following conclusions concerning **nam-nar** and *nārūtu* in the 1st millennium BCE:

- The meaning of **nam-nar** (and, by extension *nārūtu(m)*, since we are actually dealing with a Sumerogram **NAM.NAR**) as "music" persisted until the last stages of cuneiform culture. We find that in our Text 68, an astral-mythological commentary from the early Seleucid Period, one of our last texts of a certain date. Certainly, that text has in its final lines a reference to a "musical (**NAM.NAR**) festival (**IZIN**)" without any possible reference to other abstract musical terms like, for instance, *nigûtu*. We might keep in mind also the Neo-Assyrian evidence (as fragmentary it is) discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Certainly, our Text 58 referred to an "instrument of music" (*enûtu ša nārūti*). Moreover, our Texts 59 and 60 referred to a "musical (**nam-nar**) text to be sung (**šer₃**)", that is, the term **šer₃ nam-nar**.

- Like in Old Babylonian legal texts and in spite of some relatively controversial cases (mainly our Texts 62 and 64, and perhaps also 66), Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid texts mention *nārūtu* as the office/condition of the *nāru*. This office or condition knew

some specializations in those texts according to the deity worshipped. This is the case of our Texts 64 (about a *nāru* "in" (*ina*) the Ebabbar temple), 65 (about a *nāru* of the god Bēl) and 66 (about a *nāru* "in front" (*pāni*) of the goddess Išḫara). However, we also know of other specializations according to the instrument or, as in this case, songs performed by the *nāru*. Such is the case of our Text 61, where an individual, Nabī-Ellil, is going to learn the "office of the *nāru* of the *zimru* songs" (*nārūtu ša zimrī*).

- Our Texts 67 and 70 referred to a meaning of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu* unknown until the 1st millennium: the text *corpus* of the **nar**/*nāru*. It is true that the notion of this text *corpus* has been much debated. The origin of this debate might be in the reference to **nam-nar** and *nārūtu* with incantations instead of royal/divine praise hymns or other "more typical" texts of those musically performed by the musicians. In any case, beyond the particularities of both of these texts, we should remember, in defence of this "text *corpus* of the **nar**/*nāru*", that our Seleucid ritual texts often show the *nāru* and *āšipu* (besides the *kalû*) interacting with each other in the same ritual tasks. As we have said before, that fact was possible because these three professionals had a certain expertise in cultic activities. In addition, they could each play some instruments or intone several chants.

Therefore, although the meaning of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu* as "music" is much "eroded" in our 1st-millennium texts vis-à-vis earlier times, we might still maintain for this 1st-millennium our hypothesis that the main meaning of both terms was "music". However, some secondary meanings ("office of the **nar**/*nāru*" and "text *corpus* of the **nar**/*nāru*") also existed for these two terms at that time.

In any case, these conclusions should definitely change with the publication of new texts, not only from the 1st millennium, but also from the second half of the previous millennium. Certainly, any reference from that period will be useful in the establishment of connections with the Old Babylonian (and earlier) evidence for **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*.

7. CONCLUSIONS

7.1. Introduction

As we said in the introduction to this study, there is a scientific agreement nowadays about the non-existence of a word for "music" in Sumerian or Akkadian. In the same way, according to the main researchers on Mesopotamian music, **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* would make reference to many musical aspects. However, they would not be related to the idea of music as calculated sound like in our modern Western World.

In the introduction, we noted problems with each of the previous positions about this topic, and we offered some counter-arguments for minor aspects of those positions. As a consequence of that, we made reference, among others, to the possible notion of "music" as sound in some excerpts from *Šulgi B* or the existence of words for "music" in several ancient and modern non-Indoeuropean languages around the world. However, the most important problem we detected in that analysis of the previous research is that very few texts containing **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* had been used for those conclusions.

Therefore, we found it convenient to perform an in-depth analysis of all the references to these two terms, including those new references to **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* published after the last reflections on this topic. Our objective with that was trying to see if that scientific statement was still consistent and how much.

7.2. Problems for any type of conclusion

After having performed said analysis, the first idea we should highlight is that there are many difficulties for saying anything about **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* according to our current number of texts, and their preservation state, in addition, of course, to the inherent problems of each one of those texts individually.

Certainly, concerning the Old Akkadian Period (Texts 1–2), we saw how the chains traditionally understood as **lugal-nam nar** and **sipa-nam nar** (that is, two persons who would work as musicians) could be also understood as **lugal-nam-nar** and **sipa-nam-nar**. That would make sense with other personal names from that time. However, since both names were contained in mere personnel lists, it is difficult for us to say anything else about the possible meaning (or not) of that **nam-nar** as "music".

A similar thing happened concerning the 2ⁿᵈ Dynasty of Lagaš since, beyond the *Gudea Cylinders* (= Text 4), our possible references to **nam-nar** in other texts (= Text 3) were uncertain. Concerning the Ur III Period, it is astounding that, while we have a large textual *corpus* in general with many references to the **nar**, we have only a single sure reference to **nam-nar** (= Text 5). Beyond that, we have a sole possible (but uncertain) reference to **nam-nar** (= Text 6). At the end of this 3ʳᵈ millennium, we find our earliest *nārūtu(m)* (= Text 7–8). We have chronologically situated them in the transition to the 2ⁿᵈ millennium BCE, but there have been many debates about their exact chronology.

The Old Babylonian Period, by the 2ⁿᵈ millennium BCE, contains many references to **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)*. However, these are problematic in several senses, especially for southern Mesopotamia. Certainly, we cannot know many basic things about our (many and complex) literary references to **nam-nar**—such as their (approximate) creation date, region, or author—. In this sense, we cannot contextualize them properly. A more precise context would help us, among other things, to distinguish how realistic are those allusions to **nam-nar** in light of the references to that same term in the contemporary legal documentation. Certainly, in those texts, **nam-nar** does not mean anything beyond "office/prebend of the **nar**". In any case, as an exception, in our Text 28, *nārūtu* as "music" fits very well in the context described in that text.

This aporia could be solved keeping in mind the case of the Old Babylonian Mari, where all our references to *nārūtu(m)* are contained in a single type of text (letters). That remains in contrast to southern Mesopotamia, where we had not only literary and legal texts, but also texts from the scribal elementary curriculum.

In any case, we should keep in mind the geographical distance between Mari (in northern Mesopotamia) and Nippur (where most of our texts with references to **nam-nar** come from) and other cities in southern Mesopotamia. In the same way, Mari represents an *unicum* in northern Mesopotamia. Certainly, we saw how, in the Old Assyrian texts, we only find references to *narûtum*, a type of malt. In the same way, concerning Neo-Assyrian times, already by the 1ˢᵗ millennium BCE, our references to **nam-nar** and/or *nārūtu(m)* were usually uncertain. That is certainly a pity considering how rich the Neo-Assyrian textual documentation is in general.

The transition between the 2ⁿᵈ and 1ˢᵗ millennia is the biggest problem we have currently. Certainly, there is no Middle Assyrian or Babylonian text with **nam-nar** and *nārūtu(m)* yet known, despite our attempts to find such terms in that corpus. The unpublished texts we surveyed only referred, unfortunately, to the *nāru*. In any case, since

the musical world in those texts has still been very little explored, we do not rule out that future research on that corpus might be able to find some references to **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*), probably in connection with other musical terms.

Finally, in 1st-millennium southern Babylonia, our legal documentation (mainly from Achaemenid times) is more or less uniform in talking about *nārūtu*(*m*) as "office of the *nāru*". That documentation distinguishes specializations of that office according to the deity worshipped or the instruments played by said musician. It is in our literary texts where, however, we find more problems. Among them, the different readings and interpretations of EZEN NAM-LUL (**šir₃ nam-nar**, ***šir₃ nam-lul** and **kešda nam-nar**) in our Text 67, the NAM.NAR in the Akkadian astral-mythological commentary Text 69, or the epigraphic problems with signs BA (= *bārûtu*) and NA (= *nārūtu*) in our Text 70. In addition, as a general remark, we should remember the late and somewhat vague chronology of these texts. This late chronology might have something (possible) consequences on the meaning of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*).

7.3. **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) as "music"

In any case, according to our previous analysis, our two terms might make reference to music *lato sensu* in many of the texts studied here. It is important to stress that **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) seem to have this meaning—"music"—in our Texts 4 (from the 2nd Dynasty of Lagaš) and 69 (from the Early Seleucid Period). In other words, **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) might mean "music" in our earliest (sure) reference to **nam-nar** and one of the latest ones to *nārūtu*(*m*). Other meanings for these two terms only appeared in the middle of that chronological span.

Sometimes, we have established "music" as the meaning for a reference to **nam-nar** or *nārūtu*(*m*) since our context is not precise enough for establishing a different meaning for those terms. This is the case of our Texts 5, 6 and 28 of a legal-administrative nature. However, it is also the case of our Text 41, a literary text where **nam-nar** is mentioned in an uncertain context. In those cases, we thought that the translation "music", instead of the more concrete translation "office of the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*)", was convenient in order to not dismiss *a priori* any possibility for **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*).

At other times, this meaning as "music" fits well since we deal with a reality concerning several types of instruments and/or musicians. This is the case of some Sumerian texts, as our Text 12. That text was a model contract about the teaching of the

asila₃ of the **tige_x** and **a-da-ab** chants besides the "music(al sounds) (**nam-nar**)" of the
ᵑᵉˢtigidla_x (an instrument never played by the **nar**). We might recall also our Text 22 (an
excerpt from *Enkiḫeŋal and Enkitalu*) where different vocal and instrumental elements
are mentioned together in connection with **nam-nar**. There also some Akkadian texts
where the meaning of *nārūtu*(*m*) as "music" comes from a similar fact. This is the case of
our Texts 44–52 from Mari.

However, there are some texts where **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) definitely have the
meaning of "music". Let us, at this moment, make reference to these:

- In our Text 4, from the 2ⁿᵈ Dynasty of Lagaš (that is, 3ʳᵈ millennium), **nam-nar**
  describes the perfect (**šu du₇-a**) activity of three musical instruments. Those
  instruments were the **se-em** cymbals, the **a₂-la₂** (giant) drum and the **balaŋ** lyre, more
  concretely, the beloved Ninŋirsu's **balaŋ** called **ušumgal kalam-ma**.

- In our Texts 33 and 39, already in the Old Babylonian Period, Šulgi and Išmē-Dagān
  claim to have devoted themselves to music (**nam-nar**). In those claims, they make
  reference to the different instruments and chant(s) (techniques) they mastered. It is
  important to highlight that those musical elements also referred to the world of
  lamentations. That is the case of our Text 40, where Išmē-Dagān claims to have
  mastered the "difficult aspects of music" (**nam-nar-a ki bal-bal-la-bi**) and, at that
  moment, he makes reference to the **šag₄ ser₃ še₁₁(LUL)-da**, the action of "soothing"
  (**še₁₁**) the heart (**šag₄**) with the **ser₃** songs. The activity of those kings also included
  some more theoretical aspects of music. Certainly, in our Text 35, Šulgi talks about
  his familiarity with the "(deep) sense of music" (**šag₄ nam-nar-ra**). That term should
  designate a quite abstract concept/entity keeping in mind the description of that **šag₄
  nam-nar-ra** in our Text 25 (an excerpt from *The Father and his rude Son*). In that
  text, this term is described as something "distant" (**su₃-ud**) from the human
  understanding as the ocean shores.

- In our Texts (22), 23, and 52, some people are described as "not fit" (**nu-ub-du₇** in
  the Sumerian Text 22, *ul redī* in our Akkadian Text 52) for "music". That implies that
  these people were neither ready/sufficient to perform (some) musical tasks. However,
  that would also imply that could not do other less musical activities but still relevant

in terms of the behaviour and "manners" of a good musician. We can see that in our Text 23, where we find references to the respect/greeting of other people.

We should remember also those texts where **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) acted like an adjective ("musical") describing an instrument (Texts 13, 55–58) or a sung text (Texts 37–38 and 59–60, about the expression **s/šer₃ nam-nar**) during the 2nd millennium BCE. In addition, our Texts 67 and 69 from the 1st millennium describe, respectively, a "musical" group of tablets (**kešda nam-nar**, expression which we see also as "group of tablet of the text *corpus* of the **nar**" in line with our Text 70) and a music festival (**IZIN NAM.NAR**). However, the most important texts to be considered here are the following:

- In our Text 34 (= *Šulgi B*, 157), the expression **nam-nar šu du₇-a** might describe the perfect sound of the **tige₂** and **a-da-ab** drums. Perhaps that expression was a (literary) elaboration of the meaning of that same expression contained in our Text 4 (= *Gudea Cylinders,* B15.20–22), an excerpt where **nam-nar šu du₇-a** designated the perfect music(al action) of the **se-em**, **a₂-la₂** and **balaŋ** instruments. In any case, this meaning of **nam-nar** as "musical sound" would not be an exception in southern Mesopotamia. Certainly, we can also find it in our Text 12, where <**nam**>-**nar** ᵍᵉˢ**tigidla**ₓ cannot designate the profession of the **nar** of the ᵍᵉˢ**tigidla**ₓ since that instrument was never played by the **nar**. In addition, a reference to the musical sound (**nam-nar**) of the ᵍᵉˢ**tigidla**ₓ might make sense with the reference, in the same text, to the **asila₃** cry of the **tige**ₓ and **a-da-ab** songs.

- Our Text 48, from Mari, is also very relevant. Certainly, Rîšīya said in that text to have made music (*nārūtam epēšum*) with the sons of Muḫaddum. Until this point, we might translate that expression as "to perform the office of the *nārum*" as we have, for instance, in our Text 42. In that text, said expression referred to a musician of the god Āmûm. However, Muḫaddum's answer (*šūma ittikama ēpuš*, "make it with yourself") is interesting for our hypothesis. Certainly, it makes reference to something which could be "performed" with other people or with oneself, as music.

- Finally, our Text 49, also from Mari, contains the sentence *u nārūtam ana lâʾîm īpeš* ("and he performs music for Lâʾûm") where, as we noted in our Section 5.2.2.6, the

name Lâ'ûm can be hardly applicable to a city. In that section we noted, among other things, that we have the preposition *ana* ("for") and not *ina* ("in") in this excerpt.

Therefore, in our opinion, **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) not only designated the music *lato sensu*, but also the music as something pertaining to the musical sounds and their use, just as in our word for "music". Some people have defined **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) just as "ceremonial music", while **nam-gala**/*kalûtu*(*m*) would designate the music used for the lamentations. That would be in line with the main professional occupations of the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*) and the **gala**/*kalû*(*m*). However, we have argued in several parts of this study that **nam-gala**/*kalûtu*(*m*) never meant something like "lamentation music". Certainly, that term only referred to the office of the **gala**/*kalû*(*m*) priest (not musician) or to a group of those priests. Moreover, in the 1st millennium, this term referred also the text *corpus* of the *kalû*(*m*). In fact, we already find in *nigûtu*(*m*) a term for "joyful music". In this sense, there was no reason for having another reference to that type of music in **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*). In any case, as we have previously seen, *nigûtu*(*m*) should be mainly understood as a consequence ("make music/merry") of a contextual mood ("to be happy") and not something specifically musical, as **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*).

7.4. About other meanings for **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*)

In any case, as a part of the changes occurring throughout the Mesopotamian world during its long history, the meaning of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) underwent some changes. Certainly, it is possible that the meaning as "music" that we are defending for these two terms were already a bit "eroded" in the 1st millennium BCE. Certainly, for instance, we found some (reasonable) doubts about reading the Sumerogram **NAM.NAR** of our Text 68 as *nārūtu*. However, the main change we have detected regarding our terms **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) seems rather to concern to their transformation from an original nature as words with a single meaning to a final stage where they pertained to three different (musical) things more or less at the same time.

Thus, by the 3rd millennium, **nam-nar**, and perhaps *nārūtu*(*m*), would mean "music", the main example of that being our Text 4, *Gudea Cylinders*, B15.20–22. By the end of that millennium, we already find our first references to these terms as "office of the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*)", just as in our Text 7–8. That meaning would consolidate its presence in our documentation by the Old Babylonian Period. At that moment, that meaning would

become frequent in our legal texts and some letters, as in the case of Mari. Elementary scribal curriculum texts and literary texts, in addition to those letters from Mari, would make reference, on the contrary, to **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) as "music" with different scopes. Finally, by the 1st millennium, we find three different meanings for **nam-nar**/*nārūtu*(*m*): "music" (as in our Text 69 besides our Neo-Assyrian Texts 58–60), "office of the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*)" (our Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid legal Texts 61–66) and "text *corpus* of the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*)". This last meaning is found in our Text 70 besides our Text 67. In any case, the condition of **nam-nar** in that text as an adjective ("musical") would fit better with the grammar (we have **kešda nam-nar**, not **kešda nam-nar-ra**).

7.5. Final statement

The main meaning of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) was "music" throughout most of the long history of Mesopotamia, at least from the middle 3rd millennium until the final centuries of the 1st millennium BCE. Other meanings for these words appeared later in our texts: "office of the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*)" (from the 2nd millennium onward) and "text corpus of the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*)" (by the 1st millennium BCE). In addition, some of these meanings appear only in a specific type of text. This is the case of **nam-nar** and *nārūtu*(*m*) as "office of the **nar**/*nāru*(*m*)", a meaning appearing mainly in our legal texts.

Therefore, contrary to the previous, commonly held understanding, there was actually a word for "music" in ancient Mesopotamia in line with other modern and ancient cultures and their languages around the world. In this way, Assyriologists in the future will be able to study the conceptualizations of music in Mesopotamia.

8. INDICES

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8.1.5. Terms in Ancient languages

8.1.5.1. Sumerian

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a$_2$ šum$_2$	163, 183 n. 1262
a$_2$ taraḫ	126
$^{(kuš)}$a$_2$-la$_2$	12 n. 84, 26, 44 n. 309, 45–47, 51–53, 62, 132, 148, 151–152, 154
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nam-enku	54 n. 387
nam-gab₂-us₂	54 n. 387
nam-gal	78 n. 550
nam-gala	15, 70-71, 77 n. 547, 203 n. 1375, 153, 235–236
nam-gu₂	38 n. 253
nam-gudu₄	98 n. 694
nam-ŋeš₂	159
nam-ia	159
nam-kalag-ga	78 n. 550
nam-kisal-luḫ	98 n. 694
nam-lu₂-(ulu₃)	38 n. 253, 118
nam-lu₂-bappir	98 n. 694
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nam-lu₂-pi-lu₅-da	54 n. 387
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nam-nar	*passim*
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nam-u₄-da-tuš	54 n. 387
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nar munus	55, 56 n. 492, 57, 58, 63
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niŋ₂-SAR(-SAR)	82
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8.1.5.2.   Akkadian and Sumerograms in Akkadian texts

agû(m)[1565]	150 n. 1061
aḫāzu(m)	178 n. 1238
aḫu(m)	183 n. 1262
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alû(m)	27 n. 196, 45 n. 318
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ana mārūti(m) nadānu(m)	210 n. 1425
apālu(m)	193
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āšipūtu(m)	225–226
ašnugallu(m)	124 n. 865
aššu(m)	178 n. 1238, 218 n. 1473
aštalû(m)	114 n. 798, 175, 190, 194
baddû(m)	181–182
balaggu(m)	18
bašû(m)	10
batultu(m)	208
bārû(m)	226, 228
bārûtu(m)	226, 228
bištu(m)	185 n. 1276
bīt mummi(m)	12 n. 89, 139 n. 988
bīt tegêti(m)	139
dagālu(m)	211 n. 1432
lu2DUMU.NID2.LA.LA	212
elammakku(m)	189 n. 1297

[1565] As a matter of coherence, the mimation is put as optional in all the Akkadian terms of this list independently of their chronology.

ebbubbu(*m*)	221 n. 1501
ēnu(*m*)/*īnu*(*m*)	196
enûtu(*m*)	11, 193–197, 201–202, 229
epēšu(*m*)	88, 173, 185, 197, 235
DIRI₃.SAG₁₀.GA	174
ḫalāqu(*m*)	180 n. 1247, 197
ḫalḫallatu(*m*)	11 n. 79
ḫasīs sammî(*m*)	107
ḫasīru(*m*)	172 n. 1196
ḫišeḫtu(*m*)	194
ḫubûru(*m*)	12–13, 177 n. 1231
ḫuppû(*m*)	126 n. 879, 183
ikrību(*m*)	81–82
inûtu(*m*)	195 n. 1326
ina	186, 235
isinnu(*m*)	224 n. 1522
išdu(*m*)	223 n. 1517
itti	223 n. 1521
ittinnūtu(*m*)	223
KA₅.A	212 n. 1438
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kamû(*m*)	205, 215, 217–218
kaw/mû(*m*)	217
kaššāptu(*m*)	216
kirru(*m*)	109
kummu(*m*)	205 n. 1386
KU₃.SI₂₂	109, 193 n. 1319, 195 n. 1326
lā illu(*m*)	212 n. 1439
lē'u(*m*)	189–190
le'û(*m*)	181 n. 1250

lilisu(*m*)	11 n. 79, 48, 136 n. 962, 210
LU₂.DEŠTIN	222 n. 1516
LU₂.KU₃.DIM₂	195 n. 1326
malsûtu(*m*)	218
mandītu(*m*)	111
mārītu(*m*)	201 n. 1361
martu(*m*)	149
mašmaššu(*m*)	220 n. 1490
mimma	194 n. 1322
mummu(*m*)	12 n. 89, 13, 185 n. 1277, 193
mušāḫizu(*m*)	189–190
nabû(*m*)	10
nakāpu(*m*)	214 n. 1456
nadû(*m*)	183 n. 1262
nargallatu(*m*)	180 n. 1249
(ᵐᵘⁿᵘˢ**NAR.GAL**,	
ᵐᵘⁿᵘˢ**NAR₃.GALA₇**)	
nargallūtu(*m*)	180
nāru(*m*)	*passim*
nārūtu(*m*)	*passim*
narûtu(*m*)	81–82, 171, 232
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ni'u(*m*)	181–182 n. 1261, 220 n. 1489
nīd qabli(*m*)	1
nigkalagû(*m*)	220 n. 1490
nigûtu(*m*)	11 n. 79, 78, 224, 229, 236
*nu'artu(*m*)	208
nūru(*m*)	212 n. 1439
para(*ḫ*)*š*(*īt*)*u*(*m*)	19, 85 n. 612
puršum(*t*)*u*(*m*)	98–99
qaqqadu(*m*)	210
qaštu(*m*)	177 n. 1230

8.1.5.3.　　Other Ancient Languages

8.1.5.3.1.　　Aramaic

8.1.5.3.2.　　Biblical Hebrew

8.1.5.3.3.　　Chinese

8.1.5.3.4.　　Eblaite

8.2. Edited and Commented Texts

Titles of the different sections have normally tried to show the title of the text to be commented at each time. In any case, as a sort of clarification, here is an index of the different texts edited and commented here. We indicate only the page of their transliteration and translation, not the one for other comments, whether in the main text, whether in the footnotes.

8.3. Cited Texts

8.3.1. Mesopotamian Texts

8.3.1.1.   Uruk Period

ATU 5 89 [VAT 15061]
ii 3   48 n. 345

8.3.1.2.   Early Dynastic IIIa

CUSAS 11 18 [CUNES 50-03-188]
o. 2   38 n. 253

AWEL 1 [Erm. 14001] (Urukagina 02-00-00)
r. iii 3   71 n. 515

IAS 54 + 56 [IM 70293+]
o. v 17   27 n. 191
o. v 18   27 n. 197
o. v 19   27 n. 193

IAS 60 [IM 70171]
o. vi 2'   28 n. 204

IAS 326 + 342 [IM 70169 + 70297?]
passim   70 n. 502

SF 47 [VAT 12619]
57_(22)   28 n. 204
58_(23)   27 n. 193
60_9   27 n. 197

SF 70 [VAT 12617]
o. i 8   49 n. 353

8.3.1.3.   Early Dynastic IIIb

DP 588 [AO 13796] (Urukagina 04-00-00)
o. i 6   41 n. 280

DP 590 [AO 13798] (Urukagina 04-00-00)
o. i 5   41 n. 280

ED Practical Vocabulary A
207–208   19 n. 134, 51 n. 370
210–212   41 n. 281

ED **Lu₂** *E*
98   49 n. 353
101   27 n. 191
102   27 n. 197
103–105   27 n. 193, 41 n. 281
107   28 n. 204

TSA 7 [MRAH O.653] (Urukagina 00-00-00)
r. i 3   41 n. 280

8.3.1.4.   Ebla

ARET 5 6 [TM.75.G.2421 + 75.G.5511]
passim   70 n. 502

ARET 9 107 [TM75.G.576]
o. i 3   27 n. 191

MEE 3 8 + 9 + unpublished fragment [TM.75.G.11651+]

o. vi 2   28 n. 204

MEE 4 2 + 3 + 61 [TM.75.G.15301]

r. ii 4'   23 n. 160

MEE 4 76 [TM.75.G.1445]

r. iii 15   45 n. 320

8.3.1.5.   Old Akkadian

Adab 658 [OIM A658] (00-00-00)

o. 11   39 n. 259

Adab 1209 [OIM A1209] (00-00-00)

o. ii 10   39 n. 264

CDLI P270837 [Anonymous 270837] (00-00-00)

o. ii 3   40 n. 275

CDLI P390448 [Kress 150] (03-00-00)

o. i 2   39 n. 267

CUSAS 13 2 [CUNES 47-12-177] (00-00-00)

r. 8   39 n. 259

r. 11   39 n. 259

CUSAS 19 97 [CUNES 48-10-76] (00-00-00)

o. 4'   39 n. 259

o. 7'   39 n. 259

r. 1   39 n. 259

r. 5   39 n. 259

CUSAS 20 136 [CUNES 48-7-97] (00-00-00),
o. 4   39 n. 259

CUSAS 20 164 [CUNES 48-6-173] (00-00-00)
o. 2   39 n. 259
o. 7   39 n. 266

CUSAS 20 168 [CUNES 48-10-115] (00-00-00)
r. 1   39 n. 265

CUSAS 20 194 [CUNES 50-1-10] (00-00-00)
o. 5–6   49 n. 353
r. 4   49 n. 353

CUSAS 20 339 [CUNES 47-11-47] (00-00-00)
o. 3   39 n. 259

CUSAS 35 360 [MS 4206] (Naram-Sîn 01-00-00[?])
o. ii 18   39 n. 259

Farber and Walter, 2003: 66 n. 1 [Anonymous 499911] (00-00-00)
r. 8   39 n. 261

ITT 1 1100 [Ist. L 1100] (00-00-00)
o. 7   39 n. 262

ITT 2 4409 [Ist. L 4409] (00-00-00)
r. 2   39 n. 260

MDP 14 19 [Sb 1819] (00-00-00)
r. 9   40 n. 276

OSP 1 24 [N 281] (00-00-00)
o. iii 2   39 n. 269

OSP 2 100 [UM 29-15-202] (Šar-kali-šarrī 02-00-00)
r. i 15   39 n. 270

OSP 2 120 [CBS 6225] (00-00-00)
o. 5   39 n. 268

OSP 2 133 [N 433 + 581] (00-00-00)
r. 12   23 n. 160, 27 n. 195, 49 n. 353

OSP 2 134 [N 526] (00-00-00)
o. 5   39 n. 268

OSP 2 136 [N 278] (00-00-00)
o. 3   39 n. 268
r. 5   23 n. 160, 27 n. 195, 49 n. 353

OSP 2 149 [CBS 6223 + N 611] (00-00-00)
o. 2   39 n. 268

OSP 2 154 [N 275] (00-00-00)
o. 8   39 n. 268

RTC 96 [AO 31324] (00-00-00)
o. 10'   39 n. 263

STTI 1 20 [Ist. L 1176] (00-00-00)
o. 5   39 n. 259

STTI 1 182 [Ist. L 9336] (00-00-00)
r. 5   47 n. 340

TCBI 1 212 [BdI 1,180] (00-00-00)
r. 1   39 n. 259

TCBI 1 231 [BdI 1,86] (00-00-00)
r. 2   39 n. 259

TMH 5 186 + 202 [HS 936 + 952 + 994 + 1000] (00-00-00)
r. i 22   40 n. 277

USP 26 [NMS A.1927.421] (00-00-00)
r. 6   40 n. 278

Westenholz, 1974: 78, text 4 [NMC 10071] (00-00-00)
r. 2   40 n. 275

8.3.1.6.   2nd Dynasty of Lagaš

Çiğ, 1976: 87 text 7 [Ist. L 40470] (Gudea 03-00-00)
r. 4'   50 n. 360

Gudea Cylinders

A1.14   52 n. 376
A2.15   52 n. 375
A6.24   42 n. 288, 49 n. 358, 50 n. 360
A6.25   47 n. 341, 49 n. 358, 130 n. 904 and 907
A7.24   49 n. 358, 50 n. 360
A7.25   47 n. 341, 49 n. 358
A10.17–18   52 n. 375
A18.7   52 n. 376
A18.18   44 n. 303, 309, 45 n. 321
A20.13   52 n. 375

A28.17   49 n. 355

A28.18   44 n. 303, 309, 45 n. 321, 46 n. 322, 49 n. 357

B4.20–21   50 n. 363

B5.23   52 n. 375

B7.4–10   52 n. 376

B10.9   77 n. 551, 78 n. 560, 150 n. 1056

B10.11   49 n. 353, 51 n. 371

B10.14   15 n. 111, 51 n. 369

B11.1   50 n. 362

B14.25–B15.16 42 n. 284

B16.4   52 n. 375

B18.19   52 n. 376

B18.22   50 n. 360 and 366, 78 n. 552, 79 n. 561, 150 n. 1056

Gudea Statue B [E3/1.1.7.StB]

iv 3   50 n. 368

Gudea Statue L [E3/1.1.7.StL]

a 41'   46 n. 329

MVN 7 458 [Ist. L 8065] (Gudea 02-00-00)

r. 1   50 n. 360

RTC 247 [AO 3432] (00-00-00)

o. i 10'   49 n. 359

Thureau-Dangin, 1902: 82 [AO 3324] (Gudea 02-00-00)

o. 7'   50 n. 360

Thureau-Dangin, 1902: 86 [AO 3367] (00-00-00)

o. i 3   44 n. 303

o. ii 7   44 n. 303

Thureau-Dangin, 1902: 88 [AO 3368] (00-00-00)

o. i 1	44 n. 303
o. iii 1	44 n. 303
r. ii 1	44 n. 303
r. ii 5	45 n. 316

8.3.1.7.   Ur III Period

AAICAB 1/1, pl. 20 [Ashm. 1911-160] (Šu-Suen 02-09-00)

| o. 1 | 60 n. 433 |

AAICAB 1/2, pl. 105 [Ashm. 1937-68] (Šulgi 48-04-00)

| o. 2 | 43 n. 295 |

AAICAB 1/1, pl. 166 [Ashm. 1911-480] (Šulgi 42-00-00)

o. ii 15	57 n. 415
r. i 13	57 n. 415
r. i 6	57 n. 415
r. ii 14–15	57 n. 415

AAICAB 1/2, pl. 166 [Ashm. 1975-293] (Amar-Suena 02-09-00)

o. ii 14	57 n. 415
o. ii 17	57 n. 415
r. ii 5	57 n. 415

AAICAB 1/4, pl. 262 [Bod. S 379] (Šu-Suen 02-04-12)

| r. 1–4 | 59 n. 423 |

AIHA 4, p. 40 [IM 92363] (00-00-00)

| *passim* | 67 n. 483 |

Amherst 17 [Amherst ---] (Šulgi 25-00-00)

| o. ii 18 | 50 n. 360 |

Amorites 20 (pl. 9) [OIM A4218] (Šu-Suen 04-09-02)

r. 6–8   70 n. 506

AnOr 7 285 [MM 188] (00-00-00)

o. iii' 7'   66 n. 476
o. iii' 24'   66 n. 476

AnOr 7 296 [MM 190] (00-00-00)

o. ii 16   57–58 n. 415
r. ii 9   57–58 n. 415

Atiqot 4 7–9 [IMJ 90.24.61] (Amar-Suena 05-04-00)

o. ii 9   63 n. 460

AUCT 1 942 [AUAM 73.724] (Amar-Suena 02-00-00)

o. 8   63 n. 462

AUCT 3 42 [AUAM 73.851] (Šu-Suen 01-12-00)

o. 1–3   70 n. 508

BIN 3 262 [NBC 2176] (Ibbī-Suen 02-09-01)

o. 3   50 n. 367

BIN 5 301 [NBC 1424] (00-00-00)

r. 31   57 n. 410

BPOA 2 2318 [BM 112068] (Šu-Suen 04-00-00)

o. 1   60 n. 433

BPOA 6 137 [YBC 13653] (Šu-Suen 02-10-00)

o. 1   60 n. 433

BPOA 6 1190 [NBC 618] (Šulgi 45-00-00)
r. 1   27 n. 199

BPOA 7 1559 [NBC 1516] (Amar-Suena 04-00-00)
r. 4–5   63 n. 458

BPOA 7 2401 [NBC 3641] (Amar-Suena 07-01-00)
o. 1–2   58 n. 417
o. 5–r. 2   58 n. 417

BPOA 10 558 [YBC 13384] (00-00-00)
o. 3'   65 n. 465

CDLI P218067 [WAM 2000.47] (Amar-Suena 05-00-00)
o. i 32   63 n. 457

CDLI P235573 [USC 6763 = L.63] (Šu-Suen 03-00-00)
r. 12   27 n. 197

CST 189 [JRL 189] (Šulgi 47-10-14)
o. 1–3   70 n. 510

CST 442 [JRL 442] (Šu-Suen 07-11-18)
o. 1–2   70 n. 510

Delaporte, 1911: 192 text 14 [NME H94673] (Amar-Suena 08-11-00)
o. 3   64 n. 465

Fish, 1958: 84–87 [BM 106055] (Šulgi 45-01-00)
r. i 12'   106–107 n. 736, 107 n. 741

Fish and Lambert, 1963: 96 18 [BM 105348] (00-00-00)
r. 12   43 n. 295

MVN 12 547 [FLP 2527] (Ibbī-Suen 02-09-02)

o. 3   50 n. 367

MVN 15 142 [Cornell 30] (Šulgi 00-00-00)

r. 22–23   70 n. 504

MVN 20 81 [Erm. 4040] (Ibbī-Suen 02-00-00)

r. 1   57 n. 409

r. 6–7   57 n. 409

MVN 21 238 [Erm. 14487] (Amar-Suena 08-06-00)

o. 4   58 n. 416

o. 7   58 n. 416

MVN 21 240 [Erm. 8087] (Šu-Suen 05-05-00)

o. 4   58 n. 417

r. 1–3   58 n. 417

Mycenaean, p. 217 no. 7 [Ashm. 1924-668] (Šu-Suen 02-00-00)

o. ii 20   57–58 n. 415

r. i 16   57–58 n. 415

r. ii 7   57–58 n. 415

Nebraska 45 [OPL ---] (00-00-00)

o. ii 34   57 n. 410

Nebraska 49 [OPL 45] (00-00-00)

o. 4   57 n. 407

Nisaba 6 12 [BM 106051] (0000-00-00)

o. iv 12   59 n. 422

o. v 6   56 n. 401

Nisaba 6 27 [BM 106043] (Šulgi 32-05-00)

o. vi 21	57 n. 412
o. vi 32	57 n. 412
o. viii 9	57 n. 412
r. iv 12	55 n. 402
r. v 1	57 n. 412
r. v 9–15	56 n. 404

Nisaba 11 18 [BM 104752] (Ibbī-Suen 03$^{?}$-03- 00)

o. i 14	57 n. 408

Nisaba 15/2 97 [Anonymous] (Amar-Suena 08-04-17)

o. 10–r. 1	70 n. 505

Nisaba 15/2 342 [Adra 15] (Šu-Suen 05-12-00)

o. 4	43 n. 295

Nisaba 15/2 462 [Anonymous 388020] (Šu-Suen 08-00-00)

o. 4	43 n. 295

Nisaba 15/2 668 [Private owner] (Ibbī-Suen 01-00-00)

o. i 4	66 n. 476
o. ii 22	56 n. 403
o. ii 30	66 n. 476
o. iii 38	66 n. 476
o. iv 23	66 n. 476

Nisaba 15/2 1031 [Unknown] (00-00-00)

o. ii' 15'	56 n. 403

Nisaba 15/2 1032 [Unknown] (00-00-00)

o. ii 24	56 n. 403

Nisaba 23 24 [BM 110237] (Amar-Suena 05-06-00)

o. ii 12   57–58 n. 415

o. ii 18   57–58 n. 415

r. ii 16   57–58 n. 415

Nisaba 23 36 [BM 110272] (Amar-Suena 06$^?$-00-00)

o. ii 7   57–58 n. 415

o. ii 14   57–58 n. 415

r. ii 12   57–58 n. 415

Nisaba 24 28 [BM 110122] (Amar-Suena 05-01-00)

o. ii 23–25   58 n. 417

o. ii 37–o. iii 2   57 n. 408

Nisaba 26 10 [BM 110149] (Amar-Suena 05-06-00)

o. ii 9–10   57–58 n. 415

o. ii 16   57–58 n. 415

r. ii 11   57–58 n. 415

Nisaba 26 80 [BM 110247] (Amar-Suena 05-00-00)

o. i 1–2   59 n. 425

o. i 4   58 n. 421

o. ii 17   59 n. 425

r. ii 1–2   59 n. 425

Nisaba 30 23 [Owen ---] (Šulgi 47-08-18)

r. 2–3   70 n. 504

NYPL 120 [NYPLC 205] (Ibbī-Suen 02-02-00)

o. i 9   57 n. 408

r. i 12   57–58 n. 415

r. i 23   57 n. 408

Ontario 2 488 [ROM 925.62.8] (Šulgi 25-00-00)

o. 8   57 n. 411

OrSP 18 5 17 [Schneider ---] (Šulgi 48-09-09)

o. 16–17   70 n. 511

OrSP 47–49 21 [VAT 6966] (Amar-Suena 02-09-24)

o. 1-2   70 n. 507

Owen and Wasilewska, 2000: 15, text 57 [ASM 12054] (Šulgi 32-09-00)

o. v 14'   57 n. 412

r. ii 12   57 n. 412

r. iv 4   57 n. 412

PDT 1 464 [Ist. PD ---] (Šu-Suen 01-09-06)

o. 1–2   70 n. 509

PDT 1 525 [Ist. PD ---] (Amar-Suena 05-12-00)

o. i 6   66 n. 466

o. i 14   66 n. 466

PDT 2 1120 [Ist. PD ---] (Amar-Suena 04-02-02)

o. 7   63 n. 463, 86 n. 619

Princeton 1 90 [PTS 540] (Amar-Suena 02-06-09)

o. 6   70 n. 511

Princeton 2 435 [PTS 1357] (Ibbī-Suen 02-09-00)

o. 4   50 n. 367

Rochester 159 [Crozer 76] (Ibbī-Suen 03-04-00)
o. i 17   57 n. 408
r. ii 17–18   57 n. 408

Rochester 166 [Crozer 83] (Šulgi 44-00-00)
o. 4   56 n. 405

RTC 399 [AO 2444] (Ibbī-Suen 03-00-00)
r. i 24   50 n. 367

Rudik, 2013: 481–482 [HS 1556]
o. 2–4   134 n. 937

SANTAG 6 178 [Erm. 18768] (Amar-Suena 07-07-00)
o. 4   60 n. 433

SAT 2 189 [YBC 11209] (Šulgi 38-00-00)
o. 4   56 n. 403

SAT 2 724 [YBC 8255] (Amar-Suena 02-10-30)
o. iii 15–19   70 n. 507
o. iv 31–34   70 n. 507
o. vi 15–16   70 n. 507
r. i 22–23   70 n. 507

SAT 3 1708 [YBC 1166] (Šu-Suen 06-00-00)
o. 3   57 n. 408

SET 274 [RC 929] (Amar-Suena 02-00-00)
r. ii 5   58 n. 417

SNAT 533 [BM 106111] (00-00-00)
r. 4   27 n. 197

Snell, 1982: pl. 4 3 [CUL 2] (Amar-Suena 04-00-00)

r. i 9   82 n. 580

STA 4 [PUL Ex. 183] (Amar-Suena 01-05-00)

r. i 19   63 n. 460

STA 14 [PUL Ex. 835] (Ibbī-Suen 02-02-00)

o. i 12   57 n. 408
r. ii 4   57 n. 408

STA 15 [PUL Ex. 833] (Ibbī-Suen 02-12-00)

r. ii 15   56 n. 405

STA 16 [PUL Ex. 665] (Ibbī-Suen 02-02-00)

o. i 9   57 n. 408
r. i 22   57 n. 408

TCBI 2/2 50 [BI C 11] (Šu-Suen 07-04-00)

r. 2–4   70 n. 508

TCNU 702 [MAT 702] (Šulgi 35-01-00)

o. ii 3   56 n. 403
o. ii 23   59 n. 424
r. ii 19–21   59 n. 424

TCL 5 6038 [AO 6038] (Amar-Suena 07-00-00)

r. iv 11   27 n. 197

TRU 350 [ICP 350] (Šu-Suen 02-09-07)

r. 1–2   70–71 n. 511

TUT 159 [VAT 2330] (Amar-Suena 01-05-00)

o. v 25   63 n. 460

UDT 97 [NBC 97] (Amar-Suena 04-09-19)

o. 8–9   70 n. 509

r. 21   27 n. 198, 86 n. 619

UET 3 15 [U. 4864 (IM envelope) + U. 7002 (BM tablet)] (Šulgi 47-00-00)

o. 8   27 n. 198, 86 n. 619

UET 3 1449 [U. 3600] (Ibbī-Suen 07-10-00)

r. ii 16   62 n. 449

UET 3 1070 [U. 4841] (Ibbī-Suen 08-09-00)

o. 2   27 n. 197

UET 3 1265 [U. 4611] (00-00-00)

o. i 4   27 n. 191

UET 9 821 (Ibbī-Suen 06-05-00)

o. 3   27 n. 191

UET 9 830 (Ibbī-Suen 06-11-00)

r. 4   27 n. 191

UTI 4 2849 [Ist. Um 2849] (Šu-Suen 02-00-00)

o. 6   58 n. 418

UTI 5 3152 [Ist. Um 3152] (Amar-Suena 09-00-00)

r. 3   64 n. 465

YOS 15 115 [PM 19] (Amar-Suena 05-01-00)

o. ii 10–15   59 n. 425

o. ii 21   59 n. 425

o. iii 31   57 n. 414

o. iv 16   57 n. 414

YOS 15 118 [Private owner] (00-00- 00)

o. i 5   56 n. 401

r. ii 3   56 n. 401

YOS 15 119 [Missouri 8] (00-00-00)

o. 13   63 n. 464

YOS 18 100 [CUL 9] (00-05$^{?}$-00)

o. 3   56 n. 403

8.3.1.8.   Old Assyrian

TCL 14 47 [AO 8717]

o. 7   81 n. 579, 171 n. 1194

VS 26 75 [VAT 13516]

r. 7'   81 n. 579, 171 n. 1194

8.3.1.9.   Old Babylonian southern Mesopotamian texts

A uru2-ŋu10 im-me, Cohen, 1988: 647–649 [YBC 9862]

43   153 n. 1092

AbB 9 193 [NBC 5309] (Ḫammu-rāpi 31+)

r. 1   126 n. 879

AbB 14 137 [AO 6907] (00-00-00)

o. 1   110 n. 771

Aba-taḫ-lugalŋa to his brothers

3   120 n. 839
11   120 n. 839

Asalluḫi A

16–17   147 n. 1035

BIN 9 213 [NBC 7594] (00-10-03)

o. 1   150 n. 1069

BIN 9 185 [NBC 8416] (Išbī-Erra 22-12-00/23-01-00)

o. 5–r. 1   108–109 n. 757

BIN 9 312 [NBC 7172] (00-00-00)

o. 8   151 n. 1070

BIN 9 352 [NBC 5684] (Išbī-Erra 13-08-00)

o. 5   109 n. 760

BIN 10 104 [NBC 10075] (Išbī-Erra 13-02-00)

o. 1–8   108–109 n. 757
r. 4   109 n. 759

BPOA 9 16 [N 4838]

passim   128 n. 891

BPOA 9 17 [N 5730]

passim   128 n. 891

CDLI P231749 [YBC 2127]

d i 16   108–109 n. 757

CDLI P247861 [IB 1612b]

r. i 7   43 n. 298

CDLI P277029 [N 1915 + N 6268]

passim   162 n. 1151

CDLI P355702 [Haddad 2]

KXXIV.16   43 n. 297

Civil, 1987a: 14–15 [IM 58336] (Išbī-Erra 00-00-00)

o. 7   162 n. 1148

Copper and Silver

A 33   139 n. 986

CT 4, pl. 8 [BM 78210] (Šamšu-ditāna 07-12-20)

r. 13   100 n. 703

CT 15, pl. 18 [BM 15821]

r. 14   115 n. 808

CT 36, pl. 41–42 [BM 96940]

o. 19   43 n. 298
o. 21   115 n. 808
o. 22   134 n. 937

CT 45, pl. 84 [BM 78284] (00-00-00)

r. 15–16   100 n. 702

Keš Temple Hymn

115a	152 n. 1077
116a	79 n. 558

Kramer, 1981: 2–6 [BM 29616]

o. 21–23	185 n. 1272

Lerberghe, 1986: text 4 [CBS 50] (Abī-ešuḫ 28-03-25)

o. 7	100 n. 703

Lipit-Ištar E

31	160 n. 1137

Lu₂-azlag₂ B–C

Segment 2, 167	88 n. 639

Lugalbanda in the mountain cave

251–253	98 n. 694

Lugal u₄ me-lam₂-bi nir-ŋal

514	124 n. 865
617	114 n. 804

Man and his god

4	151 n. 1068

Martu's Marriage

60	43 n. 298

Mayer, 2005: pl. 35–36 [IB 211] (Rīm-Sîn I 38-11-00)

r. 4–5	126 n. 881

"Monkey" to his mother

MSL 14, p. 19 B$_g$ [CBS 15221]
o. 10   114 n. 801

MSL 14, p. 29 L$_e$ [HS 1756]
o. 5   114 n. 801

MSL SS 1, p. 96 [Ashm. 1923-402]
a ii 37'–38'   152 n. 1079

Nanna A
6   122 n. 850
34–36   122 n. 850

Nanna I
42   122 n. 850

Nanna K
28   122 n. 850

Nanna L
53   160 n. 1137

Nanna N
23   153 n. 1089 and 1094, 155 n. 1101
26   153 n. 1094, 155 n. 1101
27   153 n. 1094

Našše A
40   107 n. 744
41   126 n. 876, 152 n. 1083
42–44   126 n. 876, 151 n. 1081

PBS 8/1 27 [CBS 13947] (00-00-00)
o. 3   166 n. 1778

PBS 8/1 92 [CBS 10888] (00-00-00)
r. 2   166 n. 1778

PBS 8/2 194 [CBS 345]
o. i 20   109 n. 762

Peterson, 2015a: 46–47 [N 2821a]
passim   145 n. 1022

Proto-**aa**
757:1   15 n. 112, 76 n. 541

Proto-Ea
275   178 n. 1234
327   28 n. 206
423   106 n. 736
460   114 n. 801
461   78 n. 552
757   15 n. 112

Proto-**izi**
II 218–220   78 n. 550
II 235   78 n. 550
II 397   76 n. 538

Proto-**ka₂-gal**
370   136 n. 960
371   136 n. 960
372–373   136 n. 960

196	133 n. 930
272	145 n. 1022
350	114 n. 796

Šulgi C

A 115	148 n. 1044
B 75	133 n. 930
B 76	133 n. 930, 145 n. 1023
B 77–82	133 n. 930
B 90	94 n. 666, 152 n. 1084
B 95	148 n. 1044

Šulgi D

15	148 n. 1044
37	148 n. 1044
62	148 n. 1044
217	148 n. 1043
224	148 n. 1045
295	148 n. 1045
333	148 n. 1043
366	43 n. 296
396	148 n. 1045

Šulgi E

14–15	145 n. 1022
16–33	145 n. 1022, 161 n. 1146
34	146 n. 1028, 161 n. 1146
35–37	160 n. 1144, 161 n. 1146
38	115 n. 810, 161 n. 1146
51	133 n. 930
53–55	136 n. 954
56	115 n. 810, 136 n. 954
57–58	136 n. 954

TCL 11 146 [AO 8430] (Ḫammu-rāpi 33-09-06)
r. 3–4   100 n. 702 and 704

Temple Hymns
107   43 n. 298, 122 n. 851, 140 n. 990, 154 n. 1096
183   27 n. 196, 28 n. 212, 106 n. 729 and 735
206   132 n. 925
313–314   63 n. 455
316   132 n. 925
513   132 n. 925

The Raging Sea
a+38   115 n. 808

The Slave and the Scoundrel
24   86 n. 620

TMH NF 4 1 [HS 1475 + 1476 + 1502]
r. vi 18   154 n. 1098

TMH 10 8 [HS 2077] (Šamšu-ilūna 15-02-01)
o. 8–9   126 n. 881

TMH 10 13a [HS 2352 + Ist. Ni 9207 + N unnumbered] ([…]-[…]-[…])
ii 14"   166 n. 1179

TMH 10 25 [HS 2205] (Šamšu-ilūna 12-07-03)
r. 4   28 n. 203, 79 n. 562

TMH 10 26 [HS 2390] (Sumu-el 22-10-00)
r. 6   166 n. 1179

| 237 | 155 n. 1102 |
| 261 | 87 n. 632 |

YOS 5 163 [YBC 5418] (Warad-Sîn 10-10-00)
| r. 2 | 100 n. 702–703 |

YOS 10 59 [Smith College 12]
| r. 6 (9th omen) | 149 n. 1052, 150 |

YOS 15 35 [University of Michigan 849–469] (Ḫammu-rāpi 31+-00-00)
| o. 5 | 186 n. 1286 |

YOS 15 44 [YBC 13339] (00-00-00)
| o. 10 | 187 n. 1288 |
| r. 1 | 187 n. 1288 |

8.3.1.10.   Old Babylonian northern Mesopotamia

ARM 1 103 (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)
| r. 21 | 110 n. 772 |

ARM 10 126 (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00)
| o. 8–r. 5 | 64 n. 466, 94 n. 669 |

ARM 10 125 (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00)
| o. 4–r. 4 | 64 n. 466 |

ARM 13 142 (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)
| r. 17 | 110 n. 771 |

ARM 18 9 (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00)
| o. 8 | 177 n. 1230 |

ARM 21 106 (Zimrī-Līm 03-08-25)
r. 5   110 n. 771

ARM 23 375 (Zimrī-Līm 13-01-10 = Zimrī-Līm 8)
15   179 n. 1244

ARM 32, p. 421–422 (= earlier ARM 25 752) [M.10449] (00-07-10)
lo. e. 1   109 n. 766

Charpin, 1984: 69 [TH 82.67] (Ṭab-ṣilli-Aššur eponym 196-09-11)
o. 5   110 n. 771

Dossin, 1955: 4–11 [M. 2802]
iii 4–5   187 n. 1286

FM 3 2 [A.3165]
r. i 12   177 n. 1233
ii 17'   174 n. 1213

FM 3 8 [ARM 22/1 205] (Zimrī-Līm 05-00-00)
o. i' 9'–10'   178 n. 1242

FM 9 9 [M.7618+M.14609] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00)
r. 3   174 n. 1211
lo. e. 1   174 n. 1211

FM 9 10 [A,93+A.94] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00)
o. 5   174 n. 1211
lo. e. 1   174 n. 1211

FM 9 11 [ARM 13 20] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00)
r. 1–4   88 n. 642

FM 9 12 [ARM 10 137] (Zimrī-Līm 13-00-00)

r. 4   109 n. 764

lo. e. 5   193 n. 1319, 195 n. 1326

FM 9 17 [A.2806] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

o. 18'   177 n. 228 and 1232

FM 9 23 [A.4336] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

l. e. 7–8   177 n. 1231

FM 9 31 [A.3683] (Šamšī-Addu, 00-00-00)

o. 6–10   64 n. 466

FM 9 36 [A.2521] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

o. 10–16   189 n. 1295

FM 9 38 [A.78] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00)

o. 5–r. 5   174 n. 1213, 177 n. 1230

FM 9 41 [M. 14663] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00)

r. 1   177 n. 1230

FM 9 43 [A.1185] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00)

o. 5–o. 9   195 n. 1326

lo. e. 2–le. e. 3   189–190 n. 1297

FM 9 48 [M.6900] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

r. 2–4   195 n. 1325

FM 9 49 [A.3925] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)

o. 18   188 n. 1292

FM 9 51 [A.3115] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)
r. 2–5   185 n. 1277

FM 9 57 [ARM 1 63 + M.11322] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)
o. 5–8   189 n. 1296

FM 11 180 [M.10447] (Šamšī-Addu 00-00-00)
r. 2   110 n. 771

FM 16 12 [A.309] (Zimrī-Līm 00-00-00)
r. 1–2   179 n. 1243

FM 16 41 [ARM 24 6 + M.6473 + M.12387] (Zimrī-Līm 00-07-10)
o. i 28   179 n. 1241

PIHANS 117 80 [L. 87-627] (00-00-00)
r. 2   110 n. 772

Ziegler, 1996: 479–480 [M.8426+9046]
o. 6'   86 n. 621

      8.3.1.11.   Middle Assyrian

KAR 158 [VAT 10101]
passim   198 n. 1336

Middle Assyrian Coronation Ritual text, KAR 135 + 137 + 216 + 217
[VAT 9583 + 9936 +? 10113 (+) 9978]
r. iii 2   29 n. 219
r. iii 10–11   10 n. 73, 20 n. 143

Tukultī-Ninurta's epic Lambert, 1957–1958: 44–47 [BM 98730]
r. 32   20 n. 143

Weidner, 1931–1932: pl. 7–8 [VAT 5744]

o. ii 33   196 n. 1333

8.3.1.12.   Middle Babylonian

An = a*num*

I 264   48 n. 347

I 267–268   48 n. 347

I 270   48 n. 347

I 272–273   48 n. 347

I 362   27 n. 194, 48 n. 347

II 311   48 n. 347

II 313   48 n. 347

III 157–158   48 n. 347

III 260–262   48 n. 347

III 264   48 n. 347

Emar 6/1, p. 240 [Msk 7498f]

r. ii 17   19 n. 139

r. ii 18   107 n. 739

Emar 6/1, p. 285 [Msk 74114d]

r. 1   107 n. 739

r. 3   19 n. 139

r. 7   19 n. 135

Emar 6/1, p. 376 [Msk 74148k]

r. i' 13'   43 n. 300

Emar 6/2, p. 508–515 + 730 [Msk 74209a + 7526]

r. ii 1	107 n. 739
r. ii 6–9	201 n. 1361
r. ii 20	19 n. 139
r. ii 24	19 n. 135

CBS 7826

o. 2	198 n. 1339

CBS 8500

o. i 24	198 n. 1340

PBS 1/1 11 [CBS 11341]

r. 10	121 n. 845
passim	198 n. 1336

RS 15.30 + 15.49 + 17.387

passim	1

Syllabary B

II 348	15 n. 112

UM 29-15-72

r. 4	198 n. 1341

UM 29-15-211

r. ii 18	198 n. 1342

8.3.1.13.   Neo-Assyrian

Abusch and Schwemer, 2016: 110 [W 22316]

2'	216 n. 1466

Aladimmû G, CT 28, pl. 37 [K. 2166 + Rm 935 + 1879-7-8,89]

KAR 132 [VAT 7849]

Langdon, 1931: 128 [K. 4547]

LKA 66 [VAT 10843]

Lu₂ Short 1

Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi

Maqlû

Maul *Ershahunga*, p. 252–253, **er₂ ša₃ ḫun-ŋa₂** n. 49 [K. 9608]

Meek, 1920: 119 [K. 945]

MSL 6, p. 81 [K. 2028]

Mur-gu₄ = *imrû* = *ballu*

Nabnītu IVa

SAA 3 37 = CT 15, pl. 43–44 [K. 3476]

SAA 3 39 = KAR 307 [VAT 8917]

SAA 7 49 = ADD 943 (+) 944 [BM 80-7-19,262]

SAA 7 51 = ADD 1053 [BM 1882-5-22,533]

SAA 10 160 = CT 54, pl. 57 + 106 [K. 7655]

SAA 10 226 = ABL 1 2 [K. 183]

SAA 13 95 = ABL 13 440 [K. 493]
r. 1   226 n. 1549

SAA 20 7 = KAR 215 [VAT ---] + PKT 16 [VAT 10464]
o. ii 51'   29 n. 219
r. iii 2   29 n. 219

SAA 20 16
[K. 3455 + 5660 + 9937 + 17525 + 17648 + 18029 + 18117 + 18309 + 18440]
o. i 12'   29 n. 219
r. iv 13   29 n. 219
r. iv 23   29 n. 219

SAA 20 17 = PKT 19 [VAT 13597 + 13999] + OrSP 23, p. 115 [VAT 13830]
r. 8   29 n. 219
r. 11   29 n. 219

SAA 20 18 [K. 9923]
o. 14–15   29 n. 219

SAA 20 19 = KAR [VAT 10112]
o. ii 6–9   29 n. 219
r. i 13'   29 n. 219
r. ii 1'   29 n. 219
r. ii 16'   29 n. 219
r. ii 28'   29 n. 219

SAA 20 20 = CA, pl. 6 [Ist. A 127]
o. i 22   29 n. 219

SAA 20 21 = PKT 12–13 [VAT 13717]
r. 1   29 n. 219
r. 7   29 n. 219

D, Incantation 1, 47   221 n. 1499

Sênnaḫērib 37
r. 11'   186 n. 1280

TDP, pl. 48–49 [AO 6680]
r. 33   208 n. 1404

Ur₅-ra (1ˢᵗ Milennium)
XII, Segment 1, 114   43 n. 301

Udug ḫul / *Utukkū Lemnūtu*
I 7'   220 n. 1485
II 46   220 n. 1486
IV 125   60 n. 431
VII 15–17   106 n. 732, 221 n. 1500
VII 18–20   106 n. 732
VII 47–48   106 n. 732, 220 n. 1496
VII 87–88   106 n. 732
VII 131   220 n. 1486
IX 48'   221 n. 1500
XVI 120'–122'   221 n. 1496 and 1500
XVI 147'–148'   221 n. 1496

Uru am₃-ma-ir-ra-bi
XIX 38   222 n. 1505
XIX 47   11 n. 77, 203 n. 1375
XIX 48   203 n. 1375

Volk, 1989: pl. Ia–III [BM 38593]
r. iv 24   222 n. 1506

8.3.1.14.   Neo-Babylonian

Baker, 2004, text no. 233 [BM 77544]
o. 3   213 n. 1443

Erim-ḫuš
III Seg. 2, 40   196 n. 1332 and 1333

GCCI 2 24 [GCBC 389] (Nabopolassar 17-08-27[?])
1   110 n. 779

MSL 17, p. 6 [OIM A1595]
o. i 2   15 n. 112

Volk, 1989: 74 text H [K. 7598 + 19304 + Sm. 1294]
o. 4'   221 n. 1504

Veldhuis, 1996: 233 [UM 29-15-134]
r. ii 1'   134 n. 937

YOS 6 62 [YBC 7388] (Nabonidus 06-12-06)
r. 7   30 n. 223

YOS 6 192 [YBC 7536] (Nabonidus 15-09-07)
r. 1   111 n. 780

8.3.1.15.   Achaemenid

Sandowicz, 2018: 48–51, text n. 3 [BM 16996]
r. 5   206 n. 1393

SpTU 1 72 [W 22307/12]
r. 10–11   111 n. 781

SpTU 5 231 [W 23293/04]

r. 7   227–228 n. 1560

TCL 6 47 [MRAH O.175]

reverse   48 n. 350

8.3.1.16.   Seleucid

CT 17 pl. 15–18 [BM 34223+]

iv 20'   216 n. 1468

Çağirgan and Lambert, 1991–1993: 93–100

[BM 32206 + 32237 + 34723 (S+ 76-11-17,1933+1964 + Sp II 213) (+) F 220]

o. ii 2   212 n. 1435

o. ii 15–16   212 n. 1436

o. iii 24–25   212 n. 1436

George, 1992: pl. 29, n. 18e [BM 38413]

o. 2–3   215 n. 1461, 217, 218 n. 1473 and 1474

le. e. 19'–20'   215 n. 1461, 217, 218 n. 1473 and 1477

Langdon, 1919: 73–84 [Bod. S 302]

o. 14   224 n. 1522

Linssen, 2004: 215–224 [DT 15 + DT 109 (+ BM 32485) + DT 114, MNB 1848]

338–342   220 n. 1490

SBH 1 [VAT 269 + 272 + 285 + 417 + 438 + 1774 + 1705]

o. 54–57   217 n. 1470

SBH 2 [VAT 247 + 1815]

o. 10'–12'   217 n. 1470

SBH 5 [VAT 427]
o. 6–7   217 n. 1470

SBH 13 [VAT 214]
o. 7'   217 n. 1469

SBH 14 [VAT 248 + 396]
r. 9'   217 n. 1469

SBH 21 [VAT 288 + 318 + 553 + 1828 + 1858]
o. 10   217 n. 1469

SBH 22 [VAT 283 + 401]
r. 8   217 n. 1469

SBH 25 [VAT 406 + 1782]
o. 11   217 n. 1469

SBH 26 [VAT 298 + 1736 + 1748 + 1791 + 1825 + 2178]
o. 20'   217 n. 1469

SBH 44 [VAT 555]
r. 21'–28'   217 n. 1469

SpTU 2 16 [W 22758/1]
o. ii 14'–15'   227 n. 1560
r. ii 16   227 n. 1560

SpTU 2 22 [W 22666,1 + 22666,2]
o. i 27   226 n. 1547

8.3.2. Hittite texts

The Siege of Uršu, CTH 7/ KBo 1, 11 [VAT 7679]

r. 13	67 n. 485
r. 17–18	67 n. 485

8.3.3. Elamite texts

Böhl, 1933: 30 [LB 1003][1566]

o. 5	24 n. 165

LB 1004

lo. e. 1	24 n. 165, 32 n. 233

8.3.4. Ugaritic texts

Baal's Myth, CAT 1.101

17–18	111 n. 783

8.3.5. Classical Antiquity

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*

Book I, 18, 4	24 n. 170
Book I, 81, 7	24 n. 170

Iamblichus' *Pythagoras' Life*

4, 19	6 n. 44

Pindar, *Olympian Odes*

1st Ode, 21–24	6

[1566] Actually, both texts of this list are bilingual Elamite-Akkadian.

8.3.6. Other Texts

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10. ABSTRACTS AND CONCLUSIONS IN OTHER LANGUAGES

10.1.   Resumen en Castellano

Se conocen[1567] muchos términos en los textos en sumerio y acadio designando los instrumentos, músicos, composiciones y algunos aspectos de la interpretación musical en Mesopotamia. Sin embargo, ¿hubo alguna vez un término en aquella cultura que designara todas aquellas facetas musicales en su totalidad? ¿Hubo alguna palabra para "Música" en Mesopotamia como, por ejemplo, en nuestra cultura occidental?

De acuerdo a los principales investigadores sobre Música en Mesopotamia, no hay ningún término sumerio o acadio para "Música". Especialmente, no existió ningún término referido a una combinación de sonidos como sí pasa con nuestro término "Música". Los términos más cercanos a dicho término de "Música" serían el sumerio **nam-nar** y el acadio *nārūtu*(*m*). Sin embargo, designarían tan solo algunos aspectos musicales como la profesión de un músico o la habilidad para hacer Música. En todo caso, tan solo una pequeña parte de los textos conteniendo **nam-nar** o *nārūtu*(*m*) han sido estudiados en el pasado por quienes hicieron las afirmaciones comentadas anteriormente.

En consecuencia, este estudio pretende analizar todas las alusiones conocidas hasta hoy en los textos mesopotámicos a los términos **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) a fin de probar o desmontar este consenso científico. La hipótesis de esta Tesis Doctoral es que **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) significaron "Música" y, por lo tanto, existiría realmente una palabra para "Música" en Mesopotamia. Esto tendría importantes consecuencias para las (posibles) futuras investigaciones acerca del concepto mesopotámico de la Música. Ciertamente, de acuerdo al pensamiento mesopotámico, ninguna cosa o idea que no tuviera un nombre existía realmente. Esto se puede comprobar acudiendo a las primeras líneas del Poema Babilónico de la Creación, el *Enūma Eliš*. Allí se puede leer que, en el origen del Universo, los Cielos y la Tierra aún no habían recibido un nombre. La acción de darles un nombre al Cielo y la Tierra es, como se puede imaginar, una forma de referirse al momento en el que comenzaron a existir dentro del Universo.

[1567] El siguiente texto intenta cumplir con los requisitos establecidos para toda Tesis Doctoral de la Universidad de Granada no redactada principalmente en lengua castellana.

A priori **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) podrían significar "Música" debido a su composición en dos partes. Por una parte, ambos términos poseen una partícula (el sumerio **nam-**, el acadio *-ūtu*) para crear sustantivos abstractos. Por otra parte, ambos términos hacen referencia a un músico (el **nar**/*nāru*(*m*)), esto es, alguien que podía tocar varios tipos de instrumentos y/o entonar varios tipos de cantos. En otras lenguas del Antiguo Oriente (tales como el hitita, el hebreo o el egipcio) los términos para "Música" no tienen ninguna partícula que les permita ser considerados como abstractos. Por otra parte, dichos términos suelen estar referidos solo a un tipo de instrumento o canto. Este es el caso del vocablo hitita *zinar*, quien podría haberse referido solo a la música de una lira. Además, Grecia y Roma no fueron las únicas culturas de la Antigüedad que tuvieron un término para "Música", sino que otras culturas antiguas también los tuvieron, como India o China.

Para demostrar la hipótesis de este estudio, se presentan aquí 70 textos comprendidos entre el Período Paleo-acadio y el Período Seléucida Tardío con una transliteración, traducción y notas filológicas, así como son analizados mediante un comentario. Para las transliteraciones de esas ediciones se han consultado las copias y fotos de las tablillas cuneiformes originales. Algunas de ellas han sido, además, colacionadas en sus actuales museos de acogida. Cuando se tenían varias variantes para una misma línea, dichas variantes se presentan en las ediciones como en una partitura musical siguiendo convenciones asiriológicas. Los comentarios son principalmente filológicos, pero también hay comentarios musicales, puesto que **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*), además de otros términos musicales de los textos estudiados, tienen una naturaleza musical. En este sentido, se combinan tres disciplinas en este estudio: la Asiriología (para el marco histórico-cultural y la metodología filológica), la Musicología (para el tema y los comentarios) y la Historia, puestos todos los fragmentos son presentados aquí según su procedencia cronológica y geográfica.

Después de una introducción, la cual se ha resumido brevemente aquí, el análisis de los 70 textos se extiende a lo largo de cinco capítulos. El primer capítulo lidia con ocho textos del Tercer Milenio a. n. e.: dos listas paleo-acadias de raciones con inseguras referencias a **nam-nar** (Texto1–2), un texto administrativo muy fragmentado de la Segunda Dinastía de Lagaš (Texto 3), un fragmento de los *Cilindros de Gudea* (Texto 4), dos textos sobre músicas-tejedoras de Ur III (Textos 5–6) y dos cartas de Awal (Tell al-Sulaima) situadas en la transición al Período Paleobabilónico que hablan sobre *nārūtum* y *kala'ūtum* (Textos 7–8).

El segundo capítulo trata, por una parte, de **nam-nar** en los textos del *curriculum* elemental de los escribas. Los textos de dicho currículo comentado aquí son, en primer lugar, algunos extractos de las listas léxicas *Proto*-**lu₂** (líneas 590–591 = Texto 9), *Proto-***izi** (líneas II 227–231 = Texto 10) y **Niŋ₂-ga** (versión monolingüe, líneas 73–75 = Texto 11). Más tarde se presentan dos contratos-modelo (textos para aprender la práctica administrativa) (Textos 12–13) y *Proverbios* 3.150 (Texto 14). Este último texto es un ejemplo de los textos que los escribas utilizaban para iniciarse en los (más complejos) textos literarios sumerios. Por otra parte, este capítulo lidia con varios documentos de compraventa de prebendas de templos (Textos 15–21). Algunos de ellos (Textos 19a–21) han sido publicados hace poco.

El tercer capítulo analiza el término **nam-nar** en los textos literarios sumerios. Los primeros extractos de aquel capítulo proceden del texto de disputa llamado *Enkiheŋal y Enkitalu* (líneas 94–99, 110–113[1568] = Textos 22–23). Luego se comenta un extracto del texto sapiencial *El Padre y su hijo maleducado* (líneas 107–112 = Textos 24–25). Las narraciones mitológicas *Enki y Ninmaḫ* (líneas b 26–29 = Texto 27) e *Inanna y Enki* (líneas I v 33–34 y II v 47–52 = Textos 30–31) se comentan en tercer lugar. En el análisis de *Enki y Ninmaḫ* se presenta también una pequeña edición y comentario del texto administrativo llamado aquí TJA, p. 151 [UMM G 40] (Ammī-ditāna 23.10.02 (?) (Texto 28). En cuarto lugar se analizan fragmentos de los siguientes textos de la poesía de alabanza real: *Ur-Namma A* (Texto 31), *Šulgi B* (Textos 33–36), *Šulgi E* (Textos 26 y 32), *Šulgi CC* (Texto 37, con un comentario sobre la *Elegía por la muerte de Nannā* = Texto 38) e *Išmē-Dagān A + V* (Textos 39–40). Finalmente se estudia aquí el Texto 41. Este texto ha sido publicado hace muy poco y su subtipología literaria es desconocida.

Las referencias a *nārūtum* en las cartas de Mari durante el Período Paleobabilónico son comentadas en el Cuarto Capítulo. Los textos son ordenados de acuerdo a su procedencia del reinado de Šamšī-Addu (Textos 42–52) o Zimrī-Līm (Textos 53–54). Sin embargo, una última sección de este capítulo reúne textos de ambos reinados que tienen la expresión *enût narutim* (Textos 55–57). Este *enût narutim* ("instrumento de Música") es identificado en este estudio con un tipo de laúd en Mari en el Período Paleobabilónico.

[1568] Con la cortesía de Manuel Ceccarelli, quien actualmente está preparando la *editio prínceps* completa de este texto. En todo caso, el material que nos ha cedido ha sido revisado con los métodos usuales en este estudio, incluyendo las colaciones de algunos manuscritos conteniendo nuestros pasajes.

No se ha encontrado por el momento ningún texto mesobabilónico o asirio con **nam-nar** o *nārūtu*(*m*). Hemos estudiado algunos textos inéditos (CBS 7826 y 8500, UM 29-15-21 y 29-15-211) con el fin de encontrar alguna posible nueva referencia a *nārūtu*. Sin embargo, esas tablillas están solo referidas al músico (*nāru*). En este sentido, el último capítulo trata sobre el Primer Milenio a. C.

En primer lugar se estudian tres textos neo-asirios: un texto lexical que contiene la expresión *enûtu ša nārūti* ("instrumento de Música") y dos referencias a **šer₃ nam-nar** (literalmente "composición musical para ser cantada", un tipo de canción) (Texto 59–60). Luego se analizan algunos textos de compraventa del oficio del músico y sus prebendas procedentes de época neobabilónica y aqueménide (Textos 61–66). Finalmente se analizan varios textos seléucidas: una referencia indirecta a una prebenda con *nārūtu* (Texto 68), un comentario astrológico (Texto 69) que contiene la expresión "festival musical" (**IZIN NAM.NAR**) y dos referencias a **nam-nar** y *nārūtu* como "*corpus* de textos del músico" (Texto 70 y posiblemente el 67).

Después de haber realizado este análisis, la primera conclusión de este estudio es que es complicado decir algo concreto y/o seguro sobre **nam-nar** o *nārūtu*(*m*). Esto concierne tanto a los argumentos a favor de la hipótesis de este estudio aquellos como en contra. Las causas de esto son el número actual de textos que tienen **nam-nar** o *nārūtu*(*m*), así como su estado de conservación además de los problemas particulares que tiene cada uno de los textos de este estudio. Se hace una explicación para cada período a continuación.

En el período paleoacadio (textos 1–2) **lugal-nam nar** ("Lugalnam el músico") y **sipa-nam nar** ("Sipanam el músico") también se podían leer como **lugal-nam-nar** ("rey (de la) Música") y **sipa-nam-nar** ("pastor (de la) Música"). La segunda opción tiene sentido de acuerdo a algunos otros nombres personales documentados en textos de la época (por ejemplo, Lugal-namzitara). Sin embargo, puesto que **lugal-nam**(**-**)**nar** y **sipa-nam**(**-**)**nar** son conocidos tan solo por meras listas de raciones, es complicado decir algo sobre posibles referencias (o no) a **nam-nar** como "Música" en aquellos textos.

En la Segunda Dinastía de Lagaš los *Cilindros de Gudea* (Text 4) hacían referencia a **nam-nar** como "Música" pero otras referencias a aquel término en textos de la época (Texto 3) eran mucho más inciertas. Con respecto al Período de Ur III, hay muchos textos con referencias a los músicos (**nar**) pero solo una referencia segura a **nam-nar** (Texto 5). Otras referencias a **nam-nar** en el Período de Ur III (Texto 6) son meramente hipotéticas. Nuestras primeras referencias a *nārūtum* (Textos 7–8) podrían proceder del momento de

tránsito al Segundo Milenio, pero su datación precisa ha sido reiteradamente discutida en el pasado.

Los textos paleobabilónicos del Segundo Milenio contienen muchas referencias a **nam-nar** y *nārūtum*, pero son problemáticos para nosotros en varios sentidos, especialmente en el caso de los textos de la Baja Mesopotamia. Por ejemplo, en referencia a los textos literarios que tienen **nam-nar**, desconocemos su fecha y proveniencia originales así como sus autores por el momento. Un contexto más preciso nos ayudaría a comparar estos textos con los textos contemporáneos de tipo legal con **nam-nar**. Ciertamente, en aquellos textos **nam-nar** no significa "Música" sino "profesión del músico (**nar**)", aunque el significado de "Música" para la referencia a *nārūtum* en el Texto 28 (otro texto legal) podría tener sentido.

Esta dicotomía podría resolverse examinado los textos paleobabilónicos de Mari, puesto que todas las referencias a *nārūtum* en los textos de aquella ciudad son contenidas en cartas. Esto contrasta con la situación del Sur de Mesopotamia, donde las referencias a **nam-nar** están contenidas en textos de hasta tres tipologías distintas: legales, literarios y escolares. En todo caso, hay una larga distancia entre Mari (Norte de Mesopotamia) y el Sur de Mesopotamia. Además, Mari es un *unicum* en el Norte de Mesopotamia, porque los textos paleo-asirios solo hacen referencia al término *narûtum* (que designa un tipo de malta) y los textos neo-asirios con **nam-nar** y *nārūtu* son a menudo fragmentarios.

Nuestro mayor problema por el momento es, sin embargo, la transición del Segundo al Primer Milenio, puesto que no se ha encontrado ningún texto meso-asirio o babilónico. El análisis de algunos textos inéditos tampoco ha dado los resultados esperados, pues esos textos solo contienen referencias a los músicos (*nāru*).

Los textos legales neobabilónicos y aqueménides del Primer Milenio hacen referencia a *nārūtu* como "profesión del Músico" en dos sentidos: por una parte, como músico de una divinidad, por otra parte, aunque menos frecuentemente, como músico que domina un tipo de instrumento o canto. La lectura e interpretación de los textos literarios es, no obstante, mucho más compleja en varios aspectos.

En primer lugar, las diferentes lecturas e interpretaciones de EZEN NAM-LUL en nuestro Texto 67 (**šer₃ nam-nar**, ***šer₃ nam-lul** o **kešda nam-nar**). Luego, ¿podemos leer el sumerograma NAM.NAR del comentario astrológico aquí denominado Texto 69 ciertamente como *nārūtu*? ¿Podría ser realmente una referencia a *nigûtu*(*m*)? Finalmente, hay varios problemas en nuestro Texto 70. Por una parte, se puede leer el signo BA o NA para obtener *bārûtu* o *nārūtu*. Por otra parte, es complicado definir *nārūtu* como "corpus

textual del *nāru*" puesto que ningún texto por el momento pertenece oficialmente a dicho *corpus*. Hay que prestar atención también a la fecha de estos textos. El significado de **nam-nar** y *nārūtu* podría haber cambiado con respecto a épocas anteriores.

En todo caso, el significado de **nam-nar** y *nārūtu* en la mayoría de los textos podría ser "Música". A veces ese significado es adecuado ya que no tenemos suficiente información acerca de los músicos mencionados en dichos textos. En ese sentido, no se puede proponer ninguna traducción más concreta para ambos términos. Este es el caso de nuestros textos administrativos 5–6 y 28, pero también el 41, que tiene una referencia a **nam-nar** en un contexto muy incierto. En esos textos una traducción de **nam-nar** y *nārūtu* por "Música" puede ser mejor que una más específica.

En otros casos la traducción de **nam-nar** y *nārūtu* como Música es apropiada porque esos términos hacen referencia a varios instrumentos, cantos o músicos. Ese es el caso de nuestro Texto 12, un contrato-modelo. Como parte de los contenidos de ese texto, una persona aprenderá varios aspectos musicales: el **asila$_3$** (una especie de grito de alegría o júbilo) de los himnos **tige$_x$** y **a-da-ab** y cómo aprender a tocar el **^{ŋeš}tigidla$_x$** (un tipo de laúd). Se puede hacer también referencia al Texto 22, un extracto de *Enkiheŋal y Enkitalu* (líneas 94–99). Allí se refieren junto con **nam-nar** varios elementos de la Música vocal (por ejemplo, los cantos **en$_3$-du**) e instrumental (por ejemplo, el arpa angular **za$_3$-mi$_2$**). La traducción de *nārūtu* como "Música" es interesante por similares razones para los Textos 44–52 de Mari.

Otros textos sitúan **nam-nar** y *nārūtu* en un contexto donde aún podríamos usar la palabra "Música". Un ejemplo son los textos 33 y 49, en los cuales los reyes Šulgi e Ismē-Dagān se jactan de haberse dedicado a la Música. En nuestro Texto 41, un hipotético estudiante dice que quiere estudiar Música. También puede ser el caso del Texto 46 procedente de Mari. En aquel texto, el rey Šamšī-Addu dice que la Música (*nārūtum*) ha sido "destruida" en Mari puesto que se ha nombrado al incapaz músico Rîšīya como nuevo Jefe de la Música (*nargallum*) de Mari. La Música parece ser un estilo de vida en los Textos 24–25, en los cuales un hijo se quiere convertirse en músico, y en nuestro Texto 27 la Música (**nam-nar**) es el destino (**nam**) de Enki para un ciego. Gracias al mismo, dicha persona ciega será el nuevo Jefe de la Música (**nar-gal**) del reino.

Hay, sin embargo, varios textos donde **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) significan definitivamente "Música":

- En el Texto 4 de la Segunda Dinastía de Lagaš (Tercer Milenio a. C.), el cual describe la perfecta (**šu du₇-a**) acción musical de tres instrumentos: los címbalos (**se-em**), el tambor gigante (**a₂-la₂**) y la lira (**balaŋ**), más concretamente, el apreciado **balaŋ** de Ninŋirsu llamado **ušumgal kalam-ma**.

- En los Textos 33 y 39, ya del Período Paleobabilónico, los reyes Šulgi e Išmē-Dagān dicen haberse dedicado a la música y hacen referencia a varios de los instrumentos y cantos que dominaron. Algunos de esos instrumentos o cantos también concernían a la "música elegíaca" y no solo a la "música ceremonial". Este es el caso del Texto 40. Allí el rey Išmē-Dagān se refiere, como uno de los aspectos difíciles de la Música (**nam-nar-ra ki bal-bal-la-bi**), a la expresión **šag₄ ser₃ se₁₁(LUL)-da**: la acción de calmar (**se₁₁**) el corazón (**šag₄**) con las canciones **ser₃**. Estos reyes también dominaron aspectos más intelectuales de la Música que los instrumentos o los cantos. Esto se puede ver en nuestro Texto 35, donde Šulgi afirma haber dominado el "sentido (profundo) de la Música" (**šag₄ nam-nar-ra**). Esta expresión (**sag₄ nam-nar-ra**) se refería a un aspecto musical bastante intelectual, tal y como se puede ver en nuestro Texto 25. En aquel fragmento la expresión **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** designa algo musical que está muy alejado (**su₃-ud**) del entendimiento humano. La distancia entre dicho entendimiento y el **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** se comprara en aquel texto con la distancia entre las dos orillas de un océano.

- En los Textos 22–23 y 52, algunas personas son consideradas como "no aptas" (**nu-ub-du₇** en el Texto sumerio 22, *ul redī* en nuestro Texto 52, en acadio) para la Música. Esas personas no podrían, por lo tanto, realizar ciertas actividades musicales, pero posiblemente tampoco otras actividades extra-musicales. Por ejemplo, en las dos primeras líneas de nuestro Texto 23 se dice "él no es apto para la Música, él no es adecuado para sus contenidos. Cuando va hacia la casa de otra persona, no es respetuosa con ella". Esos aspectos no musicales podían ser, en todo caso, importantes para un músico. Esa situación podría explicarse teniendo en cuenta que los músicos en Mesopotamia trabajaban para diversas instituciones (templos, palacio, etc.) y, por lo tanto, debían ser respetuosos con el funcionamiento de aquellas instituciones.

Se pueden recordar también las referencias a **nam-nar** y *nārūtu(m)* de algunos textos como un adjetivo. En los Textos 55–58 describía algunos instrumentos (*enûtu*) como "de

Música" (*nārūtim*/*ša nārūti*) y **nam-nar** describía en nuestros Textos 9, 37–38, 59–60 una composición para ser cantada (**s/šer₃**) como "musical". Hay que prestar atención también al uso de NAM.NAR para calificar un festival en nuestro texto 69 como "musical". Finalmente, **nam-nar** era una referencia a la condición "musical" de un grupo de textos litúrgicos (**kešda**). Esos textos podían ser un conjunto de textos (litúrgicos) que el músico (**nar**) dominaba y utilizaba para sus actividades.

Finamente **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) se pudieron referir a la Música como una combinación de sonidos en el sentido actual de "Música" en algunos de nuestros textos:

- Este es el caso, por ejemplo, del Texto 34 (*Šulgi B*, 157), donde **nam-nar šu du₇-a** podía describir el perfecto sonido musical de los tambores **tige₂** y **a-da-ab**.

- Este significado pudo ser una variación literaria de la misma expresión **nam-nar šu du₇-a** de nuestro Texto 4, un fragmento de los *Cilindros de Gudea*. En aquel texto **nam-nar šu du₇-a** se refería a la perfecta acción musical obtenida con tres instrumentos musicales (**se-em**, **a₂-la₂** y **balaŋ**). Esta expresión no designaba en los *Cilindros de Gudea*, sin embargo, nada de los sonidos musicales de aquellos instrumentos como en nuestro Texto 34. En todo caso, **nam-nar** como "Música" en tanto que combinación de sonidos no fue ninguna excepción en la Baja Mesopotamia concerniente solo a nuestro Texto 34. La expresión <**nam**>-**nar** ^ŋeš**tigidla**ₓ de nuestro Texto 12 es ciertamente una referencia al sonido musical del laúd ^ŋeš**tigidla**ₓ, puesto que el **nar** nunca utilizó aquel instrumento. No se puede, en consecuencia, traducir aquella expresión como "profesión del músico del ^ŋeš**tigidla**ₓ". En ese Texto 12 se encuentra una referencia al **asila₃** (un grito de alegría/júbilo) de los cantos **tige**ₓ y **a-da-ab**. La traducción de <**nam**>-**nar** ^ŋeš**tigidla**ₓ como "sonidos musicales del laúd ^ŋeš**tigidla**ₓ" podría tener sentido en consecuencia en aquel Texto 12.

- El Texto 48 de Mari es también muy relevante para la hipótesis de este estudio. El *nargallum* Rîšīya dice una persona llamada Muḫaddum que él, Rîšīya, había hecho (*epēšum*) Música (*nārūtum*) con los hijos de aquel Muḫaddum. Esa expresión, *nārūtam epēšum*, se podría entender como "desempeñar el oficio del músico" como en nuestro Texto 42. En aquel Texto 42 *nārūtum* se refería al oficio de un *nārum* consagrado al dios Āmûm. La respuesta de Muḫaddum a Rîšīya (*šūma ittikama ēpuš* "¡hazla contigo mismo!") nos ayuda, sin embargo, a proponer una definición distinta

para aquel *nārūtum*. Aquel término podría designar en aquel Texto 48 algo que se podía realizar con o para otra gente, como hacer Música para alguien.

- Finalmente el Texto 49 de Mari hace referencia a la expresión *u nārūtam ana lâʾîm ippeš* ("y el hace música para Lâʾûm"). Como se ha expuesto en la sección 5.2.2.6 de este estudio, Lâʾûm no es ningún nombre de ciudad, sino un nombre personal. Del mismo modo, para tener "y él hace Música en Lâʾûm", el texto debería de tener *u nārūtam ina lâʾîm ippeš*. Esto es, el texto debería tener *ina* ("en") y no *ana* ("para").

En ese sentido, **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) no solo designaron "Música" *lato sensu*, sino también "Música" en tanto que combinación de sonidos como en nuestro término "Música". No hubo nunca una oposición del tipo "música ceremonial" (**nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*)) vs. "música elegíaca" (**nam-gala**/*kalûtu*(*m*)) como algunos investigadores han propuesto. El término **nam-gala**/*kalûtu*(*m*) nunca significó "música elegíaca" solo designó "oficio del **gala**/*kalû*(*m*)", "grupo de sacerdotes **gala**/*kalû*(*m*)" y "*corpus* textual del **gala**/*kalû*(*m*)" (solo en el 1er Milenio a. C.)

En todo caso ya había una palabra en Mesopotamia para "música alegre", *nigûtu*(*m*), por lo que no había razón para que **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) designaran aquello o algo similar. El término *nigûtu*(*m*) no solo designó "música alegre" sino también "alegría" o un tipo de festival puesto que procede de la palabra *nagû*(*m*) ("ser feliz"). En ese sentido, sus connotaciones musicales fueron minoritarias. Si **nam-gala**/*kalûtu*(*m*) y *nigûtu*(*m*) no hicieron referencia a tipos concretos de Música, **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) serían en consecuencia las únicas palabras para designar toda las actividades musicales en Mesopotamia, tanto las ceremoniales como las elegíacas.

En cualquier caso, el significado de **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) experimentó algunos cambios durante la historia de Mesopotamia. Así, **nam-nar** significaría originalmente "Música" en el Tercer Milenio como se puede ver, por ejemplo, en nuestro Texto 4. Del final de ese Milenio provienen las primeras referencias a *nārūtu*(*m*), término que designa el "oficio del músico (*nāru*(*m*))" en dos cartas (Textos 7–8) de esa época. La acepción de **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) como "oficio del músico" sería especialmente común durante el Segundo Milenio en los textos administrativos del Sur de Mesopotamia. Los textos del *curriculum* de los escribas y los textos literarios de aquella época, sin embargo, se referirán a **nam-nar** como "Música". En el Norte de Mesopotamia, en Mari, *nārūtu*(*m*) significa "oficio del músico" en algunas cartas y en otras cartas "Música".

Finalmente **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) harían referencia a tres aspectos musicales distintos hacia el Primer Milenio a. C. El primero de esos significados es "Música", a encontrar en nuestros textos 58–60 y 69. El segundo significado, "oficio del músico" se encontrará en los textos legales neobabilónicos y aqueménides (Textos 61–66). Finalmente, **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) hicieron referencia a un grupo de textos que el músico conocía y/o utilizaba (Textos 67 y 70). En todo caso es mejor traducir el **nam-nar** de nuestro Texto 67 como "musical" con respecto a la gramática, puesto que el texto tiene **kešda nam-nar** y no **kešda nam-nar-ra**.

"Música" es por tanto, el principal significado de **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) en nuestros textos cuneiformes, ya que hay textos de la mayoría de períodos de la Historia de Mesopotamia con esos términos significando "Música". Otros significados de esos términos son secundarios en los textos. Por una parte, nuestras referencias más antiguas a **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) como "oficio del músico" provienen tan solo del final del Tercer Milenio. Por otra parte, **nam-nar** y *nārūtu*(*m*) como referencia a un grupo de textos dominados por el músico solo son conocidos en los Textos del Primer Milenio.

En ese sentido, al contrario que en la investigación anterior, se puede hablar efectivamente de la existencia de una palabra para "Música" en la antigua Mesopotamia. Como se ha dicho anteriormente, esto tiene importantes consecuencias para las posibles y futuras investigaciones sobre el concepto de la Música en la Antigua Mesopotamia, el cual no ha sido bien explorado hasta ahora con respecto a otras culturas antiguas.

10.2.   Zusammenfassung auf Deutsch

Viele *Termini* in den sumerischen und akkadischen Texten, die Instrumente, Musiker, Kompositionen oder einige Facetten der musikalischen „Performance" des alten Mesopotamien bezeichnen, sind bekannt. Gab es jedoch jemals ein Wort in dieser Kultur, um diese musikalischen Aspekte in ihrer Gesamtheit zu benennen? Gab es ein Wort für „Musik" in Mesopotamien wie z. B. in unserer westlichen Kultur?

Den heutigen Hauptforschern in der mesopotamischen Musik zufolge ist ein sumerischer oder akkadischer *Terminus* für „Musik" nicht vorhanden. Insbesondere würde kein Wort existieren, mit der die Kombination von Klängen gemeint ist, wie in unserem westlichen Verständnis. Die *Termini*, die dem Wort „Musik" am nächsten kommen, würden im Mesopotamien **nam-nar** (sumerisch) und *nārūtu*(*m*) (akkadisch) sein. Sie würden jedoch lediglich auf einige musikalische Aspekte, wie der Beruf eines Musikers oder die Fähigkeit zum Musizieren, bezogen sein. In jedem Fall wurden nur wenige Texte, in denen **nam-nar** oder *nārūtu*(*m*) erscheinen, von diesen Forschern, die diese Aussagen tätigten, analysiert.

Daher wurden in dieser Studie alle bis heute bekannten mesopotamischen Texte analysiert, in denen **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) erscheinen, um diese wissenschaftliche Übereinstimmung zu verifizieren bzw. zu falsifizieren. Die Hypothese dieser Promotionsarbeit ist, dass **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) tatsächlich „Musik" bedeuten, und somit dieses Wort, „Musik" wirklich in Mesopotamien existierte. Dies implizierte wesentliche Konsequenzen für die (mögliche) zukünftige Forschung über das mesopotamische Konzept von Musik. Sicherlich existierte keine Sache oder Idee für die Mesopotamier, wenn es dafür kein Wort gab. Man kann dies aus den ersten Zeilen des Schöpfungsmythos *Enūma Eliš* ersehen, aus denen hervorgeht, dass im Ursprung der Welt Himmel und Erde noch keinen Namen, also noch kein Wort dafür existierte hatten. Himmel und Erde einen Namen zu geben ist die Weise dieses Textes, um über dem Beginn ihrer Existenz im Universum zu sprechen.

Die Substantive **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) könnten *a priori* „Musik" bedeuten, weil sie aus zwei Teilen bestanden. Einerseits haben sie eine Partikel (das sumerisch **nam-**, das akkadisch *-ūtu*), um abstrakte Substantive zu erschaffen. Andererseits bezeichnen **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) einen Musiker (der **nar**/*nāru*(*m*)), der mehrere Instrumente spielen und verschiedene Lieder singen konnte. In anderen Sprachen im alten Orient (i. e. Hethitisch, Hebräisch oder Altägyptisch) weisen die *Termini* für ‚Musik' einerseits

keine Partikel für abstrakte Substantive auf. Andererseits beziehen sie sich nur auf eine Art Instrument oder Lied. Dies ist der Fall von der hethitisch Wort *zinar*, das sich nur auf der Musik der Lyra (*zinar*) bezog. Außerdem hatte man nicht nur im alten Griechenland und Rom Ausdrücke für ‚Musik‘, sondern es gibt sie auch in anderen alten Kulturen wie China und Indien.

Um die Hypothese dieser Studie zu beweisen, wurden in dieser Untersuchung insgesamt 70 Texte von der altakkadische Periode bis in die späte Seleukidenzeit mit einer Transliteration, einer Übersetzung, philologischen Anmerkungen und einem Kommentar vorgestellt und analysiert. Für die Transliterationen, die der Verfasser in dieser Edition vorlegt, benutzte er Kopien und Fotos der originalen Tontafeln aus anderen Publikationen. Einige Tontafeln wurden ferner in Museen, in denen sie sich derzeit befinden, kollationiert. Wenn mehrere Varianten für den gleichen Text bekannt sind, sind sie in dieser wie in einer musikalischen „Partitur“ (wie in anderen altorientalischen Studien) wiedergegeben und geordnet. Die Kommentare sind hauptsächlich philologisch, doch sind auch einige musikalische vorhanden, da **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) und andere wichtige *Termini* in diesen Texten musikalischer Natur sind. In diesem Sinne sind drei Disziplinen in der vorliegenden Untersuchung kombiniert: Assyriologie (für den kulturgeschichtlich Rahmen und die philologische Methodologie), Musikwissenschaft (für das Thema und einige Kommentare) und Geschichte, weil alle Exzerpten hier gemäß ihrer chronologischen und geografischen Herkunft präsentiert sind.

Nach der Einleitung, die in dieser Zusammenfassung kurz vorgestellt wird, erfolgt die Analyse der 70 Texte in fünf Kapiteln. Das erste Kapitel behandelt acht Texte aus dem 3. Jt. v. Chr.: zwei altakkadische Lebensmittelverteilungslisten, in denen **nam-nar** in unklarem Kontext genannt wird (Text 1–2), ein sehr fragmentarischer administrativer Text aus der zweiten Dynastie von Lagaš (Text 3), ein Exzerpt der *Zylinderinschriften von Gudea* (Text 4), zwei Texte über Musikerinnen/Weberinnen aus der Dritte Dynastie von Ur (Text 5–6) und zwei Briefe von Awal (Tell al-Sulaima) aus dem Übergang zur altbabylonischen Zeit, die *nārūtum* und *kala'ūtum* thematisieren (Text 7–8).

Das zweite Kapitel befasst sich zum einen mit Nennungen von **nam-nar** in einigen altbabylonischen Texten aus dem Grundcurriculum der Schreiber. Die Texte des Curriculums, die in dieser Studie kommentiert wurden, sind in erster Linie einige Extrakte der lexikalischen Listen *Proto*-**lu₂** (Zeilen 590–591 = Text 9), *Proto*-**izi** (Zeilen II 227–231 = Text 10) und **Niŋ₂-ga** (einsprachige Version, Zeilen 73–75 = Text 11). Ferner wurden zwei Musterverträge (Texte zum Erlernen der Verwaltungspraxis) (Texts 12–13)

und *Proverbs* 3.150 (Text 14) analysiert. Dieser letzter Text ist ein Beispiel für Texte, die Schreibern als Einführung in die sumerische Literatur dienten. Zum anderen werden in diesem Kapitel mehrere Texte über der Verkauf einiger Tempelpfründe (Texte 15–21) kommentiert, von denen einige (Texte 19a–21) relativ kürzlich publiziert wurden.

Das dritte Kapitel dient der Analyse des *Terminus* **nam-nar** in den altbabylonischen sumerischen literarischen Texten. Die ersten Extrakte dieses Kapitels stammen aus dem Rangstreitgespräch namens *Enkiḫeŋal und Enkitalu* (Zeilen 94–99 und 110–113[1569] = Texte 22–23). Dann wird ein Auszug aus dem Weisheittstext *Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn* (Zeilen 107–112 = Texte 24–25) analysiert. Die mythische Erzählungen *Enki und Ninmaḫ* (Zeilen b 26–29 = Text 27) und *Inanna und Enki* (Zeilen I v 33–34 und II v 47–52 = Texte 30–31) werden anschließend präsentiert. In der Analyse von *Enki und Ninmaḫ* befindet sich auch eine kurze Edition nebst Kommentar des administrativen Textes TJA, S. 151 [UMM G 40] (Ammī-ditāna 23.10.02 (?) (Text 28). Darüber hinaus werden Auszüge der folgenden Königshymnen kommentiert: *Ur-Namma A* (Text 31), *Šulgi B* (Texte 33–36), *Šulgi E* (Texte 26 und 32), *Šulgi CC* (Text 37, mit einem Kommentar zu der *Elegie auf den Tod des Nannā* = Text 38) und *Išmē-Dagān A + V* (Texte 39–40). Anschließend wird der Text 41 untersucht, der erst kürzlich publiziert wurde und dessen präzise literarische Subtypologie nicht bekannt ist.

Die Erwähnungen von *nārūtu*(*m*) in den Briefen aus dem altbabylonischen Mari sind im vierten Kapitel kommentiert. Die Texte sind entsprechend ihrer Zugehörigkeit zur Regierungszeit von Šamšī-Addu (Texte 42–52) oder Zimrī-Līm (Texte 53–54) gruppiert. Im letzten Teil dieses Kapitels werden Texte beider Regierungszeiten zusammen kommentiert, weil sie den Ausdruck *enût nārūtim* aufweisen (Texte 55–57). Dieses *enût nārūtim* („Musikinstrument") wird in dieser Studie als eine Art Laute definiert.

Es wurden keine mittel-babylonischen oder mittel-assyrischen Text mit **nam-nar** und/oder *nārūtu* bisher gefunden. Der Verfasser hat einige unpublizierte Tontafeln studiert (CBS 7826 und 8500, UM 29-15-72 und 29-15-211), um einen möglichen Verweis auf *nārūtu* zu finden. Diese Tontafeln beziehen sich jedoch nur auf Musiker (*nāru*). Daher beschäftigt sich das letzte Kapitel dieser Studie mit Texten des 1. Jt. v. Chr. Darin wurden zunächst drei neuassyrische Texte untersucht: ein lexikalischer Text, der

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[1569] Mit freundlicher Genehmigung von Manuel Ceccarelli, der gerade an einer Gesamtausgabe dieses Textes arbeitet. Seine Edition von Zeilen 94–99 und 110–113 wurde für die vorliegende Untersuchung überarbeitet und einige Tontafeln dieses Textes für die Edition von dieser Studie kollationiert.

den Ausdruck *enûtu ša nārūti* („Musikinstrument") beinhaltet, und zwei Verweise auf das Wort **šer₃ nam-nar** (wörtlich „musikalische Komposition, die gesungen wird", eine Art Lied) (Texte 59–60). Anschließend werden einige Verkaufstexte von Tempelpfründen, die im Zusammenhang mit Musikern stehen (*nārūtu*), aus der neubabylonischen und achämenidischen Perioden (Texte 61–66) kommentiert. Schließlich werden einige seleukidische Texte untersucht: ein indirekter Verweis auf die *nārūtu*-Pfründe (Text 68), ein astrologischer Kommentar (Text 69), der den *Terminus* „Musikfest" (**IZIN NAM.NAR**) beinhaltet, und zwei Verweise auf **nam-nar** und *nārūtu* als „Texte, die Musiker benutzten werden" (Text 70 und möglicherweise auch Text 67).

Nach dieser Analyse ist der erste Eindruck, dass es in vielerlei Hinsicht schwierig ist, konkret etwas über **nam-nar** oder *nārūtu*(*m*) zu sagen, was sowohl für als auch gegen die Hypothese des Verfassers sprechen mag. Dies ist durch die aktuelle Anzahl der Texten, die **nam-nar** oder *nārūtu*(*m*) beinhalten, bedingt, sowie ihren Erhaltungszustand und die spezifischen Probleme in Bezug auf jeden dieser Texte.

Im Folgenden sei auf verschiedene Probleme innerhalb der einzelnen Zeitperioden eingegangen.

In der altakkadischen Periode (Texte 1–2) könnten **lugal-nam nar** („Lugalnam, der Musiker") und **sipa-nam nar** („Sipanam, der Musiker") als **lugal-nam-nar** („König (der) Musik") und **sipa-nam-nar** („Hirte (der) Musik") transkribiert werden. Wir haben anderen Namen mit lugal + ein Abstraktum mit nam- (z.B. Lugal-namzitara) in Texten aus der gleichen Zeit belegt. Da **lugal-nam**(-)**nar** und **sipa-nam**(-)**nar** jedoch aus einfachen Lebensmittelverteilungslisten bekannt sind, ist es schwierig, etwas zur möglichen Bedeutung von **nam-nar** als „Musik" in diesen Texten zu sagen.

In der zweiten Dynastie von Lagaš bezog sich **nam-nar** in den *Zylinderinschriften von Gudea* (Text 4) eindeutig auf „Musik", während andere Verweisen auf **nam-nar** aus der gleichen Periode (Text 3) weniger eindeutig sind. In Bezug auf die Ur III-Zeit gibt es viele Verweise auf den Musiker (**nar**), aber nur einen sicheren Beleg für **nam-nar** (Text 5). Andere Hinweise auf **nam-nar** aus der Ur III-Zeit (Text 6) sind nicht eindeutig, da nur **nar** explizit erwähnt ist und der Rest des Wortes aus dem Kontext ergänzt wird. Die ersten Nennungen von *nārūtum* (Text 7–8) könnten aus dem Übergang zum 2. Jt. v. Chr. stammen, doch wird ihre präzise Datierung diskutiert.

Die altbabylonischen Texte aus dem zweiten Jahrtausend enthalten viele Verweise auf **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*), doch sind sie in verschiedener Hinsicht problematisch, insbesondere solche aus dem Süden Mesopotamiens. Zum Beispiel sind in Bezug auf die

literarischen Texte, in denen **nam-nar** genannt wird, ihr Entstehungsdatum, die Herkunft oder der Verfasser nach bisherigem Stand der Forschung unbekannt. Ein präziser Kontext für die literarischen Texte mit **nam-nar** ist wichtig, um diese literarischen Texte mit den zeitgenössischen juristischen Texten mit **nam-nar** zu vergleichen. Sicherlich bedeutet **nam-nar** in diesen juristischen Texten zumeist nicht „Musik", sondern nur „Beruf des Musikers (**nar**)", obwohl „Musik" die korrekte Bedeutung für *nārūtum* in Text 28 sein könnte.

Diese Dichotomie könnten wir lösen, indem wir uns die altbabylonischen Texte aus Mari ansehen, weil alle Verweise auf *nārūtu(m)* in Mari nur in Briefen belegt sind. Hingegen wurde **nam-nar** in Südmesopotamien in Texten dreier verschiedener Typologien erwähnt: juristische, literarische und Schultexte. In jedem Fall gibt es eine große geografische Distanz zwischen Mari (in Nordmesopotamien) und Südmesopotamien. Außerdem ist Mari ein Unikum in Nordmesopotamien, weil nur die altassyrischen Texte Verweise auf *narûtum* (eine Art Malz) machen und die neu-assyrischen Texte mit Erwähnungen von **nam-nar** oder *nārūtu* meistens fragmentarisch sind.

Unser wichtigstes Problem ist im Moment der Übergang vom zweiten zum ersten Jahrtausend, weil keine mittelassyrischen oder babylonischen Text belegt sind, in denen **nam-nar** oder *nārūtu(m)* vorkommt. Zwar wurden einige unpublizierte Texte in dieser Untersuchung analysiert, doch wird in diesen nur auf Musiker (*nāru*) Bezug genommen.

Die neubabylonischen und achämenidischen juristischen Texte des 1. Jt. v. Chr. erwähnen den Begriff *nārūtu(m)* im Sinne von „Beruf des Musikers (*nāru*)" in zweierlei Hinsicht: zum einen als Musiker eines Gottes oder einer Göttin, zum anderen, wenn auch seltener, als Musiker, der ein bestimmtes Instrument bzw. Lied spielt. Die Lesung und Interpretation von literarischen Texten ist jedoch in Bezug auf mehrere Aspekte komplizierter als die der Verwaltungstexte.

Zunächst einmal gibt es verschiedene mögliche Lesungen und Interpretationen von EZEN NAM-LUL (**šer₃ nam-nar**, ***šer₃ nam-lul** und **kešda nam-nar**) in Text 67. Ferner stellt sich die Frage, ob das Sumerogramm NAM.NAR in dem astrologischen Kommentar in Text 69 tatsächlich *nārūtu(m)* zu lesen ist? Könnte es ein Verweis auf *nigûtu(m)* sein? Schließlich gibt es in unserem Text 70 zwei Probleme. Zum einen kann man ein Zeichen als BA oder NA identifizieren, um *bārûtu* oder *nārūtu* zu lesen. Zum anderen ist es schwierig, *nārūtu* als „Texte, die vom Musiker (*nāru*) gelernt/benutzt wudren" zu definieren, weil kein mesopotamischer Text im Moment zu dieser „Gruppe" gehört.

Ferner ist die späte Datierung dieser Texte zu beachten. Die Bedeutung von **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) könnte in dieser Zeit im Vergleich zu Nennungen in älteren Perioden sehr unterschiedlich gewesen sein.

In jedem Fall ist davon auszugehen, dass in den meisten der hier vorgelegten Texte die Bedeutung von **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) „Musik" ist. Mitunter ist diese Deutung anzuwenden, weil wir nicht genug Informationen über die Musiker haben, auf die in diesen Texten Bezug genommen wird. In diesem Sinne kann man keine konkretere Übersetzung für **nam-nar** oder *nārūtu*(*m*) in diesen Texten vorschlagen. Dies ist bei den juristischen und administrativen Texten 5–6 und 28 der Fall, aber ebenso in Text 41, wo **nam-nar** in einem fragmentarischen Kontext genannt ist. Bei diesen konkreten Textbelegen kann „Musik" für **nam-nar** oder *nārūtu*(*m*) eine bessere Übersetzung sein als eine spezifische Bedeutung.

An anderen Stellen ist die Übersetzung „Musik" für **nam-nar** oder *nārūtu*(*m*) geeignet, weil sich diese *Termini* in bestimmten Texten auf mehrere Instrumente, Liedern oder Musiker beziehen. Dies ist in unserem Text 12 der Fall, bei dem es sich um einen Mustervertrag handelt. Unter anderem beinhaltet dieser Text, dass eine Person einige musikalische Aspekte erlernt: das **asila₃** (ein Art-Freudenschrei oder Jubel) von den **tige_x** und **a-da-ab** Hymnen und wie man das **^{ŋeš}tigidla_x** (eine Art Laute) spielt. Ferner ist auf Text 22, einem Auszug Extrakt aus *Enkiḫeŋal und Enkitalu* (Zeilen 94–99), hinzuweisen. Verschiedene Elemente der Vokalmusik (i.e den **en₃-du** Liedern) und Instrumentalmusik (i.e der **za₃-mi₂** Winkelharfe) werden dort mit **nam-nar** bezeichnet. Die Übersetzung von *nārūtu*(*m*) als „Musik" ist aus einem ähnlichen Grund in den Texten 44–52 aus Mari interessant.

Andere Texte stellen **nam-nar** oder *nārūtu*(*m*) in einen Kontext, in dem man immer noch das Wort „Musik" benutzen könnte. Ein Beispiel bilden die Texte 33 und 49, in denen die Könige Šulgi und Išmē-Dagān behaupten, sich der Musik gewidmet zu haben. In dem Text 41 sagt ein angeblicher Student, dass er Musik studieren möchte. In Bezug auf die Texte aus Mari ist insbesondere der Text 46 zu erwähnen. König Šamšī-Addu konstatiert in diesem Text, dass die Musik (*nārūtum*) in Mari „zerstört" wurde, weil der unfähige Musiker Rîšīya zum Hauptmusiker von Mari ernannt wurde. Musik erscheint als Lebensziel in den Texten 24–25, in denen ein Sohn ein Musiker sein möchte, in dem Text 27 ist Musik das von Enki (**nam**) für eine Blinde vorgesehene Schicksal. Dank dieses Schicksals wird diese blinde Person zum Hauptmusiker (**nar-gal**) des Königreichs.

Es gibt jedoch einige Texte, in denen **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) zweifellos „Musik" bedeutet:

- Text 4 aus der zweiten Dynastie von Lagaš (3. Jt. v. Chr.) beschreibt die perfekte (**šu du₇-a**) musikalische Fähigkeit von drei Musikinstrumenten nämlich den Cymbeln (**se-em**), der (Riese)Trommel (**a₂-la₂**) und der Lyra (**balaŋ**), genauer gesagt, der von Ninŋirsu geliebten **balaŋ** namens **ušumgal kalam-ma**.

- In den Texten 33 und 39 aus altbabylonischer Zeit behaupten Šulgi und Išmē-Dagān, sich der Musik gewidmet zu haben, und führen diverse von ihnen beherrschte Instrumente und Gesänge an. Einige dieser Instrumente oder Gesänge sind der „elegischen Musik" und nicht allein der „Festmusik" zuzuordnen. Das ist der Fall in unserem Text 40. Dort bezeichnet der König Išmē-Dagān als einen der schwierigsten Aspekte der Musik (**nam-nar-ra ki bal-bal-la-bi**), den er gelernt hat, den Ausdruck **šag₄ ser₃ še₁₁**(LUL)-**da**: eine Handlung, um das Herz (**šag₄**) mit den **ser₃** Liedern zu beruhigen (**se₁₁**). Diese Könige beherrschten auch Aspekte der Musik, die „immaterieller" als Instrumente oder Liedern waren. Dafür ist der Text 35 anzuführen, in dem Šulgi behauptet, „den (tiefen) Sinn der Musik" (**šag₄ nam-nar-ra**) gemeistert zu haben. Dieser Ausdruck (**šag₄ nam-nar-ra**) verweist auf eine sehr intellektuelle musikalische Facette, wie man in Text 25 sehen kann. In diesem Exzerpt bezeichnet **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** etwas musikalisches, das sehr fern (**su₃-ud**) vom menschlichen Verständnis ist. Die Distanz zwischen diesem menschlichen Verständnis und **šag₄ nam-nar-ra** wird in dem Text mit der zwischen den zwei Ufern eines Ozeans verglichen.

- In den Texten 22–23 und 52 werden einige Personen als „nicht geeignet" (**nu-ub-du₇** in dem sumerischen Text 22, *ul redī* in unserem akkadischen Text 52) für die Musik beschrieben. Diese Personen konnten deshalb nicht gut musikalische Aktivitäten ausführen, aber möglicherweise auch keine anderen außermusikalischen Tätigkeiten. So heißt es zum Beispiel in den ersten zwei Zeilen von Text 23 „er ist nicht geeignet für die Musik, er ist nicht geeignet für ihre Inhalte (= die der Musik). Wenn er zum Hause einer anderen Person geht, so ist er dieser gegenüber respektlos". Diese andere nicht musikalische Facette könnte in jedem Fall wichtig für die Musiker sein. Man könnte diese Situation so erklären, dass Musiker in Mesopotamien bestimmten

Institutionen (Tempel, Palast) dienten und sie deshalb die Arbeitsweisen dieser Institutionen beachten mussten.

Man könnte außerdem die Nennungen von **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) in einigen Texten als Adjektive interpretieren. In den Texten 55–58 werden einige Instrumente (*enûtu*) mit „von Musik" (*nārūtim*/*ša nārūti*) näher bestimmt, während **nam-nar** in unserem Texten 9, 37–38, 59–60 mit einer musikalischen Komposition, die gesungen wird, gleichgesetzt wird (**s/šer₃**) ". Zu beachten ist auch der Gebrauch von NAM.NAR, um ein Fest (IZIN) in unserem Text 69 als „musikalisch" zu kennzeichnen. Schließlich war **nam-nar** ein Hinweis auf einer ‚Gruppe von (liturgischen) Texten' (**kešda**), die der Musiker (**nar**) zu beherrschen hatte und für seine Tätigkeiten benutzte.

Schließlich könnten sich **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) auf Musik als eine Kombination von Klängen wie in unserer modernen Definition für „Musik" beziehen:

- Dies ist z. B. in unserem Text 34 (*Šulgi B*, 157) der Fall, in dem sich der Ausdruck **nam-nar šu du₇-a** auf den perfekten musikalischen Klang der Trommeln **tige₂** und **a-da-ab** bezieht.

- Diese Bedeutung könnte eine (literarische) Variation des gleichen Ausdrucks **nam-nar šu du₇-a** in Text 4 sein, einem Exzerpt der *Zylinderinschriften von Gudea*. In diesem Text bezog sich **nam-nar šu du₇-a** auf das perfekte musikalische Ergebnis, das mit drei Instrumenten (das **se-em**, **a₂-la₂** und **balaŋ**) erzeugt wurde. Dieser Ausdruck bezog sich in den *Zylinderinschriften von Gudea* jedoch dort nicht auf den musikalischen Klang dieser Instrumente wie in unserem Text 34. In jedem Fall war nicht dieser Verweis auf **nam-nar** als „Musik" als eine Kombination von Klängen eine Ausnahme in Südmesopotamien. Der Ausdruck <**nam**>-**nar** ^ŋeš**tigidla_x** in Text 12 ist sicherlich ein Hinweis auf den musik(alischen Klang) der ^ŋeš**tigidla_x** Laute, weil der Musiker (**nar**) noch nie die ^ŋeš**tigidla_x** Laute spielte. Man kann deshalb nicht <**nam**>-**nar** ^ŋeš**tigidla_x** mit „Berufs des Musikers des ^ŋeš**tigidla_x**" übersetzen. In diesem Text 12 findet man einen Hinweis auf den **asila₃** (Freudenschrei/Jubel) von den **tige_x** und **a-da-ab** Liedern. Die Übersetzung von <**nam**>-**nar** ^ŋeš**tigidla_x** als „musik(alischen Klang) der ^ŋeš**tigidla_x** Laute" würde deshalb in diesem Text 12 Sinn ergeben.

- Text 48 aus Mari ist ebenfalls sehr relevant für die Hypothese dieser Studie. Der *nargallum* Rîšīya sagt zu einer Person namens Muḫaddum, dass er (Rîšīya) Musik (*nārūtum*) mit den Söhnen des Muḫaddum gemacht hatte (*epēšum*). Dieser Ausdruck, *nārūtam epēšum*, könnte als „den Beruf des Musikers ausführen" wie in unserem Text 42 verstanden werden. In diesem Text 42 würde *nārūtum* auf den Beruf eines *nārum* des Gottes Āmûm verweisen. Die Antwort des Muḫaddum zu Rîšīya (*šūma ittikama ēpuš*, „mache es mit Dir!") hilft uns in dem Text 48, um eine andere Bedeutung für *nārūtum* vorzuschlagen. Der *Terminus nārūtum* könnte in diesem Text 48 auf etwas, das man für/mit anderen Leuten machen kann (wie ein Musikstück für jemanden spielen), verweisen.

- Schließlich beinhaltet Text 49 aus Mari den Ausdruck *u nārūtam ana lâʾîm ippeš* („und er macht Musik für Lâʾûm"). Wie in Teil 5.2.2.6 dieser Studie dargelegt, handelt es sich bei Lâʾûm nicht um einen Ortsnamen, sondern nur ein Personenname. Um „und er macht Musik in Lâʾûm" zu finden, sollte der Text *u nārūtam ina lâʾîm ippeš* haben. Das heißt, der Text müsste *ina* („in") und nicht *ana* („für") haben.

In diesem Sinne benannten **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) nicht nur ‚Musik' im weiteren Sinne, sondern sie bedeuteten auch ‚Musik' als Kombination von Klängen wie das Wort ‚Musik' unseres heutigen Sprachgebrauchs. Es gab nie eine Opposition vom Typ „zeremonielle Musik" (**nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*)) gegen „elegische Musik" (**nam-gala**/*kalûtu*(*m*)), wie einige Forscher gesagt haben. Der *Terminus* **nam-gala**/*kalûtu*(*m*) bedeutete tatsächlich nie „elegische Musik" . Es bedeutet nur „Beruf des **gala**/*kalû*(*m*)-Priesters", „Gruppe von **gala**/*kalû*(*m*)-Priesters" und „Gruppe von Texte, die vom **gala**/*kalû*(*m*) gelernt/benutzt waren" (nur im 1. Jt. v. Chr.)

In jedem Fall existierte bereits in Mesopotamien ein Wort für die ‚Jubelmusik', *nigûtu*(*m*). Es deshalb keinen Grund, **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) mit ‚fröhlicher Musik' oder ähnlichem gleichzusetzen. *nigûtu*(*m*) bedeutete nicht nur ‚Jubelmusik', sondern auch ‚Freue' oder eine Art Festival, weil *nigûtu*(*m*) von *nagû*(*m*) (‚glücklich sein') kommt. In diesem Sinne waren die musikalischen Konnotationen von *nigûtu*(*m*) in der Minderheit. Wenn **nam-gala**/*kalûtu*(*m*) und *nigûtu*(*m*) keine Verweise auf verschiedene Arten von Musik bildeten, waren **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) die einzigen Wörter, um alle musikalischen Aktivitäten (zeremonielle oder elegische) in Mesopotamien zu bezeichnen.

In jedem Fall würde die Bedeutung von **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) innerhalb der historischen Entwicklung Mesopotamiens einige Veränderungen erfahren.

Somit bedeutete **nam-nar** ‚Musik' im dritten Jahrtausend, wie man es z. B. in unserem Text 4 sehen kann. Aus der Ende dieses Jahrtausends kommen die ältesten Verweise auf *nārūtu*(*m*), dem Wort, das ‚Beruf des Musikers (**nar**/*nāru*(*m*))' in zwei Briefen (Texte 7–8) aus dieser Zeit bedeutet. Der Sinn von **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) als ‚Beruf des Musikers' wird dann während des zweiten Jahrtausends gewöhnlich in den juristischen Texten aus Südmesopotamien bekannt sein. In den Texten über das Curriculum der Schreiber und den literarischen Texten bedeutet **nam-nar** jedoch Musik. In Nordmesopotamien bedeutet *nārūtu*(*m*) in einigen Briefen „Beruf des Musikers", aber „Musik" in anderen.

Schließlich würden drei verschiedene Bedeutungen für **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) in den Texten aus dem 1 Jahrtausend erkennbar werden. Die erste wäre ‚Musik', wie aus unserem Texten 58–60 und 69 hervorgeht. Die zweite Bedeutung ist ‚Beruf des Musikers' und erscheint in neubabylonischen und achämenidischen juristischen Texten (Texten 61–66). Schließlich kann sich in unseren Texten 67 und 70 **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) auf eine ‚Gruppe von Texten, die vom Musiker gelernt/benutzt waren', beziehen. In jedem Fall ist es in Bezug auf die Grammatik, besser, **nam-nar** im Text 67 als ein Adjektiv (‚musikalisch') zu übersetzen, weil der Text **kešda nam-nar** und nicht **kešda nam-nar-ra** aufweist.

„Musik" ist deshalb in unseren keilschriftliche Quellen die Hauptbedeutung von **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*), weil es Texte aus den meisten Perioden der Geschichte Mesopotamiens mit diesen zwei *Termini* mit dieser Bedeutung „Musik" gibt. Andere Bedeutungen dieser *Termini* sind in den Texten sekundärer Natur. Einerseits kommen die ältesten Verweise auf **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) als „Beruf des Musikers" aus dem Ende des dritten Jahrtausends. Andererseits sind **nam-nar** und *nārūtu*(*m*) in Bezug auf eine Gruppe von Texten, die vom Musiker gelernt wurden, nur in Texten aus dem ersten Jahrtausend bekannt.

In diesem Sinne kann man daher, anders als in der früheren Forschung, von der Existenz eines Wortes für „Musik" im alten Mesopotamien sprechen. Wie bereits angemerkt, ist das sehr wichtig für mögliche zukünftige Studien über das Konzept der

Musik im alten Mesopotamien, das in Bezug auf anderen antiken Kulturen noch nicht sehr gut untersucht ist[1570].

[1570] Herzlichen Dank zu Heidi Köpp-Junk für ihre Korrekturen von unserem Deutsch Text.