

## Remarks on the Putative Source A<sub>2</sub> of the Ebla Bilingual Lexical List\*

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### Abstract

The comparison of the entries of the two small Ebla bilingual lexical sources TM.75.G.1302 (= MEE 4, 74, putative source b) and TM.75.G.1301 (= MEE 4, 73, putative source a) with those of the putative main source A<sub>2</sub> (TM.75.G.10023+11301+ = MEE 4, 63+64) of the Ebla Bilingual List shows that the two excerpts belong to the process of formation of the A<sub>2</sub>. This appellation of the latter source implies that it has been seen as the continuation of the putative main source A (TM.75.G.2000+ = MEE 4, 1+) and not of the other possible candidate, that is, the putative main source C (TM.75.G.11252+ = MEE 4, 13+). A further comparison of the entries of the excerpts b = TM.75.G.1302 and a = TM.75.G.1301 and of A<sub>2</sub> with those of A and C suggests, however, that A<sub>2</sub> is the continuation of C. Together with the excerpts TM.75.G.1302 and TM.75.G.1301, it was produced by the scribal milieu or circle that also produced source C.

§1.1. The small 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium Ebla lexical lists TM.75.G.1302 (= MEE 4, 74, putative source b) and TM.75.G.1301 (= MEE 4, 73, putative source a) are written on rounded tablets, both without a colophon (Pettinato 1982: 91-95). The almost complete text of the former includes the entirely preserved text of the latter. The shorter text a = 75.1301 starts with five entries unattested in the longer text b = 75.1302. Then, in its second part a = 75.1301 continues with 17 of the at least 63 entries of b = 75.1302, following the order of entries of the latter list (Pettinato 1984: 30).

§1.2. The selection of the entries in the first part of b = 75.1302, corresponding to the second part of a = 75.1301, is reminiscent of the first sections of 75.2422+ (= MEE 4, 115 = MEE 15, 1), that is, of the unilingual “eš<sub>2</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub>” list with the Sumerian terms also found in the Ebla bilingual list.

§1.3. 75.1302 and 75.1301 follow the order of the sections of 75.2422+ in the following way (I indicate the sections of 75.2422+ and the entries of 75.1302 // 75.1301):

TM.75.G.2422+	key-word	TM.75.G.1302//1
1	ninda	1-4
2	ka	7
3	sag	8-10
4	u <sub>2</sub>	11-14
5	sa	15-16
6	e <sub>2</sub>	17-19
7	geš	20-21
8	šu	22
9	a <sub>2</sub>	23
12	ša <sub>3</sub>	24, 26-27
11	BALAG	25, 28
13	a	29, 58'
20	an	30, 68'-69'
24	ki	31
36	tu	34-35
47	gir <sub>7</sub>	36

a = 75.1301 ends with an entry unattested in 75.2422+,

\* This article was originally written in 2007. In that same year it was sent to the present journal, peer-reviewed, and accepted for publication. Various circumstances prevented me from completing the text in all its details, so that the publication has been long delayed. Recently, in his excellent study “The Apparent Lambdacism of Eblaite and Eblaite Word Accent,” *ZA* 104 (2014) 135-145, Carsten Peust made reference (pp. 135-136 and n. 2-3) to the basic suggestions contained in the present article, still unpublished at the time, but already evident not only in my “Studies in the Ebla Lexical Lists, II. MEE 4, 82, 84, 85, 86,” *SEL* 25 (2008) 18, but also in “Studies in the Ebla Lexical Lists, I. MEE 4, 77, 83, 87,” *Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica–Università di Firenze* 17 (Florence 2007) 208-209 (not known to Peust). This has spurred me to prepare the present final version of my research. I wish to thank Pelio Fronzaroli, Amalia Catagnoti, and Erica Scarpa for their helpful suggestions. Ryan Winters kindly proofread my text.

i.e. VE 1427'. In obv. vi 3 b = 75.1302 has VE 1427' incorrectly written, followed by two entries also attested in 75.2422+ (from the sections  $i_3$  and  $ge_3$ ), and by an entry unattested in 75.2422+ and in the Ebla bilingual list. Then the text of b = 75.1302 continues with many entries not found in 75.2422+, but attested in other Ebla bilingual lists.

'source A<sub>2</sub>' (75.10023+11301+)

VE 1435'	
rev. ix 11'-12'	[ŠID-gi <sub>4</sub> :]ᵀ gi <sub>4</sub> ᵀ / [...]-gi-LUM
VE 1436'	
rev. ix 13'-14'	NU <sub>11</sub> (LAK24)-ᵀ ib <sub>2</sub> ᵀ / ᵀa <sub>3</sub> -[ba]-šum'
VE 1437'	
rev. ix 15'-16'	gi-ᵀ gid <sub>2</sub> ᵀ / ma-za-ᵀ num <sub>2</sub> ᵀ
VE 1438'	
rev. ix 17'-18'	ᵀtigidla <sub>x</sub> (ŠA <sub>3</sub> ,TAR) / zi-LUM
	—
VE 1439'	
rev. ix 19'-20'	nu-UŠ / a-WU-um
VE 1440' / VE 1135	
rev. ix 21'	u <sub>3</sub> -sar-aka / [...] [...]
VE 1441'	
rev. ix 22'-23'	x-[...] / ša-x-[...]
VE 1442' / VE 1134	
rev. ix 24'-25'	u <sub>3</sub> -sar / la <sup>2</sup> -x-x-um
rev. x	[...]
VE 1443'	
rev. x 1'-2'	ba-ᵀ šubᵀ / na-da-um
VE 1444'	
rev. x 3'-4'	DU-ba / ma-ga-tum [...]
VE 1445'	
rev. x 5'-6'	x-x / NI-me-zu-um
VE 1446' / VE 1081	
rev. x 7'-8'	munu <sub>4</sub> <sup>sar</sup> / ḥa-zu-ri <sub>2</sub> -tum
VE 1447' / VE 1117 = VE 1137	
rev. x 9'-10'	si-sar / ga-ri <sub>2</sub> -tum 1 DU
VE 1448'	
rev. x 11'-12'	EZEN / mu-sa-ma-a-LUM
VE 1449'	
rev. x 13'-14'	i <sub>3</sub> -zi / ma-še <sub>3</sub> -LUM
VE 1450' / VE 629	
rev. x 15'-16'	a-nigin <sub>2</sub> / [...] [...]
VE 1452' / VE 1189	
rev. xi 2'-3'	šegbar <sub>x</sub> (ŠEG <sub>9</sub> ) / wa-i <sub>3</sub> -lum  [...]

§2.2. Furthermore, the obverses of b = 75.1302 and a = 75.1301 have other entries also attested in source A<sub>2</sub>.

§2.1. Of greater interest are the so far unnoticed correspondences between this last part of the source b = 75.1302 (its reverse surface) and a part of the reverse of the putative source A<sub>2</sub> of the Ebla bilingual lexical list, i.e. 75.10023+11301+ = MEE 4, 63+64 (Pettinato 1982: 79-86), as demonstrated below.

'source b' (75.1302)

EV 0400b	
rev. i 4'-5'	ŠID-gi <sub>4</sub> :gi <sub>4</sub> / la-NE-LUM
EV 0402	
rev. i 2'-3'	NU <sub>11</sub> (LAK24)-ᵀ ib <sub>2</sub> ᵀ / ᵀa <sub>3</sub> -ba-šum
EV 086	
rev. i 6'-7'	gi-gid <sub>2</sub> / ma-za-num <sub>2</sub>
rev. i 8'-9'	ᵀtigidla <sub>x</sub> (ŠA <sub>3</sub> ,TAR) / zi-LUM
EV 0416	
rev. ii 1-2	TAG-ᵀ TAGᵀ / su-la-tum
EV 0315	
rev. ii 3-4	nu-UŠ / lu-WU-um
EV 0440	
rev. ii 5-6	u <sub>3</sub> -sar-aka / sa-ᵀa <sub>3</sub> -lum
EV 0441 (here?)	
rev. ii 7	u <sub>3</sub> -zi
	—
EV 0439	
rev. ii 8	u <sub>3</sub> -NE-sag
EV 045	
rev. iv 1-2	ᵀbaᵀ-šub / na-da-um
EV 057	
rev. iii 4-5	DU-ba / ma-ga-tum
—	
EV 0216	
rev. ii 9-10	munu <sub>4</sub> <sup>sar</sup> / ḥa-zu-ri <sub>2</sub> -tum
EV 0355	
rev. ii 11- iii 1	si-sar / gar <sub>3</sub> -<ri <sub>2</sub> >-tum
EV 077	
rev. iii 2-3	EZEN / mu-sa-ma-ᵀa <sub>3</sub> -LUM
EV 0124	
rev. iii 8-9	i <sub>3</sub> -zi' / ma-šu-LUM
EV 02	
rev. iii 10-11	a-nigin <sub>2</sub> / da-wu-lum
EV 0398	
rev. iii 6	šegbar <sub>x</sub> (ŠEG <sub>9</sub> )
EV 052	
rev. iii 7	DAG <sub>x</sub> (LAK457)

These entries repeat those attested in the other sources between VE 1 and VE 1089:

‘source A <sub>2</sub> ’ (75.10023+11301+)	
VE 1424’ / VE 118 rev. viii 19-20	nig <sub>2</sub> -zah <sub>2</sub> / ma-zar <sub>3</sub> -tum
VE 1425’ / VE 315 rev. viii 21-22	e <sub>2</sub> -pap / sa-’a <sub>3</sub> -bu <sub>3</sub>
VE 1426’ / VE 598 rev. viii 23-24	e <sub>2</sub> -muš <sub>3</sub> / u <sub>3</sub> -zu-gur-tum
VE 1428’ / VE 253 rev. viii 26’-27’	ᵀ sag <sup>ᵀ</sup> -kešda / ib <sub>2</sub> -tum
VE 1429’ / VE 287 rev. ix 0’-1’	[u <sub>2</sub> -šimbulug <sub>x</sub> -ga] / bu <sub>3</sub> -lu-ḫu-um
VE 1431’ / VE 303 rev. ix 4’-5’	u <sub>2</sub> -gamun <sub>2</sub> / ga-ba-na-na-u <sub>9</sub>
VE 1432’ / VE 306 rev. ix 6’-7’	u <sub>2</sub> -PI-naga / a-ri <sub>2</sub> -a-tum
VE 1451’ / VE 896 rev. xi 1’	i <sub>3</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub>

‘source b’ (75.1302), ‘source a’ (75.1301)	
EV 0282 b obv. i 3-4 a obv. ii 3-4	nig <sub>2</sub> -zah <sub>2</sub> / ma-zar <sub>3</sub> -tum nig <sub>2</sub> -zah <sub>2</sub> / ma-zar <sub>3</sub> -tum
EV 065 b obv. iii 8-9 a rev. i 1-2	e <sub>2</sub> -pap / ar <sub>3</sub> -ra-tum e <sub>2</sub> -pap / ’a <sub>3</sub> -ra-tum
EV 064 b obv. iii 10 a rev. i 3-4	e <sub>2</sub> -muš <sub>3</sub> e <sub>2</sub> -muš <sub>3</sub> / a-zu-gur-tum
EV 0335 b obv. ii 3-4	sag-kešda / ib <sub>2</sub> -tum
EV 0428 b obv. ii 9-10	u <sub>2</sub> -šimbulug <sub>x</sub> -(ŠIM.GA)-ga {HU} / [bu <sub>3</sub> ]-lu-ᵀ ḫu <sup>ᵀ</sup> -um
EV 0432 b obv. iii 2-3	u <sub>2</sub> -gamun <sub>2</sub> / kab-na-ne-u <sub>9</sub>
EV 0430 b obv. iii 4-5	u <sub>2</sub> -PI-naga / a-ri <sub>2</sub> -a-tum
EV 0122, EV 0191’ b obv. ii 1-2 a obv. iii 3-4	i <sub>3</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub> / a-gul-la-du <sup>ᵀ</sup> ᵀ i <sub>3</sub> <sup>ᵀ</sup> -gu <sub>7</sub> / [a]-ᵀ gu <sub>2</sub> <sup>ᵀ</sup> -lu-um

§2.3. Therefore, it seems almost certain to me that the source b = 75.1302 and the source a = 75.1301 belong to the process of formation of the source A<sub>2</sub> (75.10023+11301+ = MEE 4, 63+64) of the Ebla bilingual lexical list. 75.1302 should have been written before rather than after A<sub>2</sub>, but most probably not by the same scribe. Concerning the relationship between 75.1302 and 75.1301, a derivation of 75.1301 from 75.1302 has been proposed (Pettinato 1984: 29ff. and 40), but it seems more likely to me that 75.1301, which bears a shorter text, was written before 75.1302, which bears a longer text.

§2.4. If so, these three lexical lists should have been redacted in the following chronological order:

75.1301	putative Estratto di Vocabolario a (Pettinato)
75.1302	putative Estratto di Vocabolario b (Pettinato)
75.10023+11301+	putative source A <sub>2</sub> of the main bilingual lexical list (Archi)

§3.1. All this, if true, may help in the solution of a main problem. It is known (Archi 1992: 18, 2006: 109) that:

- the putative source A<sub>2</sub> (75.10023+11301+ = MEE 4, 63+64) begins with VE 1090,
- the putative source A (75.2000+ = MEE 4, 1+) ends with VE 1089, and
- the putative source C (75.11252+ = MEE 4, 13+)

ends with VE 1090.

§3.2. The source A<sub>2</sub> has been described in the following way (Archi 2006: 109): “the two large tablets C and A did not have enough space for the last 112 lexemes of the archetype [i.e. 2422+]. It was therefore decided to prepare another, smaller tablet, A<sub>2</sub> (almost entirely reconstructed by joining nine fragments) which includes various other lexemes, reaching number 1475. The acrographic order is abandoned and previously ignored lexemes are gathered together by more or less obvious associations between the terms.” However, more specifically, it has been also stated that the source A<sub>2</sub> is the continuation of the source A (“the chronological order ... is: D, C, A (+ A<sub>2</sub>), B”; Archi 2006: 107 n. 13) presumably because of the aforementioned situation of the entries VE 1089 and VE 1090.

§3.3. However, is the putative source A<sub>2</sub> necessarily the continuation of the putative source A, or it could be the continuation of the putative source C (*tertium non datur*)?

§3.4. Besides the already seen entries between VE 1090 and VE 1452’ (i.e. those in the main source A<sub>2</sub>, 75.10023+11301+ = MEE 4, 63+64), the shorter lexical lists 75.1302 (source b) and 75.1301 (source a) also have many entries between VE 1 and VE 1089 (i.e. those in the main sources A, 75.2000+ = MEE 4, 1+, and C, 75.11252+ = MEE 4, 13+):

VE 98	A	nig <sub>2</sub> -sa-rum	b	geštu <sub>3</sub> = <i>ḥa-zi-zu<sub>2</sub></i>
	C b	nig <sub>2</sub> -sa-rum = <i>ba-la-gum<sub>2</sub></i>	VE 419	A C
	a	<omitted>		geš-gi-a <sub>2</sub> -nigin <sub>2</sub>
VE 118	A C	nig <sub>2</sub> -zah <sub>2</sub>	b a'	geš-gi-a <sub>2</sub> -nigin <sub>2</sub> = <i>gar<sub>3</sub>-a-tum</i>
	b a	nig <sub>2</sub> -zah <sub>2</sub> = <i>ma-zar<sub>3</sub>-tum</i>	VE 531	A b
VE 124	A	nig <sub>2</sub> -esir <sub>x</sub> (LAK173) <sup>c4</sup> -sa <sub>2</sub>		šu-šu-ra
	C b a	nig <sub>2</sub> -esir <sub>x</sub> (LAK173) <sup>c</sup> -sa <sub>2</sub> = <i>su-bu<sub>3</sub>-tum</i>		C
VE 126	A	<omitted>	a	šu-šu-ra = <i>ma-ḥa-zi i-da-2</i>
	C a	nig <sub>2</sub> -di-di = <i>du-da-ri<sub>2</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>-tum</i>	VE 557	A
	b	nig <sub>2</sub> -di-di = <i>du-da-ri<sub>2</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub></i>		a <sub>2</sub> -ḥum
VE 152	A, C	šika-PAD	C	[...]
	b	šika-PAD = <i>iš-ti zu (?)</i>	b	a <sub>2</sub> -ḥum <sub>x</sub> (NINDA <sub>2</sub> ×AŠ.KUR) = <i>ga-ba-zu<sub>2</sub></i>
	a	šika-PAD = <i>iš-ti zi-im (?)</i>	a	a <sub>2</sub> -ḥum = <i>ga-ba-zi i-da-2</i>
VE 253	A	sag-kešda? = [...]	VE 586	A
	C	[...]		ša <sub>3</sub> -tar-sur = <i>gi-lu-um (?)</i>
	b	sag-kešda = <i>ib<sub>2</sub>-tum</i>	C	[...]
	a	<omitted>	b	ša <sub>3</sub> -tar-sur = <i>gir-bu<sub>16</sub></i>
VE 258	A'	sag-bad = <i>bur-zu-um</i>	a	<omitted>
	C	<omitted>	VE 587	A
	b a	sag-KAK-bad-bad = <i>NE-ti-u<sub>3</sub> sag</i>		ša <sub>3</sub> -nig <sub>2</sub> -ŠUBUR = <i>dal(-)da(-)ze<sub>2</sub></i>
VE 260	A C	<omitted>	C	[...]
	b	bir <sub>x</sub> (SAG×KID <sub>2</sub> ) = <i>ma-maḥ-a-tum</i>	b	ša <sub>3</sub> -nig <sub>2</sub> -ŠUBUR
	a	bir <sub>x</sub> (SAG+ZAG) = <i>bar-a-tum</i>	a	<omitted>
VE 287	A a	<omitted>	VE 593	A
	C	[...]		ša <sub>3</sub> -GURUŠ
	b	u <sub>2</sub> -šimbulug <sub>x</sub> <sup>1</sup> (ŠIM.GA)-ga {HU} = <i>bu<sub>3</sub>-lu-ḥu-um</i>	C	[...]
VE 303	A a	<omitted>	b'	ša <sub>3</sub> -GURUŠ = <i>da-gi-num<sub>2</sub></i>
	C	[...]	a	<omitted>
	b	u <sub>2</sub> -gamun <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> = <i>kab-na-ne-u<sub>9</sub></i>	VE 598	A C
VE 306	A a	<omitted>		<omitted>
	C	[...]	b	e <sub>2</sub> -muš <sub>3</sub>
	b	u <sub>2</sub> -PI-naga = <i>a-ri<sub>2</sub>-a-tum</i>	a	e <sub>2</sub> -muš <sub>3</sub> = <i>a-zu-gur-tum</i>
VE 312	A C b	sa-šu	VE 608	A a
	a	<omitted>		<omitted>
VE 315	A	<omitted>	C	[...]
	C	e <sub>2</sub> -pap = [...]	b	zal-a-engur
	b	e <sub>2</sub> -pap = <i>ar<sub>3</sub>-ra-tum</i>	VE 620	A
	a	e <sub>2</sub> -pap = <i>'a<sub>3</sub>-ra-tum</i>		A.BALAG <sup>mušen</sup> = <i>gu-gi-a-nu-um</i>
VE 389	A	geštu <sub>3</sub>	C	A.BU <sup>mušen</sup> = <i>iš<sub>11</sub>-a-bu<sub>3</sub></i>
	C a	geštu <sub>3</sub> = <i>ḥa-zi-zu-um</i>	b	A.BALAG <sup>mušen</sup> = <i>iš<sub>12</sub>-a-bu<sub>3</sub></i>
			a	<omitted>
			VE 629	A
				a-nigin <sub>2</sub>
				C
				a-nigin <sub>2</sub> = <i>du-lum</i>
				b
				a-nigin <sub>2</sub> = <i>da-wu-lum</i>
				a
				<omitted>
			VE 797	A b
				<omitted>
				C a
				<sup>d</sup> utu
			VE 804	A b
				an-en-te
				C
				an-en-te = <i>iš-da-dar</i>
				a
				<omitted>
			VE 837	A
				<sup>ki</sup> kiri <sub>6</sub>

C	[...]
b	<sup>ki</sup> kiri <sub>6</sub> = <i>ba-la-tum</i>
a	<omitted>
VE 891	
A	n <sub>i</sub> <sup>mušen</sup>
C	[...]
b	n <sub>i</sub> <sup>mušen</sup> = <i>ti-la-um</i>
a	<omitted>
VE 896	
A	i <sub>3</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub>
C	[...]
b	i <sub>3</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub> = <i>a-gul-la-du</i> <sup>1?</sup>
a	<sup>Γ</sup> i <sub>3</sub> <sup>Γ</sup> -gu <sub>7</sub> = [ <i>a</i> ] <sup>Γ</sup> gu <sub>2</sub> <sup>Γ</sup> - <i>lu-um</i>
VE 915	
A	tum <sub>12</sub> -gur <sub>4</sub> <sup>mušen</sup>
C	[...]
b	tum <sub>12</sub> -gur <sub>4</sub> <sup>mušen</sup> = <i>hu-la-tum</i>
a	<omitted>
VE 916	
A	tum <sub>12</sub> <sup>Γ</sup> -gur <sub>4</sub> <sup>Γ</sup> -[tur <sup>mušen</sup> = (...)]
C	[...]
b	tum <sub>12</sub> -gur <sub>4</sub> -tur <sup>mušen</sup>
a	tum <sub>12</sub> -gur <sub>4</sub> -tur <sup>mušen</sup> = <i>hu-lu-tum</i>
VE 1001	
A	DU-LAGAB = <i>ša-lu-um a-ba-si</i>
<sup>Γ</sup> C <sup>Γ</sup>	DU-LAGAB = <i>a-mu-mu-um</i>
b	DU-LAGAB
a	DU-LAGAB = <i>a-a-mu-um</i>
VE 1081	
A a	<omitted>
C	[...]
b	m <sub>nu</sub> <sub>4</sub> <sup>sar</sup> = <i>ha-zu-ri<sub>2</sub>-tum</i>

§3.5. Regarding the relationship between b = 75.1302, A = 75.2000+ = *MEE* 4, 1+ and C = 75.11252+ = *MEE* 4, 13+, the following facts seem important to me:

the Sumerian terms:

- in VE 124, b = 75.1302 and C have the same spelling of the Sumerian term, while A has a variant spelling; furthermore, in VE 258 (omitted in C) and VE 557 (not preserved in C), b = 75.1302 and A have variant spellings of the Sumerian term;
- in VE 126, VE 287, VE 303, VE 306, VE 315, VE 608, VE 1081, A lacks the Sumerian terms, which are on the other hand attested in b = 75.1302; when the text of C is preserved (VE 126 and VE 315), it agrees with b = 75.1302.

the Semitic terms:

- in VE 98, VE 124, VE 126, VE 389, VE 629, A lacks the Semitic translations, while the Semitic translations of b = 75.1302 agree with those in C (the same may have been true in VE 593, VE 837, VE 896, VE 891 and VE 915, entries lost in C);
- in VE 258 (omitted in C) and VE 586 (C in lacuna

[but see Fronzaroli forthcoming]), A has Semitic translations which are lexically different from those in b = 75.1302; furthermore, in VE 587 b = 75.1302 lacks the Semitic translation attested in A (C in lacuna);

- in VE 620, the Semitic translation of b = 75.1302 lexically agrees with that in C and not with that in A;
- in VE 1001 (untranslated in b = 75.1302), the Semitic translation of A is lexically different from that in 75.1301 (source a) and in C.

§3.6. Against these facts, which show that 75.1302 is nearer to the source C than to the source A, the following other facts could be invoked:

- the Semitic translation in VE 118, VE 152 and VE 419 are unattested in both A and C, while they occur in b = 75.1302 (and in a = 75.1301);
- the Sumerian terms in VE 260 and VE 598 are omitted in both A and C, while they occur in b = 75.1302 (and in a = 75.1301);
- 75.1302, A and C agree as for the Sumerian term in VE 312;
- the Sumerian term in VE 531 is untranslated in b = 75.1302 and in A, but its translation occurs in a = 75.1301 (C in lacuna);
- in VE 620, b = 75.1302 agrees with A, against C, in the spelling of the Sumerian term;
- in the Semitic translations of VE 620 and of VE 629, b = 75.1302 and C are in lexical agreement, but they have variant spellings;
- in VE 797, b = 75.1302 and A lack the Sumerian term, attested in C (and in 75.1301);
- in VE 804, b = 75.1302 and A lack the Semitic translation, attested in C.

§3.7. However, the relationship between the source b = 75.1302 and the source A<sub>2</sub> = 75.10023+11301+ = *MEE* 4, 63+64 (demonstrated above, §2) does not imply a mechanical identity of the spellings of these two sources. In fact, in the cases in which the entries of both b = 75.1302 and the source A<sub>2</sub> are entirely preserved, the same spellings occur in VE 1436', VE 1437', VE 1438', VE 1443', VE 1444' and VE 1446', while variant spellings occur in VE 1435', VE 4139', VE 1447', VE 1448' and VE 1449'. Disagreements do remain at the level of the written notation, and do not affect the Semitic translations (an exception is VE 1425'/VE 315 vs. EV 065).

§4.1. An important feature of the source A<sub>2</sub> = 75.10023+11301+ = *MEE* 4, 63+64 is that it also bears many entries which occur between VE 1 and VE 1089, i.e. in the part of the list attested in the sources A = 75.2000+ = *MEE* 4, 1+, and C = 75.11252+ = *MEE* 4, 13+. As not-

ed above, some of these entries also occur in the obverses  
of b = 75.1302 and a = 75.1301:

VE 118, VE 1424', EV 0282

A C nig<sub>2</sub>-zah<sub>2</sub>

A<sub>2</sub> b a nig<sub>2</sub>-zah<sub>2</sub> = *ma-zar<sub>3</sub>-tum*

VE 132, VE 1401', EV 0240, EV 0262

A <omitted>

C A<sub>2</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-mes-mes

VE 182, VE 1211

A gu<sub>3</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-2 = *ba-a-lu-um*

C gu<sub>3</sub>-di-2 = *ba-a-lum*

A<sub>2</sub> gu<sub>3</sub>-di-2 = <sup>⌈</sup>*ba-la-lum*<sup>⌋</sup>

VE 202, VE 1344'

A C zu<sub>2</sub><sup>di</sup><sub>7</sub> = *si-nu a-ḥa-mu*

A<sub>2</sub><sup>i</sup> zu<sub>2</sub><sup>d</sup>namma = *si-nu a-ḥa-mi-um*

VE 248, VE 1220

A sag-tum<sub>2</sub> = *ra-ba-gu-um*

C sag-tum<sub>2</sub> = *ra-ba-gu*

A<sub>2</sub> <sup>⌈</sup>sag<sup>⌋</sup>-DU = *ne-si-um*

VE 253, VE 1428', EV 0335

A sag-kešda<sup>?</sup> = [...]

C [...]

A<sub>2</sub> b sag-kešda = *ib<sub>2</sub>-tum*

VE 257, VE 1217, EV 0326

A C sag-du<sub>7</sub> = *ga-na-um*

A<sub>2</sub> sag-[du<sub>7</sub>] = *zi-ḥi-lu sag*

*wa ga-na-u<sub>9</sub>-um*

VE 287, VE 1429', EV 0428

A <omitted>

C [...]

A<sub>2</sub> [u<sub>2</sub>-šimbulug<sub>x</sub>-ga] = *bu<sub>3</sub>-lu-ḥu-um*

b u<sub>2</sub>-šimbulug<sub>x</sub><sup>i</sup>(ŠIM.GA)-ga {HU}  
= *bu<sub>3</sub>-lu-ḥu-um*

VE 303, VE 1431', EV 0392, EV 0432

A <omitted>

C [...]

A<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-gamun<sub>2</sub> = *ga-ba-na-na-u<sub>9</sub>*

b u<sub>2</sub>-gamun<sub>2</sub><sup>i</sup> = *kab-na-ne-u<sub>9</sub>*

VE 306, VE 1432', EV 0430

A <omitted>

C [...]

A<sub>2</sub> b u<sub>2</sub>-PI-naga = *a-ri<sub>2</sub>-a-tum*

VE 315, VE 1425', EV 0065

A <omitted>

C [e<sub>2</sub>]-[pap] = ([...])

A<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-pap = *sa-<sup>ʾ</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>*

b e<sub>2</sub>-pap = *ar<sub>3</sub>-ra-tum*

a e<sub>2</sub>-pap = *<sup>ʾ</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ra-tum*

VE 340, VE 1207

A C <omitted>

A<sub>2</sub> [e<sub>2</sub>]-<sup>⌈</sup>ur<sub>2</sub><sup>⌋</sup> = [gi]-<sup>⌈</sup>ma-tum<sup>⌋</sup>

VE 443, VE 1331'

A C nu:geš-kiri<sub>6</sub>

A<sub>2</sub> nu-kiri<sub>6</sub> = *ga-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*

VE 444, VE 1360'

A C A<sub>2</sub> geš-alan<sub>x</sub>(KID<sub>2</sub>-ALAM)

VE 453, VE 1262'

A geš-e<sub>2</sub> = *a-me-tum*

C geš-e<sub>2</sub>

A<sub>2</sub> geš-e<sub>2</sub> = *dur-bi<sub>2</sub>-gum<sub>2</sub>* {ZA}

VE 495, VE 1365'

A geš-tukul

C A<sub>2</sub> geš-tukul = *zu-gu<sub>2</sub>-lum*

VE 572, VE 1242'

A balag = *gi-na-ru<sub>12</sub>-um*

C [...]

A<sub>2</sub> <sup>⌈</sup>balag<sup>⌋</sup>

VE 598, VE 1426', EV 0064

A C <omitted>

A<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-muš<sub>3</sub> = *u<sub>3</sub>-zu-gur-tum*

b e<sub>2</sub>-muš<sub>3</sub> = *a-zu-gur-tum*

a e<sub>2</sub>-muš<sub>3</sub>

VE 607, VE 1330'

A<sup>i</sup> zal-a

C [...]

A<sub>2</sub> zal-a = *na-za-um*

VE 628, VE 641, VE 1417'

A a-sa<sub>2</sub>

C [a-sa<sub>2</sub>] = *ḥa-a-<sup>⌈</sup>gu<sub>2</sub><sup>⌋</sup>-um*

A<sub>2</sub> a-sa<sub>2</sub> = *ḥa-a-gum<sub>2</sub>*

VE 629, VE 1450', EV 0002

A A<sub>2</sub> a-nigin<sub>2</sub>

C a-nigin<sub>2</sub> = *du-lum*

b a-nigin<sub>2</sub> = *da-wu-lum*

VE 651, VE 1405'

A še-in-gal<sub>2</sub> = *gi-zi-lu*

C še-in-gal<sub>2</sub> = ([...])

A<sub>2</sub> še-in-gal<sub>2</sub> = *i<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-[lum]*

VE 671, EV 0041

A <omitted>

C [...]

A<sub>2</sub> še-gibil

VE 787, VE 1455'

A an-us<sub>2</sub> = *a-ma-du-um*

C [...]

A<sub>2</sub> an-us<sub>2</sub> = *a-ma-tum* (?)

VE 788, VE 1420'

A an-zam<sub>x</sub>(LAK304a) = *a-za-mu-mu*

C [...]

A<sub>2</sub> an-zam<sub>x</sub>(LAK304a)

VE 833, VE 1321'

A <omitted>

C gana = *<sup>ʾ</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ba-gu-um*

A<sub>2</sub> gana = *<sup>ʾ</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ba-gum<sub>2</sub>*

VE 858, VE 1272'

A NIN-TUG<sub>2</sub> = *zi-NE zi-la-um*

C [...]

A<sub>2</sub> NIN-TUG<sub>2</sub>

VE 896, VE 1451', EV 0122, EV 0191

A A<sub>2</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>

C [...]

b i<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub> = *a-gul-la-du<sup>!</sup>*

a	[i <sub>3</sub> ]-gu <sub>7</sub> = [a] <sub>7</sub> - <sup>r</sup> gu <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -lu-um
VE 903, VE 1391', EV 0423	
A A <sub>2</sub>	ti-li-NE
C	[...]
VE 1011, VE 1353'	
A	kid
A <sub>2</sub>	kid = ša- [...]
C	[...]
VE 1013, VE 1155	
A	BAĤAR <sub>4</sub> -GI
C	[...]
A <sub>2</sub>	BAĤAR'(EDIN)-GI = NE-NI-um
VE 1050, VE 1315'	
A	zi = nu-bu <sub>3</sub> -uš-du-um
C	[...]
A <sub>2</sub>	zi = nu-bu <sub>3</sub> -uš-tum
VE 1070, VE 1215, EV 0115	
A	[...]
C A <sub>2</sub>	šar <sub>2</sub> -li = ga-na-um
VE 1081, VE 1446', EV 0216	
A	<omitted>
C	[...]
A <sub>2</sub> b	munu <sub>4</sub> <sup>sar</sup> = ĥa-zu-ri <sub>2</sub> -tum

§4.2. The following remarks on these entries of these three main sources—A<sub>2</sub> (75.10023+11301+ = *MEE* 4, 63+64), A (75.2000+ = *MEE* 4, 1+) and C (75.11252+ = *MEE* 4, 13+)—are in order (note that VE 118 and VE 253 bear irrelevant features):

the Sumerian terms:

- in VE 132, A<sub>2</sub> has the same spelling as C, while the A omits the term; other cases of Sumerian terms omitted by A, but present in A<sub>2</sub> and with the entire equivalence of C in the lacuna, are VE 287 (partially), VE 303, VE 306, VE 671, VE 1081; the entries in VE 340, VE 598, VE 833, attested by A<sub>2</sub>, are omitted by both A and C;
- in VE 182, A<sub>2</sub> has the spelling also found in C, while A has a variant spelling;
- in VE 202 and VE 443, the spelling of A and of C is a variant of that in A<sub>2</sub>;
- in VE 248, A<sub>2</sub> has an equivalence which most probably is lexically different from that in A and in C, and likely there is not a real repetition here;
- in VE 315, A<sub>2</sub> has the same term as C, while A omits it;
- in VE 444, A<sub>2</sub>, A and C do agree;
- in VE 896 and VE 903, A<sub>2</sub> has the spellings also found in A, but in C it is in the lacuna;

the Semitic terms:

- in VE 182, A<sub>2</sub> lexically agrees with both A and C, but they have three different spellings;
- in VE 202, A<sub>2</sub> lexically agrees with both A and C, but has a spelling which is a variant of that found in these

latter two sources;

- in VE 248, A<sub>2</sub> has an equivalence which most probably is lexically different from that of A and in C, and likely there is not a real repetition here;
- in VE 257, A<sub>2</sub> has a translation only partially in lexical agreement with that of A and C;
- in VE 453, A<sub>2</sub> has a translation lexically different from that in A, while C omits the translation; the same is true in VE 651, whereas the translation of C (if it existed) is today in the lacuna;
- in VE 495, A<sub>2</sub> has the same translation found in source C, while A omits the translation; the same is true in VE 628, where A<sub>2</sub> and C have different spellings;
- in VE 572, VE 788 and VE 858, A has the translation, while it is omitted by A<sub>2</sub>, but in C it is in the lacuna;
- in VE 607, VE 1011 and VE 1013, A omits the translation, while it is attested by A<sub>2</sub>, but in C it is in the lacuna;
- in VE 629, C has a translation omitted in A<sub>2</sub> and A;
- in VE 787 and VE 1050, A<sub>2</sub> lexically agrees with A, even if they have variant spellings, but in C these entries are in the lacuna;
- in VE 1070, A<sub>2</sub> has the same translation as found in C, but in A it is in the lacuna.

§5. Particularly meaningful to me seem the cases found in:

VE 182, “to pray, beg, implore”: here the Sum. term is gu<sub>3</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-2 in A and gu<sub>3</sub>-di-2 in C and A<sub>2</sub>, while the Sem. translation is *palalum* < \**pll* in all these sources (see Bonechi 1989: 135ff., Conti 1990: 95);

VE 315, “(clay) pipe for libations over the grave”; here the Sum. term e<sub>2</sub>-pap—which is found in C, A<sub>2</sub>, and b = 75.1302 and a = 75.1301—is omitted in A, while the Sem. translations are *šabhabum* < \**šhb* in A<sub>2</sub> and *harratum* < \**hrr* in 75.1302 and 75.1301 (see Fronzaroli 1997: 16 and n. 43), being that of C in lacuna;

VE 453, VE 1262', “prop, buttress, stanchion”; here the Sum. term is giš-e<sub>2</sub> in A, C and A<sub>2</sub>, while the Semitic translations are *amidum* < \**md* in A (see Fronzaroli 1984: 155), = *turpiqqum* < \**rpq* in A<sub>2</sub> (C omits);

VE 586: here the Sum. term is ša<sub>3</sub>-tar-sur, while the Sem. translations have been interpreted (Conti 1990: 164-165) as *qīrum* < \**qiwrum* < \**qwr*, “spring,” in A (but see Fronzaroli forthcoming), and *girpum* < \**grp*, “flow, flood,” in b = 75.1302;

VE 620, “cormorant,” A.BALAG<sup>mušen</sup>, translated as *qūqi-yānum* in A, and “vulture,” A.BU<sup>mušen</sup> in C, A.BALAG<sup>mušen</sup> in 75.1302, in both instances translated as *'id'ābum* (see Bonechi 2000: 264ff.).

§6.1. In the previous paragraphs the following Ebla lexi-

cal lists have been contrasted:

in §1, the bilingual excerpts 75.1302 and 75.1301 (putative sources b and a) against the unilingual “eš<sub>2</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub>” list 75.2422+ (= *MEE* 4, 115 = *MEE* 15 1);

in §2, the bilingual excerpts 75.1302 and 75.1301 (putative sources b and a) against the putative main bilingual source A<sub>2</sub> (75.10023+11301+ = *MEE* 4, 63+64);

in §3, the bilingual excerpts 75.1302 and 75.1301 (putative sources b and a) against the putative main bilingual sources A (75.2000+ = *MEE* 4, 1+) and C (75.11252+ = *MEE* 4, 13+);

in §4, the putative main bilingual source A<sub>2</sub> (75.10023+11301+ = *MEE* 4, 63+64) against the putative main bilingual sources A (75.2000+ = *MEE* 4, 1+) and C (75.11252+ = *MEE* 4, 13+).

§6.2. Balancing all the evidence, I consider of fundamental importance the cases of VE 182, VE 435 and VE 620 against that of VE 315. Consequently, it seems to me that the cases of agreement in spelling and/or lexicon of 75.1302 and 75.1301 (sources b and a), of the source C, and of the source A<sub>2</sub> on one hand, against the source A on the other, are more important than every other kind of agreement or disagreement among the entries of all these sources.

§6.3. Since the putative source C ends with VE 1090 and the putative source A<sub>2</sub> begins with VE 1090, if the putative source A<sub>2</sub> is the continuation of the putative source C then we have an early occurrence of the “catch line” found in later lexical lists. Admittedly, this feature is not found in the only other known main source whose text is written in more than one tablet, that is the putative bilingual source D, composed by 75.2284 = *MEE* 4, 12, 75.1774 = *MEE* 4, 24, 75.1448 = *MEE* 4, 32, 75.1426 = *MEE* 4, 40 and 75.1825+3131 = *MEE* 4, 47+48. However, the source D is rather differently arranged, since the (always preserved) ends and the (always preserved) beginnings of its five tablets may show gaps between the Sumerian entries found in the monolingual list 75.2422+ = *MEE* 4, 115 = *MEE* 15, 1:

end of <i>MEE</i> 4, 12	(gap)	VE 210 = beginning of <i>MEE</i> 4, 24
end of <i>MEE</i> 4, 24		VE 340 = beginning of <i>MEE</i> 4, 32
end of <i>MEE</i> 4, 32	(gap)	VE 458 = beginning of <i>MEE</i> 4, 40
end of <i>MEE</i> 4, 40	(gap)	VE 577 = beginning of <i>MEE</i> 4, 47+

§6.4. Considering the only case in which a gap seems to have been avoided by the scribe(s) of the putative source

D, it is difficult to say if the last case of the last column of the reverse of the second tablet, that is *MEE* 4, 24 rev. vii 13, which was left blank by the scribe after he wrote the Sumerian term in VE 339, was intended to be filled by its Semitic translation or by the next Sumerian term, which occurs as the first entry of the next tablet, *MEE* 4, 32. In any case, the putative source D should be attributed to a scribal milieu or circle rather different from those to which the various sources discussed above may be attributed, and consequently the habits and aims of the various scribes may too have been rather different.

§7.1. To sum up, the modalities of the formation of the Ebla lexical materials discussed above look more complicated than usually thought, and the deepest research is needed (urgently regarding the palaeography).

§7.2. However, it seems to me that the evidence gathered above strongly suggests that the putative source A<sub>2</sub> (75.10023+11301+ = *MEE* 4, 63+64) of the Ebla bilingual lexical list is not the continuation of the putative source A (75.2000+ = *MEE* 4, 1+), but rather the continuation of the putative source C (75.11252+ = *MEE* 4, 13+); a more apt denomination for “A<sub>2</sub>” would therefore be putative source “C<sub>2</sub>.”

§7.3. It also results that the putative source A<sub>2</sub> and the excerpts 75.1302 and 75.1301 (putative sources b and a) belong to the materials produced by the scribal milieu or circle which also produced the putative source C.

§7.4. Moreover, if the conjectures presented above have some ground, the following preliminary grouping of the manuscript families of the typical Ebla lexical sources—that is, the unilingual “eš<sub>2</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub>” (EBK) and the bilingual (EBL) lists—may be suggested. My rough chronological order makes reference to at least three different scribal circles, probably at Ebla itself and during a rather short span of time, working on materials of Mesopotamian origin:

<i>Sources</i>	<i>Archi's Designation</i>	<i>Pettinato's Edition</i>	<i>Entries</i>
<i>(first phase)</i>			
EBL-1	D (five medium size tablets)	<i>MEE</i> 4, 12, 24, 32, 40, 47+	2-880
<i>(second phase)</i>			
EBK-A	(large tablet)	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115 = <i>MEE</i> 15, 1+	1-1119
EBL-2	A (large tablet)	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	1-1089
<i>(third phase)</i>			
EBL-3	C (large tablet)	<i>MEE</i> 4, 13+	1-1090

	excerpts 75.1302 and 75.1301	<i>MEE</i> 4, 74 <i>MEE</i> 4, 73	
A <sub>2</sub> (medium size tablet)		<i>MEE</i> 4, 63+ 64+71+ <i>ARET</i> 3, 683	1090-1457
EBL-4 B (very large tablet)		<i>MEE</i> 4, 8+ 1-1410+	

§8. Addendum. It can be suggested that two already-published fragments of Ebla bilingual lists are joins of the putative source A<sub>2</sub> (75.10023+11301+ = *MEE* 4, 63+64). They are 75.11317 (= *MEE* 4, 71, Pettinato 1982: 90, source BG) and 75.3757 (= *ARET* 3, 683, published among the administrative texts in Archi - Biga 1982: 187; as for this fragment see Bonechi 1992). This is the result of these suggested joins:

VE 1211	<i>MEE</i> 4, 63-64 obv. viii 1-2	gu <sub>3</sub> -di-2 / <sup>Γ</sup> ba-la-lum <sup>Γ</sup>
VE 671	<i>ARET</i> 3, 683 obv. viii 3 (entry unattested in VE, but to be collated)	še-gibil
	<i>ARET</i> 3, 683 obv. viii 4	KA-U <sub>2</sub> -KAK (Sumerian or Sem. gloss of še-gibil?)
VE 1212	<i>ARET</i> 3, 683 obv. viii 5-6	KI.DARA <sub>3</sub> .DIM nig <sub>2</sub> -gar / a-bi <sub>2</sub> -lu za-a-tim
VE 1225	<i>MEE</i> 4, 63-64 obv. viii 28-29 [obv. ix 1-2]	X-uh <sub>3</sub> / ma-i-LUM [wa] [...]

<i>ARET</i> 3, 683 obv. ix 3-4	<i>wa ri<sub>2</sub>-ma-tum</i>
VE 1226	<sup>Γ</sup> din <sup>Γ</sup> mušen / gi-ti-da-num <sub>2</sub>
<i>ARET</i> 3, 683 obv. ix 5-6	
VE 1227	a:tu <sub>22</sub> / <sup>Γ</sup> a <sub>3</sub> -a-um
<i>MEE</i> 4, 71 obv. ix 7-8	
VE 1228	NAGA-DI / ba-sa-LUM
<i>MEE</i> 4, 71 obv. ix 9-10	
VE 1229	gi-sig / ša-ga-LUM
<i>MEE</i> 4, 71 obv. ix 11-12	
VE 1230	GI-KID <sub>2</sub> / zi-[gal za-mu]
<i>MEE</i> 4, 71 obv. ix 13-14	
VE 1232	[NIN-UŠ <sup>mušen</sup> ] / ir <sub>3</sub> - <sup>Γ</sup> lu <sup>Γ</sup> -um
<i>MEE</i> 4, 63-64 obv. ix [15]-16	
VE 1259	<sup>Γ</sup> dam <sup>Γ</sup> -[...] / gi- <sup>Γ</sup> na <sup>Γ</sup> -[...]
<i>MEE</i> 4, 63-64 obv. xi 1-2	
VE 1262	[geš-e <sub>2</sub> ] / dur-bi <sub>2</sub> -gum <sub>2</sub> {ZA}
<i>MEE</i> 4, 71 obv. xi [3]-4	
VE 1263	ab-lal / ur-bu <sub>3</sub> -um
<i>MEE</i> 4, 71 obv. xi 5-6	
VE 1264	ab-la <sub>2</sub> - <sup>Γ</sup> la <sub>2</sub> <sup>Γ</sup> / ur-x-[...]
<i>MEE</i> 4, 71 obv. xi 7-9	
VE 1266	<sup>Γ</sup> šen <sup>2</sup> -e <sub>2</sub> <sup>Γ</sup> / a-ra-bi-iš A
<i>MEE</i> 4, 71+63-64 obv. xi 9-10	

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