

- 36) After KREBERNIK 1986: 184. Krebernik reads -x for our PA₄²⁹.
 37) BURROWS 1935: 86 ii, 95 i, 114 i, 127 ii, 135, 142, 231 i.
 38) BURROWS 1935: 89 iii.
 39) ePSD *sub voce* LĀL [Sweet].

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7) On Sumerian ku₃(.g)-an (a metal) and some allegedly derived words^{*)} — In the EPSD records (<http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/>, data retrieved in January 2017), the substantive ku₃(.g)-an is attested in very few texts from Umma and Nippur. It is generally presented as the name of a metal. If this is true, judging from its modest value (as recorded already in CAD A/2, p. 98b), it may have corresponded to a type of tin.

The substantive, however, also occurs in a hymn for Ninurta (TCL 15, 7 = AO 4650 + Ni 4346 ro. 11); the text mentions ku₃(.g)-an as the material of the sceptre of Nanna, which makes the identification with tin less likely.



ġidru kug-an sud-aġ₂ šu-na ġal₂-[la-am₃]
 “he holds in his hand a sceptre of shining(?) k.-metal”

Unfortunately, the limited number of occurrences in Sumerian makes the identification of the exact metal – or metals – designated by $ku_3(.g)$ -an highly tentative to say the least.

Beside the Sumerian substantive, however, the sequence of signs $KU_3.AN$ occurs as a logogram in the Old Assyrian texts from Cappadocia. Based on these occurrences, VON SODEN (1959, 47) records a correspondence with Akkadian *amūtu*, that he tentatively translates as “Meteoreisen”. In these occurrences (e.g. BIN IV, Nr. 50 Vs. 5, 9, 14; ICK I, Nr. 1, Ro. 21, 23; cf. also CAD A/2, p. 98b), the pair $KU_3.AN/amūtu$ seems to indicate a metal much more precious than the one designated by $ku_3(.g)$ -an in the Neo-Sumerian documents. A definitive identification of the exact metal, however, is not possible for Akkadian *amūtu*, either; for discussion and a hypothesis cf. MAXWELL-HYSLOP (1972, followed by YALÇIN 1999).

In spite of the open problems, in secondary literature the idea seems to have emerged that the Sumerian substantive, $ku_3(.g)$ -an, may have represented the starting point for the diffusion of a group of words that appear in other languages of the ancient Mediterranean. HALLEUX (1969: 65ff.), followed by MILANI (1980) and GRIFFITH (2005), was the first to propose this idea, thus adding $ku_3(.g)$ -an to a list of possible *Wanderwörter* that may also include Akkadian *uqnū* (“lapis lazuli”, also “blue” *vel sim.*), Ugaritic *iqn(i)u* (“lapis lazuli(?)”), Hittite ^(NA4)*ku(wa)nna(n)*- (“copper”) and Greek *χάναος* (a dark color and/or pigment, already represented in Mycenaean *ku-wa-no*, *ku-wa-ni-jo* and in the compound *ku-wa-no-wo-ko*, on which cf. VARIAS 2008). According to Halleux’s proposal, $ku_3(.g)$ -an would mean “sky(-colored) metal”, thus representing the original form from which the Semitic and Indo-European words would be derived.

In a very recent paper, DARDANO (2013: 130-131, following a cursory observation by PUHVEL 1997: 311) also contributed to the discussion on the group of Mediterranean words; she does not mention the putative Sumerian origin, but suggests that the Luwian substantive *kuwannani*- “eyebrow(?)” would belong etymologically with Hittite ^(NA4)*ku(wa)nna(n)*- and Greek *χάναος*. To be fair, the meaning “eyebrow” for Luwian *kuwannani*- is tentative, and it has been hypothesized based on its co-occurrence with the words *lalpi*- “eyelid” and *tappani*- “hair” in the ritual text KUB 32, 8 iii 11-19 (cf. GOEDEGEBUURE 2010 for a recent translation). Dardano, however, considers this meaning to be correct and compares a line from the Iliad (1, 528) in which the color of Zeus’s eyebrow is referred to as follows:

ἦ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ’ ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων
“The son of Kronos spoke and nodded with his dark eyebrows”

Neither the details of this Homeric-Anatolian connection nor the relevance of the line of the Iliad for the problem under discussion are entirely clear, given that in the Greek text *κυανέησιν* is the attribute of the word for “eyebrows” and not the word for “eyebrows” itself.

Combining all the hypotheses that have been advanced so far, a complex picture emerges, involving a Sumerian substantive that would have been borrowed into Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hittite, Luwian and Greek. As I will try to show, some of the hypothesized connections can be defended, but Sumerian $ku_3(.g)$ -an is no credible candidate original form, and Luwian *kuwannani*- is almost certainly unrelated.

1) The Akkadian-Sumerian connection does not hold water. The Akkadian word for “lapis lazuli”, *uqnū*, corresponds to Sumerian *za-gin₃* and sumerogram ^{NA4}*ZA.GÌN* (BORGER, 2003, no. 851); a correspondence with $KU_3(.G).AN$ is unsupported by any lexical evidence. Note that VON SODEN (1959: 1426b) does suggest that *uqnū* is in fact a Wanderwort, possibly connected to Ugaritic *iqn(i)u*, Hittite ^(NA4)*ku(wa)nna(n)*- and Greek *χάναος*. He does not, however, take into consideration a derivation from Sumerian.

2) Not only are $ku_3(.g)$ -an and *uqnū* unrelated; it must also be stressed that there is no evidence that the Sumerian substantive ever entered the Akkadian lexicon as a loan, which prevents further diffusion to neighboring cultures.

3) In particular, if the Akkadian connection is missing, the medium for a Sumerian-Anatolian contact and borrowing is no longer apparent. Apart from this historical consideration, it should also be added that the idea that Hitt. ^(NA4)*ku(wa)nna(n)*- “copper” was borrowed through the sumerographic occurrences of $KU_3.AN$ in the Old Assyrian texts from Cappadocia is unsupportable, because the reading of the logogram was *amūtu*. Finally, the logogram for “copper” in the Old Assyrian texts was obviously URUDU – just like in the later Hittite cuneiform texts – and it is to URUDU that the phonetic writings of ^(NA4)*ku(wa)nna(n)*- correspond.

4) On the other hand, it is true that all attempts at investigating the etymology of Hittite ^(NA₄)*ku(wa)nna(n)-* have been inconclusive. BELARDI (1950, 32, comparing Sanskrit *रज्जु* “red, crimson”), and DANKA & WITCZAK (1997, proposing a protoform *k’wnHos) suggest Indo-European origins, while PUHVEL (1997, 310-311) takes into consideration a Pre-Hittite substrate. He compares the Latin and Greek suffix *°-pro-* (as in *cuprum*, *Κύπρος*) and proposes a Hattic root **kuparo*/**kuwano*, with an alternating or suppletive paradigm, the nature of which is left unexplained. Since none of these proposals is conclusive, the idea that ^(NA₄)*ku(wa)nna(n)-* may have been a Wanderwort is still valid. As such, it may very well be related to Akkadian *uqnû*, Ugaritic *lqn(î)u*, and Greek *χάαρος*. Once again, however, basing on the available data Sumerian should be left out of the equation.

5) As for the putative connection with the Luwian substantive for “eyebrow”, *kuwannani-*, it is clear that the fact that in Homer the “eyebrows” of Zeus in Iliad 1, 528 are *χάαρος*-colored is a mere coincidence. Furthermore, assuming that an originally Sumerian word entered Luwian with the mutated meaning “eyebrow” is not less problematic than postulating a link to the Hittite word for “copper”. As already discussed, there is no evidence that *ku₃(.g)-an* ever entered the Akkadian lexicon as a loan, neither as the name of a metal, nor, of course, as a substantive even remotely related to “eyebrow”. In Hittite, the word for “eyebrow” is *enera-*, which means that neither Hittite nor Akkadian could have been the medium for a putative Sumerian-Luwian contact. Furthermore Luwian *kuwannani-* may very well admit Anatolian etymologies, e.g. from the verb *kwan(n)a-*, “to cut, carve”, with a semantics based on the shape rather than on the color of the facial feature, which means that even an inner-Anatolian connection between Luwian *kuwannani-* and Hittite ^(NA₄)*ku(wa)nna(n)-* needs not be postulated.

In conclusion, the hypothesis that the words *χάαρος* (Greek name of a pigment/color), ^(NA₄)*ku(wa)nna(n)-* (Hittite for “copper”) and *uqnû* (Akkadian name of a color and designation of “lapis lazuli”) are formally connected is certainly supportable. There are, on the other hand, no convincing arguments to support the idea that *kuwannani-* (Luwian for “eyebrow(?)”) was also related.

None of these words, in any case, appears to be a continuation of Sumerian *ku₃(.g)-an*, a metal name that does not enter the Akkadian lexicon as a loan, and is, for historical, philological and linguistic reasons, unlikely to be at the origin of the group of possible Mediterranean *Wanderwörter*.

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8) The Old Assyrian contract H.K. 1005-5534 — V. Donbaz returned to this text, published by him in Cuneiform Texts in the Sadberk Hanim Museum (Istanbul 1998) no. 28, in NABU 2015/66, “paššurum (table) or gušūrum (beam)?”, reacting to my observations on it.

The contract concerns the woman M., who lives in a house owned by the Assyrian A., and stipulates her rights as its inhabitant “as long as she lives”, and in lines 10-14 states what she is forbidden to do. In M. Stol – S.P. Vleming (eds.), *The Care of the Elderly in the Ancient Near East* (Leiden-Boston 1998) 143f., I read line 9, adapting Donbaz’s reading, “A. and his sons shall not chase her away” (lá i-tá-ru-/du-ši). In a note on text 59 in my *The Archive of Kuliya, Kültepe Tabletleri V* (Ankara 2010), I read the following lines 10-12 as: “M. shall not sell the house, the 6 beams, the doors and the household utensils”. I corrected Donbaz’s 6 ma-šu-uz-tu (an unknown word; the final –du belongs to itarrudū of l. 9) into 6 guš-šu-re, “6 beams”, but Donbaz now proposes to read 6 pá-šu-re, “6 tables”. The uncertainty is due to the fact that the first sign is neither a good BA = pá (cf. BA in l. 6) nor a good KU = guš. Donbaz argument that the prohibition to sell concerns “solely household utensils” is not correct, because the text itself states that it also applies to the doors, while household utensils (uṭuṭum) are mentioned next, separately. A number of 6 tables (CAD s.v. also gives as its meaning “dining tray”) also surprises, since houses (at least according to OB lists of marriage property) usually only contain one table, while there were always more “beams” in a house, which could be sold, see OAA I, 68:16-19. The existence of an Anatolian functionary called rabi / ša paššūrē (see CAD P s.v.), mentioned by Donbaz, has no bearing on our text, but the plural “tables” is attested in several commercial texts, in Kt h/k 74:24 even 14, presumably as trade goods rather than as furniture and private property.

I react to Donbaz’s proposal, because I can now also present the interpretation of line 13, which mentions a second prohibition for the lady: ú-lá tū-ra-áb the items mentioned. Donbaz emends this into tū-<šé>-ra-áb, “she will bring into (the house)”, as was done by J. Lewy in the similar text EL 2:12 (see below). But in a note that I do not quite understand, he also mentions derivation from riābum, D-stem, to “replace”, which is also preferred by C. Michel for ú-ri-bu in TPAK 1, 106:2’, and he seems to prefer, since he translates “nor will she replace (them)”. A derivation from riābum (attested in OA), however, makes no sense in our text and it must be a D-stem of erābum, used with the technical meaning “to pledge”, an excellent parallel to the prohibition to sell. This meaning, not recorded in the dictionaries, derives from erābum, used for persons or objects that “enter into” the power of a creditor, which also yielded the noun erubbātum, “pledge”.¹⁾ The D-stem is attested in the just mentioned EL 2:11-12, where three men are forbidden “to sell or to hand over as pledge” a woman one of them had married (ula iddunūši! ¹² ula ú-ru-bu-ši!; the text by mistake has twice –šu), and in TPAK 1,106:2’ (object a house). It occurs also in TPAK 1,194:13-14, where for the silver for which a man had become indebted “they pledged A.’s house ..., the house is held by (with) the silver” (bēt A, 14 ú-ri-buišti kaspim 18 bētū uktallū). An exact parallel to Donbaz’s text is Kt c/k 701:14-16 (courtesy of Dercksen), where a girl is sold into (debt-)slavery and her buyer “shall neither sell her, nor give her as pledge to a merchant” (aššimim la iddašši ¹⁵ ana tamkārim ¹⁶ la ú-ra-áb-ši). The verb also occurs in Kt 92/k 543 (S. Bayram, *Archivum Anatolicum* 4 [2000] 32:12-14), where a trader, in connection with a debt to be paid, declares: “I am ready to pledge myself and my paternal house to a moneylender” (anāku qaqqidī u bēt abia ¹³ ana bēt tamkārim lu-ri-ib) to obtain the money he needs.

One problem of this contract remains unsolved, the woman’s right described in l. 8 as “in A.’s house ta-ša-bi₄/pī-ir” (clear on the photo). In *Care of the Elderly*, 144, I hesitated between emendation into taššabbir, “she will be broken” interpreted as “she get disabled” (a meaning not attested elsewhere), and one into ta-qá-bi₄-ir, “she will be buried”. Perhaps a new, similar contract – there were more women living in houses they did not own, cf. my observations in “A Verdict of the City Assembly of Assur (Kt 92/k 491) in JEOL 45 (2015), 65-81, § 3 – may solve this problem.