

YBC 6996: A Name List from a Mesopotamian School

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YBC 6996 is a practice tablet containing two columns of personal names. It was assigned to me together with the corpus of model contracts in the Yale Babylonian Collection.¹ The tablet measures $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Its accession date is not on record; its find spot is not known; and I have not yet found any clear indication of its provenience. The script is Old Babylonian. Apparently the scribe intended from the outset to inscribe the tablet with two columns of writing, but only drew the vertical dividing line after completing the writing, since all but one of the initial wedges of the second column intersect it. That the horizontal dividing lines run continuously across the tablet suggest that they were all drawn before the writing was begun, as does the fourth case of the first column into which two lines of writing were squeezed. Perhaps the scribe meant to leave a blank space at the bottom of the tablet and only decided to add the final line in the second column when he reached that point, or perhaps he needed to add that last line if he was copying a previously prepared list of names and miscounted the total number when he began.

Mesopotamian name lists derive from the schools and constitute a component of scribal training.² The school setting of this tablet is confirmed by the colophon with its invocation of Nisaba, the patron deity of scribes. The most extensive publication of name lists is still the three-volume work from 1916–1919 by Chiera.³

Some name lists were prepared with a deliberate order in mind. For example, some organize names into groups of three with names within each group belonging

1. One of these has already appeared as W. R. Bodine, “A Model Contract of an Exchange/Sale Transaction,” in T. Abusch et al., eds., *Rencontre Assyriologique* 45 (2001), 41–54. Others are in process of publication or still in preparation. I am grateful to Professor William Hallo for entrusting me with this project and deftly guiding me into the uncertain terrain of the Sumerian language and its texts. His critiques of earlier drafts of this article have made it much better. Sumerian is recorded in small capitals; Akkadian in italics; and logograms in large capitals. Abbreviations follow those of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (CAD) and the Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary (PSD), with the following additions: Bowes *TSOBPN* = A. W. Bowes, “A Theological Study of Old-Babylonian Personal Names,” 1–2 (Ph.D. diss., Dropsie College, 1987); Hölscher *Personennamen* = M. Hölscher, *Die Personennamen der Kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur* (Münster, 1996).

2. Chiera, *PBS* 11/1, 16–17.

3. *PBS* 11/1–3. For the place of name lists in the Mesopotamian schools see N. C. Veldhuis, “Elementary Education at Nippur” (Ph.D. diss., University of Groningen, 1997), 45–46. Note Veldhuis’ reservations about Landsberger’s identification of Syllable Alphabet B as a name list (*ibid.*, 41–43) and the observations on this text in Piotr Michalowski, Review of *MSL* 14, *JNES* 42 (1983), 151.

to the same language and sharing some feature in common.⁴ Others place names in one language in one column and those in another in the following column.⁵ In preparing this edition of YBC 6996, I have looked for occurrences of the same or similar names primarily in texts from the Ur III and OB periods, though in neither of these exhaustively. There may be an organizing principle. The scribe may have placed older (i.e., Ur III [and earlier?]) names in the first column and those in current use (i.e., OB) in the second. Most of the names in the first column seem to have been in common use in the Ur III period, at least in instances for which I have been able to find examples. Those that make up the second column seem to have been used mainly in the OB period. However, since the data of the tablet is limited and I have not yet found other attestations of four names in the first column (DINGIR-*kab-ta*, *šíl-lí-ZI*, LÚ-ULU₃-NU-MU, and AL^rBA¹-AN-^rTI¹),⁶ a more extensive search for all of the names on the tablet might rule out this possibility.

As for the language of the names, LÚ-ULU₃-NU-MU, AL-BA-AN-TI, and NIN-MUNUS-ZI of the first column are Sumerian; and UR-^dMA-MI,⁷ and UR-^dNUN-GAL of the first and ^dUTU-SIPAD of the second may be Sumerian, though the last is more likely Akkadian. The rest are Akkadian. Most of the names were in common use in their periods, with the exception of the four from the first column for which I have not yet found other examples (or three, if both lines of writing in case four constitute one name).

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| i | 1. UR- ^d MA-MI
2. DINGIR- <i>kab-ta</i>
3. <i>šíl-lí-ZI</i>
4. LÚ-ULU ₃ NU-MU
AL ^r BA ¹ -AN- ^r TI ¹
5. UR- ^d NUN-GAL
6. NIN-MUNUS-ZI | i | 1. Ur-Mami
2. Ilum-Kabta
3. Šilli-zi
4. Lulu-numu-
al-banti
5. Ur-Nungal
6. Nin-munus-zi |
| ii | 1. ^d UTU-SIPAD
2. <i>ì-lí-i-din-nam</i>
3. ^d UTU-ILLAT- <i>su</i> ¹
4. ^d EN.ZU- <i>re-me-ni</i>
5. DUMU- <i>er-šé-tim</i>
6. ^d EN.ZU- <i>a-ša-ri-id</i>
7. <i>mu-da-mi-qum / qu</i> | ii | 1. Šamaš-rē'û(m)
2. Ili-iddinam
3. Šamas-tillassu
4. Sin-rēmēnī
5. Mār-eršetim
6. Sin-ašarid
7. Mudammiqu(m) |

TIN ^dNISABA
 TIN

(For the) life (of the scribe to) Nisaba.
 (For the) life (of the scribe [to Haia?]).

4. Chiera, *PBS* 11/1, 29–33.

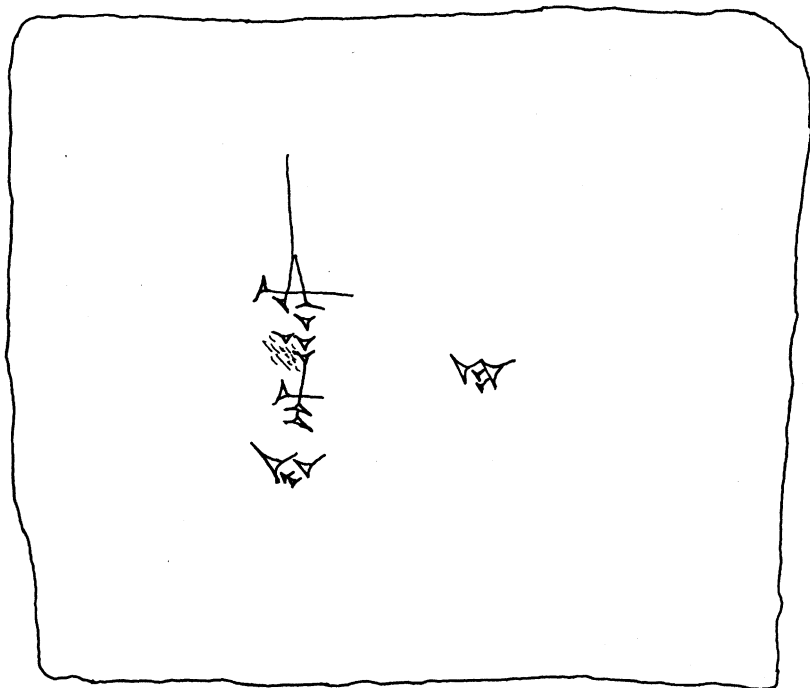
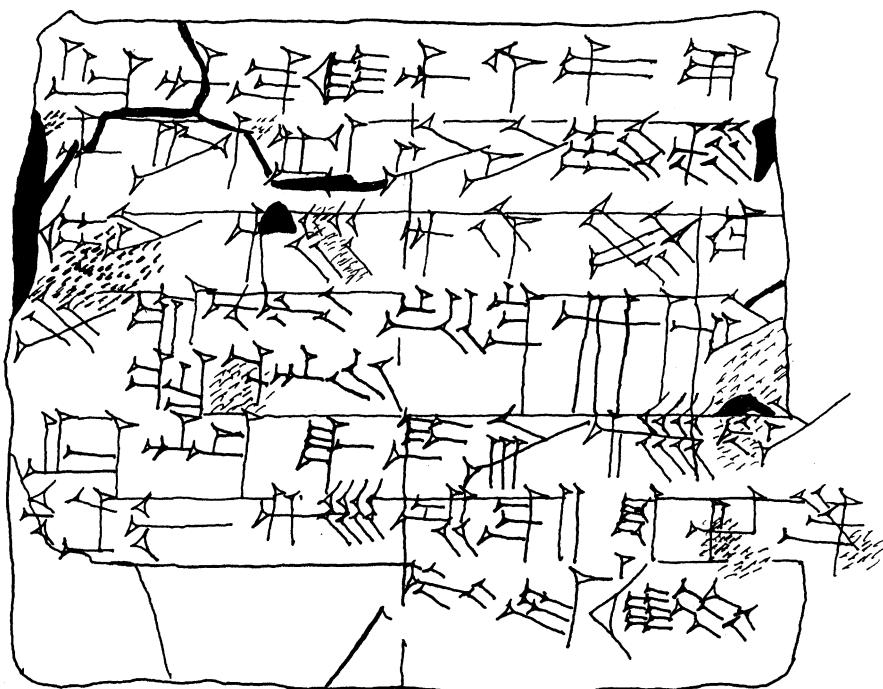
5. Chiera, *PBS* 11/2, 106–7 and 112.

6. See the discussion of the latter two forms below. They may constitute one name.

7. See the discussion and nn. 11–12 below.

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i:1. UR-^dMA-MI, “The One⁸ of Mami.” The term Mami refers to the mother goddess,⁹ perhaps as a baby word for mother.¹⁰ As such it is difficult to assign to either Sumerian or Akkadian. On the basis of earlier evidence in which the determinative is not present and because, in his set of data, it occurs only in Akkadian sources, Roberts considers the name to be Akkadian.¹¹ However, the present name and its variant UR-^dMA-MA both appear in the lists of Sumerian names published by Chiera where it and its variant are both written with and without the divine determinative.¹² The name appears with the determinative at Lagaš, Nippur, and Umma and without it at Drehem, Lagaš, and Nippur among the Ur III Sumerian names collected by Limet. He found its variant UR-^dMama at Ur and Ur-Mama at Lagaš, Nippur, Umma, and Ur.¹³ All of these forms of the name are attested frequently in Ur III texts. For example, Stephien lists eighteen of the tablets he has studied from Umma that contain UR-^dMA-MI.¹⁴ I have found the name primarily in Ur III texts, but it does occur, though much less frequently, in the OB period.¹⁵ The name is probably Sumerian.

i:2. DINGIR-*kab-ta* / DINGIR-KAB-TA, “The god is Kabta” or “Kabta is god.” Kabta is an Akkadian divine name. It may also have been Sumerian.¹⁶ Here it is written syllabically, rather than with the logogram TA-*gunû*.¹⁷ It is present in such Akkadian personal names as ^d*kab-ta-la-ma-sí*, “Kabta is my protective divinity”¹⁸ and ^d*kab-ta-nu-ri*, “Kabta is my light.”¹⁹ It appears that Kabta was not a brick god, as previously thought.²⁰ Similar examples in which the DINGIR sign and a divine name constitute a personal name include DINGIR-^rku¹-bi,²¹ DING[IR-L]am-ma,²² DINGIR-NA-ZI,²³ and DINGIR-*ta-mu-zu*.²⁴ Bowes interpreted the initial sign in such examples as a logogram rather than a determinative.²⁵ On this interpretation the present name would be read as DINGIR / *ilum-kab-ta*. The presence of a second DINGIR sign before the divine

8. D. O. Edzard, Review of Limet *Anthroponymie*, *Bi.Or.* 28 (1971), 165–66; cf. Limet *Anthroponymie*, 63–68.

9. J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Austin, 1992), 133.

10. D. O. Edzard, “Mesopotamien: Die Mythologie der Sumerer und Akkader,” in H. W. Haussig, ed., *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, 1/1 (Stuttgart, 1965), 105.

11. J. J. M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon* (Baltimore, 1972), 44.

12. *PBS* 11/3, 217, #485–86.

13. *Anthroponymie*, 552.

14. M. Stepień, *Animal Husbandry in the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, 1996), 179.

15. E.g., Edzard *Tell ed-Dēr*, 106, #68, iii: 14.

16. See Deimel, *ŠL*, 4/1, 22, #141: 2 (^dKAB-TA); Figulla and Martin, *UET* 5, 46, restoring #729: 23 as [^dkab?]-ta-ma-an-sum with n. 73 below.

17. Civil, *MSL* 14, 364, iv: 226; 383, iv/3: 313.

18. Figulla and Martin, *UET* 5, #138: 5; Faust, *YOS* 8, #144: 1.

19. *Ibid.*, 19: 6.

20. W. G. Lambert, “Ancient Near Eastern Seals in Birmingham Collections,” *Iraq* 28 (1966), 73–74; contra Edzard, “Mesopotamien: Die Mythologie,” 59.

21. Figulla and Martin, *UET* 5, #645, rev.: 20.

22. Figulla, *VS* 13, #103, rev.: 7.

23. Jean, *TCL* 10, #109, rev.: 12.

24. Figulla and Martin, *UET* 5, #190, rev.: 28.

25. E.g., *TSOBPN*, 327, 329, 417–18.

name in otherwise similar names renders explicit the understanding of the first DINGIR sign as the logogram and the second as a determinative in those instances and could suggest that the DINGIR sign be understood rather as a determinative when it occurs only once. Examples of names with a twofold occurrence of the DINGIR sign include DINGIR-^dEN-LÍL,²⁶ DINGIR-^dIM,²⁷ and DINGIR-^dMAR-TU.²⁸ However, since a divine name may be written without the divine determinative,²⁹ Bowes' interpretation is probably correct.

i:3. *šil-lí-ZI*, "The Protection of Zi." When the first element of this name occurs in personal names and is spelled syllabically, it is written *ši-lí* most often, or (as it appears here) *šil-lí*.³⁰ It also appears with the logographic spellings ĜIŠ-MI³¹ and simply MI.³² Names formed with the noun *šillu* appear in most historical periods.³³

When *šillu* stands in personal names in the initial position as *šilli*, it seems to constitute a bound form that is followed by another noun in a *regens-rectum* relationship,³⁴ most often by a divine name (e.g., *ši-lí-^dir-ra*³⁵, or, without the determinative, *ši-lí-ir-ra*),³⁶ or by a place name (e.g., *ši-lí-^rUNUG^{1ki}*),³⁷ or the name of a temple (e.g., *ši-lí-É-KIŠ-NU-ĜÁL*).³⁸ While *šilli* in such combinations could be interpreted as a nominative with a pronominal suffix,³⁹ this is unlikely, since the first, singular pronominal suffix is normally indicated by the syllable *-ia*.⁴⁰ It may also carry an adverbial

26. Figulla and Martin, *UET* 5, #507, rev., iv: 6.

27. Faust, *YOS* 8, #152, rev.: 29.

28. Çiğ-Kizilyay-Kraus *Nippur*, #73: 3. This reference should be added to their index of personal names on p. 122. It is cited in Bowes *TSOBPN*, 552.

29. E.g., in examples of the name on the previous line cited in nn. 12–13.

30. E.g., Bowes *TSOBPN*, 360–61, 462–65, 592, 726–27. In Donbaz, *FAOS Beihefte* 2, #7: 25 it is written *ši-lí*.

31. E.g., Figulla and Martin, *UET* 5, #717: 7 (see the index on p. 60; with its lower horizontal beginning to the left of its upper and the *Winkelhaken* visible at the end of the upper horizontal, the final sign in the name is probably correctly read as BI, though the next to last sign looks more like ÁŠ than KU).

32. E.g., Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* 1, #187: 4 (while the divine name is uncertain, the structure of the name is clear, as indicated by Thureau-Dangin on p. 48 of his index); Simmons *YOS* 14, #347: 25.

33. In addition to the Ur III and OB sources cited in this discussion, see, e.g., for Old Assyrian Kienast, *FAOS Beihefte* 1, #3B: 1; #3SB: 3; Donbaz, *FAOS Beihefte* 2, #7: 25; #48: 18; for Middle Babylonian Clay, *BE* 14, #19: 56; *ibid.*, *BE* 15, pp. 43–44 of the index (15 examples); for Middle Assyrian, MB, and Neo-Babylonian *CAD* 16, 191, 5, b), 2' and 192, 5, c), 3', s.v. *šillu*.

34. Stamm *Namengebung*, 276, n. 1 adduces evidence and cites others in support of this interpretation. Page 259 should be added to his catalogue of names that include a form of *šillu* on p. 359.

35. Figulla and Martin, *UET* 5, #87, rev.: 15.

36. *Ibid.*, #417: 5.

37. Grice, *YOS* 5, #126: 37.

38. Figulla and Martin, *UET* 5, #607, rev.: 55. It is never combined with a royal name according to Marten Stol, "Old Babylonian Personal Names," *SEL* 8 (1991), 204.

39. See Bowes *TSOBPN*, 1191, who, however, concludes that the form is construct.

40. E.g., Dalley *Rimah*, #142: 12; Simmons, *YOS* 14, #49: 17; #97: 7; #158: 22; Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* 1, #220: 8; Ungnad, *PBS* 7, #125: 18, 25(?). It could be argued that, since these examples all stand independently, they may not indicate how the substantive with suffix would be written when it is followed by another noun in a name; but this seems less likely. See the evidence and references adduced by Stamm in n. 34 above.

ending (*ši-lu-us-^dda-gan*),⁴¹ or be preceded by a preposition to form an adverbial phrase.⁴²

Understanding the initial element of the name as a bound form points to seeing the following ZI as a substantive and as a divine name, i.e., *šilli*-ZI = “The Protection (lit. Shadow, Shade) of Zi.” While there is no divine determinative in the name, this same construction (i.e., *šilli*-DN) occurs elsewhere without the determinative.⁴³ The divine name zi is attested.⁴⁴ It is a shortened form of ^dNIĜ-ZI-(DA), which alternates with ^dNIĜ-GI-NA, for personified *kittu*.⁴⁵

If the ending of *šilli* were to be viewed as a suffix, the following ZI could be taken either as a divine name or as an adjective. When *šillu* is used with an adjective to form a proper name, the adjective usually precedes.⁴⁶ However, *ši-lu-uš* can follow by an adjective, written either logographically⁴⁷ or syllabically.⁴⁸ In these examples the ending of *šilluš* may be pronominal⁴⁹ and, if so, could lend support to taking the ending of *šilli* as a suffix as well. On that understanding the following ZI could still be a divine name and would yield a meaning such as “My shade is ZI.” This would be similar to a name such as *šilliša-^dAYYA*.⁵⁰ If ZI were to be understood as an adjective in this name, its use would then be analogous to that in such names as ^dBA-Ú-ZI, ^dNANNA-ZI, etc. ZI is also used as an adjective in final position on the present tablet in the name in line six of this same column.⁵¹ I do not, however, favor these options for the reasons given above.

The tails of the two verticals of the sign ZI in this line and in line 6 of this column angle outward from one another slightly as they descend, in contrast to those in the same sign in line 5 of the second column which are in parallel alignment.

i:4a. LÚ-ULU₃ NU-MU. Limet understands the force of names formed with the noun MU, meaning “name,” to be that the person receiving the name will or will not be famous.⁵² The latter may be the meaning of the present line, i.e., literally “the man (with) no name.” In the example for the negative force of names formed with MU cited by Limet from Gudea Statue B, ix: 21; however, MU should probably be understood as “year(s)” rather than “name” and NU-ĜÁL-LA as a nominalized form meaning some-

41. Genouillac, *TCL* 2, #5504, obv., i: 7. Stamm *Namengebung*, 276 cites the opinion of Ungnad and von Soden that the ending of *šilluš* in *šilluš*-DN should be understood rather as a pronominal suffix, since *šillašu*-DN is not attested. The independent form *šillašu*, however, does occur (Chiera, *PBS* 8/2, #172: 10). This ambiguity is similar to that just discussed with regard to the first person singular suffix.

42. Stamm *Namengebung*, 276.

43. Clay, *BE* 15, #192: 7; Figulla and Martin, *UET* 5, #417: 5; Kienast, *FAOS* 2/2, #20: seal; #69: 13; Donbaz, *FAOS* Beihefte 2, #7: 25; #48: 18. See Stol, “Old Babylonian Personal Names,” 209 on the use of *šillu* in proper names.

44. Deimel *Pantheon*, 133, #1335; ŠL, 4/1, 20, #130: 1.

45. CAD 8, 471, 1, b), 4', s.v. *kittu*.

46. Stamm *Namengebung*, 235.

47. Keiser, *BIN* 3, #418: 17; King, *CT* 24, pl. 28, iii: 66.

48. Dossin, *ARM* 13, 1, iii: 77.

49. Stamm *Namengebung*, 276 with references.

50. Faust, *YOS* 8, #149, rev.: 20.

51. See Limet *Anthroponymie*, 319–21 for the use of ZI as an adjective in personal names.

52. *Anthroponymie*, 43, 282; see also 493–94.

thing like “dearth”⁵³ in parallel with the next line that speaks of “famine” or “starvation” (SE-ĜAR),⁵⁴ with a likely play on the verbal root ĜĀL between the two lines.

A positive understanding of this line would result if MU represents a possessive suffix and NU a noun, the equivalent of Akkadian *šalmu*, i.e., “the man (is) my likeness.”⁵⁵ In this interpretation the line would express the feelings of a proud parent.

i:4b. al ¹BA¹-AN-¹TI¹. The first sign in the second line of the case is sufficiently preserved to be recognizable as AL. The third is a clear AN. The second is probably BA with all but the lower horizontal (usually angled downward) preserved. The last sign is probably TI.⁵⁶ This would yield AL BA-AN-TI = *uballit*, i.e., “He / She has been granted life,” with the prefix BA serving as a passive indicator.⁵⁷ The likelihood that the two lines in this case form a single name is indicated by two factors. One is that this is the only case on the tablet that contains two lines of writing, and both lines had to be squeezed to make them fit. The other is that the last case in this column is left standing empty over against an inscribed case in the right column, so that these two lines could have been placed in separate cases if the scribe had so desired. Taking the first line of the case positively and reading both lines as a single name, it would mean “The man, (who is) my likeness, has been granted life.”⁵⁸ Understanding MU with Limet, on the other hand, the name would mean “The man with no name has been granted life.” On that understanding it was probably a name given to a foundling.

The editors of CAD list AL.TI / AL.TI.LA among the Sumerian spellings of *balātu*,⁵⁹ probably taking the combinations as frozen spellings.⁶⁰ The AL in these combinations is apparently understood by von Soden as a conjugation prefix, since he did not include them among the Sumerian writings he listed for *balātu* (TI / TI.LA / TIN).⁶¹ The verbal chain as it stands in YBC 6996 suggests that AL-TI was used as a compound verb by the scribe, since al is not normally followed by other prefixed elements before a verbal root;⁶² whereas the conjugation prefix (BA) and the pronominal infix (N) precede the verbal base (TI) in the present form.

i:5. UR-^dNUN-GAL, “The one of Nungal.” Nungal, daughter of Ereskigal, was an underworld deity.⁶³ This name,⁶⁴ appears in twenty-four of the volumes of published

53. Ibid., 43; Edzard, *RIM*, 3/1, 38, ix:21.

54. Ibid., Sjöberg, *PSD* 2, 67b.

55. See CAD 16, 85, f), s.v. *šalmu* for the meaning “likeness,” i.e., in a non-literal sense, and f), 2' for some examples of nu / *šalmu* in personal names.

56. I thank Marcel Sigrist for helping me recognize this sign.

57. D. O. Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar*, *HdO* 71 (Leiden, 2003), 95, §12.8.1.3 (where BA is discussed as a passive as well as a locative indicator), contra M.-L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, Mesopotamia 10 (Copenhagen, 1984), 183, §348.

58. On names formed with the verb TI / *balātu* see CAD 2, 60, 6, a), 4', s.v. *balātu*; Limet, 306–8; and Stamm *Namengebung* 187–88.

59. CAD 2, 53, s.v. *balātu*.

60. Martha Roth (personal communication, October 13, 2002).

61. *AHW*, 99, s.v. *balātu*.

62. Thomsen, *Sumerian*, 186, § 353.

63. Black and Green, *Gods*, 145.

64. See n. 8 above on the usage of UR as the initial element in personal names.

Ur III texts I have consulted, usually in multiple instances. I have found only one attestation so far in an OB text.⁶⁵ Though other OB examples may exist, it appears to be a name that was more widely used in Ur III times. In contrast to multiple internal verticals, the one vertical in this NUN sign has the top of its head extended.

i:6. NIN-MUNUS-ZI, “The lady⁶⁶ / queen⁶⁷ is a faithful woman.” I have found only a few examples of the same name. These derive from Ur III Lagaš⁶⁸ and pre-Sargonic Nippur.⁶⁹

ii:1. ^dUTU-SIPAD, “Šamaš is the shepherd.” The name ^dUTU-SIPAD should probably be read as Akkadian, ^dšamaš-rē^cû(m). It occurs in OB and later texts from varied locations.⁷⁰ I have not yet found it in Ur III texts.

ii:2. ì-lî-i-din-nam, “My god has given to me.” This name seems to be attested primarily in OB texts and appears in varied locations. Bowes has found it in Ur, Larsa, Nippur, and Sippar.⁷¹ In one of his Nippur examples the verbal component is written in Sumerian, i.e., ì-lî-MA-AN-SUM.⁷² If this is a correct restoration, as it appears to be from the hand copy, it is a rare example of what could be called a hybrid name, i.e., one written partially in Akkadian and partially in Sumerian.⁷³ All of the other OB examples are spelled, as here, in syllabic Akkadian. Ranke’s collection includes multiple examples,⁷⁴ as do the compendium of names mostly from Mari in *ARM* 16/1⁷⁵ and several other volumes of OB texts.⁷⁶ I have found no examples from Ur III as yet.

65. Edzard, *Tell ed-Dēr*, #128, obv.: 3; rev.: 2.

66. So translated in Limet *Anthroponymie*, 281.

67. So translated in *ibid.*, 321.

68. Pohl, *TuM I-II*, #171, rev.: 16; Genouillac, *ITT* 2¹, #948: 2, [9]; for the latter reference see Falkenstein *Gerichtsurkunden*, 2, #22: 2, 9 and 3, p. 65 (correct the divine determinative to the *Personenkeil*); cited in Limet *Anthroponymie*, 516; see also Pohl, *TuM I-II*, #316: 21 (NIN-MUNUS-ZI-DA).

69. Legrain, *PBS* 15, pl. 10, #5: 1 (NIN-MUNUS-ZI-II).

70. E.g., Bowes *TSOBPN* lists examples from Larsa (471), Nippur (599), and Sippar (736). The name is also attested at Kisurra (Kienast, *FAOS* 2/2, p. 201 of the index with multiple references) and Mari (Jean, *ARM* 2, #128: 17), as well as in the compilation of Ranke, *PN*, 147 and in the text editions of Thureau-Dangin (*TCL* 1, #106: 17) and Simmons (*YOS* 14, #327: 21). Hölscher *Personennamen*, 204 lists MB examples from Nippur (with the first, singular pronominal suffix added), and Figulla, *UET* 4, #106: 7 is NB.

71. *TSOBPN*, 323, 412, 547, 660.

72. *Ibid.*, 547. The name, better transliterated as ì-lî-^rMA-AN-SUM¹, is cited from E. C. Stone, “The Social and Economic Organization of Old Babylonian Nippur” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1979), 623, 3N-T, 884: 18; cf. Stone, *Nippur*, pl. 51, #26, rev.: 8.

73. Unless one were to regard the Sumerian writing of the verbal component as a scribal method of writing Akkadian. This seems unlikely. The logographic spelling of both components of the same name in MB Akkadian, DINGIR-SUM^{na} (Akkadian based on the phonetic complement; Gurney, *UET* 7, #1, obv.: 8, 15; rev.: 2, 4, 6), could be cited as a piece of evidence in favor of this possibility; but the full writing of all of the Sumerian elements prefixed to the verbal root in the example referenced in n. 72 speaks against it. Apart from that possibility, the name cited from *UET* 5 in n. 16 above is also Sumerian and confirms that DINGIR-kab-ta in i:2 could be as well.

74. *PN*, 100.

75. Birot et al., 120–21. The majority are from the reign of Zimri-Lim.

76. See the indices in Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* 1, 28; Chiera, *PBS* 8/2, 183; Figulla and Martin, *UET* 5, 42; Simmons, *YOS* 14, 60; Greengus *Ishchali*, 84.

ii:3. ^dUTU-ILLAT-*su*¹, “Šamaš is his help.” The final sign in this line has three horizontal wedges connecting with the vertical on the right side and appears to have a lower, fourth horizontal that was begun with a downward angle and with its tail left incomplete but about to intersect the head of the lowest of the three complete horizontals. This would be the customary shape of the SU sign. This lower, angled horizontal wedge, however, looks more like a simple *Winkelhaken*. The lower, angled horizontal wedge of the SU sign is drawn similarly in Roth, *Mesopotamian Law*, 6, 22.

Bowes has collected numerous OB names that incorporate the logogram ILLAT with the third masculine singular suffix (as here), with other suffixes, and with no suffix.⁷⁷ I follow his interpretation of the logogram as representing Akkadian *tillatu*. This Akkadian word means “help, reinforcement.”⁷⁸ It is used frequently in combination with deities to form personal names. The distinction between *illatu* and *tillatu* as Akkadian equivalents of Sumerian ILLAT (KASKAL-KUR) is discussed in the CAD entry for *illatu*.⁷⁹ Stamm understands names formed with a divine name followed by the logogram ILLAT in terms of *illatu*, “family group,”⁸⁰ although elsewhere he does cite references for names formed with a divine name followed by *tillatu* written syllabically.⁸¹ Bowes’ understanding is to be preferred in light of the restrictions of *illatu* as a reading of the logogram ILLAT pointed out in CAD⁸² and is confirmed by dual examples of the same name in which this element is spelled both logographically and syllabically.⁸³ Syllabic spellings of the element exist for the name under discussion.⁸⁴ All examples I have found of this name are OB, except for one from Ur III.⁸⁵

ii:4. ^dEN-ZU-*re-me-ni*, “Sin is merciful.” The sign RE / RI is drawn here, as it appears to be in line 6 of this same column, without an internal *Winkelhaken*. While Ur III names are constructed as ^d*Suen*- . . . and many as ^d*Nanna*- . . . , I have found none in this period so far formed with either of these divine names followed by the epithet *rēmēni*. All of the examples I have found so far of the name as it stands in this line are OB.⁸⁶

ii:5. DUMU-*er-še-tim*, “Child of the Underworld.” I have found examples of the name *mār-eršetim* only in OB texts, with both elements written logographically,⁸⁷

77. For the same name, see *TSOBPN* 365, 472, 600, 738; for *tillatu* with various divine names, see 1263–65.

78. *AHW.*, 1358, s.v. *tillatu*.

79. *CAD* 7, 84, discussion section, s.v. *illatu*.

80. Stamm *Namengebung*, 299–300.

81. Stamm *Namengebung*, 212 and n. 6 with Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* 1, #25: 26; see also Schroeder, *VAS* 16, #22: 19.

82. See n. 79 above.

83. Stol, “Old Babylonian Personal Names,” 192 and n. 9.

84. Ungnad, *VAS* 8, #54: 25; #95: 17.

85. Lafont-Yildiz *Tello Istanbul*, #666: 26.

86. Those compendia with multiple examples cited in indices include: Bowes *TSOBPN*, 357, 459, 590, 721; Chiera, *PBS* 8/1, 99; *ibid.*, *PBS* 8/2, 190; Çiğ-Kizilyay-Kraus *Nippur*, 128; Edzard *Tell ed-Dēr*, 230; Figulla and Martin, *UET* 5, 58; Greengus *Ishchali*, 90; Kienast, *FAOS* 2/2, 200; Ranke *PN*, 163–64; *ibid.*, *BE* 6/1, 54–55; Simmons, *YOS* 14, 77; Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* 1, 43; Ungnad, *PBS* 7, 40.

87. E.g., Poebel, *BE* 6/2, #22: 13; #30: 5, 15; #53: 29; Ungnad, *PBS* 7, #48: 5.

with the second element written syllabically,⁸⁸ and with the entire name written syllabically, spelled either with the sign ZI (=šé) in the second element (as here),⁸⁹ or (more often) with the sign ŠI.⁹⁰ The noun *eršetu* is the most common Akkadian word for both the earth and the underworld,⁹¹ the “decidedly most popular and most frequent Akkadian name for the netherworld and the realm of the dead.”⁹² Stamm understands *eršetu* in this and similar names to mean underworld conceived as a deity who has sent the child so named as a replacement for a deceased parent or another child.⁹³

ii:6. ^dEN-ZU-*a-ša-ri-id*, “Sin is foremost.” Perhaps this is a shortened form of a longer “Sin is the foremost of the gods.” Cf. NB ^dXXX-MÁŠ-DINGIR-ME,⁹⁴ ^dXXX-MÁŠ-DINGIR-MEŠ,⁹⁵ and ^dXXX-MAŠ-DINGIR-MEŠ.⁹⁶ I have found OB examples with the same spelling as in YBC 6996⁹⁷ and with other spellings,⁹⁸ as well as MB examples,⁹⁹ but none from Ur III so far.

ii:7. *mu-da-mi-qum / qu*, “He (the god) shows favor.” Such name formations occur both with and without case endings and mimation.¹⁰⁰ In YBC 6996, mimation is preserved in DUMU-*er-šé-tim* (ii: 5), but not in ^dSUEN-*re-me-ni* (ii: 4). The D participle of *damāqu* occurs independently as a personal name in MB.¹⁰¹ The independent form has likely been shortened by the loss of a preceding divine name, a procedure that becomes common in MB and occurs already in the OB period.¹⁰² The divine name may also follow in this combination of elements.¹⁰³ The sign DA is sometimes drawn with two verticals on its right in OB.¹⁰⁴ The second of these may be represented by the partial wedge drawn above the beginning of the following MI sign in this name.

88. E.g., Ranke, *BE* 6/1, #95: 4; Çiğ-Kizilyay-Kraus *Nippur*, #81: 3; #125: 8; #170, rev.: 6.

89. E.g., Poebel, *BE* 6/2, #54: 29.

90. E.g., Çiğ-Kizilyay-Kraus *Nippur*, #45, obv.: 2, 13; rev.: 1 (?); #64: 8; #65, obv.: 1, 16, 20; rev.: 5; seal b: 2; #68: 8; #128: 3 (?); #150: 6.

91. *CAD* 4, 309–11, s.v. *eršetu*; W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, Mesopotamian Civilizations, 8 (Winona Lake, 1998), 273.

92. K. Tallqvist, “Sumerisch-Akkadische Namen der Totenwelt,” *St.Or.* 5/4 (1934), 8–9 (my translation).

93. *Namengebung*, 304–5.

94. Figulla, *UET* 4, #79: 10; #156: 6; #197: 13.

95. *Ibid.*, #9: 36; #80: 8; #160: 8, 12.

96. *Ibid.*, #116: 3; correct MÁŠ to MAŠ in the index citation of this name on p. 43.

97. E.g., Figulla and Martin list ten examples in their index in *UET* 5 on p. 55.

98. E.g., *ibid.*, #40: 3 (^dEN-ZU-*a-a-ša-ri-id-ma*; add *-ma* to this entry in the index on p. 55); #240: 11 (*XXX-a-ša-ri-id*); see Bowes, *TSOBPN*, 451 and 585 for other examples.

99. Gurney, *UET* 7, #1, obv.: 8; #16, obv.: 9, 16; rev.: 6, 10 (all written as ^dXXX-SAĞ-KAL); see also Hölscher *Personennamen*, 185–86.

100. Stamm *Namengebung*, 115.

101. Hölscher *Personennamen*, 143; Clay, *BE* 14, #67: 4 (correct the index on p. 48; the final sign is QU[M], not IQ); *BE* 15, #20: 5; envelope: 5; *PN*, 108.

102. Stamm *Namengebung*, 114–15; *CAD* 3, 63, 2, c), 4', s.v. *damāqu* with Old, Middle, and Neo-Babylonian examples in which a divine name precedes.

103. E.g., in NB, Figulla, *UET* 4, #202: 18, 20 (which are written *mu-SIG₅^{ia}-dISKUR*, like the following example; correct the index on p. 31); #205: 51 and in Neo-Assyrian, O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur, Part 2*, *Studia Semitica Upsaliensis* 8 (Uppsala, 1986), 177, citing N 9, 14, 33.

104. E.g., Poebel, *BE* 6/2, #59: 3, 5; Figulla and Martin, *UET* 5, #145: 2; #174: 2–4, 6, 25 (?); van Dijk, *TIM* 3, #18: 8; #144: 2, 4.

Colophon: TIN ^dNISABA / TIN, “(For the) life (of the scribe to) Nisaba. (For the) life (of the scribe [to Haia?]).” The colophon is a shortened form of a longer invocation directed to both Nisaba and her consort Haia. As noted by Hallo, this type of colophon or doxology occurs particularly on model contracts and on the Yale Law tablet (YOS 1, #28).¹⁰⁵ Hunger’s translation of the latter (with a question mark) suggests: “(By the) life (of) Nisaba and Haia.”¹⁰⁶ Roth translates: “(This copy of the composition is dedicated for the scribe’s) well-being (to) the goddess Nisaba and (her consort) Haja.”¹⁰⁷ YBC 6996 employs Sumerian TIN and may imply, though it does not express, a following Haia. The noun TIN came to be the most common logographic writing of *balāṭu* in the later formula used in numerous colophons that appeal for long life for the scribe of the tablet.¹⁰⁸ That same appeal, when made for the long life of a king, underlies a formula employed in royal dedicatory inscriptions: NAM-TI-LA-NI-ŠÈ.¹⁰⁹

The colophon is written on the reverse and runs from bottom to top once the tablet has been turned in the customary way. It confirms the tablet’s origin in a school setting and may further imply that, more than a simple name list, it may be a practice list of witnesses. Whereas witness lists were regularly omitted from model contracts,¹¹⁰ it was necessary that scribes be trained to inscribe them, since witnesses were required in documents recording various types of real transactions. Students may well have composed these lists in the same way they practiced writing contractual clauses like those they would later include in functional documents. Such clauses are interspersed with model contracts in *Sammeltafeln* from the schools and in the collections UR5-RA = *hubullu* 1–2 and *ana-ittišu*.¹¹¹ Although neither a prefixed *igi*, a *Personenkeil* before each name, nor the phrase LÚ-INIM-MA-BI-MEŠ following the list is present to confirm these names as a list of witnesses,¹¹² perhaps YBC 6996 may be a sample of this aspect of scribal training.

105. W. W. Hallo, “Toward a History of Sumerian Literature,” *AS* 20, 195, n. 98; Clay, *YOS* 1, #28, vi: 2–3 (TI-LA ^dNISABA Û ^dHA-IA₃); NBC 7800 (TIL-LA ^dNISABA Û ^dHA-IA₃).

106. Hunger *Kolophone*, 29, #38: 2–3 (*Leben [??]der Nisaba und des Haja*); similarly *ibid.*, 29, #37: 2–4, translating Keiser, *BIN* 2, #36:125–27 (with identical wording except for the omission of the conjunction).

107. Roth, *Law Collections*, 45; see *ibid.*, 43 on the rarity of such blessings on tablets from Nippur and Ur in the early second millennium.

108. See the index on p. 159 of Hunger *Kolophone* for references to the formula *ana TIN napšātišu* with variations; the same formula with TI.LA instead of TIN occurs only rarely.

109. E.g., King, *CT* 21, pl. 23, ii: 10; etc.

110. Hallo, “Toward a History,” 195–96; M. Civil, “Appendix: Cuneiform Texts,” in Gibson *OIC* 22, 130; S. J. Lieberman, “Nippur: City of Decisions,” in M. deJ. Ellis, ed., *Rencontre Assyriologique* 35 (1992), 130, n. 18; H. Limet, “Documents sumériens des Musées Royaux et d’Histoire Bruxelles,” *Akkadica* 117 (2000), 3.

111. E.g., FLP 1287; see Roth, *Mesopotamian Law*, 27 and *Law Collections*, 46; Lieberman, “Nippur,” 130, n. 18; but with the correction and question raised in Roth, *Law Collections*, 39, nn. 1–2. NBC 7800 probably also includes similar discrete clauses.

112. E.g., in sale documents: Figulla and Martin, *UET* 5, #131:14–19 (IGI); 132:15–22 (*Personenkeil*); 132:23 (LÚ-INIM-MA-BI-MEŠ).

