"AN EXPERIENCED SCRIBE WHO NEGLECTS NOTHING"

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES
IN HONOR OF JACOB KLEIN

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THE SUMERIAN VERB na de$_5$(-g) "TO CLEAR"*

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THE FOLLOWING DISCUSSION of the Sumerian verb na de$_5$ takes its departure from the results of the careful analysis offered by the jubilarian more than twenty years ago in his well-known article dealing with "Some Rare Sumerian Words Gleaned from the Royal Hymns of Šulgi."[1] May he accept it as a small tribute of just one student who has learned so much of third millennium Sumerian from his writings.

In the mentioned article, Jacob Klein describes the situation as follows: "the compound na-RI(-g) appears as the root of three Sumerian verbs, with entirely different meanings, and practically unknown etymologies:

1. na-RI(-g) I 'to give instructions' (Akk. *ašārum*)
2. na-RI(-g) II 'to purify, cleanse' (Akk. *elēlum*)
3. na-RI(-g) III 'to perish, fall/fell.'"

This description corresponds very well with the attested contexts: na de$_5$ I (for the reading see below) most often occurs in the context of verbal

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1. J. Klein, "Some Rare Sumerian Words Gleaned from the Royal Hymns of Šulgi," in: G. B. Sarfatti et al. (eds.), *Studies in Hebrew and Semitic Languages Dedicated to the Memory of Prof. Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher* (Ramat-Gan 1980), IX–XXVIII.

instructions; na de_5 II is most prominent in incantations; and na de_5 III is apparently restricted to Old Sumerian administrative texts from Girsu. The relatively limited specific contexts in which the verb na RI is met explain well the two different Akkadian translations.

The solution offered by Klein has been generally accepted.[2] My considerations start from the question as to how three (or four) homophone verbs might have come into existence. Given the constant orthography, the ending -g and the exclusivity of a nominal element na in a compound verb, there is no need to propose two (or three) homographic verbs of different spellings. The combination of a rare nominal element na and the not too frequent verb $de_5(-g)$ also speaks against two 'real' homonyms of different etymological background. Thus, one would have to assume polysemy, three or even four (see below) specific meanings derived from a common basic meaning.

This article is devoted to the detection of such a basic or original meaning. The basic meaning often leads to a better understanding of the grammatical construction of a verb, although this does not apply to our case. More importantly, the awareness of the basic meaning contributes essentially to the specific meaning. Even if we would not change our translation of, e.g., na de_5 I "to give instructions" in the formulaic expression na ga-(e)-de_5 na-de_5-$\tilde{g}u_{10}$ he_2-dab_5 "I will instruct you; may my instruction be accepted by you" (see (9) below), knowledge about the second meaning "to cleanse" of the same verb enhances the understanding of the respective phrase and its context. In this way, we are starting to reconstruct the semantic range of the *Sumerian* verb, and we are not dealing any more with the semantic ranges of translations, be it Akkadian (*ašārum*) or any standard modern European language ("to give instructions," "unterweisen").

On the other hand, the whole scope of Akkadian translations helps to define the semantics of a word. The catalogue of Akkadian translations of a Sumerian word resembles very much the look in any modern dictionary, besides the facts that (1) Akkadian translations have been collected and are preserved haphazardly without the systematic treatment of a dictionary, and that (2) all translations are practically deprived of their (idiomatic, pragmatic, social) context. To illustrate this point, I quote from a medium-sized English-German dictionary (*Langenscheidts Großes Schulwörterbuch*), a selection of the translations given for the transitive verb "to clear" (meanings 13.–25. of the entry "clear"): "13. *a[lso]* ~ *up* (auf)klären, erläutern; 14. säubern, reinigen (*a[lso] fig[uratively]*), befreien; losmachen (*of* von): *to ~ the street of snow* die Straße von Schnee reinigen; 15. *Saal etc.* räumen, leeren;

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2. Further references are collected by P. Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne*, 621.

Waren(lager) räumen […]; *Tisch* abräumen, abdecken; *Straße* freimachen; *Land, Wald* roden: *to ~ the way* Platz machen, den Weg bahnen; *to ~ out of the way fig.* beseitigen; 16. reinigen, säubern […]; 17. frei-, lossprechen […]; […] 20. Gewinn erzielen, einheimsen: *to ~ expenses* die Unkosten einbringen; 21. *nautical term* a) *Schiff* klarmachen (*for action* zum Gefecht), b) *Schiff* ausklarieren, c) *Ladung* löschen, d) *Hafen* verlassen, …." The equation na de₅ = "to clear" given as title of this contribution has thus lost its clarity and a more exact description of the meaning has to be supplied.

Our general considerations have lead us to the conclusion that na de₅(-g) I–III should be taken as specific meanings of one verb deduced from a hitherto unknown basic meaning. The detection of this basic meaning poses a problem since semantic shifts do not follow predictable patterns. Thus our reconstruction has to start with an in-depth study of the various specific meanings.

Reading of na de₅(-g), *Verbal Class*

The major sources for the reading and meaning of the verb na de₅ have been collected by Jacob Klein in his article, which forms the point of departure for our investigation. Some of these sources have received further elaboration, others have been published since then. Hence, for the convenience of the reader an updated list of the most important sources is presented here.

The reading of the verbal base RI-g as de₅-g containing the so-called "dʳ-phoneme" (ř) seems to be generally accepted nowadays.[3] The prime source for this reading is:

(1)   Proto-Ea 130 (MSL 14, 36): de-e (4×), di-i (2×), de₃-e (1×) RI

This reading of na de₅-g is corroborated by unorthographic variants and glosses (cf. below (14) for lexical lists):

(2)   Gudea Cyl. B vi 14: na-de₆(DU) šum₂ (// na-de₅(RI) šum₂ Cyl. B xii 9)[4]

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3.   The reading de₅ instead of ri (thereby avoiding a transliteration ři) conforms to du₃ (i.e., řu₂). Apart from the seminal article of J. Bauer, "Zum /dr/-Phonem des Sumerischen," *WO* 8 (1975–76): 1–9 (there p. 3 n.15 on na de₅), cf., e.g., S. Lieberman, SLOB I: 441 No. 561; J. Krecher, *WO* 4 (1968): 266; Sjöberg, *ZA* 59 (1969): 17–18 (temple name e₂-rab-di₅-di₅ written also e₂-rab-di-di); C. Wilcke, *ZA* 68 (1978): 212 n.11; cf. also Klein, as note 1: XXI f. n. 49–50 (*ad* na-RI I), and the literature cited by K. Volk, *Inanna and Šukaletuda* (Wiesbaden, 1995), 168 with n. 784. The so-called /dr/-phoneme and its loss in the Old Babylonian period is discussed by Bram Jagersma in an article in press in a volume on diachronic and synchronic variations of Sumerian, edited by J. Black and G. Zólyomi as *ASJ* 22 ("2000").

4.   On the interchange of de₅(RI) and de₆(DU) in Ur III texts, cf. C. Wilcke, "Flurschäden […]," in: H. Klengel and J. Renger (eds.), *Landwirtschaft im Alten Orient.*

(3)   A. Cavigneaux and F. al-Rawi, *ZA* 85 (1995): 26, Old Babylonian incantation against the Evil Eye l. 48 (Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian from Meturan, C = CT 58, 79; D = CT 44, 34):

MA 48   nu-un-du-un ku na-di-ga-a-za
MB 3'   nun-du ku_3 ʾna de_5-gaʾ-[(a)-za]
C 45 tu_6(KAxLI) ku_3 na de_5-ga-za
D 42'   nundum?(KAx?) ku_3 na de_5-[g]a-za

"through your purified lips" (Cavigneaux l. c. 30: "grâce à tes lèvres «consacrées»")

(4)   A. Cavigneaux, *Studies Boehmer*, 63:

VS 17, 19:1–2:
en-ki-ne nin-ki-e-ne $maš_2$ ḫulu tub_2-ba nun-e na de_5-ga-am_3
// H 66:1:
                    maš ḫu-ul tu-pa   nun-ni na di-ga
// *ASKT* 12:30:
en_2:   maš ḫulu tub_2-ba nun-e   na de_5-ga
"evil-butting goat, purified by the prince (= Enki)."

(5)   *Enlil and Ninlil* 13–14, Text C = *JRAS* 1919, 190–91 (BM 38600):

u_4-ba ki-sikil ku_3 ama ugu-a-ni $ša_3$ na-mu-un-de_5^{di}-de_5^{di} (A: ama ugu-na, ša // $ša_3$; B, G, I: ama ugu-ni) // *ina ūmīšu* MIN *umma alittaša iššarši (iš-šar-ši)*

^{d}nin-lil_2 ^{d}nun-bar-še-$gunu_3^{nu}$ $ša_3$ na-mu-un-de_5-de_5 (A: ^{d}nin-lil_2-le, ša // $ša_3$, A, B, G, I: ...-še-gu-nu) // MIN *Nissaba iššarši (iš-šar-ši)*

"On that day, the splendid girl, — her mother is enlightening her, Ninlil, — Nunbaršegunu is enlightening her."

Among the commentaries to this line see especially R.D. Biggs and M. Civil, *RA* 60 (1966): 2 with note 5; H. Behrens, *Enlil and Ninlil*, StP s.m. 8 (Rome, 1978), 76–77; on the translation J.S. Cooper, *JCS* 32 (1980): 177–78; Schretter, *Emesal-Studien*, 251, # 416a. /ša - de/, all with further literature.

(6)   Further examples:

a) Inanna and the *numun*-plant l. 1; S.N. Kramer, *Studies C. Gordon* (New York, 1980), 91:1: ab-ba na mu-un-de "the old man is

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Ausgewählte Vorträge der XLI. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale ... BBVO 18 (Berlin, 1999), 301 (with earlier literature), and the article by Jagersma cited in the preceding note.

instructed (i.e., he knows)." Kramer, loc. cit., 95, explains na de as writing of na de₅; for the verbal form see (23) below.

b) VS 10, 123 iv 10: ša₃ na-ma-an-di-di // ša₃ na-ma-an-de₅-de₅ ibid. iv 6; see Alster, *Instructions* 125 and Schretter loc. cit.

The vowel of the verbal base is /e/ according to Proto-Ea, whereas the Old Sumerian prefix chains[5] i₃-di₅, bi₂-di₅, i₃-mi-di₅ demand /i/ (thus di₅); the only exceptions are e-me-de₅ (DP 428) and be₂-de₅ (DP 429).

The verb belongs to the "Reduplication class," *ḫamṭu* stem de₅-g (e.g., na de₅-ga), *marû* stem de₅-de₅ (vocalic ending): cf. (5) and *Instructions of Šuruppag* 6, (21) dumu-ni-ra na na-mu-un-de₅-de₅ "he is informing his son," both introducing direct speech and thus demanding present-future tense.[6]

According to references (5) and (6b), the Emesal form of na de₅ is ša di (or de). Furthermore, the form ša re/i-b is attested in unorthographic Sumerian texts (7a) and probably in the Emesal vocabulary (7).

(7)   Emesal voc. III 105 (MSL 4, 36 + CT 19, 35) še re₇-[ba] = [na de₅-ga] = *a-ši-ir-tum;* see Klein, as n.1: XXI n. 49; Schretter, *Emesal-Studien,* 256 no. 440 še su₈-[ba] with further literature, no further improvement given by R. Borger, in: M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (eds.), *Dubsar antamen (= Studies Römer),* AOAT 253 (Münster, 1998): 33 ("Rs. I 11").

(7a)   A. Cavigneaux, *ZA* 85 (1995): 40, lists the following Emesal references of a phrase similar to (3):

šu-um-du-um ša₃ ri-ba-še₃ (*JCS* 29, 9:9')

šu-um-du-um ša ri-ba (VS 2, 4 vi 5)

šu-um-du-um šar₂-ri-ba (CT 42, 22 iv 7 and vi 19; *RA* 15, 128 obv. 21)

The alternations main dialect na : Emesal ša (instead the single še of (7)) and Ceg : Ceb (C = consonant) correspond to the expected forms (cf. Schretter, *Emesal-Studien,* 68 and 50). Here, the /dr/-phoneme has developed to /r/ as in the "Southern" Sumerian dialect of the late third millennium (see Jagersma, note 4).

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5. G. Selz, *ASJ* 17 (1995): 260–61; A. Deimel, *Or* SP 16 (1925): 61f.; M. Yoshikawa, *Or* 47 (1978): 476; and see below (33)–(52).

6. The entry "ri" in the glossary of M.-L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language* (Copenhagen 1984), 312, is a mix-up of the verbs ri (variant ru, vocalic ending) "to direct towards" and de₅-g "to collect" (on the latter see below, p. 250). This confusion is not rare in the Sumerological literature. Unexpected is na mu-ni-ib-de₅-ge in EnlSud 77 according to M. Civil's transliteration in *JAOS* 103 (1983): 54; the only published source K (SLFN 2) reads na mu-ni-ib-de₅ (Nanibgal is the agent!).

Akkadian Translations

1. *ašāru: a.* I etwa "ordnend überwachen; betreuen" (AHw, 79) = "to muster, review" (Black et al., CDA s.v.), *a.* A "to muster, organize, marshal (forces), to provide with food rations, to check, control, instruct" (CAD A/2, 420).

For bilingual attestations see already (5) above, as well as the following references for na-de₅ = *aširtu* (7, 8), *āširu* (9, 10):

(8) *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld* 183 // *Gilgameš* XII 12, Gilgameš instructing Enkidu before the latter's descent to the Netherworld: na ga-(e)-de₅ na-de₅-g̃u₁₀ ḫe₂-dab₅ // *ana aširtīja* [...].

(9) *Instructions of Šuruppag* 9 (and Akkadian version; see Alster, *Instructions* 121–22): dumu-g̃u₁₀ na ga-de₅ (var. ge-de₅) na-de₅-g̃u₁₀ ḫe₂-dab₅ // *ma-ri l[uᵗ-... a-še]-er-ti ṣa-bat* "I will instruct you; may my instruction be accepted by you."[7]

(10) Charpin, CRRA 35 (1992): 9:9, bilingual letter to Zimrilim:
     [ᵈd]a-gan kur-gal a-a dig̃ir gal-gal-e-ne na-de₅ ᵈa-nun-[na] // *Dagān šadû rabû abi ilī [rabbûtim] (w)āšer (wa-še-er) E[nūnakkī]* "Dagān, 'Great Mountain', father of the great gods, instructor of the Anūnakkū."

(11) (a) Weissbach, *BabMisc.* no. 13: 49f., praise of Marduk: umun ᵈdi-ku₅-maḫ-a na-de₅ ᵈa-nun-na-ke₄-ne // *bēlu Madānu āšir (a-šir) Anūnnakī* "Lord Madanu who marshals the Anūnakkū" (translation CAD).

     (b) Ebeling, *ArOr* 21, 364: 52, zi-pa₃-incantation addressing Marduk: [n]a-de₅ maḫ // *āširi ṣīri* within the following list of epithets: (50) *šar kiššat šamê u erṣetim* (51) *pāqid nagbi* (52) *āširi ṣīri* (53) *ša šamê u erṣetim*.

(12) *MEE* 4, 300 VE 901: na-de₅ = *wa-ša-lu-um, wa-šaᵗ(LI)-lu-um.*

     On the interpretation of the Eblaite translation as *ašārum*, see G. Conti, in: P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Miscellanea Eblaitica*, 1, QuSem. 15 (Firenze, 1988), 53. Conti interpretes VE 899 na-du₃ = *maš-ar-tum/du-um* as a variant of the same verb, accepted by Selz, *ASJ* 17 (1995): 256 n.18. However, Conti fails to explain the metathesis of the first two radicals

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7. This routine formula of literary texts has been treated by Attinger, *Eléments*, 236 (with more references); he discusses the reading of the second verb ḫe₂-(e)-dab₅ as dab₅ ("puisse mon conseil 'prendre à toi'") or tuš ("s'installer/prendre place sur toi"). The choice of the reading dab₅ is admittedly conditioned by the Akkadian translation in (9); I understand the 2nd person prefix -e- as ergative (thus allowing a modal verbal form ḫe₂ + preterite), lit. "you should have accepted."

(*maš'artum* vs. **māšartum*), and thus this entry of VE is not considered here.

Finally, the confusing translations of the Nergal song 4 R 30 no.1 20ff.[8] should be cited in this context. As J.S. Cooper has made clear (*JCS* 32 [1980]: 177–78), there is no direct correspondence between Sumerian and Akkadian text. The text is cited from his edition:

(13) 4 R² 30 no. 1 20ff. = *JCS* 32, 178:

(2) dim₃-me-er na-ag̃₂-KU na-de₅-de₅-ge-eš : na-ag̃₂-gel-le-eg̃₂-g̃a₂

ilī ina šahluqti tal-qu₂!(LU)-ut : talqut : tušamqit

(3) dim₃-me-er an-na mu-un-su₈-su₈-ge-eš : me₃ su₈-su₈-ge-eš : mu-e-ši-sig-ge-eš

ilī ša šamê tāšur : ana tāḫazi izzazzūka

In (2) de₅ is translated by *laqātu* and *šumqutu*; *ašāru* in (3) apparently corresponds to de₅ in (2), misunderstanding the form as na de₅.

Sign lists cite the meaning of compound verbs under the simple verbal base. Thus, the translation of na de₅ may also be found with simple de₅(RI) = *laqātu* etc., also *maqātu* (see below, p. 250):

(14) Proto-Aa 130:2:   [de]-e   RI   *wa-ša-[ru-um]*,
        but also   [ri]-i   RI   *wašārum* ibid. 129:10 (MSL 14, 93)
        Cf. also: [de-e] [RI]   *a-ʾšaʾ-ru* Sᵃ Voc. F 2a (MSL 3, 57, CAD
                                         A/2, 420), confirmed by Emar Sᵃ Voc.
                                         88–89, see Å.W. Sjöberg, *ZA* 88 (1998):
                                         249 ad 89:
                          RI   *ašru*

te (Msk. 74 199a)

t[i-x?] (74 1058a i 1') RI   *aširtu*

A II/7 ii 6a' (MSL 14, 297) has been reconstructed as follows:

(de-e)   (RI)   [*a-ša-ru*]

de₂ translated by *ašāru* probably represents an unorthographic spelling of the same verb de₅, standing for na de₅:

(15) Ea IV 176:   de-e DE₂   *a-[ša₂-rum]* MSL 14, 362, reconstructed after
        A IV/3 155': de-e DE₂   *a-ša₂-rum* MSL 14, 382.

The two earliest lexical lists, the Ebla Vocabulary (12) and Proto-Aa (14), as well as the Old Babylonian bilingual letter to Zimrilim (10) give the

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8. The text has been cited often in discussions of na de₅. A first edition is the one of J. Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal*, LSS I/6 (Leipzig 1904), 42–55, text no. 7.

Akkadian verb as *wašārum* instead of *ašārum*. The verb *wašārum* is understood as "to sink down" (CDA; AHw, 1484 "sich senken"), "to be humble" (CAD A/2, 422 *ašāru* B), better known is the adjective *wašrum* "humble." J.-M. Durand, *LAPO* 16, 106, offers another solution for the problem posed by (10). He proposes a verb *wašārum*, which apparently corresponds semantically more or less to *ašārum*; *wašrum* is explained as a verbal adjective ("brought in order" = "humble").

The Akkadian dictionaries also list other Sumerian equivalents of *ašāru*:

saĝ en₃ tar (also = *šâlu, paqādu*) (Kagal B 303–4; bilingual TCL 6
    51:33f.), also cited under tar (A III/5:139)

i, i-i (Izi I 10a–11, MSL 13, 160)

umun₂ AK (*BWL* 244 r. iv 25)

lu₂ igi-du₈ AK-a *āširu*, saĝ en₃ tar *pāqidu* Erimḫuš V 146–47 (MSL
    17, 73)

igi kar₂-kar₂ // *tāšertum* (Old Babylonian) "control, checking"

Taken together, these translations make clear that na de₅ // *ašāru* is semantically closer to saĝ en₃ tar *paqādu* "to care for, to instruct" (note also igi kar₂) than, e.g., to a₂ aĝ₂-ĝa₂ *(w)u''urum* "to give an order," ad ge₄ *malāku* "to give advice," zu *edû* (Š) "to (let) know."

2. *elēlu* D "to purify" and *ellu* "pure," *tēliltu* "purification"; see the dictionaries for references.

Other Sumerian verbs translated with *elēlu, ellu* are first of all ku₃ and sikil, furthermore, e.g., gub₂, dalla, gerin, za-gin₃, tam. Here, the distribution of Akkadian translations does not help to pinpoint the meaning more precisely, but we have to evaluate the contexts (see below).

3. The last two references from lexical lists, (16) and (17), remain unexplained:

(16)   [udu de₅]-ʿde₅-gaʾ   *miqittu*
             [udu de₅-de₅]-ga   *šuparruru*
             [udu na d]e₅-ga   MIN Ḫḫ XIII 30–32 (MSL 8/1, 9)[9]

The restorations are suggested by Nippur Forerunner 19–20 (MSL 8/1, 83), now attested also at *Emar* 6/4, 550: 21′–22′: udu de₅-de₅-ga, udu na de₅-ga.

Whereas de₅-de₅-ga *miqittum* "downfall, dead animals" is well known (see below p. 250), *šuparruru* "outspread" is only here connected with sheep.

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9. See Klein, as note 1, XXII n. 50: n 51.

(17) na de₅ KU$^?$　MIN (= ṣiddu birtu) MIN(= EME.TE.NA₂) "Crethi and Plethi," *ZA* 9, 164 iv 15; see BWL 286.

4. On the term for libanomancy

My discussion of the Akkadian translations closes with a note on niĝ₂-na de₅-ga *qutrēnu* "incense." J. Klein's study of na de₅ started from the occurrence of "niĝ₂(-)na(-)de₅-ga" in Šulgi C 102, Šulgi claiming knowledge of all kinds of divination including libanomancy (Klein, as note 1, XV). As a semantic link with na de₅ is difficult to establish (see below), I would prefer the first solution offered by Klein loc. cit., XVI–XVII, namely to divide niĝ₂-na de₅-ga; the relevant passage would perhaps read niĝ₂-na de₅-ga IGI PI/x-re[10] *to inspect$^?$* the heaped up (lit. "collected")[11] censer" (instead of niĝ₂ na de₅-ga, lit. "the consecrated thing").[12] This, however, must remain uncertain.

Verbal Forms of na de₅ *in Literary Texts*

The following selection of finite verbal forms should allow a quick check of the construction of the verb na de₅. The construction of the compound verb conforms with the expected patterns, thus the case of the oblique object[13] or the form na-še₃ if the contents of the "instruction" are mentioned before (construction like, e.g., NAME mu-še₃ še₂₁, GIFT saĝ-še₃ rig₇). References not belonging to the Old Babylonian period are indicated as such.

"to instruct/purify someone" = 3. personal (-ni-, -n-):

(18) na mu-un-ni-in-de₅-ga $^{mu-uš-tu9}$muštu mu-na-zi₂-iĝ₃ "She had instructed her, gave her understanding" *Enlil and Ninlil* 22 (A).

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10. Klein, loc. cit., XV draws attention to the parallel in Lu II iii 22′ (MSL 12, 120), niĝ₂(-)na(-)de₅-ga igi bar-ra *bārû ša qutrinni* "diviner of incense." The infinite verb in Šulgi C 102 is transliterated by Klein as SIG₅-re, for which he proposes a reading kur₇-ra/re *ṣarāpu* "to burn" (i.e., gurum₂ AK-a "to refine" silver, Nabnītu XXIII 128, MSL 16, 215). Cavigneaux, *ZA* 85 (1995): 43 n. 20, see (3), reads Šulgi C 102 igi wa/bar$_x$(UD)-re.

11. On de₅-g "to collect, to gather," see below and cf. C. Walker and M. Dick, SAALT 1, 103: Mīš pî inc. 1/2 C:2 na-izi ki sikil-ta [(de₅)-]de₅-ga "incense, collected from a pure place."

12. Cavigneaux, *ZA* 85, 43, does not offer a solution on this point.

13. The construction of the oblique object is now conveniently summarized in the article of G. Zólyomi, "Directive infix and oblique object in Sumerian," *Or* 68 (1999): 215–53.

(19) zi-u$_4$-sud-ra$_2$ dumu-ni-ra na-še$_3$ mu-un-ni-in-de$_5$ "(the pre-ceding speech) Ziusudra gave as instruction to his son" (preterite) *Instructions of Šuruppag* 75/80 etc.[14]

(20) sağ-ğa$_2$-na u-me-ni-ğar na u-me-ni-de$_5$ (// *ina qaqqadīšu šukun ullilšu-ma*) "put it (the dough) on his (the patient's) head, purify him," (and after further treatment, the headache will disappear), CT 17, 22:136 (post-Old Babylonian).

(21) šuruppag^{ki}-e dumu-ni-ra na na-mu-un-de$_5$-de$_5$ "Šuruppag instructed his son" (present-future introducing direct speech) *Instructions of Šuruppag* 6 (cf. 7–8 etc.), cf. the Emesal form in (5).

(22) (ama) na <nu>-mu-un-de$_5$-de$_5$ "(his mother) is not instructing him" (present-future) *Lugalbanda* II 3 (see C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbanda-Epos*).

(23) u$_4$ ul uru$_4$^{ru} dumu-ni na mu-un-de$_5$-ga-am$_3$ "the son of the tiller of old times is instructed (as follows)" *Farmer's Instructions* 1;[15] cf. also (6a) ab-ba na mu-un-de (de = de$_5$).

= 2. P. (Old Babylonian -e-)

(24) na ga-e-de$_5$ "I will instruct you (dir.)" in the standard formula, see (8), (9) and note, Old Babylonian orthography, e.g., *Enki and Ninḫur-saĝa* 129, ge-de$_5$ *Instructions of Šuruppag* 79/84. na ga-de$_5$ *idem*, pre-Old Babylonian orthography, Gudea Cyl.A vi 14.

"to give instructions" (one participant)

(25) ^{d}a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne na ba-an-de$_5$-ge-eš-am$_3$ "the Anuna were giving instructions" *Nippur Lament* 19.

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14. The variants and deviating verbal forms of the *Instructions of Šuruppag* are not listed here.

15. M. Civil translates the phrase as "Old-Man-Tiller instructed his son"; *The Farmer's Instructions*, AuOr Suppl. 5 (Sabadell, 1994), 29; he justifies the translation "Old-Man-Tiller" in his commentary on p. 67. According to the matrix on p. 207, all preserved sources (D, E in full; A, B, C partly) show dumu-ni (no dative!) na mu-un-de$_5$-ga-am$_3$, as do the non-Nippur texts D$_3$ (p. 50), G$_3$ (from Babylon; p. 65); this can be translated only as "his son is instructed" (note the different construction in (21)). Civil's translation is apparently influenced by the two texts from Ur, A$_2$ and A$_3$, who read u$_4$-ul uru$_4$-e. The Nippur texts show either u$_4$-ul uru$_4$^{ru} (B, D) or engar-ra (hardly uru$_4$^{ra} = /ura/) (A, also non-Nippur D3), which I take as anticipatory genitive. The person "instructed" is thus a descendent (dumu) of generations of farmers; the ultimate instructor is the divine farmer Ninurta, as said at the end of the poem.

"To Purify, to Consecrate" and "to Instruct" — One Verb or Two?

In incantations, na de₅(-ga) is translated as *ullulu* "to purify," *ellu* "pure," *tēliltu* "purification" (see Klein, as note 1, esp. XVIII–XX with n. 41–45). As incantations are mostly intended to obtain purity, words for "pure" or "to purify" are especially frequent there, above all ku₃, sikil, or dadag; gub₂ is practically restricted to a gub₂-ba "holy water." The purification of the patient is expressed by the verbs ku₃, sikil, or dadag, whereas na de₅ is almost never used in this context (an exception is CT 17, 22:136, see (20)).[16]

Mostly, na de₅ occurs as the verb of a primary "purification" or "consecration" of the *materia magica* like water (26), (27),[17] cedar,[18] juniper,[19] willow (stick) (29), reed,[20] incense,[21] evil-butting goat (4), —or even the incantation priest himself (30). Sometimes, Enki is named as the agent of this consecration, which gives the respective substances their essential quality and thus enables them to act as purifiers. The act of "consecration" is achieved through the words of Enki; (27), (28), cf. (3) and (7a). Whereas all other examples stem from Neo-Sumerian (see note 19), Old Babylonian or later incantations, (31) attests this use of na de₅ in Ur III economic documents and (32) in Gudea. Here, the procession boat (31) and the new temple (32) are "consecrated."

(26) VS 17, 13:9–10: incantation of holy water, a na de₅-ga ᵈen-ki-ga-ke₄, a gub₂-ba ᵈnin-girimₓ-ma-ke₄ "water, consecrated by Enki, holy water of Ningirima" (see D. Charpin, *Le Clergé d'Ur*, 389).

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16. In CT 16, 21: 207, Udughul T. 16, na de₅ qualifies the holy water in the Sumerian text, whereas the object of *ullulu* is the patient in Akkadian: a gub₂-ba a ku₃-ga na de₅-ga-am₃ : MIN *mê ellūti ullilšu-ma*.

17. Other references concerning holy water qualified as na de₅-ga include: YOS 11, 43:9; 61:11; Mīs pî inc. 1/2, C 42 (Walker and Dick, SAALT 1, 107), Šurpu IX 64 (water of the sea); CT 17, 26:68 (tu₆ ku₃-za na : *ina ṭêka elli ullil-ma*: u-me-ni-de₅ "[l. 67: recite your pure incantation on this water], consecrate it with your pure incantation"); Proto-Kagal 419 f. (MSL 13, 78): a na de₅-ga, a KAxLI-KAxLI; on the role of Enkum and Ninkum as in VS 17, 13, see R. Borger, *BiOr* 30 (1970): 170 iv 18 (purification of priest). —I owe some of these references and others presented in note 21 to Anne Löhnert, Munich.

18. ĝᵉˢeren gal ĝᵉˢeren gal ku₃ ĝᵉˢeren na de₅-ga YOS 11, 56:1.

19. PBS 13, 35:4–5 (see Klein, as note 1, XX n. 45), ISET 1, 217 Ni. 4716:14 (see G. Conti, MARI 8, 260; G. Cunningham, *"Deliver Me from Evil,"* StP s.m.17, p. 81); both texts are palaeographically dated to the Ur III period.

20. VS 17, 16:6 (ge sikil na de₅-ga), 17:4 (ge ŠUL-ḫi na de₅-ga).

21. Incense or its patron god Kusu is concerned in TIM 9, 70:13; Kusu-Hymn: 15. 22 (Michalowski, *Studies Hallo* p.153); YOS 11, 49:15; Šurpu IX 97 (na-izi), IX 101 (niĝ₂-na na de₅-ga). Šurpu IX 100 might be read as follows: ḫur-saĝ sukud-da-na ba-ši-in-de₅ "in his high mountains he (= a₂-ĝal₂-e, 'the mighty one' of l. 99, i.e., Enki) collected it (the incense)" (post-Old Babylonian, composite text of E. Reiner, *Šurpu*).

(27) VS 17, 15:11–15; cf. G. Conti, *RA* 82 (1988): 118f.; Cavigneaux, *ZA* 85
(1995): 41: (11) a E_2.NUN-na-ke_4 (12) ka ku_3-ga-ni na de_5-ga (13)
a ku_3 ^{d}en-ki lu_2 sikil-la-ka (15) ḫu-mu-un-sikil ḫu-mu-un-
dadag "the water of the inner chamber, consecrated by his pure
mouth,[22] the pure water of Enki, the clean one, —should he(?) be
cleansed, be purified."

(28) CT 44, 27:13–14 (Old Babylonian): tu_6 na d[e_5-g]a a ^{d}nin-girim$_x$-
ka "with the incantation of consecration, with the water of Ningir-
ima," see J. van Dijk, HSAO 260 (cf. also (3), text C).

(29) CT 16, 45:143 (*Utukkū lemnūtu*): incantation concerning the willow
(^{ĝeš}ma-nu), ka enim-ma tu_6 maḫ eridu^{ki}-ga na de_5-ga-(am_3)
// *ina šipti ṣīrti šipat Eridu ša tēlilti* "consecrated by the incantation, the
august spell of Eridu."[23]

(30) CT 16, 22:300–3:
$ĝe_{26}$-e lu_2 $kiĝ_2$-ge_4-a ^{d}asar-lu_2-ḫi-me-en
   // *mār šipri ša Marduk anāku*
nam-šub na de_5-ga bi_2-in-si_3 // *šiptu elletu ina nadê*
"I (the conjurer) am the messenger of Asarluḫi, I threw the conse-
crated incantation formula on it."

(31) SNATBM 409:7 (confirmed by collation 03/07/00): (1 sheep offering
for) ma_2-e na de_5-ga "consecration of the boat," i.e., the boat of Šara
to be used in the procession to his rural sanctuary; see Sallaberger,
Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit, vol. I, 241 and II, 152 table 88.[24]

(32) Gudea Cyl. B iv 1–3 (D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1 p.90): e_2-e ^{d}asar-re šu
si ba-sa_2 ^{d}nin-ma-da-ke_4 na-de_5 mi-ni-ĝar lugal ^{d}en-ki-ke_4
eš-bar $kiĝ_2$ ba-an-$šum_2$ "Asar put the house in order, Ninmada
put the consecration into it, King Enki gave it the oracular decision."

Most Sumerian equivalents of *ellu* "clean, pure" contain semantic
nuances that are not found with na de_5-ga, namely the concepts of light,
brightness and brilliance (cf. dadag, dalla, ku_3), of being untouched (cf.

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22. A parallel is the incantation concerning holy water, Reiner, *Šurpu*, Appendix p. 52f.:
   (6–7) a engur$^!$-ra mi_2 zi-de_3-eš du_{11}-[ga] // *mû ša ina apsî kīniš kunnu* (8–
   9) ka ku_3 ^{d}en-ki-ke_4 na de_5-ga-am_3 // *pû ellu ša Ea ullilšunūti* "water, treated
   with care in the deep water, purified by the pure mouth of Enki."
23. Cf. also Mīs pî Inc. 1/2:41 (Walker and Dick, SAALT 1, p.93): ^{d}asar-lu_2-ḫi dumu
   eridu^{ki}-ga-ke_4 na de_5-ga-a-ni šu im-ma-an-ti "Asarluḫi, son of Eridu,
   received his purified materials."
24. A recently published parallel text is Sigrist, *Yale* 1001, where the corresponding
   line is transliterated as "má é-[ri]-ga."

sikil?). Furthermore, na de₅ does not refer to a purification through washing or cleaning (cf. luḫ),[25] but na de₅ seems to indicate that the purity is achieved by putting an object in order so that its clarified essence emerges. This result now allows a semantic connection between the two specific meanings "to purify, to consecrate" (*ullulu*) and "to instruct" (*ašāru*), namely "to put in order, to clarify."

A. Cavigneaux, *ZA* 85 (1995): 41, has reached a similar conclusion, although he did not consider the semantic field of "to purify" explicitly:

"Si on essaie, indépendamment des traductions akkadiennes, de trouver un sens [de na de₅ - W.S.] qui convienne aux textes exorcistiques, on pourrait penser à «faire (ou «prononcer» ou «certifier» selon que c'est un *verbum faciendi* ou *dicendi*) idoine, arranger, rendre efficace, valider (pur le rituel)»; [...] «consacrer» est un compromis qui tient compte de l'usage exorcistique du mot mais ignore sa parenté avec le mot na-ri(g) «exercer une activité organisitrice, donner la norme [....], donner des instructions [...]» et «contrôler, vérifier, certifier» tiré de l'équivalence avec l'akkadien *ašāru*."

The specific meaning "to instruct" of na de₅ gave its title to the *Instructions of Šuruppag* and to the *Farmer's Instructions*. Now, after the discussion of the verb in incantations, a translation "to clarify, enlighten" offers itself; the *Instructions* are proverbs explaining the world. In the *Nippur Lament*, (25), "to give instructions" is parallel to just decisions in the next phrase; in *Lugalbanda* II 4, the "advice, instruction" of the mother (22) is followed by the father "speaking words" (enim du₁₁).

As god giving "instruction" to the country most often Enlil's vizier Nuska[26] is praised, but also Ninurta,[27] Ninĝirsu's son Igalim,[28] and his herald Dimgal-abzu,[29] or Ninĝešzida, Ninsianna, and Ninegal of Ur in

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25. Although na de₅ šum₂ can designate the act of cleaning in Inana and Šukaletuda 82 (see the comments of K. Volk, *Inana and Šukaletuda*, pp. 167–68): ĝeš pa-NI e₂-gal lugal-la-ka na de₅ ba-ab-šum₂-mu "*his* (i.e., the king's?) palm-branch is giving cleanliness to the king's palace."—On the Sumerian terms for "pure, to purify," cf. also J. van Dijk, *Studies Böhl*, 107.

26. Išme-Dagan Qa 10′, Sjöberg, *ZA* 63 (1973): 17: ᵈnuska nun na-de₅ e₂-kur-ra za-e ši-bi₂-in-ga-me-en, "Prince Nuska, you are also the instructor of the Ekur" (i.e., sent by Enlil); J. van Dijk, SGL II 108 (= *JCS* 4, 138–39): 4; 144 (= STVC 37): 22; Sjöberg p. 23 refers also to ISET 1, p. 201 Ni. 9789 rev. 8, Nuska na de₅ diĝir an-ki-a. — On Nuska as vizier of Enlil, see M. P. Streck, s. v. "Nusku," RlA 9 (2001), 630f.

27. Sjöberg, loc. cit., cites BE 29 1 iii 44, 31 7:6; cf. *Farmer's Instructions* 108.

28. iri-ni eš₃ ĝir₂-su^{ki} na-de₆ šum₂-mu-da "to give order/clarification to his town, the sanctuary Girsu" Gudea Cyl. A vi 15.

29. edin ki du₁₀-ge na de₅-ga-da, gu₂-eden-na edin du₁₀-ge na-de₅ šum₂-ma-da "that the steppe, the beautiful place, be enlightened, that clarification is given to the Gu'edena, the beautiful steppe" Gudea Cyl. B xii 7–9.

inscriptions of Rīm-Suen,[30] but in Mari the "Syrian Enlil" Dagān, (10), later also Marduk, (11); furthermore—again in Old Babylonian—institutions as the prison (*Nungal* 32), the palace (Iddin-Dagan A 167) or the school of Nippur (Enlilbani A 180–81).

These references allow a further precision of na de_5. In Old Babylonian texts from Babylonia, the "instruction, clarification" is not given by Enlil or any divine ruler, but by their viziers and heralds, thus it does not carry the meaning of "command, order" (like, e.g., a_2 $ag̃_2$). Furthermore, na de_5 implies to put one object in order, in its proper form and function, not to organize various single items (cf. si sa_2).[31] Although na de_5 can be used as a *verbum dicendi*, it is not primarily a verb expressing a manner of speaking, as the references given and the Akkadian translations testify.

Old Sumerian Administrative Texts

In Old Sumerian administrative texts, na de_5/di_5 (on the form, see above)[32] occurs with two groups of objects, trees/wooden objects and animals, traditionally translated as "to fell" and "to fall" (see below), a meaning derived from the context. The following discussion is intended to examine some presuppositions of such context-based translations.

The selected references are meant to provide a list of all attested verbal forms of na de_5 together with an overview of the contexts. The central passages of the documents are transliterated, lists of items are not repeated here, names not relevant for the discussion are abbreviated (GN = geographical name, MN = month name, PN = personal name); dates according to years of L = Lugalanda and U = Urukagina, Ue = $ensi_2$-year.

The translations offered anticipate the following discussion.

na de_5 with Animals: Selected References[33]

(33) Nik 179 = Selz, AWEL 179 (L3): 1 maš GN-a <u>na ba-di$_5$</u>, kuš-be$_2$ ur-^{d}ba-U$_2$ sipa maš-ke$_4$ šu-a bi$_2$-gi$_4$ en-ig-gal NU-banda$_3$

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30. Ning̃ešzida RIME 4.2.10.3 (of the Netherworld), Ninsianna RIME 4.2.14.18:10 (di-ku$_5$ na-de$_5$ mah̬), Ninegal RIME 4.2.14.16:4 (na de$_5$ mah̬).

31. Cf. also Gudea Cyl. A xii 21–23: ensi$_2$-ke$_4$ iri-na lu$_2$ dili-gin$_7$ na de$_5$ ba-ni-g̃ar "the ruler organized his town (lit. set order/clarification in his town) as if it were one man." The same phrase na-de$_5$ g̃ar (+ loc.) is used in a context of ritual purification; see (32).

32. The transliteration of Old Sumerian pays attention to the rules of the vowel harmony; thus, in transliterations values have been chosen for phonograms containing the i- or e-vowel that might differ from the Old Babylonian standard.

33. The relevant texts published up to then are collected by A. Deimel, "Die Viehzucht der Sumerer zur Zeit Urukagina's," *Or* SP 20 (1926):1–61; and id., "Produkte der Viehzucht und ihre Weiterverarbeitung," *Or* SP 21 (1926): 1–40.

sim-da-ba igi be$_2$-sag̃$_x$ maš DUN-a ur-^{d}ba-U$_2$ sipa maš-ka-kam

"1 kid was cleared away at GN. The goatherd Ur-Bawu refunded its hide. The captain Eniggal checked its mark: it is a kid subordinated to the goatherd Ur-Bawu."

(34) DP 103 (Ue): 1 GIR GIR DUN-a PN$_1$ unu$_3$-kam PN$_2$ RI.ḪU-da <u>na ba-da-di$_5$</u> ku$_3$-be$_2$ 10 gig$_4$ sa$_6$-sa$_6$-ra e$_2$-gal-la šu-na i$_3$-ni-gi$_4$

"1 heifer, a heifer subordinated to the cowherd PN$_1$ —it was cleared away at the RI.ḪU PN$_2$. Its silver, 10 shekel, he refunded to Sasa in the palace."

(35) DP 253 (U4): (list of cow skins) ab$_2$ DUN-a ur-šu-ga-lam-ma unu$_3$-kam <u>na ba-di$_5$</u> igi-zi unu$_3$-da e-da-g̃al$_2$ šu-a nu-gi$_4$ iti MN-{a} en-ig-gal NU-banda$_3$ dub-be$_2$ e-bala

"They are cows subordinated to the cowherd Uršugalama, they were cleared away; they are with the cowherd Igizi. They were not refunded/put on credit. In the month MN the captain Eniggal turned over the relevant tablet."

(36) Nik 244 = Selz, AWEL 244 (Ue): 1 kuš NITA ANŠE kunga$_2$ PN gab$_2$-KAŠ$_4$-da <u>na ba-da-di$_5$</u> iti MN-{a} en-ig-gal NU-banda$_3$ šu-a bi$_2$-gi$_4$ kuš anše u$_2$-rum ^{d}ba-U$_2$

"1 hide of a male kunga$_2$-equid, it was cleared away at the groom PN; in the month MN; the captain Eniggal refunded it. It is Bawu's own donkey."

(37) DP 262 (U1): 2 udu siki en-DU sipa udu siki-ka-da <u>na ba-da-di$_5$</u> sa$_6$-sa$_6$ ...-e e$_2$-gal-la šu-a bi$_2$-gi$_4$ udu u$_2$-rum ^{d}ba-U$_2$

"2 wool-bearing sheep were cleared away at EnDU, shepherd of wool-bearing sheep. Sasa … refunded it in the palace. It is Bawu's own sheep."

(38) DP 263 (U1): 4 udu siki iti MN-a en-DU sipa udu siki-ka-da <u>na ba-da-di$_5$</u> sa$_6$-sa$_6$ ...-ra e$_2$-mi$_2$-a šu-na i$_3$-ni-gi$_4$

"4 wool-bearing sheep in the month MN were cleared away at EnDU, shepherd of wool-bearing sheep. He refunded it to Sasa … in the Emi ("women's quarter")."[34]

(39) DP 260 (U1): 1 udu siki <u>na e-ma-di$_5$</u> iti MN-a en-DU sipa udu siki-ka-ke$_4$ sa$_6$-sa$_6$ ...-ra e$_2$-gal-la šu-na i$_3$-ni-gi$_4$

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34. For the phenomenon of possessor raising (personal directive prefix -ni-), see G. Zólyomi, Or 68 (1999): 231–37.

"1 wool-bearing sheep was cleared away. In the month MN EnDU, shepherd of wool-bearing sheep, refunded it to Sasa … in the palace."

(40) DP 259 (U1): 1 udu siki NIGIN$_3$-mud, 1 udu siki lugal-da sipa udu siki-ka-me iti MN-{a} <u>na ba-PI-di$_5$</u> iri-enim-ge-na …-{e} e$_2$-gal-la šu-a bi$_2$-gi$_4$

"1 wool-bearing sheep: Niğinmud, 1 wool-bearing sheep: Lugalda; shepherds of wool-bearing sheep are they. In the month MN they (i.e., the sheep) were cleared away at them (i.e., the shepherds). Uru-kagina … refunded it in the palace."

Texts similar to (37)–(40) concerning udu siki PN sipa-da <u>na ba-da-di$_5$</u>, followed by a šu-a gi$_4$-entry: VS 14, 22. 111. 126; Nik 169; DP 261.

(41) VS 14, 110 = Bauer, AWL no. 114: 1 kuš udu siki ur$_4$-ra iti MN-{a} NIGIN$_3$-mud sipa udu siki-ka-da <u>na ba-da-di$_5$</u> en-ig-gal NU-banda$_3$ šu-a bi$_2$-gi$_4$ kuš udu u$_2$-rum para$_{10}$-nam-tar-ra dam lugal-an-da ensi$_2$ lagaš^{ki}-ka

"1 hide of a sheep of plucked wool, in the month MN, it was cleared away at Niğinmud, the shepherd of wool-bearing sheep. The captain Eniggal refunded it. It is Paranamtara's, the wife of Lugalanda, ruler of Lagaš, own hide."- cf. kuš udu siki with na de$_5$ also in VS 25, 80.

The basic facts can be summarized as follows:

  – the animals listed are mostly udu siki "wool-bearing sheep," but exceptionally also donkeys, (36), and cows (34), (35);

  – the items delivered are the hides (kuš), see (33), (36), (41); therefore the description of the sheep's hide is essential, udu siki or udu siki ur$_4$-ra in (41);

  – the animals die under the charge of their respective herdsmen (and not, e.g., in an institutional kitchen or at offerings);

  – the hides are delivered to the palace of the ruler or to his wife's estate as the ultimate owners of the animals (šu-a gi$_4$); in its stead a sum of silver can be paid as compensation, (34); if not delivered to the palace, the accounts can not (yet) be settled, (35).

na de$_5$ *with Trees/Wooden Objects: Selected References*[35]

(42) DP 410 (L5): (Wooden objects of poplar, asal$_2$-am$_6$, and pine$^?$, ^{ğeš}u$_3$-suḫ$_5$-am$_6$) kiri$_6$ e$_2$-ku$_4$-ta <u>na i$_3$-di$_5$</u> "are cut out from the garden of

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35. The texts published up to then are studied by A. Deimel, "Die altsumerische

Eku (PN)"; (wooden objects of poplar) kiri₆ e-ta-e₁₁-ta <u>na i₃-di₅</u>, (wooden objects) kiri₆ ur-ki-ta <u>na i₃-di₅</u>.

(subscript:) ĝeš <u>na de₅-ga</u> kiri₆-kam; iti MN-a en-ig-gal NU-banda₃ <u>na bi₂-di₅</u> "It is wood cut out from the gardens; in the month MN the captain Eniggal cut it out."

(43) DP 411 (L6): (list of wooden objects) iti MN-{a} en-ig-gal NU-banda₃ kiri₆ ur-ki-ka <u>na bi₂-di₅</u> ĝanun ᵈmeš₃-an-DU-ka NI-ku_x(DU) "In the month MN; the captain Eniggal cut them out in the garden of Urki (PN); he brought them into the MešanDU-store-house." —Cf. DP 421.

(44) DP 432 (L4): (lists of wooden objects, places of storage:) ter-ba mu-ĝal₂ "in stock in their wood" / ĝanun ᵈmeš₃-an-DU-ka ba-ku_x(DU) "brought into the MešanDU-storehouse"; aša₅-bi 0.0.3 GANA₂ "its area: 3 iku (ca. 10,8 ha)."

(subscript:) ĝeš <u>na de₅-ga</u> ter abbarᵏⁱ-ka; [...]; en-ig-gal NU-banda₃ <u>na bi₂-di₅</u>; "Wood, cut out from the forest of Abbar; ...; the captain Eniggal cut it out." — Cf. DP 409, 413, 414, 420, 431, 433, 436; BIN 8, 350; DP 429 (na be₂-de₅).

(45) DP 450 (U3): (logs and sticks of tamarisk, seven deliveries; summation) (subscript:) eg₂ aša₅ da-GIR₂*gunû*-ka-ka en-ig-gal NU-banda₃ <u>na bi₂-di₅</u>, enim-ma-ni-zi lu₂ ᵍᵉˢšinig-da bar-še₃ e-da-ĝal₂; ᵍᵉˢšinig u₂-rum ᵈba-U₂ ... "At the dike of the D.-field the captain Eniggal cut it out; it is stored separately with the tamarisk-forester Enimanizi; Bawu's own tamarisks, ..." — Cf. DP 437, 449, 451.

(46) DP 470 (–2): (list of wooden objects) (subscript:) ĝeš ki mu₂-a-ba šid-da-am₆; en-ig-gal NU-banda₃ <u>na bi₂-di₅</u>; ma₂-a e-me-ĝar; dub daĝal ĝeš kuru₁₃-ka-ka nu-ĝar "It is wood counted where it had grown; the captain Eniggal cut it out; he loaded it on ship; he did not put it on the large account of the wood in piles."

(47) DP 453 (–1): (large tamarisk logs) dumu lugal-nam-ke₄ <u>na bi₂-di₅</u> "the son of Lugalnam cut them out" / ša₃-TAR <u>na bi₂-di₅</u> / en-ig-gal NU-banda₃ <u>na bi₂-di₅</u> / ur-pu₂-saĝ-ke₄ <u>na bi₂-di₅</u> / di-utu-ke₄ <u>na bi₂-di₅</u>

(subscript:) ᵍᵉˢšinig aša₅ da-GIR₂*gunû*-ka ki mu₂-a-ba šid-da, zi-zi-ga-bi en-ig-gal NU-banda₃ e-sar "Tamarisks, counted in the D.-field where they had grown; its expenditure the captain Eniggal wrote down." — Cf. DP 454.

Baumwirtschaft," *Or* SP 16 (1925): 1–87; the documentation was discussed by M. A. Powell, "Timber Production in Presargonic Lagaš," *BSA* 6 (1992): 99–122.

(48) VS 14, 57 = AWL no. 73 (U1): (wooden objects, among this bundles of branches aša$_5$-bi $1/4$ $1/8$ GANA$_2$ "its area is $3/8$ iku"; wooden objects) kiri$_6$ ^{d}ba-U$_2$ e$_2$-ta-e$_{11}$ nu-kiri$_6$ a-tuš-a, en-ig-gal NU-banda$_3$ na i$_3$-mi-di$_5$ "In the garden of Bawu, which the gardener Eta'e inhabits; the captain Eniggal cut it out." —Cf. DP 415, 480, Nik 280.

(49) DP 430 (–5): (objects of apple wood) kiri$_6$ e$_2$-ku$_4$-ta en-ig-gal NU-banda$_3$ na i$_3$-mi-di$_5$ e$_2$-ki-sal$_4$-la-ka ba-ku$_x$ U$_2$-U$_2$ agrig-ra e-na-šid$_5$ "From the garden of Eku; the captain Eniggal cut them out; they were brought into the Ekisalla; they were counted to the steward U'U." — Cf. VS 14, 98 = AWL no. 74, VS 14, 157 = AWL no. 75, DP 427, 428, 430, 444, Nik 289 (all: PLACE-ta en-ig-gal NU-banda$_3$ na i$_3$-mi-di$_5$, DP 428 na e-me-de$_5$).

(50) DP 416 (U1): (wooden objects of pine) kiri$_6$ ur-ki$^!$(DU$_6$)-ta en-šu agrig-ge na e-ma-di$_5$ e$_2$-gal-še$_3$ e-ma-ku$_x$ kiri$_6$ u$_2$-rum ^{d}ba-U$_2$ "From the garden of Urki; the steward Enšu(gigi) has cut them out, they have been brought into the palace; Bawu's own garden." — Cf. DP 412, 417, 447.

(51) DP 426 (L 6): (wooden objects) ter e$_2$-mi$_2$-ka lugal-an-da ensi$_2$ lagaš^{ki}-ke$_4$ na ba-ni-di$_5$ "In the garden of the Emi Lugalanda, ruler of Lagaš, has cut them out for himself."

(52) Reforms of Urukagina, Ukg. 1 v 1'–6' (Steible and Behrens, FAOS 5/I, 282–85): [sağğa GAR-ke$_4$] kiri$_6$ ama uku$_2$-ra$_2$ nu-DU.DU ğeš na nu-ba-ni-di$_5$-di$_5$ GI.LAM nu-ta-keše$_2$-re$_6$ "[the … temple administrator] does not carry off the poor woman's garden, nor does he cut out wood there, nor does he bind fruit *baskets* out there." — Cf. the parallel section Ukg. 4 v 22–vi 3 = 5 v 19–23, verb ğeš na ba-ni-di$_5$-di$_5$ "he had repeatedly cut out wood there" (Steible and Behrens, loc. cit., 294–95).

The basic facts can be summarized as follows:

– the items listed are wooden objects or, in the case of tamarisk, sticks of fixed length;

– the process of na de$_5$ is part of the felling of the trees or at least the use of their wood, it takes place in the forests or gardens, cf. ki mu$_2$-a (46), (47), occasionally the area treated is indicated, (44), (48);

– gardeners or foresters take care of the gardens, forests or riverine thickets, (45),[36] assigned to them by the central institution apparent in

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36. For a description of these riverine thickets in lower Mesopotamia see P. Steinkeller, in: M.A. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, AOS 68 (1987), 91.

these texts, the household of the ruler's wife (e$_2$-mi$_2$); the central authorities control the exploitation of these forests for wood;

– the wooden objects are left in the wood, (44), heaped up in piles, kuru$_{13}$, cf. (46), brought to storehouses, (43), cf. (49), or to the palace (50), or put on ship for transport to the palace (46);

– mostly the chief supervisor of Paranamtara's and Sasa's household, Eniggal, is performing the task, but occasionally other persons are named: Enšu(gigi) (50), the ruler Lugalanda (51), the temple administrator, (52), or various persons, (47).

A Critical Review of Proposed Meanings

(a) "to fall, to fell" and the construction of na de$_5$

The conventional translation of na de$_5$ in Old Sumerian administrative texts is "to fall, to fell,"[37] a meaning derived from the interpretation of the contexts. In this case, "to fall" (said of animals) is a construction with one "real" participant outside the compound verb, i.e., a transitive verb, whereas "to fell" (said of trees) requires two such participants. A short review of the verbal forms proves this assumption to be unlikely.[38]

With animals we find mostly PN-da na ba-da-di$_5$ (ba=n+da=b(+i)=di$_5$),[39] or only na ba-di$_5$ (ba=b(+i)=di$_5$) in (33) and (35), in (39) plus ventive na e-ma-di$_5$ (i=m=ba=b(+i)=di$_5$), thus a "passive" form, "it was …ed (at PN)."[40] Applying the meaning "to fall, fell," this results in a translation "it (i.e. the animal) was felled."

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37. Bauer, AWL 256 ad no. 73 vi 7; p. 310 ad no. 104 ii 2, basing himself on Deimel, *Or* SP 16 (1925), 61–63, who p. 62 offered the strange etymology of na explained as "phonetic" spelling of na$_2$ (i.e., nu$_2$), and ri(g) = *leqû*, thus arriving at a meaning "niederreißen, fällen" (apparently from a literal translation "to take (to) lying"); A. Poebel, AS 2 (1931), 38: "to take out, to remove"; further translations of H. de Genouillac, TSA (1908), 78 no. 26 r. iv 9 "(faire) préparer," R. Scholtz, MVAeG 39/2 (1934), 128f. "zurichten (Hölzer)," M. Lambert, *RA* 51 (1957): 141–43 "dépouiller" are listed by Steiner, *BBVO* 18 (1999): 121 n. 44. Despite their vagueness ("to prepare" of de Genouillac and Scholtz), these proposals are very close to our own.

38. The objects listed in the beginning of a document are not marked by case; on the syntactical structure of administrative texts see Sallaberger, "Textformular und Syntax in sumerischen Verwaltungstexten," *ASJ* 22 (in press).

39. The combination of pronominal and dimensional element in the prefix chain (prefixes II according to the terminology of Attinger) is marked as, e.g., n+i (3. pers. + directive); b(+i) is the allomorph /b/ of /b+i/ in the position directly before the base according to the terminology of Wilcke and Attinger; according to Krecher "hinteres Personalpräfix."

40. I owe the designation and explanation of the ba-prefix as "medium marker" to Bram Jagersma (see note * above); see Attinger, *Eléments*, § 181 on the formal side, § 182 d) (with further cross references; also *NABU* 1998/41) on this function of ba-.

The wood texts usually show the causative construction of compound verbs: PN-e na bi_2-di_5 (b+i=n=di_5) "PN ...ed it"; with ventive i_3-mi-di_5 (i=m=b+i=n=di_5) "he ...ed it hither"; (51) with "medium" and ventive na e-ma-di_5 (i=m=ba=n=di_5) "he ...ed it hither for himself"; or with a locative na ba-ni-di_5 (ba=ni=n=di_5) "he ...ed it for himself there." Especially interesting is the simple transitive construction in (41), na i_3-di_5 (i=b=di_5), "it ...ed" (with "to fall, fell": *"it fell"). Even if we allow idiomatic peculiarities that can hardly be represented in our translation, with na de_5 meaning "to fall, fell" we would have expected just the opposite distribution of na ba-di_5 (animals) and na i_3-di_5 (wood). Admittedly, this distribution alone is hardly sufficient to reject the conventional translation.

(b) An administrative term "to order" or "to free from obligations"?

The translation "to fall, fell" for na de_5 presents further difficulties, because:

- it does not offer any semantic link with the meanings "to purify" and "to instruct" or their common meaning "to clarify, clear, enlighten"
- it is not corroborated by an Akkadian translation (see above)
- other words for "fall, fell" are well known (e.g., šub, sag_3 "to fell")
- in Old Babylonian Nippur, animals qualified as na de_5-ga receive fodder (see below)

I am aware of two substantiated proposals linking Old Sumerian na de_5 with the known Akkadian translations. Furthermore, both proposals try to give a single translation for both trees and animals.

(1) G. Steiner[41] rejects the translation "to fell" of the wood texts because (a) "to cut, fell trees" is expressed by ku_5 and sag_3 and (b) because it would make little sense in the Reforms of Urukagina (52) to fell the tree in order to get the fruit. This is indeed unlikely, but the text lists only two forms of usufruct of trees or bushes, namely to harvest them for wood *or* for fruit. Steiner departs from the Akkadian translation *ašārum* (see above) and proposes "(zur Lieferung) anweisen, (in) Auftrag geben (o.ä.)" (p. 122).

(2) J. Krecher's argumentation[42] is very close to the one of Steiner, but he chose the other Akkadian equivalent, *ullulu*: "Ich vermute, dass bei na

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41. G. Steiner, "Was geschah im Garten der ama-ùkur?" in: H. Klengel and J. Renger (eds.), *Landwirtschaft im Alten Orient. Ausgewählte Vorträge der XLI. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale ... BBVO* 18 (Berlin, 1999), 115–36, here 119–24.

42. *Or* 54 (1985): 170 note 73.

ì-mi-RI usw. die Bedeutung 'reinigen' vorliegt, nicht ein spezifischer kon-
kreter Vorgang ('to cut', M. Yoshikawa, *Or* 47, 477), sondern ein allge-
meiner Verwaltungsvorgang, denn er bezieht sich nicht nur auf Holz,
sondern auch auf Tiere und Häute [...]. na-RI meint demnach vielleicht
'bindende Belastungen beseitigen', daher 'nach Feststellung der qualita-
tiven und quantitativen Merkmale zur Verwendung freigeben'."

Unfortunately, both proposals cannot stand a careful test. For reasons
of methodology, more than one counter-argument is listed; semantic argu-
ments are not adduced.

    – Old Sumerian administrative documents list many more objects to
be "ordered" or "released," so why should it just occur with hides or
wooden objects?

    – If the "order" or "release" is important enough to be written down
in a text, why is it always expressed without an agent in the animal
texts?

    – Why should just the animals providing hides be "ordered"/
"released," but not those "consumed" (gu₇)?

    – If both hides and wooden objects are ordered/released, why do the
texts use different verbal forms (see above)?

    – On the level of content, how should we explain the resulting differ-
ent role of Eniggal in the animal texts (never "giving order"/"releas-
ing") and in the wood texts (most often "giving order"/"releasing")?

Both Steiner and Krecher propose to understand na de₅ as an admin-
istrative term instead of a more or less concrete action. Compared to other
archives of administrative texts, this looks reasonable. The Old Sumerian
texts from the e₂-mi₂, however, are characterized by their exceedingly
rich verbal vocabulary, and concrete actions are not rare among these; the
first official Eniggal is, e.g., "excavating onions" (ba-al, e.g., VS 14, 6 =
AWL no. 187) or "pouring in" cream and milk (de₂, e.g., DP 276).

This discussion has thus cleared the way to look for a meaning of na
de₅ in Old Sumerian administrative texts that would fit both to grammar
and context and to the semantics of na de₅ as known from lexical and lit-
erary texts.

*na de₅ with Animals: "to Clear Out/Away, Separate," and Notes on šu-a gi₄ "to
Refund, to Enter on Someone's Credit" and de₅-g "to Collect, Pick Up"*

The investigation of the proposals of Krecher and Steiner has revealed the
problems of understanding na de₅ as administrative procedure. This
would point to a concrete action, to be performed with (dead) animals and
applied to trees in their forests in order to obtain wooden objects.

Furthermore, the animal texts typically include an administrative term that notes the economic-administrative side of the transaction, namely šu-a gi$_4$; see (34)–(41) above. If the meaning of šu-a gi$_4$, literally "to return on/in/to hand," is reduced to "to deliver," as it is often the case,[43] it loses the precise meaning "to return to the charge/control/care,"[44] i.e., to settle the account. A shepherd delivering a hide of a dead sheep thus compensates his debt to return the sheep, which is ultimately owned by the central authority. After the loss of a sheep, both the shepherd and his animal's owner, the ruler's wife, have to balance their accounts; see (37)–(39). The mark is checked (33) in order to put it on the right shepherd's credit. If the hides remain with another person, the accounts cannot be settled (35).

The legal procedure of a shepherd proving the loss of animals by presenting its hide to its owner is well known. Unfortunately, the respective term used with animals that died from natural causes, the well-known de$_5$-de$_5$-ga ("RI-RI-ga"), represents another lexicographical problem. Usually interpreters have relied on the Akkadian equivalent of udu de$_5$-de$_5$-ga, *miqittu* "downfall, death (among animals)"; see (16).[45] Now, as de$_5$-g does not mean "to fall" in Sumerian, *miqittu* can hardly represent a "literal" translation, but it seems to capture the "idea" of udu de$_5$-de$_5$-ga. The basic meaning of de$_5$-g is "to collect, gather, pick up" (Akkadian *laqātu*),[46] udu de$_5$-de$_5$-ga are thus "collected sheep," i.e., the animals' corpses collected in the steppe. Therefore, the Sumerian idiom adopts the shepherd's point of view; the Akkadian takes the animal's side. Probably, this specific context also led to the translation de$_5$ = *maqātu* (PAa 130:1, Ea II 296f., Aa II/7 ii 3'):

(54) Sum.: u$_8$ sila$_4$-bi de$_5$-de$_5$-ga-g̃u$_{10}$ "my collected (dead) sheep and lambs" // Akk.: *ušamqatū* "they let fall"; 4 R^2 30 no. 2: 8f., see K. Oberhuber, *ISL* 1.1., 70 D. 26.

Sum.: e-sir$_2$ ug̃$_3$ de$_5$-de$_5$-ga // Akk.: *ša ina sūqi nišī ušamqatu* "(Nergal) who picks up the (dead) people in the streets (Sum.) / who fells

43. E.g., Bauer, AWL, 207 ad no. 52 iii 3, p. 310 ad no. 104 iiii 4, p. 335 ad no. 120 iii 1, p. 372 ad no. 131 iv 4; Zólyomi, Or 68 (1999): 231 "to deliver"; G. Selz, AWAS = FAOS 15/2, 538–542: "zurückbringen" (on the presumed difference between šu-a bi$_2$-gi$_4$ and šu-na i$_3$-ni-gi$_4$ see Zólyomi, loc. cit.).
44. The translations are inspired by CAD, s.v. *qātum*.
45. Among the many comments I single out the treatment of F.R. Kraus, *Königliche Verfügungen in altbabylonischer Zeit* (Leiden, 1984), 354–56; (de$_5$)-de$_5$-ga is found in Old Sumerian Girsu only in the phrase še de$_5$-ga "grain collected."
46. A cursory survey of literary and administrative texts (see note * above) yielded no compelling counter-examples, even if the translation "to collect" often departed from the one of the respective editors; cf. (13) above.

the people in the street (Akk.)"; CT 17, 4: 17ff., see Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns*, 156.

Apparently, na de$_5$-g is attested only once with animals after the Old Sumerian period, namely in a series of Old Babylonian administrative texts about animal fodder from Nippur. gud na de$_5$-ga is/are listed only once, on three successive days (21st to 23rd day of ki-3 iti sig$_4$-a); according to the amount of fodder, one or two animals are concerned. The amount of fodder attributed (2 seah of grain) to gud na de$_5$-ga corresponds to the fodder of the gud ḫu-nu "weak ox(en)" the days before, which are missing on these three days.[47] J.F. Robertson, therefore, explains gud na de$_5$-ga as "diseased bull," although he would not translate it in this way (p. 261 n. 2).

If the common meaning "to clear" of na de$_5$-g is applied, gud na de$_5$-ga can be interpreted as "oxen, cleared away/out; separated, selected." This makes perfect sense also in the Old Sumerian texts and agrees with the grammatical construction. The specific use of the verb is slightly different: in Old Babylonian Nippur the diseased animals are separated from the herds, in Old Sumerian Girsu the fallen ones. na de$_5$-g seems generally to be replaced by šu gid$_2$, interpreted as "selection,"[48] in later Sumerian administrative texts, and this explains its restriction to the Early Dynastic texts from Girsu.

na de$_5$ *with Objects of Wood: "to Cut Out"*

In the wood texts, na de$_5$-g apparently describes the action to be performed, so that the ready wood can be stored and brought away from the forest. The lists of wood and tools usually "begin with larger pieces of 'timber' [...]; then come things like plough parts, waggon parts, parts of furniture, etc.; and finally [...] pieces of firewood."[49] A meaning "to fell" is difficult to apply, since we are *not* dealing with just felled trees and bushes, but with the products, as the combination of tools and wood pieces proves. The Old Sumerian texts refer to the same work as that of the foresters of Ur III Umma, which "entailed primarily felling trees and turning them into timber and simple tools."[50] Here, the "cut (out), prepared wood" is called

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47. J.F. Robertson, *Redistributive Economies in Ancient Mesopotamian Society: A Case Study from Isin-Larsa Period Nippur* (Ph. D. Diss., 1981): 99f., see especially the table on p. 114; the texts were described by F.R. Kraus, *ZA* 53 (1959): 140–41, who noted that gud na de$_5$-ga cannot mean "krepiertes Tier."
48. B. Lafont, *RA* 75 (1981): 75; cf. M. Sigrist, *Drehem* (Bethesda, 1993): 40–42.
49. M.A. Powell, *BSA* 6 (1992):100.
50. P. Steinkeller, "The Foresters of Umma," in: M.A. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, AOS 68 (New Haven, 1987): 73–115, cited passage p. 92.

ĝeš kid$_7$-a.[51] na de$_5$-g thus includes both the cutting of trees, bushes, and branches *and* the preparation of timber and simple tools.[52]

The specific use of the common meaning "to clear" thus can be understood as "to cut out," i.e., to "clear" the branches or trunks out of the bushes and trees (see esp. (52)), to "clear" timber or implements of branches and leaves, to cut the respective object out of the wood.

An Etymology for na de$_5$-g *"to Clear, Clarify"?*

It is more difficult to detect an etymology of na de$_5$-g, as it is the case with other compound verbs such as en$_3$ tar "to investigate"; ĝa$_2$-la dag "to cease (doing sth.)," ĝal$_2$ taka$_4$ "to open," muš$_3$ tum$_2$ "to stop, to cease," ne su-ub "to kiss," sa ge$_4$ "to prepare," u$_2$-gu de$_2$ "to lose," u$_3$ ku$_{(4)}$-ku$_{(4)}$ "to sleep."

If na de$_5$-g can be derived from known Sumerian words, de$_5$-g might well be "to collect," but na remains a problem. na "stone" makes hardly any sense, so the element na of na-izi "incense," niĝ$_2$-na "censer" might be considered. In the Early Dynastic incantations, Manfred Krebernik isolated a word na for which he proposes a meaning "ban, spell" (German "Bann"); at least a negative substance or influence seems plausible.[53] This leads to the following speculation: na, perhaps "smoke," might be the same word as the Early Dynastic na, perhaps "spell," thus referring to something that is veiling or darkening; na de$_5$-g would thus have originally meant "to collect" this polluting essence. Such an original meaning might long have been lost in the compound. The speculative character of such an etymology can only be outlined.

Conclusion

In this investigation I have argued that the basic meaning of the Sumerian compound verb na de$_5$-g is "to clear, to clarify"; this clearing is achieved by removal and by putting the elements in order. Despite the English

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51. Steinkeller, loc. cit., 106 n. 24 (Jean, *SumAkk* CXXXVI:137) and n. 26 (Steinkeller did not translate kid$_7$). For Ur III cf., e.g., A. Falkenstein, NG 3 s.v. "abschneiden"; J.-P. Grégoire, AAS p. 121f. "retirer, couper." The verb, its writing (IMxTAK$_4$, TAK$_4$.IM, TAK$_4$) and its meaning has been discussed by M. Civil, *The Farmer's Instructions*, AuOr Suppl. 5 (Sabadell, 1994), 91. — Differently M.A. Powell, *BSA* 6 (1992): 100, on the "wood cut texts"; Powell, however, does not discuss the meaning of na de$_5$-g.

52. This corresponds to the semantic range of kir$_3$ = *karāṣu* "to pinch off clay," which also includes the further preparation and treatment of the clay; see Sallaberger, *Der babylonische Töpfer und seine Gefäße*, MHEM 3 (Ghent, 1996), 8 note 29.

53. M. Krebernik, *Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla* (Hildesheim, 1984), 67, and the references collected on p. 351 (index).

translation or German "klären, (aus)lichten," the aspects of "light" and "brilliance" do not apply. The specific meanings can be derived from the basic meaning:

(a) "to clarify, enlighten, explain" something unknown, unclear to a person by removing doubts and ignorance;

(b) "to clarify, consecrate, purify" especially cultic substances or installations, to put them in order so that their clarified essence can emerge;

(c) "to clear away/out, to separate" animals from the herds, especially dead animals;

(d) "to clear out, to cut out" timber or wooden implements from the bushes and trees.

Meanings (c) and (d) are practically restricted to Old Sumerian texts from Girsu, and I have noted the expressions replacing na de₅ in Ur III texts. na de₅-g is still quite prominent in Gudea, but it survived only in its specific meanings (a) and (b), almost exclusively in literary contexts and especially in its non-finite nominal forms na de₅ and na de₅-ga.