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SUMERIAN EPIC OF PARADISE, THE FLOOD AND THE FALL OF MAN

BY

STEPHEN LANGDON

PHILADELPHIA
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
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THE SUMERIAN EPIC OF PARADISE, THE FLOOD AND THE FALL OF MAN

INTRODUCTION

In the autumn of 1912 the author copied, among about fifty others, a triangular fragment of a tablet in the Nippur collection in the Museum. This fragment, which had been numbered 4561, can be distinguished clearly in the right upper corner of the obverse and right lower corner of the reverse of the restored tablet shown in Plates V and VI which show the tablet in its natural size. The contents of this fragment were first mentioned by my colleague, Professor Sayce, at the June meeting of the Society of Biblical Archaeology in London, at which our lamented friend, Professor R. F. Harper, was present and contributed memorable remarks.¹ An epitome soon afterwards appeared in the London Times. Later the Museum authorities found other portions of this remarkable text which obviously contains a Sumerian version of the Flood and the Fall of Man, antedating by at least a thousand years the version in Hebrew. The photograph will show how well the Museum authorities have succeeded. To my original fragment they have added one large fragment and one small one which practically restores this large six column tablet. This edition has been made from my copy of the original fragment and photographs of the later joins.

The composition is of an epical nature and probably represents more nearly than any production yet discovered the

¹ The author published an account of this fragment in the June number of PSBA. 1913.
national epic of the religious and cultured Sumerian people. The theme is too humanitarian and universal to be called national, but in those days, and in that part of the world, Sumerian culture was synonymous with world culture and her great religious traditions became universal traditions, adopted by the Semitic peoples who subsequently came upon the scene of history. The colophon describes the composition as a "hymn of praise." 1

SYNOPSIS

The theme which inspired this epic is the Fall of Man, and it will be generally admitted that this theme suggests the most profound ideas and inspires the deepest emotions of man. Enki the water god and his consort Ninella or Damkina ruled over mankind in paradise, which the epic places in Dilmun. In that land there was no infirmity, no sin and man grew not old. No beasts of prey disturbed the flocks, and storms raged not. In a long address to her consort, Ninella glorifies the land of Dilmun, praising its peace and bliss. And all things were so.

But for some reason which is all too briefly defined Enki the god of wisdom became dissatisfied with man and decided to overwhelm him with his waters. This plan he revealed to Nintud the earth mother goddess, who with the help of Enlil the earth god had created man. According to Col. 11 32 Nintud under the title Ninharsag assisted in the destruction of humanity. For nine months the flood endured and man dissolved in the waters like tallow and fat. But Nintud had planned to save

1 tag-sal. For a similar composition see BE. XXX1 14–18, a hymn to Dungi. Connected with this liturgical note is the use of the verb tag-sal at the end of cylinders A, B of Gudea; see SAK. 122: 140.
the king and certain pious ones. These she summoned to the river’s bank where they embarked in a boat. After the flood Nintud is represented in conversation with the hero who had escaped. He is here called Tagtug and dignified by the title of a god. He becomes a gardener for whom Nintud intercedes with Enki and explains to this god how Tagtug escaped his plan of universal destruction. This at any rate is the natural inference to be made from the broken passage at the end of Col. III of the obverse and the beginning of Col. I of the reverse. Enki became reconciled with the gardener, called him to his temple and revealed to him secrets. After a break we find Tagtug instructed in regard to plants and trees whose fruit the gods permitted him to eat. But it seems that Nintud had forbidden him to eat of the cassia. Of this he took and ate, whereupon Ninharsag afflicted him with bodily weakness. Life, that is good health in the Babylonian idiom, he should no longer see. He loses the longevity of the prediluvian age.

Such in the Sumerian epic is the conception of the fall of man. His great loss consists in being deprived of extreme longevity and good health. The fall from primeval sinlessness is not mentioned here. But we infer from column two that sin had already entered into the souls of men before the flood and caused Enki to send that great catastrophe. In a real sense, therefore, our epic contains both the fall from purity and the fall from longevity. The latter is brought about by eating of the tree, and this was considered the greater disaster. We now find that man is fallen on toil and disease. Wherefore the gods send him patrons of healing, of plants, and various arts to comfort him and aid him in his struggle for existence.
Dilmun

Tablet No. 4561 locates Paradise in Dilmun and apparently Tagtug the gardener dwelled here after the flood. Also the epical fragment of Creation and the Flood published by Dr. Poebel says that Ziudgiddu, the king who survived the deluge, received eternal life and lived in the mountain of Dilmun. This land is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of all periods as an important province in the extreme south of Babylonia. Sargon the ancient speaks of Dilmun in connection with the Sea Land, after which he turned his attention to Der a city in Ashnunnak on the Elamitic border.

Magan (Arabia), Meluhha (Egypt), Gubi and the mountain of Dilmun are mentioned together by Gudea, and the boats of Dilmun, Magan and Meluhha occur together in a lexicographical list. The copper of Dilmun, Magan and Meluhha is mentioned in another text. Geographical lists also connect Eridu and Dilmun, a fact of special interest, since Eridu, on the Euphrates near the head of the Persian Gulf, is the most famous center of the cult of Enki the water god. Our text affords abundant proof that Enki was also connected with the religious traditions of Dilmun. Nebo, the city god of Barsippa and also connected with the Enki water cult, has at least eleven Sumerian titles as a god in Dilmun, whence we may suppose that

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1 The classical ideogram for Dilmun is and in the earliest known Sumerian passage it has also this form, Gudea, St. D IV 10, as in CT. 15. 27. 7 a Sumerian text of the Isin period. But IV Raw. 36 No. 1 Obv. A 21 has the form and our text has and . No. 4562, 2 (a text copied by the author) has .

2 King. Chronicles II 92.

3 St. D IV 10.

4 AL 88 V 5-7. Note also that Sargon, the ancient, conquers Dilmun, Magan and Meluhha, CT. 13, 44 B 16.


6 II R. 53A 11.
Barsippa derived this deity from Dilmun.\(^1\) Also Zarpanit, consort of Marduk, son of Enki, has seven Sumerian titles as a deity of Dilmun.\(^2\) Thus Dilmun was associated with the water god in the earliest Sumerian traditions and in Babylonian theology.

Still more noteworthy is the constant association of Dilmun with Elam and Anšan. Zarpanit of Dilmun is followed by the Zarpanit of Elam in a theological list of gods.\(^3\) Astrological texts also reflect the ancient importance of Dilmun and its association with Elam, in that eclipses occurring in the third month (Sivan) portend the ruin of the king of Dilmun, and those occurring in the second month (Ajar) portend the ruin of the king of Elam.\(^4\)

Delitzsch many years ago identified Dilmun with the island Bahrein;\(^5\) although that scholar does not expressly defend this identification, yet this inference has been accepted and generally adopted. The identification with the largest of the Bahrein islands has been suggested to scholars by passages in the inscriptions of Sargon, who in describing his invasion of Bit-Jakin (the seacoast land at the head of the Persian Gulf) and Elam says, "Upiri king of Dilmun, who had made an abode in the midst of the sea towards the East, like a fish a distance of 30 kasgid heard of the might of my royal power and brought tribute."\(^6\) If this passage be taken literally we must infer that an island is intended, or as Delitzsch says, "at any rate a peninsula." But we now know that in Assyrian historical inscriptions the

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\(^1\) CT. 25, 35A 20–30.
\(^2\) Ibid. 12–18.
\(^3\) Ibid. 1. 19.
\(^4\) V.rolleaud, Sin, XXXIII. See Jastrow, Religion, II 505.
\(^5\) See Delitzsch, Wo Lag Das Paradies?, 178.
\(^6\) Winckler, Sargon, p. 61 l. 370; 84 l. 20; cf. 64 l. 381; 126, 144; 150, 55; 180, 23.
kagsid or hour's march was 5346 meters\(^1\) or 3.3218+ English miles. If we suppose that Sargon intended to state the distance from the innermost shore of the Persian Gulf as it was in his day, that is 15 or more miles further inland than at present, we assume that Dilmun lay about 100 miles from that point, say a degree and a half south of modern Basra. Of course Dilmun, if it designated a province on the Elamitic side of the Persian Gulf in the region of modern Laristan, may have included all the small islands off that coast such as Shaikh Shuaib, Kais and Kishm. All of these are considerably more than 100 miles from Basra, but Sargon may be using some point farther south as his place of reckoning. Dilmun cannot be an island in another passage of this same Sargon who says, "The land Bit-Jakin which lies on the shore of the salt stream\(^2\) as far as the boundaries of Dilmun as one land I ruled."\(^3\) Here Dilmun and Bit-Jakin form a contiguous territory. On the whole the identification with a strip of land from about the twenty-ninth degree of latitude southward along the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf including the islands off the coast perhaps as far as the strait of Ormuz and the Arabian Sea will satisfy all the known references concerning Dilmun. The expression of Sargon, "in the midst of the sea," will then refer to one of the small islands of the province to which the king Upiri fled.

This location of the Sumerian Paradise will explain also the curious geographical boundary given in the Hebrew tradition concerning the Garden of Eden. In Chapter II 10–14 of Genesis the Hebrew preserves a geographical description which is ob-

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\(^1\) So F. Thureau-Dangin in a letter to the author who bases his calculations upon the length of the side of the stage tower in Babylon, 91 m. (not 100 as Weissbach gave) which results in 5346 m., not 6014 m. as previously calculated.

\(^2\) I. e., the Persian Gulf, nāru marratu.

\(^3\) Winckler, ibid., 84 I. 25; cf. 138, 19 and below 15; 144, 19; 152, 86; 160, 26.
viously derived from Sumero-Babylonian cosmology and can be understood only by comparing the description with a Babylonian map of the world as they understood it. Fortunately such a map for early Babylonian and Assyrian cosmology exists. Here Babylon is the center of a flat circular surface, with the land of Aššur located to the right. On the upper edge the draughtsmen indicates mountains, probably the highlands of Armenia. In the right lower corner is the city Dir and at the left bottom Bit-Ja’kinu or the seacoast lands. Beyond this to the south appear canals (ē-ku) and marshes (apparu). In the upper left corner, i. e., in the northwest, the scribe places the Hittites (ha-at-tim). Around this circular world flows the nāru mar-ra-tum, the bitter river, which is the Babylonian name for the Persian Gulf. Beyond this stream lie at least five regions or countries of whose existence the geographers had a vague monition.

Let us suppose that the ancient Sumerians held the same conceptions in regard to Paradise. Around it flowed the "Bitter Stream," or the Persian Gulf, upon whose eastern bank tradition located Paradise in the land of Dilmun. Into this stream on the north flow the Tigris and Euphrates. In the far southeast the Indus flows into the Arabian Sea, which the Sumerians probably regarded as a continuation of the world encircling bitter stream and in the far southwest flows the Nile from Ethiopia into the Mediterranean Sea in which they saw the western segment of the same bitter stream. Now all this agrees admirably with the Biblical account. "And a river issued from Eden to water the garden and thence it divided itself and became four branches." This river issuing forth from Eden is the Persian Gulf and the

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1 Published by R. C. THOMPSON, CT. XXII 48. This tablet probably belongs to the period of the first Babylonian dynasty.
encircling bitter stream as Sayce first saw. In Hebrew and Assyrian idiom ṭēš ṑāri, ṣīnā ṣāli, "head of a stream," or "head," when applied to streams means the mouth of the river, as Delitzsch Paradise has long since emphasized. The four branches are rivers which flow into the stream which constantly encircles Paradise. "The name of the first is Pishon; this is the one that surrounds all the land of Havilah where there is gold." The Pishon I would identify with the Indus which would lead us to assume that Havilah here indicates India or in a vague manner the far east. "And the name of the second river is Gihon; this is the one that surrounds all the land of Ethiopia." Jewish and Christian tradition identified this river with the Nile and the identification follows both from the connection with Ethiopia and from Babylonian cosmology. "And the name of the third river is Hiddekel, which is the one flowing before Assyur." The city Assyur, which lay on the eastern bank of the Tigris below the greater Zab, appears to have been unknown to Sumerian rulers as late as the era of Dungi (circa 2400 B.C.). The city itself was a Mitanni or Hittite foundation and not until shortly before Sumuabu, founder of the first Babylonian dynasty (circa 2232–2218 B.C.), do we hear of Semitic rulers at Assyur. But cities in northern Mesopotamia such as Assyur and Karkemish according to recent excavations at low levels on those sites are shown to be extremely old, perhaps even older than the more famous cities of Sumer which surpassed them in culture and fame. In any case we cannot suppose that Assyur was unknown to the early Sumerians at least in a vague way and consequently the mention of Assyur here does not imply that the source Gen. II 10–14 is of later origin than the other portions

1 See Sayce, Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments, 95 ff.
2 I. e., the Tigris.
of the Hebrew story of Creation, Paradise and the Fall of Man in Gen. II 4–III 24. Genesis II 14 states finally that the fourth branch of the encircling stream is the Euphrates. The Biblical statement is, therefore, perfectly intelligible when the passage has been interpreted on the basis of Babylonian cosmology.

THE END OF PARADISE

Our poem omits the primitive history of the Creation and prediluvian kings, for its motive is to describe the Fall of Man. It begins, therefore, with a description of the blissful state of man as it existed immediately before the Flood. In all the land of Sumer men and animals dwelled together in peace; sin and disease had not yet afflicted humanity. And in this land lay an especially favored garden in Dilmun. Dilmun has two designations which are indicated by two ways of writing the name, dilmun-ki, "the city of Dilmun," and kùr-dilmun, "the mountain of Dilmun," or more accurately "the Dilmunian mountain." This is the method employed in our tablet and in Poebel, Cr. VI 12. Ordinarily, however, kùr-dilmun-ki is employed for "the mountain of Dilmun." According to Sumerian grammar kùr prefixed to a name indicates the land of which the city in question is the capital. Strictly speaking we should render kùr-dilmun by the "Land or Province of Dilmun." But kùr means both mountain and land. In case of those provinces which were mountainous the Sumerians and Babylonians spoke of it as the "Mountain of X," and not the "Land of X." An interlinear text has pû kùr-dilmun-ki-ka = ina ër-ti ša-di-i dil-mun, "At the well of the Mountain of Dilmun (Ishtar washed her head)."

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1 For the original use of ki to designate only a city, see Sum. Gr. p. 58.
2 Gudea, St. D IV 10.
3 ASKT. 127, 37.
The reader will, therefore, understand that dilmun-ki means the city, kùr dilmun, the province or land which is here rendered by "Mountain of Dilmun."

Since after the Flood the king Tagtug becomes a gardener and a garden is expressly mentioned,¹ and since after the curse Dilmun is mentioned as under the protection of one of the patron genii, we infer that the Sumerians regarded the Land of Dilmun as the garden of Paradise and the religious center of Sumer. Of its city Dilmun, where Enki the water god ruled mankind and in whose temple he revealed secrets to Tagtug, our epic says, "His city was the home which assembles the Land (of Sumer)." Sumer or the land of the Sumerians is related to the land of Dilmun in the same way as in the Hebrew piler, "A garden in Eden,"² Eden³ or the plain of southern Mesopotamia is related to the garden.

According to the Hebrew version the first of mankind Adam and his consort forfeited the blessings of Paradise almost immediately after the Creation. On the other hand, the Sumerian version allows us to infer that mankind enjoyed this blissful state until the Flood. In the days of one Tagtug who is mentioned as a king, and probably the king of Dilmun, man became sinful and so Enki⁴ ended the Utopian age with the Deluge.

THE POEM ON THE CREATION AND THE FLOOD

A poem on the Creation and the Flood, likewise in six columns and in the same script as the one under discussion and also found in the Museum collections (No. 10673), belongs

¹ Rev. I 27.
² Gen. 11 8.
³ Eden in Sumerian does not mean a barren plain but a wide stretch of flat land and more often refers to meadow lands.
⁴ Enki is the Oannes of Berossus. He appears in religious texts most frequently under the title E-a, or god of the water-house, a name which is preserved by Damascius as Aos (Ἄόσ).
to the same cycle of epical literature concerning the origin and fall of man. This composition, which has been published by Dr. Poebel in Vols. IV and V, is unfortunately much more fragmentary than the text of No. 4561. The styles of the two poems are strikingly similar. The tablet previously published is devoted entirely, so far as the fragment permits us to infer, to the period from the Creation to and including the Flood. It appears to have described somewhat minutely the creation of man and the political affairs of Sumer before the Flood. Also the Flood is minutely described, but the portion of the fragment which gave the reason why Enki destroyed mankind is not preserved. At the end we learn that the gods caused the king Ziudsuddu, who escaped, to dwell in Dilmun. Evidently the postdiluvian history of man did not form part of the theme of this epic as it does in our own. Moreover, it agrees with the Semitic Babylonian account in two vital matters. The name of the royal hero of the Flood, Zi-ud-sud-du, is obviously identical with Zi-ud, the Sumerian original of Uta-napishtim, Semitic name of this hero in the eleventh book of the Epic of Gilgamish, where the Semitic Babylonian version is given at great length. The element suddu, which means "to be long," had been omitted before the name was translated into Semitic. And like the Semitic Babylonian version this hero is transferred to the island of the blessed. For in Poebel's tablet we must assume that Dilmun still retains after the Flood its ancient character of a land of the blessed. Sumerian tradition probably rehearsed the story of this hero's translation to one of the islands off the coast of Dilmun the ancient land of Paradise. And the Semitic

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1 In this name we have an excellent example of the Sumerian method of forming compounds by placing the constuct after the genitive. Zi-ud=ud-ti, "breath of life," is rendered into Semitic by the only construction possible in Semitic, viz. construct and genitive. The full translation should be Uta-napishti-arik, "Long is the breath of life." See PSBA 1914, 190.
version says that Utanapishtim was made like the gods and taken by them to a far-away place at the mouth of rivers. This probably refers to Dilmun, the traditional Paradise into whose encircling stream poured the four great rivers of the primitive cosmos. This tradition of the translation of the hero of the Flood to the blessed isle must have been widely spread among ancient peoples and it is curious that it has not survived in Hebrew tradition.\footnote{This part of the tradition has in some way attached itself to Enoch in Hebrew. So far as Noah is concerned Hebrew tradition follows our epic and not the more current traditions discussed above.} Berossus, as reported by Polyhistor, says that this hero, whom he calls Xisuthrus, disappeared in the air and was seen no more, and Abydenus reports Berossus to have written that “The gods translated him from among men.”

**THE REFERENCES TO THE CREATION OF MAN**

As we have seen, our poem refers to the creation of man only incidentally. According to Babylonian tradition, as reported in Berossus, ten kings ruled from the creation of man until the Flood and these reigns covered a period of 432,000 years. Our composition in regard to this long period during which there was no sin and men grew not old, makes no reference to these ten kings, but begins with the last of the kings who ruled in prediluvian times. In the description of the Flood, however, our text says that “Nintud mother of the Land (of Sumer) had begotten mankind.”\footnote{\textit{in-su-ud}, Obv. II 46; III 20.} The verb employed here means ordinarily “to beget, give birth to,” and another passage is still more explicit. The mother goddess under the title Ninharsag says to the Earth God Enlil, “I have begotten thee children.”\footnote{\textit{mu-e-si-du-mu-un}, Rev. II 41. The verb \textit{dumu} is connected with the noun \textit{dumu}, “son.”} And
Enlil is also called "the begetter," or "father begetter," the same verb being employed as in the case of Ninharsag. All these references to the direct descent of man from the Earth God and the Earth Goddess we must interpret figuratively. Sumerian, Babylonian and Hebrew tradition agree in regarding man as a creature fashioned in some mysterious manner by the hands of the gods or a god. Undoubtedly the Sumerians, whose greatest and most ancient deity was mother earth, attributed the creation of human kind exclusively to this virgin goddess, a rôle which became attached to that type of mother goddess who presided over childbirth. In the evolution of this religion the earth god, primarily the brother of the mother goddess, became associated with her in the creation of man; the Sumerian Epic of the Creation and the Deluge speaks also of Anu the heaven god and Enki the water god as deities who assisted the earth goddess and the earth god in fashioning the "Dark-headed people," and the creatures of the field. But the references to the creation of man in Sumerian and Babylonian poetry generally agree in describing the mother goddess, under the titles Aruru and Mami, as the deity who made man from clay. In the poem of

1 Rev. 11 42.
2 Note for example Code of Hammurapi 44, 43, where Hammurapi speaks of Nintud as ummu banti, "my mother who begat me," a purely figurative expression which describes Nintud as the patroness of childbirth. Also Nebuchadnezzar speaks of the mother goddess as the Maḫ ummu banti-ia, VAB. IV 128, 16.
3 In the same way, Innini the major type of mother goddess, is originally the sister and consort of Tammuz, the god of vegetation. For Aruru as sister of Enlil see Meek, BA X pt. 1 No. 11, 13, 4 Ar-r-ru SAL + KU(aḫatu) 4 Mu-ul-lil-la, "Aruru sister of Enlil;" cf. Craig, RT. 19, 6 and BL, 88, 3+34, 2. Note also that she is the aunt of Lillu, son of Enlil; 4 A-ru-ru ama-tur 4 Li-li-ra-ge, "Aruru the aunt of Lillu;" 4 Li-li-ra, i.e., Lit-ra is a son of Ninil, consort of Enlil, CT. 24, 26, 107. Lirra, Lilla is a variant of Lillu, title of Ninib, son of Enlil, II R. 57, 66. The passage on which this relation of Aruru to the earth god is based was previously misunderstood; see SBP. 24, 3.
4 Col. 1 13 f. Here the verb is dim, ordinarily used for "to build"
Atarhasis and Ea, Mami the mother goddess restores men upon the earth by creating them from clay.

"When she had recited her incantation and had cast$^2$ it upon her clay, fourteen pieces she pinched off. Seven pieces on the right she placed, and seven pieces on the left she placed. Between them she put a brick . . . she opened. She . . . the wise wives, seven and seven mother wombs; seven create males and seven create females. The mother womb$^3$ creatress of fate caused them$^4$ to complete,$^6$ yea these she caused to complete (their offspring) in her own likeness.$^6$ The designs of men Mami designed." A religious text of the late Assyrian period in form of an acrostic has the line, "The workmanship of the hand of Aruru are the things with the breath of life altogether.$^{17}$

Not only did the Sumerians and Babylonians retain this tradition concerning the creation of man from clay at the hand of Aruru, but they believed her capable of thus creating a human being at any time and for any necessity. In the first book of

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$^1$ In this legend which describes the repeated affliction and final annihilation of humanity by plagues Atarhasis probably represents the last of the ten kings and the hero of the Flood. The legend probably refers to a tradition in which mankind succumbed to famine, drought or pestilence and not to a flood, but from this annihilation Atarhasis escaped. The text is badly damaged (CT. 15, 49) so that the general import cannot be divined. See DHORME, Choix de Textes Religieux 128-130; ROGERS, Cuneiform Parallels 113-121.

$^2$ Read [l̄a-a]-[l̄a]-[di], and for the verb nādu employed with $\text{lištu}$, cf. idišuma šiptam, "over him cast the curse." This act is distinct from the recitation (manâ) of the curse, and refers to mystic movements with the hands.

$^3$ A title of Aruru.

$^4$ I.e., fourteen mothers who begat males and females.

$^5$ Ukalala, historical present. With this passage compare Ham. Code, III 27, la u-la-ab-li- lu-lu-e-ri’il-tum $\text{u-lu} \text{Mama}$. "(Hammurapi) whom the wise Mama (= Mami) caused to be perfected (in his mother's womb)."

$^6$ māḫ-ru-ša; this interpretation was suggested by DHORME and is supported by the Sumerian hymn to Nintud, BL. 88, 21; 89, 10; 90, 24, etc. where woman is said to be created like Nintud in form.

$^7$ līpiš kat $\text{u-lu} \text{Aruru mitbatī ša napīši}$, CRAIG, RT. 51, 24; MARTIN, Textes Religieux 184; A. JEREMIAS, Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur 354.
the Epic of Gilgamish, the people of Erech call upon her to create a being capable of protecting them from the violence of Gilgamish.

"Unto the mighty Aruru they called. 'Thou O Aruru hast created [Gilgamish], and now create his likeness. Like unto the spirit of his heart may his spirit be.¹ May they strive with each other and may Erech repose.'² When Aruru heard this she formed a likeness of the god Anu in her mind. Aruru washed her hands; clay she pinched off and cast it upon the field . . . Enkidu she fashioned, the hero."³

The only important Sumerian hymn to Aruru as the creatress of men is the interesting but badly damaged liturgy to her in eight sections inscribed on a prismatic prayer wheel now in the Ashmolean Museum.⁴ Although this important text has been

¹ Read with JENSEN, a-na û-sûm libbi-su lu-su ma-[ti-il û-sûm-su]. For û-su, spirit, soul, see SBP. 98 n. 7. For malâlu construed with ana, cf. iten ana la-àl la mušul, "One is not compared to another," HARPER, Letters 355, 17. ana alâkiri rabâlit-su la umaalâlu tíl aṣumma. "No god can do ought comparable to the ways of his greatness, K. 8519, Rev. 2 f.
² So, after DHORME.
³ DHORME, Choix de Textes, 186, 30-188, 35.
⁴ The text was published in Babylonian Liturgies No. 197 and a Constantinople duplicate will be found in my Historical and Religious Texts No. 23. RADAU, Miscel. No. 8 furnishes a variant of Col. IV and partially restores the seventh section of this litany. This latter variant escaped me when I edited the text. RADAU, 8 Obv. 1 = BL. 92, 30 and the end of the sixth section is identical on both texts.

The seventh section can be much restored from the variant in the University Museum. Col. IV 2 = Radau 8, 7:

2. ē aššag-dib-bi é-nun
3. ē Keš-(ki) aššag-dib-bi(1) nun(2)
4. ē-a(3) ṣa-ki ḫa-nun-na-meš
5. nu-ē-bi dim é-an-na-meš
6. kisal-e lugal bur-ra-an(4) mu-e-gub

(1) Var. omits.
(2) Read ē-nun = kummu. Traces of ē on the prism.
(3) ē-a = i-a = dšā.
(4) Var. a-an

2. To the temple, to which the holy enter, the shrine,
3. To the temple of Keš, to which the holy enter, the shrine,
4. The Anunnaki go up, their lord(s),
5. The dim of Eanna, their priest(s) of sacrifice.
6. The aisle, oh king, with festivity thou treadest.
partially restored from two duplicates we are still unable to fully understand its general import. It is clear that the liturgists intended to compose a chant in eight sections to Nintud, the creatress to be sung in her temple at Keš. Since each section ends with the mournful refrain, “Who shall utter lamentation,” and the seventh section speaks of calamities which befell the

7. en-dug—šag tug(?)-lal nam-mi-in lal(1)

8. a-dāg?-e umus(2) dEn-ki ne-gab in-?
9. tu-e(3) a-šin(4)-a-an mu-e-gub
10. lāl-e...a-li-bi ki-ašag-ga-a-an dā(?)-dū (?) e(4)
11. en-dū-sīg(6) abkal ubar-e-ne(6) ka(7) ki(8)
    a-an ma-ga-li-e
12. biš...ša-a-ni su-mu-un-sīg-gi-ne(9)
13. ... RU URU-RU mu-ni-ib-br(10)-ne
14. ... ma-ge gīg-ga(11) mi-ni-ib-ča
15. ... [ši?]-e dāl-e gā-fi-mi-ni-ib-br(12)
16. ... šigir(13)-ra sūg-sūg mi-ni-ib-ča
17. ... [...šiğ]-[ši] ša-ba-ni-ib-sā
18. ... [...šiğ]-ka-tal-bi al-dū(14)

7. The beneficent lord hath clothed it with

8. The... lord Enki watches over it.
9. The baptizer...treads.
10. The... in the holy place dwells.
11. The...lord, the councillor—the protegée salutes him with prostration to the
    earth.
12. ...the city humiliated they recite.
13. ... with sorrow abounded.
14. ... the bound cried aloud.
15. ... in desolation abounded.
16. ...the harem truly she directed aright.
17. ... of the harem its festivity she made good.

(2) Var. Radau 8, omits.
(3) So Radau. The prism has the sign UR Br. 11887 clearly written.
(4) Var. Radau, lāl-e ki-ašag-ga nam-mi-in-durun(?).
(5) Cf. CT. 16, 27, 22, en-dū-sīg(?)-bi. Thompson read ŠA (for sīg?).
(8) The prism has ki clearly, not ku.
(9) This line is preserved on Cstpl. 1992 and Radau 8, but the prism omits it.
(10) My copy Cstpl. 1992 Rev. 11 10 has ga, probably an error for bi.
(11) Var. Radau, ga-a-an; Cstpl. 1992 simply gīg. Note also line 10 a-an where the variant omits. a-an is therefore an adverbial ending having the same force as the oblique ending a; see Sum. Gr. §79 and SBP. 40, 23 bar-tu-lu-ba-dm (a-an) = ina šukišu. This line would be rendered into Semitic by ina mursi nīlabarri, cf. IV R 24 No. 3, 21.
(13) This sign on the prism is clearly not the one given by Radau. My collation has

 Lithuania is, however, the most probable rendering.
(14) Cstpl. 1992 omits the three preceding lines.
(15) Radau, su-me. I read tug-lal on the prism.
(16) A title of Enki as a god of the water cult.
(17) Title of Enki
city we may suppose that, like all other Sumerian liturgies, our
text was written as a lamentation concerning some local calamity.
But in the composition of this liturgy the scribes have given
more than ordinary attention to the legends which concerned
the cult in question. At the end of each section they have
added a refrain in four lines which obviously refers to the cre-
tion of man in the image of Ninib (ašširigī) and of woman in the
image of the mother goddess Nintud.

I would now render this refrain in the following manner:
"In accordance with the incantation of the earth
design\(^1\) a form may man bear.
Their strong one like Ninib (ašširigī) in form may a
mother beget.
Their lady like Nintud in form shall be."

16. \(\ldots \) t-dug ka-\(\text{tal-bi} \) \(\text{al-dug}\)^{(1)}
17. \(\ldots \) (2) \(\text{tal-bi-a} \) mu-\(\text{un-durun}\)
18. \(\ldots \) ga\(^{(3)}\) ság-gá \(\text{nín-tal-bi-a} \) mu-\(\text{un-durun}\)
19. [\(\text{EN-HAR}-(\text{ki})-\)^{(4)}\) gim rib-ba galu \(\text{si-in-ga-} \) (an-tám-mu)
20. ur-sag-bi \(\text{di-iš-gi-gim} \) rib-ba ama \(\text{si-} \) \(\text{in-ga-an-bud}\)
21. [\(\text{nin-bi} \)^{(5)}\) \(\text{nín-tud-gim} \) rib-ba-ra \(\text{a-ba} -\) \(\text{er-[} \) \(\text{mu-ni-in-dug]}\)

16. \(\ldots \) of the harem its festivity she made
good.
17. \(\ldots \) in their \ldots abode.
18. \(\ldots \) in their \ldots abode.
19. In accordance with the incantation of
the "earth design" a form let man bear.
20. Their strong one like Ninib in form may
a mother beget.
21. Their lady like Nintud in form is. Who
shall lament?

\(^{(1)}\) Cstple. 1932 omits this line. Here ends the variant in the Museum collections.
\(^{(2)}\) The sign before \(\text{tal} \) appears to be \(\text{ga} \) on the prism.
\(^{(3)}\) I have carefully collated these signs and read \(\text{mud}-\text{ga}.\)
\(^{(4)}\) This ideogram \(\text{ki-ga} \) (Var. \(\text{ga} \)) \(\text{III} \) 17; by \(\text{ki} \), \(\text{III} \) 3, \(\text{I} \) 25,
and in \(\text{I} \) 21 both \(\text{ki} \) and \(\text{ga} \) are omitted. We are induced to suppose on the analogy of
forms like \(\text{muu}-(\text{ki})-\text{ga}-(\text{ki})=\text{Urug-ga} \), Erech, \(\text{ZIMMERN} \), KL. 200, 26;
\(\text{mi}-(\text{ki})-\text{na}=\text{Ninā}, \) \(\text{ALLOTTE DE LA FUYÈ, Documents Prèt-sargoniques} \) 167; that \(\text{EN-HAR} \) represents the name of
some city which ends in \(\text{g} \), and according to \(\text{I} \) 25, where it follows immediately upon \(\text{Keš}, \) that
it is a quarter of that city. Such was my impression when this difficult text was edited in the
\(\text{Liturgies}, \) but for another view see note \(\text{I} \) below.
\(^{(5)}\) ra emphatic demonstrative equivalent to \(\text{am} \), see \(\text{SUM. GR.} \) \(\text{§163}.\)

\(^{1}\) \(\text{en-ga}-(\text{ki})-\text{ga} \), see above, note \(\text{(4)} \); Semitic kima šipti umrat irrigation. If this interpretation
be correct we must explain \(\text{gar} \) as an abbreviation for \(\text{ga} \)-\(\text{gar} \), for \(\text{gar} \) in the sense of
MARDUK ASSOCIATED WITH ARURU

Thus beyond all doubt the Nippurian school of Sumerian theology originally regarded man as having been created from clay by the great mother goddess. But later tradition tended to associate Enlil with Nintud or Aruru in the creation of man. We have no reference to such a tradition concerning Enlil, but Semitic tradition repeatedly associates Marduk with Aruru in this act and even goes to the extent of regarding him as alone having created man. This evolution of the tradition concerning Marduk is, I venture to think, based upon an earlier one concerning Enki. In any case this association of a great god in the act of creation cannot be earlier than the Hammurapi period, for in our text (Rev. II 44) Enlil accuses Ninharsag of having herself created two creatures. Nevertheless, following a tendency to regard Marduk the god of Babylon as the chief actor in the ancient Sumerian tradition, a tendency which is repeated later by the Assyrians with their god Ašur, the Babylonians ascribe the creation of the ordered world, its cities, its rivers, its vegetation and the beasts of the field to Marduk. And in reciting the various orders of creation by Marduk they tell us that he also "built" mankind. In this act Aruru assists him; "Aruru built with him the first men." The text from which

"design" occurs rarely without the abstract prefix gīš and is then rendered by the loan-word baru in Semitic. ki or irṣitu has here the meaning "ground," and īšar-ki would mean "a plan designed on the ground," from which man was patterned. For the idea compare ki-a īšar-ra = 'a ina banhar etsir, HAUP, ASKT. 86. 72. In the passage cited above p. 22 Mami recites an incantation over the clay from which she moulds the fourteen mothers.

1 See tablet No. 4561, Rev. II 44. Also Enki is said to have created from clay the minor deities who preside over brickmakers, carpenters, jewelers and various arts; see WEISSBACH, Misc. 32, 26.

2 Except in the titles, tud, Rev. II 2; banā abi ṣum-En-lil, SBP. 84, 15; banā ṝ ṣum  ṣarri bāšā īšti-ka, PSBA. 1912, 153 l. 14.

3 amēlāti šihani.

4 żēr amēlāti, "the seed of mankind," i.e., those from whom mankind descended. Adapa is called the żēr amēlāti, which obviously reveals a tradition that Adapa was the first created man, DHORME, Choix, 158, 12.
this description has been taken belongs to the period of the first Babylonian dynasty.¹ Like many other important literary documents it forms part of an incantation,² and in this case an incantation for the dedication of a temple.³ Sumerian and Semitic sources seem to agree in bringing the mother goddess into connection with the creation of man only. She has apparently, in all the known sources, no clear connection with the creation of the world, or its animate and inanimate nature.⁴

**HER CONNECTION WITH THE STORY OF THE DECAPITATION OF MARDUK**

On the whole the theology and traditions concerning Nintud or Aruru belong to the Nippurian school which taught that the earth god Enlil created the universe and assisted the mother goddess in creating man. Over against the teaching of this school we have constantly to keep in mind the teaching of the Eridu or southern group of theologians who taught that Enki or Ea not only created the universe but mankind as well. It is, therefore, not surprising that we find the great Babylonian Epic of Creation teaching that Marduk the son of Enki created man from blood and bone. A grammatical commentary on this

¹ CT. 13, 35–38. Translated by Dhorme, *Choix*, 82–9; A. Jeremias, *Handbuch*, 44. A small variant of the ends of the first lines has been discovered by Zimmern, ZA. 28, 101. See also Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels 48–50.

² This text originally written in Semitic is provided with a Sumerian translation so arranged that part is on the left of the Semitic text and part on the right.

³ See the reverse 1. 13, Ėšila *šubum širum naram libbi du Anu u *ul *šar atta* and the underlined, *enim-enim ma [t]-mā-ma-de-ge,* “Incantation for the building of a temple.” Note also that a poem of Creation, *enuma Anu ibnâ lamâ,* “When Anu created the heavens,” is recited at a ceremony for rebuilding a temple, Weissbach, *Misc.* No. 12, line 23. For a similar text on the building of a private house see Zimmern, ZA. 23, 369, a text partly rendered into English by the writer in an article on Babylonian Magic, “Scientia,” *Vol. XV*, pp. 239 ff.

⁴ The only phrase which can be construed so as to include animals in her creative work has been cited above, p. 22 n. 7.
epic says that Marduk created the dark-headed people. The description of this act occurs at the beginning of the sixth book as restored by Dr. L. W. King and runs as follows:

"When Marduk heard the discourse of the gods, His heart prompts him as he devises a clever thing. As his mouth is opened he speaks unto Ea. That which he conceives in his heart he imparts unto him. My blood I will fix together, bone I will fashion. I will cause man to stand forth, verily man shall be . . . I will build man, the dweller of the earth. Verily let the cults of the gods be established and may these occupy their shrines."

This well-known passage has been properly elucidated by King, who compares the statement of Berossus:—"And Belus seeing a land deserted but fruitful commanded one of the gods to take off his head and to mix earth with the blood that flowed therefrom, and to fashion men and animals capable of bearing the air." An earlier source detected by Zimmer in a tablet of the first Babylonian dynasty shows that this idea of creating

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1 PSBA. 1910, 161, K. 12830, 1; cf. also page 167.
2 King, The Seven Tables of Creation p. 86.
3 ubbal, an historical present followed by the ūl present, see Meissner, Kurzgefasste Assyrische Grammatik, §51 g, and for the historical present, ibaddi šelišu, CT. 15, 32 Rev. 9.
4 For the subjunctive permansive construction ešū pl-šu, ešā pl-kunu, etc. (see examples in Muss-Arnolt, Lexicon 788 b); see also ZA. IV 233, K. 3199, 11.
5 The head of Belus.
7 CT. VI 6 Obverse. See ZA. 14, 281; also A. Jeremias, Handbuch 181 n. g. This difficult text was first copied by the skillful hand of Dr. T. G. Pinches and a new copy by the writer will be found on Plate III of this volume. The original is much weathered. Although I have succeeded in reading some more signs yet I owe more to Dr. Pinches' copy than is apparent. The original text contained six columns of about forty lines each and probably belongs to some unknown epic.
man from earth mingled with the blood of a god belongs originally to the Eridu school. This tradition taught that Mami at the instigation of Enki and other gods fashioned man from clay and the blood of a slain god. At least such conclusions force themselves upon us from the few words which we can decipher upon this tablet.

4. kāt 3i-kin balâti a-we-lum li-iš-ši
5. il-ša-am 3i-tu-u in-........ *
6. 3u-su-ulâni e-ri-iš-su Ilâ/Ma-mi
7. at-li-i-ma ša-as-su-ru
8. ba-ni-a-at a-we-šu-tim
9. bi-ni-ma, tu-ul-la-a li-bi-el ap-ša-nam
10. ap-ša-nam li-bi-el Ś1........
11. kāt 3i-kin balâti a-we-lum li-iš-ši
12. ardatu(?)/rabitu bi-a-ša te-pu-ša-am-ma
13. 3i-ta-kar a-na ilâni rabu-li
14. 1l-li-ja-ma la-na tu-? -e-?6
15. 3i-li dunani-šu i-ba-ši-ši..... u

4. A form of a creature of life may man bear.
5. A goddess they called, they.....
6. "Ob help of the gods, wise Mami,
7. Thou art a mother-womb,
8. Creatress of mankind.
9. Build a virile figure, let him bear the yoke.
10. The yoke let him bear......
11. A form of a creature of life let man bear."
12. The mighty maid* opened her mouth,
13. Speaking unto the great gods.
14. "With me a form shall you.....
15. With his shape.....shall there be.

* Uncertain. The sign after ŚU I have taken for *ki and the whole for kāt, Br. 7095. kāt, construct of kantu > kattu "form," is possible, for which we have the analogy of binatu > bêtu, cstr. bêt "house." My rendering has been influenced by the Sumerian hymn to Nintud cited above where we have the refrain, "In accordance with the incantation of the earth-design a form let man bear." The construction here with two constructs so common in Hebrew can be paralleled in Assyrian; e.g., ḫidi kussû ircraftû, Tiglathpilesar, Prism VIII 78.
* Certainly not lû-du-u.
* Ct. Rev. 20.
* For li-bil. Cf. Li-bi-il-be galla, name of a canal at Babylon, VAB. IV Index, and us-bil aslanaki, King, Magic, 8, 7.
* Tu-li-e-šu-ša might answer to the traces on the tablet.
* Uncertain. For the original form of GIN, Brunnov, 11131 see ALLOTTE DE LA FUÈBE, DP. 49 Rev. 6: BM. 38744. For gin in the sense of ardatu and a title of the mother goddess of love, a character attached to Innini, see Tammu and Ishtar 75. The sign has also the value ki-el, kel=ardatu; see MIO. 4159 Obv. 3 (Genouillac, Inventaire), where the sign is followed by la. See also OPPERT, ZA. 1, 440.
16. šu-u-ma ?-la-? ka-la-ma
17. ū-ū-ša-am li-......ma da-ma
    lu(?)-nu-us
18. "En-ki pi-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
19. iṣ-ṭa-kar ana ilāni ra-bu-li
20. i-na ar-ḫi ri-bu-li u-la-li
21. te-li-il-tu ma-ti di-in-ri-?-?
22. ilam iš-te-en li-išt-bu-ḫu-ma
23. li-te-el-li? ilāni i-na di-?-bi
24. i-na iš-ri-šu u-da-mi-šu
25. "In Nīn-ḫar-sag li-ba-li-il ū-lišt-"}

16. He shall ...... 1 all things. 17. Of clay shall he......, of blood shall he......
18. Enki opened his mouth, 19. Speaking unto the great gods.
20. "In the wide highways and the......
21. Cleansing of the land......
22. One god let them stay.
23. Let the gods ............
24. With his flesh and his blood,
25. May Ninharsag mix clay."

THE ERIUD TRADITION

In the tradition concerning the creation of man by Marduk we have apparently to do with a Babylonian transformation of the Eriud view which taught that Enki or Ea the water god created man from clay, which the Nippurian schools taught concerning Aruru. In the so-called bilingual Babylonian version which associates Mami with Marduk in this act we have a composite tradition made by the Babylonians from two Sumerian sources. And in the Babylonian source just discussed the Eriud view of the origin of man from a mixture of clay with the blood of a god has been associated with the Nippurian teaching concerning Mami. An Assyrian fragment, however, shows that the Semites retained the pure Eriud tradition in some quarters. According to this source "the gods" created the heavens and the earth, the cattle and creeping things, after which Enki created

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1 According to the Biblical narrative we expect here some word for "rule, direct"
2 I use this title by preference only. The reader will understand that the other titles, Mami, Nintud, Ninharsag all indicate the same mother goddess.
3 DT. 41 in CT. 13, 34. See DHORME, Chois, 96.
4 Nin-ig-i-šu-šu is the title used in this poem.
"two little ones."\textsuperscript{1} A tablet from Babylon of the late period\textsuperscript{2} but doubtlessly resting upon a much earlier text says that Enki\textsuperscript{3} pinched clay from the sea and built the various minor deities, patrons of the arts, of agriculture, etc., after which "he created the king to care for the temples and men to care for the cults." We have, therefore, evidence for a tradition which taught that Enki had created mankind from clay.

\section*{Relation of the Two Sumerian Poems to These Traditions}

The poem of Creation and the Flood appears to have completely confounded these traditions for here both Enki and Ninharsag\textsuperscript{4} create mankind, but Enki alone brings the "cattle and fourfooted beasts of the field" into being, and causes cities to be built. Obviously the later bilingual account discussed above depends upon this poem.\textsuperscript{5} This Sumerian poem also agrees with the Babylonian bilingual account on one other vital point in that it speaks of the origin of mankind as "the seed of mankind," or the first men.\textsuperscript{6} The fragments of this poem permit us to infer that the god Enki of Eridu is here regarded as ruling over mankind in prediluvian times. The Poem of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man agrees entirely upon this latter point. Both poems incorporate fully the Eridu tradition of

\textsuperscript{1} 2 su-\textipa{ha}-\textipa{ri} \textipa{ib}-\textipa{ni}.
\textsuperscript{2} W\textipa{e}issb\textipa{ach}, Miscel. No. 12.
\textsuperscript{3} The text employs the title Nu-dimensional.
\textsuperscript{4} Col. I 13 where also Anu the heaven god and Enil the earth god are added.
\textsuperscript{5} Here Marduk replaces Enki.
\textsuperscript{6} numu\textipa{n}-nam-\textipa{l}-\textipa{kal}(=\textipa{m\textipa{r} am\textipa{lip\textipa{i}}) Col. IV 7, cf. I 2. This is the transcription given by Poebel. The bilingual text has numun-nam-\textipa{l}-\textipa{gal-\textipa{lu}}, CT. 13, 36, 21; cf. Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 154 I 11 24. In a strict sense the term "seed of mankind," should refer to the first man, as the term is applied to Adapa alone. The Greeks render this idea by τ\textipa{on θε\textipa{pόμων} γε\textipa{ivos}, see Cory, Ancient Fragments, 298, note.
paradise the organization of an Utopian society by the creator Enki and the destruction of mankind by this same water god. Both agree also in describing the mother goddess Nintud as weeping for mankind whom she had created and planning to save them. Our poem, however, retains the Nippurian point of view regarding the creation of men, for here Nintud is consistently described as having created them. It will be seen, however, that already in the Sumerian period of great creative literature and theological speculation, a strong tendency had arisen to accept the Eridu tradition and that the creation of man from clay at the hands of a mother goddess began to lose prominence in the teachings of the Nippurian school who moulded the views of succeeding Semitic theology. The Eridu point of view is the one accepted in Hebrew tradition, borrowed no doubt from the Babylonians of the first dynasty, and imbedded in one of the oldest Hebrew sources, "And God fashioned man of the dust from the ground." The problem of giving animal vitality to this creation of clay does not appear in the earlier Sumerian sources. In fact the Babylonian sources speak of animal vitality, napišti, generally in connection with animals only. In any case they have not suggested an origin for the inception of vitality and intelligence into the creature whom Aruru or Enki

1 The Poem of Creation and the Flood also uses the title aṣag 4innana-ge, "Holy Innina," III 16.

2 Nintud is probably the deity who urges Ziudsuddu to escape in a boat in the Poem of The Creation and the Deluge. Note that in Col. IV she wails for the people and that in Col. IV some deity appears to be revealing to the king the decision of the gods to destroy mankind. This deity uses the word na-ri-ga-mu, a word occurring in an address of Nintud to Tagtug in our text, Rev. 1 41, na-ri-ga-mu, "My purging." The pronoun "my" undoubtedly refers to Nintud in both poems.

3 Genesis 2, 7.

4 Dhorme, Chois, 86, 22, bul ūši ši-šin napišti ina ūši ibrani, "The cattle of the field, the creatures of the breath of life, he fashioned in the field."

5 Cf. also Genesis 1, 20, 24.
had moulded,¹ other than the late tradition that the blood and flesh of a god gave vitality and a soul to the creature of clay. The Biblical statement, "And he blew into his nostrils the breath of life² and the man became a living being," has, so far as our material goes, no equivalent in any Sumerian or Babylonian source.

THE GREEK TRADITION CONCERNING PROMETHEUS

Among the Greeks the same tradition of the creation of man from clay became current in the late period, when it obviously filtered into Oriental Greek writers from Berossus and other Babylonian sources. The Greeks attached this story to their god Prometheus, who in a general way corresponds to Enki in Sumero-Babylonian religion. Both are the principal patrons of industrial arts in their respective pantheons, particularly of the arts of pottery and metallurgy. The classical description of the character of and legends concerning Prometheus have been preserved in the Theogony of Hesiod 510–607 and the Protagoras of Plato 320 D, but the moulding of man from clay does not yet appear in these authors. Apollodorus, who wrote at Athens in the early part of the second century B.C., and who knew the works of Berossus well, appears to be the first Greek writer to mention Prometheus in this connection. "Prometheus

¹ Both Enki and Aruru are designated by a title which refers to working at clay with a potter's disk. "nin-duš-ḫa-bur (glossed paḫa-ramu?), CT. 24, 12, 23 = 25, 86, is given as a title of Bêli-lâni in connection with the name Aruru. On the other hand, nun-ur-ra = du-ḫa-bur = du-Ea ša paḫari, CT. 25, 48, 7. nun-ur-za = du-Ea, VR. 51 B 71. Hence duḫ-ḫa-bur has the Sumerian locution nunurra and the Semitic value paḫaru, potter. Hence Aruru is Bêli paḫari, "Mistress of the potter," patroness of the potter's art and Ea or Enki is the patron god of the potter. These titles probably refer to the legends cited above. The Egyptians also have the same tradition, for a wall painting in the temple of Luxor represents the god Chnum in the act of moulding a man and a woman on a potter's wheel.
² nišmatu ḫajīm has no etymological or exact logical equivalent in Babylonian.
having moulded man from water and earth gave them also fire, having concealed it in a hollow stalk unbeknown to Zeus.’”

Lucian, who wrote in the second century of our era and who was himself an oriental, states in his Prometheus that Athena aided Prometheus in the creation of men. Athena in the Greek religion corresponds here to Aruru of the Babylonians who assisted Marduk in moulding men from clay. Lucian’s statement which he puts into the mouth of Prometheus himself is, “And now according to poetic diction ‘earth with water having mixed’ and having made it pliable I fashioned men, having also then summoned Athena to aid me in the work.”

This story is referred to by Horace in the well-known lines: “It is said that Prometheus, having been ordered to add to the primeval clay a bit severed from everywhere, placed in our hearts the passion of a mad lion.”

The same story is told by Hyginus a Latin author of the first century B.C.: “Prometheus son of Japetus was the first to fashion men from clay; and afterwards Vulcan by the command of Jove made the figure of a woman from clay unto which Minerva gave a soul.”

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1 Apollodorus, 1, 7, 1: Προμηθεὺς δὲ έξ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπους πλάσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πῦρ, λάθρα Δίως, εὐ νάρθηκα κρώφας.

2 Lucian, Prometheus, 13; καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν ποιητικὸν λόγον <γάιαν ἔδω φύρας> καὶ διαμαλάξας ἀνέπλασα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους έτι καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνάν παρακαλέσας συνεπλαζάτοι μοι τὸν ἔργον. Orelli, Commentary on Horace, Bk. I 16 p. 108 quotes this passage of Lucian so that it says that Athena breathed upon the clay and thus gave it a soul. 

3 Lucian, Prometheus, 13; καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν ποιητικὸν λόγον <γάιαν ἔδω φύρας> καὶ διαμαλάξας ἀνέπλασα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους έτι καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνάν παρακαλέσας συνεπλαζάτοι μοι τὸν ἔργον. Orelli, Commentary on Horace, Bk. I 16 p. 108 quotes this passage of Lucian so that it says that Athena breathed upon the clay and thus gave it a soul. 

4 I. e., some characteristic from each animal.

5 Horace, Carmina 1 16:

Fertur Prometheus, addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
Desectam, et insani leonis
Vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.

6 Hyginus, Fabulae 142: Prometheus lapetis filius primus homines ex luto finxit; postea Vulcanus Jovis jussu ex luto mulieris effigiem fecit cui Minerva animam dedit.
Classical scholars seem to be agreed in assuming that the legend of the fashioning of man by Prometheus came into Greek mythology in the Alexandrian period; several drawings of this mythological event are known from the late period, in which Prometheus fashions several youths from clay. In one of these scenes Athena or Minerva presents to these clay figures a dove, by which the artist intended to indicate that Athena gave to men their souls. Orelli, however, remarks upon the sixteenth ode of Horace: "The legend concerning the creation of men from clay by Prometheus was unknown to Homer and Hesiod, and was first mentioned by Erinna." Now Erinna, a Greek poetess and contemporary of Sappho, seems to refer to this story in the following lines:

"Out of tender hands (came) the pictures, oh most agreeable Prometheus!
And men are like unto thee in wisdom."3

It would appear, therefore, that the story began to invade Greek mythology as early as the seventh century. We have then no conclusive evidence for assuming that it was borrowed from Babylon, but the rapid propagation of the myth after the works of oriental writers like Berossus and Lucian became widely known tends to confirm the writer in this belief. The

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1 *So Toutain in the Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, p. 682. Dr. L. R. FARNELL has expressed the same opinion to me and says that the whole Prometheus story probably came from Babylon.

2 Dr. FARNELL, however, says that these youths are already alive as they leave the hand of Prometheus, and he thinks that Athena here gives the children a bird to play with. He says that only occasionally on Greek monuments does a bird (not the dove) represent the soul. In other scenes of the creation in the late Greek period the butterfly invariably typifies the soul and in these scenes Athena holds the butterfly over the head of the newly created. Dr. FARNELL adds that in the scene referred to above, which is taken from a sarcophagus in the Louvre of the Graeco-Roman period, the dove no longer represents the soul and that the older and deeper idea has become a playful motive.

3 *Anthologiae Palatinae*, 1 p. 221, Epigram 352: Ἐξ αὐτῶν χειρῶν τάδε γράμματα. λέως Προμαχέων. ἄντι καὶ ἄθρωποι τίν ομαλοὶ σοφίαν.
Greek traveler Democritus says that he was at Babylon, and Clement of Alexandria states that Democritus translated the story of Aįkär into Greek.\(^1\) This proves that Babylonian influence was already exerting itself in Greece in the fifth century.

More authentic in classical Greek tradition is the myth of the fashioning of Pandora, the first woman, and the cause of all human sorrows. So well known was her creation by the potters that Sophocles devoted a tragedy to the subject called “Pandora or the Forgers.” Only a few fragments remain, one of which has become well known and taken to refer to the myth of Prometheus and the creation of men:

“And to knead the first primeval clay with the hands.”\(^2\)

If this passage refers to the creation of men and not of Pandora, then the poet surely referred to the fashioning of the latter in some lost passage. He apparently knew of her creation at the hands of several divine potters, for he says in verses ascribed to this tragedy by Hermann:

“Go ye on the way now, all ye skillful people,  
Who the grim-eyed Ergane\(^3\) of Zeus with standing  
Winnowing fans beseech, ye who beside the anvils  
Fashioned with hands soulless matter,  
Obedient to the heavy hammer and the blows.”\(^4\)

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\(^2\) Frag. Soph. 701 in Bibliotheca Graecorum Scriptorum, p. 368, preserved in the Scholae of Hippocrates; καὶ πρῶτον ἄρχον πηλῶν ἀργάζων χερῶν. The text is not quite certain regarding ἄρχων but the passage is clearly connected with Horace, *Carmina* 1 16 so that Sophocles may possibly refer to Prometheus here.

\(^3\) Title of Athena as the “worker.”

\(^4\) See Frag. Soph. *ibid.* Frag. 705:  
Βάρ’ εἰς ὀδὸν δῷ, πᾶς ὁ χειρώνας λείω  
οἱ τὴν Δίως γοργώπιν Ἐργάνην στατῶσι  
λάνωσι προστρεπόμεθα, τὴν παρ’ ἄκμοιν  
tυπάδι βαρεία καὶ κόπως ἑπίκους  
ἄφυχον ἐλην δημουργοῦντες χερῶν.
Thus Sophocles already exhibits traces of an early belief in the assistance of Athena who was said to have given life to the creature of clay. "Pandora, whom the gods moulded as the first woman," says Apollodorus,¹ and Hesiod says that Vulcan made Pandora from clay.² Others tell of the origin of men from the semen of Ouranos the heaven god,³ a doctrine taught also in Orphic literature:

"(I have sung) the birth of powerful Brimō, and also the unhallowed deeds
Of the earth-born giants, who spilt from Heaven the dread
Seminal fluid, the primeval, whence was generated
The race of mortals who dwell upon the boundless earth forever."⁴

This Professor Gilbert Murray tells me is good Orphic doctrine and he cites another line from their teachings:

"Child of earth am I and of the starry Heaven."⁵

A schola cited in Anthologiae Palatinae p. 270 says that Prometheus made men from clay and put into them a voice and a soul. A similar teaching from the Orphic collection is: "And man, says Orpheus, was moulded by God himself from earth and received from him a reasonable soul, even as the all-wise Moses has revealed these things."⁶

¹ Apollodorus, 1, 7, 2: Πανθώρας, ἦν ἐπλασαν θεοὶ πρώτην γυναῖκα.
² Hesiod, Theogony 571.
³ Ibid. 185.
⁴ Orpheus, Argonautica, 17-26:
   Βρμοὺς τ’ εὐδυνάτω τοῦ γονὸς, ἦν ἔργα δίδηλα
   Γηγενέων, οἱ λυγρῶν ἐπ’ Ὀὐρανοῦ ἐστᾶζαντο
   Σπέρμα γονηὸς τὸ πρώθεν, ὑδαν γενὸς ἐξεγένετο
   Θυρτῶν, οἱ κατὰ γαῖαν ἀπείρωτον αὖν ἔσω.
⁵ Γῆς πάως εἰμί καὶ Ὀυρανοῦ ἀστερῷντος.
⁶ Orpheus, preserved by Malala a Byzantine writer; see Cony, Ancient Fragments 208.
Thus we see that the Greeks first explained the inception of life and soul to the assistance of the mother goddess. This assistance permeates the whole Babylonian tradition, but there she confines her work to assisting in moulding the clay. We seem to be here in the presence of a tradition in Greece which although strangely like the Babylonian is nevertheless either wholly independent or a borrowing modified by Greek thought. The origin of the soul and life was explained in Babylonia by the fact that the creatress mingled the blood of a god with the clay. This view seems to survive in Greece only in the story of Dionysus Zagreus; for they said of him that man's soul came from his blood and that the body had been made from the ashes of the blighted Titans.

**The Egyptian View**

The Egyptians have nearly the same story regarding the creation of man. Here the river god Khnum, who is frequently called the potter,\(^1\) is represented in the same rôle of Enki the water god of Eridu. And like Enki in Babylonian symbolical mythology he has the head of a ram in Egyptian representations of him.\(^2\) Unfortunately we possess no details of this legend in Egypt; our argument is based solely upon the inferences which we draw from the sculptures of Deir el Bahari and Luxor. The former represents Khnum in the act of moulding the embryonic figure\(^3\) of the future queen Hatshepsut from clay on a

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\(^1\) *helen* in Egyptian.

\(^2\) Enki is generally represented by a creature having a ram's head, neck and fore shoulders with fore feet in a crouching position; the body is that of a fish.

\(^3\) The god moulds two figures, one of which the Egyptologists explain as the *Ka* or divine double of the queen. In Egyptian religion each person had a *Ka* or spiritual protector which corresponds to the "god of a man" (*išu ša amēti*), of the Sumero-Babylonian religion. The queen represents herself as a man in these sculptures and the two clay figures are also those of a male.
potter's wheel. The frog-headed godess Heket extends the ank, sign of life, to the nostrils of the clay figure, in order to give it life.¹ The sculptures of Luxor represent in the same manner the ram-headed Khnum moulding the figure of the future king Amonhotep III. Here, however, it is Hathor² who extends the symbol of life to the moulded clay.³ These scenes, which are contemporary with the Cassite period in Babylonia, are much later than the Sumero-Babylonian legends. Whether these ideas are based upon an earlier Egyptian tradition or not I am unable to say. The similarity of ideas and details is striking and a borrowing from Sumer seems to me probable. The theme of a life-giving mother evidently runs through the whole fabric of ancient mythology and has been embedded in Hebrew tradition in the story of Eve.

THE BIBLICAL FORM OF THE ASSISTANCE OF THE MOTHER GODDESS

In Genesis 3, 20 we have a tradition that the name of the first woman was Hawwā, a name which probably represents a survival of an ancient west Semitic mother goddess.⁴ Like all other peoples the western Semites must have worshipped the earth mother goddess and considered her as the creatress of men. Hawwā has probably survived as the first woman in Hebrew

¹ See EUDARD NAVILLE, Deir el Babari, part II, plate XLVIII and pages 14 ff.
² Heket is only a local form of Hathor.
⁴ Following their custom of explaining unintelligible foreign words by a native homophone, the Hebrews explained Hawwā by connecting it with the verb הָנָה, to live, "be full of life." Hence they probably understood the name to mean, "Life, source of life." Semitic scholars have long since rejected this explanation.
tradition after this people had become thoroughly imbued with Babylonian ideas. She yields her place as the creatress in the native tradition to the Babylonian teachings of Eridu which represents a god as creator assisted by Nintud-Aruru-Mami the great goddess of childbirth. Under the influence of this myth which they seem to have borrowed in its entirety the Hebrews transformed *Hawwā* into the mother goddess who assists in the creation of man. As wife of the first man she gives natural birth to the first human child, but the phraseology used by the Hebrew in describing the birth of Cain is taken directly from the bilingual poem of the creation of man by Marduk and Aruru. For, as we have seen, in that version "Aruru fashioned the seed of mankind with him." And the Hebrew says of the birth of Cain, "And she conceived and bore Cain and she said, 'I have created a man with Jahweh.'" The word used for "with" in each language is philologically the same and the form of expression shows clearly enough the survival of the Babylonian myth.

*Hawwā* like the Sumerian earth goddess was connected with serpent worship in prehistoric times. Scholars have long since connected her name with the Aramaic word for serpent *hawwē*. That *Hawwā* really was an ancient ophidian goddess is proven by the fact that the name *Hawwat* has been found in Phoenician with the title of a goddess. This important inscription, which preserves the only reference to this lost deity, was found in a necropolis at Carthage and belongs to a late period. A devotee addresses a curse against his enemies to her as, "Queen *Hawwat*, goddess and queen." Since the imprecator

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1 *ittu-su* = "with him," "in company with him."
2 *eth Jahweh.*
3 This is of course the proper pronunciation of the letters *HVT.*
placed the sheet of lead on which he wrote the curse in a sepulchre, we have generally inferred Haaruwat to have been an underworld deity. This argument and these facts are all accepted views of Biblical criticism, but the arguments from Babylonian sources have not been used by Old Testament scholars. The author has collected material in the chapter on the ophidian and oracular deities in Tammūţ and Ishtar\(^1\) to indicate how important was the serpent character of the Babylonian mother goddess. In fact the first sign used to write her name probably represents a serpent coiling about a staff.\(^2\) Curiously the type of mother goddess who became the special patron of childbirth retains special connection with this ophidian character. A mythological text says that Nintud, “From her girdle to the soles of her feet appears with scales like a serpent.”\(^3\) The Babylonians identified Nintud with Serpens or Hydra in their mythology. Although none of her titles which we shall presently discuss reveals any ophidian connection, nevertheless, the major mother type Innini or Ishtar, especially the local type KA-DI at Dir retains distinct titles of an ophidian character and the facts adduced above complete the argument. Thus Aruru-Nintud-Mami, the Babylonian mother goddess who assisted Marduk in the creation of man, was clearly connected with serpent worship; this fact probably hastened her identification with the western Haaruwat.

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2. Ibid., 122 n. 4 and PSBA. 1914, p. 281.
3. Ibid., 123 n. 3.
THE ERI DU VERSION OF THE FALL OF MAN.

Since the fashioning of the first human pair by the god of Eridu is evidently the source of that general Babylonian tradition which passed to the Hebrews and the Greeks, we should expect to find an Eridu version of the Fall of Man which agrees more or less with that of the Hebrew. The view taken of this great problem in the text of tablet No. 4561 is evidently the one taught by the theologians of Nippur. As we have seen, they do not raise the problem of the origin of sin as does the Hebrew version, but they attempted to explain the origin of disease, mortality, the hostility of nature to mankind, and his subjection to endless toil. This side of the problem found its way also into the Hebrew. But there it is the first man Adam whose disobedience brought about this infinite woe. On the other hand, the Nippurian theology, as represented in our tablet, attaches this disobedience to the survivor of the Flood. Had the Sumerians any body of speculation which regarded the first man as having been culpable? We have as yet no Sumerian source to confirm this suggestion, but several Semitic fragments of a long poem known as the "Legend of Adapa" obviously support an Eridu teaching on this subject.  

1 We may of course suppose that the Hebrew version is based upon an ancient Canaanitish indigenous tradition; Sanchonjathon, to whom we must look for such traditions among the western Semites, has, however, no similar statement and other Hebrew mythology is closely connected with Sumero-Babylonian. In case of the Greek myths concerning Prometheus we are not in a position to affirm or deny borrowing from Babylonia, but that appears to be at least probable. The Egyptian version is possibly independent of the Sumerian.

2 ZIMMERN appears to have been the first to see the relation between Gen. 2, 4:3-4 and the Adapa Myth. This epic is far from complete in the present state of our Assyrian studies. The first tablet or book is undoubtedly represented by Rm. 482+480-7-18, 178 in CT. 13, 31 from the Ašurbanipal Library. After a break of unknown length we have twenty-two lines from an Assyrian cylinder published by Scheil in MASPERO's Recueil de Travaux, 20, 127 ff. The most important part of the text has been found in the Amarna Collection of the Cassite period, obverse 36, reverse 35 lines, text in H. WICKLER'S Tontafeln von El-Amarna No. 240, and collated by KNUDTZON, BA. IV 128-130, and VAB. II 964-969. Not much can be missing between Scheil's
This poem begins by describing how the god Ea (i.e., Enki) created Adapa in the sea; whereupon he became mighty, his build became well developed, his growth was extensive. He became skilled in navigating the seas by aid of the winds. Ea had equipped him carefully, and he was exalted much in fame. The fragment refers to his great wisdom, his four eyes and his lips. The Scheil fragment goes on here with the description of his wisdom. Like Adam of the Biblical account he possessed that infinite knowledge which enabled him to give names to all things with the breath of life.

"I caused him to be equipped with a vast intelligence to reveal the forms of the land."
as well as their outward material forms. The idea which God has of a thing constitutes its reality, fixes its fate; its outward form is the result of this divine idea. To design the *uṣurtu* of a thing is to fix its fate (*šintu*) and to give it a name (*šāmu*). The Hebrew says that whatsoever Adam called each living thing of the field and each bird of the sky that was its name.¹ Philologically the Babylonian word for “name,” *šumu* and the Hebrew cognate *šēm*, have no connection with the word for “fate,” *šintu*, but the Babylonians regarded the name of a thing as its reality. The names of things define the divine concept of them, and to name a thing practically means in their theology to determine its essence. The Hebrew statement really coincides with the Babylonian statement concerning Adapa.

Ea, says our poem further, gave unto Adapa wisdom but not eternal life.² Ea created him like a *sage* among men.³ The Anunnaki, sons of the water god and divine spirits of the waters of the lower world, gave him his name.⁴ The Biblical account also represents Adam as a seer of great wisdom who defined the names of living things. The kind of wisdom which he did not have seems to have consisted in the knowledge of right and wrong, the consciousness of the distinction between purity and impurity, modesty and obscenity. But this limi-

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¹ *šāmu*: Babylonian *šāmu*, Arabic *simu*, *ismu*. This word has apparently no connection with the verb ܕܒܪܐ, *šamu*, Arab. *šama*, to fix, determine, whence *šintu* fate.
² Frag. Scheil, 4.
³ ܕגובה *Ea ki-ma ndu inā a-me-la-ti ib-ni-su*. Assyriologists have argued from this passage that Adapa was not the first man since he is spoken of as living among men. It would not be wise to test a mythological and poetic statement by the strictures of logic. In any event Adapa belongs to the first race of men (see Dhorme, 158, 12 last fragment of the Adapa legend, where Adapa is the ܕܪ amēlāti, "seed of men," "ancestor of the human race") and he was created by the creator god Ea.
⁴ So Dhorme, 149 n. 8, which see for other views which make Adapa one of the Anunnaki. But no passage mentions A. as a god.
tation should not obscure the important fact that the wisdom of Adapa is also in a large measure attributed also to Adam. And the Hebrew like the Eridu version regards this hero as mortal.\(^1\)

The Babylonian poem describes Adapa as one clean of hands, a priest who anoints, who studies the divine instructions. He joined with the bakers in preparing food for Eridu. He prepared the sacred table for the cult of Enki and removed it. He sailed on the Persian Gulf to catch fish, the trade of Eridu.\(^2\) The Scheil Fragment breaks off with the description of how Adapa sailed out to sea with a fair wind, guiding his ship with an oar.\(^3\) The south wind, however, blew furiously and threw him into the sea.\(^4\) Whereupon in rage he broke the wings of the south wind, who for seven days ceased to blow. Anu the heaven god sends his messenger to investigate, who reports that Adapa broke the wings of the south wind. Upon hearing this Anu rose from his throne and cried, "Bring him to me."\(^5\) And so Ea knew that which the heaven god said\(^6\) and he took Adapa, and caused him to have boils\(^7\) and clothed him in a coarse mourner’s garment. Before his departure to appear before the heaven god Ea gives him the following advice:

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\(^1\) Genesis 3, 19.
\(^2\) Fishing was naturally the important business of the inhabitants of this seacoast city. The passage has been generally misunderstood: ba'irušu dakhūtu 3a (d)Eridi ippu, "Fishing the trade of Eridu he practises." dakhūtu is a variant of dihūtu, literally "a summoning, a calling." Cf. da-kwut sabt-ja alkun, Messerschmidt, KTA. 13 I 30.

\(^3\) gimulšu, "oar or punt-pole," here used as a rudder. Hardly "rudder" in the modern sense. Read ina (iszu)gi-mul-si-ma, and for giš-gi-mul, belonging to the equipment of a ship see Genouillac, TSA. 26 Rev. 1. Without determinative giš in Allotte de la Fuèe 55 V, offerings to the giš-mul of the god Nindar.

\(^4\) a-na bi-i-su be-li-ia u-3a-am-ši-i-el-an-ni, "(The south wind) caused me to descend unto the house of my lord;" see Dhorme, Choix, 151 n. 3.

\(^5\) Anu commands that Adapa be brought. This is clearly the meaning of the passage, Knudtzon, against Dhorme, 153, 13.

\(^6\) For the text see VAB. II 964, 14. an-ni-ka-a E-a la lamé i-di, "And so Ea knew that which was of heaven."

\(^7\) ma-la-a, l. 15 is certain from K. 8743, 12.
"Adapa before Anu the king thou shalt go.
[When thou takest the way of heaven],\(^1\) when unto heaven
Thou ascendest, when to the gate of Anu thou drawest nigh,
At the gate of Anu, Tammuz and Gišzida will stand.
They will see thee, they will question thee. ‘Oh man
For whom are thou become so? Adapa for whom\(^2\)
a mourner’s garment dost thou wear?’ ‘In our land two
gods have disappeared.

\(^1\) Restore, ḫarran šamē ina šabāṭi-ka, from Rev. 1.
\(^2\) K. 8743 contains the ends of 20 lines of the section which describes the wrath of Anu and the instructions of Ea. Dhorme edited this fragment, Chois 156–9, but he was not aware that the lines originally contained much more at the left. In fact the Assyrian version has a different account of Ea’s intrigue to cause mankind to lose immortality. My restorations are conjectural.

1. [......] a-ma-ta-an-ni-li ina šem-i-su
2. [il-si na-ra-su i-kab-bi ina u-g]at libbi-3u
3. [li-il-gu-ni-lu] mar šip-rī i-lap-par
4. [ḫarrana ultiša-summa ana)iš-E-a mju-
du-ū libbi ilāni rabbītī
5. [la] Pl. i-bar-rum
7. [......] iš-a-biš
9. [......] ri ša-ta-pa-ši-su]
10. [šu] ša-ši-su rap-ša-[u]-ni mu-du-ū
libbi ilāni rabbītī
11. [a-ša] Pl. ša-a-nu
12. [ma-la-a]-u-laš-ši-su
13. [u-ba-lil-ma ka-ra-šu-ta-šu]
14. [še-ma il-kun-šu a-ma-ša iš-a-bi-ši-su]
15. [A-da-pa a-na pa-ni iš-A-ni] šar-ri at-ta-
la-lam
16. [še-mi šu-ta]-šir-ma a-ma-ti ša-ba
17. [ša-ša ša-ma ina ša-li-ka a-na] babi iš-A-ni
ina še-bi-ka
18. [ša babi iš-A-ni] iš-Dumu-ti u iš-Giš-ti-
da] iš-ta-at-šu
1. [......] When Anu heard this report,
2. be cried, Help! saying in the wrath of his heart,
3. ‘Let them bring him to me. A messenger he sends,
4. Causing him to take the way unto Ea, knower of the hearts of the great gods,
5. who investigates the .............
6. This one went forth to come unto the house of Ea, the king.
7. He ........ and he was much concerned about the affair.
8. Adapa be found and took him unto the king Ea.
9. ........ he touched him.
10. Ea, the wise, the intelligent, knower of the heart of the great gods,
11. Against the ........ of heaven he confirms him.
12. ........ boils he caused him to bear.
13. He with ..... bis .... made foul and clothed him with a mourner’s garment.
14. Advice be gave him, addressing him an injunction.
15. ‘Oh Adapa thou goest before Anu the king.
16. My advice think on and keep my injunction.
17. When unto heaven thou ascendedest, when unto the gate of Anu thou approachest,
18. at the gate of Anu Tammuz and Gišzida will stand.’
Therefore I am thus become.' 'Who are the two gods who from the land have disappeared?' 'They are Tammuz and Gišzida.' These shall look at each other, and cry aloud. These a favorable address unto Anu shall speak. The beaming face of Anu they shall cause thee to behold. When before Anu thou standest, food of death they will hold out to thee; not shalt thou eat. Water of death they will hold out to thee; not shalt thou drink. Clothing they will hold out to thee; clothe thyself. Oil they will hold out to thee; anoint thyself. The advice that I gave thee not shalt thou neglect. The injunction that I said to thee mayest thou hold fast.'

Provided with this ruse to obtain the intercession of the guards of heaven's gate, Adapa ascends to heaven. In the guise of a mortal attending the wailings for the dying gods he excites the compassion of these ascended deities who present him to Anu. Without affording these divine patrons the opportunity of interceding Anu demands of this mortal his reason for breaking the wings of the south wind. He explains how this wind upset his boat and threw him into the sea. Here Tammuz and Gišzida stand beside Adapa and intercede for him. It is evident from what follows that Tammuz and Gišzida explained to Anu that Ea had revealed wisdom unto this man and had initiated him into magic so that he was able to control the winds

1 A root ṣibu, cry, is certain from CT. 29, 49, ḫabādu nāṣuṭ ṣib, "a severed head cried out." These two gods utter a cry of woe in memory of the death which they had suffered as vegetation gods.
by his curse. He had also taught him modesty and given him fame. This revelation of wisdom had thus brought him into conflict with the gods for he now possessed power to oppose them. Anger had entered into his heart also and had caused him to be violent. And so Anu pardons this mortal and utters the following remarkable words:

"Why has Ea to mankind impure the matters of heaven and earth revealed, and a coy heart created in him and made him a name?"

The gods do not appear to envy man the wisdom of understanding the realities of things but the knowledge of good and evil, the sense of decency and consciousness of imperfections.

The Eridu version claims that man obtained this knowledge by revelation from his creator the wise Ea and that Anu discovered it in the way described above. The Hebrew version does not represent the possession of philosophical insight into the meaning of things as dangerous to man. Only the consciousness of indecency do the gods envy him and this he obtained by eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and

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1 At the end of his speech Adapa says that in his anger he cursed the south wind, at-ta-za-ar, see DHORME 155, 18. This verb is used in a magical sense, see MUSS-ARNOLT, Lexicon, 661.

2 li-ib-ba ka-ap-ra, "a covered heart," one smeared over with cunning, rust. So I believe this passage should be interpreted. We must look here for a parallel to the result of attaining wisdom by Adam and Eve in Gen. 3, 7. "And the eyes of both of them were opened and they knew that they were naked, and they sewed together fig leaves and made for themselves aprons." "A covered heart" I interpret to mean a heart ashamed of indecency, a mind aware of imperfections which man attempts to conceal. DHORME renders li-ib-ba ka-ab-ra "a strong heart," but this hardly does justice to the insight of the passage.

3 The story of the breaking of the wings of the wind is a clumsy invention to explain how Anu discovered that man had attained the knowledge of good and evil. Nothing that Adapa had done should have caused Anu to make such inferences. There is also nothing in his appearing as mourner for the dying gods which could give any cause for such suspicion. In fact Anu's discovery is wholly gratuitous. The Adapa legend although it discusses the same problems falls far below the Nippur version as well as the Biblical in literary imagination. In both of the others we have a real reason given for the discovery of man's illegitimate knowledge.
evil. In the main Hebrew version this results in the loss of Paradise and the entering into the world of toil and sorrow. And in the issue of his disobedience this threat is fulfilled: "By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread until thou returnest to the ground, for from it thou wast taken; because thou art dust and unto dust thou shalt return."

The Eridu version makes man mortal from the beginning, or at any rate credits him only with extreme longevity. When the father of the gods at the gates of heaven discovered that a certain kind of knowledge had been given unto him he expressed concerning this revelation words from which we may perhaps infer that this wisdom would bring woe to mankind. Obviously the Eridu teaching and the teaching of the main Hebrew source are independent theological masterpieces, both attempting to explain the loss of Paradise, but both developing an explanation upon similar independent lines.

The Nippurian version in our tablet undoubtedly starts with the supposition that man in Paradise is originally a perfectly moral being but the problem as to his ejection is obscure. I shall attempt to state the argument of this version and its relation to the Eridu and Hebrew versions subsequently.

The Legend of Adapa has now a curious dénouement. As in the Bible so here the principle motive is to explain how mankind lost his boundless happiness. After Anu’s expression of astonishment at the revelation of knowledge to man he decides to complete his likeness to the gods by bestowing upon him immortality;

"Now what shall we do for him? Bread of life offer to him, let him eat." Bread of life they offered to him; not did he eat. Water of life they offered unto him; not did he drink. Clothing
they offered him and he clothed himself. Oil
they offered him and he anointed himself.
Anu beheld him and cried in astonishment at him,
"Come, oh Adapa, why hast thou not eaten, not drunk?
Not shalt thou remain alive."

And so Adapa is dismissed from the courts of heaven and
brought back to earth. For the further events in this version
of the Fall of Man we must depend upon a fragment of the
Assyrian copy which does not permit us to obtain a very clear
idea of the issue. The fragment belongs to the obverse of a
rather large tablet, consequently we know nothing about the
last fifty or more lines of this poem. The first lines contain
a somewhat different phraseology of the scene in heaven. In
fact K. 8214 is a duplicate of the last lines of the Amarna or
Canaanitislish version but the phraseology differs so greatly that
scholars have failed to detect this fact.2

1. .........še-u........ 1. .........and he........
2. [šam-na] ik-bi-šum-ma šu-u ip-
[pa-šiš] 2. Oil he commanded for him and
3. [šu]-la-ta ik-bi-šum-ma šu-u il-
la-biš 3. Clothing he commanded for him
and he clothed himself.

1 This passage is parallel to the statement in the Hebrew where Jahweh makes tunics of
skin for Adam and Eve. These passages follow immediately upon the loss of immortality in
both compositions.
2 K. 8743, fragment of the Assyrian version transcribed and translated above page 42 shows
how widely and materially the Assyrian version differed from the Canaanitislish found at Amarna.
In fact the Amarna text cannot be an Assyrian or Babylonian product for it contains words
peculiar to Canaanitislish; as annina obv., 14 and 22. This text belongs to a version written
in the Canaanitislish region. It differs so materially from the Assyrian that we must assume
other serious divergencies which will be detected when we recover more of the text from each
version. The striking similarity between the Canaanitislish text and the Hebrew proves that
the Western Semites developed an independent argument based upon the Babylonian material.
The serious disagreement between the Amarna text and the Assyrian is extremely important
for the whole problem of the relation of Hebrew sources to the Babylonian and Assyrian. Direct
borrowing must be given up. In fact the Canaanites seem to have developed Babylonian tradi-
tions upon independent lines for many centuries before the Hebrews incorporated them into
their documents.
4. ....... ii° A-nu ana ep-šit ii° E-a ša-kiš i-ši-iš-ma [igabbi]
5. [ilâni] ša šami-e u irši-lim ma-la ba-šu-u man-nu ki-a-am lu iḫ-[bi]
6. [ki]-šil-su el ki-ma ki-bit ii° A-nu man-nu u-al-tar
7. [......A]-da-pa iššu i-šiš šami-e ana e-lal šami-e
8. [......ip-]-pa-lis-ma pu-luh-la-šu i-mur
9. [ina u]-mi-šu ii° A-nu ša A-da-pa e-lišu ...... ta iš-kun
10. [alu]-ki ša ii° E-a šu-ba-rašu iš-kun
11. .....gu-us-su ana á-kat á-me ana šu-pi-i šim-lam i?-šim?
12. [ina š]-mi A-da-pa ţi-ir a-mi-lu-ti
13. [ina....]nišu šal-tis kap-pi šu-šu-ti iš-bi-ru
14. [a] a-na šami-e e-lu-u ši-i lu-u ki-a-am
15. [iš]-ša-kan u ša lim-niš ana nišš eš-lak-nu

4. .......Anu because of the deed of Ea cried loudly saying,
5. "Of the gods of heaven and earth as many as there be who verily would have commanded thus?"
6. Who makes his command to surpass the command of Anu?"
7. .......Adapa from the horizon of heaven to the zenith of heaven
8. .......looked and saw its grandeur.
9. Then Anu, as regards Adapa, upon him placed ....?.
10. Of the city of Ea he instituted sacerdotal rights for him.
11. .......his priesthood to glorify unto far away days as a destiny be fixed.
12. At the time when Adapa the seed of mankind
13. with bis .... cruelly broke the wings of the south wind,
14. and ascended to heaven, this verily so
15. is issued. And whatsoever of ill this man has brought upon men

1 [AN] MES. AN can no longer be read on the tablet. Likewise in line 3 all signs before TA are now broken away. STRONG, who copied this text twenty years ago, fortunately read these signs before they crumbled away.
* No sign can be seen before bit.
* DA is not certain but possible.
* The end of the sign mi can be read.
* Or restore eri-dug-(ki) = Eridu.
* i-šim is wholly uncertain. I read ᵉ⁻ⁱ⁻šⁱ⁻ᵐ-
* The loss of this word from our text is regrettable. Apparently Anu places upon Adapa some kind of sorrow. My collation has ᵉ⁻ⁱ⁻šⁱ⁻ᵐ-
  ᵉ⁻ⁱ⁻šⁱ⁻ᵐ- but the traces are against this.
* Svaru is some kind of a religious privilege entitling the inhabitants of certain cities to the revenues of the temples and freedom from national taxation.
16. [â] mur-šu ša ina rumur nišē
   iš-lak-nu
17. [šu]-a-tum ša Nin-kar-ra-ak u-
   na-ab-šu
18. [ši]-bi-ma si-im-mu mur-šu lis-
   šur
19. [el]-a-tum ša-ba-šu
   lim-ku-ma
20. ..... ši-tum ša-bi-tum la i-šal-
   lal
21. ..... ša-bi u-u-du nu-ug lib-bi
   nišē
22. ..... DA-bi

16. and the disease he has brought
   upon the bodies of men,
17. the goddess Ninkarrak will allay
   it.
18. May illness depart, may sick-
   ness turn aside.
19. Upon this man may his horror
   fall.
20. ..... sweet sleep not shall he
   enjoy.
21. .....  ?, joy of heart of men.3

Unfortunately this fragment allows no decision concern-
inc the loss of eternal life in the Assyrian version. However,
we may assume that it contained essentially the same story
of Adapa's rejection of the bread and water. Nevertheless, the
text preserves a few precious lines which show that Anu, father
of the gods, places a curse upon humanity because of Adapa.
As to whether these human sorrows were brought into the
world because Adapa had surreptitiously received the revel-
ation of the knowledge of good and evil or because he had
refused the offer of immortality, our text remains equivocal.
The story of the breaking of the wings of the south wind is
a motive incomparably less effective than the scene of the tem-
pitation in the Hebrew story. The Eridu version both in the
Assyrian and Canaanitish redaction leaves little opportunity
for any wilful disobedience on the part of man. Yet his sin
is equally fatal, for he attained forbidden knowledge and lost

1 Sic! I cannot explain the overhanging vowel.
2 šarba-šu, probably in the sense of horrible action, or conduct.
3 This line should refer to the loss of happiness of mankind caused by Adapa, but I can
find no interpretation for būdu or pūdu which suits the context. būdu, pūdu has two meanings,
“shoulder,” and “staff,” or “part of an axe.”
for humanity eternal life; through the jealous designs of the water god it is true, and not by his own choice, nevertheless the same penalty follows. Adapa brought woe and disease upon men, and his own sorrows became the most horrible of all. But the gods send a patroness of medicine to heal mankind; Gula or Ninkarrak in fact is the goddess of healing *par. excellence* in Sumero-Babylonian religion. On the analogy of the Nippur version of the text we may suppose that this Eridu version ended by describing the mission of other patrons of civilization sent by the great gods to console humanity.

**The Nippurian Version of the Fall of Man on the Tablet in the University Museum**

In handling the different teachings concerning the loss of Paradise we must, in order not to fall into grievous error, regard each body of teaching as the result of independent speculation in different theological centers. At Eridu the catastrophe results almost wholly through intrigues of a god. Man is here not a free agent, but the pawn of the higher powers.\(^1\) All the versions start with the supposition that when man was created he enjoyed perfect happiness in paradise, oblivious to

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\(^1\) The Eridu teaching takes the view that Enki, the water god, revealed not only theological or mystic wisdom unto Adapa (to which the other gods did not object) but also the knowledge of good and evil, a possession he should not have had even for his own good. And Enki appears to have done this out of jealousy of the other gods. Adapa was his own creation to whom he wished to teach all wisdom and all knowledge. We must, however, not make too much of the Enki motive. He appears as a revealing god also in the Babylonian Flood story where he warns Uta-napištim of the plan of the gods to destroy men. Here again he betrays the plans of the gods to man and here for man's good. In the Adapa legend Enki's revelation of the knowledge of good and evil seems to be brought in solely as a means of explaining how Adapa acquired this knowledge. Nevertheless, all the Adapa versions agree in describing the gods as jealous of man's attaining immortality or of his knowing the difference between good and evil.
the existence of indecency, to the knowledge of right and wrong and possessed of perfect health. The major Hebrew version also concedes him great wisdom if I rightly understand it. The Nippurian school allows that men inhabited Paradise until the Flood which seems to have been brought about by the creator god Enki because men did not show respect unto him. However this may be, the problem of the origin of sorrow is not propounded in the teachings of this school until after the Flood. We hear nothing of any famous forbear at the beginning of things who possessed vast intelligence. Only after the Flood does Enki begin to reveal wisdom unto Tagtug the gardener.¹ And the statement in regard to this revelation must be taken with caution for the text is obscure. It is clear, however, that after the Flood Enki becomes intimate with this gardener. Our tablet is obscure regarding the original state of man in respect to immortality. I infer, however, that, like the theologians of Eridu, it also assumes that man did not possess immortal life. In the Flood they dissolve like tallow, says our text, and there seems to be no reference here to even a lost opportunity of attaining this infinite boon.

Enki's conversation with Tagtug in the secret chamber of the temple is broken by a damaged portion of the tablet at the top of the second column of the reverse; but shortly after we read of various plants which grew in the garden, and

¹ This part of the Nippurian version which makes Tagtug a gardener is probably connected with the account of J. in Hebrew which describes Noah as a gardener after the Flood, Gen. 9, 18–27. The Hebrew describes him as the first husbandman and founder of vine growing. In Hebrew we appear to have here an attempt to alleviate the troubles of humanity caused by the barrenness of the soil after God had cursed it. This is the interpretation generally put upon Gen. 5, 29. The planting of the vine is not mentioned in our text, but the rôle of Tagtug, after the Flood is obviously that of a patron of agriculture who redeems the earth made barren by the Flood.
that the mother goddess commanded¹ Tagtug² to take and eat from all except the cassia. We must assume that the goddess had placed this plant in a special category after the list of plants from which she allowed mankind to eat. For when we reach the name of the cassia the phraseology used in connection with the previous plants changes, and it is called the plant whose fate Ninharsag had determined. This goddess had obviously forbidden Tagtug to eat from the cassia, for immediately after he takes and eats he is cursed with human frailty. The Anunnaki, who as children of Enki were the special friends of the newly created men,³ sat in the dust to weep over this direful calamity. Ninharsag in rage regrets that she had created mankind. In a broken passage at the top of Rev. III which follows the story of the Fall we find Ninharsag and the earth god Enlil planning to send divine patrons to assist fallen humanity. Of this latter motif we have a trace in the Eridu version where Ninkarrak, i. e., Gula, is sent to heal disease which entered into the world because Enki had revealed knowledge unto Adapa. The Nippurian text names eight divine

¹ mu-na-ab-bi: the root bi is used in the sense of “to name, proclaim,” only in the syllabar, 93058 Rev. 7 in CT. 12, 21. In connected texts bi is invariably used in the sense of “to speak, say, command,” Assyr. ḫabû. By taking Ninharsag as the subject and by giving bi its ordinary meaning we have a sense in keeping with Genesis 2, 16, “And Jehwe commanded (עָֽנַּח) man, saying, ‘from every tree of the garden thou shalt eat, but from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat.’” In the translation which I formerly gave out I interpreted mu-na-ab-bi by “he named” and took iugal-mu, i. e., Tagtug for the subject. This of course led to the inference that Tagtug named the plants; I was influenced here by the Biblical narrative, in which Adam is said to have given names to all living things. This view is probably erroneous. The Sumerian verb for “to give a name to” is mu-sd-a=šuma nābû, “to proclaim a name,” or simply nābû to name. Cf. CT. 13, 36, 4: [erl]ezag-ga kidur šag-duğ-ga-ge-ene mu mag-a mi-ni-in-šd-a=dšu el-lum šu-bat šu-nb liš-bi-šu-nu ši-riš im-bu-u, “The holy city, abode of their hearts’ joy, he named with a far-famed name.”

² In Rev. II the name Tagtug is not mentioned, but he is referred to as iugal-mu “my king,” as in Obv. III 9. In fact this hero does not receive the name Tagtug until after the Flood, Rev. 1 36.

³ Note also in the Eridu version of the Fall that it is the Anunnaki who give Adapa his name. See DHORME, Chosî 148, 8 and above page 40.
patrons; over against these I here place the patrons of civilization in the Hebrew (J) narrative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sumerian</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
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<tr>
<td>4. <em>Ninkasi</em>, patroness of the vine and of drinking.</td>
<td>4. <em>Irad</em>.</td>
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1 *Ab-u* is a title of Tammuz the god of vegetation who dies for his people. In early civilization the king of a city or a human substitute was put to death in the cult of the dying god, see *Tammuz and Ishtar* 25 f.; *Frazer, Adonis, Astarte and Osiris* 84. It is difficult to see how the slaying of Abel by the jealous Cain in Gen. 4, 2–16 can be based upon the idea of a human sacrifice in honor of the dying god of vegetation. Nevertheless the story in Hebrew seems to have been told to explain this ancient custom. In the Hebrew Cain is the founder of agriculture (Gen. 4, 25–26) and we know that the whole Tammuz story arose in the idea that a king or man died that agriculture might thrive. Abel, moreover, clearly personifies the sheep necessary for sacrifice; Cain at first offered only fruits, but Abel offered the first born of animals, and only the latter were acceptable. The killing of Abel appears to be based upon the ancient theory that a human being died that the plants might thrive. Later arose the theory that animals might be substituted for this human sacrifice, but animals only. Hence the Cain and Abel story combines both the ancient and the later practices. In Sumerian religion the idea of the human, who symbolizes the dying vegetation, becomes a dying god who returns to earth as symbol of reviving vegetation.

4 In the name *Tūbal-Cain*, patron of the smiths, clearly means, "the smith," Arabic *kān*, but in the name of the first son of Adam, the word has probably no connection with this Semitic root.

5 So J., Gen. 4, 18; P. has *Jered*, Gen. 5, 15.

6 Or *Mēbōwai-āl*; P., *Māabāl-āl*. The name is probably for *Ḥūnūm*, "God makes alive," or "God is my enlivener."

7 So P., Gen. 5, 21: J. has *Mēbōwāsā-āl*, "Man of God" (?). The correct reading is doubtful, and all interpretations given for both readings are dubious.

8 *Lamech* is a Hebrew transcript of *lūmḥa*, the Sumerian title of *Enki* (Ea) as patron of the temple musicians, CT. 25, 46, 11; 24, 43, 120. See *Babylonian Liturgies* XXIV f.

9 The last three names appear to be of western origin and attached to the earlier Canaanitic tradition which was obtained from Babylon.
The Hebrew regards these patrons as direct descendants of the first man, whereas the Sumerians say that they are of divine origin. The Hebrew list like the Sumerian follows directly upon the story of the Fall. When we consider that the Nippur version also agrees with the Hebrew in making the eating of a plant or tree the direct cause of the Fall of Man, it becomes evident that the Hebrew has been greatly influenced by the doctrines of the Nippur school.

Our text describes the curse only in one line: "The face of life until he dies not shall he see."

Life in Sumerian means "good health," and we can hardly be wrong in understanding this passage to mean that the great sorrow caused by the Fall is bodily weakness and rapid decay. In Adapa's fall we read only of the bodily miseries which entered the world. The Hebrew too mentions the pain of woman in childbirth as the first of human woes. Neither the Nippur nor the Adapa version mentions the ejection from Paradise. Perhaps this part of the story is peculiar to the Hebrew. Human sorrow, toil and misery surely afflicted men in the land of Dilmun which the Sumerians and Babylonians knew so well. The ejection at all events points no moral to the tale.

The Nippur text represents the Fall as following directly upon eating of the cassia. No revelation of the knowledge of good and evil is mentioned. The curse of Ninharsag seems to be caused by disobedience and this is the sole motif we can

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1 The verb ba-ra-an-bar-ri-en, Rev. 11 38, may be sec. per. sing., since the ending e+un could well be an emphatic form of the sec. per. ending e; cf. bê-êb-si-il-e, Var. im-ši-il-li-en = tasallût, SBP. 198, 15. But the verb ba-dig-gi-a which must have the same subject is in the third per. It is better to regard e+un as an emphatic 3d per. future. Sum. Gr. §§223 f.

2 Gen. 3, 16. Naturally the Eridu doctrine may have mentioned other sorrows like the Hebrew in the last lines of the Adapa legend which breaks off at the point disease is mentioned.

3 The Nippur text infers that after the Flood the earth was barren and needed irrigation, so that we may conclude that this school believed that the deluge ended the blissful state of Paradise. Only disease and brevity of life had not yet entered the world.
read into this the earliest of all doctrines on the Fall of Man. The plant in question if connected with either of the two trees mentioned in the composite narrative of the Bible must be identified with the tree of life. Our text has am-ǧa-ru before which the determinative for plant (ū) must be supplied. This is clearly identical with am-ǧa-ra, or Semitic kasū, cassia, the most important of all medical plants in antiquity.¹ It is, however, not necessary to assume that the pundits of Nippur, or the myth makers of early Sumer regarded the cassia as a plant capable of bestowing eternal life upon those who ate its fruit or chewed its leaves. The Hebrew undoubtedly knew of such a plant and the same legend appears in the Assyrian Epic of Gilgamesh.² Since Tagtug actually ate from the cassia and consequently brought disease into the world, the plant could not have been regarded as a "tree of life," in the sense of the later Assyrian and Hebrew legends. Undoubtedly the Sumerians regarded the cassia as having marvelous health-giving properties, but I do not believe that we have here any theory concerning a plant capable of bestowing immortality. The theory taught by the early Sumerian sages seems to be as follows: Man in Paradise had perfect health, extreme longevity,³ and lived peacefully without toil. For some reason not explained to us he failed to show respect to Enki his creator, and hence all but a few pious were destroyed. In this universal deluge Paradise also disappears and thereafter man must live by toil. Wherefore after the deluge Tagtug becomes a gardener, a human raised to the station of a god, for he has now

¹ See PSBA. 1914, 192.
² One of the main motifs in this epic is the search for the plant whose name is, "The old man shall be made young." The legend of a tree or plant capable of bestowing immortality occurs only here in Babylonia and is, I believe, of comparatively late origin.
³ See obverse 1 24 f.
this title. The problem of the origin of sin does not concern them. They put forward no theory in regard to it, their only teaching in this regard is that sin is a purely religious matter. It consists in disrespect toward the gods and in nothing more or less. But the Flood eliminates all the wicked. After the deluge Tagtug, and we presume his pious mariners, continued a different life in Paradise. The earth had now become hostile, wherefore the survivor of the deluge became a tiller of the soil. Such was the explanation of the loss of Paradise. But a more serious misfortune was now to follow, namely the entrance of disease and abbreviated mortality. To explain this the sages of Nippur taught that the mother goddess had forbidden man to eat from the cassia. This command he disobeyed and lost, as we have seen, pre-diluvian longevity. They do not appear to have held any views concerning mystic powers which this plant might bestow, so that the interdiction of the cassia is wholly arbitrary. As our text stands the only reason for this injunction seems to be that of testing the obedience of man. I fail to find any other meaning here. In a sense the mother goddess is the temptress who caused this great disobedience.

Have we here the origin of the temptation of Adam by his wife Eve? We know that Eve like Ninharsag was originally an ophidian mother goddess. Has this led further to the Hebrew story concerning the serpent? In Hebrew mythology the ophidian as well as the goddess character of Eve seems to have been lost sight of. Perhaps her serpent origin is retained in

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1 The fact that Tagtug has the divine title is here to be explained by the Sumerian habit of raising kings to the rank of the gods during their reigns. This custom became established during the period of the Ur dynasty several centuries before our tablet was written. It can not have the same sense as the translation of Utanapištim to the lands of the blessed where he attained immortality.

2 Also the Biblical narrative P. Gen. 1–2, 4b+5+6, 9 ff., knows of no expulsion from Paradise, but in the days of Noah the world became full of violence and wickedness, wherefore Jahweh sent the deluge. (Gen. 5, 29 is taken from J.)
the peculiar form in which we know it there. Suppose that the general tradition obtained that a serpent goddess placed this daring temptation before man. Suppose that by the involved crossing of ideas in the evolution of this legend the goddess became the consort of this sorely tried ancestor of man. Evidently the serpent alone would be left to figure as the tempter. Such seems to be the probable construction we must place upon this story. Here it has a doctrinal aspect. The sages of Nippur solve these problems with the minimum of mythological structure. The temptation does not appear in their sacred books. But obviously imaginative folklore sought at once to restore the old motifs, if in fact they had ever given them up. It is conceivable that to these expounders of Sumerian theology the story of a goddess temptress was current mythology. In any case their theories about the origin of toil, the hostility of nature on the one hand, and the origin of bodily weakness on the other are based upon views wholly different from those taught in the legend of Adapa. They place the whole guilt upon man as a free agent. They do not represent the gods as envying him knowledge of any kind. Here man from the beginning passed from catastrophe to catastrophe because he himself failed to have the inflexible will to obey the gods.

THE HEBREW TRADITION

The oldest Hebrew document which traces the history of man from his creation to the days of Terah and Abraham,¹ or the mythological and theological reconstruction of their

¹ This document is roughly as follows: Gen. 2, 4-5, 19, 1-6, 1-5-7, 1-12-16, 17-22 18, 6-12-20-9, 18-27-11, 1-9-28-30. For minutiae of textual division see the commentaries on Genesis.
history when analyzed will be found to be another product evolved from the Babylonian doctrines. Here the loss of Paradise and the entrance into the world of disease together with the hostility of nature to man follow shortly after his creation. He appears to have enjoyed the peace of Paradise for only a brief period. For in his Paradise the creator God had placed a tree called the "Tree of the knowledge of good and evil." But Adam like Adapa was initiated into the most profound philosophical knowledge. In wisdom he lacked only the awareness of indecency. Otherwise his knowledge equaled that of the gods. This kind of knowledge could be obtained by eating from this tree, a fact which he did not know. And his creator added the threat that in the day of his eating thereof he would fall a victim to disease. Then a woman is created for his consort to whom a serpent reveals the true meaning of the forbidden tree. She ate and she gave also to her husband, whereupon their eyes were opened and they lost their innocence. Whereupon woman is afflicted with the pangs of childbirth and subserviency to man. And for man God cursed the earth, whereby he henceforth lived only by toil. Both are expelled from Paradise.

Theologically this story is a masterly combination of the Eridu doctrine, known to us only in the Semitic legend of Adapa, and the doctrines of our Nippur tablet. The Adapa legend has influenced the Hebrew particularly in causing the Fall to be placed at the beginning of civilization and in attributing the origin of disease to the forbidden possession of the knowledge of good and evil. In Adapa's case temptation does

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1 "Dying thou shalt die," Gen. 2, 17, obviously refers to the beginning of bodily weakness and attenuated mortality. The Babylonian verb *mar* comes at the Hebrew verb employed here, is often employed in this sense.
not figure in the problem. On the other hand, the Nippur teaching has given them the idea of a tree, which under influence of the Eridu school they construct into a tree of knowledge. For given on the one hand the doctrine that man of his own wilful disobedience ate of the fruit of a tree, and on the other that his fall was due to the revelation of knowledge, the ancients inevitably formed a legend regarding a tree of knowledge. Moreover, the idea of temptation latent, and innocently so in the Nippur doctrine, here becomes an important factor. The sin is explained not alone as a wilful act but as the act of a will overcome by the cajolery of woman. This factor is original in Hebrew. The idea of a woman tempter in Sumerian is wholly different. Here she is the ophidian mother goddess who places temptation before man only in that she forbids him to eat to test his obedience. But as we have seen the Nippurian doctrine based probably upon a richer and more concrete mythology easily gave rise to the serpent tempter and the woman in Hebrew.

In the ultimate analysis of the origin of human suffering the Hebrew like the tablet No. 4561 traces its cause to man’s own frailty. His wavering will fails to comply with the plain injunctions of deity. We have in neither document any trace of divine jealousy,¹ nor any erroneous action whose cause could be traced to superior instigation as in the Adapa teaching.

On the other hand, we seem to have an equally ancient Hebrew document embedded in the text of Genesis 2 and 3 which incorporated more clearly the teachings of Eridu. Here in a gloss in verse 9 of chapter 2 we hear of a tree of life.

¹ The serpent accuses God of jealousy (3, 5) but this is not to be regarded as the doctrine held by the author of J.
And at the end of chapter 2 we again come upon traces of this document which knows of the same tree forbidden in Paradise. "And Jahweh Elohim said, 'Lo, man has become like one of us in knowing good and evil and now lest he put forth his hand and take from the tree of life and eat and live forever.' And so he drove out the man and caused him to dwell east of the Garden of Eden, and he stationed the cherubim, the flaming sword which revolves to guard the way of the tree of life."

This document probably adopted the Eridu teaching concerning the acquisition of knowledge, attributing it to a surreptitious revelation by a god. Here too the gods envy man this knowledge and take steps at once to prevent his attaining immortality. The Eridu school also raise the problem of man's loss of immortality in connection with his acquisition of knowledge. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that a Hebrew document which depended upon that source, would raise the same problem. Now this teaching regarding eternal life for man is late in Babylonia. Such a thing could not occur as possible in the Sumerian schools whose whole attitude toward man regarded him as dust of the earth to which he must inevitably return. But a longing after this priceless boon gave rise to that widespread belief that after all the gods possess bread and water which bestow eternal life, or that in some far away Paradise grows an herb of healing to infuse mortals with immortality. In Babylonian tradition this plant was well known, and the same idea traveled westward to the Hebrews. They too adopted this same theory that man lost immortality through

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1 The MT. has here ד, "also" which implies in the same source also a tree of knowledge. The Septuagint and the Syriac texts omit ד and this is surely the correct text. It then follows that דיתא יי, "tree of life" in 2, 9 stands in a false position there and has deranged the text.
the jealousy of the gods; here by being expelled from Eden before they proceeded to eat from the tree of life, there because a jealous god had advised his protégé not to partake of the bread of life.

The story of early Hebrew origins as told by the priests of a later age speaks of no Paradise and mentions no sin until the days of Noah. We may infer, *ex silentio*, however, that this document supposed that in the long ages ruled over by the ten patriarchs men lived in a sinless state enjoying extreme longevity. According to this narrative, in the days of the tenth patriarch the world became full of violence, wherefore God destroyed all but this patriarch and his family in the deluge. This scheme of the priestly writer agrees with the theologians of Nippur. That Hebrew narrative makes the Flood begin on the 17th day of the second month, the text of tablet No. 4561 on the 1st of the first month. There it rises five months and recedes until the 27th of the second month of the next year, in all one year and ten days; here the flood endures eight months and nine days. Thus the priestly narrative approximately agrees with the tablet No. 4561 in the chronology of the Flood. On the other hand, the older Hebrew story makes the waters rise 40 days and recede 21 days, a much shorter period. This chronology agrees more closely with that of the Semitic Babylonian story where the waters increase six days and cease the seventh. At a distance of twelve double hours march Utanapištim sees the top of a mountain. The time taken to reach it is not given, but after the landing he waits seven days to send forth a dove. Since he sends two

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1 Gen. 1–2, 4 a+5+6, 2–22.
2 One hundred and fifty days.
3 That is obviously the meaning of the Babylonian poem; see Dhorme, Choix 113 note on line 140.
other birds at intervals we suppose that seven days separated these, so that we have the same story as that of the ancient (J) narrative in Genesis 8, 6–12, where Noah sends three birds at intervals of seven days each. Hence we have on the one hand the long chronology of the Sumerian account and the priestly Hebrew narrative, and on the other the short chronology of the Babylonian version and the ancient Hebrew document. In a sense the revelation of wisdom to Tagtug the gardener in the tablet No. 4561 is parallel to instructions which God reveals to Noah in the priestly document. Both conversations follow immediately after the Flood. If the priest’s narrative in Hebrew knew of any further story of the disobedience and loss of continued good health which should follow here he has left us no trace of it. Nevertheless his close adherence to the theories of the Nippur school is clear enough. After the Flood he fills in the history from that event to the age of Abraham by a genealogy of nine patriarchs, whose lives are of considerable length. Nevertheless even here we have a rapid decline in longevity and the ages of these are on the whole less by half than those of the ten patriarchs before the deluge. The Babylonians also told of the incredible ages of the heroes before this catastrophe. We are, I believe, on safe grounds in assuming that in agreement with the sages who wrote our epic of the Fall of Man there was in Babylonia a deeply rooted tradition that the greatest of all catastrophes, the loss of long life, overtook mankind only after he had lived in Paradise for many ages. Such I believe to have been the doctrine adopted by the scribe to whom we owe the priestly narrative in

1 Gen. 9, 1–8.
2 Gen. 11, 10–26. Omitting Shem who belongs to the race before the Flood, we have Arpakhad 438 years, Shelah 433, ʼEber 464, Peleg 239, Re’u 239, Serug 230, Nāhōr 148, and Teraḥ 205. (Masoretic text; Samaritan and Greek differ slightly.)
Hebrew. He surely pursued his investigations beyond the Semitic poems of Babylonia, rehearsed by the Canaanites before the Hebrew occupation. He must have come under the influence of the great Babylonian renaissance which set in, in the middle of the seventh century; an age when the scholars of Babylon studied the theological systems of their remote past. The theologians of Nippur particularly attracted them as we know from their corpus of temple liturgies. The tablet which forms the subject of this volume proves the profundity of their thinking in the region of ethics and philosophy. We venture to think that no document has yet been recovered from the ruins of the past to which such a volume of influence can be traced from our own civilization for the immense period of four thousand years. The great Hebrew documents, which propound the harassing problem of the origin of human sorrows, would have been impossible without the pious and scholarly teaching of these pre-Semitic poets of Nippur. And we all realize, perhaps too little, the incalculable influence which these Hebrew masterpieces have exercised upon the ethical and religious mentality of a considerable portion of the human race.

**The Babylonian Tradition Concerning the Pre-Diluvian Period**

Old Testament critics speak of Gen. 4, 16–23 (J.) as the Cainite genealogy, and the ten patriarchs of Gen. 5 (P.) as the Sethite genealogy. The earlier list of the J. document with its seven patriarchs is obviously based upon the Sumero-

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1 See the Introduction to the author's *Babylonian Liturgies.*

2 For genealogical purposes Abel is not included in this list. But when the list is understood in its true perspective, Abel must be included, since this document places upon him the rôle of patron of flocks and originator of animal sacrifice.
Babylonian tradition of divine patrons of industries. The early Hebrew legend constructed these into a genealogy. The Sethite genealogy of the later P. document although employing all of the seven earlier patron names, except for obvious reasons Abel, in more or less modified forms and in slightly different order has, as is well known, attempted to reproduce the Babylonian scheme of ten legendary kings who ruled during the 432,000 years before the Flood. The Babylonian kings in this legend were not all divine patrons but some were famous mythological rulers who belong to that period of longevity before the Fall of Man. The Hebrew in both documents has thoroughly transformed the Babylonian sources. The list in Gen. 5 reproduces, it is true, the spirit of the Babylonian legend of the ten kings, in that it holds them to be rulers in a long dynasty and largely misunderstands those who had a connection with the arts. In fact this genealogy has largely replaced the names of the Babylonian by the names of Hebrew patrons of civilization, whose meanings were clear to J., but wholly misunderstood by the authors of P. This Babylonian list which is preserved only in the fragments of Berossus seems to contain both Sumerian and Semitic names. I translate so far as possible in order to show that they are not all based upon the idea of patrons of the arts;

1. Αλωρός, Alorus, of Babylon, a Chaldean. Source unknown. Reigned 36,000 years.

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1 Note how P. changes Mehujael, a name connected with healing, into Mâhâlôlîl, “Praise of God.” For Cain which at least in Gen. 4, 22 means a “smith,” P. has Kînân, probably a word having no connection with Kâyn, Cain. ‘Irât, surely a Sumerian or Babylonian word for some craft, is distorted to Yêrêd, “descent.”

2 See Coss, Ancient Fragments, 30 f.

3 Hardly connected with the mother goddess Aruru as asserted by Hommel and Jeremias. The name is Sumerian.
2. 'Αλάπαρος, Alaparos. Probably for Adaparus, Adapa, a Sumerian, a sage. Reigned 10,800 years.

3. 'Αμηλον, Amelon, of Pantibiblus (i.e., Sippar?). This name is Semitic, Babylonian amēlu, "man." Reigned 46,800 years.

4. 'Αμμένων, Ammenon, the Chaldean. This name is probably from ummānu, "skilled workman," and is the only name in this list which clearly suggests connection with divine patrons of culture. Reigned 43,200 years.

5. Μεγάλαρος, of Pantibiblus. Reigned 64,800 years.

6. Δάωνος, Daōnus, a shepherd of Pantibiblus. Reigned 36,000 years. The Greek calls him a ποιμήν, shepherd, which suggests perhaps that the Babylonians have preserved here the name of a patron of flocks, like Abu of our text or Abel of the Hebrew. The shorter form of the word Daōs, preserved in

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1 Obviously the same Adapa of Eridu who in the legend of Adapa is credited with being the ancestor of mankind. For this reason Sayce, Florilegium Melchior De Vogüé 544, has read A-DA-PA as A-da-mu. In fact a Neo-Babylonian syllabar, ZA. 9, 163 IV 6, says that the sign PA has the value mu in the dialect TE-NAD. Of course we might expect the Hebrew to have borrowed the name Adapa as well as the legend, but I remain unconvinced as in my note Tam-mur and Ishtar, 32 if. 21, "man," and 22, "earth," obviously belong together, and I am sure that ḏăhāmā cannot be defended as Sumerian. Moreover, the Sumerian reading A-da-pa is proven by the writing A-DA-PAD, i.e., A-da-pa(d), hence A-da-pa, as it occurs in the legend, is an abbreviation for Adapad. A-da-pa ṣakal Eridu, "Adapa the sage of Eridu," IV R. 58 I 24; here he is regarded as a divine magician; cf. ZA. 16, 170, 24. Senecherib says that Ea gave him vast intelligence and sin-na-at ṣakal A-da-pa, "the likeness of the sage Adapa," Lay. 38, 4. Ashurbanipal says that ..... ṣu ab-bal-li A-da-pa ṣakal, "I learned the ..... of the sage Adapa," Lehmann, Sham. L. 4 Pl. 34, 13. Sargon also says that he is a king with the sin-na-at ṣakali, "likeness of the sage," Sarg. Cyl. 38. In Harr. Lett. 923, 8 ṣakali u A-da-pa, "sage and an Adapa" are titles of a king. Hence Adapa was renowned in mythology as the wisest of men.

2 Hommel, PSBA. 1893, 243.
3 Var. Abydenus Αμήλαρος; Armenian ed. of Eusebius Atemelon.
4 Hommel, ibid.
5 Abydenus says he was from Pantibiblus.
6 Hommel, PSBA. 1893, 244. ummānu is a loan-word in Semitic from Sumerian.
7 Var. of Abydenus in Synccellus Codex Par. Μεγάλαρος; Armenian Atemalarus.
8 Abydenus, Daōs.
Abydenus may perhaps stand for Δαός; we have already assumed a confusion of this kind in Adapa(d) = Alaparos. Laōs by interchange of liquids l>r might revert to an older Raōs; there would then be no difficulty in seeing in this name the Babylonian re'u, Hebrew rō'ē "shepherd."

7. 

7. Εὐεδώραξ, Euedorachus of Pantibiblus. Doubtlessly identical with the Sumerian mythical sage Enmeduranki, king of Sippar, to whom the oracular gods Shamash and Adad revealed the mysteries of divination; said to have been created by Ninharsag herself. The name is pure Sumerian, and means "Lord of the decrees of the totality of heaven and earth." Reigned 64,800 years.

8. Ἄμεμψινός, Amempsinus, a Chaldean from Laranchæ, i. e., Larak. Reigned 36,000 years. Generally regarded as Semitic for Amel-Sin, "Man of Sin," but I doubt this. The name must be of great antiquity and, originating in a Sumerian center, should be Sumerian. Sin, the name of the moon god, is also a somewhat late Sumerian contraction for the earlier zu-en. However, no better suggestion has been made.

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9. Οπάρης, Opartes, a Chaldean of Laranchæ. Reigned 28,800 years. Berossus makes Opartes the father of Xisuthrus, hero of the Flood. According to the Babylonian version the

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1 A connection with Babyl. le'u, "wise, intelligent," would be probable, if we assume this to be original.
2 Abydenus, Euedorachus, Αεδωράχος; Armenian, Eusebius, Edoranchus.
3 See Zimmern, Ritual Taf‘in, No. 24, for the identification and the text which describes the origin of divination through the hero En-me-dur-an-ki.
4 A city of great antiquity mentioned in the Creation Epic, and located by Poebel, after a passage in Clay, PBS. Vol. II No. 181, 7, on the old Tigris southeast of Nippur. See Poebel, Creation and Deluge, 41.
5 So Hommel, PSBA. 1893, 245.
6 Since the city Isin lay in the vicinity of Larak (SBH. 86, Rev. 10-12; CT. 15, 25, 20-3) perhaps we should look for this word in the end of Amempsinus. See SBP. 160, note 7.
7 Apollodorus has Οπάρης, but this has been corrected to Opartes, and identified with Ubar-Tutu.
father of Uta-napištim was *Ubar-"Tu-Tu," moreover Uta-napištim is said to have been a "Man of Suruppak," and Laranchae and Suruppak were probably names of adjacent quarters of the great city Isin. Hence both Opartes and Ubar-"Tu-Tutu belong to the same city.

10. *Eisourbpos, Xisuthrus, son Opartes. Reigned 64,800 years. The Greek is based upon the Semitic title of Uta-napištim, *atra-"hasisu>*"basis-astra, "The supremely wise."*

In this list all those names designated as Chaldean are probably Sumerian. In fact Berossus appears to employ the word "Chaldean" in the sense of "Sumerian" here. It is curious that the only names certainly Semitic, Nos. 3, 6, are from Pantibiblius. Even here we have in No. 7 a Sumerian ruler. On the whole this list is preponderantly Sumerian.

**The Meaning of the Name Tagtug**

I have already defended in print a possible connection of the Sumerian name Tagtug with the Hebrew Nōah. The argument to which I have nothing new to add is as follows.

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1. Semitic translation of Sumerian *Zi-ud.*

2. This name is also Sumerian and means "The protégé of the god *Tu(d)-Tu(d).*" The title *Tu-tu* is one assumed by Marduk in religious texts of the Assyrian period but even there it does not always apply to him, e. g., *Schrpus IV 45, VIII, 12.* This title is unknown before the period of the first Babyl. dynasty. Hammurapi uses it without a determinative for god, Code III 10, and in that section which refers to Barsippa. The title occurs in n.pra. of this period but not before or after. It may be that the two n.pra. in V R. 44, 6 and 21, which are Sumerian and contain this title, belong to this period or slightly earlier. In the Assyrian rendering the god Marduk is used, but this is based upon later views. In the period when these names were given *Tu-tu* probably referred to some other god, probably a local deity of Suruppak or Larak, both of which seem to have been parts of the famous city Isin, where Gula was worshipped, SBP. 160 n. 7 and 26, 7. It is surprising that a deity who appears so late in the history of the pantheon should here occur in the name of a prehistoric Sumerian ruler.

3. This title appears as *at-ra-"hasis*, in the Gilamish version, DHORME, 118, 196 and in an early Babylonian version, Frag. Scheil VIII 4, as *at-ra-am-"hasi-is.* The hero of the Flood has also the same title *atra-"hasis* in a fragment from another version, DHORME, 126, 11. The inversion *"hasis-astra* is probably based upon a too mechanical rendering of the Sumerian PI-DIRIG(i).

4. PSBA. 1914, 189.
Since we know that the Babylonians did not employ the Sumerian name of the hero of the Sumerian epic of the Creation and the Flood, viz., *Zi-ud-sud-du*, but translated it into Semitic by *Uta-napištim*, we may expect that the Babylonians who preferred the Nippur epic would likewise render Tagtug by its Semitic translation. Although no Babylonian version has been found based upon the Nippurian, yet Hebrew mythology was obviously much indebted to it. The problem is, then, to translate *tag-tug* and if possible to justify a translation from which the Hebrew *Nōah* (*נֹּהַן*) might be derived. Both words *tag* and *tug* are derived from the Sumerian stem $\sqrt{t-g}$, whose general meaning is "to rest, repose." The form of the root *tug* is regularly rendered by *nābu*, "to repose." As for the form with internal vowel *a*, *tag*, we know that it can be rendered by *labāšu*, a word usually taken to mean "cast down;" the ordinary meaning of the root *tag* is the active of the idea generally expressed by *tug*, *i.e.*, "to cause to rest, to suppress, to beat down violently." These two ideas are connected and we need not hesitate to suppose that the intransitive idea of "repose, to come to an end," was expressed by the active root *tag* also. *labāšu* is probably the same root as *rabāšu*, "to lie down;" it is true that the verb *labāšu* is explained by *tag* in a syllabar where it occurs between *zuʿunu*, "to fashion skillfully," and *maḥāšu ša mimma*, "to hammer something," and the verb has undoubtedly the same active idea here.\(^1\) Also in the only other passage where *labāšu* occurs it is given the same active sense "to cast down."\(^2\) Naturally this persistent use of *labāšu* in the sense of "cast down, smite," may exclude

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\(^1\) Syl. C 292–5.  
a connection with *rabāšu*,¹ and render the whole argument so far as this word is concerned ineffective. Nevertheless the possibility of the root *tag* having this meaning need not depend upon evidence so fragile. The cognate *dag* means both *ašābu*, "to sit," and *šubtu*, "abode, place of repose."² The form with internal vowel *e*, *teg*, is one of the ordinary words in Sumerian for *pašāhu* and *nāhu*, "to rest," as well as the variant *ten*.³ Also *tug* has the variant *tub*, a word which is repeatedly employed for *nābu*. This evidence would under ordinary circumstances induce a Sumerologist acquainted with the tendency of the language to use the stems of roots with various internal vowel inflections all in the same sense to expect a root *tag*, "to rest, repose." A reduplicated stem like *tag-tug* would ordinarily have an active sense, and be rendered by the piel in Semitic. Granting that we have here such a reduplicated stem for *nāhu*, *tag-tug*, should be rendered by *nāhu*, "to cause to repose," and the permansive singular would be *nu-ub*, "he is appeased," *i.e.*, "God is appeased," "God’s wrath is made to repose." Such was the theory by which I connected this name with the Hebrew Nōāh. In its favor we can also urge the appropriateness of this name for the hero who survived the deluge, by which the anger of the gods against sinful men was appeased.

Against this theory we may adduce the fact that no direct evidence for the meaning "to rest," for *tag* has been adduced. And much more serious than this will be the objection that, when Sumerian wished to express intense action and causation, they double the same form of the root, not different

¹ This is the reason for my entry to *tag* in the sense of "rest, abide," in Sum. Gr. 245. Cf. *nabāšu*, *napāšu*, "to overwhelm."


³ See Sum. Gr. 247.
forms of it. We should expect for this idea tug-tug, or tag-tag, like gar-gar, mal-mal, etc. I am unable to find any examples of the reduplication of a stem in which two vowels not of the same kind are employed. On the whole we must regard this interpretation as doubtful. To say impossible, would be to allow too little scope for future discoveries. To accept it as proven would lead to uncertain conclusions.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

OVERSE I

1. [e-ne-ba]ám e-ne-ba-ám me-en-si-en
2. [kùr] Dilmun ki-ażag ga-ám
3. [ki-ażag]-ga e-ne ba-ám me-en-si-en
4. ....... kùr Dilmun ki-ażag ga-ám
5. kùr Dilmun ki-ażag-ga-ám kùr Dilmun el-ám
6. kùr Dilmun el-ám kùr Dilmun lág-lág-ga-ám

1. They that slept, they that slept are ye.¹
2. [In mountain of] Dilmun which is an holy place,
3. [In the holy place] they that slept are ye.
4. ......... the mountain of Dilmun which is an holy place.
5. The mountain of Dilmun which is an holy place, the mountain of Dilmun is pure.
6. The mountain of Dilmun is pure, the mountain of Dilmun is clean.

¹ References to the sleeping chamber of each of the great gods and his consort can be supplied from religious texts which concern other cult centers. An illuminating comment upon this passage will be found in the Scheil Fragment of the Adapa legend where the poet says of Adapa:

"In those days Adapa a man of Eridu,
When the chieftain Ea paraded unto the sleeping chamber,
Daily guards the bolt of Eridu."

enumerate Adapa mār (Āl) Eridi
[mas-su(d)] [Ea ina mašša ina laddad]
ámšamma šiğar (āl) Eridi ššar.

For the restitution mas-su(d) = massu, "leading goat," and title of Ea, see CT. 16, 20, 124. ZIMMERN first made this evident restoration which was unfortunately rejected by other editors. See for the text DHÖRME, Choix 150, 16-18.
7. dīsu-ne Dilmun-(ki)-a ē-bē- in-nad  
8. ki 'en-ki dam-a-ni-da ba-an-dá-da-a-ba  
9. ki-bi el-âm ki-bi lāg-lāg-ga-âm  
10. dīsu-ne  
11. ki 'en-ki 'nin-el-la 2 ba-an-[da-ná-a-ba]  
12. ki-bi el-âm  
13. Dilmun-(ki)-a ū-nag-ga-(gū)dūg-dūg nu-mu-ni-bi  
14. dar-(gū)-e gū-dar-(gū)-ri nu-mu-ni-ib-bi  
15. ur-gu-la sag-giš nu-ub'-ra-ra  
16. ur-bar-ra-ge 5 sil nu-ub- kār-ri  
17. lik-ku mās gam-gam nu-te-bal  
18. tud(?)-sē-kur-kur-e nu-te-bal  

7. Alone in Dilmun they lay down;  
8. Where Enki with his consort lay,  
9. That place is pure, that place is clean.  
10. Alone in Dilmun they lay down.  
11. Where Enki with the pure divine queen lay down,  
12. That place is pure, that place is clean.  
13. In Dilmun the raven 6 shrieked not.  
14. The kite 7 shrieked not, kitelike.  
15. The lion 8 slew not.  
16. The wolf plundered not the lambs.  
17. The dog approached not the kids in repose.  
18. The mother (goat) as it fed on grain he disturbed not.

1 For ē-nad = šalālu, v. IV R. 136 39 ē-ba-ra-e-ne = la ašlalu. The verb should be inflected with the dual ending dī-sī, but this is found rarely and only after nouns, Sum. Gr. §130. The above passage is the only example of a dual verb known to me and we may conclude that no inflection existed for the dual in the Sumerian conjugation. ē-ne becomes e-ne in e-ne-ba-dām, “he that slept,” or “they that slept.”

5 This title is applied also to the consort of Negun, son of Ninil, in CT. 24, 26, 113; Negun is a name of Ninurta. Note also the connection of these deities in lūnu Negunna-e(?)-mu-ki(?), son of Amel-dinella, CT. 8, 44, 18 ff. Also gâlan-el-la, SBP. 170, 6 is a title of Gula, Bau or a similar mother goddess. Only in this passage does the title apply to Damkina. In line 31 she is represented as the daughter of Enki.

7 This title is that of the storm in heaven, Zimmern, K. L. 28 Rev. 31 ff. Also SBH. 97, 74 an-ta a-unn-na dūg-bī-ib-bi, “On high the tempest shrieked.”

4 The sign is clearly te but ūb should be expected.

5 Cf. Dhorme, Choix 118 l. 190.

6 Bird of the storm, and symbol of the city of Lagash.

7 In any case a storm bird which flies high and has a shrill voice, SBP. 240, 47. Note that the tarru, a loan-word from dar, is rendered in Sumerian by NAM+SAB-dar-gū in CT. 14, 4, 6 and NAM+SAB is the raven (aribu), hence a bird allied to the raven; in the same passage the “night bird” isur mūši precedes. Muss-Arnolt, Lexicon, 129a renders “kite” which is probable.

8 The Semitic deluge 1. 188 has ur-maš.
19. **nu-mu-un-zu dim-išgar -ra-bi... ba**

20. **mušen-e an-na dim-bi nu......e**

21. **tud-(gu)-e sag-nu-mu-un-da-šub-e**

22. **igi-gig-e igi-gig me-en nu-mu-ni-bi**

23. **sag-gig-gi sag-gig me-en nu**

24. **um-ma-bi um-ma me-en nu**

25. **ab-ba-bi ab-ba me-en nu**

26. **ki-el a-nu-tû-a-ni eri-a nu-mu-ni-ib-sig-gi**

27. **galu ɨd-da bal-e-mi-dê nu-mu-ni-bi**

28. **ligir-e X³ ga-na nu-um-nigin**

29. **lul-e e-lu-lam nu-mu-ni-bi**

30. **galam eri-ka i-dûr³ nu-mu**

31. **⁴nin-el-la a-a-ni ⁴en-ki-ra gu- mu-na-de-a**

19. The (ewes) impregnate their foetus...

20. The birds of heaven their young [forsook] not.

21. The doves were not put to flight.

22. "Oh disease of the eyes thou art the 'Sick Eye,'" one said not.⁴

23. "Oh head ache thou art the 'Head Ache,'" one said not.

24. As to the old woman, "thou art an old woman" one said not.

25. As to the old man, "thou art an old man" one said not.

26. A pure place where water was not poured for cleansing in the city one inhabited not.

27. "A man has changed a canal," one said not.

28. A prince his wisdom withheld not.⁵


30. "The counsellor of a city .........," one said not.

31. Ninella to Enki her⁴ father spoke.

---

¹ This compound probably illustrates a fact in regard to the prefix *sag* already noted by Delitzsch in his Glossary, p. 233. *sag* does not appear to alter the meaning of a compound. Cf., beside the examples cited by Delitzsch, *sag-bi=lamû, sag-giš-ra=mētu.*

² The sign is *lessig* of 𒊔, with the modifying lines on the right of the sign, and usually has the value *galam,* skillful, see BE. XXXI 45. For the simple sign see line 30. Should we suppose a value *galag-ga > galam-ma?*


⁴ The idea is taken from the incantations against the demons of disease.

⁵ The meaning of this line has been suggested by *nigin-galam-ma=šikuru,* to make rare.

⁶ Ninella, the consort and daughter of Enki, is obviously identical with Damšalnunna in ll 32, who is there represented as the daughter of Enki. Damšalnunna is ordinarily represented as the consort of Enki in religious texts.
32. eri-mu-e-sig eri-mu-e-sig nam mu-sum-ma-qa
     32. "A city thou hast founded, a city thou hast founded and a fate thou hast given.

33. Dilmun eri mu-e-sig eri
     33. In Dilmun a city thou hast founded, a city (thou hast founded and a fate thou hast given).

34. [.....]mu-e-sig eri
     34. ......thou hast founded a city (thou hast founded and a fate hast given).

35. ...........id-da nu- un- tuk- a
     35. ......(which) a canal has not.

36. [eri]mu-e-sig eri
     36. [.....] thou hast founded, a city (thou hast founded and a fate thou hast given).

37. ...............da
38. ...............a

About seven lines broken away.

Obverse II

1. gir-ma-an-gal-la-qa a ge-im-la-t i-de
     1. In thy great ...... may waters flow.

2. eri-tu a ge-gal-la gu-mu-ra-nag-nag
     2. Thy city may drink water in abundance.

3. Dilmun-ki a ge-gal-la
     3. Dilmun may drink water in abundance.

4. dul a-seš-a-tu dul a dug-ga ge-im-[la-da-du-ne]
     4. Thy pools of bitter waters as a pool of sweet waters may flow.

5. eri-tu é gu-bar-ra 2 kalam-ma-ka ge-a
     5. Let thy city be the home which assembles the Land of Sumer.

6. Dilmun-ki é
     6. Let Dilmun be the home which assembles the Land of Sumer.

7. i-de-šu 4 babbar ud-de- a

8. 4babbar an-na gud-bi- e
     8. Oh Sun-god in heaven stand.

1 The photograph appears to have da-du not DUL-DU(=i), but in line 12 the sign DUL is clearly written. This curious form of the sign REC. 233 I have found nowhere else. The identification with DUL is the only one which seems possible.

2 Probably for gu-bar-ra = pubhursu, RA. 10, 71 II 1.

3 Cf. i-de-šu = inanna, IV R. 13, Rev. 40 in Corrections and PSBA. 1914, 192.
9. gīr-du-a dug-ezen ki-na-na
10. . . . suğur-e nanna(r)-a- ta
11. ka-a-ki-a-lağ-ta a-dug-ki-ta mu-na-ra- gub

9. He that marches . . . . from his place.
10. . . . the Moon-god . . . .
11. From the mouth of the earth walking forth, with sweet waters of the earth he comes unto thee."

12. gīr-ma-an-gal-la-na a im-ta-č-dē
13. eri-ni a ge-gāl-la im-ta-nag-nag
14. Dilmun-(ki) a ge-[gal-la im-ta-
nag-nag]
15. dul a-šeš-a-ni a-dug-ga na-nam
16. a-šag agar-ra? nam-a-ni še-mu-
na-ab?  
17. eri-ni ė gū-šar-ra kalam-ka-ka
na-nam  
18. Dilmun-(ki) ė-gū-[kar-ka kalam-
ma-ka na-nam]
19. i-dē-šu ėbabbar ud-dē-a ür ge na-
nam-ma
20. dē-ša[t] gišpitug-gi tuk-a
21. ėnin-tud-ama-kalama-šu
22. ėen-ki-ge gišpitug-gi tuk-a
23. ėnin-tud
24. uš-a-ni e-a ba-an-ši-in-dun

12. In his great . . . . waters went up.
13. His city drank water in abundance.
15. His pool of bitter waters was (a pool of) sweet water.
16. The low-lands . . . . .
17. His city was the home which assembles the Land (of Sumer).
18. Dilmun was the home which assembles the Land (of Sumer).
19. Now oh Sun-god shine forth. Verily it was so.
20. He the renderer of decision, the possessor of wisdom,
21. To Nintud the mother of the Land of Sumer,
22. Enki the possessor of wisdom,
23. Even unto Nintud (the mother of the Land of Sumer)
24. His counsel in the temple revealed.

1 The signs are not precisely those of KAR-RA.
2 Ina а та кiam, "verily it was so." This phrase was rendered into Hebrew by ל יי יי.
3 Below N1 a clearly written TAR. Perhaps zal > zil > sil and glossed sil.
5 ùnut = pitaš ša nāri, "to open a canal," V Raw. 42a 55, is a rendering derived from dun to
dig, hence "to open a canal." See also Bab. Liturgies 120, 15. From this meaning the verb
received the sense of "to reveal."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25. á-a-ni gi-a kás-kás1-e ba-an-ši-kás-kás-e</td>
<td>His revelation in the <em>reed-house</em> as a decision he rendered unto her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. uš-a-ni bar-šú maq-dug ša-ba-ra-an-ši-zi</td>
<td>His counsel in secret grandly and beneficently to her he affirmed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. gu-bé-in-de mà-ra galu nu-mu-un-dib-bi</td>
<td>He spoke, &quot;Unto me man enters not.&quot;&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. <em>d</em>en-ki-ge gu-bé-in-de</td>
<td>Enki spoke,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. tī-an-na ni- <em>pad</em></td>
<td>By heaven he swore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. ná-a mà-ra ná-a mà-ra enim-ni</td>
<td>&quot;Cause him to sleep&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt; for me, cause him to sleep for me,&quot; was his word.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. <em>d</em>en-ki-ge a <em>d</em>am-gal-nun-na enim-ni mi-ni-in-dūg</td>
<td>Enki the father of Damgal-nunna uttered his word.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. <em>d</em>in-gar-sag-ga-ge ašag-ga ba-ni-in-rig</td>
<td>Ninharsag the fields……&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a <em>d</em>en-ki-ga-ka</td>
<td>The fields received the waters of Enki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. ud-aš-ám iti- áš-a-ni</td>
<td>It was the first day whose month is the first.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. ud-min-á-m iti-min-a-ni</td>
<td>It was the second day whose month is the third.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. ud-es-ám iti-es-a-ni</td>
<td>It was the third day whose month is the third.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. ud-lim-ám iti-lim-a-ni</td>
<td>It was the fourth day whose month is the fourth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. ud-i-á-m</td>
<td>It was the fifth day [whose month is the fifth].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. ud-aš-ám</td>
<td>It was the sixth day [whose month is the sixth].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<sup>1</sup> For *kas = purussa*, v. *ka-dí*, SBH. 77, 7.  
<sup>2</sup> The reading *bé* for *ne* is a suggestion of *Poebel*.  
<sup>3</sup> *Sunni*, CT. 16, 45, 47.  
<sup>4</sup> See for another suggestion on this important line, PSBA. 1914, 256.  
<sup>5</sup> I. e., to perish.  
<sup>6</sup> The meaning is uncertain. The mother goddess nowhere else appears as hostile to man until he eats of the cassia and is cursed. *ba-ni-in-rig* might of course be rendered by *uruḫiš*, "she devastated," which is the most natural rendering. Perhaps we have to do with the verb *rig* > *ri* to fashion, build, whence *riš* "form," v. *Sum. Gr.* 234. In the latter case we should render, "Ninharsag in the fields had fashioned (men), (but) the fields received the waters of Enki."
40. ud-imin-ám

41. ud-ussu-ám

42. ud-elim-ám iti-elim-a-ni iti nam-sal-a-ka

43. já-lum₁-gim já-lum-gim já-dug-nun-na₂-gim

44. [₄nin-tud]-ama-kalama-ka

45. [₄nin-kùr-ra?]

46. in-lu-ud

40. It was the seventh day [whose month is the seventh].

41. It was the eighth day [whose month is the eighth].

42. It was the ninth day whose month is the ninth; month of the cessation of the waters.

43. Like fat, like fat, like tallow.

44. Nintud mother of the Land,

45. [Even Ninkurra],

46. had created them.

---

**Obverse III**

1. "nīn-tud gù-id-da-gà-šù mi-ni-ib-gī (?)


3. sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne gù-mu-na-de-ê

4. galu-dumu⁴ šāg-ga-e-ne nu-mu-un-ṭu-ṭe-bi⁵

5. "nīn-tud šāg-ga-e-[ne nu-mu-un-ṭu-ṭe-bi]

6. sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi-gi

7. galu-dumu šāg-ga-e-ne nu-mu-un-ṭu-ṭe-bi

1. Nintud to the bank of the river summoned.

2. "Enki (for me) they are reckoned, yea are reckoned."

3. Her herald the divine anointed ones⁶ called.

4. The sons of men who were pious she was not wroth against.

5. Nintud against the pious was not wroth.

6. Her herald the divine anointed ones caused to return.

7. The sons of men who were pious she was not wroth against.

---


² The same word in Gud. Cyl. A 18, 21 where it follows já-num, butter.

³ The verb im-da-lal occurs in Poebel, Cr. VI 4 tā-da-ne-ne im-da-lal, "With you he has been reckoned," i.e., counted among the immortals. Cf. also line 2 tā-ad-da ĝe-im-da-lal, "With thee may he be reckoned." For lał in this sense note also ba-ab-lal-en = tattadaš, "Thou countest him," BE. 29, 7 Rev. 53.

⁴ Cf. Zimmerm. KL. 27 Rev. 11, 9.

⁵ For ṯu-ṭe = ṯaru, v. BA. V. 638, 11.

⁶ Probably priests. Or perhaps the Anunnaki are meant.
8. ₇+nin-lud šág-[ga-e-ne nu-mu-un-
    ṭu-te-bi]
9. ₇lugal-mu ni-dirig-ga-ri₁ ni-dirig-
    ga-ri
10. gīr-ni āš-a siš-má-a bé-in-gub

11. ₂gu-ma² maškim³-ma nam⁴-mi-
    in-gub
12. dù-im-ma-an-tab gibil-im-ma-an-
    su-leg
13. ⁴en-ki-ge ašag-ga ba-ni-in-rig
14. ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a ⁴en-ki-
    ga-ka
15. ud-āš-ām iti-āš-a-ni
16. ud-min-ām iti-min-a-ni
17. ud-elim-ām iti-elim-a-ni iti nam-
    sal-a-ka⁶

8. Nintud against the pious was
not wroth.
9. My king, who was filled with
fear, yea was filled with fear,
10. His foot alone upon the boat
set.
11. Two "humbles," as watchmen
he placed on guard.
12. Doubly he caulked the ship;
torches he lighted⁶.
13. Enki devastated the fields.
14. The fields received the waters
of Enki.
15. It was the first day, whose
month is the first.
16. It was the second day, whose
month is the second.
17. It was the ninth day, whose
month is the ninth; the
month of the cessation of the
waters.

¹ For this emphatic ri, v. Sum. Gr. §163; also ri=ge in enem⁴mulliša-ri, "the word of Enil," Bab. Lit. 186 Rev. 11. Literally "the terror filled."
² kanšu, dual of kanšu, "the humble," a designation for slaves or attendants. Wholly uncertain. For güm a derivative of gam=kanašu, cf. Sum. Gr. 318.
³ This sign which recurs in line 31 below has at the beginning an element identical with the first part of the sign gidim=utukku; also maškim=utukku, RA. 10, 71 11 10. In all other known examples this sign begins with PA. cf. Maništusu A 14, 6, etc. Some confusion between these two signs must be supposed to explain the form here.
⁴ nam is not negative here and the positive force can be paralleled; nam-la-e-gal=tapi,
"thou hast opened," IV R 20 No. 2, 3; na-am-ma-ni=ublamma, SBP. 172, 36; nam-ma-ra-ê
(From his queen), "he caused him to go forth," SBP. 284, 16. El⁻ nininšu-ša ₇š-da nam-la-ê min-
kaš-ma ₇š-da šu-ne bé-dib, "From the chamber of Eninnu at daybreak he went forth and again
to the temple at midday he went," Gud. Cyl. A 8, 1. šu-nam-mi-de, "he called," SAK. 12 VI 7;
šu-nam-mi-in-de, CT. 16, 20, 132; cf. 22, 236. This nam is obviously the emphatic nam seen
in nanam an emphatic enclitic; šu-gi-me na-nam, "verify I take hold," II R. 16, 36; kür dig-dig-
gu-na-nam, "the land it afflicts," SBP. 44, 3 (cf. 5). Note also na-mu-un-ba-al, "verify he
transgresses against," SBP. 284, 12 ff.
⁵ The second rehearsal omits the months 3-8. This form of recital describes in a vivid
manner the gradual rise of the waters and the monotony of their long duration.
⁶ Cf. NE-liš-ud = tiparu, torch, BA. V, 708, 4. This phrase is wholly uncertain.
su-leg in niš-su-leg, KL. 78 R. 19 has a meaning synonymous with "atonement, purifi-
cation."
18. já-lum-gim já-lum-gim já-dug-
      nun-na-gim
19. "[nín-kúr-ra já-lu]m
20. "nín-tu[d ama kalama-ka] in-
      tu-ud
      ni-[ib-gi?]
22. "en-ki-ge mà-ra im-[da-la-l-e-ne
      im-da-lal-e-ne]
23. sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne [gü-
      mu-na-de-e]
24. galu-dumu šág-ga-e-ne nu-mu-
      un-[gu-te-bi]
25. "nín-kúr-ra šág-[ga-e-ne nu-mu-
      un-gu-te-bi]
26. sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne mu-
      na-ni-ib-gi-gi
27. galu-dumu šág-ga-e-ne su-in-
      SAl+KU-ni
28. "nín-kúr-ra šág-[ga-e-ne su-in-
      SAl+KU-ni]
29. lugal-mu ni-dirig-ga-ri ni-dirig-
      ga-ri
30. gir-ni dš-a et₇ma-a bé-in-gub
31. 2 gu-ma maškim-ma nam-mi-in-
      gub
32. dš-im-ma-an-tab gibil-im-ma-ni-
      su-le
33. "en-ki-ge ašag ba-ni-in-rig

18. Like fat, like fat, like tallow.
19. Ninkurra¹ (like) fat,
20. Nintud [mother of the Land] had created them.
21. Ninkurra [to the shore of the river had summoned].
22. "Enki, for me they are reckoned, yea they are reckoned."
23. Her herald the divine anointed ones had called.
24. The pious sons of men she was not wrath against.
25. Ninkurra against the pious sons of men was not wrath.
26. Her herald caused the divine anointed ones to turn unto her.
27. The pious sons of men she...........
28. Ninkurra the pious............
29. My king the terror filled, the terror filled,
30. His foot alone on the ship had set.
31. Two "humbles" as watchmen on guard he had placed.
32. Doubly he had caulked the ship; torches he had lighted.
33. Enki devastated the fields.

¹ This title of Nintud does not occur in the great list. CT. 24, 12 and 24, 25 but has the same import as the title Ninkarsag, "lady of the mountains." Both names reflect the ancient home of a mountain dwelling people who spoke of their great mother goddess in this way. In fact the great list does apply this name to the major type of mother goddess Innini, CT. 25, 30, Obv. 5. This aspect common to both branches of the unmarried goddess is seen in "Nintud ama-ma¢ kür-kür-ra-ge," "Nintud, great mother, she of the mountains," Babyl. Liturgies No. 102 ll. 3 and 7. In later texts Ninkurra developed into a patroness of stonemasons and quite an independent deity, II R. 58, 68; VR 61 IV 17; Zimmern, Beiträge, 142, 15; ibid., Col. III 6; also No. 38, 20; Weissbach, Miscel., XII 31; CT. 26, VI 77; Meissner-Rost, Senecberib, p. 19, l. 20.
34. ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a Ṗen-ki-ga-ka
35. ud-āš-ām iti dāš-a-ni
36. ud-elim-ām iti elim-a-ni iti nam-sal-α-ka

37. jā-lum-gim jā-lum-gim īa-dug-nun-na-gim
38. Ṗnin-kūr-ra īa-lum
39. Ṗlaq-tūg sal-ni-dim in-
40. Ṗnin-lud-ri Ṗlaq-tug-[ra]
  īa-mu-na-de-e
41. na-ga-e1-rig na-rig-mu-
42. īa-ga-ra-dūg(? e) enim-enim-mu-
43. galu-āš-ām mà-ra im-da-lal-[e-ne im-da-lal-e-ne]
44. Ṗen-ki-ge mà-ra im-[da-lal-e-ne im-da-lal-e-ne]
45. īgi-im-e-

34. The fields received the waters of Enki.
35. It was the first day whose month is the first.
36. It was the ninth day whose month is the ninth; the month of the cessation of the waters.
37. Like fat, like fat, like tallow,
38. Ninkurra (like) fat [had created them].
39. To the divine Tagtug she revealed secrets . . .
40. Nintud to the divine Tagtug spoke.
41. "Verily I will purge thee; my purging . . .
42. I will tell thee; my words . . .
43. Oh thou one man, for me [they were reckoned, yea were reckoned].
44. Enki, for me has reckoned [has reckoned].
45. . . . .

One line broken from the end of this column.

Reverse I

About twelve lines broken away before the first traces of lines in this column.

13. . . . . . sal-ni-dim īgi-im8 . . .
14. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
13. . . . . . revealed secrets [caused] to see . . .
14. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

---

1 See Thureau-Dangin in RA. 11, 53 for e indicating the second person both of the subject and object.
2 I.e., Ninhursag will explain how Tagtug escaped the universal catastrophe, and secured his pardon.
3 This verb occurred in the obliterated line Obv. III 39.
15. ............ a-na ............
16. ............ šag giš-sar a ............
17. ............
18. [é-bara-gu-ul-dú]-ba DU-um
19. é-rab-ga-ra-an-ba DU-um
20. e-a tğ-sú-nun-tğ-tud1-mu ge-
dúr
21. ‘en-ki-ge tğ-sú-nun-tğ-tud-mu ge-ne-in-dúr
22. 2 gu-ma a-si-si2-da-ni
23. eg a-bé-in-si
24. pà a-bé-in-si
25. kislag a-bé-in-2
26. nu-giš-sar a-na NE .......
27. gú-ţal4 gu-da im-ši-in .......
28. a-ba me-en giš-sar .......
29. ‘en-ki-ge nu-giš-sar [ra .......

Here four lines are broken away.

34. ............ -im-ma- .......
35. é-bara-gu-ul-dú-ba im-ma-na-an-
gub
36. é-rab-ga-ra-an-ba5 im-ma-na-an-
gub ur-ra-ni bé-in-mal-e
37. ‘en-ki-ge igi-ni-im-ma-an-sig-
sig6 mudur šu-bé-in-duğ

1 A title of Girra, god of the flocks, and interpreted by 3a si-ma-ni, CT. 24, 42, 95. The ideogram is usually rendered by summanu, a nose cord for leading oxen (also men, as in Senh. Taylor inscr. V 74). simanu and summanu are obviously connected so that Girra is thus the god who leads the oxen. (My note in SBP. 66 n. 1 is false.) This title is applied to Adad in SBH. 120, 21 and 49, 8, where the phrase markas mātim seems to translate the ideogram. An unpublished text from Erch employs markasu as a synonym of massāḥ, “lader.” In CT. 24, 7, 19 the ideogram tğ-sú-nun-tğ-tud designates apparently Ninurta3a son of Anu, and recurs in 24, 34, 2.
2 a-si-si occurs also in SBP. 330, 16 a-ni mi-ni-in-si and perhaps also in Bab. Liturgies 209 a-mu-ni-in-si-ê.
3 We expect de, i. e., a-bé-in-de=ıakt 3a iki, but the sign is not de.
5 The sign is imperfectly made.
6 Cf. igi-sig=amāru, Br. 9323; RA. 10, 74, 29, and the name of the deity igit-sig-sig, CT 24, 3, 25; ZIMMERN, RT. No. 27, 8.
38. "Enki for Tagtug waited
39. In his temple he cried, "Open the door, open the door."
40. Who is it that thou art?"
41. "I am a gardener joyful..."
42. .......I will cause to be given unto thee.
43. The divine Tagtug with glad heart opened the temple's door.
44. Enki unto the divine Tagtug revealed secrets.
45. His.......he gave unto him joyously.
46. In E-baraguldu he gave unto him.
47. In Erabgaran he gave unto him.
48. The divine Tagtug was confided; the left hand he raised; the (right) hand he composed.

**Reverse II**

Here about six lines are obliterated.

7. ..............
8. [ú......... im-ma-jan-ma]
9. [ú......... im-ma-jan-ma]
10. [ú......... im-ma-jan-ma]
11. [ú......... im-ma-jan-ma]
12. [ú.........]
13. [ú.........]
14. [ú......... im-ma-ma]
15. "Enki, for me they are reckoned, they are reckoned."
16. Her herald the divine anointed ones called.

1 giš-ma is the ordinary ideogram for tittu, fig.
17. As for the plants, their fates I have determined forever.
18. Something it is; something it is.
19. Her herald caused the divine anointed ones to return unto her.
20. My king as to the woody plants she commanded:
21. "He shall cut off; he shall eat."
22. My king as to the fruit bearing plants, she commanded:
23. "He shall pluck; he shall eat."
24. My king as to the...plants, she commanded:
25. "He shall cut off; he shall eat."
26. My king as to the prickly plants, she commanded:
27. "He shall pluck; he shall eat."
28. My king as to the plants...she commanded:
29. "[He shall cut off:] he shall eat."
30. [My king as to the plants...] she commanded:
31. "[He shall pluck; he shall eat]."
32. [My king as to the plants...] she commanded:
33. "[He shall cut off; he shall eat]."
34. [My king] the cassia plant approached.
35. He plucked; he ate.
36. ...the plant, its fate she had determined; therein she came upon it.

1 This term appears to refer to exogenous plants whose fruits were used for food.
2 *na in the verbal forms of lines 21–33 has probably a locative force, "therefrom."
3 For the grammatical elucidation of this passage see PSBA. 1914, 191, note 8.
37. ḫin-ĝar-sag-ga-ge mu ḫen-ki
    nam-em-ba-an-kud
38. i-da na-âm-ti-la en-na ba-dîg-gi-a
    i-da-ba-ra-an-bar-ri-en
39. ḫa-nun-na-ge-ne sâ-ĝar-la im-mi-
    in-dûr-dûr-ru-ne-eş
40. ǧuš-a ḫen-lil-ra mu-na-ra-ab-bi
41. ma-e ḫin-ĝar-sag-ga mu-e-şi-du-
    mu-un a-na-dm nîg-ba-mu
42. ḫen-lil tud ǧuš-a mu-na-nî-îb-
    gi-gi
43. ta-e ḫin-ĝar-sag-ga mu-e-du-mu-
    un-nam
44. uru-mâ 2 ǧis-mal1 ga-ri-dû mu-ḫu
    ge-pâd-di
45. elim? sag-ni aš-âm2 im-ma-an-
    pêš-pêš3
46. [gî?]-ni aš-âm im-ma-an-bûr-
    bûr
47. igi-ni aš-âm gibil-bê-in-ĝar

37. Ninharsag in the name of Enki
   uttered a curse.
38. "The face of life until he dies
    not shall he see."4
39. The Anunnaki in the dust sat
    down (to weep).5
40. Angrily unto Enlil she spoke.
41. "I Ninharsag begat thee chil-
    dren and what is my re-
    ward?"6
42. Enlil the begetter angrily re-
    plied;
43. Thou oh Ninharsag hast be-
    gotten children, (therefore)
44. "In my city two creatures I
    will make for thee," shall thy
    name be called.
45. The renowned—his head as a
    prototype she had moulded.
46. His foot as a prototype she had
    designed.
47. His eyes as a prototype she had
    made luminous.

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1 In the legend of creation DT. 41 line 9, Ninigiazaq, i.e., Ea, creates two šu-ba-[re]. This
   restoration is plausible but uncertain. "Two small creatures" is the version generally given
   for this line. ǧis-mal would be rendered perhaps by šiknātu, "creature."
2 Literally maḥru, restā, "first."
3 ǧêš, "to sculpturing," ǧâšâtu, ǧâšâdu. Both verbs are doubtful but for ǧâšâdu compare
   Messerschmidt, KTA. 18, 7, bišir šadā ina agullat šrâ lu-pi-ši-id, "the living rock with bronze
   axes I hewed." Note also ǧêš = purkullu, sculptor, and ǧâšâru, plate.
4 That is freedom from disease he shall no longer have.
5 A similar passage occurs in the Babylonian version, Epic of Gilgamesh XI 125, where "the
   gods who are the Anunnaki" weep over mankind with Ishtar who had begotten men. The
   text has išâni lu-ut štA-nun-na-ki. For lu-ut in the sense of id est, "that is," see CT. 17, 42, 13,
   štud lu-ut ƙar, "Nintud, that is Mah."
6 With this passage compare Genesis 6, 6: "And Jahweh repented that he had made man
   on the earth and he was vexed in his heart." See also on the idea of God's expressing regret
   for what he had done in Hebrew, Skinner, Genesis 151.
Reversal III

About five lines are broken away.

27. 4šaš-mu a-na-şu a-ra-gig 27. "My brother what of thee is ill?"
28. 4ul-tul-mu ma-gig 28. "My flocks are distressed."
29. 4nin-tul-la 4im-ma-ra-an-î-ud 29. "The queen of the flocks I have created for thee."

1 Read dingir-ri-ne-ge(?).
2 For Abu or Tammuz as a patron of pastures and flocks see Tammuz and Ishtar, p. 54 n. 5, 162 and 8. In line 41 below his protection over vegetation is emphasized. Since the ideogram \[ \square \] in line 25 is followed by a broken sign the whole may possibly be an unknown group of signs for re'ti'um, pasture.
3 Nintula also in CT. 24, 26, 113, where she is the consort of Negun.
30. ṣeš-mu a-na-ğu a-ra-ğu KA mu ma-gig
32. ṣeš-mu a-na-ğu a-ra-gig ka mu ma-gig
33. nin-ka-sī im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud
34. ṣeš-mu a-na-ğu a-ra-gig [.....mu ma-gig]
35. na-ziš im-ma-ra-[an-tu-ud]
36. ṣeš-mu a-na-ğu a-ra-gig da-[ti-mu ma-gig]
37. Da-zi-mā-a im-ma-ra-[an-tu-ud]
38. ṣeš-mu a-na-ğu a-ra-gig ti-[mu ma-gig]
39. nin-tiš im-ma-ra-an-[tu-ud]
40. ṣeš-mu a-na-ğu a-ra-gig mē-mu [ma-gig]
41. en-šāg-mē im-ma-ra-an-[tu-ud]
42. tūl-tūl-lā-baš tu-ne-en-na-dāš gar-ra-[ne-en-na-dāš]
43. ab-ū lugal ū ĝē-a
44. nin-tul-la en má-gan-na ĝē-a

30. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My ... is ill."
31. "Nin-KA-ú-tud I have created for thee."
32. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My mouth is distressed."
33. "The queen who fills the mouth (with wine) I have created for thee."
34. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My ... is ill."
35. "The goddess Naṭī I have created for thee."
36. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My ... is ill."
37. "The goddess Dazimā I have created for thee."
38. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My health is ill."
39. "The queen of life I have created for thee."
40. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My understanding is distressed."
41. "The Lord who renders the understanding good I have created for thee."
42. Since grandly were they born, (grandly) they do,6
43. Abu lord of vegetation let be.
44. Nintulla lord7 of Magan let be.

1 Ninkasi is a title of Geštinana, the vine goddess.
See also CT. 24, 48, 10; a handmaid of Sin.
Text NE1
4 Probably goddess of femininity. In line 48 she is connected with the month (itti) and in
111 R. 66 Rev. 4 she follows ḫu-a-a-i-tu, "Father of the month?"
The text has ḫu-āḫ; cf. Sum. Gr. §43 and p. 248 tūl. 2.
The restoration is uncertain. Cf. Sum. Gr. §211 for emphatic en-na.
Sic! Here a male divinity?
Note on Obverse III, 11

The two watchmen correspond to the boatman of Uta-napištim in the Gilgamish Epic story. In that legend we have considerable warrant for supposing that on the ship Uta-napištim really had two boatmen also, for there is great confusion regarding the name of the boatman. In Col. X his name occurs six times as Ur-Nimin and in the same manner seven times in Col. XI. Since Nimin or “forty,” is the sacred number for the god Ea, this name should probably be rendered Ur-Ea. On the other hand, the same name occurs twice in Col. XI as Ur-Ninnu, where Ninnu or “fifty,” is the sacred number of Enlil. In the _Journal of the American Oriental Society_, Vol. 23, 48-50, the author concluded that the original

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1 _Cf. Historical and Religious Texts_, BE. XXXI, p. 18.
2 Uncertain. Ninazu, “Lord of healing,” is an epithet of Nergal. I understand the line to mean, “May N. have Ninazu’s skill.”
3 _Cf. note 2._
4 _Nimin_, written with four heads, is the sacred number of the god Ea. By confusion this sign came to mean _šanabi_ (4/6) which in No. 4604 (pt. 2) actually means Ea. _Dhorme_ seems to be responsible for the reading _Ur-Shanabi_, which Ungnad and Rogers have adopted. _Thureau-Dangin_ explained the origin of _šanabi_, see OLZ. 1909, 383 and _Sum. Gr._ p. 121.
name was Ur-Enlil or Ur-Ninnū; but in XI 95 this same boatman is named Pu-zu-ur-dinuKurgal, which I take to be a Semitic view of the meaning of the Sumerian name Ur-Enlil. If this be true then we have only one boatman in this story. If, however, Puṣur-dinuKurgal represents originally another person then this story also mentioned two boatmen. In favor of regarding Puṣur-dinuKurgal as identical with Ur-Enlil is first of all the fact that dinuKūr-gal in this poem, which was composed in the period of the first Babylonian dynasty, obviously refers to Enlil; see for this meaning of kur-gal, SBP. 220, 1; 280, 13; IV Raw. 23 A 29. The reading Puṣur-dinuAmurrū is certainly false, for kur-gal became a title of the western Adad or Amurrū, only in the late period; see CLAY, BE. X 7 ff, and TALLQUIST, Namenbuch 233. Even here kur-gal probably refers to Enlil in most cases. Puṣur-dinuKurgal, or Puṣur-dinuEnlil, means, “The secret of Enlil,” a name the Semites may have devised to replace Ur-Enlil, since by the craft of Ea, the secret plan of Enlil was revealed to Uta-napištim. Then again the Sumerian Ur may possibly have the meaning puṣru, “secret.” Note that the Sumerian for puṣru is gi-ra, CT. 12, 2B 15. It is possible that UR also had a value gir. Both UR and NITAḪ have the meaning ardu, “male,” and NITAḪ has the value gir as is proven by dinuNITAḪ-ra=gī-ra, in MESSERSCHMIDT, KTA. 26, 12. Also gīr-ra=gasru, “strong,” IV R. 9A 36, a title of the moon-god and gīr-gīr-ni=mugdašru, “the powerful,” IV R. 21B rev., 14; gīr-ra glossed ga-aš-ru, K. 69, obv. 6=SBH. 19, 42. But the ordinary meaning of both NITAḪ and UR is, “virile, strong, manly,” hence UR may well have the value gir. Supposing this to be true this sign would readily

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¹So UNGNAD, Alltobrientsche Texte und Bilder 52, and he is erroneously followed by ROGERS, Cuneiform Parallels 94.
be used for writing the word *gira* (= *puṣru*) also. *Pu-спор-Kurgal*, may be a Semitic translation of *Ur-*Kurgal, or *Ur-*Enlil. Any of these theories may account for the various forms of this name and we have probably to assume but one boatman in the Babylonian account. Nevertheless the suggestion of two names which may have been confused is possible in view of the fact that the Nippurian version has two pilots or watchmen.
FRAGMENT OF A LEGEND CONCERNING
ZI-UD-SUD-DU, HERO OF THE FLOOD

This single column tablet (No. 4611) probably belongs to still another epic on the Flood and the Fall of Man, which in this case was redacted on a series of small tablets. The portion here preserved consists of twenty-one consecutive lines from the end of the obverse and top of the reverse of a tablet now numbered 4611 in the University Museum Collection. In these lines a divinity which is almost certainly the mother goddess Nintud instructs the survivor of the Flood in religious and political matters. The same situation occurs in both the Epics which have been already published from the Museum Collection. After the Flood Nintud begins an address to the royal survivors at the end of Col. III in the Epic of the Fall of Man (No. 4561). The hero is there called Tagtug. This address is almost wholly lost on that tablet, but the succeeding address to Tagtug by Enki and also another by the mother goddess have been preserved there. The Epic of Creation and the Flood (No. 10673) in Col. IV also contains an address to this hero who there bears the same name as in fragment No. 4611. Here Nintud¹ warns her protégé concerning the catastrophe and provides for his escape in a ship precisely as in the Epic of the Fall. But the fragmentary lines at the end of the sixth column of the Epic of Creation and the Flood (No. 10673) have led us to infer that according to this version Zi-ud-sud-du (or Zi-ud-gid-du) was translated to a blessed

¹ This divinity is most certainly the subject of the address in No. 10673.
land or isle. On the contrary, the Epic of the Fall makes him (Tagtug) a gardener and like the Biblical account of Noah he continues his life among men.

From the fragment 4611 it is obvious that this third version held the same view of the survivor of the Flood. Zi-ud-sud-du continues his earthly career and under the guidance of the gods teaches men the proper worship of the gods and establishes justice and mercy among men. We shall with further investigation of the Nippur Collection recover other portions of this legend and the instructions revealed to the hero of the Flood for the regulation of human society. We may also expect sooner or later to recover portions of these post-diluvian instructions and revelations which correspond to those delivered to Noah in both the J¹ and P² documents.

The information derived from fragment 4611 throws doubt upon our interpretation of the last lines of No. 10673, in which Zi-ud-sud-du is supposed to have been translated from among men.³ This assumption was based more upon the Babylonian statements concerning Utanapishtim and those of Berossus concerning Xisuthrus than upon anything in the text of No. 10673. Nevertheless the fragmentary lines do point to this conclusion and we must assume that the Sumerians held conflicting views about the post-diluvian history of Zi-ud-sud-du or Tagtug. They also applied two epithets to this hero and the fragment which is edited on the following page shows that Zi-ud-sud-du and Tag-tug denote the same person.

¹ Genesis, 8, 15–22.
² Genesis, 9, 1–17.
³ See above, p. 15, and Poebel, Creation and Deluge, p. 61.
4611

Obverse

1. ........
2. zi-ud-sud-du
dug-dug] 2. Oh Zi-udssuddu a command
3. na-ri-ga-mu2 su-ti-de [ga-mu-
nariga] [will
4. dug-dug-ga mu-na-ab-te(g) ......... I accomplish]."

Reverse

1. ........ TUD na-an-gaz tag (?) e?
2. na-an-gaz-gaz tag ingar e-
[gaz-gaz?]
3. e-gal na-an-gaz-gaz tag....

4. sag-kur-ra4 kur-bi-ta-sa e-

5. galu ki-nu-tu-a-ni sa-ut-um...
6. dumu-mu ki 4babbar a-
7. a gu-mu-ra-an-de-e igi-tu-tu ge

8. e-nu-tuk e-a-ni tul-la-la
9. uru-nu-tuk uru-ni tul-la-la
10. la-ba-da-dug-li e-la-li?

11. [dumu]-mu ki 4babbar-2-[a]
12. na-an-ni

1. In ........ not shall be sacrificed; beside the........
2. In.......not shall be sacrificed;
beside the brick wall shalt
thou [sacrifice]
3. In.......of the palace not shall be
sacrificed; beside the......
[sbalt thou sacrifice]
4. The slave from a strange land,
to his land thou shalt [cause
to return]
5. Him that knows no place (home)
shalt thou cause to [.........]
6. My son where the sun goes up,
7. Shall he be thy water libator,
before thee . . . shall he.....
8. Of him that has no house, his
house enlarge.
9. Of him that has no city, his
city enlarge.
10. Him that is not happy, with
joy [entbuse].
11. My [son] where the sun goes up,

1. In view of this reading and of zi-sud-da = u-l-nar1-te, CT. 18, 30 a 9, it is probable that the
sign BU in Ni. 10673 Obv. III 20, Rev. IV 2, V 7 has the value sud and that the vowel u at the
end is due to harmony.

2 See also Ni. 10673 Rev. IV 5 and na-ri-mu, Ni. 4361 Obv. III 41.

3 Restored from Ni. 10673 Rev. IV 4, and 4361 Obv. III 42.

4 Cf NITA]KUR = ardu.
DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

PLATE


III, IV. Light brown tablet. Unbaked. Large fragment from right edge of a three column tablet containing a Semitic poem on the creation of mankind. Formerly published by Dr. T. G. Pinches, Cuneiform Tablets of the British Museum, Vol. VI., pl. 6. Measurements in centimeters, 14×13×2.5. Bu. 91–5–9, 269; in the British Museum. Period of First Babylonian Dynasty. See page 25.

IV. Slate-colored fragment from right edge of a baked tablet belonging to the Ašurbanipal Library. Not more than half the column is preserved in width and only a slight portion of the column in length. The text belongs to the Assyrian redaction of the Eridu version of the Fall of Man and is a variant of part of the obverse of a large tablet found at Amarna, which contains the central portion of the Canaanitic Version. See Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, No. 356. K. 8743; in the British Museum. See page 42.

IV A. Light brown. Baked. End of obverse and top of reverse of a single column tablet. Measurements in centimeters, 7×5.1×2.5. C.B.S. 4611. See page 90.
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Mami (ilat), title of mother goddess as creatress, 17 f. Creates man from blood and clay, 25. In great theological list, CT. 24, 13, 41 = 25, 96. Same name as earlier dMa-ma, root /mal= banû, “to build, create.” Mama does not occur before Sargon the ancient, but the title is earlier than Aruru. Without dingir in n. pr. at Agade; Gimmam-ma, Stèle of Maništusu, 8, 22; at Ur also without dingir; Amar-ma-ma, Ur-ma-ma, LeGrain, Les Rois d’Ur, 331, 7. Cf. Ur-ma-mi, Thureau-Dangin, Recueil de Textes Chaléens, 353 1 3, but Ur-dMa-mi, 398 114; Bur-dMa-mi, DeClercq Catalogue, 209. In Hammurapi period, Utul-dMa-mi, and Ma-mi-sarrat, Ranke, Personal Names, 201. See also Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats, 63. Hymn in Semitic to Ma-ma, CT. 15, 1 f. In proper names of Cassite period dMa-ma; see Clay, Personal Names of the Cassite Period, 206. Disappears after Cassite period. In theological list, CT. 24, 13, 40 = 25, 96. The title A-ma and A-mà (MAL) is connected with Mama, and is the ordinary title of the mother goddess Nintud at Agade. Šargalisarri built her temple at Babylon (SAK. 225c), in Neo-Babylonian period called Emah of Nimmah, see VAB. IV, Index. For this temple to A-mà in Babylon see RTC. 118 Rev. 5. In n. pr. dA-mà-isdagal, Stèle Maništusu, C. XIII 24; XIX 28. The priest of A-mà, ibid. A. XV
19. Maništusu is šakkanak of ḍA-m₃₄, RA. 9, 92, 11. Urumuš mentions her with Shamash as deity in Agade, RA. 8, 138 Col. I. Also in a letter of the Hammurapi period, CT. 29, 43, 25+40. [Source unknown.] At Dir, a city in Ašnunnak, mentioned in the Sargon Stone, dated in the 11th year of Sargon of Assyria and written in Babylonian, Col. IV 27, a man is šangu of ści₃ Ma₃₄. In Neo-Babylonian period the title survives. ści₃ Anim ści₃ Enlil ści₃ Ma₃₄ arrasu marratu li-i-rur-ul. “May Anu, Enlil and Ama each curse him with his (her) bitter curse,” STRASSMAIER, Cyrus, 277, 17. The title has been read falsely A-É(= mar btti) in n. pra. of the late period, TALLQUIST, Neu-babylonisches Namenbuch, 226. Not to be confused with DUMU-É = mar btti. A marble slab from Agade, OBI pl. VII Col. V 4 has ḍA-m₃₄ (HINKE, Boundary Stones, 220). On the other hand, ḍA-É = mar btti = Nebo, is certain in Vorderasiatliche Schriftdenkmäler, I 2761+3, ści₃ Nan₃ u ści₃ A-É (Kudurru of Nabušum iškun). Cf. ibid. I 17 ści₃ A-É kardu mugdašru and Nan₃ is birat ści₃ Nabu in l. 5, hence A-É = mar btti = Nabu is certain from ninth century. When the signs MAL and É are confused the rendering must be settled by the context in the late period. In theological list, CT. 24, 13, 39 = 25, 95.


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Ninella (ilat), 70, 11; 71, 31.

Ninkarrak (ilat), patroness of healing, 48; 49.

Ninkasi (ilat), 52; 84, 33, 46.

Nin-KA-utud (ilu), 52; 84, 31, 45.

Ninhiṣṣag (ilat), one of the most ancient and well known titles of the mother goddess as creatress, 16; 22; 26; 27; 74, 32; 82, 37, 41, 43; 83, 12, 18, 23. In theological list regarded among 41 names as the third most important, CT. 24, 12, 3 = 25, 75. Principal title of mother goddess in Keš. As a married type she is associated with the god Šuligi, ZIMMERN, KL. 78, Obv. 15, Rev. 14; SBP. 150, note 5, line 10. Šuligi is a form of Enlil originally. Her
symbol on boundary stones is the altar with oval band and occurs beside those of the great trinity, Anu, Enlil, Ea. See Hinke, Boundary Stones, p. 6, fig. 2, No. 7, etc. Also Deimel, Pantheon Babylonicum, Rome, 1914, p. 208.

Nin-kurra (ilat), 77, 19, 21, 25, 28; 78, 38.

Nintil (ilat), 52; 84, 39; 85, 49.

Nintud (ilat), one of principal titles of mother goddess as patroness of birth. Creates man, 16; 17 n. 2; 17; 18 n. 6. Liturgy to her, 19 f. Woman created in her image. Saves mankind in the flood, 28; serpent deity, 37. In the Nippur epic, 73, 21, 23; 75, 44; 75, 1; 75, 5, 8; 77, 20; 78, 40. The reading is certainly Nintud not Nintur as Deimel, Pantheon Babylonicum 221 has read. The second sign is REC. 147 tud = banû not tur = erebu, REC. 144, 145, 56. See Ham. Code III 35. Also 'nin-tu-ud, CT. 24, 12, 13 = 'nin-tud 24, 25, 82. Note also her title ummu bānîtu, “begetting mother,” where tud is rendered by bāntu, Code XLIV 40, and as 'Mag she is ummu bānîti-ia, VAB. IV 128, 16; as 'Ninmag she is also ummu bānîti-ia, King, Letters and Inscriptions, 201, 45. In 'nin-tud-ra, Poebel, Creation Epic, 1 3, ra is either an emphatic particle or the postposition ra. The forms 'nin-tud-tud-ri, CT. 24, 25, 81 and 'nin-tud-ri, p. 82, 40 and BL. 54, 5, probably contain the word ri<rib = du-nanu “form,” and the whole should be rendered beltu bānti dunani, “Queen, creatress of forms.” As a married type she is associated with 'Sulsīgē, CT. 24, 25, 97, and BL. 91, 13.

Nintulla (ilat), 52; 83, 29, 44.

Nippur, the Nippurian version of the Fall of Man, 38; 45; 49 ff. 54 f. Does not mention immortality, 59.

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Orphic literature, 33.

P document in Hebrew, agrees with Nippur version, 55; 61. No sin before Flood period, 60.

P.’s genealogical list, 62 f.

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Patrons, sent to alleviate human sorrow. In Adapa legend, 49; in Nippur version, 52; in Hebrew, 52.

Pinches, T. G., 24 n. 7.

Poebel, A., 13; 15; 27; 65; 74.

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Strong, A., 39; 47.
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Winckler, Hugo, 9; 10; 38.
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Xisuthrus, translated to blessed isle, 15; 66.
Zarpanit, goddess in Dilmun, 9.
Zimmern, H., 21; 23; 38; 65; 69; 70.
Ziudsuddu, name of the hero of the Flood on Poebel tablet, 15. Legend of, p. 90.
ABBREVIATIONS

AJSL.  American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
ASKT.  Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte, by Paul Haupt.
BA.    Beiträge zur Assyriologie, ed. Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt.
BE.    Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, ed. H. V. Hilprecht.
BL.    Babylonian Liturgies, by S. Langdon.
C.B.S. Catalogue of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum.
CT.    Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum.
DP.    Documents Pré-sargoniques, by Allotte de la Fuïe.
KL.    Altbabylonische Kultlieder, by H. Zimmern.
KTA.   Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, by L. Messerschmidt.
OLZ.   Orientalische Literaturzeitung, ed. F. Peiser.
PBS.   Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum.
R. or Raw.  Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, begun by H. C. Rawlinson, continued by George Smith, Norris and Pinches.
RA.    Revue d'Assyriologie, ed. V. Scheil et Fr. Thureau-Dangin.
REC.   Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Écriture Cunéiforme, by Fr. Thureau-Dangin.
SAI.   Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme, by B. Meissner.
SAK.   Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften, by Fr. Thureau-Dangin.
SBH.   Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen, by G. Reisner.
SBP.   Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms, by S. Langdon.
Sum. Gr.  A Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy, by the same.
VAB.   Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, ed. A. Jeremias and H. Winckler.
ZA.    Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, ed. C. Bezold.
AUTOGRAPH PLATES
PHOTOGRAPHIC PLATES
SUMERIAN LITURGICAL TEXTS

BY

STEPHEN LANGDON

PHILADELPHIA
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1917
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INTRODUCTION

Under the title Sumerian Liturgical Texts the author has collected the material of the Nippur collection which belonged to the various public song services of the Sumerian and Babylonian temples. In this category he has included the epical and theological poems called tag-sal. These long epical compositions are the work of a group of scholars at Nippur who ambitiously planned to write a series of poems concerning cosmological, ethical and religious problems. They were read or sung in the temples and formed part of the corpus of sacred literature in Sumerian times, like the liturgies and hymns, but unfortunately these fine compositions composed in narrative and heroic style were eventually banished from the public readings. For such reason the scribes ceased to propagate this the best and most important branch of all their literature.

The poem published in Part I of this volume which is the Epic of Paradise, has as its colophon ["Nidab]a tag-sal, "Oh praise the goddess Nidaba," which really means, Oh praise the goddess of the reed, or praise the art of writing, an impulsive note added by the scribe in admiration of the fine poem which he had just copied. The same colophon is probably to be restored at the end of the poem on the Flood and the epical legend published as the first text in this volume. It occurs also as a scribal note at the end of a hymn to Dungi.²

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¹ Poebel, PBS. V No. 1.
² Langdon, Historical and Religious Texts, p. 18. The same note occurs at the end of Ni. 4588, a hymn to Innini.
This fanciful use of ṣag-sal, of course, has per se no reference to the contents of the text nor to the purpose for which it was written, but evidence can be produced for the statement that this note when attached to poems and hymns really designates the text as liturgical, that is as part of the public song services. For ṣag-sal or "praise" occurs frequently in its proper sense. For example a legendary poem to Enki the water-god in the Nippur collection in Constantinople ends with the note a-a ḍEn-ki ṣag-sal, "Oh sing in praise of father Enki." The word ṣag designates some kind of an instrument perhaps and sal is a verb meaning to sing in joyful strain. In any case ṣag-sal designates, in its proper usage, a poem of joyful character in distinction from such liturgical notes as eršemma and kišub which characterize a melody as sorrowful and attended by spiritual humiliation. Hence at the end of a long double column hymn concerning the earth-god the scribe adds the line a-a ḍEn-lil ṣag-sal, "Oh sing in praise of Enlil." Two hymns in heroic measure sung to the mother goddess Innini end with the rubric, ṣag-sal-zi dug-ga-ām, "It is good to sing thy praise." And a long epical composition to Nidaba ends with the line, ṣag-sal-mu dug-ga-ām, "It is good to sing my praise." In similar manner a double column tablet ends ama ḍNinā ṣag-sal-zi dug-ga-ām, "Oh mother Ninā it is good to sing thy praise." Although the rubric ḍNidaba ṣagsal is employed in the fanciful sense "Oh praise her of the stylus," nevertheless the line obviously purports to classify the composition as an epic and

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1 Langdon, Historical and Religious Texts, p. 45. The same rubric at the end of Ni. 14059, also a hymn to Enki.
2 See sīl(3) in Sumerian Grammar 240.
3 Ni. 9205 (unpublished).
4 Ni. 14065 and 13589 (unpublished).
5 Ni. 7071 (unpublished).
6 Radau, Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts, No. 22.
liturgical.¹ When the cults no longer provided opportunity for the bards and philosophers to sing their epics in the hearing of the congregations, or to cause them to be sung by the temple choirs, they appear to have lost their incentive and their inspiration. For we must bear in mind that writing to be read figured slightly in the imagination of authors who wrote painfully upon clay. Their only means of reaching the ears of a wider public, and these fine epics had that end in view, was to induce the temple choristers to incorporate their compositions in the corpus of public worship. Naturally these heroic measures and these ethical problems, so shrewdly propounded and answered in the recital of ancient legends, gave little scope for the varied melodies characteristic of the mournful liturgies. They appealed only to the thoughtful. When this class of literature disappeared with the scribes and schoolmen of the Isin period Sumero-Babylonian religion and universal literature suffered an unknown loss. Of this epical and theological class of literature part two of my volume contains only one text which introduces the book.

Several texts belonging to the well-known liturgical type of daily prayer, such as survived almost exclusively and in great numbers into the Semitic cults of Babylonia and Assyria, will be found here. So far as they add new material for knowledge of the corpus of liturgical literature and fill up gaps in hitherto imperfectly known prayer books, these will be welcomed,

¹ The rubric is employed properly after a hymn to Nidaba in ZIMMERN, Kultlieder, No. 207. The term came to be misused in the temple schools and hence we find it at the end of tablets which contain lists of names and other prosaic material. Thus Ni. 1388, a large tablet devoted to the names of the gods, ends "Nidaba tagsal. Here, of course, the note cannot have a liturgical reference but is an impulse of the scribe who wishes to praise the excellence of the written tablet. DR. CHIERA in PBS. XI, p. 19, has noted several examples of this use of the term at the end of school texts. Note also the rubric placed above the long liturgical hymn to Bur-Sin and Gimil-Sin in RADAU, BE. 29 No. 2 [enim-]la "Nidaba (so RADAU restores).
I trust, by scholars and general readers. The consecutive publication of these liturgical texts will contain more tablets of this type.

The most important group of texts in this volume (Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9 and 14 of the contents) represent a great religious movement, always latent in Sumerian religion but especially characteristic of the scholastic period in which the Sumerian people became extinct. Beginning with the early years of Dungi, second king of the dynasty of Ur, the doctrine of the deification of kings holds perhaps the foremost place in Sumerian theology and certainly the practice of this belief occupies the chief position in their liturgy. The doctrine of a divine right to rule was proclaimed by the early city kings of Sumer at the dawn of history when they assumed the religious title patesi, priest-king, either to the exclusion of or in conjunction with the secular title lugal, king. During the long ages preceding the rise of the Ur dynasty in the twenty-fifth century the Sumerian people generally accepted this ancient dogma. It may have been due to an aristocratic priesthood, but it was a belief which gave them peace and confidence because they believed themselves ruled by the vicars of god. And this faith in the divine origin, mission and rights of kings resulted at last not alone in the deification of mortal rulers and the institution of cults for their worship, but in a widely spread Messianic hope. Another more powerful doctrine current in that philosophic age aroused a longing and prepared the way for their implicit belief in the kings as Messiahs who had at last arrived to restore on earth the prediluvian paradise. The well-preserved epic published in Part 1, as well as the small fragment concerning Ziudsuddu, lone survivor of the Flood, show a well-known legend concerning a lost paradise where men toiled not and disease was not.
Such doctrines naturally gave rise to an irrepressible hope that the gods would one time restore the lost prediluvian paradise. The hymns sung to the deified kings of Ur and Isin, who ruled from 2475 to 2133 B. C., reveal clearly enough the state of mind which existed in that age. Beginning with Dungi of Ur,¹ whose extremely long reign probably increased their faith in him as an immortal, the Sumerian people really believed that the divine deliverers had come, begotten by the gods, made mortal that they might rule over men, and wedded to the great mother goddess herself.² Even the catastrophe which befell the divine Ibi-Sin last king of Ur, whose city was pillaged by the Elamites and who himself took the way to Susa as a captive, failed to cool the ardor of their belief. In the kings of Isin who succeeded them they placed the same confidence.

In the hymn sung in the cult of Ishme-Dagan and translated on pages 143–9 of this volume the reader will find somewhat modest claims compared with other hymns of this class. “He whom Innini, queen of heaven and earth, as her beloved spouse has chosen, I am,” says our hymn. More explicit in regard to the belief in his Messianic nature is the other hymn of his cult published here:

“The maiden, mother Bau, has looked with faithful eyes upon thee, and good things decreed in order that life of days may go forth forever.”³

This hymn claims for him a “crown that prolongeth the breath of life;” for him the rivers brought abundance and the cellars overflowed with honey; the fields bore grain in abundance and the sheepfolds were made more spacious.

¹ For hymns and liturgies to Dungi see also the writer’s Historical and Religious Texts.
² See on the identification of these divine kings with Tammuz the author’s Tammuz and Ishtar, pp. 26 f.
³ Ni. 7184 Obv. 30.
The extreme length to which this worship of mortal rulers was carried, the Messianic position which they occupied in the official cult, characterize the Ur and Isin period as one of the most remarkable and interesting in the history of religion. That it had a philosophic and legendary background supported by the ancient doctrine of the divine origin of kings, the Epic of Paradise and the Sumerian historical inscriptions abundantly prove. Some of these deified men in a way justified the faith which they inspired, but they all failed to banish toil and disease, or even to protect their people from the violence of foes. Nevertheless all the kings of Isin were deified even to the last unfortunate Damik-ilı-šu and we have liturgies to the first, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and eleventh. For the last five kings of Isin no cult hymns have been found, but their names have the divine title.

The Semitic people, who after centuries of conflict, peaceful and violent, at last supplanted the Sumerian race, abolished the entire institution of king worship and with it the belief in the Messianic age. The facts belied their claims and their fate took from them the last vestige of divine authority. Instead of enthusiastic chants and hymns which proclaimed the advent of god-sent rulers and the golden age, we now see the rise of the famous poem of pessimism, the Epic of Gilgamish. Although a few tablets have been found which indicate the existence of

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1 Ishbi-Girra; see *Sum. Gr.*, p. 16.
2 Idin-Dagan; see *ibid*.
3 Ishme-Dagan. Two liturgies in this volume and one in *Zimmer*, KL. 200.
4 Libit-Ištar. Liturgy to, in *Zimmer*, KL. 199.
5 Libit-Ištar. Liturgy to, in *Ni. 13979*.
6 Enlil-bani. Hymn to, in *Langdon, Historical and Religious Texts* No. 38. The contemporaneous kings of Larsa were also deified, but since they did not rule at Nippur until the period of Warad-Sin we cannot expect to find many hymns and liturgies of their cults at Nippur. For Sin-idinnam third king at Larsa, mentioned in the hymn to Enlil-bani, our collection possesses one liturgy. *Ni. 7072*.
a Sumerian epic concerning Gilgamish,\(^1\) nevertheless it is most improbable that it contains the elements (other than legendary) of the Semitic masterpiece. The Epic of Gilgamish is obviously due to the wave of pessimism which followed upon the failure of the Messianic kingdom and the cults of the deified kings. Here mankind is taught, in the long tale about an ancient godlike hero, that the pain of life and the fate of death are unavoidable and ordained by the gods. Its doctrine is the antithesis of the hope expressed in these hymns and liturgies which, we now know, were the favorite songs in public worship from the twenty-fifth to the twenty-second centuries.

The major theological and ethical movements which stand out so clearly in that critical age of human history are only outlined here. The object of this volume is to supply material for investigating in detail the great movements of that period which so directly affected the progress of all dogma, belief and practice. The collection possesses a large number of similar texts which will be an important addition to the material now published.

\(^1\) See p. 124.
SUMERIAN LITURGICAL TEXTS

4562

AN EPICAL POEM ON THE ORIGIN OF SUMERIAN CIVILIZATION

No. 4562 is a fragment of a legendary poem similar to the legendary poems of the Flood translated by Poebel (10673) and that of Paradise translated by myself (4561). All three tablets are apparently from the same hand and are written in three columns on each side. They belong to a series of poems treating in epical style of the legends of prehistoric times. The fragment 4562 is the upper right corner of a tablet and contains only a small portion of the text. Unfortunately the reverse is almost illegible.

As in the epics of the Flood and of Paradise, so in the poem to which I now call attention the god Enki of Eridu appears as the chief divine figure in the beginnings of civilization. He declares the fate by which Sumer became the divinely chosen land of the universe (Obv. III 10). This decree follows immediately upon a few obscure lines which refer apparently to the Flood and a ship. The fragmentary lines at the top of Obv. II mention Magan and Dilmun, but the references are extremely obscure. If the Flood is referred to at the top of Obv. III, then Col. II must refer to prediluvian times. In any case, the well preserved passage in Obv. III tells of the glorious destiny decreed for Sumer by the wise god of Eridu. In much the same way, Enki restores civilization after the Flood in the Epic of Paradise. On the reverse (I 16) we find the Anunnaki who also figure in the legend of the Fall of Man in the Paradise Epic. It is extremely regrettable that so little definite informa-

(111)
tion can be gleaned from the reverse. In any case, we have here another legend concerning the origin of civilization and religion in Sumer, but its contents and relation to the other two epics must remain undefined until the tablet by good chance is restored.

OVERSE II

1. ......?-šu-šu-ga-bi  ū-ga-dûm-
dûg
2.  má-gan-(ki) dilmun-(ki) -
    bi
3. ......en  igi-ge-im-da-a-dûg
4.  Dilmun-(ki) na  giš-ge-en-dû 3
5.  [Mâ]-gan-(ki)-na  an-zaq  ge-en-
    lal
6.  ....gi-šum  me-luĝ-ga-(ki)-a-ge
7.  ....UD  bal-šû  ge-me-[e] 3
8.  ....kur-kur-ra-ra-nippur-(ki)-šû
    ge-na-ab-tum
9.  ......é-nu-tuk- ra
10. ........................................
11.  [é-gal  kalama-na  é- a- ra
12.  ....ne  sal  zîd  mu-un-ne-dê 4
13.  ....me-el-lu  ū- a
14.  ...... its brilliant......let
     him behold.
2.  Magan and......Dilmun
3. ......may be looked upon.
4.  May Dilmun......
5.  May Magan the limits of heaven
    reach.
6.  The......of Meluhha
7. ........................................
8.  [The tribute?] of the foreign
    lands unto Nippur may he
    bring.
9.  Unto......who has no house
10. ........................................
11.  For him [who from the palace of
    his land] had gone forth,
12.  ...............he established faith-
    fully for them.
13.  The......who exalts the pure
decrees.

---

1 The compound verb ū-dûg = ḫatu, barû, behold, forms its imperative second singular in the unusual manner ū-ga-e-dûg = ḫî, SBP. 138,27, for which we have the variant ū-ga-e-dê, in IV R. 28* No. 495. Obviously the vowel e indicates the second person here and ga has the force of the imperative although ordinarily the optative of the first person. Still another variant is ū-dê-dûg for ū-ga-e-dûg, SBP. 292, 1 ff., and for g>ê see §50. Note the verb ū-dug-gi, a participle conjugated with the verb me to be, ū-dug-gi-im-mi, “I am beholding,” RADAU, Miscel. 2, 16 = Sum. Gr. 197.

2 giš-dû occurs regularly for the act of slaying animals for sacrifice: In the temple giš-bê-
dû “he sacrificed,” RA 9, 112 II 22; gukkaš giš-dû, unweaned kid for sacrifice, LANGDON, Drehem 21; LEGRAIN 79, 10; màš-giš-dû, kid for sacrifice; ĝud giš-dû, ox for sacrifice, passim in Drehem texts.

3 Cf. bal-šu me-a, CT. 15, 10 Rev. 9.

4 Possibly a lapsus calami for KA, dûg.
15. ūag- du- a 15. is glorified.
16. kal-la-dāš me-maḡ šu-ti-a 16. possesses the far famed decrees.
17. en an-ki. 17. lord of heaven and earth
18. e- a-ra 18. The..who went forth
19. ne 19. The......
20. erida-ra- ne 20. The..of Eridu...
22. mu-na-ab-bi- ne 22. said to him.
23. im-mi-ib-du-š-ne 23. 

Col. III

1. -mā. 1. 
2. en-ra es-ma-šu. 2. For the high-priest upon a ship

3. ḍligir-sti 3. Ligirsig......
4. en-ra mudur ūag šu. 4. To the high-priest a splendid scepter......
5. la-ga-ma 5. Lahama in the abyss a flood
6. ka-ra-e-ne gen-gam mušen an-na 6. Their wail woefully(?) like the birds of heaven......
7. lugal ū-na-gub 7. The king, who stands aloft, father Enki, the Land [......]
d-en-ki kalam-
8. ē-gal kalam-ma-na e-a-[ra]. 8. For him who from the palace of his Land had gone forth,
ma-[ ]

1 The scribe has obviously written his text erroneously.
2 A reading mir-si(?) is possible, in which case dingir mirsi may perhaps mean "god of the flood;" for girsu, flood, see Liturgies, p. 96.
3 la-ša-ma = Lahamu, of the Creation Epic. Identical with Lahama, CT. 24, 1, 15; 20, 9, female principle of Laḫmu; here Laḫmu and Lahama are father-mother names of Anu, or emanations of the first principle Heaven. As emanations of Heaven they probably represent the ocean and belong to the order of the gods. In CT. 17, 42, 14-24 Laḫmu is described as a sea-serpent and identified with Es; cf. Rm. 279, 1-12. The paragraph 25-40 probably describes Laḫmu or Damkina; she has the body of a fish and scales like a [serpent?]. Laḫmu and Lahamu are the first emanations who are called gods, Creat. I 10. They are the fathers of the gods III 68 and counsel them against Tiamat III 125. On the other hand, the female Laḫamu belongs to the dragons of chaos, I 121; II 27; III 31, 89. In our passage Lahama clearly represents the ocean.
4 Cf. Liturgies 115, 1.
Obverse III

9. ge-gal an-ki-a pa-ê mu-na-ab-ag
10. "en-ki-ge nam-im-mi-ib-lar-ri
11. ki-en-gi kur-gal ma-da an-ki
12. še-ir-zi-gûr-ru babbar-ê-ta babbar-
šu-ûš kalam-e me sum-mu
13. me-tú me-maŋ šu-nu-tu-tu
14. šag-tu galam ĝenš galu nu-pad-

dé
15. umun-ţid ki-an ū-tud-ţa an-gim
šu-nu-te-gâ
16. lugal ū-tud múš-ţid keš-di
17. en ū-tud sag men mà-mà
18. en-tu en idim1 dingir lugal da
bara-an-na-ka i-im-durun
19. lugal-tu kur-gal a-a "en-lil
20. giš-sig-gim dug-dûg-gi ša-mu-
ra-an-gib(ib) a-a kur-kur-ra-gâ
21. "a-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne
22. šag-ţa ki-ur-ra šu-ba-ni-in-li-eš
23. gi-gun-na gal-gal-ţa ū-mi-ni-ib-
sû-sû-ne

9. Surpassing abundance in heaven and earth he made.
10. Enki issued a decree.
11. "Sumer, the great mountain, land of Heaven and Earth,
12. Bearing a sheen of splendor, from sunrise to sunset teaching the Land decrees,
13. Far famed are thy decrees and unchangeable,
14. Thy heart is profound; man has not discovered it.
15. As a true form (designed by) earth and heaven thou wast created, like heaven intangible.
16. Offspring of a king, clad upon by a true form.
17. Offspring of an high-priest whose head is crowned.
18. Thy high-priest is the lord of the deep, the divine king who within the sanctuary of heaven dwells.
19. Thy king is the great mountain father Enlil.
20. Like a wall he turns back for thee the wicked ones(?), father of all lands.
21. The Anunnaki, the great gods,
22. Within thee Kenurra3 inhabited.
23. In thy great dark chambers they feed.

1 Sumer is here employed in its original signification, as a name for the district about Nippur, see Sum. Gr. §1.
3 idim, abyss, well, the deep, is employed in the title of Ea dingir idim, "god of the deep."
4 giš-sig =giš-sig =i2 =ti =igaru; cf. ZA. 24. 387; K. 4558 II 14; II R. 152 22, etc.
5 Chapel of Ninlil in Ekur temple of Enlil.
24. à ki-en-gin šur-çu ĝē-dū-dū ġā-b-çu ĝē-lu-lu
25. amaš-çu ĝē-gar-gar udu-çu ĝē-šar-šar

24. The house(s) of Sumer, thy stable(s) let be built, and may thy cattle be many.
25. May thy sheepfold(s) be built and thy sheep be fat.

45
NEARLY COMPLETE LAMENTATION TO ARURU

1. .......mèn ?-e HĀR-a d........
2. ........SAL+KU-gal ëmu-ul-
lil-là
3. .......ē-māg ĝō-a-na-ka
4. ḫa-ru-[ēr]-ēdāg ĝē-māg ĝō-a-na-ka
5. .......gū ĝō-bi-šū ĝē-māg-ā-ni-šū
6. [ē]-ma-du-du-bi ù-ma-ni maš
me-en
7. ĝō-ma mu-lu-šu bar-la KU-a-
mèn
8. ĝō-šu mu-lu ĝō-a-šu bar-la KU-a-
mèn
9. en-e₄ ka-na-āg-gā-ka bar-la KU-
a-mèn
10. ĝē-ši-nam-ma-ka bar-la KU-a-
mèn
11. ĝē-gal keš-(ki)-a-ka bar-la KU-a-
mèn
12. nin-mèn ud-nu-ɰu iii ²nannar
nu-ɰu men

1. ........thou art; .............
2. ........great sister of Enlil.
3. ........of Emah² her temple.
4. Aruru procreative womb of Emah, her temple.
5. ........in that temple, in her Emah
6. Which attains unto her glory, her glory was far-famed,
7. The glory of my lord abides far away.
8. The glory of the lord of my temple abides far away.
9. The lord of the Land abides far away.
10. From the “Temple of Fate” she(?) abides afar.
11. From the Hekal of Kesh she(?) abides afar.
12. A queen thou art. The day thou knowest not, the new moon thou knowest not.

¹ This text does not distinguish between the sign NIN=beltu and SAL+KU=ābatu. For Aruru sister of Enlil see part 1, Index.
² Emah appears to have been applied to temples of Aruru in Nippur, Larsa, and Babylon. For Emah at Nippur and Larsa, see SBP. 60 n. 3, and at Babylon, VAB. IV p. 302 where she has the title Ninmah as in CT. 24, 12, 2=25, 75. In Keš where she was chiefly worshipped her temple is called Ur-šabba, see BL. 147. This leads to the inference that our hymn applies to Aruru of Nippur where she seems to have been confused with Ninil.
³ Conjectured restoration from the name of Aruru’s temple in Keš. Cf. Nintud ār-ra, BL. 72, 13.
⁴ en-e probably refers to Enil here; cf. Enlil e-ne āg-ki-da-še, “lord of justice,” ZIM. KL. 9, 4.
⁵ Cf. ZIMMERN, KL. 65, 14 ff.
13. SAL+KU $mu-ul-lil-lá mén bá-
    ni-in-kuš-û ba-nad
14. nin-mén éš-lálu $ ág-nam-ma-an-
    šû
15. $a-ru-ru é-a-na gù-bi-na-ma-an-
    gi
16. dam-a-ni-gim ná-a bá-ni-in-dúr-
    ru-ne-ès-ámm
17. t̂u-mu-ni-gim ná-a bá-ni-in-dúr-
    ru-ne-ès-ámm
18. $a-ru-ru an mu-na-du nu-mu-
    ni-in-lúg²-e
19. $en-lil mu-na-du nu-mu-ni-in-
    lúg-e
20. $nin-lil mu-na-du nu-mu-ni-in-
    lúg-e
21. $en-ki mu-na-du nu-mu-ni-in-
    lúg-e
22. $nin-mağ mu-na-du nu-mu-ni-
    in-lúg-e
23. $nannar mu-na-du nu-mu-ni-in-
    lúg-e
24. $babbar mu-na-du nu-mu-ni-in-
    lúg-e
25. e-ne-ra² $a-nu-na mu-un-na-lág-
    lág-gi-êš
26. an-a an a-ri-a mu-un-na-lág-lág-
    gi-êš
27. ki-a an a-ri-a mu-un-na-lág-
    lág-gi-êš

13. The sister of Enlil she is; she
    languishes, she sleeps.
14. A queen she is. The house LÁL
    of the temple she inhabits not.
15. Aruru her temple has renounced.
16. Like her whose husband slum-
    bers they sit.
17. Like her whose child sleeps they
    sit.²
18. To Aruru Anu went, but pacified
    her not.
19. Enlil went but pacified her not.
20. Ninlil went but pacified her not.
21. Enki went but pacified her not.
22. Ninmah⁴ went but pacified her
    not.
23. Nannar went but pacified her
    not.
24. Babbar went but pacified her
    not.
25. Unto her the Anunnaki has-
    tened.
26. They whom Anu in heaven
    begat⁶ hastened.
27. They whom Anu in earth begat⁷
    hastened.

¹ Cf. éš-lálu kur-ri-gálu mu-na-ah-lub, “The éš-lálu which is in a strange land he occupies,”
Cstpl. 2378, 16 in Historical and Religious Texts No. 35. Cf. also lâl-e ki-åq-ga nam-mi-in-
durun, “The lâl, a holy place she inhabits,” RADAU, Miscel. 8, 16. This sign has also the value
ru, ri,(KING,CT. 24 pages 12 f.) hence we may have here some new value for LÁL a “sanctuary.”
Confusion with EDIN is hardly to be assumed in this period.
² Lines 16 f. probably refer to the weeping of Innini for Tammuz.
³ See Sum. Gr. 248 n. 2.
⁴ This title applies here to Damkina. It designates also Aruru and Gula.
⁵ Cf. e-ne-ra = ana lášu, BL. 122, 28.
⁶ The Igigi.
⁷ The Anunnaki.
28. um-ma sir-sag-e¹ sir-mu-na-ra²
29. [..] šá-ab—gi-gi-mu sir-mu-na-
   ab-bi
30. ...ma mu-lu gù-de gù-de-ţu
   nam-mu
31. ...:mu-lu ad-di ad-di-ţu³ nam-
   mu
32. ...:mu-lu er-ri⁴ er-ţul-ţu-nam-
   mu
33. uṣumgal⁵ mu-lu še-DU še-DU-
   ţu nam-mu
34. ⁴a-ru-ru gù-ţu mu-lu kûr-ra im-
   me⁷
35. ⁴a-ru-ru er-ţu mu-lu kûr-ra im-
   me
36. NU-NUNUZ-e še-DU-ţu mu-
   lu kûr-ra im-me
37. ⁴a-ru-ru an-ţi-ga nigin-e-bi-en
38. ⁴a-ru-ru ëiür amaš-ge nigin-e-
   bi-en
39. tu-mu ë-dub-a-ge⁹ NE-im-du¹⁰
40. ma-e-gln¹¹ ab-al(?)-gim gù-gig nu-
   gâ-gâ
41. [ma-e?] gil-li-em-mâ ab... 
   er-nu-ni-tib-gul-e¹²

28. The artist the first melody
   chants.
29. My... he sings.
30. ...the man of lamentation
   laments to thee.³
31. ...the man of wailing wails
to thee.
32. ...the man of weeping is thy
   sorrowful weeper.
33. The great uṣum, the man of
   threnody is thy threnodist.
34. Oh, Aruru, thy songs a stranger
   utters.
35. Oh, Aruru, thy liturgy a stranger
   utters.
36. Oh, woman, thy threnody a
   stranger utters.⁸
37. Oh, Aruru, the seized away,
   return.
38. Oh, Aruru, to the stalls and the
   sheepfolds return.
39. The inmate of the house of
   letters implores.
40. As for me like a... cow words
   of misery I restrain not.
41. I like a... that has fallen on
calamity weeping withhold not.

¹ Cf. SBP. 96, 10; 332, 9 and RADAU, Miscel. 17, 13.
² Cf. IV R. 11b 30; CT. 15, 8 Rev. 9; 14, 21–3.
³ Literally, “is thy lamenter.”
⁴ See note on Dublin Text 1. 22.
⁵ Cf. BL. Introduction XXIII.
⁶ For this term applied both to a lyre and a musician, see TAMMUZ AND ISHTAR 115 n. 2.
⁷ For gù-me, see IV R. 27a 32 and for im-me=ɪk̂abbi, RA. 11, 144, 4.
⁸ Lines 34–6 probably refer to the conduct of the liturgies in the temples.
⁹ Cf. BA. VI 5, 61, dumu ë-dub-ba=dup-sar.
¹⁰ This verb probably means “to pray, implore.” Cf. šag-NE-du=unninu and Historical
   and Religious Texts 55, 1, sek-a-ni ur-sag 4gibgamiš... N.E-du, “His brother, the heroic
   Gilgamesh... implores.”
¹¹ Probably emphatic particle gi-in, or gi-im. Cf. RA. 12,
¹² Cf. SBH. 66, 15.
Penitential Psalm to the God Amurru

This tablet, unfortunately broken in such manner that only the introductory and concluding lines are preserved, yields us the first ancient example of a private penitential psalm in pure Sumerian. Several interlinear compositions of this kind are known which of course led us to suppose that this class of religious literature originated in Sumer, but hitherto the total absence of material of this kind in early Sumerian supported the contention that perhaps the psalms of private penance were a Semitic creation. In the interlinear redactions of the library of Ašurbanipal these compositions have the title er-šag-liug-mal, see for example IV R. 10; 21* No. 2; BL. 124–130. A penitential psalm in pure Sumerian redacted in the Assyrian period is K. 4795 in Gray, Shamash, but the reverse continues with a psalm in Semitic. Closely allied to the eršagtugmal are the šu-ila, or prayers used in incantations. The distinction probably consists in the fact that the eršagtugmal was accompanied by music and liturgical formality. Note, however, that a prayer in an incantation ritual has both titles in IV R. 55 No. 2 Rev. 6. Also Zimmern, KL. No. 51, describes a ritual to accompany an eršagtugmal, which there clearly belongs to an incantation, so that the two groups of private prayers were confused. Since the eršagtugmal was properly a penitential psalm of a liturgical character, entirely distinct in origin from the prayers used in incantations, they were employed also in funeral dirges, Harper, Letters 437, see Behrens, Briefe 97. Psalms of this kind in pure Sumerian existed in the Assyrian period as K. 9618 in BL. 115 testifies.\footnote{Cf. also BL. 139.} This title has not yet been
found attached to any pure Semitic psalm, although ZIMMERN in his *Busspsalmen* included IV R. 61 No. 1 and 66 No. 2, in this class of literature.

1. *dingir gu-ul-gu-ul edin-na edin-na ba-zi-ga*
2. *dingir edin-na dingir gu-ul-gu-ul edin-na ba-zi-ga*
3. *₃Amurru à-[mu]-un nun-ûr¹ sá-mal-ge*
4. *e-gi ti-di a-ba ga-ṣa-an gu-la²*
5. *₄ûr-sag dingir-ṣi-da mën Amurru*
6. *₃Amurru dingir-ṣi-da mën Amurru*
7. *₃a₃-ûr-sá-sá-mu Amurru*
8. *₃d-li-ri-mâ-mu Amurru*
9. *bar-bi mu-lu-ga-bi .......

1. The great god, on the hills, on the hills advances.
2. The god of the hills, the great god on the hills, on the hills advances.
3. Amurru, lord nunur, councilor.
4. Faithful prince, father of the great queen.
5. Heroic, faithful god thou art, Amurru.
6. Amurru, a faithful god thou art, yea Amurru.
7. He that directs my limbs, Amurru.
8. He that gave life unto my form, Amurru.
9. .....................

**Reverse**

| 1. a-ra-[zu ............] | 1. Supplication ..........
| 2. lû ............... | 2. The man who [ ........... thou dost ............. ]
| 3. lû e-ri di[m-me-ir-bi la-a-zi-la mu-un-kur-e] | 3. If a man has [ ............. ............. ]

¹* nun-ûr-ra * is a title of Ea as god of pottery, 11 Raw. 58, 57. *nunur* in our passage probably represents *nunur > nunur = Ramman ₃a mešri, "R. of battle," CT. 24, 41, 63.

² This title designates Ninâ the water goddess in BL. 72, 29, who was worshipped in Sirar a quarter of Lagash, SBP. 284, 5 f. *MAR-TU,* a western title of Immer, the rain-god, therefore, becomes the father of the irrigation goddess in theological speculation. This western Amurru, Adad, is really a married type, a western ba'al, who after his identification with Immer becomes a composite and illogical character.

³ Var. of ₃; the title would probably be rendered *mu₂ṣṣir mešṭē-ja.*
4. If a man [has..................]

5. It is enough! Thy mercy is un-searchable. May thy heart ............

6. Like a mighty hero, like a strong man in thy hand take7 my hand.

7. The sin overlook; faithfully remove, and thine anger turn away.

8. “Give heed to the people,” let be said (to thee); and the Land.......

9. May thy heart like the heart of a childbearing mother return to its place.

10. Like a childbearing mother, like a begetting father return to its place.

4577

A LAMENTATION ON THE INVASION OF SUMER BY THE PEOPLE OF GUTIUM

This interesting tablet probably refers to the conquest of Sumer by Gutium, a people who enjoyed the suzerainty of

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1 Probable variant of aggig, IV R. 10a 34.
2 Literally ugatu maldt, “the wrath is full,” mazl, “it is enough;” a phrase characteristic of penitential psalms; see ASKT. 122, 14, gašan-mu e-ri-tu-lú ib-si ba-ab-dág, “Oh my queen, for thy servant say unto him, ‘it is enough’;” also BL. 122, 27.
3 I have regarded sumur as a variant of šugar=gimillu.
4 sag appears to have been omitted. Note also the omission of mu in Obv. 3.
5 For ĝim > ĝin > ĝin = kima, cf. CT. 15, 11, 6, ĝe-ĝim, Var. ĝe-ĝi-in, VAT. 617 in ZA. 25, 201.
Also ki = kina, below, lines 9 f.
6 guru = guruš = idlu.
9 Cf. IV R. 17a 38.
10 Var. of ša-g-dib = kis libbi.
this land for a long period in the interval between the period of the Sargonic dynasty of Agade and Ur-Engur. It evidently represents a numerous series of liturgical compositions which commemorated this great calamity, for a duplicate from the same period has been found in the Nippur collection in Constantinople, see Historical and Religious Texts No. II. These two redactions differ considerably, a fact which can only be explained by supposing that this liturgy had been handed down for many generations and had passed through many redactions. The Constantinople fragment belongs to column two of a large four-column tablet which probably used an excerpt from this short composition. Both texts belong to the Isin period when the method of constructing long services by compiling from ancient liturgies was already in vogue. See for a discussion of this method Babylonian Liturgies, p. xlii. This composition possesses a liturgical refrain a gišgal-gul-la ē-gul-la, etc., which recurs after each section describing the sorrows of some city.

1. ..... (ki) uru ba-diba šu-sūg- ba-ab-dūg

2. ṣum-da-ge kidur kenaggā- ni gir-kūr ba-ra-an-dūr

3. nilalam-a-ni dingir nam-......
4. šag-ga-a er- in- bil- bil- e
5. a gišgal-gul-la ē-gul-la-mu gig-ga-bi ni-im-me
6. šad-bi šag-sug-ga ni-gāš1 a-nu-un-

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1 See Bab. Liturgies, p. 75 n. 10.

1. ..... the city, which has been seized ........., has been annihilated with calamity.
2. As for ..... mushda, his beloved abode the foot of a stranger inhabits.
3-4. His spouse Nam. ..... šaggā wails repeatedly.
5. How long my destroyed habitations, my destroyed temple —shall their misery be?
6. The canal which rejoices the hearts of the cattle waters the fields no more.
7. id `en-ki-ge nam-kud-du-gim
sag!-bi-a ba-tīl
7. The "Canal of Enki," like a
malediction by a curse, is
brought to nought.
8. a-šag-ga še-gu nu-gāl kalam-e
nu-nag-e
8. In the fields rain is not; the
land is watered not.
9. dūl elšar-bi ǧir-gim ba-mu-
mur Murray 2  dūb-bi ǧig-gan ba-ab-dū 3
9. The garden cellars are become
heated like an oven and its
stores are scattered.
10. māš-anšu nig-ūr-tab-lab- . . .
nu-mu-un-BU-e
10. The domestic animals as many
as are four-footed of the . . .
not.
11. nig-ūr-tab-lab an-ǧir-ge ni nu-
mu-ni-ib-te-en-en- en
11. The four-footed animals of the
plains repose not.
12. "lugal(?) da-ga uru-ni-la bar-la
ba-da-tām 4
12. The god, Lugal-?-da-ge, from
his city has been taken away.
13. nin-zi-an-[na?] ki-dūr κenag-gā-
nī ǧir-kūr ba-ra-an-dūr
13. As for Ninzu-anna, her beloved
abode the foot of stranger
entered.
14. a gišgal-gul-la ē-gul-la-na gig-ga-
bi im-me
14. How long of her destroyed
habitations and her destroyed
temple shall the misery be?
15. i-si-in-(ki) nigin kar-ri nu-me-a
a-e KU-e-DAR
15. In Isin mercy and salvation
are not: . . . ?
16. [nin i-] si-in-na sag-kalam-ma-ge
er-gig ni-dug-ga
16. The Lady of Isin, princess of
the Land, weeps bitterly.
17. [a gišgal-gul-[la] ē-gul-la-na gig-
ga-bi im-me
17. How long of her destroyed
habitations and her destroyed
temple shall the misery be?
18. [nigin nippur](ki)-a 5 dur-an-ki-
ka miša ba-an-sīg
18. [All of Nippur], the binder of
heaven and earth, by the
death dealing weapon is smit-
ten.
19. [igi `en-lil-li] uru-ni nippur-
(ki)-a ela ba-ab-gar
19. [Before Enlil,] in his city Nippur
a deluge was sent.

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1 sag-bi = mamit, is the original of the regular form sag-ba, from √sīš to cast and bi to utter.
2 For the root mur, to heat, boil, see Sum. Gr., p. 229, and ki-mu-ri, furnace, Historical and
Religious Texts, p. 29, 32.
3 dū is employed as a variant of duĝ.
4 Or gub. Literally, "has been placed outside."
5 Restored from ZIMMERN, K.-L., 199 ll 51. The variant has a somewhat different text,
6 `en-lil-li dur MI(?), . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
20. [ama ē]nin-lil nin ki-ūr-ra-[ge]
er-gig ni-šeš-šeš
21. [a] gišgal-gul-la ē-gul-la-na gig-
ga-bi-im

22. [Kēš-](ki) an-edin-na-āš dū-a šu-
lil-lā ba- ab- dūğ
23. Adab-bu-(ki) ē id-bil-lā a-ri a-e ba-da-ab-dim
24. kūr Gu-ti-um-ge ki-nad ba-ni-ib-
gar ki-bal šu-ba-ab-dūğ

25. Gu-ti-[um-ki]-šag-ba ni-bal-bal
numun(!) ba-ni-ib-i-i
26. ē-nin-tud-ri nig-dim-dim-ma-nī
er-gig ni-šeš-šeš
27. a šeš gišgal-gul-la ē-gul-la-na šu-
ga-bi-im-me

28. . . . . . a-ši edin-na-azaq-ga šu-
lil-lā-ba-ab-dūğ
29. šiš . . . . ēinnini ba-da-an-kar
ki-erim-e ba- ab- dūğ
30. ē-an-[na] ēš gē-pār qaž-ga erim-e
igi i-ni-in-bar
31. [gē-pār]qaz gūm-en-na-ba šu-
ba-e₂-lāl-lā
32. . . . . gē-pār-la ba-da-an-kar
33. . . . erim-e ba- ab- tum
34. [a gišgal]-gul-la ē-gul-la-na gig-
ga-bi im-me

20. Mother Ninlil, mistress of Ki-
urra, weeps sorrowfully.
21. How long of her destroyed
habitations and her destroyed
temple shall the misery be.
22. Keš which is built on the plain
he has razed like the winds.
23. In Adab the temple placed by
the new canal . . . . . . ?
24. Hostile Gutium made there his
resting place; the stranger
wreaked destruction.
25. Gutium rebelled in his heart and
exalted his race.
26. Nintud because of his deeds
weeps bitterly.
27. How long of her destroyed
habitations and her destroyed
temple shall the misery be?
28. . . . . . in the holy plain he has
razed like the wind.
29. . . . . . of Innini is plundered
and cursed.
30. Eanna, abode of the “Dark
Chamber,” the foe beheld.
31. Of the holy “Dark Chamber” the
priestly rites are suspended.
32. . . . . . from the “Dark Chamber”
has been plundered.
33. . . . . . the foe carried away.
34. How long of her destroyed
habitations and her destroyed
temple shall the misery be?

¹ The variant has er-gig mu-un-šeš-šeš.
² This line is omitted on the variant.
³ Var. adds ša, which is necessary to the sense.
⁴ Var. omits.
⁵ Var. mu.
⁶ On abstracts formed with prefixed ki, see Sum. Gr. §152.
⁷ It is evidently not an indication of the second person here but produces the effect of an
umlaut on the vowel a; read bō-la-lal; see Sum. Gr., p. 35 note 6. For šu-lal, to bind, restrain,
v. Historical and Religious Texts, p. 71. 18, and VR. 50a 65.
35. ... (ki) lum-kur-ba-ba-dib ud gig-
    ga ba-e-ri(g)
35. [In Erech?] its... is seized
    light in darkness is over-
    whelmed.

4564

LEGEND OF GILGAMISH

This fragment together with one in the Nippur Collection
of Constantinople published in my Historical and Religious
Texts No. 55 are the only parts yet recovered of a series of
Sumerian tablets containing the legend of Gilgamish. These
were certainly excavated at Nippur. It is probable that a
similar double column and nearly complete text in Berlin,
VAT. 6281, published by ZIMMEM in his Kulllieder No. 196
should be assigned to the same source. Although the dealer
who sold the Berlin tablet asserted Dilbat as the source, yet
it is more likely that this tablet was filched from the excavations
of Nippur. The style of all three texts and their epigraphy
show that they belong together. In KL. 196 Rev. II 14 and
16 the companion of Gilgamish is mentioned (en-gi-du(g)), and
the Constantinople tablet begins seš-a-ni, "his brother," which
clearly refers to Enkidu.1 As in the Semitic epic of Gilgamish
so also in these three tablets the city Erech and its goddess
Innini are frequently mentioned. aẓag ʾinnini occurs in His-
torical and Religious Texts No. 55, 14; KL. 196 II 21; 24.
The temple of Innini in Erech, ʾ-an-na occurs in KL. 196 I 7;
Ni. 4564, Obv. 16. Note also lugal-a-ni-ir ẓag-sal mu-na-bi,
"To his king praise he uttered," Ni. 4564 Rev. 16, and lugal-
a-ni-ir ʾGibilgamiš gi-mu-un-du "(Enkidu) to his king Gilgamish
spoke," KL. 196 Rev. II 17.

1 The Semitic epic of Gilgamish calls them "brothers," ʾaḥā kilallān (šē Pl.), see HAUFT,
Nimrodēpos, p. 48 l. 173.
I am unable to make a connected translation of any of these tablets although many lines are intelligible. Obverse 15–18 of Ni. 4564 may be rendered:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{unug-(ki) giš-kin-ti} & \quad \text{dingir-ri-e-ne-ge} \\
\text{ē-an-na ē-an-ta} & \quad \text{ē-ne} \\
\text{dingir-gal-gal-e-ne} & \quad \text{me-bi ba-an-ag-eš-ám} \\
\text{bād-gal bād-an-ni} & \quad \text{ki-us-sa}
\end{align*}
\]

"In Erech the skillfully made work of the gods,  
From Eanna the lofty house they went forth.  
The great gods their decrees had instituted.  
On the city wall, the lofty wall she(?) stood."

And Reverse 9–13:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{unug-(ki)-ga dim-ma-bi} & \quad \text{ba-sūg} \\
\text{"gi-bil-ga-miš en Hallab-ge} & \quad 3 \\
\text{ur-sag-bi-ne-ir} & \quad \text{gù-mu-na-de-e} \\
\text{ur-sag-mu-ne} & \quad \text{igi-mu-un-suḫ-suḫ-ù-ne}
\end{align*}
\]

"In Erech his work was confounded.  
Gilgamesh the lord of Hallab  
To their strong men cried,  
'My strong men behold!'"

I cannot discover in any of these tablets a reference to the fight of Gilgamesh and Enkidu with the divine bull. Additional material, however, will enable us to translate these obscure lines and place in our hands the Sumerian prototype of the Gilgamesh Epic.

\[^1\text{Applied to a temple(?) in SBH. 94. 35, mu-ul-šī-nī ka-nag-gâ, "the skilled work(?) of the land."}\]
\[^2\text{Cf. Gilgamesh Epic. VI 174.}\]
\[^3\text{Same title Obv. 25.}\]
Liturgical Hymn Concerning Ur-Engur

Right half of a large tablet originally containing six columns and about 240 lines. A hymn to Ur-Engur and of historical importance, since it throws some light upon the events which led up to the founding of the dynasty of Ur. The founder of this dynasty has left us no other important literary documents, for the few inscriptions hitherto known concerning this king are too brief to be considered important.1 These merely mention the building of temples in Ur, Nippur, Kesh, Erech, Larsa. The longest of his previously known inscriptions, a clay peg from Lagash, mentions extensive irrigation works and the institution of righteous laws for the empire which, as in the case of Hammurapi, the king promulgated under the guidance of Shamash the sun-god.

The second column of this hymn continues a panegyric on the character of the king, a subject which certainly filled up the whole of the first column. Beginning with line 24 of Col. II the poem mentions the king’s expeditions unto unknown lands, his conquest of seven strange lands and the tribute that flowed to his capitol. Col. III begins an interesting section continued for about eighty lines on the offerings made by the king to various gods and goddesses. The references to the god Gilgamish as “his brother”2 for whom weeping is ordered and as the beloved of the queen of Arallu3 afford indispensable material for the history of the Tammuz cult. At the end of Col. IV the king makes a pathetic reference to his wife. The

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1 Thureau-Dangin, S.A.K. 186–9. See also Clay, Miscel. No. 16.
2 Rev. IV 16.
3 Obv. III 10.
fragmentary lines of Col. V refer to the institution of righteousness in the land and the banishment of sin.

In material structure this six column text resembles the six column tablet No. 4562 which, however, is a real liturgical composition to a king who had been deified. Ur-Engur never received the honor of deification in his lifetime, neither did his successors found a cult to him.\(^1\) The unecclesiastical spirit of this hymn to him accords with the other historical facts which we know concerning the evolution of emperor worship in the dynasty of Ur. If the reader will compare the liturgical hymns to Dungi published in my *Historical and Religious Texts*, Nos. 4 and 5, or the long liturgy to Bur-Sin and Gimil-Sin in *Radau BE*. 29 No. 1, or to Ishme-Dagan in this volume, Ni. 4563, he will discover at once the immense change which came into the royal panegyrics after the reign of Ur-Engur. Only in this hymn to him do we gather many facts of profane history. The others are wearisome laudations composed for public worship.

\[\text{Obverse II}\]

1. \(\ldots ni-te\) Ur-\(\text{\textsuperscript{d}}\)Engur \(\text{\textsuperscript{e-ka-ra}}\)\(\ldots\)
2. \(\ldots\) \(\text{\textsuperscript{e-gal-a-na}}\) \(\text{\textsuperscript{ni-nad}}\)

1 \(\ldots\) awe Ur-Engur\(\ldots\)
2. \(\ldots in his palace he lies.\)

\(\ldots\)

\(\ldots\)

\(\ldots\)

\(\ldots\)

\(\ldots\)
3. The lord, my beloved, turns not back the breast.

4. In...he lies, the bridal chamber he occupies.

5. ...raging...like....

6. ...like....is long, whose limbs....

7. ...a-ni-da dam-a-ni-gim....

8. ga-ni DI-mu-dû GIBIL

9. KUŠ a-la-na-ba....

10. nig-dug-ga la-ba-an-lag-gi

11. Šu-gib-ba....

12. a-ni 4a-nun-na-ge-ne kuš-im-ma-an-[

13. ]

14. ba-e-gub ud-bi la-ba-ni-

15. ib-si

16. a-dû-gaššu teg....

17. li 4nu-çu-û-ne i-im-bal-bal-

18. ene

19. ...sal-la Ur 4Engur ga-gaç-gim

20. a-ba-ni-in-ru-a$...


22. im-sî-gub

23. nu-gà-gà-a nig- šag-gi šu-

24. nu-gid i-im-me

---

1 REC. 290; see for this form PSBA. 1913, 277. For dlm in the sense of "king," see SBP.

2 14 4tlm-ma, the royal house; probably in SBP. 14, 15, dlm-ma-û ki-nu-un-xam amal-û
ta-dm-gid-gid, "thy lord is not reverenced, thy sheepfolds are demolished," where dlm refers to Tammuz.

3 See Bab. III 179.

4 Cf. Historical and Religious Texts, p. 17, 12.

5 The sign is perhaps ba.
21. Ur-Engur! I will praise.
22. ........................................
23. Ninsun with comforting words walked with him.
24. Those whom he plundered followed with him in tears.
25. ..... in a place which was unknown his ships were known. 1
26. ............................... was severed.
27. Oars of cedar 2 its wealth to Guedin 3 brought
28. In Guedin(?), it was heaped up, and its exchange value was fixed.
29. ..... was made, in less time was washed(?)
30. ...... at that time brought with him the gifts of Kiš(?)
31. ..... of the Land rebelled; the foe showed himself hostile to the Land.
32. ............................... he was hurled down.
33. The chariot was overturned, the expedition 10 was annihilated, but he was not captured.

1 anaku anammar, cf. SBH. 54. 5 and SBP. 2. 14.
2 Cf. BL. p. 30 No. 19. 3 and 35.
3 The text has su clearly, but it is probably to be regarded as an error.
4 The foreign expeditions of this king are referred to in a date formula of his reign, “Year when Ur-Engur the king from below to above directed his footsteps,” THUREAU-DANGIN, SAK. 228d).
5 Literally, “faithful wood,” probably an adjective for cedar, and employed also in the divine name Nin-giš-ši-da, a tree god, v. TAMMUZ and ISHTAR 7 n. 2.
6 This term appears to coincide with Sumer here.
7 A-SU (with or without determinative tūg) ordinarily means ṭābu, a kind of garment, CT. 5. 3 I 5; RTC. 221 Rev. 3. The sign A is written min = “two.”
8 According to II R. 32. 8, idramu, potash.
9 For ta passive. See Sum. Gr. §300 and ğu-ma-te-dūg, “let it be proclaimed,” ZIM. KL., 198 II 43.
10 Literally, “route.”
11 Šu-nigin occurs as a verb also in KL. 65, 10, šu-mu-un-nigin-e, “it gathers, captures.”
34. ...tis ginar ba-da-šuš ğar-ra-an
    im-ma-da-sūg šu-nu-um-ma-
    nigin

35. kur-ra imin-bi nig-ba ba-ab-sum-
    mu

36. ... ba-di-gi-eš- a
37. ......nin-dingir-di-ga gi-e¹
        ba-dūb-ba
38. ......(?!) mu-un-țu-uš kur-ra za-
        pa-ăg mu-un-gar
39. ......mā-ab-kum-e² udu - im-ma-
        ab-šar-ri
40. ......nig-gal-gal-la³ ba-ši-in-dūr-
        ru-ne-ăš
41. ......ăr-um a-kur-ra ĕru-na-
        ĕm

42. ......an kur-ra-
43. ......șag-ga-ni mu-un-țu

34. ... the chariot was over-
    thrown, the expedition was
    annihilated, but he was not
    captured.

35. The seven foreign lands gave
    presents.

36. ...... whom he slew
37. ...... priestess of the dead on
    the earth caused to repose.
38. ...... at thy name terror in the
    land of the stranger produced.
39. ...... eat; the sheep become
    fat.
40. In...... they dwell.
41. An high priest he is, mountain-
    like might, a high priest he
    is.
42. ...... of the mountain.
43. ...... his heart knows.

Col. III

1. lugal-e nidad-kur-ra-ge giš-im-
    ma-ab-ta-gi
2. ur-d'engur nidad-kur-ra-ge giš-im-
    ma-ab-ta-gi
3. gud-dū māš-dū udu-šeg en-na-ab-
    du-du-a
4. giš-kâk-diğ³ giš-šir-gal⁴ ĕ-mar-ur⁵
    giš-kâk-šir gir-ka-sil

1. The king freewill offerings of the
    mountains brought as sacri-
    fice.
2. Ur-Engur freewill offerings of
    the mountains brought as sacri-
    fice.
3. Sleek oxen, sleek kids, fat sheep,
    as many as he had brought,
4. A "death dealing weapon" of
    marble, a quiver, a KAK-
    ŠIR, a sword with sharp edge,

1 For ki-e?
² For kum, "to eat," v. BL. 98 n. 3.
⁴ Cf. a-nir-ra, SBP. 86, 28 n. 2.
⁵ Cf. Nip. 4577, 18 and SBH. 39, 3. The Semitic rendering is aplubtu, "boomerang," or
    mifsu, "sickle."
⁶ Sic without determinative dag.
5. kul-ū-b-dār-ā ib-ba-gāl-la-ba

6. dē-unu-gal dē-en-līl kur-ra-ra

7. sib ur-engur-ge ē-gal-a-na giš-im-ma-ab-lag-gi

8. giš-gid-da kuš-lu-ūb-kalag(?)-si- mē-a i-mi-ib-ug?-ān-na

9. ............... k-i-us-sa á nam- ur-sag-gā TUM SIL

10. [?]-ga-da-gar kenag dē-erīš-ki-gal-la

11. dē-gibil-ga-mes lugal-kur-ra-ge

12. sib ur-engur-ge ē-gal-la-na giš- im-ma-ab-lag-gi

13. [. . . .4] keš-da i'á ba-ni-in-de-a bur-sagāni šu-dū-a

14. tūg...la-TUL-gid tūg-nam- nin' nam-nin'

15. e mā-dalla me-kur-ra

16. dē-nin(?)... a-ba-ra

17. sib ur-engur-ge ē-gal-la-na giš- im-ma-ab-lag-gi

18. LU

19. pa aTar-gi... en-na... šu čagin

20. dē-dumu-zi-tūm-ma kē-nag dē-inni- ni-ra

5. A variegated leather pouch which......

6. to Nergal, the Enlil of the mountains

7. The shepherd Ur-Engur in his palace3 offered.

8. A bow,...... smiter of battle, the imib-weapon, panther of Anu,

9. ............... that treads the......, strength of heroism,

10. To...... beloved of Erishkigal,

11. Gilgamish, lord of the mountain,4

12. The shepherd Ur-Engur in his palace offered.

13. A copper(?)-KEŠDA, into which oil is poured, a well-made stone ointment bowl,

14. A long...... garment, a "royal garment," for the royalty,

15. of the temple that glorifies the decrees of the world,

16. Unto Nin-sun........

17. The shepherd [Ur-Engur in his palace offered.]

18. .................

19. A pure staff... lazuli....

20. which is worthy of Tammuz5 the beloved of Innini,

---

1 [LU-KU = lubbu.

2 So, probably not "temple," see Expository Times XX 457.


4 Since Erishkigal, queen of the underworld, occurs in the preceding line, the title "lord of the mountain" refers also to the underworld.

5 uuru - Cf. giš-kelda a cult utensil.

6 Cf. IV Raw. 20, No. 2b 3; 2bb 14.

7 šēkīt bēlišim, BL. p. 80, 14.

8 sūm-ma = šāšuku; see Krozy, Nin-Nerg 16, 18; Ebeling, KTA. No. 4 Obv. 33, Rev. 10; Poebel, PBS. V 154 V 6 f.
21. sib ur-\textsuperscript{d}engur ĕ-gal-a-na giš-im-ma-ab-lag-gi
22. giš-sa\textsuperscript{1} šu-dú-a kēš-\textsuperscript{a}aṣag-gi mâ-gur-bi su-\textsuperscript{a}lag-ga
23. dāg-gug-aṣaq nig-dū dingir-ri-e-ne
24. \textsuperscript{4}nam-tar galu nam-tar-tar-ra-ra
25. sib ur-\textsuperscript{d}engur ĕ-gal-a-na giš-im-ma-ab-lag-gi
26. dub-ba\textsuperscript{a} taqin...nam-irigal-a-ge
27. giš-kešda-aṣag\textsuperscript{4} dāg-gug-tag-ga giš-bi gu-\textsuperscript{2}sal-a
28. \textsuperscript{4}Ruš-bi-lág dam \textsuperscript{4}nam-tar-ra-ra
29. sib ur-\textsuperscript{d}engur-ge ĕ-gal-a-na giš-im-ma-ab-lag-gi
30. giš-gar šu-\textsuperscript{2}...aṣag-gi-la ri(?)-a
31. gīr ki gīr-uḡ
32. gīr-ūr dar-dar

\textsuperscript{1} gil-sa refers to a definite object here as in Gud. B. 6, 76.
\textsuperscript{a} Probable value of REC. 215. For su-lag-ga cf. SAK. 48 V 14.
\textsuperscript{2} A tendency to regard the goddess of the nether world as she who possesses the tablet of fates probably refers to the summons to die passed on by the lord and queen of Arallu (Nergal and Allatu). For Nergal as scrutinizer of the dead, see Bab. VI 209 n. 8. The title duḫḫarrat arallī (scribe of Arallu), is employed of types of the queen of the land of the dead. \textsuperscript{4}nin-[na]-an-na, a title of the mother goddess Ilnini, CT. 16, 3, 95. Nin-gēlīn-na, vine goddess, identified with the western mother goddess bēlī šēri (and related to the grain goddess Nidana), IV R. 27b 29; Dhorme, Choix 214, 47. For Nidana as the scribe who holds a tablet and knows the secrets of the stars and all wisdom, see Tammyu and Ištār 151 f. The goddess Mar-uru-lal-an-ki ad-\textsuperscript{a}l-gī (nāš abūt lamē u īṣītim mālikatu), a name for Allatu is the mother of the god of fate Namtar, CT. 25, 5, 29, who is the messenger of this same Allatu or Eriškiyal, ibid. 31 = 24, 34, 4. Namtar is probably the herald whom the queen of Arallu sends forth to cause men to die and bring them to her realm, hence he is a pest god. The goddess Rušbišag his consort, CT. 24, 34, 5 = 25, 5, 32, is only another form of the goddess who holds the tablet on which the hour of death for each man was written. This function originally belonged to the great mother goddess, especially in her capacity as queen of the land of the dead. In her later evolution this duty of keeping the roll of fate fell to the inferior deity Rušbišag or more frequently to Nidaba or Geštinanna when she became the patroness of letters. The main fact to be emphasized is the theory of the divine summons to die, laid by the mother goddess upon man and executed by her herald the "God of Fate."
\textsuperscript{4} kešda-aṣaq is a title of Arallu in CT. 16, 3, 95.
33. sib munsub¹ a- uṣ-e
34. dun ur-sag  "nin-giš-qi- da
35. sib ur-engur-ge é-gal-a-na giš-im-ma-ab-ṭaq-gi
36. dāg-dub-ṭaqgin ba-da-ra-ni² lá-a
37. SAR-DI-da guškin kubbar sag-bi ruš-ma
38. "nannar aš-me-azag-gi ṭag-ga-na
gub-bu-dé........
39. tāg-sakād giš-pituk-mag-galu-ṛu giš-šir-gal
40. gi-dub-ba ṭāg-bar-ra nig-nam-
dub-ṭar-ra-ge
41. ?-gan-ṭkur gi-diš-ninda........
42. KAK-UŠ.....a-ni nin........
43. dub........ra li....... 
44. To the shepherd, the pastor, who
...........
34. The mighty, the valiant Ningiš-
zi-da,
35. The shepherd Ur-Engur in his
palace offered.
36. A tablet of lazuli attached to a
handle,
37. A SAR-DI-DA of gold and
silver, which is exceedingly
brilliant,
38. For Nannar sacred disks to
stand at his side........
39. A headress for the great sage,
the learned, of marble,
40. A stylus of bronze, instrument
of the art of writing,
41. ......a rod measuring reed
(made of.......)

COL. IV

1. 1.
2. 2.
3. ......-a-bi 3. ..............
4. ......na ? ab....4. ..............

¹ PA+USAN is given in CT. 12, 13 as the full form of USAN (su-ub)=ri-e-um, or USAN (mu-un-su-ub), WEISSBACH, Miscel. p. 30, 7. For the full form PA+USAN see also DP. 31b V 14, where it forms a proper name, and RTC. 76 1 3; sib and munsub are both rendered by re’u shepherd which makes their conjunction here inexplicable. Evidently some distinction exists between these words.
² badarana = ṣat-tar-i (or pa-ṭar-ri), syn. paṭru, sword, BL. 79, 21 = PI. LXI 16 and ASKT. 120, 21.
³ GAR when employed as a standard of linear measure has probably the value ninda, variant of Br. 4658 (ninda)=īṭa, side, border, and equals twelve cubits or between five and six yards, see THUREAU-DANGIN, JA. 1909, p. 97. Hence the word ṭan ninda-anu, means a reed measure 12 cubits long. For the usual gi-ninda-gan= ṭan ninda-anu, “reed of the side of a field,” SAI. 1558, we have gi GAR (ninda)-na=ka-an [ninda-anu], VR. 32, 43. Our text has ṭan ilen ninda-anu, “reed one ninda long,” which verifies Meissner’s restoration, SAI. 1654. Note also [gi-BAR-NINDA]=ṭan [mišil ninda-anu] or a reed 34 ninda long, CT. XI, 47 III 25.
5. [sib(?)...] kur-ra-ge si-bé-in-sá-
a-la
6. [ur-Engur sib(?)] kur-ra-ge si-bé-
in-sá-a-la
7. ...... urugal-la-ge bé
8. ...... šù-ge bé
9. ur-Engur-ra-ge mu-ni-ib-túg-ù bé
10. kur-ra ki...... mu-na-mà-mà bé
11. dúg-dúg-ga ⁵ereš-ki-gal-la-ka-la
12. erim giš-KU[? ?] en-na-ba- ?
    -ga
13. galu nam-la-ga en-na-ba-
    .......a
14. lugal-la šu-ni-šú...... im-ma-ab-
    sum-mu-ne
15. ur-Engur ki-bi-šú...... eš......
16. šeš-kenag-gà-ni ⁵gi(š)-bil-ga-[meš]
17. e-ne sá-kur-ra-ni-dé ka-aš kur-ra-
    ni bar-ri
18. ud-imin ud-u-ám ba-žal-la-ba
19. lugal-mu i-si-š ki-en-gi-ra-ge
    sá-nam-bi mu-ni-ib-dúg
20. ur-Engur i-si-š ki-en-gi-ra-ge
    sá-nam-bi mu-ni-ib-dúg
21. bad uri-(ki)-ma mu-un-lil-la-ni
22. é-gal-iži-na mu-un-?-ni...... nu-
    mu-un......

5. [The shepherd the...] of the
lands directed.
6. [Ur-Engur, the shepherd, the...] of the lands directed.
7. [By the command of the lord] of Arallu he directed.
8. [By the command...] of... he
directed
9. Ur-Engur who..... the lands
pacified, directed.
10. The foreign lands which paid
him obeisance he directed.
11. By the injunctions of Eresh-
kigal,
12. the...... men as many as......
13. The wicked men as many as
......
14. Whom into the hand of the
king they gave,
15. Ur-Engur to their place......
    them.
16. For his beloved brother Gilga-
mish,¹
17. That one, who to bless his land,
    rendered judgment for his land,²
18. When the seventh day and the
tenth dawned,
19. My king the lamentations of
    Sumer..... commanded.
20. Ur-Engur the lamentations of
    Sumer..... commanded.
21. The wall of Ur which had
become old,
22. The palace which by fire was
    ...... and was seen no more,
    ...

¹ Cf. BE. 31 No. 55 l. 1.
² We expect here a reference to the perishing of Gilgamish, an ancient king who died for his people in the rôle of Tammuz. See Tammuz and Ishtar 40.
³ The scribe seems to have omitted a line here referring to the rebuilding of the wall and palace of Ur.
23. sib-be e-a-ni...la be-in-aga-ni
24. dam-a-ni ùr-ra-na...nu-mu-un-gi-a-ni
25. dumu-ni da'-ba-na li-be-in-pees-a-ni
26. ...........................................
27. ...........................................
28. sib-tid i-ru nis-gar ni-le-na
29. ma-e nis ne-e ba-aga-a-mu
30. dingir-ri-e-ne-ir mu-ne-gub-bu-nam
31. ?-ur mu-ne-gal
32. a-[num-na]-ge-ne ge-gal-la pa-mu-ne-ta-a-ni
33. giš-nad ú-ţagin' dag-ga-ba gilsa mu-ne-gar-ra-mu
34. an-ki mal-la-ba e-du-la mu-la ba-ni-ib-sud-di
35. ....me-en nis-abrig-ta-ga' mu an-gim mu-ne-sū-ud
36. ....da-gub-ba Dl-a-ma-a-na šu-ba-ni-ši
37. ....ne-ta 1M-an-la-ám-ma gim
38. ....la-e-a sīg ur-(ki)-ma-sū šu-nu-um-ma-nigina

23. The shepherd whose home by
......had been plundered(?),
24. Whose wife to his bosom...one
had not restored.
25. Whose son grew not up on his
knees,
26.
27.
28. The faithful shepherd, wailing
and lament in fear.......
29. As for me whatsoever I have
made,
30. To the gods verily I erected,
and.....
31. To the Anunnaki whom with
riches I have glorified,
32. A bed of lazuli whose couch²
with a precious work I con-
structed,
33. Like heaven and earth con-
structed, with a covering like
the stars I made bright.
34. A....am I, whatsoever (was
revealed to me) by favorable
omen this I made beautiful
like heaven for them.

---

1 Cf. Gud. Cyl. B. 9, 8; 17. 1.
2 dag, the part of the bed on which the sleeper reposed; see Sum. Gr. 208 dag 2.
3 For R = šud, sud = matāhu, cf. the gunufed form of this sign with values su₄. II R. 26a
15 and sub. RA. 10, 79, 9. All these roots su₄, sud, sub, šub have the meaning shine.
4 For abrig-ta-ga', favorable omen, see IV Raw. 35 No. 6 II 1; King, LIIH., 61, 26.
5 la ina-ba.
6 Cf. Obv. 1 34.
39. tiid gil'am-mu mu-un-su-âm
40. [šag?] a-nir nig-gig-ga-a ud-mi-
    ni-ib-tul-tul-e
39. Of my faithful wife whom I had
    known.
40. (Her) heart of bitter sorrows I
    made glad.

Col. V

7. ..........ù-si-in-tu-ra?
8. [šag? a-nir] nig-gig-ga-a ud-mi-
    ni-ib-tul-tul-e
10. ..........šag-ga-ni sag-gâ-na li-bê-in-
     ...........
11. ..........na-ge á-mag-a-ni sag-gâ-na
        li-be-in-gi-en
12. ..........en áš-im-ûr KU-la nu-un-
    ri
13. ..........nun-ki-ga-ge ba-ra ba-ra-la-
        an-ê
14. ..........im-ma-ni-in-si-ig enim šu-
        nu-mu-un-di-ni-ib-gi
15. ..........imi-sur-ra ba-ra-ab-šig giš-
        úz nu-mu-šâg(?).
7. ................
8. The heart of bitter sorrow I
    made glad.
10. ..........upon his head not did he
    .........
11. ..........his mighty arm upon his
    head not did he lay.
12. ..........the lord Sin........not.
13. ..........of Eridu caused to go far
    away.
14. ..........fixed and revoked not.²
15. ..........

Liturgical Hymn to Dungi

(TABLET AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN)

1. ..........te ana-ge gi-gi
2. en kalama gi-en-gi-ir-(ki) dug-ga
3. sù-un sù-un-na-ni kur-ra dib-dib-
    bi
4. me ni-te-na......dûg.............
5. ²en-lil sib da-rî kalam-ma......
1. ..........of heaven, the merciful(?).
2. Lord who makest glad the land
    of Sumer.
3. Who causeth his devastation to
    befall the foreign land.
4. Who fearful decrees......
    speakest......
5. Whom Enlil as the everlasting
    shepherd of the Land [did
    choose?]

¹ For tâ in the same sense, but of animals, see PBS. X pt. 1 p. 70, 17. mu-ul-tu, “he knew
not.”
² Cf. THUREAU-DANGIN, SAK., 52 n. f.
6. 4dun-gi lugal uri-ma me-en
7. igi-duğ-bar-ra-na gú-zi'd ma-ni-
in-de
8. en aqa1 sá-bi-ga-na ....-sîg
9. lum ........ ga ......... me-en
10. qî ........ ga gú qa bi ......... me-en
11. sib .... d'nannar me2 dam-ka[r
........ me-en
12. enim d'nin-lil-lá ki-gar šag-ga ki-
šar-ra ma-lâg
13. ú-il-la ét(?))igi-ù-ni-in-duğ gú ù-
? -de-de
14. ud-bi nam(?)-sîr-ra lugal(?)dû
........
15. 4dun-gi me ka-çaq-sal uri-(ki)
tûb-bi-mên
16. 4nin-tud-ra(? nig-ma........
17. dingir-ri-e-ne ni-DU ....... mà
18. 4mul-genna suğuš-a KA .........
ra
20. um-mi-a ............ gi-mu-ne-
7u
21. enim nin-mu3 ......... ta
22. a-da-ge4 nim bad-du ma-al?-lîm
mu-ši-gar-gar-ri-eš

6. Oh divine Dungi king of Ur
thou art.
7. When he turns his regard he
speaks faithfully.
8. Holy priest who peace .......... 
bestows.
9. ............. thou art.
10. ............. thou art.
11. Shepherd ...... of Nannar thou
art; recorder ...... thou art.
12. By the command of Ninil, 
pious works in the universe
he established.8
13. Oh magnified one the temple
behold! give command!
14. On that day melody befitting a
king .......
15. "Dungi I praise, him that causes
Ur to repose.
16. Whom Nintud ........
17. Who the gods ......
18. Whom the "god of the steady
star" upon a foundation .......
19. To ......... cause to repose in
years of plenty.
20. The army .......
21. By the command which my lady,
the goddess ...... (has spoken),
22. Wailing in the upper land far
away ...... they caused.

---

1 For this title see also Allotte de la Fûye, DP. 81 III; Thureau-Dangin, RTC. 43
Rev. 2, etc.
2 Sic. For me-e. For e and e-en as inflections of the second singular see RA. 11, 47.
3 The interpretation of this line is uncertain. Also the signs šag and ki are uncertain.
4 Cf. n-il-la = laḫš, CT. 17, 12, 12.
5 Probably ra emphatic.
6 This title of Ninurash as god of the planet Saturn occurs in other texts only in the late
period; umnum genna, i.e., belu kamanu, PSBA. 1908, 80 l. 12; 4genna is a regular title of Saturn
in astronomical texts of the late period, Camby. 400 Rev. 41; RA. 8, 57.
7 For the root ad, wailing, which is not entered in my vocabulary, note the following passages:
ad-da = ina riggim, SBH. 101 Rev. 6; ad-mu = rigmi, my wail, SBH. 75, 7; mulu ad-da-ge =
bâl nissattu, lord of wailing, Zimmern, K-L., 12 II 3; mulu ad-du-ge, IV R. II a23; ad-du = nissatu,
IV R. 19a 13; BA. V 620, 19. mulu ad-di ad-di-ču nam-mu, Ni. 4596, 31 in this volume.
23. sig tug-mal šu ab-e-bal...ni lal
24. kur-nim-šu ú?-gal-gim...gida-da
25. igi-nim-la kalama še-gim dul-li ni-lal
26. kur dûn bad-du-âš ag...ni-lal
27. lul šu-su'-ag kaskal...ta-gub-mal
28. šu?-a ki-gir-gin-na-ge
29. sir-gid-da teg nam-lugal-la
30. bad-du-mâš nig-bal-bal-e ga-mu-ši-gar-gar-ra
31. nam-duq-šar-ra nig-gi-gi-šu2 ga-mu-ši-mâ-aru-mâ-šu
32. ud šar-šar-ra gar-ra-bê-gál mana-ru-a-mâ
33. ṣul-ṣul-li-mal dug-dug-gi-mal
34. ti-ti šu-šu LU...za-am za-am4......
35. dûl šu-si giš-ka-silim...til-la
36. nig-á-nû-šu=la-ba-gub-šu-ne-en-na-mu
37. dug-gar nu-kûš-ù ša-al-ê me

23. In the lower land songs of pacification thou didst cause to be uttered,
24. Unto the upper land like a great...he approached.
25. From the upper land over Sumer beneficently a shadow he stretched.
26. Upon the violent foreign land far away...he stretched.
27. The doers of rebellion from the ways...he caused to stand aside.
28. ................
29. With a long song befitting royal power,
30. .......a meditation I will compose for it.
31. In writing thy laws3 I will set forth.3
32. When the writings are set forth, ........(?)
33. Gladness causing, prosperity causing.
34. ................
35. The weapon......of sweet voice
36. The unopposed which is not restrained.
37. He that tirelessly causes anarchy to depart, thou art.

1 Sic! šu twice.
2 Uncertain; cf. nig-gi-gi-na, SAK. 72, 38. The inflection šu after the verb mâ-ar indicates a plural object.
3 Redactions of Sumerian laws existed before the first Semitic dynasty and served as a model for the great Code of Hammurapi; a fragment of such a code has been published by Professor Clay, OLZ. 1914, p. 1. See also Ni. 4574 in this volume.
4 za-am occurs in lines 38 and 56, here after gi-gid(=malili), flute. Also in K-L., 200, 17, lul-balag-a ra-dug za-am za-am, the word occurs in connection with a word for flute (tigû). za-am contains, probably, the element ta, second per. sing.
5 la la immašaru; see II R. 364 27 and SBP. 86, 28.
38. On the flute.... I will set forth (these matters).
39. The name of the divine king transcends all,
40. (The name) of Enlil whose fixed decree² is not transgressed.
41. The name of Sin who a city fated, whose splendor is not to be supported.
42. Whose curse the unclean purges.
43. The name of Shamash attendant of the gods.
44. My music let no man make.
45. My prayer which is unequaled let no wife utter.
46. Divine Dungi! I.....in song institute for thee,
47. Who as one clean and pious brings about purity,
49. The shepherd who fulfills the decrees as many as there be,
50. Royal power.....may care for faithfully.
51. When my melodies in future days are.....
52. May the musician on his lyre.....
53. May my melody weeping..... dispel

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1 The sign has one superfluous wedge at the end.
2 "nig-dug-ga = adammu," "fixed time in which things occur."
3 "lam" in this passage has clearly the same meaning as the cognate lam.
4 For PA+DU instead of PA+DU gunufed, see BM. 91-5-9, 279, 8, in CT. 6; and 88-5-12,
71 line 42, in CT. 4.
5 This form of the sign DAM is probably peculiar to the script of Larsa where this tablet was apparently written.
6 "sag > sab" for the root sag is here found for the first time. Compare SBP. 96, 10 and 332,
9; also RADAU, Miscel. 17, 13.
54. sir-gid-da teg nam-lugal-la
55. bad-du-maš nig-bal-bal ge-im
56. gi-gid ta-am ta-am ge-im

54. In a long song befitting royal power,
55. ....... a meditation let be.
56. The flute........ let be.

4566

LITURGICAL HYMN TO LIBUT-ISHTAR (?) OR ISHME-DAGAN (?)

Ni. 4566 forms the upper left corner of a large three column tablet belonging to the group of historical hymns to deified emperors. The name of the king Lilazag has not the sign for "god" before it and the fragment contains no reference to his deification. Perhaps this particular king of the Isin dynasty never received this distinction. The name itself is new among royal names of the period and no alternative remains but to identify him with one of the unknown sixteen kings of the Isin dynasty. In the dynastic list Ni. 19797 the name of the fourteenth king has remained undeciphered for the tablet is badly weather-worn at this point. Hilprecht's copy shows traces of a name containing not more than three signs and these agree admirably with lil-aṣag-ga, or perhaps ga is omitted. I have collated the line again and find the reading liḫ-aṣag possible but not certain. At any rate this name offers a possible identification and since the fragment obviously reveals a hymn to one of the kings of Isin, this seems to be a solution unless lil-aṣag be taken as a mere epithet of the king. In that case the fragment does not contain the name of the king.

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1 Hilprecht, BE. 29 pl. 30, published the reverse of this tablet on which the names of the sixteen kings of Isin stood. Poebel has given the entire text in PBS. V pl. iv.
2 The first sign resembles UR more than LIL. Both Hilprecht and Poebel's copies are inexact. [The name of the fourteenth king is probably Ur-azag, since this name occurs in Ni. 13954.]
1. *Lil-qi-ag ab numun-i-i* na-qi-ag-
   ga mu-dug-ga sá-a  
   1. Lilazag, of the house of exalted
      seed, the holy man, named by
      a good name.

2. šāb-ba a-lu₄ lugal R₂U-TIQ₄ lugal 
   zd₃-lag-l₃g-gi  
   2. Whose heart is...; the king
      ......; the king who makes
      glad the soul.

3. é-malga-sud eri bár n₃₃a-gin-na 
   ni-in-šu-bu-šu(?)  
   3. "The Temple of Wisdom" in
      the clean city with lapis lazuli
      he made splendid.

4. kur-sud-sud esbar me-i-i šit-e ka-
   šu-gál  
   4. The far away land he subdues,
      having recounted unto them
      the observance of laws and
      decrees.

5. ........zu nun šag-lal-sud kalam-
   ma X₅ kur-kur-
   ra  
   5. The......, merciful prince of
      the Land; the......of the
      foreign lands.

6. ........a-šu-gal sag-gigit-ga nam-
   eri-lar-ri  
   6. The great......of the dark
      headed people; who declares
      the fate of his city.

7. dumu-sag dingir-aqag-ga ki-el 
   ama ₄ba-₃  
   7. First born son of the holy god-
      dess, the woman, mother Bau.

8. é eri-qi-ag šub é be-in- 
   gub  
   8. As to a temple in the holy city,
      the clean city, a temple he
      founded.

9. bara-qa-ku be-in-  
   gar₄  
   9. A.....chapel he made.

10. 8 é ₄ba-₃.............  
    10. Eight temples of Bau

Obv. II 9 mentions Hallab. On the reverse occurs the
goddess *Ama* of Agade for whom this king constructed seven
temples. The reference in Rev. 7 to a temple of the *Mul-mul*

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1 The same epithet is applied to Libit-Ishtar, fifth king of the Isin dynasty, ZIMMERN, KL.
199, 4. Cf. Cst. 1378, 10 in BE. XXXI, *numun ma-ni-i-, “he exalted his race.” See also
Ni. 7184, 19.

* Or if these syllables are simply an epithet we may translate “the holy wind,” a reference,
to the divine spirit of the deified king.


₃ Title ordinarily applied to the river god, ₄id-lu-R₂U-TIQ, IV R. 14 No. 2, 22; BL. No. 46,
8; SBH. 132, 40; CT. IV 32 33. See also BL. No. 69, 9.

₄ The sign is REC. 447 = SAI. 3752. It has ordinarily a meaning synonymous with “canal,”
but here the sign obviously conveys a sense synonymous with “shepherd, guide,” and probably
recurs in the title *sag-X.*

⁵ See also Historical and Religious Texts, Cst. 1575.
contains the earliest mention of these astronomical deities. The Semitic translation is *ilani sibitti* or the seven gods, Zimmer, Rt. 26 III 63; in astronomy *mul-mul* ordinarily designates Taurus. The seven gods who are designated by the words *mul-mul* are probably of astronomical origin and originated in a religious fancy concerning the Pleiades. They appear as seven small balls or irregular little figures on seal cylinders from the earliest period. Note for example Ward's *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 132 No. 372, a seal with an agricultural scene and in the upper field the moon, Venus and the Pleiades. These seven balls recur in the glyptic and figured monuments of all periods and seem to have represented the Igigi or heaven spirits whose number was six hundred. The identification with the Igigi has been interred from the correspondence between the symbols and the divine names on the rock relief at Bavian, see Ward, *ibid.* 392.¹ The identification with the Igigi has been defended also for the reason that they are represented by the symbol *dingir* V+II, commonly taken for "god 7." But the figure 7 is never written in this way and the sign really means *ia*×*giš+giš* or 5×(60+60)=600. There is no evidence for the statement that the Igigi were seven in number. According to II R. 25 b 69 and 39 No. 2 (Add.) the Igigi were eight in number,² hence they probably are confounded and identified with the Pleiades. It is, therefore, probable that in practice *mul-mul* really represents the Igigi.

¹ Hinke, B.E. Ser. D Vol. IV p. 245, was inclined to identify these seven balls with the seven planets, a theory wholly impossible. Also the identification with Nergal in Frank, *Bilder* p. 29 is certainly erroneous.
² See Jensen, KB. VI 587.
4563

LITURGY OF THE CULT OF ISHME-DAGAN

The remnants of Col. I refer to conquests of the king who in his own land secured obedience (gù-ur-e mà-mal, l. 3) and compelled the foreign land to submit (kur-ri ka-šu-gál, l. 7). The disobedient he crushed (nu-še-ga šù-a, l. 9) and one line speaks of victories (šu-sīg-sīg-ge-dam 15). With line 19 begins the long series of intercessions to various gods which forms the greater part of the liturgy.

20. [May the god. ...]¹ decree me prosperity.
21. [To my reign] prosperous years may he announce."

After a considerable gap in our fragment, Col. II line 3 begins with an address to the Moon-god. Addresses to Nusku, Ninurash, Shamash, and Innini follow and this series of intercessions ends with an appeal to various minor gods.

With line 21 of Rev. I begins a section which, if I understand correctly its obliterated phrases, contains a long address to the divine king by the liturgists and choir;² the king is referred to in the third person throughout. Noticeable among these phrases are the appeals to the king for the bestowal of wealth and increase upon the land. ĝu-mu-un-peš-peš-e, "may he multiply;" sá-duğ ĝe-ni-tab-tab, "the regular offerings may he double;" .......mà ka-bar-a-gim ĝe-ni-bal-bal, "my...... like a pastor may he store up."

Of particular interest is the probable reference in Rev. II 17 to the nine children of Nin-KA-si. This goddess is entered

¹ The first intercession probably appealed to Enlil.
² Note especially Rev. II 10. ....ē lugal-mà alad ĝe-ni-šar-šar-ri, "......in the temple of my king may the protecting genius make abundant."
in the theological list CT. 24, 10, 24 among the inferior deities of the court of Enlil, as in the abbreviated list II R. 59 Obv. 32 and SBP. 156, 46, "gaš-tin-nam nin-KA-si-ra, where Nin-KA-si is identified with the goddess Gaštinam,\(^1\) goddess of the vine. This goddess is probably identical with Geštin, or Geštinanna, sister of Tammuz. In any case Nin-KA-si is a vine goddess, who in SBP. 156 appears as consort of Pa-le-en-dug, lord of sacrifices (ša ni-ki-i), and under the original title Pa-geštindug(du)=mulu\(^2\) ne-sag-gà-ge(ša ni-ki-i) the same god is entered in the official list immediately before Nin-KA-si, CT. 24, 10, 22, but here his consort is Ša-bil, or Šu-qağ, "she who causes to burn," likewise a deity that presides over sacrifices. Since Nin-KA-si follows immediately upon Šabil, both are probably the consort of Pageštindug and Šabil is but another name for Nin-KA-si, who is thus a vine goddess whose fruit is offered in sacrifice as well as the goddess that presides over the fires which consume the sacrifice. In this aspect of a fire goddess she is the sister of Gibil the fire god, IV R. 14 No. 2 Rev. 20. She ordinarily appears as a vine goddess, however, and in IV R. 14 No. 1, 26 is identified with her daughter Siriš, whose name became a loan-word in Semitic for an intoxicating liquor, and Nin-KA-si presides over the mixing bowl, IV R. 14 No. 1, 28. Her nine children are: (1) Siriš; (2) Siriš-kaš, a special kind of liquor; (3) Siriš-kaš-gig, "The black liquor siriškaš;" (4) Me-ğuš, "She of the terrible decrees," a title also of Ishtar bēlit ilāni, CT. 25, 30, 7, referring to Ishtar as patroness of government; (5) Me-ažag, "She of the pure decrees;" (6) Eme-

\(^1\) Hardly to be read kurun-nam, although GAŠ-TIN has the Semitic value kurun, v. SAL.

\(^2\) King's copy has dumu, i. e., mar nikl, but it is probably to be corrected to mulu.
teg, "She of seemly tongue" (lišan simti);¹ (7) Kidurkaqal, "She of the abode of festivity," referring probably to her connection with drinking liquors; (8) Nusilig-ga;² (9) Ninmada, Var. Ninmadim, II R. 59, 33. Ninmada is the original form. She appears as a goddess of purificatory rites, Gud. Cyl. B. 4, 2 and Myhrman, BP. I No. 4, 21.

Of these nine daughters five are patronesses of liquors. Nin-KA-si, as we have seen, is an epithet of Gaštinam, the vine goddess, in SBP. 156, 46. In Ur-Bau’s Statue Col. VI 6 nin-KA-a-si-a is used as an epithet of Geštinanna. The element KA-si, KA-a-si-a, evidently has the meaning wine, liquor, or some similar meaning. A hymn to Nin-KA-si is published in Zimmern’s, Kultlieder No. 156. (See now Prince, AJSN, XXXIII 40–44.) She is the fourth patron of humanity in the Epic of Paradise and her father is Ea supreme patron of the arts, Zim. KL, 156, 5.

This composition has passages which are strikingly similar to many in Gudea’s inscriptions. Its author evidently knew the literature of Gudea extremely well and one is impressed repeatedly by a similarity of style. Several centuries, perhaps a millennium, intervenes between Ishme-Dagan and Gudea, which makes the resemblance all the more remarkable.

¹ So I would interpret this ideogram; one cannot refrain from comparing IV R. 14 No. 1 24, sal lúk-lúk dagar-ra me-teg gar=sinništu itepšu ummu ta ana sim ili šaknati, “The skilful woman, the mother who is sent to do what is seemly,” a description of Nin-KA-si. For dagar > dagar, cf. dagar-ra(=rapšu), CT. 15, 10, 10; Zimmern, K-L. 15 1 21, and see especially Liturgici, p. xx n. 3.
² Cf. Zimmern, Sburpu 9, 56 and RA. 9, 78. Perhaps la pilltu.
1. **nig-na mu-sa** .......... 1. Whosoever things are named .......... 
2. **giš-pitug ina-šu-gal ga-mi-[ni-ib-dû]** 2. May he with understanding of the seven (numbers) grandly [adorn me].
3. **den-ču dumu-sag en-lil-[lá-ge]** 3. Sin first born son of Enlil, 
5. **bara nam-en-na sag-ga-šu** .......... 5. In a chamber of ruling loftily [may ...].
7. **nusku sukkal en-lil-lá-ge** 7. May Nusku the messenger of Enlil, 
8. **gišdur nam-lugal-la šu-ma ga-ma-mi-gar** 8. Into my hand a regal scepter place. 
10. **ki-gub-bu ti-te-gà-ši ga-ma-an-gar** 10. Wheresoever I go, his awe may he lend me. 
11. **šag en-lil-lá dagal-la-šm ta-šimi-gi-in** 11. The heart of Enlil like (the heart of) a mother may he make faithful. 
12. **nin-uraš ur-sag kalag-ga en-lil-lá-ge** 12. Ninuraš, the valiant hero of Enlil, 
14. **ka-lá-ga en-lil nin-lil-lá mà- a-ar šu-mu-na-ab** 14. A favorable word to Enlil and Ninlil for me may he speak. 
15. **nam-lugal-la pal-mu ge-ne-in- dirig** 15. With royal power may he cause my reign to be surpassing.

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1. **ta-gi-in**, I would compare with *tam-gin* in šar-bi *tam-gin-dé*, “to encourage his soul,” SBP. 328, 4 (instead of the reading *ug-gi* there given). *tam=klinu*, CT. 12, 6, 46 and *la* has the meaning *kalla*, “form,” probably from the same root. Also *gin* has the meaning *klinu*. *ta(m)-gin* is probably one of those intensives made by compounding two roots of similar meaning, as *mal-gar*, *šu-rig* (IV R. 16a 63), *šu-ru*.  
2. Variant of *nun-nam-nir* and ordinarily an epithet of Enlil, CT. 24, 5, 43: frequently of Ašur, V R. 3, 33; KTA. 14, 25; of Shamash, ZA. IV 245, 9. In this passage it refers to Ninuraš as in BA. V 644, 5.
16. nam-en-na ma-e ǧe-im-mi-št-en
   DA(š)-lag-mu ǧe-e

17. ǧe-kur-ra šu-šu-mu-da-gal-gal

18. maškim nam-lugal-ma ǧe-e

19. giš-KU-lig-ga kur-kur gam-gam-e

20. da-maš ǧu-ši-da-mu ǧe-ne-in-si

21. 4babbar nig-si-sa ka-gi-na ka-ma
   ga-ma-ni-in-gar

22. sá-lar-ru ka-daš-bar kalam-e si-
    sa-e

23. nig-gi-na sag-ga-šú šág

24. ǧi-da-tuk uš-šu-e 4erim-du ǧa-
    lam-me

25. šeš-ge šeš-ra nig-gi-na-sá
    a-ra

26. SAL+KU gal-ra ka-duš-qa nu-
    sá ama-ra IM-ŠU-NE

27. si-is-ga kalig-ga-ra nu-mal-mal
   galu..............

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REVERSE I

1. ǧa-luk nig-šag-ga-na nu ag galu
   galu ǧab-nu-gar

2. nig-erim nig-á-tig-ga ǧa-lam-e
   nig-si-sá mā-mā

1. With lordship may he cause me to be......; my helper may he be.

2. In Ekur may he take me by the hand.

3. The protecting genius of my royalty may he be.

4. With a valiant weapon subduing the foreign lands,

5. A mighty arm, may he fill my faithful hand.

6. May the Sun-god place justice and righteousness in my mouth;

7. The judge, giver of decision, who directs the Land;

8. Who makes justice exceedingly good.

9. The transgressor(?) he pardons, the wicked he destroys.

10. To justify brother with brother to the father......

11. Not to justify the slander(?) of a sister against the elder (brother) to a mother, courage be ensures.

12. Not to place the weak at the disposal of the strong a man
    ..............

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1 See F. Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 108, XVIII 17.
2 Variant of ǧi-ša = padā.
3 Cf. RA. 9, 112 I 13, and Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello, p. 214 11 7.
4 mā-mā is an intensive formation from mā = banā.
3. "babbar dumu "nin-gal-e tud-da-a
    4. "innin ni n an-ki-ge-a
    5. nitadam kenag-ni-sū "ge-en-pad-
       dé me-en
    6. mir- gin-na-mā la?-la? "gu-mu-
         "ši-in-ag
    7. igi nam-ti-la ka-zaši "gu-mu-ši-in-
       bar
    8. sag-di ūg-ga-ni mà-a-sū "gu-mu-ši-
       in-tig
    9. "ši "ši-in-na "ge-bē-in-gin(en)\textsuperscript{3}
    10. ge-pār-ra ud-sud-sud-mal-mā,
    11. nam-en nam-lugal-da lab-e-a-mā
    12. ē-an-na-ka muš-nu-túm-mu-mā

3. May the Sun-god, son whom Ningal bore, my portion create.
4. He whom Innini, queen of heaven and earth,
5. As her beloved spouse has chosen, I am.
6. For my...luxury may she create.
7. With a joyous eye of life may she look upon me.
8. Her blazing form upon me may she cause to shine.\textsuperscript{3}
9. May she establish for me a couch secure.
10. In the mysterious sanctuary to create me length of days,
11. To add the office of high priesthood unto regal power for me,
12. That in the “House of Heaven” the serpent rob me not.\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{1} ˘galaba occurs in business documents of this period in the sense of “property derived from an inheritance,” CHIERA, PBS. VIII 18, 7; 15, 5 and POEBEL, BE. VI 36, 6.

\textsuperscript{2} In lines 4-8 Innini is described as the consort of the sun god. Ordinarily the consort of Shamash is Ajâ, who is by origin perhaps a personification of the sun’s light. She is in reality a special aspect of Innini in her rôle as queen of heaven and a light goddess. The theologians of the late period identified Ajâ with Innini-Ištar, CT. 25, 10, 12-33, and our text proves that the idea belongs to the classical Sumerian period. On the whole subject of Innini as a goddess of light and her connection with the sun god, see Tammuţ and Ishtar, 96 ff.

\textsuperscript{3} en is probably a phonetic indication after the sign DU to read gin or gen = klušu.

\textsuperscript{4} This reference to a serpent adversary is unusual and is referred to but once in other Sumerian literature; a passage in Gudea Cyl. B Col. 10 refers to a serpent who is prevented from robbing the mother of Ningirsu of the goats’ milk by which she feeds the “leading goat." Here the serpent is the traditional adversary of the prehistoric earth goddess, represented as a patroness of goats who feeds the young goat Ningirsu. The tradition of the serpent adversary probably reveals itself in the story of Gilgamon from whom a serpent stole the plant of life, see the Epic of Gilgaminh XI 304. The same tradition has found its way into Hebrew legend, and the ancient version of the temptation and fall of man in Genesis 3 represents the serpent as the moral adversary who brought about the loss of immortality. Evidently the tradition of the serpent, incarnation of evil and all hostility to mankind, permeates Sumero-Babylonian religion and was transmitted to the Hebrews. The hostile character of the serpent must not be confused with the beneficent serpent symbol of the mother goddesses and other vegetation gods. Serpent worship, which forms one of the important features of ancient religion, is of course based on this latter aspect of ophidian tradition. See for the ophidian worship, Tammuţ and Ishtar, Chapter III. [See now Ni. 7184 Rev. 21.]
13. ki-unug-(ki-)ga am-gim .......... 13. That in the land of Erech like a wild bull ............
14. kullab-(ki) me-lám-mu dül-[lum-da 14. To cover Kullab with my glory,
15. enim-aqag nu-kúr-ru-da-ni ge-bé- in-dúg 15. An holy command which is unchanged may she utter.
17. ę-a-nun-na en nam-lar-ri-bi 17. The Anunnaki, lord(s) who decree fate,
18. dingir utug nippur-(ki) alad ękura-ge-ne 18. The divine spirit of Nippur and the protecting geniuses of Ekur,
19. dingir-gal-gal-e-ne a nam-mu- un-lar-ri-es-a 19. The great gods who determine oracles,
22. ę-en-lil lugal kur-kur-ra-ge 22. May Enlil lord of the lands
23. ........... ru úr-ra- 23. Who in ............

1 The sign is the Lēliq of UR and is to be identified with BR. 6964 where the sign has also the regular gunification at the left. The sign either Lēliq or Lēliq plus the gunification has the values dul, dum "to cover" and Liqir "prince." For this sign see also ZIMMERN, Kullieder, 199, 41 and PÖBEL, PBS. V 125, 5. See also RADAU, Miscel. No. 3, 27; PSBA. 1913, 278 ff. CHRISTIAN, WZKM. 1911, 143.

2 ul for mul, see SBP. 150, 7. These titles of Enlil and Ninlil refer apparently to the stars, a sphere wholly foreign to the powers of the earth gods. Perhaps this idea is based upon a tendency towards monotheism.

3 The Igig are probably referred to here.

4 On this inflection of the subjunctive, see §221 and ibid. note 3.

5 ge-am occurs also in the title of Enlil, ge-am-ši-na, CT. 24, 22, 105. A connection with gen, gan, abundance, suggests itself and the reading ge-a-an may be preferable.

6 ga, indirect construct for ka.
FRAGMENT OF A LAMENTATION ON THE DESTRUCTION OF UR

OVERSE

1. ud-ba ud uru-da ba-da-an-gar
   uru-bi(?)[še-ám-du]

2. a-a ⁿannar uru dim-dül-dül-da
   ba-da-an-[gar]
   uku-e še-âm-du

3. ud-ba ud kalam-da ba-da-an-kár
   uku-e še-âm-du

4. uku-bi šika-kud-da nu-me-a bar-
   ba ba-e-si

5. bād-bā gu-nin⁴ kaskala im-ma-an-
   gar-gar uku-e še-âm-du

6. ............... in her streets the
corpses.............

7. ............... in her streets the
corpses.............

8. In her...... an usurper exer-
cised.

9. In her..... corpses were placed.

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¹ A synonym of enem = amatu, "the word." See SBP. 98 n. 7.
² dim-dül-dül is probably a plural (Sum. Gr. §124) of dim-dül = dim-gal = TAR-kullu, Syl.
b 284 and note also dim-gal gloss on MA-MUK, CT. 25, 4, 8. The original word appears to have
been dim-gul = TAR-kullu, and later dim-gal, Br. 2759, SAL. 1873, SAK. 270. The
Assyriologists usually render the loan-word by tardullu, Delitzsch, H. W., 303 and Muss-
Arnolt, Lexicon 359 or tardullu, ibid. 1193. TAR may have the value dim and the word should
be t/dimgallu, "cable? of a ship," or "mast? of a ship," and this is the only meaning hitherto
assigned to TAR-kullu. The word, however, like markasu (see RA. 12 p. 82) has also the
meaning, master workman, leader, chieftain. Note dim-gal = markasu, Syn. of ummanu,
"master workmen," RA. 12 p. 82, and Gudea, Cyl. A. 22, 11, dim-gal-gal ki-a mi-ni-sig-sig,
"The master workmen placed it in the earth." The goddess Gunura is dim-gal kalam-ma =
TAR-kul-li màtim, "leader of the Land," SBP. 160, 13. Ishtar is the dim-gal, "director" of
Babylon, SBH. 97, 65. Ninuraš is the dimgal an-na, chieftain of heaven, II R. 57b 56
and dimgal kalam-ma, "chieftain of the Land," ibid. 59.

³ For kunin = kuninu, kuninnu, kuninnatu, "a reed vessel" usually employed for mixed
wines. gi-nig-kas-sur-ra = (kanu) kuninnatu, Syn. mammatu, vessel for mixed wine, CT. 14, 47,
BM. 43, 339, 15; II R. 22 No. 1 Rev. 8, Syn. sulukku, basket. ku-ni-nu in a list of synonyms for
pisannu, vessel, is explained by pat-[stu], reed basket, K. 10452, 14 in CT. 18, 20.

⁴ For bdd-ba contrasted with bar-ba, cf. bdd-bi and bar-bi, BL. p. 117, 10.
**REVERSE**

1. urú ud-dē am- gul-e
2. giš-gi-gâl ki-šub-gû-da-kam
3. ama "nin-gal uru-(ki)-ni  nu-bê-
   šub-ba
4. bar-la ba-da- du

1. The city the spirit of wrath destroyed.
2. The interlude of the strophe (is as follows)
3. The mother Ningal her city inhabits not.
4. Without she wanders.

4568

**HYMN OF SAMSUILUNA TO STATUES OF LIONS AND HIS OWN STATUE**

This hymn to the statues set up by Samsuiluna is not complete on the tablet 4568. Another tablet in the same collection, which I know only from a copy placed at my disposition by Dr. Poebel, has the whole of 4568 on its obverse; the reverse continued the hymn but only a few signs are preserved. We have, therefore, no means of determining the length of this composition unless some scribal note can be made out on the reverse of the duplicate.

This hymn is particularly interesting, since the same event is mentioned in the date formula of the sixth year of Samsuiluna, which is most fully preserved on the contracts, Strassmaier,

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1 For giš-gi-gal=mēhir ša ẑamari, see Zimmern, IStar und Șallu, p. 6. In all the known examples of this liturgical note the interlude of two or three lines is separated from the ki-šub-gû by lines. Here the interlude or choral reflection apparently ends the liturgy, which is contrary to all known rules of liturgical practice. ki-šub-gû, the ordinary word for “strophe” (âtru, see Zimmern, ibid. p. 5), is followed by da which occurs only here. The word is often shortened to ki-šub, and ki-šû, see BL. p. xliv.

2 The city Ur is meant and the reference to an usurper in Obv. 8 leads us to suppose that the calamity referred to is none other than the invasion of the Elamites who seized Ibi-Sin, last of the rulers of the dynasty of Ur. A lamentation on this event was published in my Historical and Religious Texts 6–8; according to that text Ibi-Sin was taken captive to Elam.
54 and 62. Short variants will be found in Poebel, BE. VI, p. 70, to which add Poebel, No. 26.

\[\text{mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e} \quad \text{babbar} \quad \text{marduk-e-ne-bi-da} \quad \text{ge nig-dim-dim-ma-bi al-in-na-an-du-uš-ám} \quad \text{alam sub-sub-bé alad-gushkin-āš-āš-bi-ta é-babbar igi \quad \text{babbar-šú} \quad é-sag-il} \quad \text{igi \quad marduk-šú} \quad \text{ki-gub-ba-ne-ne mi-ni-ingi-na}, \]

"Year when Samsuiluna the king, whose deeds Shamash and Marduk have extolled, a statue in an attitude of prayer and animal statues of gold upon their foundations in Eabbar before Shamash and in Esagila before Marduk established."

1. \text{suš-me} \quad \text{guš} \quad \text{ušum-gal nam-kal-a}
2. \text{til-dul-la} \quad \text{sag-di-lâg-ga-na im-ma-ši-in-bar}
3. \text{nam-šag-ga-ni-šù} \quad \text{la-la na-an-ši} \quad \text{in-ag}
4. \text{alam-si} \quad \text{a-ni-šù} \quad \text{dug-li im-ma-ši-in-li} \quad \text{10}

1. Terrible form\(^3\) governor of valor,
2. Whose brilliant form shines upon all living things.
3. Because of his beneficence plenty is created.
4. Because of his radiant\(^8\) statue prosperity is made complete.

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\(^{1}\) For this peculiar form of the conjunction \text{bi-da} or \text{bi-la} attached to the plural ending \text{e-ne}, see also \text{e-ne-bi-ta} in the date formula of the 34th year of Hammurapi. \text{ge} marks the subject.

\(^{2}\) This compound verb is formed from the root \text{al}, lofty, and the intensive suffix \text{dûg} > \text{du}; \text{ul} is the plural inflection and \text{ám} the sign of a dependent phrase. \text{al} is connected with \text{il}=\text{élû}, see \text{Sum. Gr.} p. 202.

\(^{3}\) See Poebel; Strassmaier has apparently \text{NE} i. e., \text{gil}?

\(^{4}\) The sign \text{ušum} is expected here but the text has \text{giš} clearly.

\(^{5}\) This is the first example of the sign \text{SUH} with the gunification at the left, \text{REC. 294\textsuperscript{bis}}.

\(^{6}\) Note the unusual \text{gunu} of \text{LAGAR = dul}, and see RA. 13, pt. 111 Bibliographie, for this sign. \text{til-dul = balat nabniti}; for \text{dul = nabnitu}, see \text{Sum. Gr.} p. 211. The sign employed here has properly only the value \text{du} (REC. 233), but it is confused with \text{dul}, \text{REC. 277\textsuperscript{bis}}.

\(^{7}\) \text{bûnu namru}, v. \text{SAK. 214 f. 16.} The scribes themselves appear to have been uncertain concerning the sign \text{di} for which they frequently write \text{ki}; \text{di}, however, is the original and correct reading since it is the well-known augment, \text{dûg}, \text{du}, \text{da}, \text{di}. Note \text{sag = šîmu} and \text{sag-di = šîmu}. Also \text{sag-du-ga = bánû}, begetter, a word certainly connected with \text{bûnu}, form. See \text{Sum. Gr.} §153. For \text{sag-di} see also \text{Ni. 4563 Rev. 18.} The scribes appear to have confused \text{sag-di} with \text{sag-ki = pânu}, front.

\(^{8}\) Here infix \ji reproduces a causal \jš, a rare usage of this infix, see \text{Sum. Gr.} p. 145 above. \text{in} is obviously a mere euphonic element.

\(^{9}\) The sign is \text{REC. 34} not \text{REC. 48} which alone has the values \text{si}, \text{sa} (RA. 10, 77, 40) = \text{sig}, \text{sag = bánû, šâmu, etc.}. But here the scribe has again confused his signs. A reading \text{gûn-a} is also possible, a value given to both signs, CT. 19, 31b 3 and 12, 9a 17. For \text{gûn = bánû}, v. CT. 24, 31, 86 = 25, 26, 21, etc.

\(^{10}\) Cf. \text{dug-li nu-til-la}, "joy he completes not," \text{SBH. 101}, 50.
5. bal-a-ri-ni-shu im-ma-an-ti-gub
6. den\(^1\) kal-la-bi šag-im-ma-ab-tûb-bi
7. šag-gú-bi - gi-a-na\(^2\) im-ma-ab-nigin-e\(^3\)
8. an ukkin-lugal-ra ka-mu-un-dar-dar-am\(^4\)
9. u-mu-un na-âm-zi\(^6\) zi-ba-âm ki-gal âm....dâm
10. sa-am-su-i-lu-na šubâ si-a\(^5\) màš-giš-i-dé-kar-kâm\(^7\)
11. igit-mu gim-ba-ma bê-tûm du-rit-shu ti-is
12. i-ṭi-em\(^8\) åg-dúg-KA+NE\(^9\)a asîlal da-ra-ab-sî
13. kalama gû-ri-a\(^1\)gû-dar\(^1\)ma mu-ra-an-ag
14. sa-am-su-i-lu-na da\(^1\)gâl-zâ-a-kam kalam-šár-ra-en-e\(^1\)

5. Over his transgressors he has been established.
6. Whose precious presence appeases the heart.
7. At whose repentance there is forgiveness.
8. Lofty one who to the assembly of kings renders decision.
9. Lord that knows fate....obedience....
10. Samsuiluna, the pure, the brilliant, the seer.
11. My eyes...are lifted(?) to bestow life forever(?)
12. .......I will fill thee with rejoicing.
13. The land to obedience I will reduce for thee.
14. Samsuiluna thy champion am I, who enriches the land.

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\(^1\) For the reading den, gen, see SBP, 12, 20.
\(^2\) šag-gú-bi-gi-a, literally "the returning of the waters to the bank," the restoration of normal conditions of a canal. The literal sense occurs in Gudea, Cyl. A, 1, 5. The figurative sense appears to be "the return of the affections to their normal state," to repent. This meaning occurs in šag dingir-ri-ne gû-bi-gi-a-um, "the hearts of the gods returned to their bank," i.e., they repented, Cyl. A, 25, 21.
\(^3\) Literally "(God) is made compassionate."
\(^5\) Cf. SBP, 276, 1.
\(^6\) See note on line 4.
\(^7\) Cf. igit-kar-barû.
\(^8\) Cf. for this line, Bilingual of Samsuiluna, 27-31.
\(^9\) For idim, wailing(?). Note li-du=šamâru, a synonym in line 24.
\(^10\) This sign occurs also in the Berlin Astrolab, Hemerologie, i. 27, where it is rendered by i\(^1\)m-gû-ri-a, fire. Also dKA+NE=i\(^1\)m-gû-ri-a, WEIDNER, Handbuch 86, 4. See also MVAG, 1913, 2 p. 71 l. 84. In K. 8503 Obv. 3 (= CT. XI 28) the Sumerian value is ...al-gud(?)=libbatu, anger. See below, line 24.
\(^1\) Variant of Gû-ur-a; MEISSNER, SAI. 484.
\(^1\) Cf. nam-gû-ri-a in PBS. V 25 V 39. In line 20 the phrase recurs; ma is not wholly certain. The sign appears to be MEISSNER, SAI. 3752.
\(^1\) Sic! Read d-gû-ri-a.
\(^1\) Var. šû-ra-da-ni, being the suffixed conjugation to indicate a relative phrase. The form šû-ra-en-e is the gerundive participle in the status rectus. See Sum. Gr. §210.
15. mu-uš-mis-šág-ga-šu ni-me-en
    nam-en-nu-un mu-ag-e-en
15. I am thy strong prince the
    pious; watchful care I exer-
    cise.
16. ṣag nam-lugal-la-šu¹ ul-šu² gub-
    bu-da-a³
16. Who at the head of kingship
    joyously has been placed.
17. kalama nam-lugal-la-šu nam-duq
    mu-un-kud
17. For the kingship of the Land
    with a good fate he has been
    destined.
18. ur-gal alad alad mu-ne-en- sig
18. Lions as protecting spirits he
    dedicated.
19. an-la-ne-ne da'-gāl ag-dē
19. Their loftiness to make fearful,
20. bal-a-ri gu-ri gub-dar-ag-dē
20. The transgressors to reduce to
    obedience,
21. innini ďa-ṭi-da ba-an-da-gub
21. Innini with a true arm estab-
22. sil-gar-aqag-gi-e-ne ni-da-e-ne
22. At their left Samsuiluna has
    been placed.
23. li-du āg-dūg-KA+a NE-a mu-un-
    uš-ne-ne
23. Their holy praise, their fear,
24. bal-a-ri gu-ri mu-un-ī-ī-ne
24. They . . . . . . . . . . .
25. me-en-ne ga-ša-an an-na alad-
    šág-gu-me⁶
25. The transgressor in obedience
    they will cause to live (dwell).
26. ilду⁷ il-la sa-am-su-i-lu-na me-
    en-ne-en
26. They are the propitious spirits
    of the queen of heaven.
27. me-en-ṭi-en bal-a-ri-ṭi-in⁸ gid-
    dūg-ge
27. A group of lions, object of
    adoration of Samsuiluna, are
    they.
28. Your transgressors ye destroy.

¹ Var. ka.
² The same signs in ZM. K. L. 199 II 21, nam-lugal-la ḍā-šā, to adorn the kingship.
³ Var. na.
⁴ Probably for d-gāl.
⁵ The text has again da for d.
⁶ See Sum. Gr. §126.
The phrase obviously refers to the group of lion-images mentioned in line 18. illa I have taken
for igitilla = niš ịnī. For nišu without ịnī, cf. aIllat ịnī-su, CT. VI 28b 23, 27.
⁸ This is the first example of ṭi as the possessive suffix of the 2d per. pl. Note the peculiar
participial conjugation in which the verb me (esse) is separated from the participle gid-dūg =
nasaṭu.


Edge. *šag-lal-da alam nu-un ki-tag-tag-i nu-ma-al*  

Edge. The *hymn* to the protecting statue(s) which has (have) been set up is not *finished.

**LITURGY TO ENLIL, SERIES babbar-ri babbar-ri-gim, Ni. 497**

This fragment (originally numbered Khabaza 15–8, 1888) forms the top of VAT. 1334+1341 published by ZIMMERN, KL. No. 12. The obverse of 497 completes the beginning of KL. 12 obverse I and II. The reverse of this fragment completes KL. 12 rev. II to the end. It also contains a portion of the liturgical note which ended the last column. KL. 16 joins the reverse on the right and contains also the beginning of a few lines of the end of KL. 12 rev. I. This series, built upon an old song, *babbar-ri babbar-ri-gim te-ga-bi zal*, resembles, both in title and literary construction, the late series *babbar-gim ə-ta* of which we have the second (?) tablet in Assyrian.

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1. For the root *du-kalā*, to restrain, compare on the one hand *dú = nešu*, CT. 19, 11b 24, and on the other, *DU=kalā*, Br. 4886, SAI. 3332. The sign *DU* in this sense was read *gim* by me in *Sum. Gr.* 216 on the basis of *gi = nešu*, p. 215. In any case *gub* means *kalā*, v. *ZA*. 10, 197, 16 *zag si-ta gub-ba=kulur libbi likil*, “may contentment of heart abide,” where *likil* is a syn. of *lātiṭi*. Note also *nam-ka-gar galu galu-ra in-na-gub-bi-či*, “Man against man restrains complaint,” STRASSMAIER, *Warka* 34, 16; *ba-an-gub-ba*, it is restrained, *ZIM. K-L.*, 26 Rev. III 3. However, *dú* has probably this sense here and note *dib, dub*, to confine, seize, *Sum. Gr.* 209, 211.


3. For *nin*, protector, v. *CT*. 16, 7, 243 *nu-un-ma ə-te-a*, “my protector may he be.” Also the noun formation with *nin > in > en*, in *en-nu-un=māṣartu*.

4. IV R. 11 is certainly not the first tablet of this series as I supposed in SBP. 246. If this were tablet one its first line should agree with the title *babbar-gim ə-ta*. But its first line is the beginning of another Enlil song, see SBP. 238, 1.

5. IV R. 11.
and Neo-Babylonian\(^1\) interlinear versions and a Neo-Babylonian version of the fifth(?) tablet.\(^2\) Col. I of our tablet contains two melodies. Col. II consists of the melody $\text{dâmgara bâdakur duaka-nâggallu}$, which also forms Col. I of tablet two(?) in the allied series $^4\text{babbar-gim ə-ta}$. The fourth melody consists of a long litany filling Cols. III obverse and Col. I reverse. This melody is one of those movements based upon a liturgical phrase forming the opening line, which is repeated after the titles of all the important gods of the pantheon. Unfortunately this refrain is no longer preserved here. The most well-known “titular litany” is that used in the fifth tablet of the weeping mother series SBP. 150–167. Here the liturgical phrase is $\text{šâ-ab umu-un mu-un-tug-e-en-ne ul-li-eš}$, “The heart of the lord we will pacify with praise.” After three more lines which vary this motif,\(^3\) the litâny begins a long list of titles each replacing the word $\text{umuun}$ “lord” by the name or title of a deity. A titular litany was used as the next to the last melody in KL. No. 8 and KL. No. 11, but here also the liturgical motifs have been broken away. At the top of Reverse II continuing to the end of Col. III began the intercessional psalm called in the late liturgies the $\text{eršemma}$. Our tablet, therefore, represents one of the few known examples of a series not entirely compiled from older songs, but having a creative element. The titular litanies and the intercessional were creations of the liturgists of the Isin and early Babylonian schools who usually constructed these series by simply compiling old songs for musical and religious effect. The later liturgies generally

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\(^1\) SBH. No. 33. See SBP. 237–47.  
\(^2\) SBH. No. 39. This tablet almost certainly belongs to the series $^4\text{babbar-gim ə-ta}$.  
\(^3\) See Bab. III 249.
end the section before the final song or intercession by the rubric:

\[ sub-be \, \text{še-ib} \, \text{è} \, \text{X} \, \text{ki-de-en-gi-gi} \\
\text{ki-šù-bi-im} \, \text{balag} \, \text{gù-de}^1 \]

This rubric may have been used here and in KL. 8 and 11. We should expect it at the end of Rev. I. It is just possible that the last sign on KL. 16 right column is the beginning of the word sub, in which case we have this rubric already in the classical period. If we may assume that this advanced type of liturgy already possessed the complete terminology of the late period, then the intercessional should be called an eršemma. See BL. XXXVIII and SBP. 174, 53, etc.\(^2\) Note especially that the intercession and recessional of the late series to Enlil, which so closely resembles the last melody here, also ends in this way, BL. p. 51. At any rate our tablet does not give the name of the series at the end as do the colophons of all the late series, so we may infer that this scribal method had not been adopted in the early period.\(^3\)

**Ni. 497 + VAT. 1334, etc.**

1. babbar-ri \, babbar-ri-gim \, te-ga-bi-\[zal^4\]  
2. mi-ri-mi-ri-gim \, te-ga-bi-\[zal\]

1. Like the sun, like the sun his approach illuminates.  
2. Like lightning his approach illuminates.

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\(^1\) See BL. XLV.  
\(^2\) BL. p. 123, 9; SBP. 195, 72.  
\(^3\) ZIMMERN, KL. X introduction to No. 12 on the basis of a copy by RADAU, has already discovered the connection between 497 and VAT. 1334.  
\(^4\) According to IV Raw. 11, b 50, a similar series to Enlil was known as \( \text{babbar-gim} \, \text{à-la,} \) “Arise like the Sun-god.” Such also was the title employed for this series by the catalogues of series in the Neo-Babylonian period, IV R. 53 1 5 \( \text{babbar-gim} \, \text{à-ma,} \) and the old eršemma from which the series arose has the same title (\( \text{babbar-gim} \, \text{à-la} \)) in the great catalogue XIII 16. A small catalogue published by LUCKENBILL in AJSL. Vol. 26, has in line 8 this title in the
3. **UD** e-lum-e mu-un-qa-la-ri
4. **UD** mu-ul-lil-li mu-un-qa-la-ri
5. am-e urú e-en-qa-la-ri
7. **[še-ib]** nibru-(ki)-na e-en-qa-la-ri
8. **[še-ib]** [k]-kur-ra-ka e-en-qa-la-ri
9. **[še-ib]** [l]-gal-lag e-en-qa-la-ri
10. **[še-ib]** ti-mbir-ti-ta e-en-qa-la-ri
11. **še-ib** bár-ra e-en-qa-la-ri
12. urú anunitum-ma e-en-qa-la-ri
13. **še-ib** ul-maš-a-la e-en-qa-la-ri
14. **še-ib** tin-tir-(ki)-ta e-en-qa-la-ri
15. **še-ib** sag-il-la e-en-qa-la-ri
16. **ud maš til-e ud gin til-e**

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3. Babbar the exalted illuminates.
4. Babbar-Enlil illuminates.
5. The bull the city illuminates.
6. Enlil his city illuminates.
7. The brick-walls of Nippur he illuminates.
8. [The brick-walls] of Ekur he illuminates.
9. The brick-walls of the palace he illuminates.
10. On the brick-walls of Sippar he shines.
11. The brick-walls of Ebarra he illuminates.
12. The city of Anunit he illuminates.
13. On the brick-walls of Ulmaš he shines.
14. On Babylon he shines.
15. The brick-walls of Sagilla he illuminates.
16. Spirit that brings the youth to extremity; spirit that brings the maid to extremity.

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form **babbar-gim ud-da-im-la**. The same series appears in the catalogue IV R. 53 l 35 with the addition of bar-ul and this occurs also at the end of K. 3264, see SBP. 237. [This term bar-ul occurs as yet outside the catalogue 1 34-39 only on K. 3264 and seems to indicate that a well-known series has been rearranged.] The titles of series are invariably identical with their first lines. The idea in the title of our liturgy seems to be nearly identical with the title of the other Enlil liturgy **babbar-gim t-la**.

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1 The restoration [dingir]-babbar which would make “God Shamash,” a title of Enlil does seem probable. Enil is obviously connected with light in these lines and his father-mother names en-ul, nin-ul, en-mul, nin-mul connected him with the stars probably as the son of Anu. Note also the N. Pr. Šamaš-Enlil, “Shamash is Enlil,” in an unpublished text.
2 For the emphatic verbal ending a-ri see BL. 107 and SBP. 10, 10-12.
3 This restoration is not justified by the parallel passages for the names of secular buildings do not occur in liturgies. The egašu or ekallu, “palace” at Nippur recurs frequently in the documents excavated there, see Expository Times XX 457.
4 So traces by ZIMMERN, KL. No. 12 l 2.
5 Ulmaš was the temple of Anunit in Sippar-Anunit or Agade, see Tammuz and Ishtar, 98 f. It is, therefore, probable that e-nun renders here the Semitic name Anunitum.
6 Here begins a passage to the Word or Spirit of Wrath which occurs also in SBH. 95, 19 ff. = SBP. 187, 19 ff. where it forms part of the second tablet of a weeping mother series.
17. Spirit that destroys the stalls; spirit that desolates the folds.
18. Possessor of wisdom, spirit whose intentions are not discerned.
19. The stall it destroys; the sheepfold it desolates.
20. Small and great it slays.
21. Upon the youth it arrives and that youth wails aloud.
22. Upon the maid it arrives and that maiden wails aloud.
23. The great mēsu-trees it sweeps away.
24. Spirit that reduces all things to obedience.
25. The word of Enlil rushes forth and eye beholds it not.
26.

27. -----------------NE
28. [....4mu-ul-lil-li....]NE
29. [ù-mu]-un-e [kur-kur-ra8.....
     .]
30. [ù-mu]-un dúg-ga-[zid-da.....]
31. [a-a ka-nag-ga.....]
32. [sib sag-gig-ga.....]

1 Var. has another emphatic particle nam; da postfixed passive particle.
2 Var. mu-ām-da-ab-gi-ğī.
3 Var. mūš-a-[na] nam-mi-gub.
4 Var. mi-a-na.
5 Var. e.
6 Var. gū-gūr-ru. For gur, gurgur, gugur, to sweep away, see Sum. Gr. 219 gur 1.
7 These signs correspond to KL. 121 16. Here the tablet certainly had a line to separate the
   first melody from the second. Line 27 probably contained an interlude, or, if no interlude
   was used here, then it represents the first line of some melody. That the first melody ended
   here seems evident from the fact that line 25 is the end of a melody on the variant SBH. 95, 37
   and also SBP. 40, 35 ZIMMERN, KL. X, states that KL. No. 33 I, which contains the ends of
   lines ending a-ri, is a duplicate of the end of this column, but this is not probable.
8 Here stood the first syllable of the verb form at the end of lines 27-8; the verb ended in δē or "ne, or ë. This syllable followed the seven names of Enlil as an abbreviation; cf. for
   this form of melody SBP. 102, 112, 120; BL. 111, etc.
33. [i-dé-dű ni-te-na . . .]
34. [am erin-na sá-sá . . .]
35. [ú-lul-la dúr-dúr . . .]

Here followed about five lines concluding the melody and the end of the column.

Col. II

1. dam-gal-ra ba-da-[kúr dú-a ka-
   nag-gá al-lá]
2. urú-la dam-gal-ra [ba-da-kúr dú-
   a ka-nag-gá al-lá]
3. mu-lu-sir-ra² ūš [nibru-(ki)-la ba]

4. še-ib è-kur-ra-la [ken-úr⁴ é-nam-
   ti-la⁴ ba]
5. še-ib è zimbir-(ki-)[la èš é-bar-ra
   ba- da- kúr]
6. še-ib tin-tir-(ki)-ka-[la é-sag-il-la
   ba
7. urú-la ú-mu-un-bi [na-ám-ba-da-
   lan-
8. ga-ša-an-bi gi-gi-a⁷ [ba-da-an-tuš]
9. urú ú-mu-un⁸[bi li li-bé-in-lar-
   ra-bi

1 Var. SBP. 23B, 1 kar.
² bēl širḫ, here a title of Enlil as the one who caused the lamentations of Nippur. The
same title is applied to Gula in KL. 25 11 7.
⁴ Chapel of Ninlil in Ekur.
⁵ Chapel of Enlil in Ekur.
⁶ Sic! an error of dittography.
⁷ Var. śi-gi-gi-bi.
⁸ Ninlil.
⁹ Text c-ēn which is probably erroneous.
10. ù-mu-un-e 4 [mu-ul-lil-li lî-la-dāš tu-ra-bi] 1
11. mulu er-ra-ge er mu-ni-ib-šēš-šēš
12. mulu ad-da-ge ad-[du mu-ni-ib-gar]
13. mu-dûl-û-di gir-gir-4 mu-ni-il-[dûgi] 2
14. sib-bê gi-er4 mu-ni-ib-nê 5
15. gudu giš-asilal-lâ mu-nu-ni-ib-bê 6
16. gala-ê a šag-û nu-mu-ni-ib-bê 6
17. gudu-bi dug-li-da ba-ra-ê 7
18. en-bi mi-pâr-10ta ba-ra-ê 7
19. ù-mu-un-bi nu-mu-un-il ga-ša-[an]-bi nu-mu-un-tîl
20. u-mu-un dim-13ma kur-šû ba-û 14
21. [ga]-ša-[an]-bi15 dim-ma13 kur-šû ba-da-û 14

10. Which the lord Enlil surrendered to the winds.
11. The mourner mourns.
12. The wailer beats himself.
13. The herdsman hastens in distress.
14. The shepherd sits down to play the reed of weeping.
15. The anointer commands no more the atonement.
16. The psalmist commands no more the “How long thy heart?”
17. The anointer departs from his riches.
18. Her high-priest from the dark chamber has gone forth. 18
19. Her sovereign remains not; her queen remains not.
20. The lord cried aloud and rode to the mountains.
21. Her queen cried aloud and rode to the mountains.

1 Here begins KL. 12 11 i = SBP. 238, 19.
2 mudul ≠ mudur = ṭaṭu, staff, Sum. Gr. 229. Here used also for shepherd. This word goes back to mu-šar = GIS-BU = mudulu, gâštu, maštû, gilalû, all words for pole, baton, staff, Voc. Berlin, 2559, Col. IV (unpublished). The variant has the ordinary word for lord, mulu; cf. SBP. 238, 25; 66, 16; SBH. 77, 24.
3 Var. git-gir; the root is gir (1), hasten, be nervous, gâlâtu; this fixes also the original sense of ṭâpu, tread, hasten.
4 Var. er-ra.
5 ne = nad.
6 Var. gudu-bi asilal-lâ = paâissu duoppir, v. Frank, Religion, 64 n. 147.
7 Or lagar, labar, see BL. XIX f.
8 Var. ib.
9 Var. ia.
10 Var. par.
11 gii-paru usually indicates a stage of the ūgurrat. See RA. 11, 109.
12 Here the later version has an insertion concerning the psalmist, v. SBP. 249, 37.
13 Var. idim-ma-ra [sic].
14 Var. a.
15 Here begins KL. 33 11.
22. ka-a\(^1\) kun-bi mi-ni-ib-\(\ddot{u}r\)-\(\ddot{u}r\)-\(e\)\(^2\)
23. dar-\(\dot{g}\)u\(^3\)e g\(\ddot{u}\)-il-la im-la-di-di-e\(^4\)
24. \(\ddot{s}\)\(\ddot{a}\)-bi lil-la-\(\ddot{a}\)-\(m\) bar-bi lil-la-\(\ddot{a}\)-\(m\)
25. \(\ddot{s}\)\(\ddot{a}\)-bi si-ga\(^6\) ni-gul-gul-e
26. \(\ddot{s}\)\(\ddot{a}\)-bi mu-lu sir-ra\(^8\) mulu im-la-ne-a\(^8\)
27. mar(? \(\ddot{m}\)ag-bi\(^10\) ki\(^11\) ba i-ni-gid-da
28. \(\ldots\ldots\ldots\) mu mag-bi i-ra in-dib
29. \(\ldots\ldots\ldots\an-g\(\ddot{u}\)-ab-bi ba-ga\(\ddot{a}\)-ga\(\ddot{a}\)
30. \(\ldots\ldots\ldots\) ba \(\ldots\ldots\ldots\)

This melody must have continued for at least ten lines. At the end of IV Raw. 11 Col. 1 a break of at least twelve Sumerian lines must be assumed if the melody ended at the bottom. Also at the end of SBH. 62 a break of similar length must be conjectured.

1 For this reading of NAR-A, see Thompson, Reports 103 Rev. 9.
2 SBP. 240, 45 ri; SBH. 62, 21 and 92b 20 \(\ddot{u}r\)-\(\ddot{u}r\)-\(ra\). On this passage see Sum. Gr. 254 (ur 12).
3 KL. 12 II 15, 33 II 3 and SBH. 62, 23 have ri; on the other hand, IV R. 110 47 and Nip. 4561 I 14 have \(\ddot{g}\)u which is obviously the true reading. See also SBH. 92b 21.
4 Var. de-de-e. See also SBH. 92b 21.
5 Cf. SBH. 92b 6.
6 So also KL. 33 II 5; SBH. 92b 7, but IV R. 110 51 ni-si-ga = ni-sig = urpulu, irpitu. This form yields the true reading of IM-DIRIG and also establishes the word ni, ni for wind.
7 Here SBH. 62, 29 IV R. 110 53 = SBH. 92b 8 have e-d\(\ddot{e}\)-bi \(\ddot{g}\)ul-a ni-gul-gul-e, v. SBP. 242, 53.
8 Cf. SBH. 92b 9, mu-lu sir-er-ra = b\(\ddot{e}\)l s\(\ddot{e}\)r\(\ddot{\imath}\)i u b\(\ddot{e}\)ki\(\ddot{\imath}\).
9 Probably for im-la-ni-\(\ddot{e}\)-a = \(\ddot{u}\)\(\ddot{z}\)\(\ddot{\imath}\)\(\ddot{\imath}\)-\(l\)\(\ddot{u}\)\(\ddot{u}\)ni\(\ddot{u}\)ni
10 mar-mag = tublu? Cf. \(\ddot{e}\) \(\ddot{i}\)-\(\ddot{i}\)-\(l\)\(\ddot{a}\)-\(l\)\(\ddot{i}\) = tublu SBH 92b 24 and mag = tublu II R. a 49. tublu designates some part of the temple here.
11 Zimmer\(\ddot{m}\)'s text has D1.
(About twenty-two lines broken from the top.)

(23) 6. *dām-an-ki am urū-šit-ib-ba-
gen

(24) 7. ama ē-maḡ dām-gal-nun-
na-ge

(25) 8. *dāsar-lù-dug ʻu-mu-um ʻi-
tir-(ki)-ge

(26) 9. mu-ud-nah-ni ṭā-nun-nah-
ki-ge

(27) 10. sukkal-ṣud mu-du-ga-sa-
[a ]

(28) 11. sukkal-ṣud ʻu-mu-um [ . . . . . .
....... ]

(29) 12. dumu-aṣag ṭāraṣ-a ʻe-gi-
[ a-
]

(30) 13. ʻu-mu-um mu-du-ru šig-šu-
[ dū]

Here followed at least ten lines to the end of the column which can be supplied from SBP. 154. 34 ff.

1 Cf. SBP. 154, 26.
2 Var. SBP. 154, 27 ē-maḡ: see also 106, 7 and IV R. 21* No. 2 Rev. 13. On the other hand 112, 26 has ama dumu-maḡ, "Mother of the famous son," i. e., Marduk. ē-maḡ and ē-
maḡ =bit šeri, probably a technical name. For the ē-maḡ of E-ninnû at Lagash, see SAK.
68 V 51 (and 88 I), IV 1, built by the canal. bit šeri probably means the building constructed near a river where the priests performed the rituals of the water-cult of Eridu, see BL. 115 n. 1.
maḡ should not render šnu, "field, highland," but šnu, "lofty." The Sumerian has no reference to "field" but designates this building as the "house of the famous one," i. e., house of Marduk god of the water cult.

"Mother" is probably used in a pregnant sense, "she who bore the god of the house of the water cult."

4 Read *damu with all variants; ZIMMERN has nin.
5 For pā-nun-an-ki-ge, which is obviously the original of the meaningless PAP-nun-anki,
PAP-nun-nak. The text of SBH. 85, 29 has sukkal which should be corrected to nun. The
name seems to mean "Canal of the prince (Ea) of heaven and earth."
6 SBH. 85, 30 has the sign MAL, or E, but sukkal alone is correct. Cf. SBH. 134, 23.
7 Here followed some unknown title of Nebo not found in other liturgies.
8 Probable reading for an unintelligible sign. Cf. SBP. 154, 31; BL. No. 56 Rev. 28 etc.
9 For this title cf Nusku, see BL. No. 101, 1 =SBP. 154, 33.
Reverse I

(About twenty lines broken away.)

1. gi....
2. qa-te-si-ge(?)....
3. ur-sag ligir?....
4. â-um-un-si[mu-ul-li]-lâ ligir ni
5. ur-sag-gal(?)[uraša-ra
   ?]?
6. zâ-ri-kur-ra?
7. 3'amurrâ[mu-šu ga-sag-gâ-
   ge?]
8. šu(?)
9-15 no traces.
10. ninâ....
11. uru-mu-a....
12. ni-ner-kur-ra sa-an....
13. ni-mer-ki....
14. ni-bru-(ki)....
15. ni-bru-(ki)....
16. ni-ner-kur-ra sa-an....
17. ama-gal....ga-[ša-an....]
18. uru-mu-a....
19. ni-bru-(ki)....
20. .........

Reverse II

16. mu 3-dû-a mu-mu paₕ-dî-
    mu-mu nu-paₕ-dî
17. mu uru-dû-a mu-mu paₕ-dî-
    mu-mu nu-paₕ-dî
18. kur in-gaz-e kur in-ga-sîg
    mu-mu ni-paₕ-dî
19. kur ur-ba um-mi-in-gul ug-
    ga mu-mu ni-paₕ-dî
20. .........
21. .........

1. The name of the builted temple by my name is named, which by my name was not called.
2. The name of the builted city by my name is called, which by my name was not called.
3. "The strange land he smites, the strange land he humiliated," shall my name be called.
4. "The strange land altogether he terrified," shall my name be called.

---

1 Cf. SBP. 150, below, note 5 l. 12 = KL. 11 Rev. II 11, and BL. 22, 5, title of Ninurtaša.
2 Title of Ramman? Cf., however, SBH. 56, 2 for tu-ri(l)
3 Cf. BL. No. 56 r. 20. Read umun after gaž?
4 KL., 16 l. 11.
5 Restore, 20. [sub še-ib é-kur-ra ki-dé-en-gi-gi]
6 Here ended this column.
(20) 5. kur-kur ẓar-rı-eš-e1 mu-un-gab-gab2 mu-mu ni-pad- 

dē  

5. "The lands in anger he devastated," my name shall be 
called.

(21) 6. ki-bal ẓar-rı-eš-e1 mu-un-gāl-gāl3 mu-mu ni- 

pād-dē  

6. "The hostile land, in anger he 
destroyed," shall my name be 
called.

(22) 7. a-(gi-a)-mu(?)-a um-mi-in-sur mu-mu ni-pād- 

dē  

7. "With....waters he makes 
clean," shall my name be 
called.

(23) 8. šag gi-ū gi-ū4 šā-ab tāg-e tāg-e5  

8. Oh heart, be reconciled, 
be reconciled, oh heart, repose, 
repose.

(24) 9. šag an-[na]6 gi-ū gi-ū  

9. Oh heart of Anu, be reconciled, 
be reconciled.

(25) 10. šag dmu-ul-lil-lā gi-ū gi-ū  

10. Oh heart of Enil, be reconciled, 
be reconciled.

(26) 11. [šag ur-sag-gal] gi-ū gi-ū  

11. Oh heart of the great hero, be 
reconciled, be reconciled.

(27) 12. [šag....gi-ū] gi-ū [ū]  

12. Oh heart of....be reconciled, etc.

(28) 13. [šag....gi-ū] gi-ū  

13. Oh heart of....be reconciled, etc.

(29) 14. šā-ab šu-mu-un-tāg-[mal] 
im8 ra- du-[la ]9  

14. To cause the heart to repose, 
let us speak unto thee.

(30) 15. [uru-]sū d babbar-gim za-e-ta 
[ē-bar-ra]10  

15. Unto thy city like the sun hasten 
gloriously.

(31) 16. nippur-(ki) d babbar-gim za-e-[la ē-bar- 

ra]  

16. Unto Nippur like the sun hasten 
gloriously.

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1 Sic!  
2 gab-gab = gab-fab = kummuru.  
3 On this root see Sum. Gr. 214.  
4 Cf. IV R. 21*5 30 and Sum. Gr. §216.  
5 Cf. ibid. 32. Var. KL. 84 1a-ab gi-ū, etc.  
6 Cf. BL. 49, 4 and MEEK, No. 32, 4. Var. KL. 84, 1 has šag dgu-la, a title of Anu.  
7 I. e., Ninurta. Cf. BL. 49, 15.  
8 Sic! not N.E.  
9 Cf. SBP. 90, 14.  
10 The remaining lines are completed by KL. No. 16 left column. Here begins a variant 
in SBH. 70, 26. For za-e-ta this text has ū-t-ē-ta. za-e = ūt or ū is for tāl > ṭā > ṭē; for 
the tendency of open ṭā to become ū, cf. a- śā > ʾus > e-tu, CT. 25, 20, 18; ṭ = ma, "water," for ṭē, 
in KL. 21 10, ṭ urā, "waters of the city," for which Scheil, Tamunu has a-urā. ṭ nu-me-a, 
"waters were not," KL. 44 r. 5, cf. BL. 207, 111 2 and p. 110 note. For ē-bar-ra, SBH. has 
ē-bar- ša=dr-ša, energetic imperative, "hasten." za-e-ta, ū-t-ē-ta = ina upē. For upē, cf. KING, 
Magic 20, 12 and SBH. 128, r. 37.
17. Unto Ekur like the sun hasten gloriously.
18. Unto Kenur like the sun hasten gloriously.
19. Unto Sippar like the sun hasten gloriously.

REVERSE III

1. Unto Ebarra like the sun hasten gloriously.
2. Unto the city of Anunit like the sun hasten gloriously.
3. Unto Ulmas like the sun hasten gloriously.
4. Unto Babylon like the sun hasten gloriously.
5. Unto Esagilla like the sun hasten gloriously.
8. [Kenu and Enamtila] be built.
9. Sippar be built, Ebarra be built.
10. Esakudkalama be built, . . . be built.
11. Babylon be built, Sagilla be built.
12. Ezida be built, Kish be built.
13. Eksibba be built, Emeteursag be built.4
14. Harsagkalama be built, Eturkalama be built.5

1 First line on KL. 12 Rev. III.
3 Although Barsippa is not mentioned yet Ezida probably refers to the temple of Nebo there and not to the Nebo chapel in Esagilla.
4 Temples in Kish, cf. BL. 51, 41 f. See VAB. IV 185 n. 2, where evidence warrants the conclusion that Ekišib was the chapel of Emeteursag.
5 Probably both temples in quarters of Ereh, cf. BL. 93, 7 f.; 78, 31 f. According to KL. 199 r. 1 35 Harsagkalama is also the name of a temple in Kish.
15. gú-du-a-ki ĝe-du-e mes-lam ĝe-
    du-e
16. dīl-bad-(ki) [ĝe-du-e]ē-i-bē-an-
    na ĝe-du-e
17. [šag-iži-lūm ĝe-ra-ab-bi]
18. [dib-bi-iži-lūm ĝe-ra-ab-bi]
19. [šag-gi-ū šag tūg-mal-ū]
15. Cutha be built, Meslam be built.
16. Dilbat be built, E-ibe-Anu be
    built.
17. [May one utter petition unto
    thee.]
18. [May one utter intercession unto
    thee.]
19. [Oh heart be reconciled, oh
    heart repose.]

SBH. No. 39.

Series, "Like the Sun Hasten"

This tablet belongs to the Neo-Babylonian redaction
of the series ¤babbar-gim-ē-ta and is probably the fifth or next
to the last tablet. A Neo-Babylonian tablet of the same
series is SBH. No. 33, duplicate of IV R. 11 an Assyrian copy,
possibly tablet 2. This tablet (2?) has been edited in SBP.
238-47. Col. I of tablet 2(?) has been copied into Obv. II
of the ancient allied Enlil series babbar-ri babbari-gim teg-ga-bi
ζal, which see, for a new edition of SBP. 238-43. I venture
to designate BL. 73, an Assyrian copy, as the sixth or last
tablet. This text contains the ersemma or recessional which
ended a long Enlil liturgy. The colophon which gave
the name of the series is destroyed, but if our conjectures be correct
BL. 73 Rev. at the end should be restored er-šem-ma ¤babbar-
gim ē-ta ša ūEnlil. On these hypotheses we have the greater

1 Cf. BL. 51, 44.
2 The restorations at the end of this column are conjectured. Cf. BL. No. 73, 45 ff.
3 MEER. No. 32, is an Assyrian duplicate.
4 Cf. SBH. 99, 75.
portions of three large tablets of this well-known Enlil liturgy. The only other Enlil series whose contents are more completely known is the *am-e bár-an-na-ra* series, SBP. 96–129.

**Obverse?**

(About twenty-five lines broken away at the top.)

1. i-di-šu [u-di-šu nu- kuš-ù]
2. ti-šu ka-ša-šal-[la nu-gi- gi]¹
3. šag-šu bal-bal li-šu ni'-kuš-ù
4. dam bé-ib-lág ki-kúr-ra bé-in-šub
5. aš-ša-ta ú-še-zib-ma a-šar ša- nin-ma id-di
6. dumu bé-ib-lág nim-nim-ma bé- in-šub
7. ma-ra ú-še-zib-ma ina la áš- ra-[ti]-šu (?) id-di²
8. mu-un-ga ma-al-la kúr-ri ba-an- “ti-em³
9. ma-ak-ku-ri šak-na ana nak-ri ta-ad-din
10. giš-a-a ma-al-la kúr-ri⁴ [šu-kul- ta ša-kin-ta ana nakri taddin]
11. giš-gu-ša-aa-tag-ga kúr-ri ba-an- da-šu

1. Thy seeing eyes weary not.
2. When thy neck is set it turns not back.
3. How long until thine estranged heart weary not?
4. The wife he rescued and settled in a strange place.
5. The son he rescued and settled in a place not his own.
6. The accumulated property thou hast given to the stranger.
7. The hoarded treasures thou hast given to the stranger.
8. In its holy throne the stranger sits.

¹ Here preceded a litany like SBP. 136, 12–19.
² Cf. SBP. 136, 20.
³ Reisner gives traces of two signs which do not resemble gi. Cf. SBP. 138, 21.
⁴ So IV R. 28ª a 37 = SBH. 82, 4. But SBH. 131, 48 nu-kuš-ù. ni is here a variant of nu and may perhaps have the value li; li, la frequently occurs as phonetic variants of nu.
⁵ So Messerschmidt-Ungnad in Meissner, SAI. 6800. Literally, “in the highlands.”
⁷ Cf. *ibid*. 27.
12. ina ku-us-si-ša\(^4\) el-li nak-ri it-
ta-ša-ab
13. mu-nad-bi\(^3\) a-ra-ša-bi kūr-ri ba-
an-da-nad
14. ina ir-ši-šu el-li-tu ša-šu-um-
ma i-ni-il
15. ē-tu mu-šu-kūr-ra a-gim mu-un-
na-tī-em
16. bit-ka ana nak-ri ki-i ta-ad-
din
17. uru-šu mu-šu-kūr-ra a-gim
18. šag-šu ĝe-en-tūg-mal bar-šu ĝe-
en-šed-  ĝe
19. 4mu-[ul-]  līl-lā-[ge?]  šag-šu
20. 4kur-gal am-šu-ša-ša  šag-šu
22. [nippur-ki ] āla-ka li-in-nil-
uš-ša-ša
23. 4[kur]  ĝe-dū- ĝe
24. [ken-šu ĝe-ša-ša] nippur-ra\(^4\)
25. 4[te-ša-ša] ĝe-ša-ša ĝe-
dū
26. uru-šu babbar-gim 7i-ša-ša ĝe-
ra

13. On its holy couch the stranger
lies.
15. Thy temple unto the stranger
thou hast given.
17. Thy city unto the stranger thou
hast given.
18. May thy heart repose, thy soul
be at peace.
19. Oh Enlil may thy heart repose.
20. [God of the great mountain,
crouching wild-bull], may thy
heart repose.
23. Ekur thy temple be rebuilt.
24. Kenur and Enamtila the
abode(s) of Nippur be rebuilt.
25. Etemenanki and the abode Edar-
anna be rebuilt.
26. Unto thy city like the sun
hasten in splendor.

\(^1\) Sic! but l. 14 ina irši-ša, where the masc. ša is employed. The pronouns can hardly refer
to šukutu for no evidence supports a meaning "chapel, shrine" for šukutu, although it has the
meaning "treasure house," BL. 47, 18. Cf. SBH. 84, 9 where it is a synonym of makkurum.
ša and ša cannot both be employed of the same antecedent unless one or the other is an error.
I regard ša, "temple" (always masc.) as the antecedent and ša as an error.
\(^2\) Sic! an error. Strike bi.
\(^3\) Restoration uncertain. Cf. SBP. 276, 9.
\(^4\) Here the scribe has written, 6 mu-meš 5a-šu-meš, "Six lines are omitted." These six
lines are:
(1) 7im-bir-(ki) ĝe-dū-e, "Sippar be rebuilt."
(2) ĝe-Šu-ra ĝe-šu-kud-kalama ĝe, "Ebarra and Esakudkalama, etc."
(3) tin-tir-ki ĝe, "Babylon, etc."
(4) šag-il-la ĝe-Šu-kalama ĝe, "Esagilla and Eturkalama, etc."
(5) bad-ass-ša-ša-(ki) ĝe, "Barsippa, etc."
(6) ša-dā ša meš-ša-ša ĝe, "Ezida and the shrine Emahtila, etc."
See for these lines SBP. 238, 6-11.
27. ana åli-ka ki-ma šamši ina
    u-pi-e ar-ḥa
28. nippur-ki uru-zi babbar-gim zi
29. ṣ-dār-[an-na] babbar-gim zi
30. ...........................................

28. Unto Nippur thy city like the
    sun in splendor hasten.
29. Unto Edaranna like the sun in
    splendor hasten.
30. ...........................................

Reverse (?)
(Eight or ten lines missing.)

................................................................
1. ...ē
2. [elīn-ma?] umun kur-kur-[ra-ge]
3. [.....]ra umun ṭu-ul-ul-lā
4. elīn-μā ur-ṣag ṭas-ār-lū-dug
5. ur-ṣag-gal umun ṭen-bi-lu-lu
6. sīb [zi-da?] sīb ṭag-ṣi-ga
7. mu-lu ṭag-zi-a ṭūg ha-tu-l-la
8. ṭi-zi ur-ra ba-e-ni-mar-ra
9. ṭag-zi ṭi-pī-sa-gim ṭam-ma ba-ṣu-a
10. e-lum mu-ul-ṣi-pu-ṣi ur-ra mi-
    ni-ib-us-sa
11. [ṭū-ga-zi] a-ba mu-[u]-nūr-ri dé
12. ki-bi-ta man-nu u-nak-kar
13. taq-zi-a ṭa-ba mu-un-dī-bi-dé

1. ....the temple....
2. Ob exalted one, lord of lands.
3. ....lord Enlil.
4. Ob exalted one, heroic Asar-
    ludug.
5. Mighty hero, lord Enbilulu.
6. Faithful shepherd, shepherd of
    the dark-headed peoples.
7. Thou who hast covered thy
    head with a garment.
8. Thy neck thou hast placed in
    thy bosom.
9. Thy heart like a reed water
    bucket thou hast covered.
10. Exalted one thou hast put thine
    ears in thy bosom.
11. Thy command who can alter?
12. Thy help who can surpass?

1 Here again six lines with the six titles in note 2 and the refrain ṭabbar-gim zi-zi-ta ṭa-ra
    after each have been omitted.
2 The melody continued here for about ten Sumerian lines to the end of the tablet. These
    two motifs, ḡe-dū-er and ṭabbar-gim zi-zi-ta (or za-ra) ṭa-ra, characterize the last melody
    of the classical series Ni. 4591 + KL. 12, but occur there in the order ṭabbar-gim, etc., and ḡe-dū-er.
3 Here began a melody whose motif is lost.
4 SBP. 124, 5: 120, 7, etc.
5 Var. SBH. 131, 50 bi-tu-la.
6 Var. SBH. 131, 53 has a rendering suited to the Semitic idiom, “Exalted, thou who hast
    put thy fingers in thine ears.”
14. a-šap-ka man-nu it-ti-ku
15. i-dē il-la-ṭu a-ba ba-ra-ē
16. dug-bad-du-ṭu a-ba ba-ra-šub-bu
17. kur igi-nim-la mu-un-ṭu maq-ām
18. ina ma-a-tu e-li-tu šum-ka ši-ri
19. kur-igi-sig-ga-la mu-un-ṭu maq-ām
20. ina ma-a-tu šap-li-tu šum-ka ši-ri
21. an-na maq-mēn ki-a maq-mēn
22. ina ša-me-e ši-ra-ta ina irsi-tim ši-ra-ta
23. an-na maq-mēn mu-un-ṭu maq-ām
24. ina ša-me-e ši-ra-ta šum-ka ši-ri
25. mu-un-ṭu maq-ām qa-e dingir maq-ām
26. šum-ka ši-rum at-tu i-lum ši-rum
27. qa-e dingir maq-ām dam-ṭu nin-maq-ām³
28. ditto aš-šat-ka be-lit ilani
29. dam-[ṭu a-]ru-ru⁴ SAL+KU d-mu-ul-lil-lā
30. [aš-šat-ka īme-a-ru-ru⁴] a-ṭat
31. . . . . . . d-mu-ul-lil-lā

15. From thy vision who escapes?¹
16. From thy stride who shall flee?
17. In the upper land thy name is famous.
19. In the lower land thy name is famous.
21. In heaven thou art mighty; in earth thou art mighty.
23. In heaven thou art mighty and thy name is famous.
25. Thy name is famous; thou art a mighty god.
27. Thou art a mighty god and thy consort is a mighty queen.²
29. Thy consort is Aruru, sister of Enlil.
31. . . . . . . of Enlil

(About twenty-four lines broken away.)

¹ Cf. SBP. 8 n. 2.
² Cf. SBP. 276 Rev. 1, ga-la-an nu-un-ti-lam da-ṭu ga-la-an ab-da, "A queen there is not, thy consort as queen rules."
³ Semitic version, "Thy consort is the goddess 'Mistress of the gods'."
⁴ Aruru, title of Nintud, is a type of the mother goddess and usually kept distinct from all married types. She and Enlil were originally sister and brother, like Innini and Tammuz. Enlil developed into a local blt of Nippur and his consort, originally his sister Aruru, was given the name Ninlil. In Mäek, 11, 13 = BL. No. 88, 3+No. 34. 2 = CRAIG, RT. 19, 6. Aruru is a title of Ninlil and also sister of Enlil, where the ancient prehistoric relation survives as here.
⁵ Indicated by "ditto."
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FRAGMENT OF A TITULAR LITANY

This fragment, which consists of the lower half of a single column tablet, contains only interesting titles of various gods, followed by a refrain which began with ab. Liturgies of this kind recur frequently. For example, tablet five of a series edited in SBP. 130–175 began as follows:

ša-ab īt-mu-un tūg-e-en-ne ul-li-eš
ša-ab tūg-mal bar tūg-mal-da láb-1bé-en
me-en-ne ša-ab īt-mu-un mu-un-tūg-e-en-ne ul-li-eš
ša-ab an-na šag 4asar-lù-dug mu-un.

“The heart of the lord let us pacify with gladness.
To pacify the heart, to pacify the soul let us go.
We the heart of the lord will pacify with gladness.
The heart of Anu, the heart of Marduk we will pacify.”

Note that the prefix mu-un in line 4 indicates that we restore mu-un-tūg-e-en-ne. This liturgy then continues for more than one hundred lines, with the same refrain, mu-un, etc., being repeated after a name and title of some god precisely as ab is repeated after names and titles of gods. The fragment is a partial variant of the fifth tablet of the series muten-nu-nunu7 gim, edited in SBP. 130–179. Obverse 1 is parallel to SBP. 156, 51 and the last line on the reverse is parallel to SBP. 162, 27. A considerable number of divine names in the fifth tablet of the above series do not appear here. This is due to the fact that the Nippur text is more than 1500 years older than the Neo-Babylonian redaction in the muten-nu series. Lines 4–13 of ZIMMERN, Kultlieder 8 IV are closely

1 The sign DU + DU, lağ, lağ (=alāku) when followed by NE should probably be read lab-ša.
2 See for these restorations Babylonica III 249.
parallel to Rev. 6–13, but KL. 8 IV 10 does not appear here and the order of the divine names is slightly different. KL. 11 Rev. III 1 = Obv. 2 and forms a close parallel for several lines.

This text will prove to be of surpassing interest for its phonetic spellings of hitherto obscure ideograms and will settle also the meanings and connections of several divine names.

**Obverse**

1. ga-ša-an i-ri-ga-a l a-ma ku-ul-la-ba  
2. en-a-nu-un dūr-ur-kū imin ab  
3. ma-su in-da-ag ra mu-u-ri-na ab

1. Oh queen of the "great city," mother of Kullab, ab²  
2. Enanun that harnesses the seven dogs, ab  
3. Chieftain Indag, the urinu-spear, ab

¹ Note I. 6 and Var. AB-gal, SBP. 156, 51.
² The rendering of this phrase offers difficulty due to the preceding lacuna which obscures the connection. ab at the end of these lines represents some verbal phrase which began with ab in a preceding line. It is no longer possible to restore this refrain.
³ Var. of en-d-nun, a title common to Innini and Gula of Isin. The theological list of gods, CT. 25, 2, 33 places this title in the Gula section with her husband Pabilsag who below Rev. 5 becomes her son; thus Enanun (Gula) and Pabilsag are types of Innini and Tammuz. According to CT. 25, 2, 33 en-d-nun is um-mi ri-mi ḫal-Gula, "Mother-womb, Gula," a title emphasizing the mother goddess as patroness of childbirth, see Tammuz and Ishtar 60. Also en-d-nun ama ḫu-an-ni-si-se refers to Gula in SBH. 93, 8 = Myhrman, BP. I 5 Rev. 7. In SBH. 86, 52 = 91, 21 en-d-nun is a title of Innini and ama ḫu-an-ni-si-se is rendered, um-mi ḫal-[ra larrat ḫa-su-w], "The mother Ishtar, queen of lamentation," restored from K. 4349 D³ 8 in CT. 24, 21, a variant of CT. 25, 2, 33. K. 4349 D³ recognizes both aspects of Enanun, i. e., ẖal ara larrat ḫaṣa (= Innini as weeping mother) and um-mi ḫal mi ḫal-Gula, "Mother-womb, this is Gula." For ḫu-an-ni-si as title of Innini see also, Zimmer, KL. 11 Rev. III 1. ḫu-an-ni-si is perhaps, despite the Semitic translation above, to be regarded with Radau, BE. 30, 14 as a variant of ḫu-d-nu-su = ḫu-d-nu(n)-gi-a (by palatalization, see Sum. Gr. §40(b)) = harradat la la immaḥbar, see SBP. 158, 58; 82, 52; 86, 28 and ḫu-a-nu-i, KL. 11 Rev. III 7. Hence En-d-nun(n) = En-d-nu-gi-a, "the queen (sic!) unopposable." In this aspect she is identified with the queen of Hades, Allatu and Nergal lord of the lower world, see Radau, ibid., who adduces ḫu-a-nu-su = ḫal-Allatum, CT. 25, 4, 25.

⁴ My rendering depends upon the passage VAB. IV 274 III 14. ẖa šandati sibitti labbu, "[Ittar] who harnesses the seven lions."

⁵ Var. of ḫa Endaggā, husband of Gula, CT. 25, 2, 32 (= K. 4349 D³ 7).
⁶ mu < gis as in mu-uri = urinu, M³, 82-5-22, 574, 8. For gis-uri, a spear with handle, see RA. V 130. Uncertain.
4. ni-mi-ir₁ sa-ga ɡa-an-du-ur sa-
mal......la-ri-ba......[ab]

4. Potentate who the head......

5. ga-ša-an mu-ga² bu-lu-uk-ku³ ɡi-
ma......mi-ri-šu ga-al-la[biab]

5. Oh queen......sovereign......

6. ū-mu-un i-ri-ga-al gu-ši-sa¹.....
[ab]

6. Oh lord of the vast abode, the
impetuous ox, [ab]

7. ir-ra-ga-al gu-ši-sa¹....[ab]

7. Great (G)irra, the impetuous ox,

8. ni-in-ni-im-ma gu ma-nu-un
......[ab]

8. [Lord] of whatsoever has a name,
ox who is unopposed, [ab]

9. e-ti-na⁴ dūr-ru-si-ga³ dūr-ru ša-
ri-ba[ab]

9. Ezina, that sprinkles libations,
that......libations, ab......

---

¹ ni-mi-ir=nimgir > ni-gir > li-gir=nagiru, potentate, Išasipinnu, bridegroom, see Sum.
Gr. 231 and RA. 10, 72, 26 MIR-SI (li-gir)=Išasipinnu. The feminine nagiratu has not been found.
² For gišgal.
³ bulug, literally, crab, and originally an astral title of Innin, has followed the analogy of
ušumgal, python, and obtained the meaning, potentate, ruler. This passage yields the earliest
known occurrence of the word bulug which is earlier than the sign BULUG, see Tammu and Ishtar, 160.
⁴ Var. of gū-si-sa, title of Nergal, SBP. 82, 43; alpu muttešiliru. SBP. 158, 58 has gū-d-
uu-sa=KL. 11 Rev. III 7 kū-a-nu-si=alpu la immahbar, SBP. 86, 28. See note on Eanun
l. 3. These lines correspond to SBP. 158. 57 f.
⁵ Var. SBP. 158, 61 umun nam-ma-ge=KL. 11 Rev. III 10, ū-mu-un nīg-nam-ma=ge=
bēl mimma šummu; ni-in-ni-im-ma=nīmmama, but the text omits umun. Our text also omits,
after Iragal, his consort KAL-ša-ga sil daga-la edin-na=ardatu damḫatu la su-li-e [rap-ši
la šeri], "Pure maid that walks the wide street of inferno." It also omits nīn-siğ=ge
guškin-bandu, SBP. 158, 60=KL. 11 III 9, a title of Nergal, or at any rate an under-world deity.
Nīn-siğ=nīn-siğ, 11 R. 50b 28 is rendered bēl našīn bunnānē bēl mim-[ma šumu], CT. 25, 49 Rev. 2,
"Lord, creature of a bright form, lord of whatsoever has a name. Obviously bēl mimma šumu
translates the other title nīn-nam-mu, 11 R. 50a 28=umun-nam-ma-ge, etc. Another title of
this same god is sūn-kūl-kūl (so read for sūn-mu-mu) 11 R. 50a 29=umun šin-kūl-kūl, SBP.
158, 51=sūn-kul-kul, CT. 24, 23, 24=(mu)n-en-kur-kur, KL. 11 Rev. III 10. šin=bunnānē, 
cf. CT. 24, 41, 79 and kuł > kur is probably for gul, "sculptured," hence "the sculptured form,"
the statue-like figure.
⁶ e-ti-na is one of the pronunciations of the name of the grain goddess ŠE-TIR, ordinarily
pronounced ataš; see 81-4-28, 9, e-ti-nu=škE-TIR, JRS 1905, 829. In CT. 24, 23, 12
škE-TIR and e-ti-nu-a are distinguished, hence Eziniu and Atanu are different types of the
grain goddess. This line is parallel to SBP. 158, 64=KL. 11 Rev. III 11.
⁷ durru sīga is a variant of A-SUG, i. e., dursug in SBP. 159, 64. duru=A=rathu,
"watered," Syl. Berlin 3024 1 3 and dūr=la-bāku, "pour out," 11 R. 48e 30, hence duru, dur
has probably the meanings, flow, pour, and libation, hence "She that sprinkles the libation
(of meal or grain)." The Var. KL. 11 Rev. III 11 has the more common ašag-sug, a title of
Nidaba the grain goddess, CT. 24, 9, 35=23, 17 and the same title also applies to the fire-god
Gibil, the šumummanu of Enil, MEEK, No. 24, 4; CT. 24, 10, 12; IV R. 28b 12. ašag probably
means roasted cakes, here (šlima) as in PSBA. 1909, 62, 15 and MGHMAN, BP. I 14, 49, and
is connected with the root šag, roast, burn, Sum. Gr. 257; ašag-sug, "He or she that sprinkles
roasted grain."
10. ù-mu-un ma-da šu-du¹ a-na(ab)
10. Lord of the earth, light of heaven, ab

11. ù-mu-un a-qi² ù-mu-un e[.. . . . . . .]
11. Lord, healer, lord [of the seizing hand]
ab

12. ù-mu-un mun-zi-da³ gu-ni. [ab]
12. “Lord of the true tree,” whose neck . . . . . . . ab.

### Reverse

1. e-ri-da⁴ gu i-nu [ . . . . . . . . . . ab]
2. ga-ša-an ti-il-dib-ba me ţi . . . [ab]
3. ga-ša-an su-bu-ra² ba-an-su-su²-
   -a-na ab

1. Oh virile lord, ox . . . . . . . . . . ab
2. Queen that gives life to the dying . . . [ab]
3. Queen of the earth, heavenly table, ab

¹ Sūdu, variant sub-bī, SBP. 160, 5, is probably the same root as sud (3), Sum. Gr. 242. A root sug, from which sud, Sūdu was derived (g > d), meaning light, was suggested, *ibid.* 243. See now su-ku = maššu, to shine, RA. 10, 79 III 10. The root sug, Sūg, be bright, pure, is probably the original of both sud, Sūdu, and Sub, Sub-bī.

² Var. d-qi; for Nergal as healer see BÖLLENSCHÖNER, Nergal, No. 2, 2.

³ umun muṣida indicates primarily Ningišzida II R. 59, 36, but more frequently Tammuz. See TAMMUZ and ISBLAR 7 n. 2 and 118, and SBP. 160, 7.

⁴ e-ri-da, a variant of ireš, SBP. 160, 8 and a title of Ninsubur, is probably an augmented form of eri to beget, viril.; hence, mistress, lord. As title of Geštinanna, see BL. 16, 9 f.

⁵ su-bur; su-bur is the ordinary value of a sign confused with šaḪ in the name of the god Nin-su-bar, Galan-su-bar = bêl isšur, a type of unmarried god related to Tammuz. For galan-su-bar = Tammuz, see BL. 62, 6, and for the reading of the second sign see HROZWY in ZA. 19, 367. On su-bur see Sum. Gr. 242. In SBP. 160, 8 and 11 Galan-su-bar seems to be identified with the god of Isin and consort of Gula of Isin, but in all other passages this god is without consort and generally regarded as a herald of Anu sukkal. Anim. But galan dSu-bur-ra refers to Innini in SBP. 26, 15 = BL. 72, 11, and galan-su-bar in our passage clearly refers to Gula of Isin. We have here another one of those feminine titles of the ancient mother goddess applied without reference to gender to the youthful god of vegetation. Note that KA-DI is a title of both mother goddess and Tammuz, and ama-ulumgal-anna has the same indiscriminate application, TAMMUZ and ISBLAR, p. 16.

⁶ Literally, “table of heaven.” Ninmaraki, a related type of mother goddess in RADAU, Miscel. 3, 4, is called giš-bašur gin-gi-ne = pašur = ubarti, “table for the fugitive handmaid.” [ubarti, fugitive, Sum. gir in ASJL. 28, 232, 16 and me-e gir-mēn = u-ba-ra-ku, a fugitive am 1, MEEK, 87 = SBP. 122, 33 = BL. 94, 12. Hence u-ba-rû, foreign resident, contrasted with mar dī, native citizen, Shurpu VIII 41. Note ubarti, the fem., rendered into Sum. by gir-gi-ne, where gi-ne = gin, ardatu, Var. e-ne, SBH. 101, 15.] A Kassite king calls himself the pašur nisî, “table of the people,” RADAU, BE. 17 p. 47, 5. The figurative meaning of these passages is apparently “One who supplies food.” Our passage probably describes Gula as she that supplies food to mankind, a title entirely consonant with all the types of mother-goddesses. a-na la take to be the ordinary theological addition ana, anna, “heavenly,” see TAMMUZ and ISBLAR, 29 n. 1, 44, etc.
4. ga-ša-an i-si-na ma-šu-gi\(^1\) ki-ga
   ab
5. du-mu-ču pa-bi-il-sa-ág\(^2\) tu-ku-ul\(^3\)
   nam-mu-ču\(^4\) ab
6. gu-nu-ra\(^5\) di-im-gu-ul ka-na-ām-"mà
   ab
7. da-mu sa-ga\(^6\) me-ir-si ni-mi-in-
   di ab

4. Queen of Isin, sovereign of the earth, ab
5. Thy son Pabilsag, the comforter of wisdom (love?), ab
6. Gunura, tarku\(^6\) of the Land, ab
7. Pious Tammuz, who the floods causes to flow, ab

\(^{1}\) mašu-gi = maš-sag = ašaridu, SAI. 1178, and probably identical with maš-tug = massā, leading-goat; hence, lord, chieftain. Shamash is maš-sag kur-kur-ra = ašarid matāta, "sovereign of the lands," MEK. 1, 21, and the same title of Shamash in Bab. III 78. Our passage refers to Gula as the earth-mother, the idea original with all the mother goddesses.

\(^{2}\) This phrase yields the true reading of the name PA-NE-SAG who in III R. 66c 14 occurs between Belištēri (=Geštinanna, sister of Tammuz) Gula and Gunura (=Ninā sister of Ningirsu). This list of eleven gods, II. 10-20, refers obviously to Innin and Tammuz or mother goddess and dying son under various types who were worshipped in the temple of Gula at Aššur. Gula in this list reverts to her ancient unmarried character and is identical with Innini, more especially with Innini as a healer. Again K. 4338 V 41 places Pabilsag between Ninšin-digga (=Gula) and Damu (= Tammuz). An ancient Semitic poem, CT. XV 6-7 (see DHORME in RA. VII 18 ff. and HOLMA, OLZ. 1912, 442) describes the brother of Innini, here called Pabilsag (col. VI 8), whom Enlil and Ninlil begat in wedlock, but who is seized away from Innini. In astrology the constellation Pabilsag designates the Archer, hence the Sumerians regarded him as a hunter. In POEBEL, Creation II 17, Pabilsar sag lord of Larak, is probably his most ancient name, hence by origin a mountain god, type of Tammuz, who became a local ba'āl of Larak with his consort and sister or mother Innini, who here becomes a married type under the name Gula-Enanun, see above note on obverse 2. Larak was a part of the great city Isin whose gods Nin-urta and Gula are married types of Tammuz and Innini. See further, RADAU, BE. 30 p. 14 n. 5. Our line is a variant of SBP. 160, 12 = ZIM. KL. 8 IV 4 and 11 Rev. III 22.

\(^{3}\) \(KU = tukultu\) has probably the value tukul. Compare the sign name of \(KU\), tukullum, Syl. A. 1 25 and Syl. C. 265. tukul is then a Semitic loan word.

\(^{4}\) nam-mu-ču = narāmu(?), probably not ōmu, mercy. In any case the idea of love suits the character of Tammuz. \(mu-lu-mu-ču = ra'ımdu\), "[star] the loving," or "the merciful,"(?), in SBH. 106, 53, leaves us in doubt concerning the root, ōmu or ōmu. If this interpretation be correct nam-mu-ču contains the root ōmu with abstract prefix ĝiš > muš > mu and the abstract prefix nam. muš mu-ču really means bēl (or bēli) mušītu, "He of wisdom," and the rendering ra'ımdu "she that loves" is secondary. For ĝiš-ču = mušītu, wisdom, cf. gal-mu-ču, "Mighty in wisdom," Gud. Cyl. A. 12, 20. Another ĝiš-ču = tablet, scroll, in colophons, see Del. H. W. 1936 and Harp. Lett. 185, 11 and 14.

\(^{5}\) gunura is title of both Ninā and Gula as patroness of healing. Both in CT. 17, 33 Rev. 34 and SBP. 160, 13 she occurs with Damu, i.e., Tammuz as healer. See BL. 136.

\(^{6}\) Var. KL. 8 IV 5, ĝiš-ma-mug.

\(^{7}\) Var. lāg-ga = damku, SBP. 160, 14; KL. 8 IV 6.
8. "u-mu-un \textsuperscript{a}Immer am i-di-en\textsuperscript{b} 8
9. "u-mu-un \textsuperscript{a}i ka-na-am-ma \textsuperscript{a}i kur-kur-ra?
10. su-ud du-mu nu-un e-še-en-di-li\textsuperscript{a} aqag-[ga ab]
11. e-zi-ra na-am-in-ge še-i-i ni na-am dib-dib-bi\textsuperscript{b}
12. su-mu-un-ga-an\textsuperscript{a} ziq-gal\textsuperscript{a} igi-in- ba-ar u ši-im-dib-a ab

8. Lord, god of the storms, bull of terror, \textit{ab}
9. Lord of the life of Sumer, of the life of the lands . . .
10. Sud, daughter of the prince, radiant \textit{eṣendili}, \textit{ab}
11. 
12. Gira, the god who gives heed to the cattle, who causes them to have grass, \textit{ab}

\textsuperscript{a}Var. ni-te-na, SBP. 160, 15. Note the variant ni-a-an-na, KL. 8 IV 7 and ni-di-an-na, 11 Rev. III 29.
\textsuperscript{b}The text has ta, which I have corrected, but see KL. 8 IV 8 ff. ta at end of the lines, depending on some other motifs.
\textsuperscript{c}ši=ti=napištu. Cf. KL. 8 IV 8; 11 Rev. III 31; SBP. 160, 17.
\textsuperscript{d}KL. 8 IV 9, \textit{du}-kur-ru dumu nun-a eš-lid-dil aqag-ga-ta. SBP. 160, 18, \textit{du}-ud-am ama l-ldb-qa. SBP. 26, 7=BL. 72, 3, \textit{du}-kur-ru dumu-nun-abzu-ge. Hence \textit{su}-ud and \textit{su}-ud-am are titles of \textit{ṣuruppak}, the goddess of Shuruppak, a form of Gula, called \textit{marat rubl ap̄ṣīt}, "daughter of the prince of the sea." This goddess is clearly a form of Gula (see SBP. 161 n. 12) and Shuruppak like Larak was probably a part of the great city Isin, modern Fara. But \textit{ṣuruppak} is given as a title of Ninlil in the great list, CT. 24, 5, 9=22, 109, where she is also called \textit{du}-ud. Here we have a tendency to identify the mother goddess of Shuruppak with the married deity Ninlil of Nippur. As to the goddess Sud, Sudam, note that SBH. 134, 16=SBP. 160, 18 renders \textit{du}-ud-am by "ditto," and dumu nun-a by [ma-rat su-bi]-e, "daughter of the prince," i.e., daughter of Ea. The noun \textit{sud} probably means "light," see above, note on Obv. 10 and \textit{su}-da-am, a title of Aja, goddess of sunlight, and originally a type of the mother goddess Innini, later associated with Shamash of Agade, see \textit{Tammuṣ and Ishtar} 96 f. \textit{su}-ud-da-am=nar lamē, a title of Innini as Venus, SBH. 98, 1. \textit{du}-ud-am clearly refers to Aja \textit{marat rubt}, in SBP. 158, 1=SBH. 134 11 4 f. Note also that Shamash and Aja come under the Ea pantheon, SBP. 159 n. 12. Hence the goddess of Shuruppak was a type of mother goddess especially connected with sunlight. \textit{eṣendili} probably denotes a similar idea.
\textsuperscript{e}Var. KL. 8 IV 13 \textit{KA-DI} nam-en-me LI-ŠAR-te-me na-am-dib-dib-ba-(ba sic)-ta. Thus we have at last the reading of the ophidian god \textit{KA-DI} of Dir, 1-str=e-zī-ir. str=zīr, is probably the root zīr, "be long," hence serpent, rendered by śtrn in Semitic. The Sumerian and Semitic words are not philologically connected. For \textit{KA-DI} as a serpent god see \textit{Tammuṣ} and \textit{Ishtar}, p. 16 and 119 ff. The line corresponds to SBP. 162, 24.
\textsuperscript{f}A variant of \textit{sumu-gan} < \textit{sumuškan} =\textit{Girra}, god of the cattle and son of Shamash, CT. 24, 32, 112: ASKT. 105 Rev. 10 \textit{Gira dumu} \textit{Babbar sab niq-nam-ma-ge}, "Gira son of Shamash, shepherd of whatsoever exists." \textit{sumu-gan} contains the root \textit{gan}=\textit{ašū}, "to beget," and is connected with \textit{sa-gan} (=\textit{mušallidu}) also a title of Girra, BM. 38177 and sakkan (< \textit{sa-gan}) a dialectic variant, 81–830, 35 Rev. 8. See also Thureau-Dangin, RA. 11, 104.
\textsuperscript{g}Since Girra is the god of cattle, \textit{ziq-gal} should be rendered by \textit{bālū}, cattle, a passage which tends to show that II R. 24, 23 has no sign broken away before \textit{ziq-gal}=\textit{ašū} (\textit{bālūm}), domestic animals. Also Delaporte, \textit{Catalogue} No. 298, has a similar title of Girra, \textit{ziq-gal tār-tār-bi}, he who makes fat the cattle. [For \textit{tār=dušša}, see Syl. C. 75 and IV R. 20, 26.] This line corresponds to KL. 8 IV 12, \textit{giš maš-anlu igi-bar [š] na-am-ma-tāk-tāk ta}. 

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13. [en-gi]-im-du ab-si-im-ma\textsuperscript{1} e-pa-ri\textsuperscript{2} gi-il\textsuperscript{4} [še-gu-]nu ma-a\textsuperscript{5} ab

13. Engidu,\textsuperscript{2} who causes the canals and water courses to lave the corn; who causes the gunū-grain to thrive.

7184

LITURGY OF THE CULT OF ISHME-DAGAN

This single column liturgical text of sixty-five lines belongs to the corpus of ritualistic hymns and prayers written for the cult of the deified Ishme-Dagan, fourth king of the dynasty of Isin, who enjoyed an unusually long reign of twenty years. Two other well-preserved liturgies of his cult have been found, Ni. 4563 published in this volume and one in the Berlin collection, published by ZIMMERN in his Kultlieder No. 200. The latter text, like Ni. 7184, is a single column tablet, but contains only the twelfth strophe or melody of a long liturgy. In our text and in KL. 200 the king is said to be the son of Enlil, but in Ni. 4563 the god Dagan is his father.

The present hymn clearly originated in the temple schools of Lagash, since that city and its temples figure chiefly in the local references. This explains also why the mother goddess Bau, divine patroness of Lagash, is praised as the divinity

\textsuperscript{1} abšim > abšin > aběnu, "ear of corn."
\textsuperscript{2} So also ën-gi-du, KL. 8 IV 11, but SBP. 162, 27. ën-ki-im-du. For the rise of a phonetic nasal, cf. sagšintar = sagšitar = pākīdu. This deity is the well-known ilu Enkidu, related to Gira, patron of cattle. A description of him is given in the first book of the Epic of Gilgamesh, Col. II 35-41 and in K. 10164, 1-6 (2 A. 25, 380) where he is called lugal-pa ra-ab[. . . . . . . . . .].
\textsuperscript{3} and cf. CT. 24, 28, 58 where both titles follow Tašmetum, hence related to the Nebo group. Since the theologians regard him as specially connected with canals the name probably means bēšu 3a iršīṭum udabhadu, "lord that makes the earth fruitful."
\textsuperscript{4} SBP. 162, 27 umun-pa-ra. ra, ri are employed here for the conjunction and.
\textsuperscript{5} gir = ṭēbā, ṭalā, see Sum. Gr. 217 (gir 7). Note Var. KL. 8 IV 11, ki-ab-si-ma e 3i-ri, where pa, pā, is omitted. For gir = "to wash, lave," cf. gi-il, Var. of sir = šakšu, "wash," SBH. 121, 11. sag-tis-sir (or sar-sar), glossed kar-kar(!) = rummuku, RA. 10, 77. 37. Voc. Berlin 2559 I 39 gives gīṣir (< gir-gir) = šabā. ta-al on the edge is unintelligible.
\textsuperscript{5} Var. KL. 8 IV 11 ma-a.
who cares for the deified ruler. The tablet was found at Nippur, a fact which reveals once more the practice of borrowing well-known and popular choral compositions from the various cults. Although the statue or image of the worshipped king is not mentioned, as in the case of a similar hymn to Idin-Dagan,\(^1\) nevertheless lines 26–7 of the reverse make evident the situation. Our hymn was sung by the choir in the presence of a statue of Ishme-Dagan in a chapel at Lagash and later at Nippur.

**Obverse**

1. *nin ni-ila* ..................................................
2. *ligir(?)\(^2\) b̄a-ū gū-gal nin* .......... ur-sag. ..........
3. *dingir sumugan me-maḵ-a šu-dū* ....... *il-lu-* 
   .......... *gal-lu*
4. *sū-un-sū-na sal-ṣid nin-gal* 
   .......... *d[^1]ag-ta-de-agā*
5. *dumu-an-na tūr KA-pad-dē* 
   .......... *bur* .......... *šu-ni-si*
6. *nin-a-tū-gal sag-gig-ga lū-ṭī-li* 
   .......... *lū ittel*
7. *šu-gal geštin kaš-e še KU\(^4\) kalama* 
   .......... *lu-a.*
8. *šag-lal-luk šilam-sud kalam-ma* 
   .......... *nin-gar.*

1. Lady that beareth awe. ..............
2. Princess Bau, the peeress, lady 
   .......... the heroic ..............
3. She that keepeth the great 
   decrees of Sumugan, the far- 
   famed bearer of ..............
4. The vigorous, the faithful 
   woman, the illustrious lady, 
   goddess *NIN(?)-ṣag-ta-de-agā*. 
5. Celestial daughter, she that 
   *choseth the offspring of the* 
   sheepfolds, she whose hand 
   filleth the.......... bowl.
6. Great queeingly healer of the 
   dark-headed people, she that 
   gave life to man, she that 
   created man. ..............
7. She that apportions wine, beer 
   and barley-meal(?) unto the 
   Land ..............
8. She that possesseth a solicitous 
   heart, compassionate cow of 
   the Land, lady who ..............

\(^1\) Published by *RadE, Miscel. No. 2*; see *Sum. Gr.*, p. 196.
\(^2\) Perhaps *ša₂šig* of *TUN* confused with *ša₂šig* of *UR*.
\(^3\) Perhaps *TUD* or *NIN*. This title of Bau is unknown to me.
\(^4\) For *ṭid*?
9. "en-lil  lugal kur-kur-ra-[ge]  
10. "nu-nam-nir  en nam-lar-ri  
11. ēs nibru-(ki)  dur-an-ki-a enim- 
gal-bi be-in-[ dūg ]  
12. ē-kur ṣagin-na mi-ni-im-mağ-en  
    igit la ............  
13. sa-ku-kalig-ga  "nu-nam-nir-ra- 
    [ge me-en]  
14. an-gub-ba² ē-kur-ra ka-paˁ-l-sum- 
    mu gu ............  
15. "en-lil-lā ë-am a-mağ-a-ni me-en  
    a-gub-ba-ni⁴ [me-en]  
16. sū-na šita-ba ki-lal a-ṣu- uš  
17. "nu-nam-nir nun kur-kur-ra-ge  
18. nam-sag-šu-mağ⁶ an-ki šu-ṣu im- 
    mi-in-la-sum  
19. mu-un-ila-en nam-nin ṣī numun- 
    i-ṣa-ra mu-ra-an-sum  
20. a-a uṣuš-šu an dingir-mağ-e mu- 
    mu ME-ZIĐ⁴ mi-ri-in-mu  
21. ur-sag "en-lil-lā "nin-gir-su gil- 
    lam šū-ma-ra-an-sum

9. Enlil king of the lands,  
10. Nunamnr, lord that decrees  
tate,  
11. In the house of Nippur, band of  
heaven and earth their great  
words [spoke,]  
12. In brilliant Ekur they made thee  
far famed, that eyes cannot  
[support thee].¹  
13. The mighty net-weapon of Nu- 
namnr, [thou art].  
14. Sentinel of Ekur, that givest  
bread to eat, that..... [thou  
art].  
15. Of Enlil in the temple his right⁴  
hand thou art; his left hand  
thou art.  
16. His shining weapon is suspended  
at thy side.  
17. Nunamnr prince of the lands.  
18. Mighty dignity in heaven and  
earth he gave into thy hand.  
19. He exalteth thee; lordship unto  
the house of thy seed he  
hath bestowed for thee.  
20. Thy paternal father, Anu the  
far-famed god, hath clothed  
thee with the robe of a sage.  
21. The champion of Enlil, Ning- 
girsu, hath caused to be given  
unto thee a wife.

¹ Addressed to the king Ishme-Dagan.  
² an-gub-ba = ina šamē kaḫamānu, originally said of the stars which stand as sentinels, CT.  
33, 1, 23. Then as sentinel, guard, CT. 24, 24, 67: 25, 6, 15; BL. 195, 33. For the Semitic  
rendering see IV R. 28a 7.  
³ Literally "mighty."  
⁴ See Sum. Gr. 218, gub 2.  
⁵ Cf. BL. 143.  
⁶ Cf. CLAY, Miscel. 53, 118.  
⁷ A title probably mukin pārsì, a kind of councillor, CT. 32, 19, 15 f.; 34, 9 and 15; and  
ibid. Col. 11 20.
22. é-ninnû uru-aţag ēš numun-i
   sag.... mu-ri-PA+KAB+DU

22. And Eninnû in the holy city
    he presented .... unto thee
    as the abode of (thy) seed.

23. lagas-(ki) gir-su-(ki) dim-gal-
    kalam-ma-ka

23. In Lagash and Gir-su metropolis
    of the Land,

24. ē-malga-sud1 kidur-kenag-ţa

24. The house of wisdom, thy be-
    loved abode.

25. sil-sir-sir² é nam-nin-a-ka bar-
    maţ-ţu mi-ni-ri

25. Silsirsir,2 temple of lordship, thy
    magnificent hall, he founded.

26. kidur-maţ-ţu ė dar-an-ki lagas-
    (ki)-a im-ši-šu-šu-e-ne-eš³

26. Thy magnificent dwelling place,
    band of heaven and earth, in
    Lagash they have placed.

27. nin zag-dib⁴ bar-ni šu-nu-leg-ga

27. The queen that holds universal
    power, whose side is unattain-
    able.

28. dumu an-na nin-gal nig-nam-ţu

28. Celestial daughter, great queen
    that knoweth anything what-
    soever,

29. šul me-gim-sâg⁵ nun ʾiš-me- ʾda-
    gan dumu ʾen-il-lâ-ge

29. The mighty one, healer of the
    limbs of the prince, Ishme-
    Dagan son of Enlil,

30. ki-ēl ama ʾba-û igi-ţid mu-ši-bar
    nam-dug mu-ni-lar ud-ši-la ē-a-
    šu

30. The maiden, mother Bau, has
    looked with faithful eyes upon
    thee, good things decreed in
    order that life of days may
    go forth forever.

1 See also Ni. 4566, 4 in this volume.

2 In Gudea, St. E 6, 16 ē-sil-sir-sir, temple of Bau in Lagash. See SAK. Index, p. 268,
    and R.A. 10, 102, n. 1. A Berlin vocabulary renders sil-sir-sir by ussuru, sunnuḫu, sunnuḫu,
    subûtu, alley, narrow street. Hence a long narrow chapel of Bau in the temple Eninnû.

3 dar here in the sense of band, for the first time; in any case connected with īar in tarkullu.
   (See Sum. Gr. 208 ṑur 2.)

4 A double plural. ēl probably indicates the past tense here.

5 Literally, “holds the boundary,” then to possess, encompass. nam-šul-la zag-dib-ba,
    possessing heroic strength, Radau, Miscel. 5, 1; see also BE. 29, 11 20 and 11 end; KL. 199, 1;
    200, 4.

6 Semitic mudammikat bindû, she that makes the limbs healthy, a title which harmonizes
    with Bau, goddess of healing. See also Genouillac, Drehem, AO. 5501 Rev. I end. But the
    title is also employed for Shala, the western goddess, CT. 25, 20, 23. The variant me-dim-şd,
    is employed for Shala, II R. 57a 36; RA. 13, 11 and KL. 24 ll 4.
31. sa-sud-da-am
32. ama 4ba-ū nun 4iš-me-da-gan
dumu 4en-lil-lā-ra
nam-tīl ud-sud-du sum-mu-
dam

31. It is a long sa[bar].
32. The mother Bau unto the prince
Ishme-Dagan son of Enlil
unto distant days hath given.

33. giš-gi-gāl 5 sa-sud-[da-kam]

33. This is the interlude for
the long sa[bar].

REVERSE

1. [ki] nam-tīl-la é 4en-lil-lā-šū

1. In the place of life, temple of
Enlil,

2. [ ] UD-LU ka-gar-šāg-ga
gab-na im-mi-taμ

2. ....... good thoughts in his
breast multiplied.

3. ab(?) iš-me-da-gan ța-e im-me-
ni-tud

3. Thee oh father (?) Ishme-Dagan
he created.

4. lugal-mēn nam-tīl-la-da im-da-e-
gub

4. A king thou art and with life
thou hast been firmly fixed.

5. kur-gal 4en-lil-ra X1-ki-mu-ne-
gāl

5. Unto 4 the great mountain Enlil

6. a-a 4mu-ul-lil țu-mu-un-gal kur-
kur-ra

6. Father Enlil great lord of the
lands

7. iš-me-da-gan-na na-ām be-ib-tar
mu...... ib...... e-ne-ir mu-
ne-dūg

7. For Ishme-Dagan decreed the
fate,.........for him he
ordered.

8. 4en-lil lugal kur-kur-ra-ge și-țid-
til-la saq-ki lāg-ga-ni mu-un-
ši-in-bar

8. Enlil king of the lands cast the
faithful eyes of life of his
bright face upon him.

9. iš-me-da-gan-na nam-mu-ni-ib-
tar-ri

9. For Ishme-Dagan he decreed
fate.

10. ēlu-ța me-ṣur-ṣur aga ți-ud-
sud-du-a ḫad-kal-kalag gi-ni
uṣ-aš-a lāg-e

10. A throne that proclameath laws,
a crown that prolongeth the
breath of life, a precious
scepter that conducteth the
faithful in unison,

---

1 A liturgical rubric found as yet only in liturgies to deified kings. The full form is sa-bar-sud-da-ām, KL. 199 i 29; cf. bar-sud-da-ām, RADAU, BE. 29, i 1 5. The rubric occurs also in KL. 199 ii 34 and BE. 29, i 111 22.
2 See above, p. 141, n. 1.
3 MA-GUNU, SAI. 2769.
4 Perhaps ra is here the demonstrative pronoun, in which case Enlil is the subject.
11. nun ４iṣ-me-dag-an nam-e-es ĝe-
    tar
12. it id igigna it žimbir-e ĝen-gal
    a-duq(?)-ga ĝu-mu-ra-ab-tum
    ĝu-bi ĝa-ra-sug-e
13. ĝu-bi kaš-u-bi-e ĝu-mu-ra-an-mâ
    sîl ĝa-ra-ab-lâl
14. garak ４lâr-ba lâl-e ĝu-e ki-ĝu-
    mu-ra-ni-ib-uš
15. a-kar ţîd-bî ４še-gu-nu ４ɡa-ra-ab-
    mâ ĝâr-bi ĝa-ra-dub-dub
16. tûr ĝa-ra-dû-dû ４ama-š ĝa-ra-
    dagal-dagal
17. nam-lugal-la mu ĝu-mu-ni-maŋ
18. nam-nun-na sag-an-šu ĝe-ni-ila
19. sig igi-nim kur-ţag-âl-la-bi ĝu-un
    ĝu-mu-ra-ab-ila
20. buranun* ud-gim igigna ĝe-ni-
    in-ê
21. nin-dâba-ţu ěkur-ţaṅgin-na muš
    nam-ba-an-tum-mu
22. ４en-ţîl-li nam-ţa mu-ni-in-tarë
23. lugal-la ě-kur-la šibir-maŋ mu-
    na-sum

11. Be decreed unto the prince
    Ishme-Dagan for his destiny.
12. May the Tigris and the Eu-
    phrates bring thee abundance
    ........, and their banks be
    full for thee.
13. May their banks produce for
    thee drink and food, and bring
    thee gladness.
14. In the cellars of the gardens may
    the honey reach the edges.
15. May the field produce for thee
    gunū-grain unfailingly and
    may the granaries be heaped
    for thee.
16. May the stalls be filled with
    increase for thee and the
    sheepfolds be spacious for
    thee.
17. May he make famous the im-
    perial power.
18. May he exalt higher than heaven
    the rights of princes.
19. May the lower land and the
    upper land even unto the
    borders of the earth bring
    tribute unto thee.
20. May the Euphrates like the
    sunshine go up unto the Tigris.
21. Not shall the serpent seize thy
    sacrificial cakes in holy Ekur. 5
22. Enlil decreed this for his fate.
23. Unto the king in Ekur a mighty
    scepter he gave.

See Sum. Gr. §72.
2 See OLZ. 1912. 447: JASTROW, Religion II 713. The gunū grain has not been identified.
3 See du (10) in Sum. Gr., p. 211 and d-û-dû = lumaṭṭu, rich, RA. 10, 75, 8.
* Note the unusual method of writing buranun.
4 We have here an additional reference to the serpent adversary, which occurs also in another
5 Cf. above, l. 11.
6 Cf. ZIMMERN, KL. 199 II 22.
24. nir mu-un-gal enim ḏen-li-li-la
gab-šu-gar nu-mu-un-tuk

25. iginal-lī la
im-gub-gub-bi

26. dāg-gal-maḡ ki-dūr nam-lugal-
la-kā im-ma-da-an-tur-tur

27. bara aṣaq ṣagin-na dūr-be-in-
garī ṭ-gal mu-un-[ ]

28. sal-ṣīd dumu-an-na ḏen-li-li enim-
ma-[ni-la] bara-aṣaq ṣagin-[na
dūr-ū-bē-in-gar]

29. ki-ēl ama ḏba-ū dumu-an-na
 ḏen-li-l ......... bara-aṣaq
 ṣagin-na ......... ]ab-bi

30. ḏiš-me-ḏa-gan dumu ḏen-li-li-[lā]-
ra nam-li ud-sud-du sag-[e-ē
PA]-KAB-DU-a-ni-ib

31. uru en-bi-im[.........] ḏba-ū-
kam

32. en eš-bar galam dingir-ri-[e-n]
sig-nim-ma uru-šub-bi

24. He became majestic and by the
command of Enlil no rival he
had.

25. He is given exalted station, he is
adored.

26. Into the vast dwelling, the far-
famed habitation of royalty
he was made to enter.

27. In the chapel of gold and lapis
lazuli he takes his seat. The
palace...

28. Oh faithful woman, celestial
daughter, by the command
of Enlil in the chapel of gold
and lapis lazuli [cause him
to sit].

29. Oh maiden mother Bau, celest-
tial daughter, Enlil.........
in the chapel of gold and lapis
lazuli .............

30. Unto Ishme-Dagan son of Enlil
life unto far away days grant
as a gift.

31. Of the city he is its lord and he
is the........ of Bau.

32. Oh lord by the profound wis-
dom of the gods shepherd the
cities in the south and north.

475

A Liturgy to Innini, the Mother Goddess

The fragment Ni. 475 contains only the first melody of a
long liturgy to Innini. Its title egulla kibi mena gi-ĝi-mu does
not occur in the Assyrian catalogues, nor has it been found in
any previously published text. Lines 13–19 are identical

1 For the verb ḏūr-gar see MEEK No. 83 rev. 4. For the noun ḏūr-gar see RA. 12, 82, 41.
with K. 41 Obv. II 3–15, also an Innini liturgy.1 But the melody has the greatest similarity to No. 31 of Reisner’s Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnes, of which it forms an almost complete duplicate. Apart from the contents the text is unusually interesting, since it has a rubric in Sumerian at the top of the tablet and a Semitic rubric at the end of the first melody where an interlude of one line occurs between the first and second melodies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kuš-ša</th>
<th>an-ga-ám</th>
<th>an-ga-ám</th>
<th>Oh sigh indeed; indeed sigh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kuš-û</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. ét-gul-la ki-bi me-na2 gi-gi-mu
2. nu-gig-an-na dingir ga-ša-an an-na[mu]
3. kur-sun-sun ga-ša-an ét-an-na [mu]
4. ét ma-mú-da ma-dû-a[mu]
5. urú ma-mú-da ma-dû-a[mu]
6. ét tur-amaš-gim lu-lu-a mu4
7. e-ti-gim amaš-gim lu-a mu
8. bur-gul-e bur ba-an-gul-la mu

---

1. Published in PSBA. 1895, pl. 1, 11.
2. See Sum. Gr., p. 177.
4. Cf. ibid., Obv. 7. lu-lu < lum-lum = du3lu; cf. also IV R. 12 R. 33; 94 61, and ét-ti lu-a = šmi du3li, Sm. 526, 9.
9. Which the jeweler worked like a stone.

10. In whose gate is the place of admiration, how long, etc.?

11. The assembling place of the people, how long, etc.?

12. The house of convocation of the lands, how long, etc.?

13. It hastened, unto the foreign land, yea hastened.6

14. It perished, yea unto the foreign land perished.8

15. The good wife unto the foreign land was taken.

16. The good child unto the foreign land was taken.

17. Its great festivals are not executed.

18. Its great rituals in the temple are withheld.

19. Its decrees which guide are placed in disuse.

20. Its rites are annulled, its store is diverted.

21. Of the faithful temple, its store the plunderer has decimated.

---

1 Var. ū-du.
2 Var. ma-ma.
3 The Semitic version in SBH. 60 Obv. 16 completely misunderstood the Sumerian; mu indicates that the second part of l. 1 is to be repeated.
4 Var. ē-śid ki-šu-SU(?) = Reisner's copy is probably incorrect.
5 Var. ē nigin-mar-ra = bitu ša ki-ru. According to our text Br. 9251 has also the reading ma-am.
6 The Semitic version in SBH. 60 Rev. 3 is hardly correct; also K. 41 Obv. 11 4 has the same error.
7 Var. K. 41 11 7 kūr-ri ba-da-ab-gam = nakri ištulal.
8 L. 16 omitted on K. 41.
9 Text AD clearly. Var. čen(?)=isin-[mu] is better.
10 The Semitic rendering in SBH. 60 Rev. 17 is illegible.
11 Note the gùnu of BAL; also in l. 21. The Semitic translation is probably ū-pa-ku.
12 Var. ba-da-kūr-ri = lāp-[ . . . . ], sic!
13 Var. šu-bal ba-ab-lī-in-aga.
22. ṭi-ṣid-a mu-gi-ga nam-me-a ulti-lá-
ám ha-ni-in-gár
22. In the faithful temple darkness
is and lo! it is turned over to
the wind.

23. ka-lu-šu-nu i-za-ma-ru
23. Their psalmists shall sing.

A Psalm to a Mythical Musical Instrument, the
Trumpet(?) of Enlil, Ni. 13877

Ni. 13877, a large double column tablet, contains about 120
lines concerning a subject of fascinating interest, a legend of a
musical instrument employed by Enlil, father of humanity, to
decree fate, to sound the call of battle,\(^1\) to terrify the foe and
pronounce their destruction, to utter sweet music in the temple
of Enlil at Nippur by day and by night. This musical instru-
cment is mentioned under a longer name, al-gar in Gudea, Cyl.
B 10, 11, where it is placed in the "harem" of the temple
Eninnû at Lagash, the mythical bridal chamber of Ningirsu
and Bau. The reverse line 10 of our text mentions the
reed \textit{MAL-GAR} of Ninlil. One is led to infer that this
legendary instrument of Enlil was one of the sacred symbols
that belonged to the bridal chamber of Ekur, and that the
legend was inherited by the cult of Ningirsu, son of Enlil, at
Lagash. In a hymn to Idin-Dagan and the mother goddess
Innini, celebrating the mythical marriage of that deified king
with the goddess, the singer proclaims that, "With the instru-
ment, wailing voice of the storm........., yea with the instru-
ment al-gar whose sound is sweet, I will speak unto thee."
But this instrument is nowhere else mentioned in cuneiform
literature as one that was actually employed by humans in their

\(^1\) See the Rev. Col. 1 end \textit{ki-mē}, in the place of battle.
music and we may retain the statement concerning its purely
mythical character. The edge of the tablet carries a short
colophon scratched upon the clay after the text had been com-
pleted and probably served as a library index. It reads
ku-šu-šu al-kam, "It is a psalm of meditation concerning the
trumpet(?)"

The Nippur collection contains this long text on a series
of smaller tablets of which the author published one in the
Constantinople Collection, Cstple. Ni. 616 in Historical and
Religious Texts, No. 10.¹ That tablet carries lines Obv. I 19–
II 14 of our text, hence it must be the second tablet of the
redaction to which it belongs. A small fragment from a duple-
cate will be found on the last plate of this volume, Ni. 10215.

COL. I

1. [ ]nig-dù-e pa na-an-ga mi-
in- è
2. [ ]nam-lar-ra-na šu-nu-bal-
e-ne
3. [ ]mu-un-ba- ab- ta- è-dè
4. an[ ]du-ne sag na-an-ga
    ma(?)-an- sig
5. ki[ ]-ne sag na-an-ga ma-
an-sig
6. ..................DÚ a sag- sar-
sar-stè
7. ..................SAL+ME² u-nam-
    mi-in-lal
8. gis-al-e mu-un-gar babbar ib-è
9. èš-kûr mu-un-dû nam-al-tar-ri

1. ...decrees(?) with glory truly
    he exalted.
2. ......whose injunction is not
    changed.
3. ......he caused to go forth.
4. In heaven...as a gift truly he
    gave.
5. In earth......as a gift truly he
    gave.
6. To........................
7. ...the......priestess sus-
    pended(?)
8. The instrument AL he caused
    to be instituted; the sun
    arose.
9. The fixed tax he made; fate
    he decreed.

¹ I misunderstood this text in my edition, pp. 31 f.
² Cf. sag-sar-sar = rummuku, RA. 10, 77, 37.
³ Semitic nādītu, v. LANDSBERGER, ZDMG. 69, 506.
10. giš-al-e  il-e-da si-ba-ab-sá-e
11. "en-lil-li  al-a-ni  žag-sal  ba-an-
dug
12. al-a-ni[  ]gi-ga  saq-bi  na  žagin
13. giš-al  é-a-ni  ažag-e[  ]ga-âm
14. giš-al-la-ni[  ]-ba  engar-
 žagin-kam1
15. gù-bi2  gud-si-ás  bad-gal  ed-dé-
dam
16. en-e  al  mu-un-šid  nam-mi[  ]
17. ki-in-gin......ažag......[  ]
18. sag  nam-lú-gál  u-šub[  ]
19. "en-lil-šú  kalam-ma-ni  ki-mu-un-
    ši-in-[ki-n-šin?]  
20. sag-gig-ga-ni3-šú  igi-žid  nam-mi
    in-bar
21. "a-nun-na  mu-un-na-lág-lág-gi-
eš
22. šu-ba4  ka-ba  mu- un- ni- gál
23. "en-lil-a-ra  ma-a  mu-ni-in-žid-
e-ne
24. kalam  sag-gig-ga  al  mu-un-da-
    bi'-ne

10. He gave directions for carrying the instrument AL.
11. Enlil sang the praise of his instrument the AL.
12. His AL.......whose head is of lazuli.
13. The instrument AL in his temple, the pure, was....... 
14. His instrument the AL whose ......was like the....of a healthy farmer,
15. Its voice like that of a horned bull over the great wall arose.
16. The lord on the AL recited in numbers(?)........fate he
17. Sumer...............
18. The face of mankind with brightness [be caused to shine].
19. Unto Enlil his land [gave heed].
20. Upon his dark-headed people he cast a kindly gaze.
21. The Anunnaki hastened thither.
22. Their hands, their mouths, he opened(?)
23. Unto Enlil adoration they offered in fidelity.
24. Unto the land of the dark-headed people destiny they uttered.8

1 Cf. Textes El.-Sem., Vol. 14, p. 125. For žagin=ellu, clean, brilliant, applied to persons, see SBP. 158, 53; CT. 17, 4 11 8.
2 Note the distinction between the use of bi and ni in ll. 14 f.: ni refers to Enlil, a person, and bi to a thing, i. e., the instrument. See Sum. Gr. §159.
3 Here begins line one of Cst. 616.
4 Var. bi.
5 Var. ab-bi.
6 al-bi, "to speak on the instrument AL," is employed as a synonym of nam-tar in SAK.
220 f., II 13 = e, II 13.
25. SAL+KU en ù-tud-dé-  
26. lugal ù-tud-dé-  
27. "nín-men-na-ge2 tudd-tud al-mâ-  
28. [más]-sag(?)an-ki-a en3 nu-nam-  
29. sag-qi sag-kalag-  
30. mu-ne-ib-  
31. sâ-sâ  
32. "By the sister⁴ of the lord ye were created.  
33. By the king ye were created.  
34. Ninmenna fulfilled the creating.  
35. The leading goat in heaven and earth, lord Nunamnir,  
36. He who is impetuous, the heroic, gave unto them a name.  

Obverse 2

1. sag-bi gu-nu(?)-  
2. mu- un- (ne)- ê dé- a  
3. dingir-rî-e-ne-ra PAD-tid mu-  
4. "en-ki-ge al-a-ni zâg-sal-ba-an-  
5. ki-el "nidaba eš-bar-ra ba-an-du  
6. al⁶-mul al⁵-aţab-ba šu-mu-ni-gâl  
7. ê-kur (ê) "en-lil-lá giš-al-e gar-ra-  
8. ud-dé [giš] al-dû-e gig al-mu-mu  
9. nippur-ki ki-gar-ra-la tum-ma-  

1. Their chief, whom like......  
2. He shall have raised up for them,  
3. Unto the gods shall offer meal cakes."  
4. Enki sang the praise of his instrument, the AL.  
5. The maiden Nidaba rendered advice.  
6. The star-like AL, the holy AL she took in her hand.  
7. In Ekur, temple of Enlil the instrument AL was placed.  
8. By day the AL shall utter speech, by night the AL shall give forth song.  
9. In Nippur the well builded, in Tummal.

---

1 i.e., Aruru, or Nintud, see PBS. X, pt. 1, p. 17, n. 3.  
2 Var. Damgalnuna, wife of Enki. Ninmenna is one of the titles of Nintud the mother goddess, CT. 24, 12, 18=25, 83; ZA. IV 245, 11; IV R. 17a 15. We have here evidence to trace the origin of the wife of Enki to the same unmarried mother goddess from whose character all the great married goddesses were developed.  
3 Var. inserts dingir.  
4 Var. e.  
6 Vars. gil-al. Ni. 10215 aţab-bi šu-a-an-[gâl].
10. tum-ma-al-(ki) gi-MAL-GAR\textsuperscript{1} ama\textsuperscript{4} Nin-lil-la-kam
11. ē-gig tum-ma-al ninda sā-dūg-
    ga-bi-ta\textsuperscript{3}
12. ur-sag \textsuperscript{4}[Nin-uraša] \textsuperscript{4}en-lil-ra
13. \textsuperscript{e}š\textsuperscript{[al]} mu-un-da-an-tud-tud\textsuperscript{6}
14. maš gig murub en-na-ta
15. aṭag \textsuperscript{4}nin-i-si-in-na \textsuperscript{4}en-lil-ra

... ...

Lines 16–20 are obliterated. Lines 21–28 contain only a few legible signs. Note lines 21 f., "The devastating storm\textsuperscript{4}......the god Shulparae ...

From the mutilated reverse no connected translation can be made.
The tablet ends with the instructive lines:

\begin{align*}
giš-al & \text{ giš-nam-tar-ra a-a \textsuperscript{4}en-lil} & \text{The instrument } AL & \text{is the instrument of the decision of fate of father Enlil,} \\
giš-al & \text{ giš taq-sal-di-q- \textsuperscript{2}ga} & \text{The instrument } AL & \text{is the instrument of praise.} \\
\text{\textsuperscript{4}Nidaba} & \text{ taq- \textsuperscript{2}sal} & \text{Oh sing praise unto Nidaba.}
\end{align*}

**Liturgy of the Tammuz Wailings**

This liturgy, Ni. 6890, must have survived into the late Assyrian and Babylonian period, for it appears in the liturgical catalogue IV R. 53, Col. I 43.

\textsuperscript{1}Cf. RTC. 304 III 11; MYHRMAN, BE. III 76, 1.
\textsuperscript{2}kissû, POEBEL, PBS. V 106 IV 17: cf. ē-gig i-an-na, CLAY, Miscel. 36, 16.
\textsuperscript{3}Cf. RADAU, Miscel. 4 Rev. 49.
\textsuperscript{4}tummal, a title of Ninlil.
\textsuperscript{5}So Ni. 13877. The Constpl. variant omits giš-al. Ni. 10215 also omits giš-al and has mu-i-?.
\textsuperscript{6}For ud al-tar-amu dāpinu, see RA. 12, Tablet Erefch, 11.
Col. 1

1. áb-gim gú-de-de ga-ba-ra-è edin-
    šú ga-ba-ra-è
1. Like a cow I will raise the sound
    of lament, and unto the field
    (of Arallu) I will go.
2. mu-gig¹ an-na ga-ša-an an-na
    mèn
2. Sacred harlot of heaven, queen
    of heaven am 1.
3. kur-sun-sun ga-ša-an é-an-na
    mèn
3. She that shatters the mountains,
    queen of Eanna am 1.
4. [an al-] dúb-ba ga-ša-an gè pàr-
    ra mèn
4. She that makes the heavens
    tremble, queen of the dark
    chamber am 1.
5. [lil-lá-]en-na ga-ša-an tùr-amaš-
    a² mèn
5. Lillanna queen of the folds and
    stalls am 1.
6. [ama é-a ³] da-da NU-NUNUZ
    šá-ga
6. Mother of the temple, Dada
    beneficent woman, the child
    bearing.
7. [na-na-a du-]mu sāg³ é-e-
    ge
8. [ga-ba-ra-è]
8. [Unto........] I will go forth.
9. [ga-ba-ra-è]
9. [Unto........] I will go forth.
10. [ud-ṣal-la-ge]
10. ............of the morning light.
11. [ga-ba-ra-è]
11. [Unto........] I will go forth.
12. [ga-ba-ra-è]
12. [Unto........] I will go forth.

Liturgy to Nintud on the Creation of Man and
Woman, Ni. 14031

This small fragment probably belongs to a large double
column tablet in the Musée Impérial Ottoman, Ni. 1992 of that
collection, published in my Historical and Religious Texts, No. 23.
The fragment 14031 apparently forms part of the upper right
corner of the original tablet, its obverse containing the end of
section two of the liturgy and its reverse the end of section six.
The entire composition was a liturgy in eight sections to Nintud
creatress of mankind, and is inscribed on a prismatic prayer

¹ See Tammuz and Ishtar, p. 81, n. 6.
² So read also Bl. 46, 63; 43, 8.
³ Vars. have dumu-sag è-a-ge, see Bl., p. 105, n. 1.
wheel in the Ashmolean Museum, published in the writer's *Babylonian Liturgies*, No. 197. That text has the formula *gú-X-kam* at the end of each section, in which it disagrees with the duplicate Csple. 1992+Phila. Ni. 14031 which has *é-X-kam.*\(^1\) Not only did the Nippur temple possess these two editions of the liturgy on the creation of man and woman, but a third edition written on two or three small tablets is known to have existed in the same period. The last tablet of this serial edition has been published by HUGO RADAU in his *Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts*, No. 8, and translated in the writer's *Sumerian Epic of Paradise*, p. 19, note 4. Unfortunately the text of this most important treatise cannot be adequately restored from the fragments now published.

**Prayers and Incantations of Shamash-shum-ukin, Ni. 1203**

This important Semitic text contains a long incantation against wizards and witches accompanied by a ritual which continued for two days. The unusually long incantation written for Šamaš-šum-ukin is based upon those contained in the great Maklu series, a series in which symbolic magic by burning images and other objects in fire constitutes the characteristic rites. In fact nearly every line of this prayer composed for Šamaš-šum-ukin can be paralleled by passages in the Maklu series, many parts of which are restored from our text. The chief feature of the ritual which accompanied this prayer is the burning of fifteen images of the various demons and evil spirits which had tormented the king. The tablet has already formed the subject of a popular article in the *Museum Journal*, Vol. VII, No. 4.

\(^1\) See BL. 88, n. 4.
OVERSE

1. .................. ..........................

2. [       ] bēl dabābi-ja1 [ū bēli li dabābi-ja]

3. [· ] bēl limut-tim-mu2 [ū bēli li limut-tim-mu]

4. [ ] ēp-ša bariša

5. [ ] kālu ša is-bu-raa

6. [ ] ma ik-bu-u...

7. [ ] ti-su-nu AN-

8. [ ] itazzu(ũ) šalmāni-šum-

9. [ša ana] jā-ši kiš-pi ru-bi-e ru-

10. [si-e ] rāmu4 zāru DI-BAL šibit pi5

11. nikis napištim6 KUŠ-KU-MAL

12. NE-MI pane ni-it te-me

13. [kat ] kat mamit kāt

14. [ ] HUL-ZA mu-kil rēš limut-

15. [ -ja] ū-laš-3-bi-šu kišādī u-

16. [ ] uš-ri-ru pi-ja ? -bi-šu


2. Sic! So also Māšī 1 48. Tallquist read tim-mu as ti-ja, but the writing suggests that perhaps mu was read as Sumerian. For TIM=ti, see perhaps V Raw. 64 111 16. ša-ti(m) śūmūšu. See also Māšī 1 32.


4. [KI-AG] MAL.

5. This conjecture of Meissner is supported by ušatib ša-piš-ia, (the demon) has seized my lips, King, Magic 13, Rev. 22.

6. ši-tar-ru-da-1 = nikis napištim, King, Magic, 12, 108, variant. Cf. also IV R. 59a 4. [ni-

7. So our text. Māšī 1 97 uš-šab-bi-šu.
16. My... they have drawn, my breast they have shattered, my heart weakened.

17. My... they have bound, my knees they have bound.

18. My god(?) that walks at my side(?) they have seized away; my back-bone they have bent.

19. My... they...; my... with disease and pollution they filled me.

20. My hair they have sheared. My girdle cord they severed. My saliva they took.

21. They encompassed the earth at my feet. The measure of my form they measured.

22. Images of me, be it of tamarisk or cedar, or tallow, or... honey.

23. Or baked cakes of sesame, or bitumen, or clay, or dough,

24. lo they have made.

25. A dog verily they caused me to eat, a pig they caused me to eat, a bird of the skies they caused me to eat, a fish of the nether sea they caused me to eat.

---

1 So restore Mablu 1 98.
2 From da'atu, dāpu, to shatter. So also id-i-pu, Mablu 1 98. See also Zimmerm, Rt. No. 60, Obv. 5; Meissner, Supplement, p. 30; PSBA. 18, 158, etc.
3 So restore Mablu 1 99.
4 The traces are against this restoration.
5 For masū, cf. BA. V pt. IV 184, 74 ṣa limātu Bābili imissū, "who seizes away the wicked of Babylon." The verb corresponds to Arabic mala'a.
6 Mablu 1 132 imlusu. The Babylonian root is malāšu, Arabic malasu, to shear, see Holma, Personal Names of the type faw'il, p. 72. Also TX. El. Vol. 14, p. 70, a plant malasu.
7 Cf. CT. 17, 15, 21, and Kiq, Magic 12, 55. For mandatu, form, outline, see also K. 2565, 16, man-da-ta šešiši.
8 Cf. Myhrman, PBS. 1 13, 20; Mablu IV 40, and Ebeling, KTA. No. 80, 10.
9 Cf. Myhrman, PBS. 1 13, 21.
10 Here iššur šamē is employed for unclean birds such as hawks, crows, etc.
11 Nūn ĕpiš is also employed for some kind of unclean fish.
26. [ ]mu-tu-šù-nu an-nu-tu šal-
man-šu-nu kima-šù-nu la
iša-tu šalman-šù-nu

27. [ina] ūl-ši-ka rabi-tū
akal-šù-nu-ti

28. [šalman-šu-ja epšu-ma ina išdi
pāri iš-ku-nu

29. [ina ]? duri īp-šu-u ina bi-ši
ša dūri i-te-šu-u

30. [šalman-šu-ja ina ................. ]ka
ulat AZAG-SU(D)3 uš-ni-lu
"'ina šikari īlāni sibiši uš-
[ni-lu]

31. [•• ] ina [ ] kiš-ki-te-e
pa-ga(?)-? .......... 

32. " ina kibir nāri ki-lal-li-e
u-[ ]

33. " ina ūšurri e-rib ūšamši(si)
īp-šu-u " ina bit ulat AZAG-
SU(D)ša .................

34. " ina utun ūa-ša-rū iš-ru-
šu " ina utun af KU-RUN-
NA[4] 

35. " ina kan-ni af NI-SUR il-
me-rū[4] " ina la-ab-li .......

36. " ina ti-nur ši-pārrī iš-šù-u
" ina ši-il ūšamši (ši) ....

26. ............these their images
shall not endure, even as they.
themselves; their images

27. before thy great divinity I will
burn.

28. Images of me they made and
placed them on the lap of a
corpse.

29. In a... of a wall they concealed
them, in a dark hole of a wall
they hid them.

30. Images of me in...of cereals
they laid, images of me in
"beer of the seven gods"
they [laid].

31. Images of me in a...of the
carpenter...they.....

32. Images of me on the two shores
of the river they............

33. Images of me in a cavern at
sunset they concealed; images
of me in the house of the
grain goddess................

34. Images of me in a potter’s oven
they burned; images of me
in the oven of a restaurant
keeper they...........

35. Images of me in a cauldron of an
oil mixer they cooked; images
of me in a flame they....... 

36. Images of me in an oven of
bronze they ignited; images
of me at sunrise they.......
37. " ina e-rib mişšamī ik-lu-u " ina e-rib ḫabal (?)................
38. " ina suk irbitti úlam-me-ru " ina šapla-na ša AṣAG-Ś[UD ........]
39. [ " ....... ] pi-sa-an-nu mu-šar-di-i ina šuru iš-ku-nu ........
40. [ ....... ] ḫakkab ša-ma-mi ú-[......... ]
41. [ ....... ] ša iš-ru-pi un-? babī ú-[.......... ]
42. [ ....... ] TU-BAR id-di-nu-ma nāru Ḥu-bur ú-[ṣe-bir?].......... 
43. End of obverse is mostly destroyed.

Reverse

3. ina gibilu ša inam-tar sukkal irtšītim................
4. inašamaš ša kiš-pi ru-ḫše ru-si-e [ar-ša-ši?] limnu-[li ]
5. ḫugal-dig umun-nun² [ša] amel
6. ki ili u ištar ʿu-ṣi-nu-in-ni.............
7. ú-lam-me-nu-in-ni ina bīti...... TU ina sāki ........
8. iš-ku-nu-nim-ma inašamaš ka-[šid?limni u aibi?].........

3. Oh Gibil who.......Namtar messenger of the lower world,
4. Oh Shamash who....sorcery, venom, saliva, witchcraft evil,
5. Oh divine lord of the dead, protector, who.......the.....,
6. Since god and goddess have become enraged against me ......
7. Have maltreated me and in house.......in street....... 
8. Have placed against me, Oh Shamash [conqueror of the wicked and the foe] 

¹ Probably restore ina GISH-TU-BAR, Gilgamish. The association of Gilgamish with the river Ḥu-bur, the world surrounding salt stream, which that hero crossed in search of eternal life, is interesting and shows how the priests utilized popular legends in the incantations.
² The same deity is appealed to in a prayer of Šamaš-šum-ukhn, MYHRMAN, PBS. 1 13, 37 f. Cf. also IV Raw. 55a 4, No. 2, and also I 21. EBEILING, KTA. No. 26, 7, and CT. 23, 15, 8.
9. **Aja um-ma la i-[ ] bat**

10. **šamaš ša kaš-ša-pi-ja kaš-ša-pi-ti-ia e-piš-ia muš-te-[piš-ti-ja]**

11. **ra-bi-ia ra-bi-li-ia kiš-pi-šu-nu ina [.....]**

12. **kima is-par-ri lib-bal-kit-[su-na]**

13. **epšan-šu-nu li-ba-ru-šu-nu-ti šamaš ka-ši[ ]**

14. **kima di-ka-ri [.....]**

15. **ki-ma ti-nur\(^1\) ku-tur-šu-nu li-rim\(^2\)**

16. **li-ḫu- lu li-ṣu-bu- u lil-[la-at-lu-ku ]**

17. **[e-] piš-la-šu-nu kima mē na-a-du ina [ti-ki lik-tu]**

18. **šu-nu li-mu-tu-ma ana-ku lu-[ub-lu]**

19. **šu-nu li-ni-šu-ma ana-ku lu-[ud-nin]**

20. **šu-nu li-iš-ša-ba-tu-ma ana-ku lu-[up-pa-šar]**

21. **šu-nu li-iš-ša-ba-tu-ma ana-ku lu-[.....]**

22. **ana ki-bi-li-ka ilu-u-tā\(^3\) Ša la innakaru(šu) u an-ni-ka ki-nim [ša la innu-u]**

9. And Aja mother who does not ........ [come to my aid?]

10. May Shamash break the sorcery of my sorcerer and sorceress, my wizard and my witch,

11. My befoulers and befoulerness with ........

12. Even as a net.

13. May they catch them at their evil doings, and may Shamash conqueror of ........

14. [Shatter them] like an earthen jar.

15. Like a furnace may he quench their smoke.

16. May they melt, glow and run away.

17. May their deed(s), like the water of a leather pouch by pouring, cease.

18. May they die and I live.

19. May they quake and I stand fast.

20. May they be bound and I be freed.

21. May they be seized and I ........

22. By thy command, which is a thing divine, and changes not, and by thy true grace which alters not,

---

\(^1\) Sign ŠAB, here first with this value.

\(^2\) arānu, entered in Delitzsch, H. W. 134\(b\) as meaning "destroy" really has this general sense. The original idea is cover, Syn. katāmu, RA. 10, 74, 24; often in this sense in liver omens, Boissier, Choix, 93, 8-10; CT. 20, 15, 10; 31, 26 Rev. 12. It is employed in the sense quench with kūtru in Māk 111 170.

\(^3\) For the passive meaning of the 1\(a\) form note liptās is "may it be annihilated," Ebeling, KTA. 67 Rev. 27.

\(^4\) Sic! The parallel in Māk 119 has šīrtu.
23. ana-ku *šamas-šum-ukin mar
ili-šu arad-ka lu-ub-luṭ lu-uš-
[lim]
24. nar-bi-ka lu-ša-pi dā-li-li-ka ana
ntše raḫšāti [lu-ud-lul]
25. *šamaš šur-ša a-ši-pu-tam ša
abkal ilāni i-pu-šu *šaNU-
[DIM-MUD]
26. šiṃti kaḫšapti ša kiš-pi ma'-du-
tū i-pu-šu
27. tirra-ma ša-lu-ti ša kaḫšapti ša
ru-ḫi-e i-pu-šu šu-pi-i
28. ar-kiš up-pu-uš
29. kikišša šuštī lu ina? lu ina šeri
mē ellūti tanaddī kaḫkara laš-
abbīt
30. *paššara paḫ *šamši tašakkan
3 kurumāši 12-ta-ām ša
kunaša tašakkan
31. niknakki burāši tašakkan kuruna
tanakki ṣu-ḫu ṣu-ka ana paḫ
*šamši tašakkan
32. lu te-laba *ša ṣalam ṣalam ṣiṭṭi ṣiṭṭi kibir
nāri

23. I Shamas-shum-ukin, son of his
god, thy servant would live
and prosper.
24. Thy greatness I will extol,
thy praise unto far dwelling
peoples I will sing.
25. Oh Shamash exalt the magic
curse which Nudimmud,
counsellor of the gods has
made.
26. Incantation against the sor-
ceress who has done much
sorcery.
27. Turn away the enmity of the
sorceress who has employed
venom. Make clean
28. Quickly the one bewitched.
29. This is the ceremony. Whether
in the... or in the field thou
shall cast clean waters and
sweep the ground.
30. A table before Shamash thou
shall place; three loaves of
spelt twelve times thou shalt
place.
31. A censer of cypress thou shalt
place. Best wine pour out.
A pig and a ḫūku bird before
Shamash thou shalt place.
32. Thou shalt set fire (to the
censer) and fill it with....... wood. An image of clay, of
clay from the two river’s
banks.

1 The transcription is uncertain; šalatu, if correct, is the first example of this derivative.
2 So I interpret from la'ābu, to burn. *talab > meld, is probably due to the influence of the
liquid l.
3 GAR-NU.
33. An image of tallow, an image of tallow (sic!), an image of flesh, an image of baked bread and sesame.
34. An image of dough, an image of dough of barley and beans, an image of dough of barley and ........
35. An image of tamarisk, an image of cedar, an image of bitumen, an image of baked bread and honey.
36. These images thou shalt bind and with a torch
37. In fire (?) on the bank (?) of the river thou shalt ...........them; into the midst thereof a bronze double axe thou shalt throw.
38. This incantation three times thou shalt recite; when they are boiled thou shalt cool them in water.
39. The incantation, "..........them water," thrice thou shalt recite, and burn them: in a waste place thou shalt throw them.
40. [The incantation .........], ...... the incantation, "Curse of the bird" on the second day thrice thou shalt recite.
41. May the ........and the death dealing Mamit not come nigh.

---

1 Here to be read some derivative from epâ.
2 Var. of patarru, a kind of weapon. Loan-word from ba-da-ra, BL. 79, 21; cf. (gi)-ba-da-ra = kûšaru. PSBA. 1901 May, Pl. II I. 1. urudu-sun-tâb zabar-gu-a = pataru, i. e., double axe of red bronze, K. 8676 R. 30 in MEISSNER, Suppl. pl. 15.
3 Title of some incantation.
4 Sic! Error for ba.t
5 Title of some well-known incantation.
6 Probably a Sumerian title of some unknown incantation which was recited here. Cf. MYHRMAN, BPS. I No. 13 end.
### DESCRIPTION OF TABLETS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>PLATE</th>
<th>MUSEUM NUMBER</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7-9</td>
<td>4562</td>
<td>Right upper corner of a three column baked tablet. 3 ½ inches H.; 3 ¾ W.; 1 ½- ¾ T. Fragment of an epical and legendary composition. See pages 111-115.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Complete single column tablet. Baked. H. 4; W. 2 ½; T. ¾- ½. Liturgy to Aruru. See pages 115-117.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Upper part of a single column dark baked tablet. H. 2; W. 3; T. ¾- ½. Psalm to the god Amurrû. See pages 118-120.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>14-16</td>
<td>4564</td>
<td>Lower half of a long single column tablet. Light brown; baked. H. 4; W. 2 ¾; T. 1 ¾- ¾. A legend of Gilgamish. See pages 124-125.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>17-24</td>
<td>4560</td>
<td>Right half of a large three column tablet. Light brown; unbaked. H. 7 ½; W. 4; T. 1 ¾- ¾. Hymn to Engur. See pages 126-136.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>25-27</td>
<td>Dublin tablet</td>
<td>Nearly complete single column tablet. Light brown; unbaked. See pages 136-140.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4566</td>
<td>Left upper corner of a large three column tablet. Light brown; unbaked. H. 1 ½; W. 3; T. 1- ½. Liturgy to a deified king. See pages 140-142.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>29-32</td>
<td>4563</td>
<td>Lower right corner of a large three column tablet. Dark brown; unbaked. H. 5; W. 4; T. 1- ¾. Liturgical hymn to Ishme-Dagan. See pages 143-149.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(201)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4584</td>
<td>Upper half of a small single column tablet. Light brown; unbaked. H. 2; W. 2½; T. 1½–5¼. Liturgical lamentation on the pillage of Ur. See pages 150–151.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>Left upper corner of a large three column tablet. Dark brown; unbaked. H. 2; W. 3; T. 5¼. Liturgy. See pages 155–171.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>49–53</td>
<td>1203</td>
<td>Long thin single column tablet. Light brown; unbaked. Damaged at top and bottom. From the top five lines entirely broken away. At the end of the obverse about ten lines entirely destroyed. H. 7; W. 3¾; T. 1–¾. Incantation and prayers for Shamash-shumu-kin. See pages 193–200.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Museum Number</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>14031</td>
<td>Small fragment from a large two column text. Light brown; unbaked. H. 2; W. 2; T. 1 3/4. For contents see page 192-193.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>10215</td>
<td>Duplicate of No. 16. Dark brown; baked.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AUTOGRAPH PLATES
OBVERSE
OBVERSE
CONTINUED

15

20

25
CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE
OBVERSE

COL. 3
CONTINUED

25

30

35

40

ERASURE
REVERSE

Col. 2

[Handwritten cuneiform script]

Continued on next page
OBVERSE
Continued

20

25

30

Erasure
REVERSE
Col. 1

...
OBVERSE

REVERSE DESTROYED
18

OBVERSE
Continued

40

18

REVERSE

Continued on Next Page
OBVERSE
OBVERSE
Col. 2
TABLET OF THE GILGAMISH Epic

(OVERSE)
TABLET OF THE GILGAMISH EPIC
(Reverse)
THE EPIC OF GILGAMISH

BY

STEPHEN LANGDON

PHILADELPHIA
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
1917
INTRODUCTION

In the year 1914 the University Museum secured by purchase a large six column tablet nearly complete, carrying originally, according to the scribal note, 240 lines of text. The contents supply the South Babylonian version of the second book of the epic ša nagba imuru, "He who has seen all things," commonly referred to as the Epic of Gilgamish. The tablet is said to have been found at Senkere, ancient Larsa near Warka, modern Arabic name for and vulgar descendant of the ancient name Uruk, the Biblical Erech mentioned in Genesis x. 10. This fact makes the new text the more interesting since the legend of Gilgamish is said to have originated at Erech and the hero in fact figures as one of the prehistoric Sumerian rulers of that ancient city. The dynastic list preserved on a Nippur tablet¹ mentions him as the fifth king of a legendary line of rulers at Erech, who succeeded the dynasty of Kish, a city in North Babylonia near the more famous but more recent city Babylon. The list at Erech contains the names of two well known Sumerian deities, Lugalbanda² and Tammuz. The reign of the former is given at 1,200 years and that of Tammuz at 100 years. Gilgamish ruled 126 years. We have to do here with a confusion of myth and history in which the real facts are disengaged only by conjecture.

The prehistoric Sumerian dynasties were all transformed

¹ Ni. 13981, published by Dr. Poebel in PBS. V, No. 2.
² The local Bēl of Erech and a bye-form of Enlil, the earth god. Here he is the consort of the mother goddess Ninsun.
into the realm of myth and legend. Nevertheless these rulers, although appearing in the pretentious nomenclature as gods, appear to have been real historic personages. The name Gilgamish was originally written ʿGi-bil-aga-miš, and means "The fire god (Gibil) is a commander," abbreviated to ʿGi-bil-ga-miš, and ʿGi(š)-bil-ga-miš, a form which by full labialization of b to y was finally contracted to ʿGi-il-ga-miš. Throughout the new text the name is written with the abbreviation ʿGi(š), whereas the standard Assyrian text has consistently the writing ʿGIS-TUʿ-BAR. The latter method of writing the name is apparently cryptographic for ʿGiš-bar-aga-(miš); the fire god Gibil has also the title Giš-bar.

A fragment of the South Babylonian version of the tenth book was published in 1902, a text from the period of Hammurapi, which showed that the Babylonian epic differed very much from the Assyrian in diction, but not in content. The new tablet, which belongs to the same period, also differs radically from the diction of the Ninevite text in the few lines where they duplicate each other. The first line of the new tablet corresponds to Tablet I, Col. V 25 of the Assyrian text, where Gilgamish begins to relate his dreams to his mother Ninsun.

---

1 Tammuz is probably a real personage, although Dumu-qi, his original name, is certainly later than the title Ab-š, probably the oldest epithet of this deity, see Tammuz and Ishtar, p. 8. Dumu-qi I take to have been originally the name of a prehistoric ruler of Erech, identified with the primitive deity Abu.
2 See ibid., page 40.
3 Also Meißenner's early Babylonian duplicate of Book X has invariably the same writing, see Dhorme, Choix de Textes Religieux, 298–303.
4 Sign whose guificed form is read ağa.
5 The standard text of the Assyrian version is by Professor Paul Haupt, Das Babylonische Nimrod, Leipzig, 1884.
6 The name of the mother of Gilgamish has been erroneously read ri-mat lāṭ[Nin-lil, or Rimat-Bilit], see Dhorme 202, 37; 204, 30, etc. But Dr. Poebel, who also copied this text, has shown that Nin-lil is an erroneous reading for Nin-sun. For Nin-sun as mother of Gilgamish see SBP. 153 n. 19 and R.A., IX 113 III 2. Ri-mat lāṭ[Nin-sun should be rendered "The wild cow Nin-sun."
The last line of Col. I corresponds to the Assyrian version Book I, Col. VI 29. From this point onward the new tablet takes up a hitherto unknown portion of the epic, henceforth to be assigned to the second book.¹

At the end of Book I in the Assyrian text and at the end of Col. I of Book II in the new text, the situation in the legend is as follows. The harlot halts outside the city of Erech with the enamoured Enkidu, while she relates to him the two dreams of the king, Gilgamish. In these dreams which he has told to his mother he receives premonition concerning the advent of the satyr Enkidu, destined to join with him in the conquest of Elam.

Now the harlot urges Enkidu to enter the beautiful city, to clothe himself like other men and to learn the ways of civilization. When he enters he sees someone, whose name is broken away, eating bread and drinking milk, but the beautiful barbarian understands not. The harlot commands him to eat and drink also:

“It is the conformity of life,
Of the conditions and fate of the Land.”

He rapidly learns the customs of men, becomes a shepherd and a mighty hunter. At last he comes to the notice of Gilgamish himself, who is shocked by the newly acquired manner of Enkidu.

“Oh harlot, take away the man,” says the lord of Erech. Once again the faithful woman instructs her heroic lover in the conventions of society, this time teaching him the importance of the family in Babylonian life, and obedience to the ruler. Now the people of Erech assemble about him admiring his

¹ The fragments which have been assigned to Book II in the British Museum collections by Haupt, Jensen, Dhorme and others belong to later tablets, probably III or IV.
godlike appearance. Gilgamesh receives him and they dedicate their arms to heroic endeavor. At this point the epic brings in a new and powerful motif, the renunciation of woman’s love in the presence of a great undertaking. Gilgamesh is enamoured of the beautiful virgin goddess Ishara, and Enkidu, fearing the effeminate effects of his friend’s attachment, prevents him forcibly from entering a house. A terrific combat between these heroes ensues,¹ in which Enkidu conquers, and in a magnanimous speech he reminds Gilgamesh of his higher destiny.

In another unplaced fragment of the Assyrian text² Enkidu rejects his mistress also, apparently on his own initiative and for ascetic reasons. This fragment, heretofore assigned to the second book, probably belongs to Book III. The tablet of the Assyrian version which carries the portion related on the new tablet has not been found. Man redeemed from barbarism is the major theme of Book II.

The newly recovered section of the epic contains two legends which supplied the glyptic artists of Sumer and Accad with subjects for seals. Obverse III 28–32 describes Enkidu the slayer of lions and panthers. Seals in all periods frequently represent Enkidu in combat with a lion. The struggle between the two heroes, where Enkidu strives to rescue his friend from the fatal charms of Ishara, is probably depicted on seals also. On one of the seals published by Ward, Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, No. 459, a nude female stands beside the struggling heroes.³ This scene not improbably illustrates the effort of Enkidu to rescue his friend from the goddess. In fact the satyr stands between Gilgamesh and Ishara (?) on the seal.

¹ Rm. 289, latter part of Col. II (part of the Assyrian version) published in Haupt, ibid., 81–4 preserves a defective text of this part of the epic. This tablet has been erroneously assigned to Book IV, but it appears to be Book III.
² K. 2589 and duplicate (unnumbered) in Haupt, ibid., 16–19.
³ See also Ward, No. 199.
TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

1. it-bi-e-ma 𒈇 Gilgamiš Šu-na-tam
   i-pa-aš-šar.
2. iṣ-qa-kar-am 𒈇 a-na um-mi-šu
3. um-mi i-na ša-a-at mu-ši-ti-ja
4. ša-am-ba-ku-ma at-la-na-ai-la-ak
5. i-na bi-ri-it id-da-tim
6. ib-ba-šu-nim-ma ka-ka-Ša-
   ma-i
7. ki-ʔ-ʔ-rum 𒈇 ša a-nim im-ku-ul
   a-na ši-ri-ja
8. aš-ši-šu-ma ik-ta-bi-it 𒈇 e-li-ja
9. ilam 𒈇 iš-šu-ma mu-uš-ša-šu 𒈇 u-ul
   el-ti-Ši
10. ad-ki ma-tum pa-ši-it 𒈇 e-li-šu
11. id-lu-tum Šu-na-ša-ku ši-pi-šu
12. Šum-mi-id-ma pu-ti
13. i-mi- du ša-di
14. aš-ši- a-šu-ma at-ba-la-dš-šu a-na
   ši-ri-ki
15. um-mi 𒈇 Gilgamiš mu-u-dda-at
   ka-la-ma
16. iṣ-qa-kar-am a-na 𒈇 Gilgamiš

1. Gilgamesh arose interpreting dreams,
2. addressing his mother.
3. “My mother! during my night
4. I, having become lusty, wan-
   dered about
5. in the midst of omens.
6. And there came out stars in the
   heavens,
7. Like a . . . of heaven he fell upon
   me.
8. I bore him but he was too
   heavy for me.
9. He bore a net but I was not
   able to bear it.
10. I summoned the land to assem-
    ble unto him,
11. that heroes might kiss his feet.
12. He stood up before me
13. and they stood over against me.
14. I lifted him and carried him
    away unto thee.”
15. The mother of Gilgamesh she
    that knows all things,
16. said unto Gilgamesh:—

---

1 Here this late text includes both variants paṭaru and taḵaru. The earlier texts have only
the one or the other.
2 For kakab; b becomes Š and then is reduced to the breathing.
3 The variants have kima kiri; ki-[ma]-r um is a possible reading. The standard Assyrian
   texts regard Enki as the subject.
4 Var. da-an
5 šam-ka = ilu, net. The variant has ultiārid ki-is-su-šu, “he shook his murderous
   weapon.” For kissu see ZA. 9,220.4 = CT. 12,14b 36, giš-kud = ki-is-su.
6 Var. nussu for nùš-šu = nusša-šu. The previous translations of this passage are erroneous.
7 This is to my knowledge the first occurrence of the infinitive of this verb, paṭaru, not
   paṭaru.
8 Literally “he attained my front.”

(211)
17. “Truly oh Gilgamish he is
18. born in the fields like thee.
19. The mountains have reared him.
20. Thou beholdest him and art distracted(?)
21. Heroes kiss bis feet.
22. Thou shalt spare him...........
23. Thou shalt lead him to me.”
24. Again he dreamed and saw another dream.
25. and reported it unto his mother.
26. “My mother, I have seen another
27. [dream. I beheld] my likeness in the street.
28. In Ereh of the wide spaces
29. he hurled the axe,
30. and they assembled about him.
31. Another axe seemed his visage.
32. I saw him and was astounded.
33. I loved him as a woman,
34. falling upon him in embrace.
35. I took him and made him
36. my brother.”
37. The mother of Gilgamish she that knows all things
38. said unto Gilgamish:—
.........................

1 IV of walâdu.
2 Text ma?
3 ëšâlanma > ëšâlâmma.
4 Cf. Code of Hammurapi IV 52 and Streck in Babylonica II 177.
5 I. e., in the suburb of Ereh.
Col. II

1. aš-sum uš-[ta-] ma-ḫa-ru it-ti-ka.

2. ""Gilgamesh šu-na-tam i-ša-šar

3. ""En-ki-[dā] wa?-ši-ib ma-ḫar
   ḫa-ri-im-tim

4. UR [ ḫa-mu DI?-al-lu-un

5. ] im-la-ši ašar i-wa-
   al-du

6. āmē 61 ū 7 mu-šī- a-tim

7. ""En-ki-dā te-bi-
   i-ma

8. ša-[am-ka-ta] ir-ḫi

9. ḫa-[ri-im-tu pa-a]-ša i-ḫu-ša-am-
   ma

10. iṯ-ṣa-[kar-am] a-na ""En-ki-dā

11. a-na-[tāl-ka] ""En-ki-dā ki-ma ili
   ta-ba-āš-ši

12. am-mi-nim it-ti na-ma-āš-te-e

13. ta-[al-ta-[na-al]-la] ak si-ra-am

14. al-kam lu-ur-di-
   ka

15. a-na libbi Uruk-(ki) ri-bi-tim

16. a-na bitti [el-]lim mu-ša-bi ša
   A-nim

17. ""En-ki-dā ti-bi lu-ru-ka

18. a-na Ḫ-[an-n]a mu-ša-bi ša
   A-nim

19. a-šar [""Gilgamiš] il-[………] ne-ḫi-ši-tim(?)

20. ū al-[ ]-di [ -] ma

21. ta-[ ] ra-ma-an-
   ka

1. that he may join with thee in endeavor."

2. (Thus) Gilgamesh solves (his) dream.

3. Enkidu sitting before the hierodule

4. [ ] forgot where he was born.

5. Six days and seven nights

6. came forth Enkidu

7. and cohabited with the courteSAN.

8. The hierodule opened her mouth

9. speaking unto Enkidu.

10. "I behold thee Enkidu; like a god thou art.

11. Why with the animals

12. wanderest thou on the plain?

13. Come! I will lead thee

14. into the midst of Erech of the wide places,

15. even unto the holy house, dwelling place of Anu.

16. Oh Enkidu, arise, I will conduct thee

17. unto Eanna dwelling place of Anu,

18. where Gilgamesh [oppresses] the souls of men(?)

19. And as I……………

20. thou shalt……………thyself.

---

1 Restored from Tab. I Col. IV 21.
2 Cf. Dhomme Choix de Textes Religieux 198, 33.
3 namasiš a late form which has followed the analogy of relša in assuming the feminine t as part of the root. The long ā is due to analogy with namasiš a Sumerian loan-word with nišbe ending.
22. *al-ka ti-ba i-[na] ga-ag-ga-ri*

23. *ma-a-a? -ak* ri-i-im

24. *iš-me a-wa-aq-qa im-la-går ga-ba-ša*

25. *mi-il-kum ša sinnišši*

26. *im-la-[ku]-ut a-na libbi-šu*

27. *iš-bu-ul li-ib-ša-am*

28. *iš-li-nam [ú]-la-ab-bi-iš-šu*

29. *li-ib- [ša-am] ša-ni-a-am*

30. *ši-i it-ta-al-ba- dš*

31. *ša-ab-ša-at ga-aq- żu*

32. *ki-ma ? i-ri-id-di-šu*

33. *a-na gu-up-ri ša ri-i-im*

34. *a-[š]ar ] tar-ba-ši-im*

35. *i-na [ ]-bú-ru ri-ja-ú*

36. *..............................................*

(About two lines broken away.)

**Col. III**

1. *ši-iz-ba ša na-ma-dš-te-e*

2. *i-te-en- ni- ik*

3. *a-ka-lam iš-ku-nu ma-bár-šu*

4. *iš-te-ik-ma i-na al-laš*

5. *ú iš-pa-al-la- as*

6. *u-ul i-di En-ki- dā*

7. *aklam a-na a-ka-lim*

8. *šikaram a-na ša-te-e-im*

9. *la-a lum-mu- ud*

1. *Milk of the cattle*

2. *he drank.*

3. *Food they placed before him.*

4. *He broke bread.*

5. *gazing and looking.*

6. *But Enkidu understood not.*

7. *Bread to eat,*

8. *beer to drink,*

9. *he had not been taught.*

---

1 Room for a small sign only, perhaps A; māšā? For māka, there, see Behrens, LSS. II page 1 and index.

2 Infinitive "to shepherd"; see also Poebel, PBS. V 106 i, ri-ja-4, ri-te-ja-4.

3 The text has clearly *AD-RI*.

4 *patāku* has apparently the same sense originally as *batāku*, although the one forms its preterite *iš-tiš* and the other *iš-tišu*. Cf. also *maḫāsu* break, hammer and construct.
10. ṣa-ri-im-tum pi-ša i-pu-ša-am-

ma

11. it-ṣa-kar-am a-na ʾuNi-En-ki-dù
12. a-ku-ul ak-lam ʾuNi-En-ki-dù
13. ti-ma-at ba-la-li-im
14. bi-ši-ti ši-im-li ma-li

15. it-ku-ul a-ak-lam ʾuNi-En-ki-dù
16. a-di ši-bi-e-šu
17. šikaram it-li-a-am
18. 7 aš-ša-am-mi-im1
19. it-tap-šar kab-la-sum i-na-an-gu

20. i-li-iš libba-šu-ma
21. pa-nu-šu [it]-ša(?)-bî-ru2
22. ul-tap-pi-it [...........]-i
23. šu-bu-ra-am pa-ga-ar-šu
24. ša-am-nam ip-la-ša-dù-ma
25. a-we-li-iš i-me
26. il-ba-ši li-ib-ša-am
27. ki-ma mu-ti i-ba-dù-ši
28. il-ki ka-ak-ka-šu
29. la-bi ú-ši-iš
30. iš-sa-ak-pu šab-[ši]-el mu-ši-a-ti
31. ut-tap-ši šib-ba-ri4

32. la-bi uk-[ša ]-ši-id
33. it-ti immer na-ki-[er] ra-bu-tum

34. ʾuNi-En-ki-dù ma-ša-ša-ar-šu-nu
35. a-we-lum wa-ru-um
36. iš-[te]-en id-šum
37. a-na[........... u]-ša-ak-ki-ir

10. The hierodule opened her mouth
11. and said unto Enkidu:—
12. "Eat bread, oh Enkidu!
13. It is the conformity of life,
14. of the conditions and the fate of
the land."
15. Enkidu ate bread,
16. until he was satiated.
17. Beer he drank
18. seven times(?).
19. His thoughts became unbounded
and he shouted loudly.
20. His heart became joyful,
21. and his face glowed.
22. He stroked..............................
23. the hair of the head.3 His body
24. with oil he anointed.
25. He became like a man.
26. He attired himself with clothes
27. even as does a husband.
28. He seized his weapon,
29. which the panther and lion
30. fells in the night time cruelly.
31. He captured the wild mountain
   goats.
32. The panther he conquered.
33. Among the great sheep for sacri-
   force
34. Enkidu was their guard.
35. A man, a leader,
36. A hero.
37. Unto.......................... he elevated

(At five lines broken away.)

1 Or atšammim? The word is probably an adverb; hardly a word for cup, mug (?).
2 It is uncertain and la more likely than ūš. One expects itlabiru. Cf. multlabiru,
CT. 17, 15, 2; šiddabiit, Ebeling, KTÁ: 69, 4.
3 The passage is obscure. Here šurum is taken as a loan-word from šurum-šummatu,
hair of the head. The infinitive of šabâru is philologically possible.
4 For šapparu. Text and interpretation uncertain. štappiš IIb from šaššu, Hebrew šâpaš,
seize.
Reverse I

1. i-ip-pu-uš  ul-ša-am
2. iš-ši-ša  i-ni-i-šu
3. i-ta-mar  a-we-lam
4. išt-ša-kar-am  a-na  šarimti
5. ša-am-ka-at  uk-ki-ši  a-we-lam
6. a-na  mi-nim  il-li-kam
7. ti-ki-ir-šu  lu-uš-šu
8. ša-ri-im-tum  išt-lu-si  a-we-lam
9. i-ba-uš-šu-um-ma  i-ta-mar-šu
10. e-di-il\*  e-es-la-bi-[ta-am]
11. mi-nu  a-la-ku-šu  na-ab-š [ -]ma
12. e pi-šu  i-ša-kar-am-[ma]
13. iš-ša-kar-am  a-na  ušEn-[ki-dā]
14. bi-si-ši  e-mu-tim [ ]
15. ši-ma-a-at  ni-ši-i- ma
16. tu-ša-ar  pa-a-la-tim\*
17. a-na  a-li  dup-šak-ki-i  e  ši-en
18. UG-AD-AD-LIL  e-mi  ša-a-a- ha-tim
1. And he made glad.
2. He lifted up his eyes,
3. and beheld the man,
4. and said unto the hierodule:—
5. “Oh harlot, take away the man.
6. Wherefore did he come to me?
7. I would forget the memory of him.”
8. The hierodule called unto the man
9. and came unto him beholding him.
10. She sorrowed and was astonished
11. how his ways were............
12. Behold she opened her mouth
13. saying unto Enkidu:—
14. “At home with a family [to
dwell ??]
15. is the fate of mankind.
16. Thou shouldest design bound-
aries(??)
17. for a city. The trenched-basket
put (upon thy head).
18. . an abode of com-
fort.

\* Text la!
\* On ekšu, drive away, see ZIMMERMANN, Sumeru, p. 56. Cf. uk-kiš, MYHRMAN, PBS. I 14, 17;
ukkiš, King, Cr. App. V 55; etc., etc.
\* The Hebrew cognate of mašš, to forget, is naiš, Arabic nasiš, and occurs here in Babyloni-
an for the first time. See also BROCKELMAN, Vergleichende Grammatik 160 a.
\* Probably phonetic variant of edir. The preterite of edru, to be in misery, has not been
found. If this interpretation be correct the preterite edir is established. For the change r > l
note also attalah < altarrah, HARPER, Letters 88, 10; bilku < birku, RA. 9, 77 II 13; ušakkalu <
usakkaru, EBEILING, KTA. 49 IV 10.
\* Also na-[ -]ma is possible.
\* The text cannot be correct since it has no intelligible sign. My reading is uncertain.
\* Text uncertain. kal-šu-tim is possible.
For the king of Erech of the wide places
open, addressing thy speech as unto a husband.
Unto Gilgamish king of Erech of the wide places
open, addressing thy speech as unto a husband.
He cohabits with the wife decreed for him,
even he formerly.
But henceforth in the counsel which god has spoken,
in the work of his presence
shall be his fate."
At the mention of the hero
his face became pale.

(About five lines broken away.)

1. i-il-la-ak- ........................
2. ū ša-am-ka-ak[ ]ar-ki-šu
3. i- ru- ub-ma a-na³ libbi Uruk-(ki) ri-bi-lum
4. i-pu-šur um-ma-nu-um i-na ši-ri-šu
5. iz-ta-aš-ma i-na ru-ki-im
6. ša Unuk-(ki) ri-bi-lum
7. ūa-bi-šu-a-ma ni-šu

1 KAK-ši.
² Literally nostrils. pitig așparrati-šu, work done in his presence(?). The meaning of the ideom is uncertain.
³ Text ZU!
⁴ Text has erroneous form.
8. disputing round about him:—
9. "How is he become like Gilgamish suddenly?
10. In form he is shorter.
11. In .......... he is made powerful.
12. 
13. 
14. Milk of the cattle
15. he drank.
16. Continually in the midst of Erech weapons
17. the heroes purified.
18. A project was instituted.
19. Unto the hero whose countenance was turned away,
20. unto Gilgamish like a god
21. he became for him a fellow.
22. For Ishara a couch
23. was laid.
24. Gilgamish .....................
25. In the night he ..................
26. embracing her in sleep.
27. They .......... in the street
28. halting at the ..................
29. of Gilgamish.
30. .......... mightily (?)

Col. III

1. ur-(?) ha ..................... 1. A road(?) .....................
2. "Gilgamis ..................... 2. Gilgamish .....................
3. i-na ši-ri ..................... 3. in the plain .....................

1 Text PA-it-tam clearly!
2 Omitted by the scribe.
3 Sic! The plural of kakku, kakktu(?).
4 Cf. e-pi-la-an-su-nu libůru, "May they see their doings," Maktu VII 17.
5 For sašik-sum.
6 On the verb nāku see the Babylonian Book of Proverbs § 27.
4. i-ša-an-ni-ib [pi-i-r-ta-šu?]
5. it-bi-ma ....
6. a-na pa-ni-šu
7. ili-tam-ša-ru i-na ri-bi-ta ma-li
8. ēn En-ki-dā ba-ba-am ip-ta-ri-ik
9. i-na ši-pi-šu
10. ēn Gilgamiš e-ri-ba-am u-ul id-di-
11. is-sa-ab-ta-ma ki-ma li-i-im
12. i-lu-du
13. zi-ip-pa-am 'i-bu-tu
14. i-ga-rum ir-ta-tā
15. ēn Gilgamiš ū ēn En-ki-dā
16. is-sa-ab-ta-ma
17. ki-ma li-i-im i-lu-du
18. zi-ip-pa-am 'i-bu-tu
19. i-ga-rum ir-ta-tā
20. ik-mi-is-ma ēn Gilgamiš
21. i-na ga-ga-ag-ga-ri ši-ip-šu
22. ip-ši-ib uš-sa-šu-ma
23. i-ni 'i-ra-az-šu
24. iš-ta i-ra-šu i-ni-šu
25. ēn En-ki-dā a-na ša-ši-im
26. iz-za-kar-am a-na ēn Gilgamiš
27. ki-ma iš-te-en-ma um-ma-ka
28. ū li-ka
29. ri-im-ta ša ū-šu-ri
30. ēn Nin-sun
31. ul-ta e-li mu-li ri-eš-su

4. his hair growing thickly like the corn.
5. He came forth ............
6. into his presence.
7. They met in the wide park of the land.
8. Enkidu held fast the door
9. with his foot,
10. and permitted not Gilgamesh to enter.
11. They grappled with each other
12. going like an ox.
13. The threshold they destroyed.
14. The wall they demolished.
15. Gilgamesh and Enkidu
16. grappled with each other,
17. going like an ox.
18. The threshold they destroyed.
19. The wall they demolished.
20. Gilgamesh bowed
21. to the ground at his feet
22. and his javelin reposed.
23. He turned back his breast.
24. After he had turned back his breast,
25. Enkidu unto that one
26. spoke, even unto Gilgamesh.
27. "Even as one did thy mother
28. bear thee,
29. she the wild cow of the cattle stalls,
30. Ninsunna,
31. whose head she exalted more than a husband.
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32. Royal power over the people
33. Enlil has decreed for thee.”

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haṣṣâpu, embrace, 212, 34.
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harbatu, waste place, 200, 39.
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ḫalu, a bird, 199, 31.
ḫuku, a bird, 199, 31.

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M.
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mesū, a tree, 159, 23.
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Silsiršir, a chapel.
Sin, god. Hymn to, No. 19.
Sippur, city, 158, 10; 160, 5; 166, 19.
siriddu, long song, 140, 54.
Siriš, daughter of Ninkasi, 144.
Siriškaš, daughter of Ninkasi, 144.
Siriškašgig, daughter of Ninkasi, 144.
sirsagga, first melody, 117, 28; 139, 48.
ŠU-AN = ḫat ili, 194, 12. See also ŠU-∆INNI, 194, 12.
subura, earth, 175, 3.
su-ud, su-ud-ām, epithet of goddess of Šuruppak, 177, 10 and note 4.
šuburu, hair (?), 215, 23.
sukkal-tid, title of Nebo, 163, 10.
Šulpaē, god, No. 16 11 22.
Sumer, land, 113, 21; 114, 11; 136, 2.
sumugan, title of Girra, 177, 12 and note; 179, 3.

T.
Tablet of fates, 132 n. 3.
Tammuz, ancient ruler, 208. Liturgy 10, 191. Other references, 126; 208; 131, 20.
tapâšu, seize, capture, 111 utappiš, 215, 31.
temērub, cook, 196, 35.

Tigris, river, 183, 12.
Tummal, land, 190, 9; 191, 10.

U.
ud, spirit, word, 150, 14; 158, 16; 159, 17:24.
ul-al-tar, 191 n. 6.
ulinu, girdle cord, 195, 20.
Ulmaš, temple of Anunit, 158, 13; 166, 3.
Ur, city, 134, 21; 137, 6. Lamentation for, 150. Other references, No. 19, 4:7:8:16:28:Rev. 5; 151, 3.
Ur-azag, king of Lsin (?), 140 n. 2.
Ur-Engur, king of Ur, 126 ff.
urinu, spear (?), 173, 3.
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ushumgal, 117, 33.

Z.
za-sal, liturgical note, 103f. No. 21 end.
za-am, 138, 34; 139, 38; 140, 56.
ṣēnu, be enraged, 111 uṣinu-inni, 197, 6.
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AUTOGRAPH PLATES
SUMERIAN LITURGIES AND PSALMS

BY

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AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY

PHILADELPHIA
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INTRODUCTION

With the publication of the texts included in this the last part of volume X, *Sumerian Liturgical and Epical Texts*, the writer arrives at a definite stage in the interpretation of the religious material in the Nippur collection. Having been privileged to examine the collection in Philadelphia as well as that in Constantinople, I write with a sense of responsibility in giving to the public a brief statement concerning what the temple library of ancient Nippur really contained. Omitting the branches pertaining to history, law, grammar and mathematics, the following résumé is limited to those tablets which, because of their bearing upon the history of religion, especially upon the origins of Hebrew religion, have attracted the attention of the public on two continents to the collections of the University Museum.

Undoubtedly the group of texts which have the most human interest and greatest literary value is the epical group, designated in Sumerian by the rubric ṣag-sal.¹ This literary term was employed by the Sumerian scribes to designate a composition as didactic and theological. Religious texts of such kind are generally composed in an easy and graceful style and, although somewhat influenced by liturgical mannerisms, may be readily distinguished from the hymns and psalms sung in the temples to musical accompaniment. The ṣag-sal

¹ In addition to the examples of epical poems and hymns cited on pages 103–5 of this volume note the long mythological hymn to Innini, No. 3 and the hymn to Enlil, No. 10 of this part. An unpublished hymn to Enlil, Ni. 9862, ends a-a 4En-lil ṣag-sal, “O praise father Enlil.” For Ni. 13859, cited above p. 104, see FORBEL, PBS. V No. 26.
compositions\(^1\) are mythological and theological treatises concerning the deeds and characters of the great gods. The most important didactic hymns of the Nippur collection and in fact the most important religious texts in early Sumerian literature are two six column tablets, one (very incomplete) on the Creation and the Flood published by Dr. Poebel, and one (all but complete) on Paradise and the Fall of Man. Next in importance is a large six column tablet containing a mythological and didactic hymn on the characteristics of the virgin mother goddess.\(^2\) A long mythological hymn in four columns\(^3\) on the cohabitation of the earth god Enlil and the mother goddess Ninlil and an equally long but more literary hymn to the virgin goddess Innini\(^4\) are good examples of this group of tablets in the Nippur collection.\(^5\) One of the most interesting examples of didactic composition is a hymn to the deified king Dungi of Ur. By accident both the Philadelphia and the Constantinople collections possess copies of this remarkable poem and the entire text has been reconstructed by the writer in a previous publication.\(^6\) I have already signaled the unique importance of this extraordinary hymn to the god-man Dungi in which he is described as the divinely born king who was sent by the gods

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\(^1\) So far as the term is properly applied. Being of didactic import it was finally attached to grammatical texts in the phrase "\textit{Nidaba tag-sal}, "O praise Nidaba," i.e., praise the patroness of writing.

\(^2\) Poebel, PBS. V No. 25; translated in the writer's \textit{Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis}, 220-257. Note also a similar epical poem to Innini partial duplicate of Poebel No. 25 in Myhman's \textit{Babylonian Hymns and Prayers}, No 1. Here also the principal actors are Enki, his messenger Isimu, and "Holy Innini" as in the better preserved epic. Both are poems on the exaltation of Innini.

\(^3\) Ni. 9205 published by Barton, \textit{Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions}, No. 4. This text is restored by a tablet of the late period published by Pinches in JRAS. 1919.

\(^4\) Ni. 7847, published in this part, No. 3 and partially translated on pages 260-264.

\(^5\) Undoubtedly Ni. 11327, a mythological hymn to Enki in four columns, belongs to this class. It is published as No. 14 of this part. A similar \textit{tagal} to Enki belongs to the Constantinople collection, see p. 45 of my \textit{Historical and Religious Texts}.

to restore the lost paradise.\textsuperscript{1} The poem mentions the flood which, according to the Epic of Paradise, terminated by divine punishment the Utopian age. The same mythological belief underlies the hymn to Dungi. Paradise had been lost and this god-man was sent to restore the golden age. There is a direct connection between this messianic hymn to Dungi and the remarkable Epic of Paradise. All other known hymns to deified kings are liturgical compositions and have the rubrics which characterize them as songs sung in public services. But the didactic hymn to Dungi has the rubric \textit{[Dungi] zag-sal, \textquoteright\textquoteright O praise Dungi.\textquoteright\textquoteright It would be difficult to claim more conclusive evidence than this for the correctness of our interpretation of the group of \textit{zag-sal} literature and of the entire mythological and theological exegesis propounded in the edition of the Epic of Paradise, edited in part one of this volume.\textsuperscript{2}

When our studies shall have reached the stage which renders appropriate the collection of these texts into a special corpus they will receive their due valuation in the history of religion. That they are of prime importance is universally accepted.

From the point of view of the history of religion I would assign the liturgical texts to the second group in order of importance. Surprisingly few fragments from the long canonical daily prayer services have been found. In fact, about all of the perfected liturgies such as we know the Sumerian temples to have possessed belong to the cults of deified kings. In the

\textsuperscript{1} See PSBA. 1919, 34.

\textsuperscript{2} One of the most remarkable tablets in the Museum is Ni. 14005, a didactic poem in 61 lines on the period of pre-culture and institution of Paradise by the earth god and the water god in Dilmun. Published by Barton, \textit{Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions}, No. 8. The writer's exegesis of this tablet will be found in \textit{Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis}, 135-146. It is not called a \textit{zag-sal} probably because the writer considered the tablet too small to be dignified by that rubric. Similar short mythological poems which really belong to the \textit{zag-sal} group are the following: hymn to Shamash, \textit{Radau, Miscel.} No. 4; hymn to Ninurta as creator of canals, \textit{Radau, BE. 29}, No. 2, translated in BL., 7-11; hymn to Nidaba, \textit{Radau, Miscel.} No. 6.
entire religious literature of Nippur, not one approximately complete canonical prayer service has survived. Only fragments bear witness to their existence in the public song services of the great temples in Nippur. A small tablet\(^1\) published in part two of this volume carries a few lines of the titular or theological litany of a canonical or musically completed prayer book as they finally emerged from the liturgical schools throughout Sumer. Long liturgical services were evolved in the temples at Nippur as we know from a few fragments of large five column tablets.\(^4\) The completed composite liturgies or canonical breviaries as they finally received form throughout Sumer in the Isin period were made by selecting old songs of lament and praise and re-editing them so as to develop theological ideas. Characteristic of these final song services is the titular litany as the penultimate song and a final song as an intercession. A considerable number of such perfected services exist in the Berlin collection. These were obtained apparently from Sippa.\(^5\)

The writer has made special efforts to reconstruct the Sumerian canonical series as they existed in the age of Isin and the first Babylonian dynasty. On the basis of tablets not excavated at Nippur but belonging partly to the University Museum and partly to the Berlin collection the writer restored the greater part of an Enlil liturgy in part 2, pp. 155–167.\(^4\) In the present and final part of this volume another Enlil liturgy has been largely reconstructed on pages 290–306.\(^5\) From these two partially reconstructed song services the reader will obtain an

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\(^1\) Ni. 112; see pp. 172–178.

\(^2\) For example, MYHRMAN, No. 3; Radau, Miscel. No. 13; both canonical prayer books of the weeping mother class. For a liturgy of the completed composite type in the Tammuz cult, see Radau, BE. 30, Nos. 1, 5, 6, 8, 9.

\(^3\) See ZIMMERN, Sumerische Kultlieder, p. V, note 2.

\(^4\) The base text here is ZIMMERN, KL. No. 12.

\(^5\) The base of this text is ZIMMERN, KL. No. 11.
 approximate idea of the elaborate liturgical worship of the late Sumerian period. These were adopted by the Babylonians and Assyrians as canonical and were employed in interlinear editions by these Semitic peoples. Naturally the liturgical remains of the Babylonian and Assyrian breviaries are much more numerous and on the basis of these the writer was able in previous volumes to identify and reconstruct a large number of the Sumerian canonical musical services. But a large measure of success has not yet attended his efforts to reconstruct the original unilingual liturgies commonly written on one huge tablet of ten columns. Obviously the priestly schools of the great religious center at Nippur possessed these perfected prayer books but their great size was fatal to their preservation. It must be admitted that the Nippur collection has contributed almost nothing from the great canonical Sumerian liturgies which surely existed there.

Much better is the state of preservation of the precanonical liturgies, or long song services constructed by simply joining a series of *kišubs* or songs of prostration. These *kišub* liturgies are the basis of the more intricate canonical liturgies and in this aspect the Nippur collection surpasses in value all others. Canonical and perfected breviaries may be termed liturgical compositions and the precanonical breviaries may be described as liturgical compilations, if we employ "composition" and "compilation" in their exact Latin sense. Since Sumerian song services of the earlier type, that is liturgical compilations, are more extensively represented in the Nippur temple library than in any other, this is an appropriate place to give an exact description of this form of prayer service which preceded and prepared the way to the greatest system of musical ritual in any ancient religion. If we may judge from the literary remains of
Nippur now in the University Museum, the priestly schools of temple music in that famous city were extremely conservative about abandoning the ancient liturgical compilations. These daily song services, all of sorrowful sentiment and invariably emphasizing humility and human suffering, are constructed by simply compiling into one breviary a number of ancient songs, selected in such manner that all are addressed to one deity. In this manner arose intricate choral compilations of length suitable to a daily prayer, each addressed to a great god. Hence we have in the temple libraries throughout Sumer and Babylonia liturgies to each of the great gods. Even in the less elaborate kišub compilations there is in many cases revealed a tendency to recast and arrange the collection of songs upon deeper principles. A tendency to include in all services a song to the wrathful word of the gods and a song to the sorrowful earth mother is seen even in the Nippurian breviaries of the precanonical type. I need not dilate here upon the great influence which these principles exercised upon the beliefs and formal worship of Assyria and Babylonia, upon the late Jewish Church and upon Christianity. The personified word of god and the worship of the great mater dolorosa, or the virgin goddess, are ancient Sumerian creations whose influence has been effective in all lands.

As examples of the liturgical compilation texts the reader is referred especially to the following tablets. On pages 290–292 the writer has described the important compiled liturgy found by Charles Virolleaud. It is an excellent example of a Nippurian musical prayer service. It contained eleven kišubs, or prayers, and they are recast in such manner that the whole set forth one idea which progresses to the end. The liturgy has in fact almost reached the stage of a composition. And in these same pages

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1 Now in the Nies Collection, Brooklyn, New York.
the reader will see how this service finally resulted in a canonical liturgy, for the completed product has been recovered. On pages 309–310 will be found a fragment, part of an ancient liturgy to Enlil of the compiled type. Here again we are able to produce at least half of the great liturgy into which the old service issued. In the preceding part of this volume, pages 184–187, is given the first song of a similar liturgy addressed to the mother goddess.

Undoubtedly the most important liturgical tablet which pertains to the ordinary cults in the Nippur collection is discussed on pages 279–285. The breviary, which probably belongs to the cult of the moon-god, derives importance from its great length, its theological ideas, especially the mention of the messengers which attend the Logos or Word of Enlil, and its musical principles. Here each song has an antiphon which is unusual in precanonical prayer books of the ordinary cults.¹ Students of the history of liturgics will be also particularly interested in the unique breviary compiled from eight songs of prostration, a lamentation for the ancient city of Keš with theological references. This song service was popular at Nippur, for remains of at least two copies have been found in the collection. A translation is given on pages 311–323.

The oldest public prayer services consisted of only one psalm or song. A good number of these ancient psalms are known from other collections, especially from those of the British Museum. In view of the conservative attitude of the liturgists at Nippur it is indeed surprising that so few of the old temple songs have survived as they were originally employed; ancient single song liturgies in this collection are rare. The following

¹ A similar liturgy is Ni. 19751, published by Barton, Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions, No. 6.
list contains all the notable psalms of this kind. Radau, Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts No. 3\(^1\) is a lamentation of the mother goddess and her appeal to Enlil on behalf of various cities which had been visited by wars and other afflictions. Radau, ibid., No. 16 has the rubric ki-šu\(^2\) sir-gal 4Enlil, "A prayer of prostration, a great song unto Enlil." A psalm of the weeping mother goddess similar in construction to Radau No. 3 is edited on pages 260–264 of this volume.\(^8\) No. 7 of this part, edited on pages 276–279, is an excellent illustration of the methods employed in developing the old single song psalms into compiled liturgies. Here we have a short song service to the moon god constructed by putting together two ancient psalms. The rubrics designate them as sagar melodies,\(^4\) or choral songs, and adds that it is sung to the lyre.\(^8\) An especially fine psalm of a liturgical character was translated on pages 115–117. It is likewise a lament to the sorrowful mother goddess.

The student of Sumero-Babylonian religion will not fail to comment upon one remarkable lacuna in the religious literature of every Sumerian city which has been excavated. Prayers of the private cults are almost entirely nonexistent. Later Babylonian religion is rich in penitential psalms written in Sumerian for use in private devotions. These are known by the rubric eršaggunga, or prayers to appease the heart. Only one has been found in the Nippur collection,\(^6\) and none at all have been recovered elsewhere. Seals of Sumerians showing them in

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\(^1\) Translated by Radau on pages 436–440.
\(^2\) Abbreviation for ki-šub-gu-da = šuru, strophe, song of prostration.
\(^3\) No. 3 of the texts in part 4.
\(^4\) sa-gar = ūpu šaknu, choral music, v. Zimmerm, ZA. 31, 112. See also the writer's PBS. Vol. XII, p. 12.
\(^5\) nar-balag. The liturgists classified the old songs according to the instrument employed in the accompaniment. See SBP. p. ix.
\(^6\) See page 118 in part 2.
the act of saying their private prayers abound from the earliest period. Most of these seals represent the worshipper saluting a deity with a kiss thrown with the hand. The attitude was described as šu-illa, or “Lifting of the Hand.” Semitic prayers of the lifting of the hand abound in the religion of Babylonia and Assyria. Here they are prayers employed in the incantation ritual. We know from the great catalogue of Sumerian liturgical literature compiled by the Assyrians that the Sumerians had a large number of prayers of the lifting of the hand.1 In Sumerian religion these were apparently purely private prayers unconnected with the rituals of atonement. At any rate the Nippur collections in Constantinople and Philadelphia contain a large number of incantation services for the atonement of sinners and the afflicted. These resemble and are the originals of the Assyrian incantation texts of the type utukku limnuti, and contain no prayers either by priest (kišub in later terminology is the rubric of priest’s prayers in incantations) or by penitent (šu-il-la’s). The absence of prayers of private devotion in the temple library of Nippur is absolutely inexplicable. Does it mean that the Sumerians were so deficient in providing for the religious cure of the individual? Their emphasis of the social solidarity of religion is truly in remarkable contrast to the religious individualism of the Semite. But the Sumerian historical inscriptions often contain remarkable prayers of individuals. The seals emphasize the act of private devotion. The catalogue of their prayers states that they possessed a good literature for private devotions. When one considers the evidence which induces to assume that they possessed such a literature, its total absence in every Sumerian collection is an enigma which the writer fails to explain.

1 See IV Raw. 53, III 44-IV 28 restored from BL. 103 Reverse, a list of 47 šu-il-lā prayers to various deities.
In the introduction to part two of this volume the writer has emphasized the peculiarly rich collection of tablets in this collection pertaining to the cults of deified kings. In the present part is published a most important tablet of that class. This liturgy of the compiled type in six kišubs sung in the cult of the god-man Ishme-Dagan, fourth king of the Isin dynasty, is unique in the published literature of Sumer. Its musical intricacy and theological importance have been duly defined on pages 245–247. With the publication of these texts the important song services of the cults of deified kings are exhausted. In addition to the texts of this class translated or noted in part two, I call attention to the very long text concerning Dungi, king of Ur, published by Barton, Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions No. 3. In that extremely long poem in six columns of about 360 lines there are no rubrics, which shows at once that it is not a cult song service. Moreover, Dungi had not been deified when the poem was written. It is really an historical poem to this king whose deification had at any rate not yet been recognized at Nippur. It belongs in reality to the same class of literature as the historical poem on his father Ur-Engur, translated on pages 126–136.

The only Sumerian cult songs to deified kings not in the Nippur collection have now been translated by the writer and made accessible for wider study. One hymn to Ur-Engur which proves that he had been canonized at his capitol in Ur will be found in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Literature, 1918, 45–50. The twelfth song of a liturgy to Ishme-Dagan published by Zimmern from the Berlin collection is translated on pages 52–56 of the same article. Finally a long liturgy to

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1 Pages 106–109.
2 Less than half the tablet is preserved.
Libit-Ishtar, son of Ishme-Dagan, likewise in Berlin, has been translated there on pages 69–79. Since the Berlin texts probably came from Sippar their existence in that cult is important. For they prove not only the practice of cult worship of deified kings in that city, but the domination of Isin over this north Semitic city is thus documented for a period as late as Libit-Ishtar.

Nearly all the existing prayer services in the cults of the deified kings of Ur and Isin are now published and translated. The student will observe that they are all of the compiled type but that there is in most cases much musical arrangement and striving for combined effect. A few, and especially the Ishme-Dagan liturgy published as No. 1 of this part, reveal theological speculation and an effort to give the institution of god-man worship its proper place in their religion. The hymns of these cults comparatively so richly represented in this volume will be among the most interesting groups of religious texts supplied by the excavations at Nippur.²

Oxford, July 9, 1919.

¹ Note that this breviary of the cult of Libit-Ishtar terminates with two ancient songs, one to Innini and one to Ninâ, both types of the mother goddess who was always intimately connected with the god-men as their divine mother.

² For a list of the abbreviations employed in this volume, see page 98 of Part I.
SUMERIAN LITURGIES AND PSALMS

13856 (No. 1)

LAMENTATION OF ISHME-DAGAN OVER NIPPUR

The liturgical character of this tablet is unique among all the numerous choral compositions of the Isin period. It is a large two column tablet containing six long kišub melodies. Liturgies of such kind, compiled by joining a series of kišubs, or melodies, attended by prostrations, represent an advanced stage in the evolution of these compositions in that the sections are not mechanically joined together by selecting older melodies without much regard for their connection, but as a whole they are apparently original compositions so arranged that they develop a motif from the beginning to the end of the liturgy. Choral services composed of kišubs in the cults of deified kings have been found1 wherein the deeds and personality of the king are sung, his divine claims are emphasized and his Messianic promises rehearsed. But the liturgy here published resembles in literary style the classical lamentations which always formed the chief temple services of Sumer and Babylonia. It more especially resembles the weeping mother liturgies, but here Ishme-Dagan appears in the lines of the service in a rôle similar to that of the sorrowful mother goddess of the ordinary liturgies, as he weeps for Nippur.

"Her population like cattle of the fields within her have perished. Helas my land I sigh."

So reads a line from the second melody.

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1 The twelfth kišub of a liturgy to Ishme-Dagan is published in ZIMMERN’s Kultlieder, No. 200. A somewhat similar song service of the cult of this king has been published in the writer’s Sumerian Liturgical Texts, 178–187. A portion of a series to Dungi was published by RADAU in the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume, No. 1. The liturgy to Libit-Ishtar in ZIMMERN, K L. 199 I—Rev. I 7, is composed of a series of sa-(bar)-gid-da.

(245)
Lines of similar character occur repeatedly in the laments of the mother goddess as she weeps for her people in the standard liturgies. In other words, the cult of the deified kings issues here into its logical result. The god man created to live and die for his people usurps the sphere of the earth mother herself. And like her he is intimately associated with the fortunes of mankind, of nature and all living creatures. The great gods and the hosts of their attendants rule over man and the various phases of the universe from afar. But the mother goddess is the incarnation of fruitful nature, the mother of man whose joys and sorrows she feels. So also in this remarkable liturgy the deified son of the great gods lives among men, becomes their patron and divine companion.

The tablet contained originally about fifty lines in each column, or 200 in all. About one-third of the first column is gone. The first melody contained at least fifty lines and ended somewhere shortly after the first line of Col. II of the obverse. It began by relating how Enlil had ordered the glory of Nippur, and then had become angered against his city, sending upon it desolation at the hands of an invader. When we take up the first lines of Obv. II we are well into the second melody which represents Ishme-Dagan mourning for fathers and mothers who had been separated from their children; for brothers who had been scattered afar; for the cruel reign of the savage conqueror who now rules where the dark-headed people had formerly dwelled in peace.

At about the middle of Obv. II begins the third melody which consists of 38 lines extending to Rev. I 19. In this section the psalmist ponders upon the injustice of his city's fate, and looks for the time when her woes will cease, and Enlil will be reconciled.
The fourth section begins at line 24 of Rev. I and ended near the bottom of this column which is now broken away. Here Ishme-Dagan joins with the psalmists weeping for Nippur.

Section 5 began near the end of Rev. I, and ends at line 16 of Rev. II. Here begins the phase of intercession to Enlil to repent and revenge Nippur upon the foe. Section 6, beginning at Rev. II 17, probably continued to the end of the column and the tablet. Here the liturgy promises the end of Nippur’s sorrow. Enlil has ordered the restoration of his city and has sent Ishme-Dagan, his beloved shepherd, to bring joy unto the people.

After sections 2 and 3 follows the antiphon of one or two lines. The ends of sections 1 and 4 are lost but we may suppose that antiphons stood here also. Section 5 does not have an antiphon. Since section 6 ended the liturgy it is not likely that an antiphon stood there.

**Obverse. Col. I**

(About eighteen lines broken away.)

1. ..........tāg ba-ra-pa-dā
2. ʻAn-nu-na-ge-ne na-ba-an-ri-gi-
   eš-ām
3. ub-šu-uukkan-na ki di-gal lar-ru
4. eš-bar-e si-di ba-ra-an-ṛu-u³-ām
5. dingir-bi-ne ki-dūr ba-ab- gar-ra⁴

2 On the philological meaning of this name, see VAB. IV 126, 55.
3 For the suffixes et, u, denoting plural of the object, see Sum. Gr. p. 168.
6. ṣug-láq-bi im-sub-ba aga-bi im-rí-a

7. ki-lugal du-aqag₁ kin-sig₈ unu₃-gal-ba

8. tin₄ lâl bal-bal-e muš-a be-ib-tar-ra

9. Nibr-(ki) uru giš-gig-dagal-la-bi-šu

10. uku-saq-gig-ga ni-im-ši-ib-le-en-na

11. ki-dûr-ba gâ-ni a-gim⁵ ba-ra-an-sub

12. ab sig-gan-dûg-ga-gim e-ne sig-gan-ba-ra-an-dûg

13. uru šag-bi er-gig sig-bi

14. en-na⁶ dam⁷ dingir gaš-a-an-bi li-bi nu-šar-ri₄

15. ê-gu-la za-pa-ag ib-tu-a-bi

16. ê-ri-a-sûd-gim galu nu-un-tur-tur


18. a-na-dš ú-gu i-ni-in-de-e₁₀

6. Their clean sacrificial food he gave, their crowns he clothed upon them.

7. In the king's place, the throne room, the kinsig of the vast abode.

8. The libation of wine and honey yearly he decreed.

9. For Nippur the city whose shadow extends afar

10. The people, the dark headed, he caused to have reverence.

11. But its habitations he cursed.

12. Like scattered cows he scattered them.

13. The city's interior is filled with weeping.

14. While the consort, its divine queen, is not solicitous for her.

15. The great house which knew the cry of multitudes,

16. Like a vast building in ruins men enter not.

17. In Nippur, the city where great princes were prosperous,

18. Why have they fled?

---

¹ Usually written dû-atar, throne room. On the meaning of du in this word, see AJSL. 32, 107. Written also dû-atar, in Ni. 11005 II 9.


³ Br. 7720. The sign TE is here gurushed. Cf. OBI. 127, Obv. 5.

⁴ Tin alone may mean "wine," as in Gudea, Cyl. B, 5, 21; 6, 1. See also Nikolski, No. 264, dûk-tim, a jar of wine.


⁶ For en-na in the sense of "while," see Pery, Sin in LSS. page 41, 16.

⁷ The sign is imperfectly made on the tablet.

⁸ Cf. SBP. 328, 11.

⁹ HA is probably identical in usage with PEŠ, and the idea common to both is "be many, extensive, abundant." Note Zimmern, Kulliieh 19 Rev. has HA where SBP. 12, 2 has PEŠ. šu-pēl occurs in Gudea, Cyl. A 16, 23; 11, 9; 19, 9 and CT. 15, 7, 27.

¹° On ugu-de=balaktu, na’butu, to run away, see Delitzsch, Glossar p. 43. Also ugu-bi-ande-e, V R. 25a 17; ū-gû-dû, RA. 10, 78, 14; ū-gu ba-an-dû, if he run away, VS. 13, 72 and 84, 11.
19.  uku sag-gig gu-sa-qi-a1 udu-gim  
    be-ib?-a  
20. e(?)-en-šu KAK-RU2 er a-nir  
    šag PA-ḪI-BAD-a  

21. en-šu bar4 be-ib-  
      عطي  
22. šag nu-ub-ši-tūg-e  
23. "ub "al-ša mu-un-tuk-a-ri"  
24. ..................gi-ga a-a na ..................  
25. ..........šuk ..........ne ba-dūr-ru-ne-eš  
26. ...........gar-ra-bi er-šu ba-ab-bi-ne  
27. ...........šub-ba šur-ru-ba-ne  
28. ...............šir-ri-eš ba-ab-bi-ne  
29. ...............ki-dūr-bi kar-ra  

30. ................im-ši-sir-sir-e-ne-eš  
31. ..........ne-lūg  
32. ..........ga(?)-nu-šu-gim  
33. ...............šuš?  

21. The people, the dark headed,  
    all of them like sheep. ..........  
20. How long shall loud crying(?),  
    weeping and wailing distress  
    (?) the heart?  
21. How long shall the soul be terri- 
    fied?  
22. And the heart repose not?  
23. To the drum and cymbals I sing.  
24. .................sorrowfully(?) ..............  
25. .......brick ..........they dwell.  
26. .................in tears they speak.  
27. .................are made small.  
28. .................in misery they speak.  
29. .................whose habitations are  
    desolated.  
30. Unto ..........they have hastened.  
31. ..........?  
32. ..............like one that knows not  
33. ...............is in confusion.  

(END OF COL. I.)

COL. II

(About fifteen lines broken away.)8

1. ..........................gal  
2. ..........................-e ba-ab-dūg-ām8  
3. ..........................ma-lal im-mē  

with variant 73, 11 u-da-pa-ar = uDalappur, if he take himself away.  
šu-ga-ba-an-de-šu, when thou  
fleest, BE. 31, 28, 23.  šu-ga-ba-de, Genouillac, Inventaire 944; Clay Miscellen 28 V 71: ma  
šu-ga-ba-an-de, "If a boat float away," ibid. IV 14. See also Grant AJSL. 33, 200-2.  
1 Sic! šu-sa-bi is expected; cf. RA. 11, 145, 31 šu-sa-bi = naphar-šu-šu.  
2 Sign obliterated; the traces resemble SU.  
3 Read perhaps dū-sub = nadā ša riĝmi, to shout loudly. Cf. dūg sir-ra šub-ba-a-šu = riĝme  
    ṭarbiš addiki, ASKT. 122, 12. Passim in astrological texts.  
4 The tablet has MAS. The Semitic would be adi mati kabattu iparrad.  
5 ri is apparently an emphatic element identical in meaning with ām; cf. SBP. 10, 7-12.  
Note ri, variant of nam, SBH. 95, 23 = Zimmern, KL. 1218.  
6 Sic! Double plural. eš probably denotes the past tense, see Sum. Gr. § 224.  
7 Sign Brünnow, No. 11208.  
8 The first melody or liturgical section probably ended somewhere in this lost passage at the  
    top of Col. II.  
9 Text A-AS!
4. ... evil they know not, good
   they have decreed.
5. Bitter lament I utter.
6. Her population like cattle of the
   fields within her have perished.
8. Maid and young man and their
   children cruelly have been
   scattered far and wide.
10. Their brothers like a rain storm
    have fled afar.
11. I cease not to weep.
12. The household like a cow, whose
    calf has been separated from
    her, stand by themselves with
    sorrowful souls.
13. They have lapsed into the mis-
    13er of silence.
14. Oh sing to the lyre! The wailers
    like a child nursing mother
    who cries in woe.
15. because of them devised lament-

16. The city whose lord had been
    magnified,
17. In whose presence a hostile rule
    has been established, with
    sighing they have caused to
    walk.

---

1 The subject is Ishme-Dagan.
2 The sign is a clearly made Br. No. 10275 but probably an error for 10234. For sîr-ri-šu
   see BA. V 633, 22; SBH. 56 Rev. 27; ZIMMERN, KL. 12 Rev. 17.
3 This compound verb di-e-sud here for the first time. di-e is probably connected with do
   to flee. At the end Aš is written for AN. Read a-dš and construe 3š as a plural?
4 gul = kalâ, restrain, is ordinarily construed with the infinitive alone; 3š-šu mu-us-gul-e-

=damâma ni ikalla, Lang. B.L. 80, 25; SBH. 133, 65; 66, 15, etc.
5 Confirms SAI. 6507 = ukku, dumb, grief stricken.
6 Variant of stg-stg, etc. See Sum. Gr. p. 237 stig. 3. Also POEBEL, PBS. V 26, 29.
7 On the liturgical use of balâg-di, see BL. p. XXXVIII.
8 Var. of ad-du-ge = bûl nissâli, IV R. 112 23: ad-da-ge, ZIM. K.L. 12 11 3. See for discussion,
   Lang. PBS. X 137 n. 7.
18. ṭu-iddi kur-kur-ra iki-šu ba-an-gin-na

19. uku sag-gig-gi uš-zi³ be-ib-tūb-ba

20. a-na ib-ag a-na im-ga-lam-ma-bi³

21. ū-mu-un-bi ib-la-kāš sag-ki-am-un-du

22. ki-sub-gū-2 kam:

23. me-gal šag-bi⁴ ba-ra-an-ba-dāš gū-gig-ga nu-maš-aš

24. giš-gi-gal-bi-im³

25. uru ū-mu-un-bi šag ba-da-an-dib-ba

26. en-šu la-ba-ši-gur-ru suq³-am-bi nu-un-im me

27. sig-bi a-na-šu gir-ib-la-an-gar

28. tu(šu) qa-pa-ag mā-mā-bi ab-la ib-ta-an-dal

29. e? tu sig nar-balag āg-zi-ba⁶

18. As for the faithful temple, which in the lands excelled all,

19. (Where) the people, the dark headed, reposed in security;

20. What has done it, what has destroyed it?

21. Its lord is a fugitive, he bastens in flight.


23. The meaning of the great decrees they have glorified. Sorrowful words they restrain not.

24. This is its antiphon.

25. The city whose lord is distressed,⁷

26. Until when shall it not return (to its rest)? Until when shall its “How long” not be spoken?

27. Why are its brick walls trodden underfoot?

28. The doves screaming flew from their nests.

29. The temple . . . . . . . the sweet voiced flute,

¹ A new ideogram. Perhaps wišu kilm, “sure foundation.”

⁴ For suffixed ni, bi, ba in interrogative sentences note also a-na an-na-ab-duš-ni, What can I add to thee? GÉNOUFFLAC, Drehem, No. 1, 12, a-ba ku-ul-la-ba, Who shall restrain? Ni. 4610 Rev. 1.

² See BL. p. XLV, and PBS. X 151 note 1.

³ On the anticipative construct, see § 138 of the grammar.

⁴ nu-maš are uncertain. The tablet is worn at this point.

⁵ On the use of this term, see PBS. X 151 n. 1 and 182, 33.

⁶ Cf. BL. 110, 11.

⁷ Written Br. 3046, but the usual form is the gunu, Br. 3009. suq-am-bi = abulap-ša, POEBEL, PBS. V 152 IX 8; cf. also lines 9 and 10 ibid. In later texts suq-a = abulap, HAUPF, ASKT. 122, 12. DELITZSCH, H. W. 444. abulap has the derived meaning of mercy, the answer to the “How long” refrain as in this passage. See also SBP. 241 note 27 and SCHRANK, LSS. 111 1, 53.

⁸ Cf. nar-balag nig-duš-ša, POEBEL, PBS. V 25 IV 48. Our text has the emesal form ag-ziš.
30. ................. be-in-gi
31. Entirely destroyed.
32. e dû-na
33. é ni-nu-luk-gim si-ga...........
34. ág-me-bi nu-aqag-aqag-ga
35. šu-lu-gi-bi kur-kur-ra nu-ub-da-
   suq-a-gim
36. šu-be-in-kal tuq-iti ib-ta-an-qi
37. ág-gig-úr-ra a aše-ra mu-un-di
38. ta-še egir na-ám-ga-lim4 dû-a la-
   ba-an-kalag
39. ág-el-dû-a-gim ʒur-ri6 šag-be-in-
   bi
40. sig-bi pâ-e a-na-aš ib-ta-an-ê
41. 30. The temple violently..........
42. 31. The temple like one without rever-
   ence...........
43. 32. Its regulations unholy ones.....
44. 33. Its cult of ablutions like those
   which had not been chosen
   above those of all lands
45. 34. He has demolished, its wealth
   he seized away.
46. 35. In misery of soul how long shall
   I utter lament?
47. 36. Why after the destruction has
   been done is it not respected?
48. 37. As one who accomplishes pure
   things this one has uttered a
curse:—
49. 38. “Why rise her brick-walls in
effulgent glory?”

Reverse, Col. I

1. gig-an-bil[a]-ba šag-ba er be-in-[i-
   em]
2. aše kûr ág-gig be-ib-ag-a-a
3. ú-mu-un-bi im-ğul-âm šu-bi be-
   in-gi-âm7
4. uru-bi é-bi in-gul-gul-âm
5. úr-bi in-sir-ra-âm šitim9-e-ne in-
   ra-âm
1. Night and day within her wail-
   ing is made.
2. Now the stranger has wrought
   insult.
3. Its lord like a storm wind their
   hands have removed(?)
4. Their city, their temple, he has
   destroyed.
5. Its foundation he laid waste, the
   skilled workmen he trans-
   ported.

1 For dû-na = laššu, see RA. 11, 146, 33.
2 Written Br. 3046 = nasāku.
4 Probably a variant of namšalam, namšilim = šabaktu.
5 The demonstrative pronoun šur, šu.
6 māši šu urra, IV R. 5a 65; CT. 16, 20, 68.
7 Text AASI.
8 Sign AL. šitim, šidim = idinnu is usually written with the sign GIM, POEBEL, PBS. V
117. 14 f. amelu GIM = idinnu, passim in Neo-Babylonian contracts.
6. Wife and children within her he
slew.

7. Their city a subjected city he
caused to become.\(^1\)

8. Its property he himself took as
plunder.

9. Their city which was he has
causd to become a city which
is not.

10. Its works of art he placed a
hostile foot upon.

11. Its garments\(^5\) he seized away,
the winds tore them in shreds.

12. Its food and drink he pilfered.

13. Their infants(?) he caused
to perish.

14. The temple a stranger plun-
dered.

15. Bitter sighing I utter, tears I
pour out.

16. Oh sing to the lyre, he that
speaks the songs of wailing.

17. Their hearts which are not glad
it will pacify.

18. The decrees of their lord they
have glorified.

19. He\(^6\) concerns himself not with
their oracles; he cares not for
their future.

---

\(^1\) Literally, "caused to enter."
\(^2\) munga with ra, to carry away property as booty, see SBH. No. 32 Rev. 21 and BL. No. 51.
The comparison with line 11 suggests, however, another interpretation, immer-e be-in-ne-ra-ām,
"the storm-wind carried away."

\(^3\) In lines 7 and 9 the verb tuw is employed in the sense of "to cause an event to enter," to
bring about the entrance of a condition or state of affairs.

\(^4\) Br. 11208.

\(^5\) The passage refers to the priests' robes and garments of the temple service. See also
SBP. 4, 9.

\(^6\) Variant of nam-ri-ga = 5alalu.

\(^7\) See Obv. II 23.

\(^8\) Enlil.
20. ki-šub-gú 3-kam-ma-áム

20. A melody with prostrations.
Third section.

21. me-gal-gal-la-ni a-gim ba-ra-an-
21. His great decrees thus he has
eš
ordered.

22. á-bi la-ba-an-lag-ga-áム li-bi nu-
22. He has concerned himself not
tar-ra-áム with their oracles; he cared
not for their future.

23. giš-gi-gál-bi-im
23. This is its antiphon.

24. mu-ru sir-ra¹ na-áم-tar-gig-ga
24. He of melodious song the sor-
mu-šu²
rowful fate weeps for.

25. me ib-ši-en²-ne-en er im-ši-šes-
25. Sound of mourning he causes to
šes-en
arise; lamentation he utters.

26. á-še balag-di sir-šu-ne
26. Now oh sing to the lyre! They
that know the melodies

27. ḪAR-dúr-ra-mu ma-ar ba-bi-ne-
27. My........ shall speak for me.
ám

28. l-de-šu kūš-a im-ma-sis-ga-mu
28. Now I am filled with sighing.

29. gašu²-bi er-ra ma-an-ma-ma-ne-
29. Her population offer prayers to
ám
me.

30. á-še šag-šu²-mu né-láb-láb-ba-mu
30. Now my intercession, my pleading(?).

31. á-še dúr-ra-bi ma-ar gaš mu-da-
31. Now mightily the population
an-šu-áム unite with me in making
known.

32. a-rá gig-ga šag-sir-ra-mu
32. Upon ways of pain my mercy?

33. ú-a tár-ra-mu er-ra ma-an-tuk-
33. Oh woe! my children weep for.
ám

34. šš t-ú-a ki-dúr-a-ne-ne
34. In the house, the well builded

temple, in their dwelling,

35. nar-e-eš ba-ab-gar-ra ni-tuk ba-
35. Sound like one chanting is raised
ab-tur-ra-áム and praise is diminished.

¹ Rendered Ḫa širri, BL. 95, 19. On this title for a psalmist, see BL. XXIV.
² muš has evidently some meaning similar to the one given in the translation but it has not yet
been found in this sense in any other passage. We have here the variant of Ḫu, es=baššu with
vowel u. See Swm. Gr. 213 and 222.
³ DUL-DU. The sign DUL is erroneously written REC. 236. In the text change ši to ši.
⁴ Br. 3739.
⁵ Here treated as plural.
⁶ The tablet has SU. For šag-šu synonym of ṭēššu, see IV R. 21*b Rev. 5.
⁷ lēbu rāšu; see ZIMMERN, KL. No. 813 and IV 28.
36. galu érim-eka na-âm-mu ib-tîl-la

37. er-ra ma-pad\(^1\) ma-an-mâ-mâ-ne-âm

38. šag ág-gig-ga ib-stî-mu ad-bi-tîo
   PI-gâ\(^2\)-bi dé-ib-sed-dé-ne-âm

39. er-bi ugâ\(^3\)-mâ mu-un-mâ-mâ-dam
40. E+SA\(^4\) šag-iš-tu ma-ar ma-
     [an-tuk-tuk-e-ne-âm]\(^b\)
41. \(^d\)Mu-ul-lîl

36. The foe has caused my land to
    perish.
37. They beseech
38. My heart which is filled with
    misery by their wailing may they calm.
39. Their weeping is made unto me.
40. In the mother goddess’ sanctu-
    ary prayer to me they offer.
41. Enlil

(About twelve lines broken away.)\(^6\)

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**Reverse II**

1. ........................................... 1. ...........................................
2. ........................................... 2. ...........................................
3. ........................................... 3. ...........................................
4. [.. mu-ra-ab-]dug mu-na-ab 4. ...........................................
5. ........................................... 5. ...........................................
6. [ mu-ra-ab-dug mu-na-ab\(^7\) 6. ...........................................
7. .................. a- a- mu 7. ...........................................
8. mu-na-ab 8. ...........................................
9. [ ]ma-ar \(t\)all-la 9. ...........................................
10. ............ tê-dû-e KA-mu-na-ab 10. ...........................................
11. ............ gar-ra-ge-eš Šag-iš-tu 11. ...........................................
12. arru\(^3\) ma-ra-tuk-tuk\(^9\) 12. Have mercy upon me.

---

\(^1\) The sign like many others on this tablet is imperfectly made. ma-pad? or ma-tig? The meaning is obscure.

\(^2\) Text uncertain. Perhaps PI-SI-gâ-bi.

\(^3\) Written A-KA. An unpublished Berlin syllabar gives A-KA (uga) = muḫḫu.

\(^4\) Br. 5515. For this sign with value maššaku, see DELITZSCH, H. W., *sub voce* and BA., V

\(^5\) Written 620, 20. The Sumerian value is ama, Chicago Syllabar, 241 in AJSL. 33, 182.

\(^6\) Restored from an unpublished text in Constantinople, Ni. 721.

\(^7\) Section 4 ended somewhere in this break.

\(^8\) Probably a refrain.

\(^9\) For the reading, see AJSL. 33, 182, 240.

\(^b\) See BL. 128, 21.
13. ṣag-qa ṣag-sig ib-ia-ba-e ṣag-lag
    ma-ra-an-gar-ra-me(sic)!  
13. Thy heart whose portion has
    been affliction become for me
    a glad heart.

14. sag-qa zi-zi i₂giš-šub-ba-ra ul-šú₁
    ma-ra-an-ma-ma
14. Thy head which is held aloof
    turn unto me to glorify thy
    portion.

15. ág-kúr-ri ṣa-ar₄ i-ri-ib-aga-e šu-bi
    dé-ib-gi₂g₂
15. The hostile deeds which he did
    unto thee be returned unto
    his hand.

16. uru-ki-a šu-bar-ri nu-ṭu-a mur-rí₃
dé-ib-sig-gi
16. In the city which knew not for- 
    giveness let there be given 
    the cry of multitudes.

17. ki-šub gú 5-kam-ma-ām
17. A melody of prostrations. Fifth
    section.

18. d-še ū-mu-un-ṣu gú-šub-ba kúr
    me-eši-in-ra-ām
18. Now thy lord anger upon the foe
    will direct.

19. arrus₃ ma-ra-an-tuk-ām na-ām-ṣu
    in-lar-ra-ām
19. He will have mercy and will
    decree thy fate.

20. stg-ṣu a-še-ir ib-ia-an-e-a ib-si
    be-in-düg-ga-ām
20. Unto thy brick walls where
    lamentation arose he will
    command “it is enough.”

21. gur-šag-gi-šu-ra₃ ma-ra-ni-in-tu-
    ra-ām
21. Thy happy soul he will cause to
    return for me.

22. d₂Nin-uraš₃ maškim kalag-ga
    sag-ṣu be-in-tuk-ām₉
22. Ninurash the valiant guardsman
    will sustain thy head.

23. dun-ū-a-ni giš-ši-in-gub-ba-
    ra₄m
23. His pastor₁₀ he will establish
    over (the city).

24. ṃ-kur kalag-kalag dū-đa-ù-dam-
    mu-un₁₂ ba-an-ag-ām
24. Ekur like (a temple) which has
    been tenderly built he will
    make......
25. ág-dú-bi ki-bi be-in-gi-ám
26, 27. gi-gún-na-bi1 ki-gi-gi-bi ud-gim kar-kar- bi2
28. suḡ²-ba-la-túm-túm-mu in-na-an-
   dūg-ga-ám
29. garṭa kúr-ri ib- suḡ²- ám
30. me³ ib-bir-a-bi ki-bi-šu in-gar-ra-
   ám
31. šu-šu erım⁶-e šu-be-in-lá-a-ba
32. aṭag-gi el-e- bi
33. uru-aṭag nam-šub-da-ni in-na-
   an-dūg-ga-ám
34. [d:] Iš-me⁴Da-gan sib kenag-gañ-
   ni-ir⁸
35. ........ bi(?) ụl-šár-šár-ri-da
36. in-na-an-dūg-ga-ám
37. ........ aṭag nam-tar-ri-da-ni
38. ............-ra-ám
39. ............ DU-ra-ám

25. Its beauty he will restore to its place.
26, 27. That its great dark chamber be restored to its place, that it shine like day
28. Unceasingly he commands.
29. The ordinances the stranger has placed in confusion.
30. The ritual utensils which have been scattered he will restore to their place.
31. The rituals of hand-washing which the wicked caused to lapse into disuse,⁷
32. To cause to be holy and pure
33. In the holy city which has been consecrated he commands.
34. For Ishme-Dagan his beloved shepherd
35. ........ to cause rejoicing
36. ........ he commands.
37. The holy ........ whose fate has been decreed,
38. ................................
39. ................................

(About twelve lines broken away, in case this section continued to the end of the tablet.)

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1 On gūnuma, part of the stage tower, see VAB. IV 237 n. 2; BL. 38, 14.
2 Cf. SBP. 328, 5.
3 Written Br. 3046. See Br. 3035.
4 Br. 11208.
5 me = paršu, refers primarily to the rubrics of the rituals, the ritualistic directions, but here the reference is clearly to the utensils employed in the rituals.
6 NE-RU.
7 lāl, lā-a = lúkammumu, see SBP. 66, 20.
8 ir is uncertain. The sign may be either dū or ni.
3. Enlil king of the gods
4. In the South and North may give lordship over them unto me.
5. By the commands of Nunamnir, Enlil,
6. By the utterance of Enlil, May Anu speak for me an order of confidence.
7. Scepters may he give unto my hand.
8. May Uraša bestow upon me faithful care in his holy throne room.
9. Ninil whose heart is pure,
10. She that in the far-famed chapel assures length of days,
11. She that renders good my portion exceedingly,
12. She who unto Enil spoke assuringly for me good words,
13. She who daily protects Ekur for me.

1 Literally, "Below and above."
2 Probably a variant of dû-aqag. As the phrase is written dû-aqag-ga might mean "holy knees," birku elišu, but that is not probable. A parallel passage occurs in the liturgy to Dungi, BE. 31, 12, 8, where my interpretation is to be corrected. For dû, dûk rendered into Semitic by the loan-word dû, with the sense "high altar, pedestal of a statue, altar or throne room" see AJSL. 32, 107.
4 This phrase should have a meaning similar to "speak words of peace," "assure, comfort." The expression occurs also in Gudea, Cyl. A 7, 5, Ningirsu, son of Enlil ǧa ra-ra ma-ra-aḫḫu-ga-e, "will speak to thee words of peace."
5 The preposition ensi, is derived from ensi = ṣumru, "body," literally "att the body."
6 In view of the parallel passages where kings are called the sag-ši of temples and cities (i.e. the mukūnu or mukīt rēš) it seems necessary to render ē-kur-ri as the object of sag-ši. See SAK. 197 below c 5; BE. 29 No. 1 IV 6; PBS. V No. 73. A rendering, "She who raiseth me up daily in Ekur" is possible.
15. ki-úr ki-gal-e nam šu-qa-ma-ni-tar
16. d.En-ki en-gal erida-(ki)-ga-ge
17. ganun țid-maḫ sag-maḫa-ma-ni-in-ul(?)

15. May render me my fate in Kenur the vast place.
16. May Enki the great lord of Eridu
17. Sustain(? my head in the ritual chamber, the faithful, the far-famed.

REVERSE I

5. ki-úr gal-la li-bi tar-ri-ge
7. dūg-dūg-ga a-a d.En-lil-lá-šú
8. d.Îš-me- d.Đa-gan me-en ĝu-mu
9. ge-in-ši-ri
10. ka-la-ba lugal-maš-ú ĝiš-tūg-ni²
11. ĝe-im-ši-ag
12. ki-en-gi-ra nig-si-sá ĝe-ni-in-gar
13. Nibrū-(ki) an-gim ĝu ĝe-im-mi-
14. u³
15. ū-a-ba li-be-[in-tar]
16. garza₄ ki-ta šub-ba-bi ki-bi ĝe-
17. [mu-un-giš]

5. Of the great Kenur its care . . . .
6. Of Enlil his oracle be proclaimed.
7. Unto the words of father Enlil—
8. Ishme-Dagan am I—verily my
9. To the utterance of my king
neck I will turn.
may I lend my³ ears.
10. In Sumer justice may I institute.
11. Nippur may I exalt like heaven.
12. Of Ekur its decrees I will deliver.
13. Of the plans(?) unto their care
may I give heed.
14. The sacred relics which have
fallen from their places may
I restore to their places.
15. Of Enlil his precious decrees—
16. I am Ishme-Dagan—I will . . . .
17. Of Ninil her . . . . I will . . . .

---

¹ Cf. SBP. 52, 5: BL. p. 138.
² Sic! third person.
³ Text “his.”
⁴ Or read billudu. This passage proves that garza and billudu really do have a meaning,
sanctuary, cult object or something synonymous. See billudu in VAB. IV Index. The meaning,
sanctuary, has been suggested for the Semitic parsu and this must be taken into consideration.
Liturgical Hymn to Innini (No. 3 and duplicate No. 4)

Col. I

1. nin me-dug-ga\(^1\) babbar dalla-\(\hat{\alpha}\)-a

2. sau-qid me-lam gür-ru kenag
   \(^d\)Uraš\(\hat{\alpha}\)-a

3. nu-gig an-na nin(\(\tilde{\Upsilon}\)) sir-gal-gal-la

4. aga-\(\chi\)-\(\dot{\theta}\) . . . . nam-en-na tum-ma

5. me-imn-bi šu-sá-dug-ga

6. nin-mu me-gal-gal-la sag-sir-bi
   \(\tau\)-\(\epsilon\) me-en

7. me-mu-\(\dot{\chi}\)-ila me šu-\(\xi\)-\(\dot{\chi}\)-\(\dot{\chi}\) mu-e-lal

8. me-mu-\(\dot{\chi}\)-\(\dot{\chi}\)in me gab-\(\dot{\chi}\)-\(\dot{\chi}\) ba-tab

9. ušumgal-gim kur-ra sub ba-e-sìg

10. \(^d\)Immer-gim ki tù-gi-a\(^3\) \(^d\)Ašnan
    la-ba-ši-gal

11. a-ma-ru kur-bi-la \(\dot{\epsilon}\)-\(\dot{\theta}\)

12. sag-kal-an-ki-a dingir-ri-bi\(^8\) me-en

1. Oh lady of the good decrees,
that risest splendidly like the
sun.

2. Faithful woman, bearing a sheen
of terrible splendor, beloved
of Urashê.

3. Heavenly virgin, queen(\(\tilde{\Upsilon}\))\(^3\) of
the great songs,

4. Who puttest on a faithful crown,
who hast been created fit for
rulership,

5. Whose hand attaineth the seven
decrees,

6. My queen, of the great decrees
their directress\(^*\) art thou.

7. The decrees thou bearest; the
decrees thou holdest in thy
hand.

8. The decrees thou directest; the
decrees thou claspest to thy
breast(\(?\))

9. Like a champion thou subduest
the foreign lands.

10. Like the storm-god in the place
of the . . . . curse the grain-
goddess thou leavest not.

11. A whirlwind upon their lands
thou sendest.

12. Oh leader of heaven and earth
their divinity thou art.

\(^1\) Var. \(\tilde{\sigma}\)-
\(\tilde{\sigma}\).

\(^2\) Var. is certainly not nin.

\(^3\) For sag-sir, see also ASKT. 96, 25; K. L., 199, 15; 199 Col. 111 51; CT. 24, 15, 79.

\(^4\) Var. mu-e.

\(^5\) Cf. Ni. 4581 Obv. 8 in PBS. X pt. 2, where it is connected with \(^d\)Immer. Var. K\(\acute{\eta}\)-\(\dot{\theta}\)-al.

\(^6\) Read \(\dot{\chi}\)U for \(\tilde{\Upsilon}\). mulen = bêlu, beltu, cf. PBS. V 15 Rev. 14. Render "Their
divine queen thou art"?
13. For them thou didst create the Land (of Sumer).
14. That givest orders unto the gods (??), queen that guidest the universe.
15. That utterest command by the holy order of Anu.
16. The great decisions who (but thee) knoweth to teach?
17. Thou that shatterest the mountains, by a spirit of wrath thou art filled.
18. Beloved of Enlil, thou hast founded the Land.
19. Thou art she that hast effected the mandate of Ninlil.
20. My lady, at thy cry the lands quake.
21. At the fear of thy splendor let mankind
22. With shouting await thee.
23. Fittingly they have received their terrible decrees from thee.
24. Thy lamentations and mournings let them wail for thee.
25. Unto the temple the chief singers shall walk the streets for thee (??).?
26. From before the face of battle they hasten unto thee.
27. My lady, of thy fury they speak.
28. The spirit like an onrushing storm rushed over them.

1 Var. ni. Sic!
8 Var. ma.
9 hānimat killati.
4 Sic! Prepositions ra and da in the same phrase!
6 Text grī'
7 In liturgies usually translated by “the Word.”
29. ud ka-ra-la uku im-da-ab-ra-ra
29. The spirit with a loud cry anni-

hilitated the people.

30. Immer-da tù-mu-da-an-gi-gi-in
30. By the storm god they were

accursed.

31. im-ğul-im-ğul-da im-da-kuš-ù-ne
31. By the storm winds they were

brought to woe.

32. gtr-qa sil kuš-ù i-ni- si
32. Thy foot hastens restless in the

street.

33. balag a-nir-da i-lu mu-un-da-ab-
bí
33. Upon the lyre of weeping they

utter lamentation.

34. nin-mu 4 A-nun-na dingir-gal-
gal-e-ne
34. Oh my lady, the Anunnaki, the

great gods,

35. sud-in-(gu)-dal-a-gim' dul-dë-mu-
e-ši-ba-ra-aš
35. Like a flying sudin-bird from the

crannies hasten unto thee.

36. igi-gtr-a-qa-laš ba-lag-gi-es-aš
36. When before thy feet they run,

37. sag-ki gtr-a-qa sag-nu-mu-un-ne-
gå-gaš
37. Unto the presence of thy feet

they attain not.

38. sag-ug-ka-qa ba-a ni-le-en-[le-en]
38. Thine angry heart who shall

pacify?

39. sag-gul-la-qa te-[en-te-en-na-ām]
39. Thine evily disposed heart let

become calm.

40. nin gar-ni šag nin [.....ni.....]
40. Oh lady, whose soul is magnani-
mous; oh lady [whose......is

......]

41. ib-ba nu-te-en-[te-en.........]
41. Whose wrath is unpacified.....

......

42. nin-kur-ra-dirig-ga
42. Lady that stormeth over the

mountains.....

43. garš-sag ki-qa ba
43. The mountains (?) thy place (?)

......

44. kâ-gal-a
44. The great gate.......

---

1 Cf. SBP. 6, 16.

2 For ra. Read ū-ta-la for lal-la? 

3 Note the overhanging vowel a denoting a dependent phrase without a relative introductory

adverb, and see also Sum. Gr. page 163, examples cited bi-in-da-ra-du-a, etc.

4 The plural of this verb has been indicated by doubling the root, a case of analogy, being

influenced by the similar plural formation of nouns. See Sum. Gr. § 124. An example of the

same kind is sag-nu-mu-un-da-ab-ga-ga = ul i-ir-ru-šu, "they approached it not," K. 8531, 6 in

Hrozný, Nimrud, p. 8.

5 Text ub! Read ub sag-ki-qa = úmphī pani-ki(?).
1. ḡal-bal-ba nu
2. ki ḫušu-āb
3. ka-sir-la(?)
4. nir-da-ni-bi
5. uru tuš dinig-di-bi mer-i-in-si-[si]
6. ḫal-ṣag-ga-nil-bi...-šu ma-ra-ab-mu-[mù]
7. uru-ṣagin-ra li-be-in-dug-ga
8. a-a uku-ṣa li-be-in-eš-a-a
9. ka-ṣag-ṣu dé-in-dug-dug gir-ṣa ge-ib-gi
10. ša-ab-bi-la guš ge-ib-la-an-zi-ni
11. sal-bi dam-a-ni-la šag-ga-na-āš anš-da-ab-bi
12. ūg-un-na-lā na-an-ba-ni-ib-gi-gi
13. nig-ṣag šag-ga-na nam-mu-da-an-bur-ri
14. ūgul-zi-zi i dumu-gal Zu-en-na-āš
15. nin dingir-ra dirig-ga a-ba ki-qa ba-an-tum
16. me-zi-de nin-gal nin-e-ne
17. uru-ṣag-ga-la ḡa ama-uku-ni-ir dirig-ga

1. Its frost
2. 
3. 
4. Their afflictions.
5. Their city, an arid habitation, the whirlwinds have filled.
6. Their workmen in supplicate thee.
7. For the brilliant city they mourn in song.
8. The father thy creator sends forth cries of distress for it.  
9. May thy holy mouth speak the command and thy feet return.
10. From her midst mayest thou cast the cruel one.
11. Let a woman with her husband speak kindly.
12. During the nights forever let her return unto him.
13. That which is pure in her heart may she disclose.
14. Fervid intercession unto the great son, Sin.
15. Oh lady surpassing the gods who beside thee brings?
16. Establisher of decrees, oh great lady, their lady,
17. Thou that risest from the holy city, thou that surpassest his child-bearing mother,

---

1 For the form, see PBS. V 102 1V 3.
2 If la be correct, then the reading is ka-sil-la.
3 Cf. nir-da-an, K. 45, 6, and nir-da, Gudea, Cyl. A 12, 26 with 18, 3 where nig-erim = nir-da.
4 For ilu-dug = sarābu.
5 a-a = ḡa = asū. CT. 15, 11, 7; K. L. 3b 28. Cf. also the N. Pr. 6 Gilbar-a = Gilbar-i
6 "The fire-god causes to come forth."
7 So the text for šag-ga-āš na-an-da-ab-bi.
8 See above, line 36.
9 For the construction dirig with ra, see ta-ir-dirig = eši annim rabi, Poebel, PBS V 152 14
10 Refers to Sin.
18. Intelligeant and wise, oh queen of the lands,
19. Oh breath of life of thy Land,
   I will recite thy holy songs.
20. Divinity who has been made agreeable unto the fury of battle, whose words unto their place....................
21. Thou of the unsearchable heart, who purgest faithfully, I will relate thy decrees.
22. The holy mi-ib weapon verily thou causest to enter upon (the foe).
23. “A ruler am I, a ruler.......of heaven am I!”
24. The reed censer I bear and I arrange the ritual(?).
25. At the parentalia I place it; and these things I cease not to do.
26. By day I......and daily renew
27. By night and day I......and in ......am clothed(?)
29. By my pious offerings of baked cakes thou wilt be pacified.
30. Something Enlil lord of heaven and earth
31. To Anu spoke as a command and verily Heaven is opened.
32. Now unto Anu he has spoken the command and thou causest Heaven to shudder.
33. The royal power of Anu thou a woman hast seized.

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1 Here begins abruptly a passage spoken by the goddess herself. This is not unusual in liturgical texts.
2 The sign is da, not dul.
15204 (No. 5)

Psalm to Enlil Containing a Long Intercession
by the Mother Goddess

This liturgical psalm in one melody adds one more document of this kind to the classical Sumerian corpus of old short musical services on which the later complex liturgies were based.¹ The title, árabu- (gu) árabu- (gu) múzu kúra munmálášu záe alméenna, arranged in seven dactyls, does not appear in the catalogue of old songs given in the Assyrian list, IV Raw. 53 Col. III. Since the greater part of the psalm consists in an address of the mother goddess to Enlil on behalf of Nippur, the composition is defined as an adoration of “my mother,”² an epithet applied to Innini by the singers in most liturgies. The psalm begins with twelve lines sung by the choir and addressed to Enlil. They then in lines 13–15 introduce Innini whom they represent in discourse before Enlil in lines 16–47. This part of the song service contains refrains characteristic of public worship. Theologically the text illustrates one of the most profound principles of Sumerian religion, the sympathy and concern of the virgin mother for mankind.³ The great daily services of the standard prayer books represent her as a mater dolorosa and she with Tammuz shares the vicissitudes of mortal life. Our text is unique and noteworthy for one salient fact. It illustrates the scenes so common on Babylonian seals, where the mother goddess stands in intercession before the god, with one or both hands raised in supplication and the left foot advanced as though about to set it on the paved approach to the throne of the deity.

¹ For a discussion of these early Sumerian single song services, see the writer’s Babylonian Liturgies, pp. XXXVII ff.
² See also line 13.
³ See Tammuţ and Ishtar, p. 111.
1. arâ-bu-(ğu) arâ-bu-(ğu) mu-ğu
    kur-ra mu-un-ma-al-la-šú

2. qa-e al-me-en-na

3. d. Mu-ul-lîl arâ-bu-(ğu) mu-ğu
    kur-ra mu-un-ma-al-la-šú
    qa-e al-me-en-na

4. d. Mu-ul-lîl šag-sud-du e-ne-em
    qid- da

5. gû ki-ma-al2 e-ne-em di- di3

6. mu-ğu kur-ra mu-un-ma-al-la-šú
    qa-e al-me-en-na

7. mu-ğu kur-ra mu-un-ma-al-la-šú

8. mu-çu kur-ra mu-un-ma-al-la-šú

9. dâg-ga-çu kur-ra âm-da-ma-al-
    la-šú

10. tağ-a-çu kur-ra âm-da-ma-al-
    la-šú

11. uru-me-a4 an ni-bî nam-dûb ki
    ni-bî nam-sîg

12. nibru-(ki)-a an ni-bî nam-dûb
    ki ni-bî nam-
    sîg

13. ama mu-gi-gî ami nu-bar-ra
    ama-mu ni-mi-nî-in-gî-gi

14. d.[
    -e ga-ša-an urû-bar- ra-ra4

1. Oh bird arâbu, arâbu1, thou art
   he whose name is proclaimed
   in the world.

2. Oh Enlil, arâbu-bird, thou art
   he whose name is proclaimed
   in the world.

3. Enlil of unsearchable heart, of
   faithful word.

4. He that bends the neck, that
   speaks the word.

5. Thou art he whose name is pro-
   claimed in the world.

6. At thy name which is pro-
   claimed in the world,

7. At thy discourse which is pro-
   claimed in the world,

8. At thy aid which is wrought in
   the world,

9. In my city heaven trembles of
   itself, earth quakes of itself.5

10. In Nippur the heaven trembles
    of itself, earth quakes of itself.

11. The mother virgin, the mother
    courtesan, my mother began
    discourse.

12. She the divine .............., queen
    of the villages,

---

1 The Sumerian arâ-bu (UD-DU-BU) is rendered into Semitic by the loan-word arâbû, called
issur mebu, bird of the storm, ZA. VI 244, 48. In CT. XII 70 a UD-DU (arâ)=namrun, fierce,
raging, where the entry is followed by UD-DU (arâ)=îa UD-DU-bu (ğu), hence in any case a
bird of prey. Were it not for the reference to this bird in the omen text, BOISSIER, DA 67, 18,
one might conclude that the bird is mythical. For the reading arâbû, see also REISNER, SBH.
104. 35.

2 = kadâdu la kîladi, see SBP. 110, 22, "bend the neck," i. e., "grant favor."

3 Cf. V Raw. 394 33.

4 Cf. dagân-me-a = iına puḫrû-nî, RA. XI 144, 8.

5 Cf. SBP. 45, 13; 79, 13; 98, 44, etc.

6 For this method of forming the plural see Sumerian Grammar, § 124. For uru-bar = kaqrû,
see MEISSNER, SAI. 543. Note also amun uûb-lar, SBH. 22, 57 = 19, 58 and K. 69 Obv. 20. title
of Nergal as lord of the city of the dead.
15. .... ni-mi-ni-in-gi- gi
16. .... ku-a-çu- de
17. .... -la ku-gar-ra-çu-de
18. [4· Nin-lil-da?] ga-ša-an keš-(ki)-a-ge
19. .... gen mu-e-da-ab-tar-ri
20. .... ge me-ri-mu-šu
21. [a-a-µ lu-]lu-mu-ùr su-din-šu
22. me-ri-mu-šu nu-GA-e
23. 4· Mu-ul-lil-[e] šag-sud-da
24. [si-mu-un e-ne-em zi-da
25. [gú ki-ma-al e-ne-em di-di
26. .... ge me-ri-mu-šu nu-
27. [4· Mu-ul-lil?] e me-ri-mu-šu úya
28. .... ra ga-âm-ši-rá
29. [me-ri]-mu-šu ga-mu-ni-ib-GA
30. [a-a-µ]lu-lu-mu-ùr ga-âm-ši-
31. me-ri-mu-šu ga-mu-ni-ib-GA
32. 4· Mu-ul-lil-ra šu-mu-šu ga-mu-
33. me-ri-mu-šu ga-mu-ni-ib-GA
34. .... discoursed.
35. When in... thou dwellest,
36. When in... thou makest thy abode,
37. With Ninlil (?) queen of Keš
38. .... thou decreest.
39. "[As I was....] my foot I lifted not."
40. To my father, my benefactor, as a sudin-bird of the sea,
41. My foot I lifted not.
42. [To Enlil of] unsearchable heart,
43. [Lord] of faithful word,
44. That bends the neck, that speaks the word,
45. [As I was....] my foot I lifted not.
46. [But unto Enlil] I would lift my foot.
47. Unto... verily I will go;
48. My foot I will lift.
49. To my father, my benefactor, verily I will go;
50. My foot I will lift.
51. Unto Enlil my hand I will raise;
52. my foot I will lift.

1 Cf. Historical and Religious Texts, p. 34. 6.
2 For Ninlil as queen of Keš, see also ZIMMERN, KL. 23 3; SBP. 23 note 17. At Keš she was identified with the unmarried and earlier deity Ninharsag.
3 The line drawn across the tablet intersects the address of Innini and, if not for some unknown musical purpose, must be regarded as an error.
4 For the construction, see Sumerian Grammar, § 91.
5 GA = naša, variant of ga (ILL) = naša. The figure of lifting the foot and raising the hand (line 30) to Enlil refers to the attitude of adoration assumed by the mother goddess as she stands before one of the gods and intercedes for mankind. She is frequently depicted on seals in this attitude; see for example Ward, Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, 303a, 304, 308, etc.
6 The suffixed pronoun mu with affixed preposition ra.
7 Innini is compared to the sudin-bird in SBP. 6, 16 also.
8 For the optative use of this vowel, see Sumerian Grammar, § 217.
34. me-e-Mu-ul-lil-ra um-ma dé-tîl
35. ṭu'-mu-na-da- ab- dug
36. a-a-mu lu-lu-mu-ûr ab-ba dé-tîl
37. tu-mu-na-da-ab- dug
38. gu-gu gu-si-di tu-mu-na-am-mar
39. urú-me-a ama dumu dé-im-me
40. dumu ama dé-im-me
41. nibru-(ki)-a ama dumu-dé-im-me
42. dumu ama dé-im-me
43. úq-e síl-bi ge-im-sî-ib-še-gi-en
44. e-ne-em-Mu-ul-lil-lâ UZ-dt-
45. maṣ-bi
46. ge-en-sî-ib-še-gi-en
47. Mu-ul-lil-ra uru-nî še-ib nibru-(ki)
48. ki-bi ga-mu-na-ab-gî
49. ni-na-leg ni-na-leg ama-mu ni-
   na teg
50. I unto Enlil will say, "May the
   mother live."
51. Unto my father, my benefactor,
   I will say, "May the father
   live."
52. Words which set aright all
   things I will say.
53. In my city may the mother hail
   her son, may the son hail his
   mother.²
54. In Nippur may the mother hail
   her son,
55. may the son hail his mother.
56. To ewe and her lamb may he be
   propitious.
57. May the word of Enlil be pro-
   pitious to the she-goat and
   her kid.
58. For Enlil, his city, brick-walled
59. Nippur, unto its place I will
   restore."
60. She offers devotion, she offers
   devotion, my mother offers
   devotion.

2154 (No. 6)

LAMENTATION ON THE PILLAGE OF LAGASH BY THE ELAMITES

This neatly written but seriously damaged single column tablet carried when complete about fifty-five lines. In style the liturgical lamentation has a striking resemblance to the lamen-

¹ Dialectic for du = da = ta (by vowel harmony). Note the form ga-mu-ra-ab-tid with variant da-mu-ra-ab-tid, Sumerian Liturgical Texts, 155, 30 (variant unpublished). See also Sumerian Grammar, § 50.
² For the idea, see also SBP. 292, 25–29.
³ For ŠURIM with value ut = labru, see THOMPSON, Reports 103, 11 and supply u-wt in CT. 13, 26a 22.
⁴ The sign for enû certainly has a phonetic value ending in d; note NIHOLSKI No. 262, where the sign is followed by da and ZIMMER, Kultlieder, 123 II 11 9, where it is followed by dt.
tation on the invasion of Sumer by the people of Gutium, published in the author's *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, 120–124. The same refrain, "How long? oh my destroyed city and my destroyed temple, sadly I wail," distinguishes both compositions.¹ Other lines are common to both threnodies. The contents are similar to the lamentation on Lagash published in *Cuneiform Texts* of the British Museum, Vol. XV 22, of which ZIMMERN has published a variant VAT. 617 Rev. II 10–42, in his *Sumerische Kultleider*. A translation of the British Museum text will be found in the author's *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, p. 284, an edition which can now be improved.

1. a-a[ ]
2. ? dingir[ ]
3. a uru-gul-la k-[gul-la-mu] gig-ga-bi im-mi]
4. ud-ba enim ud-dam bi-[......]
5. enim d. En-lil-lá [ ]
6. d. En-lil galu nam-tar [ ]
7. d. En-lil-li nim-[ ]
8. d. Mā-mā² dumugu [ ]
9. d. Nin-mar-(ki)-ra-ge gu [ ]
10. ašag dā-ga-ziqin aši-mā-gal-gal-la bal-[......]
11. nin nig-ga-šu igi-[ti-la a ašag pi-el......

¹ See lines 3, 23, 31 and 44 below and lines 5, 14, 21, 27 and 34 of the parallel text in the volume cited above.

² This refrain occurs also in *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, 121, 5; 122, 14, 17; 123, 21, 27, 34, where it characterizes a lamentation for various cities of Sumer destroyed by an invasion from Gutium. The translation given above is preferable to the interpretation accepted in my previous volume.

³ Title of Sin in CT. 25, 42, 5. Note also that *dumugu* is a title of Sin, 11 Raw. 48, 33, and CT. 24, 30, 5.
12. nin-e K.A. ? gim NE-a im-da-ra?
13. ki lagaš-(ki) nim-ki šu-ni-a im-
    maši-in-gi
14. ud-bi-a nin-e ud-da-ni
    sa-nam-ga-mu-ni-ib-dug
15. Ba-ú galu-sukal-lu-gim ud-da-
    ni sa-na-nam-ga-mu-ni-ib-dug
16. me-li-e-a ud-dé šu-ni-a im-ma-
    ši-in-gi
17. ud uru gul-gul-e šu-ni-a im-ma-
    ši-in-gi
18. ud é gul-gul-e šu-ni-a im-maši-
    in-gi
19. [uru?] d-Dumu-zi-abtu-ge-la ki
    nir-ša-ki-ba-ge im²-ma ba-an-
    teg¹
20. . . . . nir-šag-(ki) uru namšibir-
    ka ni-ka-ki-ba-ab-dug
21. . . . . uru(?)-ni Ninā-(ki)-a
    kur-ri ba-ab-gar⁴
22. [Si]ra[-(ki)] kí-dúr kenag-gâ-ni
    gišul-ki-ebab-sub
23. [a uru]-gul-la é-gul-la-mu giš-ga-
    bi⁶ im-me
24. [gá-pár]² aṣag nam-en-na-ba šu-
    ba-e-lá-lal

12. The queen
13. The land of Lagash he abandoned
   unto the hand of Elam.
14. At that time his wrathful word
    verily attained the queen.
15. His wrathful word attained unto
    the divine Bau even as a
    messenger.
16. Woe is me, the spirit of wrath
    into her hand he entrusted.
17. The spirit of wrath that destroys
    the city into her hand he
    entrusted.
18. The spirit of wrath that destroys
    the temple into her hand he
    entrusted.
19. In the city(?) of Tammuz of
    the sea, the place of wailing
    . . . . . terror it caused.
20. The city . . . . nirsag, city of . . . . . .
    . . . . . . . with fire it con-
    sumed.
21. . . . . . . . of her city Ninā it
    seized away to the mountains.
22. Sirā her beloved habitation an
    evil one has overthrown.
23. How long? my destroyed city,
    my destroyed temple, sadly I
    wail.
24. Of the holy “Dark Chamber”
    the priestly rites are suspended.

¹ For namá as an emphatic adverb, see Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, I 20, Metropolitan Syllabar, Obv. 1 12-15. Variant nanga, Sumerian Liturgical Texts, 188, 1, 4 and 5.
² The scribe has written im twice.
³ Cf. SBP. 4, 6.
⁴ gar is employed as a variant of kar, see Sum. Gr. 223. For gar in this sense, note gar = šaḫatum,
    nasābu in the syllabars. See also SBP. 198, 14 and note 15. The same sense of gar will be found
    in Gudea, Cyl. A 6, 16; 7, 14; St. B 9, 16; Cyl. A 12, 25.
⁵ The third sign of this ideogram is clearly UNU not NINA on the tablet. For the ideogram
    see SBP. 284, 6.
⁶ For the adverbial force of bi see Sum. Gr. § 72.
⁷ Restored from Sumerian Liturgical Texts, 123 31, and below line 45.
25. [en]-bi estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

26. "KU-si-na estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

27. gan estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

28. kar-ra-gim estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

29. gim estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

30. aqag-ga-bim estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

31. [a  destinationViewController of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

32. [gê-pàr] aqag estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

33. [en]-bi estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

34. gid-da-bi estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

35. -bi nu gud-du sag me-te- estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

36. KA estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

37. a-ri-a-e estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

38. ka estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

39. -da(?)-ab-ag estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

40. é-sug-ga estination of a priest of the "Dark Chamber" has been taken and unto the land of the foe has gone.

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1 KA with value du=alaku occurs here for the first time. Variant has du (line 33). This text supplies two more signs and makes possible a better translation.

2 Cf. Babylonian Liturgies, No. 78, 3.

3 Cf. PBS. XI No. 6 Obv. 11.

4 Identification uncertain.
LAMENTATION TO INNINI ON THE SORROWS OF ERECH

This well preserved single column tablet is published by POEBEL in PBS. V 26. The composition reflects the standard theological ideas found in the canonical psalms and liturgies. The mother goddess Innini is represented as a divine mother wailing for the misery of her city and her people. The calamity

1 The line is parallel to PBS. X 122, 13.
2 nam-en-na = enulu, priesthood.
3 A title of Nergal.
4 About four lines are broken away to the end of the tablet.
consists in the pillage of the city and its holy places by a foreign invader, who is repeatedly compared to an ox. Like the ordinary psalms of public service the singers abruptly introduce the goddess speaking in the first person as in lines 16; 18–20; 33–4. But the lamentation does not have refrains and at the end the style approaches nearly that of a prayer. The tablet also bears no liturgical note at the end. For these reasons and because of the general impression which the lines leave with the present interpreter, he classifies this text as the product of a scholastic liturgist of the Ur or Isin period whose work was not incorporated into the corpus of the official breviary.

Obverse

1. qabar aga-[zu?] im-gur-gur-ri 1
2. til-igi-da1-dui........im-bi-bi-ri
3. tug-gu-sig su-gur-su-lal (ga)-da...
   ...........kur........
4. eg ga sig eg-eg ga su-lum-ma-gim
   imb-ul-
5. gud-dam ra e-sir unug-(hi)-ga-ge
   sár-dam mu-na-ab (?)-......uš
6. sár-ra giš-KU-A4 mu-na-an-dur-
   ru-ne-eš

1. Oh pure one thy(?) crown over-

awes.
2. Thy proceeding arrow scatters
   the..........................
3. Meal of the....bean to the
   beared skate-fish thou givest
to eat.
4. She that gives fish to the stream,
in the streams fish (as nume-
rous) as dates she causes to
dart about.
5. Rushing like an ox in the street
   of Ereh like a multitude(?)
   he followed3
6. Multitudinously in the habita-
tions they dwelled.

1 igi-da occurs also in the title of Sin. igi-da-qal, ZIMMERN, KTJ., No. 1 Obv. 1 3 and 6. The
most natural interpretation is to regard da as a variant of dw, hence "to go before."
2 Written tug. gu-lig is a kind of plant, on a tablet of the Tello Collection in Constantinople,
MIO. 7086. For the meal of the gu-lig see also CT. X 20, 11 33 and REISNER, Templeurkunden,
128 Col. I11.
3 Restored from line 14. Here begins the rehearsal of the woes of Ereh.
4 Cf. also CT. 15, 19 Rev. 2 where a place word is also expected.
7. šattam-a-ni lugal gab-gâl' ki-gub-bu-ne ba-ra-â

8. ugnim-e igi-im- ma-an- sîg

9. nar-e li-du-a šu-i-ni-in-gî ūb1 šu-na be-in-šub

10. ni'-nag-a-ţu ni-nag-a-ţu

11. a6 nu-e-nag amaš-ţu um-mi-ni-nag

12. ni-nag-a-ţu ni-nag-a-ţu

13. kaš nu-e-nag ūšî-ţu um-mu-ni-nag

14. gud-dam e7 e-sîr unug-(ki)-ga-ge šár-âm ma-ra-mi-û-uš

15. šar-ra-âm giš-KU-A ma-ra-dû-ru-ne-eš

16. mën6 a-na-ag-en sal-e mà-a ma-an-dûg-ga sal-un-nem mên-ne-en

17. gud-dam e ib-tag-ra be-in-ra ni-ţu10 e-ne-ib-uš

18. šar-ûr à nam-ur-sag-gâ-mu šu-nu-um-ma-ti

7. Her precentor,2 the defender king, whither they go, went up.

8. The hosts of peoples she beholds.

9. The singer refuses to chant and from his hand has thrown the drum.

10. Thou drinkest not; thou drinkest not.

11. Water thou drinkest not, but thy sheepfolds drink.

12. Thou drinkest not; thou drinkest not.

13. Beer thou drinkest not, but thy protégés drink.

14. Like an ox going forth in the streets of Erech like a multitude (?) he pursues thee.

15. In multitudes they have taken up their abodes in the habitations.

16. As for me what shall I do? I who have bestowed care. A sacred devotee I am.

17. Coming forth like an ox, hastening in destructive fury he came; even thee thyself he pursued.

18. The šar-ûr weapon, arm of my heroic power I have taken not in my hand.

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1 Cf. Gudea, St. B 9, 27.
2 Semitic šattamâma a title employed in later times apparently in a secular sense. Originally it has a sacred meaning and probably denoted a musical director who was also a priest. The application of a priestly title to the king is in accord with his royal prerogatives.
3 The sign is Br. 8999.
4 For ni = nu, see SBP. 138, 22, ni-kaš-â = nu-kaš-à; SBH. 70, 3 = 131, 48. Read ī?
5 Text GAR!
6 BAD = kidinu, has the value wî; cf. wî-sa = kuddinu, Br. 3061.
7 E is here interpreted as a phonetic variant of UD-DU. Cf. also e-dam in SBP. 118, 39.
8 This is the first example of this form employed as subject.
9 The text is difficult. UN is certain but the sign SAL is not clear on the tablet.
10 Text SU.
19. 'ē gallab-mā a-gil-ṭu'-bi dal-la mi-ni-ɡšt
20. giš-dal ē-an-na pa-ba mi-ni-in-kud
21. gud-dam sīl-šu im-ma-na-ra-ē
22. gud-dam e e-sir unu-(ki)-ga-ge šār-ra mu-ni-in-gaq
23. šār-ra giš-KU-A-ana mu-ni-in-dig
24. giš-ig hā-gal-la im-ma-an-gūr-gūr
25. a-ṭuḫ-na-ka im-ma-an-ē
26. šu-PES dumu šu-PES i-Innini-ge
27. šep-urudu mu-na-an-bar-ri-ja-dug
28. gud-dam ra im-ma-an-ra-aq
29. gud-dam e er-im-ma-an-ṭub sig-sig-ni-mā-mal

19. Of my temple in Hallab its treasures he has hidden far away.
20. Of the tallu3 of Eanna its PA he broke off.
21. Like an ox he came up against thee on the highways.
22. Like an ox going forth in the streets of Erec he slaughtered multitudes(?).
23. Multitudes in their habitations he caused to die.
24. The doors of the city gate he shattered.
25. Her defender he caused to go forth,
26. The fisherman, the son fisherman of Innini.
27. The copper vessels he scattered.
28. Hastening like an ox he has wrought demolition.
29. Coming forth like an ox tears he has caused to fall and misery he caused to be.

1 Phonetic variant of gīl-sa = smuku. The prefix a is difficult and probably the noun augment, see Sum. Gr. § 148. The vowel a seems to possess another sense in SBP. 284, 1.
2 ṣiš = piḫš, confine, RA. 9, 77 I, 10; note also šu-a-dm ṣiš = ina bēl piḫš, K. 41 Col. II 12.
3 Part of the door; see VAB. IV Index.
4 Variant of d-ṭuḫ = ṭuḫ. The final ka is for the emphatic ge in the status obliquus (go).
This emphatic particle is here attached to the object which is not a construct formation, but the choice of ka for ge is probably influenced by the principle of employing the oblique case of the construct when the noun in question is in the accusative; see Sum. Gr. § 135. "Defender" refers to Tammuz.
5 The same title in PBS. V 2 Obv. II 23, 4Dumu-ti šu-PES. Pöebel interpreted this as a variant of šu-ša = ba'iru, fisherman, and his suggestion is probably correct. We have, however, to consider the possibility of a confusion with kam=ukkṣu, the afflicted, SAL. 5082.
6 The rise of the semi-vowel i between the vowels a-a occurs under similar circumstances in iki-ge-ni-iḫ-litu-dug, RADAV, Miscellaneous Texts, No. 4. 5. See also Sum. Gr. § 38, 2. The form above arose from bar-ri-a-tu-dug. The prefixed element dug falls under § 153 of the Grammar. bar = sapāšu is a variant par, to spread out, scatter.
7 Sub, to let fall, hence tabāšu, to pour out. Heretofore this meaning of sub was known only from the forms al-tā-tā-be = iš-tamabak, SBH. No. 62, 15, and forms cited by MEISSNER, SAL. 8945. See also šu < sub, ibid., 8344 and al-tā-tā-be, MVAV. 1913 pt. 2 p. 49, 16.
8 The same passage occurs in Ni. 13856 II 13. sig-sig = šahummatu, variant of sig-sig.
30. dInnini ti-g-mu sum-ma-ab 31. gud kur-ra ga-mu-ra-ab-sum tür- ū ga-mu-ra-ab-lu
32. udu kur-ra ga-mu-ra-ab-sum amaš-ū ga-mu-ra-ab-lu
33. azag dInnini-ge mu-na-ni-ib-gi- gi²
34. a-šag gallab-(ki)-a dûr-gar be-e- gar-ra e-ku⁴ ni-nad-ba
35. ama-ba⁵ gir(?) ga-ra-ab-tûg-e balag-al⁶ gu-mu-ra-ab-bi
36. dInnini nam-ur-sag-[tu]⁷ ga-am- dug
37. tag-sal-ū dug-ga-am

30. Oh Innini, grant me favor.
31. Oxen of the mountains I will give thee; thy stables I will enrich for thee.
32. Sheep of the mountains I will give thee; thy sheepfolds I will enrich for thee.
33. Holy Innini replied:—
34. “In the plains of Hallab thou shalt make thy abode where the people repose.”
35. May their hosts attend(?!) thee and proclaim to thee on lyre and harp(?)
36. Oh Innini, I will rehearse thy valor.
37. It is good to sing thy praise.

8097 (No. 7)

Liturgical Hymn to Sin

This liturgical composition consists of two melodies each designated by the rubric sagarram, “It is a sagar.” The entire service is sung to the tigû, a kind of flute. In the first melody of fifteen lines the choir chant the glory of the moon god and his city Ur. The second melody of twenty-four lines is apparently an address of the earth god Enlil to his son the moon god. This melody must remain obscure as long as the recurring liturgical phrase āb-mu-ba-ši-in-dib is unexplained.

¹ ti-g is probably phonetic for 1eg = ma-gāru, see Sum. Gr. 258, ti-g⁴.
² lu<šum = dasû, dištâ, passim.
³ Cf. also PBS. V 25 l 15; 11 13 mu-na-ni-ib-gi- gi.
⁴ ekû<šu by dissimilation of vowels. See also REISNER, SBH. 77, 17.
⁵ For ama=ummatu, ummâdûtu, see Sum. Gr. 202, ama⁴ and WEIDNER, Handbuch der Babylonischen Astronomie, p. 86, 4.
⁶ See, for the musical instrument AL, Sumerian Liturgical Texts, Index, p. 221.
⁷ Text omits ū, which is not on the tablet.
5. [ ]-ni ši uri-ki muša-ba-
an-sā
6. en ud-sud-du-ge uru-ni-ta
7. Zu-en-e kidur1 ba-ni-in-gar
8. uri-ki uru šag-gi-paḍ-da-na
9. ę gud-gim ub-im-me
10. lugal-mu sā-rin-na-ni̇
11. ki-ma-g ki-kal-kal ge-en-na-nam-
   ma-ám
12. Zu-en-e uru kenag-ga-ni
13. ę ši uri-(ki) me-aqaz-aqaz-ga
14. lugal-mu bara
15. [ ]-e nin [ ] gar-ra
16. sa-[gar-] ra-ám5
17. ę Nannar [áb -] zu me-a
   mu'-u-lu en Āš-im-ūr
18. uru igit-la ę šag [-gál ul-] ti2-
   ni-ma
19. šuruppak-gim [nam-gar-] gud-e
   gál-la-bi
20. ę...-e...-áb-mu-ba-ši-in-dib
21. [e dumu] Āš-im-ūr
22. [Hail! son] of Enil, in the Land
    he is ruler, lord Ašimur.

5. His city(?) the abode of Ur as a
   name he named.
6. As lord unto eternal days in his
   city,
7. The god Sin he3 caused to abide.
8. In Ur the city which his heart
   has chosen
9. The temple like a strong bull
   calls unto the regions(?)
10. Of my king, may his net(?)
11. Be upon tomb and ruins.
12. Of Sin, may his beloved city,
13. The dwelling-place Ur, with
   holy decrees a city
14. Of my king may his chapel...
15. ..............................
16. It is a sagar melody.
17. Hail! Nannar, of the flocks(?)
   thou art ruler, lord Ašimur.
18. In my city of the lifting of the
   eyes, the home of his own
   abode, which is his fulness of
   luxury,
19. Whose design is like Šuruppak,
20. I have caused him to
    be a shepherd(?)
21. ..............................
22. [Hail! son] of Enil, in the Land
    he is ruler, lord Ašimur.

1 Written KU-KI. Cf. also CT. 16, 44, 80 KU-KI-gar-ra-bi = 2aši-lu.
2 Enil.
3 A reading ār-im-me, "it is glorified," suggests itself. Cf. SBH. 93, 1.
4 Cf. TSA. 31 Obv. II.
5 See PBS. Vol. XII 12.
6 See PBS. 295, 17.
7 ści lu-bu-šu, "the lusty man," POEBEL, PBS. V 136 V 13, with which compare n. pra.
   Ṣubusu, Ṣubusu, in HOLMA, "Personal Names of the Form Ṣu Ṣu," p. 50. Note also ści-li-a =
   Ṣubusu, PBS. V ibid. I. 12. The hymn to Sin, SBP. 296, contains in line 14 the same phrase.
8 Text not entirely certain. If correctly read the signs ḪAR-GUD = kabattu must be read in
   SBP. 48, 45 after the variant SBH. 3, 10.
24. Into my city of the lifting of the eyes, the home of his own abode, which is his fulness of luxury,

25. Whose design is like Šuruppak,

**Reverse**

1. [áb-mu-ba-] ši-in-dib
2. [dumu-sag d] En-lil-lá kalama me-a mu-u-lu en d] Áš-im-úr
3. [ud]-dug-ga [ki-gar-ra mu-šú ga] -sá-a
4. d] Áš-im-úr šag-gi-pad-da-mu
5. é-mud-[kuri-ri mu] 1 áb-mu-ba-ši-in-dib
6. dumu-sag d] En-lil-lá kalama me-a mu-u-lu
7. ud-dug-ga-kí-gáir-ra mu-[šú] ga-sá-a
8. d] Áš-im-úr me-en ki [šag]-gi-pad-da-mu
9. é-mud-kur-ra-mu áb-[mu-ba]-ši-in- dib
10. lugal tūr-atag-ga áb-šú me-a mu-u-lu šul-pa munsab-nun-na
11-12. šag-túm-ma bara ša mu-un-du eš-e uri-(ki)-mu-[šú]
13. In the meadow a sanctuary I have built; in the abode of my city Ur,

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1 Restored from line 10. The only previous occurrence of this name is in *Smith's Miscellaneous Texts*, 11, 1 which has RI not MU. The end of the name is broken in BL. No. 27. Perhaps Smith copied the sign wrongly.
2 Pronounced udugga = šaltu.
14. ḫāg-namsar kur Dilmun-na
15. ḫ-gī-ażag-bi-a āb mu-ba-ši-in-dīb
16. dūmu-sag 4 En-lil-lā kalama me-ā
    mu-ū-lū šul-ša munsub nun-na
18. ḫāg-tūm-ma bara ṣa-mu-un-dū
    ēš-e urī-ki-mu-šu
19. ḫāg-namsar kur Dilmun-na
    nun-na
20. ḫ-gī-ążag-bi-a āb-mu-ba-ši-in-dīb
21. sa-gar- ra- ām
22. nar-balag 2 Zu-en-na

14. In the temple Šagnamsar 1 which
is in the mount of Dilmun,
15. In the temple of the holy stylus
a shepherd I caused him to
be (?)
16. First son of Enlil, in the Land
he is ruler, glorious (?) hero,
far famed shepherd.
18. In the meadow a sanctuary I
built; in the abode of my
city Ur,
19. In the temple Šagnamsar which
is in the mount of Dilmun,
20. In the temple of the holy stylus
a shepherd I have caused him
to be (?)
21. It is a sagar melody.
22. Song on the flute to Sin.

7080 (No. 11)

Lamentation on the Destruction of Ur

The fragment Ni. 7080 carries the right half of one of the
largest literary tablets in the Museum. Broken evenly at the
center from top to bottom the right half of this tablet preserves
part of Col. III and all of Cols. IV, V of the obverse. The reverse
correspondingly contains Cols. I, II and half of Col. III. Like
so many similar liturgical compositions of the period of Ur this
lamentation is divided into a series of kišubs or songs, here of
unusually great length. The third song ends at Obv. III 38;

1 The name as transliterated means mudammīḫ musarrē, “Temple of the benefactor of writ-
ing.” In line 15 its holy reed is mentioned, a mythical stylus symbolic of the god of wisdom,
Enki, according to SAK. 6 h.

2 nar-balag = ṭīgū, a kind of flute. Here the word indicates that in the musical accompaniment
this instrument was employed. It probably denotes a specific kind of melody. Three other
musical instruments have given their names to classes of melodies, the eršemma, balag and me-čīl,
see SBP. page IX, and BL. page XXXVIII.
its first line stood in Obv. II, which has been lost. The fourth
song began at Obv. III 42 and ends at Obv. IV 23, containing
thirty-four lines. The fifth song begins at Obv. IV 27 and ends
at Obv. V 7, containing forty-seven lines. In the following pages
will be found a translation of twenty-three lines of the end of the
fourth song which describes the wrathful word of the gods Anu
and Enlil. The fifth song, a remarkable ode to the wrathful
word of Enlil, has been translated so far as the text permits.

The sixth song begins at Obv. V 11, and probably terminated
in the broken passage at the top of Rev. I. Its length was also
unusual, having at least forty-five lines. This song was edited
on a small tablet Ni. 4584 on which the beginning and the end
of the section are preserved. It has been published as No. 10
in Sumerian Liturgical Texts, Vol. X of the Publications of the
Babylonian Section. Only a few lines at the commencement of
this song have been translated here. From this point onward
the language of the liturgy presents such difficulty that the
writer has been unable to offer a translation.

Section seven probably ended at the top of Rev. II and
refers throughout to the mother goddess who weeps over the
ruins of Ur. The eighth song probably began at the top of
Rev. II and ended perhaps at the top of Rev. III. It is another
doleful ode to the weeping mother and many of its lines are
clear and translatable. The entire song is marked by sorrowful
refrains: *me-li-e-a uru-mu nu-me-a*, Oh woe is me, my city is
no more.\(^1\) *a-uru-mu im-me*, How long? oh my city I cry.\(^2\)
*me-li-e-a uru-la à-a-mèn*, Oh woe is me, from the city I depart.\(^3\)
dingir ga-ša-an-gal-mèn è-la è-a-mèn, Great divine queen am I,

\(^1\) Rev. II 22.
\(^2\) Rev. II 19.
\(^3\) Rev. II 29.
from the temple I depart.\textsuperscript{1} \textit{er-gig ni-šēš-šēš}, She weeps bitterly.\textsuperscript{2}

Only the ends of lines of a large part of the ninth song are preserved in Rev. III. The tenth song probably occupied most of the space in Rev. IV. Speculation concerning the number of songs in the entire liturgy is limited to the number of about 11–13. The liturgy was, therefore, extremely long, attaining to a content of about 500 lines. We know from the single tablet variant of the sixth song that another edition of this series existed in which small tablets carried each a single \textit{kišub}. A similar condition of editorial redaction is revealed by ZIMMERN, KL. 200, a small tablet which contains the twelfth song of a liturgy to the deified king of Isin, Išme-Dagan.

The historical event referred to in this liturgy is undoubtedly the destruction of Ur in the time of Ibi-Sin, last of the kings of the Ur dynasty. This calamity left many traces in the temple songs of Sumer, and the Sumerian prayer books of Nippur contain other lamentations on the fall of Ur, written perhaps during the Isin period. The writer has already published a single column tablet which rehearses the same catastrophe, mentioning Ibi-Sin himself and naming the Elamites as his captors.\textsuperscript{3}

\begin{center}
\textbf{OVERSE IV}
\end{center}

1. \textit{an-ni e-ne-em-bi ba-ra-mu-un-gur} 1. Anu may prevent his word.
2. \textit{Mu-ul-il-e niš-šág ĝe-am-bi} 2. Enlil may order kindness.
3. \textit{šag-mu ba-ra-be-in-šed-di} 3. And may my heart be at peace from sorrow.

\textsuperscript{1} Rev. II 30.
\textsuperscript{3} See Historical and Religious Texts 5–8.
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{niš}>\textit{ni}.  
4. [ ]su-ud arad-na sag ki-
   ba-da-ab-gál-la
5. [ ]nae-ne-em-súr-ragur-
   da-bi
6. [ ]ba-da-an-dúr-ru-ne-
   eš-a
7. ùr-ge-im-ma-gid-gid-da  ge-im-
   ma-lal-lá
8. an-ra a-i-ne-mà me-e ge-im-ma-
   na-dúg
9. 4 Mu-ul-lil-ra ni-mu šag-ne-du
   ge-im-ma-ag
10. uru-mu nam-ma-gul-lu ge-im-me-
    ne-dúg
11. Uri-(ki) nam-ma-gul-lu ge-im-
    me-ne-dúg
12. uku-bi nam-ma-bir(?)-e ge-im-
    me-ne-dúg
13. an-ni e-ne-em-bi ba-ra-mu-un-
    gur
14. 4 Mu-ul-lil-é ni-šág ge-á-m-
    bi
15. šag-mu ba-ra-be-in-šed-di
16. uru-mu gul-gul-lu-ba-da-bi ge-im-
    ma-an?-eš
17. Uri-(ki) gul-gul-lu-ba-da-bi ge-
    im-ma-an?-eš
18. uku-bi díg gi-bil-šu ág-bi ga-ba-
    an-tar-ri-eš
19. me-e nig-dúg-mu mu-ne-sum-ma-
    gim
20. me-e uru-mu-da ge-en-bi mu-un-
    da-lal-eš
21. Uri-(ki) mu-durun-da ge-en-bi
    mu-(un)-da-lal-eš
22. an-ni [dúg-ga-ni ĝur] nu-kúr-ru-
    dam

4. [ ] the angry word be
   prevented.
6.
7. The foundations it has anni-
   hiliated, and reduced to the
   misery of silence.
8. Unto Anu I will cry my “how
   long?”
9. Unto Enlil I myself will pray.
10. “My city has been destroyed”
    will I tell them.
11. “Ur has been destroyed” will
    I tell them.
12. “Its people have been scattered”
    will I tell them.
13. May Anu prevent his word.
14. May Enlil order kindness.
15. And may my heart be at peace
    from sorrow.
16. My city which has been de-
    stroyed may they ...........
17. Ur which has been destroyed
    may they ...............
18. Of its slain people may they
    decree a new dispensation.3
19. I will offer my meditations unto
    them.
20. I (will say to them): “In my
    city they have despised the
    splendor.”
21. “In Ur the city of homes they
    have despised the splendor.”
22. Anu whose words in this man-
    ner change not.

1 Lines 50–54 on Col. 111 may be restored from lines 8–12.
2 Literally, “decree again their oracle.”
3 gim, emphatic suffix.
23. \textit{Mu-ul-lil-e enim-bi ë-a-ni}... \textit{e-dam}

24. \textit{ki-\textit{ub-gú 4-kam-ma-am}}

25. \textit{uru-ni ba-da-gul-äm me-ni ba-da-kûr-äm}

26. \textit{giš-gi- gál-bi- im}

27. \textit{En-lil-li ud-de gù-ba-an-de}
\textit{uku-e še-âm-šá}

\textit{kar}
\textit{uku-e še-âm-šá}

29. \textit{ud dug \textit{Ki-en-gi-da} ba-da-an-}
\textit{kar}
\textit{uku-e še-âm-šá}

30. \textit{gùl-gul-e ã-ba-da-an-dg} \textit{uku-e}
\textit{še-âm-šá}

31. \textit{kin-gal-ud-da ud-da-gub-ba šu-na}
\textit{im-ma-an-sig}

32. \textit{ud kalam-lil-lil-e gù-ba-an-de}
\textit{uku-e še-âm-šá}

33. \textit{En-lil-li \textit{Gi-bil ã-ta-g-a} ki-mu-
\textit{na-ni-in-[}]
\textit{gal an-na-ge gù-ba-an-de} \textit{uku-
\textit{e še-âm-šá}}

34. \textit{ud-gal an-na-ge gù-ba-an-de} \textit{uku-
\textit{e še-âm-šá}}

35. \textit{En-lil-li \textit{Gibil ã-ta-g-a} ki-mu-
\textit{na-ni-in-[}]

36. \textit{ud-gal-ë} \textit{an-ta} \textit{gù-ni} \textit{ib-im-me}
\textit{uku-e še-âm-šá}

23. Enlil the going forth of whose word.

24. It is the fourth song.

25. Her city has been destroyed, her ordinances have been changed.

26. This is its antiphon.

27. Enlil utters the spirit of wrath and the people wail.

28. The spirit of wrath prosperity from the Land has destroyed and the people wail.

29. The spirit of wrath peace from Sumer has taken and the people wail.

30. He has sent the evil spirit of wrath and the people wail.

31. The “Messenger of Wrath,” the “Assisting Spirit” into its hand he entrusted.\footnote{We meet here for the first time with two avenging angels or genii who attend the Word in its execution of the wrath of god. \textit{Kingsu} is mentioned as one of four evil spirits \textit{ilu limmu} in CT. 25, 23, 44. He is mentioned with the \textit{Zû} bird and the demon \textit{šedu} as appearing in dream omens, BOISSIER, DA. 207, 34. See also BOISSIER, \textit{Choix}, II 53, 4. On \textit{uddugulb} as a title of kings see BE. 31, 22 n. 9.}

32. He has uttered the spirit of wrath which exterminates the Land and the people wail.

33. The great spirit of Heaven has been uttered and the people wail.

34. Enlil has sent Gibil as its helper.

35. The mighty spirit on high he commanded forth and the people wail.

36. The great spirit of Heaven has been uttered and the people wail.

37. The mighty spirit on high he commanded forth and the people wail.

\footnote{The \textit{ud-gal} is regarded as plural = \textit{amul rabbi} and identified with the evil spirits of incantations, CT. 16, 22, 266 and 276. In the Epic of Creation the “great spirit of wrath” is one of the demons attendant upon Tiamat.}
38. ud kalam il-il-e azag ki
39. im-gul-e a-mag-è-a-gim
40. giš-dúr uru-ge sag-gaz ni-ag
41. an-na úr-ba ? mu-un-nigin
42. ud-da igi-ba-ne mu-un-ne-ne
43. bár-bár-ri ne-gig-edin-na tür(?)
44. an-ne-bar-ám ne-gúr-gúr
45. an-ne é UD-UD è
46. kalam-ma lāg-lāg-ga

(Lines 47-55 mostly illegible.)

COL. V.

(Lines 1-6 mostly illegible.)

7. Uri-(ki)-ma tūg-gim ba-e-gul
  . . . gim ba-e-búr
7. Ur like a garment thou hast
   destroyed, like a . . . . thou
   hast scattered.

8. ki-šub-gú 5-kam-ma-ám
9. ud ug(?)-ám al-[ ]uku-e
   še-am-šá
10. giš- gi- gál -bi- im
8. It is the fifth song.
9. The spirit of wrath like a lion
   . . . . . . . and the people lament.
10. This is its antiphon.

11. ud-ba ud uru-da ba-da-an-gar
    uru-bi
11. At that time the spirit of wrath
    upon the city was wrought
    and the city . . . . . . . . . . .

12. a-a Nannar uru dim-dūl-dūl-da
    ba-da-an-[ ]uku-e še-
    am-šá
13. ud-ba ud kalama-ta ba-da-an-kár
    uku-e še-am-šá
12. Father Nannar upon the city of
   master workmen . . . . . . . . . and
   the people wail.
13. At that time the spirit of wrath
    descended upon the Land and
    the people wail.

1 See PBS. X 161, 13.
2 The traces on Ni. 7080 are against the restoration še-am-šá. Lines 11-19 are restored from
PBS. X No. 10.
14. uku-bi šika-kud-da [nu-me-a ba-ra ba-e-si]
15. bād-ba gū [?]nin [kaskala im-ma-an-gar-gar uku-e še-ām-šá]
16. ká-gal-maḫ ṣir-gal-la-[ba ād-a im-ma-] an [BAD]
17. duḫ?-tun-sīr-gim āu-a-ba [sag-bal-e] ba-ab-gar
18. [ ] e-sīr ṣir-gal-la-ba ād im-ma-an-gar-gar

14. Her people without water jars sit without her in desolation
15. Within her . . . . . in the ways are placed and the people wail.
16. The great city gate and the highways with the dead are choked up.
17. Like a leather vessel all of her the usurper cast asunder(?)
18. In her. . . . . streets and roads corpses heaped up(?)

3656 (Myhrman No. 5)

Liturgical Hymns of the Tammuz Cult

The obverse of this fine single column tablet contained a hymn in thirty-eight lines to the departed Tammuz. It represents the people wailing for the lord of life who now sleeps in the lower world. Thirteen lines have been completely broken away from the top. The reverse carried a long liturgical song of the cult of this god in which the mother goddess is represented wailing for her ravished lover. Songs of the weeping mother are common enough in these wailings for Tammuz, but all other known examples of this motif represent the major unmarried type of mother goddess Innini-Ishtar wandering on earth, crying for her departed son. The hymn on our tablet reveals in a wholly unexpected manner the close relation between the mother goddess Gula of Isin and Innini. It was known that both sprang from a common source, a prehistoric unmarried goddess, but one had hardly supposed that the liturgists went so far as to intro-

1 gū? Variant gū-nin!
duce the married goddess of Isin in the rôle of the virgin mother Innini. The great mother divinity of Isin, although attached in a loose way to a male consort Ninurta, in that city retained, nevertheless, much of her ancient unattached character. In the standard liturgies she is almost invariably the type of weeping mother, whereas Innini is this type in the Tammuz liturgies. Since Gula of Isin was the ordinary liturgical type we find the influence of the ordinary liturgies effective in the composition of the Tammuz hymn. It explains the extraordinary phenomenon of the introduction of a long passage (Rev. 3–10) from one of the wailing liturgies. And the short litany refrain lines 11–20 is obviously an imitation of numberless similar passages of the ordinary liturgies in which the goddess wails for various temples; here only for Nippur and Isin, since the composition was written for the services at Nippur in the period of the Isin dynasty. In a most gratifying manner our tablet shows how the lamentations of the mother goddess in the canonical prayer books express sorrows for certain concrete misfortunes and certain defined temples and cities and find their general expression in the lamentations for Tammuz, the representative of all human vicissitudes. This edition has been made from my own copy. The tablet was first published by Myhrman, PBS. Vol. 1 No. 5, and by Radau, BE. 30 No. 2. To these copies I have been able to make only slight additions.

Hymns of the Tammuz Cult

2. *kalag giš* [ ] 2. Oh strong one [ ]
3. *me-ri kuš-š-[zu]* [ ] 3. *Thy weary foot* [ ]

1 Cf. RA. 12, 37, 1.
4. ṭi-irum-šu-[kuš-ù-šu ...........
5. a-tu²-guruš a-tu [ ]
6. kalag ⁴Da-mu-mu [ ]
7. tu-mu û-mu-un mu-zi-da [ ]
8. a-šu a dam ............ni-kuš-ù-a-šu
9. a-šu a tu-mu ............ni-kuš-ù-
    a-šu
10. i-de (?). . . . . tu-šü ? [na?] ū-šu-de
11. kalag da-ga-ām-ma³-ši . . . šu-de
12. a-rib⁴ šu-si me-ri . . . . . . a-bal-ma
    na-nam
13. šag-šu-šu la-āš-[la-āš]-šu-šu-a-šu
14. kalag ⁴Da-mu-mu a-bal-ma na-
    nam
15. ama-šu mu-lu er-ri nu-kuš-ù
16. ama ga-ša-an tin-dib-ba tāb-bi-
    šu nu-du-rum
17. ū-šub-ba-ša ū-ši-ga-ša sir-ri-šu
    na-ri-bi
18. kalag a-rin-na-ša ū(?)-a-lar-ra-ša
    sir-ri-šu na-ri-bi

4. Thy weary arms—breast—hands
5. Oh strong healer, oh ....... healer
6. Oh strong one, my Damu [ ]
7. Oh child, lord Gīšzida [ ]
8. Oh healer, how long husband
    ......... wilt thou be weary?
9. Oh healer, how long son . . . .
    wilt thou be weary?
10. When before ............... thou
    sittest,
11. Oh strong one, when into his
    assembly thou .............
12. Alas he whose fingers and feet
    [are bound], my irrigator is
    he.
13. Because of thee she wanders far
    for thee.
14. My sturdy Damu, my irrigator
    is he.
15. Thy mother she of lamentation
    rests not.
16. The mother, queen who gives
    life to the afflicted, tarries
    not to repose.
17. In thy perdition, in thy seizure,
    in melodious sighing she speaks of thee.
18. Oh hero, in thy contumely, in
    thy removal, in melodious sighing she speaks of thee.

¹ So from my copy and CT. IV 4b 12 = Babyloniaca, III 17.
² For this title of Tammuz, see Tammūṣ and Ishtar, 34.
³ Probably for dagān = puḫru, RA. 11, 144, 8. See also dakan, divine abode, Delitzsch, Glossar, 132.
⁴ Cf. SBP. 304, 13.
⁵ Title of Tammuz as spirit of the waters, see Tammūṣ and Ishtar, pp. 6 and 44. a-bal = tābša mē, purer of water, irrigator, is the original idea of this ideogram. For the title gālu-a-bal in this sense, see CT. 13, 42, 7 ff. Ak-bi gālu abal, the gardener who cared for Sargon. See also Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats, No. 174, 6-8, gālu a-bal, a kind of laborer. The later usage of the word as liberator of water for the souls of the dead, Semitic māš mē is a strictly conventional development, see Babyloniaca, VI 208.
19. *ama-ugu-mu* GAR-LUL-LUL-na-mu *sir-ri-šú nu-uš ma-gub-bi*

20. *kalag idim-[ma me-]en galu-kur-al*

21. *en . . . . . . . me-en galu-kur-dim*²

22. *unu-[dagal-mu] kur-idim-ma-mu*

23. *en me-en a-ra-li ki-sag kirud-da-mu*

24. *kalag me-en kur-ri-sud-du-šú imma-ab-du me-en*

25. *ud-me-e-na³ ni- ? ?*

19. My child-bearing mother, my lamenter(?) with melodious sighing behold she stands

20. Oh sturdy one, prostrate thou art, a man of the land of wailing(?)

21. Oh lord, . . . . . . . thou art, a man of the land of lament.

22. In my vast chamber, in my land of misery,

23. A lord am I. In Aralu, place where I am cast away,


25. Daily(?) he [sorrows?]

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**Reverse**

1. *šā-ab-er-ri⁵ kuš-ū-a-mu ma-a ma-a nad-da-[mu]*

2. *balag-di šā-ab-er-ri kuš-ū-a-mu ma-a-a nad-da-[mu]*

3. *ama uru-sag ga-ša-an tin-dib-ba mën*

4. *sag-šu-an-na ga-ša-an l-si-in-(ki)-na mën*

5. *tu-mu é-a ga-ša-an-mu⁶ d Gu-nu-ra*

6. *tum-lu-qaq ama é-šāb-ba mën*

1. I weary with heart woe, where shall I rest?

2. Oh sing to the lyre; I weary with heart woe, where shall I rest?

3. Mother of the chief city,⁸ queen who gives life to the dead am I.

4. First born daughter of heaven,⁷ queen of Isin am I.

5. Daughter of the temple, Queen Gunura.

6. Holy tumlu mother of Ešabba am I.

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¹ al as synonym of DE (in line 21) is probably a variant of ilu=nagā.
² Sign DE.
³ This line is connected with the classical interlude ma-a-bi ud-me-na-gim etc. discussed in SBP. 185 n. 10 and BL. XLIX.
⁴ Below the double line the figure 38, i.e. 38 lines on the obverse. Thirteen lines have been broken from the top.
⁵ Cf. ZIMMERN, K.L., 25 ll 42.
⁶ l. e. Isin.
⁷ On this title see BL. 143.
7. Enannun mother of lamentation am I.  
8. Queen of Niginmarra, the holy place, am I.  
10. Mother of the temple, Ašnan the divine lustrator am I.  
11. Weeping and sighing where shall I find rest?  
12. Weeping for Ekur, where shall I repose?  
13. Weeping for Kenur, where shall I repose?  
14. Weeping for Duazagga, where shall I repose?  
15. Weeping for the “House of the King,” where shall I repose?  
16. Weeping for the chief city, where shall I repose?  
17. Weeping for the sacred forest, where shall I repose?  
18. Weeping for Isin, where shall I repose?  
19. Weeping for Egalmah, where shall I repose?  
20. Weeping for Larak, where shall I repose, where shall he rest?  
21. The ravished one my husband, the ravished one, my son,  
22. [In . . . . . .] the clean place, the ravished one my spouse,
A Liturgy to Enlil, Series e-lum gud-sun
(Zimmern KL. No. 11)

The history of the text of this long and intricate Enlil liturgy elucidates in unusual manner the evolution of Sumerian prayer books until they attained canonical and permanent form. The earliest text of this liturgy is partially preserved on the Tablet Virolleaud published in the Revue d'Assyriologie, Vol. XVI. The fragment was brought to Europe in 1909 by the assyriologist Charles Virolleaud, having been purchased by him during his excavations in Persia. It is light brown and varies from the center to the edge by two inches to one inch in thickness. The fragment is from the upper left corner of a large three(?) column tablet. About half of the first melody is preserved on the obverse. The reverse preserves the last two melodies. From their rubrics we learn that the entire series contained eleven sections. This tablet has the rubric ki-šub-gū after each strophe. The titular litany occupies as usual the next to the last place but only the opening lines giving the motif and a few titles are given. The redactor indicates the remaining titles by a rubric "(Recite the title) of a

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1 The edge has the figure 48 which indicates the number of lines on the reverse and left edge.
2 See also the same idea in SBP. 312, 12 and KL. 25 II 41.
3 Concerning the titular litanies, see PBS. X 156, 173, etc.
god until they are finished." The rubric is in Semitic which shows that the redaction was done by Semitic scholars.

The series as it finally issued from the hands of the liturgists in the Isin period was written upon a huge five(?) column tablet, the lower half of which has been published by Zimmerm, *Altsumerische Kulllieder*, No. 11. Each column contained about fifty lines. There are no giš-gi-gal or antiphons after the melodies, ten of which I have been able to restore. By borrowing from old songs and other liturgies the redactors have greatly increased the length of this service. At least ten songs have been lost on Cols. III, IV of the obverse and I, II of the reverse.

The late Assyrian redaction is mentioned in the catalogue of prayer books IV Raw. 53 I 13 and in BL. No. 103 Obv. 13. SBH. No. 21, edited in SBP. 112-119, is tablet one of the late Babylonian School¹ and contains the first four songs, duplicates of the first four on K.L. 11. SBH. No. 25, edited in SBP. 120-123,² carries on the obverse two songs (*e-lum* *di-da-ra* and *me-e ur-ri men*) found on Col. III of K.L. No. 11, Rev., or the two last melodies before the titular litany. A fragment published by Meeke in BA. X pt. 1, No. 11, contains the end of *e-lum* *di-da-ra* and all of *me-e ur-ri men*. SBH. 25 and Meeke No. 11 belong to the series *e-lum di-da-ra*, entered in the Assyrian catalogue, IV Raw. 53a 8, and form tablet one of that service.

The titular litany of the *e-lum gud-sun* series is identical (except for some variants) with the famous titular litany of the mother goddess series *mu-ten* *NU-NUNUZ gim-ma*, tablet five, edited in SBP. 149-167. Portions of the titular litany of the Enlil series have been edited in PBS. X 155-167, see pages 163-4. The titular litany of *ni-ma-al gi-de-de* occurs at the end

¹ Erroneously designated the fourth tablet of *ame baranara* in SBP.
² Erroneously assigned to *ame baranara* in SBP.
of tablet two of that series, SBP. 24–9 = BL. 72–3. Not every series has a theological litany of this kind, which ordinarily comes before the er-šem-ma, or intercessional song at the end. The song to the “word,” which occurs in all series, is partially preserved on Obv. III and begins a-ma-ru na-nam. The indispensable song to the weeping mother comes just before the titular litany. This little nine-line melody me-e ur-ri-mēn me-e kāš-mēn must have been a national religious song. It was copied into another Enlil song service as we have seen. The same song introduces tablet four of an Innini series of which we have only the end of tablet three, K. 2759, in BL. 93 f.

Finally the reader will note that the first song e-lūm gud-sun of this series has been copied into one of the tablets of ame baranara, SBH. No. 22 = SBP. 126 f. A fragment of some unknown series, K. 8603 = BL. 14 also employs this song in the body of its text.

1. e-lūm gud-sun mu-ṣu kur-kur-šu
   1. Exalted one, bull that overwhelms, thy name is on the lands.

2. ṣu₉-mu-un-e₅ kur-kur-ra gud-sun
   2. Lord of the lands, bull that overwhelms, thy name, etc.

3. ṣu₉-mu-un dūg-ga-ṣi-da gud-sun
   3. Lord of the faithful word, bull that overwhelms, etc.

4. d₉ Mu-ul-lil a-a ka-na-dg₉-ga gud-sun
   4. Enlil, father of the Land, bull that overwhelms, etc.

5. sib sag-gig-ga gud-sun
   5. Shepherd of the dark-headed people, bull that overwhelms, etc.

6. i-dē-du₉ ni-te-na gud-sun
   6. Thou of self-created vision, bull that overwhelms, etc.

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1 The text of lines 1–25 is taken from Tablet Virolleaud, now Collection Nies, No 1315
2 SBP. 112 and 126 have umum, et passim.
3 SBH. 42 has an inserted line between II. 1–2. See SBP. 112
4 Vars. nāg.
7. *am GĪR'-na sá-sá* gud-sun
8. ū-lul-la ku-ku² gud-sun mu-țu
   kur-kur-šu
9. *mu-țu kur-ra mu-ma-al-la-šu an* ni-bi nam-dāb
10. ki ni-bi nam-sīg
11. *Mu-ul-lil e-ne-em-țu kur-ra-ām ma-ma-al-la-šu*
12. dāg-ga-țu kur-ra-ām ma-ma-al-la-šu
13. dağ-a-țu kur-ra-ām ma-ma-al-la-šu
14. an nī dāb sīg⁶ ki ni-bi nam-sīg
15. *ama [mu]*⁴-gī-gi ama nu-bar-ra
dumu-ni mi-ni-in-gi-gi
16. .......... ga-ša-an ēru bar-ra-ra
dumu-ni mi-ni-in-gi-gi
17. .......... dumu-ni mi-ni-in-gi-gi
18. e-lum ....... e-ne-em-țu-šu ....
kur-ri ni-in-gi-gi
20. kur-ri ni-in-gi-[gi]
21. e-lum qa-e e-ne-em-țu an-e um-
    ma-[dūg]
22. an-e ib[ ]
23. *Mu-ul-lil qa-e e-ne-em-țu ki-e*
    um-[ma-dāg]

7. Wild bull who directs his hosts,
   bull that overwhels, etc.
8. Thou that sleepest the sleep of
   perversity, bull that over-whelms, thy name is on the
   lands.
9. When thy name is laid upon the
   lands the heavens tremble of
   themselves,
10. and the earth quakes of itself.
11. Oh Enil, when thy word is laid
   upon the lands,
12. When thy command is laid upon
   the lands,
13. When thy command⁶ is laid upon
   the lands,
14. The heavens tremble of them-
   selves, the earth of itself
   quakes,
15. The harlot mother, the hiero-
   dule mother slays her son,
16. ....... queen of the city, outside
   the city slays her son.
17. ....... slays her son.
18. Oh exalted ...... at thy word .
    the foreign land thou reducest
to the misery of silence.
19. Enil lord of .......... ⁶
20. the foreign land thou reducest to
    the misery of silence
21. Oh exalted one, as for thee, thy
    word in heaven speak
22. and heaven shall ........
23. Enil, as for thee, thy word on
    earth speak

¹ Uncertain. Apparently REC. 235. Elsewhere in this passage always ȘAB which has been
read erin-na=ummānī-šu, BL. 111, 16.
² See Yale Vocabulary 135.
³ On this passage see PBS. X 170, 13 and Ni. 15204, 8 of this volume.
⁴ Sic! Error for ni-bi-dāb.
⁵ Omitted by the scribe. Line restored from Ni. 15204, 11.
⁶ With line 19 the variant SBH. 42 lower fragment begins.
and earth shall not .

God of libation speak [and heaven shall . . . . and earth shall not . . . .]

Divine wild ox of heaven and earth, wild ox of the good city speak, etc.

Mother of the house of the famous one, Damgalnunna, speak, etc.

Marduk, son of the good city speak, etc.

River goddess, mother of the good city speak, etc.

Zarpanit queen of . . . . . . . . . . speak, etc.

Faithful messenger, called by a good name, speak, etc.

[The spirit] reduces [all things] to tribute.

How long shall the child-bearing mother reject her son?

How long shall the child-bearing mother, queen of the city, cast aside her son?

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1 Var. adds ra.
2 The god Ea of Eridu is meant.
3 Var. adds ra.
4 The traces are clearly not those of EDIN.
5 Col. II 19. On this variant for dumu-maği, see note in Sumerian Liturgical Texts 163.
6 Restored from Col. II 20.
7 Col. II 23 ab-su-di. Here begins KL. N. I. 1, which joins directly on to Tablet Pirocleaud.
8 This refrain is read 4-um etc. on the late variant, SBH. No. 21, Obv. lower fragment.
9 Cf. SBP. 40, 33. Restoration uncertain. This line does not appear in SBH. 42 = SBP. 112 which has here insertions for Tašmetu and Nanā.
10 For -na-ta? The suffixed conjugation is frequently employed in interrogations: me-nam-mi, "When shall one restore it?", BE. 30, 12, 2. a-ba ku-ul-la-ba, "Who shall restrain?", Ni. 4610, r. 1. a-na an-na-ab-ta-k-ni, "What shall I add to thee?", GENOUILLAC, Drebem, 1, 12.
11 Parallel passages do not mention the "queen of the city" but only the ordinary mother who rejects her children, SBH. 131, 58–61; BL. 74, 10. The phrase refers obviously to the mother goddess. "Her son" must be interpreted figuratively in the sense that the mother goddess is the protector of all human creatures.
37. te-e-am ama-gan-ra ga-ša-an
sun-na-ra1 dumu-ni ẑi-em-ma-na-ad-du
38. a urú-a mu-lu im-me-a-ra2 dumu-
ni ẑi-em-ma-na-ad-du
39. a ki-dagar-ra-am Nippur-am ib
ĕš-ga-a-ra3

37. How long shall the child-bearing
mother, the wild-cow queen,
reject her son?
38. How long in the city shall he of
wailing reject his son?
39. How long in the wide land, in
Nippur, in the region of the
vast abode?

40. a-gal-gal šel-su-su mulu ta-tu
mu-un-tu4
41. e-lum a-gal-gal šel-su-su mulu ta-
tu mu-un-tu
42. d-mu-ul-lil ū-mu-un kur-kir-ra

40. Flood that drowns the harvests,
who comprehends thy form?
41. Exalted, flood that drowns the
harvests who comprehends
thy form?
42. Enlil lord of the lands, who etc.

Obverse II

1. ū-mu-un dug-ga-ţi-da5
2. d-mu-ul-lil a-a ka-nag-ga
3. sib sag-gi-ga
4. i-dê-duģ ni-te-na

1. Lord of the faithful word, who
etc.
2. Enlil father of the Land, who
eetc.
3. Shepherd of the dark-headed
people, who etc.
4. Thou of self-created vision, who
eetc.

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1 This title gaSan-sun or nin-sun, really means beltu rimtu, “the wild-cow queen,” and characterizes the ancient mother goddess as patroness of cattle. The title usually refers to the married type Gula or Bau, as in SBP. 284. 19, and note that Ninsun, mother of Gilgamesh, is frequently called ri-maL, POEBEL, OLZ., 1914, 4. The title also applies to the virgin type Innini in KL. 123 r. 11 7.
2 mu-lu imme also BE. 30, 9 l 2 = bīl ḫāli(?), “Man of wailing.” The late version replaces this line by [te-e-dm] da-ga-a-ta dumu-ni, “How long shall the wife of the strong man reject her son?”, SBP. 114, 37. dagāla = dam-guš, SBH. 131, 60.
3 Probably a title of Ekur. ešgalla title of the temple in Kullab, KL. 3 11 20. The late version rejects this line since its local reference was not suited to general use.
4 Here this line begins an Enlil melody within the body of a series. Originally a-gal-gal šel-su-su was a Nergal melody and a series based upon it is catalogued in IV R. 53a 33 of which K. 69 is the first tablet. See also BÖLLENRÜCHER, Nergal, No. 6.
5 The late redaction of this melody revises this litany with the new liturgical movement uraagal—elimma placed before alternate lines. When this scheme is employed all feminine deities are omitted. See SBP. 114. Note 5 p. 115 ibid. is to be suppressed.
5. am erin-na sá-sá
6. ȗ-lul-a dúr-dúr
7. šag gi-ū gi-ū šá-ab tí-g-e tí-g-e
8. šag an-na gi-ū gi-ū
9. šag ȗ mu-ul-lil gi-ū gi-ū
10. šag ur-sag-gal gi-ū gi-ū

11. ni-ma-al-e ȗ ti-d al-ma-al [li-]e
    nap-ta-na aš-ša-ka-nu
12. ni-ma-al-e ni-ma-al-e
13. ni-ma-al-e ti-d al-ma-al
14. [kur-gal ȗ en-lil-]da šu-en-ne ba-túg
15. [a-ȗ mu-ul-lil] šu-en-ne ba-túg
16. [kur-gal ȗ en-lil-]šu-en-ne ba-túg
17. [a-ȗ mu-ul-lil] šu-en-ne ba-túg
18. ā-mu-un am urú-ȗ-ti-ib-(ki) šu-en-ne-ba-túg
19. ama-ȗ-maği-a ȗ dam-gal-nun-na
20. ȗ asar-lù-du-g dumu urú ti-ib-(ki)
21. mu-ud-na-an-ȗ apin-a nun-na-
    an-ki

5. Hero who directs his hosts, who etc.
6. Thou that sleepest the sleep of perversity, who etc.
7. Oh heart be reconciled, be reconciled, oh heart repose, repose.
8. Oh heart of Anu be reconciled, be reconciled.
9. Oh heart of Enlil be reconciled, etc.
10. Oh heart of the great hero, be reconciled, etc.

11. Kneaded bread for the feast I set,
12. Kneaded bread, kneaded bread,
13. Kneaded bread for the feast I set,
14. By the Great Mountain, Enlil, it has been blessed.
15. By Father Enlil it has been blessed.
16. The Great Mountain Enlil has blessed.
17. The Father Enlil has blessed.
18. Lord, hero of the sacred city, has shown grace.
19. Mother of the house of the famous one, Damgalnunna, has shown grace.
20. Asarudug, son of the sacred city, has shown grace.
21. His wife Zarpanit has shown grace.

1 Lines 7–10 conjecturally restored from Sumerian Liturgical Texts 165, 8–11.
2 Lines 11–17 restored from SBP, 116, 16 ff.
3 Meaning and restoration uncertain.
4 First line on ZIMMERN, No. 11 Col. II.
5 See note on line 27 above.
6 Usually ȗ = ȗkû, canal, is used in this title of Zarpanit. She is originally a patroness of irrigation and ultimately identical with Ninâ.
22. River goddess, mother of the sacred city, has shown grace.

23. Zarpanit queen of . . . . etc.

24. Faithful messenger, called by a good name, has shown grace.

25. The kneaded bread which has been well made,

26. Which has been well made, the kneaded bread may he eat graciously,

27. May Enlil graciously eat; yea graciously eat.

28. Where Anu sits may the people hasten.

29. [The Anunnaki.] Where Anu sits let the people hasten.

30. To the temple he enters, the mighty priest of sacrifices to the temple enters.

31. A libation he offers, the priest of hand washing a libation offers.

32. To the temple at mid-day go up! at sun-set go up.

33. Daily to direct the sacrifices go up!

34. Daily to direct the prayers go up!

35. Daily Anu merciful god on high proclaim.

36. The hero of heaven and earth, hero of the sacred city on high proclaim.

37. 'To Enlil let all the land, to Enlil let all the people hasten.

---

1 ab-su = ab-šum sea? Cf. ab-šum-bil-la, the shining ocean, KL. i Rev. 119 f.
2 SBP. 116, 27 di-en-kur-e.
3 Var. u-mi-a, SBP. 116, 33.
4 Line 29 is false and to be corrected after the late text SBP. p. 118, 35 f. which has two lines. Read ki an dûr-ru-na-šû A-nun-na [gar-ma-an-ti-en], where Anu sits let the Anunnaki hasten.
5 Cf. SBH. 44, 37.
6 ili ra'imu.
7 naphar māti, cf. IV R. 23b 15.
38. an-ni a-ma-an-tu an-gu (?) an-ni
       a-ma-an-tu ša-ab ám-ma-ab
       -tūg-e

39. im-ma-an-a-tu a ám-ma-ab-tūg-e

40. ḍam-an-ki am uru-či-ib-(ki) ám-
       ma-ab-tūg-e

38. Unto heaven verily I will libate water, unto the canopy of heaven, unto heaven verily I will libate water. The heart I will appease.

39. I will pour out a libation, the father I will appease.

40. The hero of heaven and earth, the hero of the sacred city I will appease.

Col. III

(Here began a melody of which ten lines at least are lost.)

11. ē...[la (= KL. 11 Obv. III 1)]
12. unugal(?)-da...[la]
13. dū-sag-dū-la
14. ṇ-bi-tūr-la ḍ[ ]
15. ēš ṇ-bār-la
16. ēš ṇ-an-na-la
17. ḍe-ib
18-22 ........................................
23. ē [ ]
24. dū (?) [ ]
25. [ ]
26. [mu-un]-tūg-ga-la
27. mu-un-tūg-ga-la
28. mu-un-tūg-ga-la
29. mu-un-tūg-ga-la ḍag ḍ[ ]
30. mu-un-tūg-ga-la kur-gal ḍ m[u-
       ul-lil mu-un-tūg-ga-la]

11. ē...[la (= KL. 11 Obv. III 1)]

11. He has been pacified [ ]
12. He has been pacified [ ]
13. He has been pacified [ ]
14. He has been pacified, the heart of...[has been pacified]
15. He has been pacified [ ]
16. He has been pacified, the heart of...[has been pacified]
17. He has been pacified [ ]
18-22 ........................................
23. ē [ ]
24. dū (?) [ ]
25. [ ]
26. [mu-un]-tūg-ga-la
27. mu-un-tūg-ga-la
28. mu-un-tūg-ga-la
29. mu-un-tūg-ga-la ḍag ḍ[ ]
30. He has been pacified, the great mountain [Enlil has been pacified]

1 It is not certain that this melody ended here. Possibly all the titles in lines 19-27 followed here with the refrain am-ma-ab-tūg-e. At any rate the traces of a last line on SHB. 14 are those of the last line of this melody. There is not space enough on SHB. 14 after line 37 for more than the lines 31-40 supplied above for we must make some allowance for the interlinear Semitic translations in the break on SHB. 14.

2 Inbati pirliti. This sanctuary at Nippur is mentioned in BE. 29. No. 5 Obv. 11; dū-sag in KL. 64 II 4 and III 6.
31. edin-na ?-a erida (ki)-ta
32. a-ma-ru na-nam kur al-gul-gul
33. ù-mu-un-e en-er-em-mà-ri a-ma-[ru na-nam]
34. šāb-bi e-lum-e a-ma-ru na-[nam]
35. šāb-bi d-mu-ul-lil a-ma-ru na-nam
36. ù-mu-un-na šag an-šú an ni-ne ba-ni-ib-gam-[ma-ne]
37. d-mu-ul-lil en-ne-em ki-šú ki ni sig-ga-ni
39. en-ne-em-mà-ni a-zi nu-tuk ši-[mar nu-[un- tuk]
40. en-ne-em-mà-ni a-ma-ru ti-ga gab-shu-gar nu-un-tuk6

(Here followed Obv. IV; eight or ten lines continued this melody to the word. Their contents were similar to SBP. 100, 49-57 ff.)

Reverse 1117

1. sukkal-qid mu-dug-ga-sà-a [ ]
2. dingir ga-šé-dé a-be-in-si sag [ ]

1 End of the sixth melody.
2 Heart is used here in the sense “wrath.”
3 Cf. SBP. 98, 40 f.
4 Cf. SBP. 98, 44: 124. 19.
5 Cf. SBP. 38, 13.
6 Cf. ibid. 98, 48.
7 In case the tablet possessed five columns like KL. 25 then this column is Rev. 111. I know of no four column tablets of similar kind.
8 sag began a refrain which followed the titles of Enlil, Ea, etc. and ended with this line. See Obv. 1 21-31, etc.
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3. **an-ki-bi-da im-mi-ib-ṭun-ga**  
   3. Heaven and earth it has pacified.

4. **ki-an-bi-da im-mi-ib-ṭun-ga**  
   4. Earth and heaven it pacified.

5. **ud ē-kūr-la kūr-gal d-mu-ul-lil**  
   5. When in Ekur the great mountain Enlil it pacified,
   
   **[im-mi-ib-ṭun-ga]**

6. **ē-lam-ma-ta ama-gal d-nin-lil im**  
   6. [When] in Elamma the great mother Ninlil it pacified,
   
   **[mi-ib-ṭun-ga]**

7. **an-ni-gar-ra-ta ereš d-mu-ul-lil im-mi-ib-ṭun-ga**  
   7. In Annigarra the consort (sister) of Enlil it pacified.

8. **e-lum di-da-ra dé-en⁴ ga-ām-dūr**  
   8. The exalted who walketh forth, where tarry he?

   9. Who walketh forth, the exalted who walketh forth, where tarry he?

10. **ū-mu-un-e kur-kur-[ra-ge di-da-ra]**  
    10. The lord of the lands, who walketh forth, where tarry he?

11. **[ū-mu-]un-e dúg-qa-ti-da**  
    11. The lord of faithful word, who etc.

12. **d-mu-ul-lil a-a ka-nag-ga**  
    12. Enlil, father of the Land, who etc.

13. **sib sag-gig-ga**  
    13. Shepherd of the dark-headed people, who etc.

14. **i-dé-duḫ ni-te-na**  
    14. He of self-created vision, who etc.

15. **am erin-na sá-sá**  
    15. Hero that directs his hosts, who etc.

16. **ū-lul-la dúr-dūr**  
    16. He that sleeps the sleep of perversity, who etc.

17. **me-e bur-mag-a kaš ga-an-na-ab nisak-ka**  
    17. I in a great bowl will pour out wine to him.

18. **ama-gim dugud⁶-da da-mu-un-lal**  
    18. I like a wild ox will bow down to the mighty one.⁷

---

1. Cf. SBP. 82, 47.
3. Either DAM or SAL+KU (sister) must be expected, since we have obviously a reference to Aruru here.
5. The following melody has been restored from the late variant SBP. p. 120.
7. Semitic *lu-su-me-is-su,* glossed *kanā. kanā, “to bind,” is the natural rendering of *lal.* The Semitic should perhaps be neglected as faulty and the Sumerian rendered, *“Like a wild ox by the mighty one I am hoppled.”*
19. urú-zi al-gul-gul ga-an-na-ab-
dúg
20. kenur é-nam-li-la al
21. zimbir-(ki) é-bàr-ra al
22. urú-zi tin-ir-(ki) al
23. é-sag-ila bád-si-ab-ba-(ki) al
24. é-ti-da é-maš-ti-la al
25. é-te-me-en-an-ki al
26. é-dár-an-na al\(^1\)
27. gi-er-ra ba-má ga-an-na-ab-dúg\(^2\)
28. ud ma-ra mu-un-šal-la-la i-dé-a-
ni nu-gub
29. \(^4\)mu-ul-lil-li mu-un-šal-la-la i-dé-
[a-ni nu-gub i-dé-nam-mu-un-
dú-ru]
30. \(^4\)mu-ul-lil-li i-dé-a-ni nu-gub
i-dé-nam-mu-un-dú-ru
31. me-e ur-ri-mén me-e kás-mén\(^4\)
32. a é-ne al-dib a é-ne al-dib
33. [nin]-urú-ma ama-gal \(^4\)nin-ši-là
[mén]
34. \(^4\)a-ru-ru SAL+KU \(^4\)mu-ul-
lil-šà [mén]
35. [nin?]-a gašan ni-ib-bur mén

---

1. Lines 21–26 may not have stood in the ancient liturgy.
3. Nippur.
4. Beginning of a melody of a weeping mother series, BL. p. 94, 12. It is not certain that this melody stood in the ancient text. See for the text 81–7–28, 203 (=7539) in this volume.
36. [gašan] a₃ag-ga₁ gašan ma-gi-a mën
37. ma ma-al-lā-šū ma ma-al-lā-šū
38. d₄mu-ul-lil [umun?] kūr-kūr-ra ma
39. [ereš]-mu mu-un-il ma
36. An holy queen, queen of the convent I am.
37. In the built house, in the built house,
38. Enlil [lord] of lands in the built house,
39. My consort dwells not in the built house.

40. At the end of this column began a long titular melody.*

(Lines 1–11 of this melody, i.e., 40–51 on KL. 11, III, are supplied by Tablet Virolleaud, Rev. 1–11, and restores the entire section.)

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**Reverse IV(?)**

1. d₄Mu-ul-lil-li dam-a-ni d₄Nin-lil-li
2. An d₄Uraša ki-še-gu-nu-e³
3. d₄En-ki d₄Nin-ki En-ul d₄Nin-ul
4. d₄En-da-šurim-ma d₄Nin-da-šurim-ma
5. d₄En-dù-aqa-ga d₄Nin-dù-aqa-ga³
6. ama d₄Nin-il a-a d₄Mu-ul-lil
7. d₄En-ul-il-la⁸ d₄En-me-en-šad-ra²
8. nin-ṭi-an-na⁸ ga-ša-an ḫar-sag-ga³
1. Enlil and his consort Ninlil (we will pacify). (= Tab. Vir. Rev. 12.)
2. Anu-Uraš kisegunu.
3. Enki and Ninki, Enul and Ninul.
4. Endašurimma, Nindašurimma.⁴
5. The Lord of Duazag, the Queen of Duazag.
6. Mother Ninlil and father Enlil.
7. Enuttilla and Enmenšarra.
8. Ninzianna and Ninharsag.

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¹ Cf. SBH. 132, 27.
² The duplicate, Meek, No. 11, has here another melody not a titular litany. This text does not belong to the e₃-lum gud-sun series.
³ This title of Uraša remains unexplained. In all other examples d₄Uraša ki-še-gu-nu-ra, SBP. 150, 6; 90, 20; K. 3931 Rev. 29; KL. 17 Rev. 11 6. Perhaps also Gudea, Cyl. B 19, 13 is to be restored ki-še-gu-[nu-ra].
⁴ Father-mother names of Enlil, IV Raw. 1b 17 f.
⁵ Enlil names, CT. 24, 4, 24 f.
⁶ Enlil, CT. 24, 4, 20.
See Historical and Religious Texts, p. 35.
⁸ Here both titles of Ninlil. Variant nin-ṭi-an-na, PSBA. 1911, 233 n. 39.
9. Šul-pa₃ en ₂banšur-ra
10. ama Še-en-tūr₂ dim-me-ir imin
11. ū-mu-un ši₃Nipru-(ki) ū-mu-un kalag-a
12. gū-de-de₄ ga-ša-an Nipru-(ki)
13. dingir dumu-sag₂ ga-ša-an mu- un-ga-ra
14. Nusku [d₃maḥ dingir-gidim [ē₃kur-ra]
15. ama ᵇ-a-ge [₄Sa-dār-nun-na]
[15. Mother of the temple, Sadarnunna.]
[16. Šerāh spirit of Ešarra.]
[17. The propitious spirit whose splendor is supreme.]
16. Še-ra-aḥ gidim ṣa-ra-ra ]
17. lamma-šag-ga me-lam-an-na
18. dumu [sukkal-gal Nannar₃
19. Zuen-na
20. Nu-[NUNUZ-ti Nannar₃
dam [Nannar-ge]
21. En-[bu-[ul-e dumu ṣašab-ba]
22. šul-a[n-na umun gar-sag-gal-ge]
23. ga-ša-[an-gal-e ama-an-na-ge]

9. Šulpae, lord of the sacrificial board.
10. Mother šentur, (mother) of the seven gods.³
11. The lord light of Nippur, mighty lord.
12. The loud crying, queen of Nippur.
15. Mother of the temple, Sadaronunna.
16. Šerah spirit of Ešarra.
17. The propitious spirit whose splendor is supreme.
18. The son, [great messenger, Nannar-Sin.]
19. Zir [spouse of Nannar].
20. [The august] prefect, [divine Enlil]²
21. [Enul son of Ešabba.]
22. Hero of [heaven, lord of the great mountain.]
23. Ningal [heavenly mother.]

¹ Originally title of Enlil, CT. 24, 25, 97 = 13, 42. Usually Marduk as Jupiter.
² Two other readings of this title of Ninlil as mother goddess are known; Ṣe-en-tūr, SBP. 150 n. 5, 1, 11 and Ṣe-en-tur, King, Supplemen to Bezdéld's Catalogue, p. 10, No. 51, 8 where she is identified with Nintu Ebduld.
³ In ZA. VI 242, 21 their mother is Ishara, another title of the same mother goddess. For the seven gods see IV Raw. 21 No. 1 B.
⁴ Perhaps = si-gal, title of Ninurta, SBH. 132, 26; BL. 92, 7. CT. 24, 7, 12.
⁵ Usually title of Ninlil as here, SBH. 132, 23; SBP. 150 n. 5, 13. But consort of Ninurta, CT. 24, 7, 12.
⁶ Var. ᵈNappasi.
⁷ The entire ideogram was read jir = ṣirru, Smith, Miscel. Texts 25, 16.
⁸ A legendary king who had received apotheosis, and was placed in the court of Enlil, CT. 24, 6, 20 = 8 Col. 111 1. The variant SBP. 152, 15 inserts another deified king Ur-Sin. See also Genouillac, Drebem, 5501 II 21; Babylonian Liturgies, 92 Rev. 10; CT. 24, 6, 21.
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24. ImageView
25. ImageView
26. ImageView
27. ImageView
28. ImageView

24. The queen of heaven [who alone is strong.]
25. Her husband [Tammuz.]
26. The mother of the lord, Ninsun.
27. Lugalbanda lord of Ešnunna.
28. The heavenly sister-in-law, Geštinanna. (Here supply twenty-eight lines = SBP 154, 24-156, 51.)

REVERSE V(?)

1. Enanun mother of loud weeping.
2. Ninda-Gud, the radiant son.
3. Šunirda, queen, heroine of battle.
4. The pious daughter, Ninkarrunnna.
5. Queen(?) of the dead, Lumma the heroic.
6. Lord of the grave, lord of the seizing hand.

1 Or gi-ur-sag. The Semitic is ša edin-si-ša ḫarradat. On Innini queen of heaven, see Tammuṣ and Ishtar, 88.
2 I. e., Gilgamish.
3 See Tammuṣ and Ishtar 57, n. 2.
4 On this title of the weeping mother, see Sumerian Liturgical Texts 173.
5 A title of Immer the thunder god.
6 Zagin-na > taggira, see Sumerian Grammar, § 47.
7 Aja goddess of light and battle, Babylonian Liturgies 143.
8 Zimmer, AZAG an error?
9 Cf. K. 7145, 7 in CT. 29, 47.
10 Uri-lum-ma or Ḫumma, CT. 24, 6, 18 one of two utukku of Ekur. Duplicate 24, 22, 117. Often in names of the early period, Scheil, Textes Élamites-Sémitiques, p. 4 and in name of ancient patesi of Umma, Ur-lum-ma, see Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 273. Scheil, i. c. 4, says that Lum, Ḫum is an Elamitic god. The title gašan-dig-ga indicates a female deity. Note the variant gašan-sa-lum-ma, SBP. 158, 56. An underworld deity.
11 Br. No. 909, Var. SBP. 158, 57 = V Raw. 52 II 27, has unugal.
12 Var. of d = idu.
7. 4Ir'-ra-gal kù-a-nu-si-ra
8. lamma-tāg-ga sil-gig edin-na

9. 4Nin-sig-ge dGuškin-banda-ra
10. ū-mu-un nīg-nam-ma-ge HU-₄
    kur-kur₅

11. sal-si₇-a 4Ba-4l-tāg-ga

12. ū-mu-un né me ēn⁸ ga-ša-an
    abtu

13. 4Ašnan dAṭag-sug¹⁰ mun-galu¹¹
    sal-sal

14. [ū-mu-un] sa-a₁² ki-sā₁² dumu
    nun-ra

15. [gidim uru]-ma ur sag-imin

16. 4Gi-bil mu-?]-na₁₅ mun-len ur-
    sag

17. 4Ut-la-ed-dē mu-lu] ki-āqag-ga

18. [umun ma-da sub-be an-na]

7. Great Girra, hero unopposable.
8. The good genius of the dark ways of the plain.³
9. Ningsig Guškinbanda,
10. Lord of whatsoever is, the sculptured form.
11. The earth woman, beneficent Bau.
12. Lord of might, lord of decrees, priest of the deep.⁹
13. Ašnan the divine cleanser, the . . . . loud crying.
14. Lord of light, director of the earth, and the daughter of the prince.¹⁴
15. The demon of my city the dog of seven heads.
17. Uttaedde lord of the holy place.
18. [Lord of the land, light of heaven.]¹⁶

² For gud-d-nu-gl-a, ox that turns not back his might. See l. c. 173 n. 3. For g₄s see
Sum. Gr. § 40 b.
³ Spirit of the lower world, CT. 24, 8, 13.
⁴ Vars. ūm, or ūm SBP. 158, 61; CT. 24, 23, 24. Hence HU (mušen) has also the value ūm
or ūm. See on lines 9 f. Sumerian Liturgical Texts 174 n. 5.
⁵ For kūl.
⁶ Gunu of HU. Var. NU-NUNUZ-ki-a, see SBP. 158, 62 = CT. 24, 10, 2.
⁸ For en-me=bél parši. Var. ūmum me. Here certainly a male deity as 4Nin-nē = Almu,
form of Nergal in V Raw. 21, 25. For Nin-nē in the early period see ALLOTTE DE LA FUÊVE, DP.
21, 26.
⁹ Variant SBP. 158, 63 = SBH. 86, 63 reads šanga-maŋ abtu-ge. For the writing of šanga, see
Babylonian Liturgies, p. XXII n. 2.
¹¹ Sic! Perhaps error for ƙa-mun. See also CT. 24, 9, 40 4Ha-mun-sal(?)-sal?. SBP. 158, 64.
¹² Title of Shamash, CT. 25, 25, 11.
¹³ Title of Shamash here. Variant 4Su-ud-dm = Aja, CT. 25, 9, 25.
¹⁴ l. e. Aja.
¹⁵ So! Var. mu-galam, "of skilful name."
¹⁶ See Var. Sum. Lit. Texts 175, 10.
19. [umun ā-ți umun e-gid-da ]
20. [ga-ša-an-né-da umun muš-ša]
21. [ ] dū-a
22. [ ]-ga
23. [ɪIr-ri-eš ur-sag gaša]-an-subur
24. [dingir ama ē-uru-sag-ga gašan]
    tin-dib-ba]
25. [sag-ga  an-na gašan] ḯ-si-in-na
26. [e-Pa-bil-sag ū-mu-]un La-ra-ag-
    ga
27. [e-Gu-mu-ra dim-gal] kalam-ma
28. [e-Da-mu šag-ga ū-mu-un gir-
    su-a
29. [e-Immer ū-mu-un] ni-dū-an-na
30. [ ] id-da-ra
31. [ū-mu-un ši ka-nag]-gā ši kur-
    kur-ra
32. [e-Su-ud-da-am du-mu nunn-na]
    ama ē-[šab-ba]

19. [Lord Nergal, him of the seizing
    hand.]
20. [Allat and Ningišzida]¹
21. [ ]
22. [ ]²
23. [Irriš, the heroic] lord of the soil.
24. [The divine mother of the tem-
    ple of the chief city, queen
    who gives life to the dead.]
25. The lofty browed queen of Isin.
27. Gunura bar of the Land.
28. The pious Damu lord of the
    flood.⁴
29. Immer lord of terror.⁵
30. ............. the river.⁶
31. Lord of the souls of Sumer, of
    the souls of the lands.
32. Suddam, daughter of the prince,
    mother of Ešabba.

About twenty-four lines completed this column and ended the liturgy.
The void is to be completed by part of the titular litany, SBP. 160, 19-164,
38, and by a short intercession similar to the fragmentary intercession at the
end of KL. No. 8. It is possible that the eleventh and last section on Tablet
Viroletaud was retained as the final melody of this later redaction.

¹ So Var. l. c. l. 11. See above, line 6.
² Certainly these two underworld deities are intended in this line. They occur together also
in CT. 25, 5, 60-64. See also 25, 8, 14 where read Nin-ni-da.
³ Two lines not on any variant.
⁴ Gula of Isin.
⁵ See for reading, Sum. Lit. Texts 176, 5.
⁶ See Babylonian Liturgies 96 n. 1.
⁷ For variants, see Sum. Lit. Texts 177, 8.
⁸ Variant SBP. 160, 16 has another text. Other variants omit the line altogether, KL.
8 IV 8; Sum. Lit. Texts, 177.
Reverse of Tablet Virolleaud
(The titular litany)

1. ṭ-e sub-da sub-da [mu-un-laḫ-en-ne-en]
   To the temple with prayer, with prayer let us go.¹
2. balag² ṭ-e dirig sub-da [mu-un-laḫ-en-ne-en]
   To the lyre unto the temple which surpasses all let us go.
3. balag nigin-na-e sub-da ⁴Mu-[ul-lil-ra mu-un]
   To the lyre unto the merciful one with prayer, [unto Enlil,]
4. balag dim-me-ir mu-lu sub-da ⁴Mu-ul-[il-ri mu-un]
   To the lyre unto god, the lord, with prayer, unto Enlil [let us go].
5. dim-me-ir lu-gāl-lu-ne-en sub-da mu-un-laḫ-en-[ne-en]
   Unto him who is god of his people with prayer let us go.
6. me-en-ne ṭ-e tēb a-ra-tu-a mu-un-laḫ-en-ne-[en]
   We "Oh temple repose" in prayer come
7. me-en-ne kī-e tēb a-ra-tu-a mu-un-laḫ-(en)-ne-en ⁴Mu-[ul-lil-ra]
   We "Oh earth repose" in prayer come, unto Enlil (come).
8. Ṽ-mu-un ša-ab ti-b-e-da in-ga²-laḫ-(en)-ne-en ⁴Mu-[ul-lil-ra]
   To pacify the heart of the lord behold we come unto Enlil.
9. ša-ab gun-ga bar gun-ga-da in-ga-laḫ-ne-ne-en ⁴Mu-[ul-lil-ra]
   To pacify the heart, to pacify the soul, behold we come to Enlil.
10. me-en-ne ša-ab Ṽ-mu-un-na mu-un-tēb-(en)-ne-en ⁴Mu-[ul-lil]
    We will pacify the heart of the lord, yea of Enlil.
11. ša-ab an-na ša-ab ⁴Mu-ul-lil-lā mu-un-tēb-(en)-ne-en
    The heart of Anu and the heart of Enlil we will pacify.
12. ⁴Mu-ul-lil-lā dam-a-ni ⁴Nin-lil-lā
    [The heart of] Enlil and his wife Ninlil [we will pacify.]
13. ⁴En-ki ⁴Nin-ki ⁴En-mul ⁴Nin-mul²
    The heart of Enki, Ninki, Enmul and Ninmul [we will pacify.]
14. i-lu a-di i-ga-am-ma-ru
    A god until they are finished.⁸

---

¹ Cf. SBP. 74, 19 and 68, 5.
² For this sign = REC. 46, see now K.L., 25 111 15. The two signs balag and dup are distinguished clearly on this tablet; see Obv. 9 for dup. On the distinction of two original signs in Br. 7024, see Thureau-Dangin, ZA. 13, 167; Chicago Syllabary 208 f., and PBS. 12 No. 11 Obv. Col. 11 45 and 46 and page 13. Syl. B distinguishes the two signs.
³ See RA. 11, 45 n. 5.
⁴ All father-mother names of Enlil, CT. 24, 3, 29 ff.
⁵ This Semitic rubric is unique in the published literature of Sumerian liturgies. It indicates that the choristers should here complete the long titular litany by reciting the titles of the deities named in the litany given in full on the Berlin tablet; see the preceding edition of K. L. 11 Rev. IV 1 ff.
ki-šub-gû 10-kam-ma

The tenth strophe.

(The Recessional)

15. ū-mu-un-mu qa-e babbar uru-mā ur-sag-gâ me-en
   My lord thou art, light of my city, a hero thou art.
16. ūb-bi-mu ū-mu-un kalag-a ur-sag-gâ me-en
   My illumination, oh valiant lord, a hero thou art.
17. ū-mu-un kalag-a ur-sag-gâ me-en kalag-ga-na me-en
   Oh valiant lord, a hero thou art, its defender thou art.
   Like Shamash thou art .............. into heaven enters.
19. d-Nannar-gim ki dumu-ţu an-na(?) na-an-gir-ri-[ne-en]
   Like Nannar where thy son in heaven hastens.
20. ū-mu-un-mu enem-ţu galu-ra š na-an-na-ab-ţî-[em]
   My lord thy word on man has fallen.
21. enem-ţu galu ki3-kal-ra na-an-na-ab-ţî-[em]
   Thy word on him of the foreign land has fallen.
22. enem-ţu galu en-na nu-ţeg-ra na-an-na-ab-ţî-[em]
   Thy word on men as many as are not obedient has fallen.
23. ū-mu-un-mu uru-ţu-a ē-ni a-sar-sar-ra
   My lord beneficent waters in thy city cause to spring forth.
24. a-a d-Mu-ul-lil ki-bur-la-bur-la uru-ţu-a ē-ni
   Father Enlil ............... in thy city cause to come forth.

ki-šub-gû 11-kam-ma

The eleventh strophe.

25. sub-bi še-ib ē-kur-ra-la ki-na gi-gi-ra.

A prayer for the brick walls of Ekur, that it return to its place.

---

ki-šú-bi-im

A song of supplication.

26. al-il el-lum gud-sun

It is finished, the series "Exalted, bull that overwhelms."

---

1 For this rubric, see PBS. X 151 note 1.
2 For Enlil connected with the idea of light, see PBS. X 158 n. 1.
3 The pronoun refers apparently to uru in line 15.
4 Text na-an/
5 The moon god was held to be the son of Enlil, SBP. 296, 5.
6 Cf. BL. 48, 23.
7 Text DI.
8 Same phrase in Ni. 14005, 24. See Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis, p. 140.
11359 (Myhrman No. 8)

**Early Form of the Series \textit{d:Babbar-gim-\textminus-ta}**

Ni. 11359, published by Myhrman, PBS. I. No. 8, is the left upper corner of a large four column tablet. It contained a series of \textit{ki-\textsf{sub}} melodies which formed the prototype of the later Enlil series of which three tablets have been edited by the writer, see *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* 167. It stands to the completed series as the similar tablet of the \textit{e-lum gud-sun} series, Tablet Virolleaud, is related to its completed canonical form in Zimmern, KL. II. Both Ni. 11359 and Tablet Virolleaud show the evolution of two great Enlil liturgies arrested midway in their evolution. They still consist of unmethodically joined melodies. Both have the same rubric at the end. The first melody of \textit{d:Babbar-gim-\textminus-ta} after line four agrees with the first melody of the Enlil series \textit{zi-bu-\textperiodcentered u sud-du-\textperiodcentered dam} in Zimmern, KL. 8 and 9 after line five of that series. A duplicate will be found in BL. pp. 37–39, which see for critical notes on the reconstructed text.

**Obverse I**

1. \textit{d:Babbar-gim \textminus-ta} [ ]
2. \textit{\textperiodcentered u-mu-un gan} .........................
3. \textit{a-a \textbackslash ə-Mu-ul-lil \textperiodcentered u-[mu-un kur- kur-ra}
4. \textit{d:Mu-ul-lil \textperiodcentered u-mu-[un d\textsuperscript{g}-ga-\textperiodcentered ti-da]}
5. \textit{am-\textperiodcentered n\textperiodcentered a-a gud-d\textperiodcentered e sig-gan-nu-di}
6. \textit{d:Mu-ul-lil dam-kar-[ra ki-dagar-ra]}

1. Like the sun-god arise. ............
2. Oh lord. .........................
3. Father Enlil, lord of the lands.
4. Enlil lord of faithful word.
5. Crouching wild ox, bull that rests not.\textsuperscript{1}
6. Enlil herdsman of the wide earth.

\textsuperscript{1} For the interpretation, see RA. 12, 27 n. 5.
7. Lord who summons his toilers, recorder of the earth.
8. Lord who causes to abound oil for his toilers, milk for the newly born.¹
9. Lord whose abode is the city of weeping.
10. In whose chamber oracles are interpreted.
11. Father Enil in (thy) city Nippur.
12. In Ekur temple of (thy) heart’s choice.
13. In the great dark chamber of odorous forest and cedar.
14. In the house of vision,
15. In......house which knows the sunlight not,
16. In the house of the “reed of sorrow,” which eye beholds not,
17. In the great......causing prosperity to abound,
18. In Ekua gate of the lifting of the eyes,
19. In......Ekur that it be restored to its place.
20. It is a service of prostrations.

¹ See for readings BL. 38, 9.
² See also Tablet Virolleaud, Rev. end.
LITURGY OF THE CULT OF KEŠ
(Nippur Fragments and Ashmolean Prism.)

Keš and Opis, two closely associated but unlocated southern cities of Sumer, lay apparently somewhere in the region between Erech and Šuruppak. So closely were they united that the same cult of the great mother goddess obtained in both. According to II Raw. 60a 26, Innini of Hallab was the queen of Keš. The Sumerian liturgy, BL. p. 54, names Nintud as the goddess of this city, but the list of mother goddesses in PSBA. 1911 Pl. XII calls her by the name Ninharsag, where she is associated with Ninmenna, epithet of the earth mother in Adab a city near Šuruppak. A fragment, No. 102 in BL., reads her title at Keš as Aruru. These various epithets all refer to the earth mother whose principal married type is Ninlil. In fact one liturgy actually names Ninlil as the goddess of Keš, SBP. 24, 74. On the other hand, a cult document of the Neo-Babylonian period names Kallat Ekur, the bride of Ekur, as the goddess of U-pi-ja or Opis, VS. VI. 213, 21. The bride of Ekur is Ninlil. Thus the twin cities Keš and Opis of Sumer with their cult of the earth mother Ninharsag or Nintud were imitated in later times in Akkad and located on the Tigris where Opis survived into Greek times (omnis) and Keš seems to have become confused in writing with Kiš a famous city near Babylon. At Opis in Akkad a male satellite Igi-du was associated with the mother goddess and we

---

1 Also Opis was sometimes called Keš, see CT. 16, 36, 3, ki-e-zi, gloss on the ideogram for Opis.

2 For Ninharsag at Keš, see also SAK. 14 XVIII 6. Another title of the goddess at Keš is Ninmah, SAK. 237e.

3 Here the god of Opis is given as Igidu, a form of Nergal. In this late text Opis on the Tigris at Seleucia is probably intended. The southern Keš and Opis were imitated in Akkad, at any rate in later times, and Keš was apparently confused with Kiš which gave rise to a second Kiš in Akkad. The ancient and historical Kiš at Oheimer on the canal of the Euphrates should not be confused with Kiš corruption for the new Keš near Seleucia.
may be safe in assuming that he was borrowed from the original southern cult. Of the names Ninharsag, Aruru, Nintud, Ninmah, Innini of Hallab, we are not certain which one applied especially to Keš and Opis. In any case the liturgy which we are about to discuss had some special name for the goddess here. In a refrain which recurs at the end of each melody the psalmists say that the god of Keš, that is probably Igidu, was made like Ašširgi, or Ninurta, and that its goddess was made like Nintud, hence the special name of the mother goddess in this liturgy cannot have been Nintud.

So far as the text of this important liturgy in eight melodies can be established, it leads to the inference that, like all other Sumerian choral compositions, the subject is the rehearsal of sorrows which befell a city and its temple. Here the glories of Keš, its temple and its gods are recorded in choral song, and the woes of this city are referred to as symbolic of all human misfortunes. The name of the temple has not been preserved in the text. But we know from other liturgies that the temple in Keš bore the name Uršabba. The queen of the temple Uršabba is called the mother of Negun, also a title of Ninurta in Elam. The close connection between the goddess of Keš and Ninlil is again revealed, for Negun is the son of Ninlil in the theological lists, CT. 24, 26, 112. Therefore at Keš we have a reflection of the Innini-Tammuz cult or the worship of mother and son, mother goddess Ninlil or Ninurtsa, and Igidu or Negun.

1 The god Igi-du of Keš is identified with Ninurta as were most of the male satellites of the mother goddesses in various cities. CT. 25, 24 K. 8219, 17 + K. 7620, 18, *Igi-du = Ninurta*. According to CT. 25, 12, 17 it is one of the titles of Ninurta in Elam. But in CT. 24, 36, 52 *Igi-du* is a form of Nergal, and in the omen text, Boissier, DA. 238, 10 he is explained as Meslamtaḫa, a form of Nergal.

2 Or perhaps Negun. See below.

3 BL. 72, 14. Here Keš or Kisa is written with the ideogram for Opis.

4 CT. 25, 12, 23. See SBP. 156, 39.

5 SAK. 118 XXVII. 2.
Keš and Opis must have been closely associated with both Erech and Šuruppak, and of traditional veneration in Sumer. Keš is mentioned in a list with Ur, Kullab (part of Erech) and Šuruppak, Smith, Miscellaneous Texts 26, 5. Gudea speaks of a part of the temple in Lagash which was pure as Keš and Aratta (i.e. Šuruppak). The various mother goddesses of Eridu, Kullab, Kêši, Lagaš and Šuruppak are invoked in an incantation, CT. 16, 36, 1–9. The first melody of the Ashmolean Prism contains a reference to the horse of Šuruppak.

The textual history of this liturgy is interesting. The major text is written upon a four-sided prism now in the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford. The object is eight inches high, four inches wide on each surface and is pierced from top to bottom at the center by a small hole, so that the liturgy could be turned on a spindle. The writer published a copy of this prism or prayer wheel in his Babylonian Liturgies. The elucidation of this exceedingly difficult text was lightened somewhat by the discovery of a four column tablet in Constantinople, which originally contained the entire text. It was afterwards published as No. 23 of my Historical and Religious Texts. Since the edition of these two sources, the Nippur Collection in Philadelphia has been found to contain several fragments of the same liturgy. A portion of the redaction on several single column tablets had been already published by Radau in his Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts, No. 8 (=Ni. 11876), last tablet of the series containing melodies six, seven, and eight. I failed to detect the connection of Radau’s tablet at the time of the first edition but referred to it with a rendering in my Epic of Paradise, p. 19.

1 A temple ṭ-an-ṣa-kar is assigned to Opis in Poebel, PBS. V 157, 8 and Zimmer, KL. 199 Rev. I 37 (here without ṭ). This temple can hardly be the one which forms the subject of the liturgy on the Ashmolean Prism.
Another tablet, also from a single column tablet redaction at Nippur, has been recovered in Philadelphia, Ni. 8384.¹ This text utilized here in transcription contains a section marked number 4 on that tablet but all the other sources omit it. Hence this redaction probably contained nine melodies. The new melody has been inserted between melodies three and four of the standard text. If evidence did not point otherwise the editor would have supposed that Ni. 8384 and 11876 belonged to the same tablet. But Ni. 8384 has melodies four, five and six of its redaction with the catchline of the next or its seventh melody which partly duplicates the Radau tablet. Moreover, these two tablets have not the same handwriting and differ in color and texture of the clay. Finally a small fragment, Ni. 14031, contains the end of the second melody and the beginning of the third on its obverse. The reverse contains the end of the sixth melody. This small tablet undoubtedly belongs to the four column tablet in Constantinople. The two fragments became separated by chance when the Nippur Collection was divided between Philadelphia and the Musée Imperial of Turkey. Ni. 14031 will be found in my Sumerian Liturgical Texts, No. 22.

Under ordinary circumstances a text for which so many duplicates exist should have yielded better results than I have been able to produce. But the contents are still obscure owing largely to the bad condition of the prism. My first rendering of the interesting refrain in which I saw a reference to the creation of man and woman was apparently erroneous. The refrain refers rather to the creation of the mother goddess of Keš and to her giving birth to her son Negun.²

¹ Published by Barton, Miscellaneous Religious Texts.
² A new copy of the Ashmolean Prism is published in the Revue d’Assyriologie, Vol. XVI.
Col. I (Lines 1 - 22 defaced)

23. [ṭ ke]š-(ki)-dug-ga ḏū-a
24. [ṭ(?)] ĖN-HAR-(ki)-dug-gu ḏū-a
25. [ṭ . . . .] nun-gim an-na dirig-ga
26. [ṭ . . . . .] aṭaq-gim ṭ-si ri-a
27. [ṭ] an-na-gim muš kur-kur-ra
28. [ṭ . . . .] tūr-gim ki-a-la sur-sur-ra
29. [ṭ . . . . .] gim mur-du ninda-gim gū-nun-diš
30. [ṭ . . . . .] bi-ta līpiš kalam-ma
31. [ṭ . . . . .] bi-ta qīd Ki-en-gi-ra
32. [ṭ . . . . .] ib-gal an-e-riš uš-sa
33. [ṭ . . . . .] da-gal an-eš uš-sa
34. [ṭ . . . . .] gal an-e uš-sa
35. [ṭ . . . . . .] -na [an-e] uš-sa

Col. II

1. . . . . . . . an-ki . . . . . . . . . . . .
2. . . . . . . . abgu . . . . . . . . . . . .
3. [ṭ an-ni(?)] šu-[

---

1 Cf. BA. V 707, 7.
2 Probably for gud-NIN.DA=btru, mluru.
3 Var. na.
4 Some verb seems to be missing here. The construction is obscure
5 So the prism.
6 Var. ni.
4. "En-il-li  qa-šu. ............
5. ama  "Nin-tud eš-[bar-kin. . . . . . . .]
6. é  Keš-ki. . . . . . . . na
7. ÉN-HAR-(ki)³-gim rib-bar² galu
   ši-in-[ga-an-túm-mu]
8. ur-sag-bi  "Áš-sîr-gim rib-bar
   ama ši-in-ga-an²-ú-tud
9. nin-bi  "Nin-tud-gim rib-bar-ra
   a-ba³ er-mu-ni-in-duš
10. It is the second song.

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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>gu</td>
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<td>kam-[ma-dm]</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>é an-šu</td>
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<td>gud-da</td>
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<td>ki-šu</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Temple, in heaven resplendent,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>in earth. ..................................</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>é an-šu</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>Temple, in heaven . . . . , in</td>
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<td>earth. ......................................</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>é an-šu</td>
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<td>sîkka³</td>
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<td>ki-šu</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Temple, in heaven (like) a wild</td>
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<td>goat, on earth like a sheep . . . .</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>é an-šu</td>
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<td>. . . .</td>
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<td></td>
<td>dár-[bar-gim</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Temple, in heaven (like) . . . . , in</td>
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<td></td>
<td>earth like a roe. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>é an-šu</td>
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<td>ki-šu</td>
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<td>bar-gim .</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Temple, in heaven like . . . . , in</td>
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<td></td>
<td>earth like a roe. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>é an-šu</td>
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<td>muš-gim</td>
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<td>stg-ga</td>
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<td></td>
<td>babbar-gim za-e lag-[laš?]</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Temple, in heaven like a dragon</td>
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<td></td>
<td>gleaming, on earth like the</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sunlight thou shinest.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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1 Variant Constple. omits ki.
2 Cf. ki-gim rib-ba = kina iršîtim šulku, Delitzsch, AL² 134. 5. KAL (ri-ib) = šulku, Chicago Syllabar 287; rib = šulku, CT. 19, 11, 12; nam-kala-ga-ni rib-ba = dannussu šulku, IV Raw. 244 48; ana-gim ki-gim rib-ba-šu-ne = ša kina lam t u iršîtim šulguša, SBP. 250, 6. See also Ebeling, KTA. 32, 5, rib-ba = šu-tu-šu.
3 The meaning is obscure. For the suggested rendering cf. en me-a šum-ma, the lord who cares for the decrees, SAK. 204, 6.
4 For this emphatic verbal prefix cf. Delitzsch, AL², 134, 5; Zimmern, KL. 68 Rev. 24.
5 I. e. Nintud. For ummu in the sense of "mother goddess" note CT. 16, 36, 1-9 where the various mothers of Eridu, Kullab, Keš, Lagash and Šuruppak are invoked. The reference here is undoubtedly to Ninlil as the mother of Negun, SBP. 156, 39.
6 a-ba = arka, and then. The same phrase in BE. 31, 2, 7 and for aba, see especially Sum. Gr. § 241. er-du(ê) probably variant of er-du = damâmû.
7 Ni. 14031 in PBS. X No. 22 has as the verb the sign dug written five times, as also the prism.
8 Restored from the variant Constple. Rev. I 10.
18. \(\textit{é an-šu babbar-gim ṣ-a ki-šu} \)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{4}Nannar-gim…….}\)
18. Temple, in heaven like the sun
arising, in earth like the new
moon…………………………

19. \(\textit{é an-šu kur-ra ki-šu idim-ma}\)
19. Temple, in heaven shining,\(^1\) on
earth loud crying.\(^2\)

20. \(\textit{é an-ki} 3 \text{gu-ma-bi na-nam}\)
20. Of the temple of heaven and
earth three are its attendants.

21. \(\textit{EN-ḪAR-(ki)} \text{ gim rib-ba galu} \)
\(\text{ṣi-in-ga-an-túm-mu}\)
21. Like \(\textit{EN-ḪAR}\) it has been made
surpassing; verily man has
brought solicitude for it.

22. \(\text{ur-sag-bi} \text{\textsuperscript{4}Aššir-gi-gim rib-ba-ra}\)
22. Its hero like Ašširgi has been
made surpassing; the mother
verily has borne him.

23. [ama] \(\text{ṣi-in-ga-an-û-tud}\)
23. Its lady like Nintud has been
made surpassing. And then
wailing began.

24. [nin-bi] \(\text{\textsuperscript{4}Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra} \)
\(\text{a-ba er-mu-ni-in-du 우리나라}\)
24. It is the third section.

25. [gú] \(3\text{-kam-ma-[dám]}\)

8384.

1. [\(\text{é………….}\) ni-gal-ar an-ni mu-
mağ sá]
1. [Temple………….] in splendor
blazing, which Anu with a
far-famed name has named.

2. [\(\text{é………….}\)-gal \(\text{\textsuperscript{4}En-lil-li nam-
ma-ni gal tar-ri}\)
2. [Temple…….] great, whose fate
Enlil has grandly decreed.

3. [\(\text{é}\)-nun-gāl \(\text{\textsuperscript{4}A-nun-ge-ne kalam}
sigi(?)\)} \(\text{\textsuperscript{3}lám(?)-mu}\)
3. [Temple…………. of the Anunnaki,
gal-\(\text{e-ne}\)
in the Land \textit{starlike gleaming}.]

4. \(\text{é ki-dūr im-dūb-bu} \text{\textsuperscript{4} dingir gal-
gal-e-ne}\)
4. Temple, peaceful dwelling place
of the great gods.

5. \(\text{é an-ki-bi-da giš-šar-bi ni-gar me}
ešu-ba-e-lag\)
5. Of temple whose design in
heaven and earth has been
planned, thou art possessed
of pure decrees.

6. \(\text{é kalam ki-gar-ra ṣag-gar-ra uš-
sa}\)
6. Temple erected in the Land,
where stand the chapels of the
gods.

---

\(^1\) So? \(\textit{kur=napāšu}, \) better than my former rendering of this passage.
\(^2\) idim=ṣegu, nadaru (cf. Thompson, \textit{Reports} 82, 6 with 108, 5), refers to the rumbling of the
great gates of the temple.
\(^3\) Br. 2729? Cf. R (\(\text{şi-gi}\))=\(\text{bakkobu}, \) CT. 18, 49. 4.
\(^4\) Same phrase in Clay, \textit{Miscel.} 31, 33.
7. ṭ-kur ḫe-gal ka-aš-ul-qa-li-li
8. ṭ ṣ-Nin-šar-sag-ga ḅi-kalam-ma
   ki-bi-šu gar
9. ṭ-šar-sag-gal šu-lug-ga tām-ma
   nig-nam-ma-ni ni-ṭ-ṭar
10. ṭ . . . . . . . . da-du ka-aš-bar nu-qa-ga
11. ṭ . . . . . . kalam-dagal-ša la-a
12. [ṭ] kalam šar ụ-tud numun giš-
    isimu tuk-tuk
13. [ṭ] lugal ụ-tud nam kalam-ma tar-
    ri
14. [ṭ] bár-bár kar su-ki-in-dur-bi ag-ḥē
15. ÉN-ḪAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba gaiu
    ši-in-ga-an-tum-mu
16. ur-sag-bi ṣir-si-gim rib-ba
    ama ši-in-ga-ām-ụ-tud
17. nin-bi ṣ-Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra
    a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duḡ
18. [gā 4]-kalam-ma-ām

18. It is the fourth section.

1 ni=nu; cf. SBP. 138, 32, ni-ki-li-4; POEBEL, PBS. V 26, 10.
ASHMOLEAN PRISM, COL. II

26. [uru]-in-ga-tām uru-in-ga-tām
    šag-bi a-ba a-mu-un-ṣu³
27. ṭ Keš-ki uru-in-ga-tām šag-bi a-
    ba a-mu-un-ṣu
28. šag-bi-a ur-sag ur-sag-e-ne si-
    mu-un-si-di-e-ne
29. eš-bar-ṭin-dūg-ga ṣu-gal mu-un-
    dū-dū³
30. ṭ-e gud-udu-dam gud-ṭam-ma-
    gur-ri(?)-en
31. ṭ-e tum-ma-tām lug-lug-.........
32. ṭ-e gud-ṭar-ra-ṭam³ al-ṭūg-[ga?]
33. ṭ-e udu-ṭar-ra-ṭam al-ṭūg-[ga?]
34. giš-KU-LIL(?)-ne⁶ giš-LIL-ma-
    ṭam gāl-li........
35. giš-KU-da⁷ ........... gūr ........

Col. III

2. šiL-A-TU-GAB-LIŠ-dam an-da-
    PI-PI-SAL(?)... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 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6. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then wailing began.

7. [gú] 4-kam-ma-ām

7. Section four it is.

8. .........................

9. é [ ]

10. é [ ] la né [ ] tu² [ ] ur [ ]

11. šag-bi-a ur-sag ur-sag-e-ne si-mu-un-si-di-e-ne

12. Ḫ.Nin-gar-sag-ga ušumgal-ām šag-ki im-[ ]

13. Ḫ.Nin-tud ama-gal-la tud-tud mu-[ ]

14. Ḫul-pa-e-a pa-le-si-ge nam-em-na mu [ ]

15. Ḫšš-šir-gi ur-sag-ga AB₂-mu-[ ]

16. Urumaš ligir-gal-ām² edin-na-an² mu-da-an-[ ]

17. é-e siḫka lu-lim³ gú-ām-ma-gur-ri³

18. ŠN-HAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-an-ūm-mu

19. ur-sag-bi Ḫšš-šir-giš-gim rib-ba

20. ama ši-in-ga-a-an-ū-tud

1 Var. Cstple. é. See below line 21 and BL. 88 n. 4.

2 Fifth section on Ni. 8384.

3 First sign on Ni. 8384 Rev. 1.

4 Ni. 8384 gi.

5 Same sign on Var. Cstple. But Ni. 8384 has a sign apparently related to the difficult sign which I assimilated to Br. 4930 in AJSL. 33, 48. The sign on Ni. 8384 recurs in ZIMMERN, KL. 35 11 5.

6 Var. Ni. 8384 gal-e; Var. Cstple. gal-la. According to CT. 24, 10, 8 the throne bearer of Enlil, but in 24, 26, 124 a ligir-gal in the attendance of the mother goddess.

7 Ni. 8384 edin-na; Var. Cstple. edin.

8 Both variants add e.

9 Var. of gú-gar = puḫḫuru. See BL. 10, 30.

10 Vars. omit gim.
21. nin-bi a Nintud-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duğ
   21. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then wailing began.

22. é 5-kam-ma-ām
   22. It is the fifth section.

23. é ud-gim ki-gal-la gub-ba

24. am-laq-laq-gim edin-na sūg-sūg-[gi]

25. [ ] e gar-ra é [ ]
26. [ ] -bi-la [ ]
27. [ ] -la [ ]
28-30. (28-30 illegible or lost on all the variants.)

31. [ ] ra [ ]
32. [ ] gar nu [ ]
33. [ ] an-šār ki-šar
34. [ ] bi la-qa-ma ki-uš-sa
35. [ ] na-ra-ab Uri-(ki)-ka keš-du
36. EN-HAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba4 galu ši-in-ga-an-lúm-mu
   36. Like EN-HAR it has been made surpassing; verily man has brought solicitude for it.

Col. IV

1. ur-sag-bi a Naṣir-qi-gim rib-ba-ra
   1. Its hero like Aṣṣirgi has been made surpassing; the mother verily has borne him.

2. ama aš śi-in-ga-an-ū-luṭ

3. nin-bi a Nintud-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duğ
   3. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then wailing began.

4. é 6-kam-ma ām
   4. It is the sixth section.
5. ḥ-aṣag LU-bi 8
6. ḥ-Keš-(ki)-aṣag LU-bi 8…
7. ḥ-a en-bi 4 A-nun-na-me-es
8. nu-ēš-bi dim-ē-an-na-me-es2
9. kisal-e lugal-bur-ra-am mu-un-gub
10. en-dug ṭag tāg-lal nam-mi-in-lal
11. a-tu-e umun 4 En-ki NE-GAB in-[ ]
12. tu-e a-ār(?)-a4 mu-e-gub
13. lāl a-ṣag-ga ki-aṣag-ga-am mi-
14. en isimu-e8 abkal ubar-e-ne tū ki-
   ām-ma-gāl-li-es3[Keš-a-ni SU-mu-un-
   sig-gi-ne7]
15. [ ] RU URU RU mu-ni-
   ib-bi-ne
16. [ ] ma-ge gig-ga8 mi-ni-
   ib-qa
   [ ] a-lal-e gū-gu mi-ni-ib-
17. [ ] ṭ-ra-ge sūg-sūg mi-ni-
   ib-qa
   [ ] dug-gi si-ɡa-ba-ni-ib
di

5. The sacred temple whose (?) is
6. The sacred temple of Keš whose
   (?) is
7. In the temple whose high priests
   are the Anunnaki,
8. Whose sacrificial priests are the
dim of Eanna,
9. The aisle treads.
10. (The temple) unto which a ben-
    eficent lord has shown
    solicitude
11. The libator(?), lord Enki
12. The baptizer treads thee.
13. The lord Isimu, the councilor
14. in sorrow abounds.
15. the bound cry like birds
16. (?)
17. in desolation abounds.

1 Text certain. Not NUN.
2 Var. Cstple. en.
3 Radau's copy has KIN.
4 Var. a-an.
5 Ni. 11876 has lāl-e ki-aṣag-ga nam-mi-in-KU?
6 Ni. 11876 omits e. This text proves that in the ideogram Br. 1202 the gloss isimu belongs
   properly to the first two signs only and that the original reading was isimu-abkal. See especially
   CT. 12, 16, 34 (i-si-mu) = PAP-sig = usmū. In the later period abkal was apparently not
   pronounced and the whole ideogram was rendered by isimu.
7 This line is not on the prism.
8 Ni. 11876 ga-a-an. Cstple. Var. gig simply.
18. [ ] ka-ṣal-bi al-dug
19. [ ] ṣal-bi a-mu-un-KU
20. [ ] gar-sag-ga nin-bi [? - ]
21. [ ] ám-mu-un-KU(?)
22. ÉN-HAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu
   ši-in-ga-an-tüm-mu
23. ur-sag-bi d. Áššir-gi-gim rib-ba
   ama ši-in-ga-an-û-tud
24. nin-bi d. Nintud-gim rib-ba-ra
   a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duš

25. [é(?)] 7-kam-ma-âm

25. It is the seventh section.

THIRD TABLET OF THE SERIES "THE EXALTED ONE
WHO WALKETH" (e-lum didara)
(NO. 13)

The series elum didara is entered in the Assyrian liturgical
catalogue, IV Raw. 53a 8, and the first tablet of this Enlil liturgy
has been found in the Berlin collection and published by Reis-
ner, SBH. No. 25. The Berlin tablet belongs to a great
Babylonian temple library of the Greek period redacted by a
family of liturgists descendants of Sin-ibni. A fragment of the
same first tablet of another Babylonian copy has been found,
BM. 81–7–27, 203. The catch line of tablet two is lost on
SBH. 25 and no part of tablet two has been identified. In 1914

1 Or gá.
2 I edited this tablet in SBP. 120–123 where I erroneously assigned it to the Enlil series
ame baranara. The tablet has been partially restored from Meek, No. 11. The first two me-
dies of elume didara are used in the Enlil liturgy elum gudsun near the end just before the titular
litany and have been re-edited above pp. 300-2 in the edition of the elum gudsun series.
3 Meek, No. 11 in BA. X pt. 1.
I copied BM. 78239 (=88-5-12, 94) the upper half of a large tablet carrying according to the colophon ninety-six Sumerian lines. The number of lines provided with an interlinear translation on this fragment is only two, which increases the actual number of lines to ninety-eight. Probably a few more should be added for Semitic lines on the lost portion. This tablet, also from a Babylonian redaction, belongs to an edition made by another school of liturgists and contains tablet three of *elum didara*.

The third tablet of *elum didara* began with a melody *nin-ri nin-ri gû-am-me* to the mother goddess Bau (l. 2), who in line 7 is identified with Nanâ. Lines 3–6 introduce by interpolation other local forms of the mother goddess, as a concession to cities whose liturgists succeeded in inserting these lines before the canon of sacred songs were closed in the Isin period. Hence Babylon is favored by a reference to Zarpanit in line 3; Barsippa by a reference to Tašmet in lines 4–6. Bau or Gula wails for Nippur whose destruction is here attributed to the moon-god, Sin. The introduction of a long passage to the moon-god in the weeping mother melody of an Enlil liturgy is unusual. The entire passage reflects the phraseology and ideas of the well-known Sumerian hymn to the moon-god *magur aqag anna*.¹ The composer desiring to utilize these fine lines makes a setting for them by describing Sin as the god who visited Nippur with wrath, regardless of the inconsistency of placing such a passage in an Enlil song service which attributed the sorrows of Nippur to Enlil himself.

According to the catch line of tablet two of the Ninurta liturgy *gud-nim kurra* the third tablet of that series began by the same melody as tablet three of the *elum didara*.² It is prob-

¹ SBP. 296.
² SBP. 236.
able that the first melody of tablet three of both series was identical. Melodies are always identified by their first lines and when these agree we assume that the entire melodies are identical. Since the musicians referred to all melodies by their first lines it was manifestly impossible to begin two different melodies with the same line. But tablet three of the weeping mother liturgy muten nu-nunuğ-gin begins its first melody¹ nin-ri nin-ri gû-âm, etc., otherwise both melodies differ completely. This is the first known of example of two different melodies bearing the same title. It is curious indeed that an Enlil, a Ninurta and a mater dolorosa series all begin their third tablets in the same manner.

The obverse of BM. 78239 breaks away before the end of the melody nin-ri ninri gû-âm-me. Here forty-five Sumerian lines are lost; one or two melodies at least stood in this break. For the last passage on tablet three, the scribe borrows the first melody of the Ninurta series gud-nim kurra.² The litanies which begin these melodies or series of addresses to Ninurta differ greatly in the two redactions. Since SBH. No. 18 belongs to a Ninurta series the addresses therein are much more extensive. The composer of the Enlil series elum didara obviously introduced this irrelevant melody to obtain the fine passage to the weeping mother, Rev. 10–21 on BM. 78239. These lines are lost on the Berlin text SBH. No. 18. On the whole the liturgy elum didara is more inconsistent in the development of ideas than any song service of which extensive portions are known. Only tablets one and three are as yet identified and neither of these is much more than half complete.

¹ SBP. 140.
² SBP. 226=SBH. No. 18.
ru-ba-tum (rubatum) ši-si-it dili i-šes-si ina lal-la-ra-li

The princess, the princess, in misery shouts the wailing of the city.¹

1. nin-ri nin-ri gû-äm-me uru in-ga-äm-me ē-li-li
2. a gašan-mu nu-nunuq-šag-ga ē
3. ē-gi-a ē-sag-il-la³
4. dumu-sag ⁴Urash-a
5. dumu-sag ē-i-be- ⁴A-nu-um ē
6. gašan gû-ur-a-sig ud-lal-a-ge ē
7. gašan-mu ⁴Na-na-a ē
8. ē-ţu ē-ţu-šu ē
9. uru-ţu uru-ţu-šu ē
10. dam-ţu dam-ţu-šu ē
11. dumu-ţu dumu-ţu-šu ē
12. še-ib-šu še-ib-gi-gi ē
13. saģar-šu saģar-gi-gi⁴ ē
15. na-an-na-ru el-lu ša-sa-me-e e-ţil ra-ma-ni-šu ina šu-lu-ru-li-ka al-lam

¹ The first line, together with its Semitic translation, is identical with the first line of the third tablet of the series mušen nu-nunq-gim, see SBP. 140. Otherwise the melodies differ.
² The refrain ē-li-li apparently provides an incomplete sentence.
³ Cf. SBH. No. 84. 13, there a title of the river goddess.
⁴ Lines 10-13 form a duplicate of SBH. No. 25, Rev. 2-5 = SBP. 132.
⁵ si-mâ, literally karnānu, the horned, referring to the new-moon. The variant SBP. 296, 1 has ma-gûr, the crescent boat. Undoubtedly ma-gûr should be rendered by nannašu in this passage.
16. O father Nannar bright horned light of heaven, mighty of itself, (in thy excellence, yea thou in thy excellence),
17. Father Nannar, lord of all the heavens,
18. Lord Nannar, lord of the rising light,
19. Great lord, who himself has wrought evil to thy city, mighty of himself,
20. As for thy city Nippur, he who has wrought evil to thy city,
21. All thy Land ............
22. Thy city and land are afflicted with woe.
23. In thy......and thy......the scribes are driven away.
24. In thy......and thy......the augurers are exiled.
25. Thy......is destroyed.
26.
27. HUL-ÂS-A (gloss) e-ga ib.....
28. A-AN HUL .... e-ga ib.....
29. -------------------------------

REVERSE


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1 See BL. p. 132.
2 I. e. Sin himself is the author of Nippur’s sorrows.
3 Glossed ki.
4 ËAF: transcription and interpretation uncertain.
5 Hereby is established the reading pa(e)-dâ = mûdu, kapdu. Probably a kind of augurer.
6 Probably tautological writing for lallaâ = itabbulu, Voc. Hitite 7509.
7 Cf. the first melody of the Ninurta series gû-ud nim kur-ra; see SBP. 226; BL. No. 9 and SBH. 40.
2. [kar-ra]-du ṣa-ku-u ṣa ma-a-līm
   kal-tuk [man-nu i-lam-mad]
3. alim-ma   umun ur-sag-gal
4. ur-sag-gal umun si   4Mu-ul-li-
   lā-ge
5. alim-ma   abil ē-kur-ra
6. ur-sag-gal umun ē-šu-me-DU3
7. umun ē-sag-ma-ḫ-a umun-e ē-i-be-
   šu-gūd
8. umun sukkal-ma-ḫ-di4 gal-ukkin
   ḏ.Nusku-ge
9. 4Maš-lab-ḇa 4Lugal-gir-ra
10. ṭūg-ga-tu mu-lu ta-ṭu mu-un-ṭu
11. taq-a-tu mu-lu
12. e-ne-em-ṭu mu-lu
13. edin-na di-di edin-na še-ām-du
14. ama gašan tin-dib-ḇa edin-na
15. nin gašan nigin-gar-ra edin-na
16. nin gašan Lara-ak-(ki)-ge5 edin-
   na
2. Honored one, lord, great chap-
   eln.
3. Great champion, lord, light of
   Enlil.
5. Honored one, son of Ekur.1
6. Great champion, lord of Ešume-
   du.
7. Lord of Ešamaḫ, lord of E-ibe-
   šugud.3
8. Lord, great messenger, the her-
   ald Nusku.
9. The twin god, Lugalgirra.   2
10. As to thy commands, who com-
    prehends thy form?
11. As to thy succor, who com-
    prehends thy form?
12. As to thy word, who com-
    prehends thy form?
13. She wanders on the plain, on
    the plain she wails.
14. The mother, queen who gives
    life to the dead, on the plain
    wails.
15. The queen, lady Niginagar, on
    the plain wails.
16. The queen, lady of Larak, on
    the plain wails.

1 Similar passages have ē-tār-ra (SBP. 226, 8; SBH. 40, 8) chapel of Ninlil in Ekur (SBP.
   221 n. 7).
3 Temple of Ninurta in Nippur. A syllabary recently published by Scheil (RA. 14, 174 l. 7)
   explains the name by bit gi-mir par-ši ṣimmu, Temple which executes the totality of decrees.
   Note, however, the epithet ī i-di-la = bit niš IN, House of the lifting of the eyes, SBP. 208, 11.
4 In any case an epithet of the temple of Uṣur in Dilbat, ḫe.6Anum. For this reading I-be
   see vars. 1-bi, 1m-bi, BL. p. 134. The word ibi is probably Sumerian for iĝi, and shows that
   the phonetic rendering i-de is erroneous. The dialectic pronunciation of iĝi was ibr and despite
   the Semitic variant ibr the name is apparently Sumerian lbe-Anu, Temple of the eye of Anu.
   Here šu-gūd is an epithet for Anu, i.e. the lofty.
5 See also SBH. 132, 46; BL. No. 56 Rev. 31; Craig, RT. 20, 30. This text has a variant a
   for 1i.
17. nin gašan I-si-in-na-(ki) edin-na
18. nin ama t-dúr1-aqag-ga edin-na
19. nin ama ŠU-ḪAL-BI2 edin-na
20. Ba-ù nu-numuṭ šág-ga edin-na
21. ===== Ś-a-kul-
mağ-a edin-a

22. e-lum-e la-lu u'-u-a u'-u-a
23. 96-ám mu-šid-bi-im duppu 3-kam
e-lum di-da-ra nu al-til
24. gab-ri Bár-sip-(ki) kima labirišu
ša-tir-ma barim duppu 4-Bél-
šik-sur mārišu ša 4-Bél-īšku-ni
25. mar Iddin-4-Papsukkal pa-liḫ
4-Nabu ina šar-šum la uššešir
u ina me-riš-tum la u-ša-bi3

22. Oh honored one, the exuberant,
 alas, alas.
23. Ninety-six is the number of its
 lines. Third tablet of Elum
didara, unfinished.
24. Copy from Barsippa, according
to its original, written and
collated. Tablet of Bēlikšur
son of Belishkuni,
25. son of Iddin-Papsukkal wor-
shipper of Nebo. In fraud
he has not translated it and
with wilful readings has he
not published it.

1 Probably variant of t-dúr = adurā, kašpu, village, city, Poebel, PBS. V 106 IV 30; see also
II Raw. 52, 61 f. Note the similar title of the city of Bau uru-aqag-ga in SAK. 274; BL. 147.
Here the title refers to Isin not Lagash.
2 Cf. Craig, RT. II 16, 18.4-Ama-ŠU-ḪAL-BI-la.
3 Cf. CT. 12, 32 24; ina šar-tu la uššešir-u ina me-riš-tum la i-ka-li, “By fraud he has not
translated it and with wilful readings has he not published it.” For Ṣuteluri, “to translate or
edit a tablet,” see Lehmann, Shamash-šlum-uktin, Taf. XXXIV 17 aṣkaḫa ana Ṣutelu, “to
translate into Akkadian.” On this difficult passage concerning the education of Ašurbanipal
see Sumerian Grammar, p. 3 and corrections by Ungnad in ZA. 31, 41. ikalli probably for ukallim;
note the variant wašbi = wašpi.
6060 (No. 12)

Babylonian Cult Symbols

Ni. 6060, a Cassite tablet in four columns, yields a notable addition to the scant literature we now possess concerning Babylonian mystic symbols. A fragmentary Assyrian copy from the library of Ašurbanipal was published by ZIMMERN as No. 27 of his Ritual Tafeln. The Assyrian copy contains only fifteen symbols with their mystic identifications, in Col. II of the obverse. The ends of the lines of the right half of Col. I are preserved on ZIMMERN 27, and these are all restored by the Cassite original. The obverse of these two restored tablets contained about sixty symbols with their divine implications. Most of them are the names of plants, metals, cult utensils and sacrificial animals, each being identified with a deity. A tablet in the British Museum, dated in the 174th year of the Seleucid era or 138 B.C., Spartola Collection I 131, published by STRASSMAIER, ZA. VI 241–4, begins with an astronomical myth concerning the summer and winter solstices¹ and then inserts a passage on the mystic meanings of ten symbols. The myth of the solstices runs as follows:

“In the month Tammuz, 11th day, when the deities Miniṭṭi and Kaṭuna, daughters of Esagila,² go unto Ezida³ and in the month Kislev, 3d day, when the deities Gazbaba and Kazalsurra, daughters of Ezida, go unto Esagila—Why do they go? In the month Tammuz the nights are short. To lengthen the nights the daughters of Esagila go unto Ezida. Ezida is the house of

¹ Only in a loose sense. From Tammuz to Kislev is the period of death, from Kislev to Tammuz the period of revivification of nature. See on the meaning of this passage KUGLER, Im Bannkreis Babels 62–5.
² Temple of Marduk in Babylon.
³ Temple of Nebo in Birsippa.
night. In the month Kislev, when the days are short, the daughters of Ezida to lengthen the days go unto Esagila. Esagila is the house of day." The tablet then explains the Sumerian ideogram gubarra = Ašrat, the western mother goddess Ashtarte, and says that Ašrat of Ezida is poverty stricken. But Ašrat of Esagila is full of light and mighty. Some mystic connection between Ašrat or Geštinanna, mistress of letters and astrology, scribe of the lower world, and the daughters of night and day existed. This cabalistic tablet here refers to a mirror which she holds in her hand and says she appeared on the 15th day to order the decisions. The 15th of the month Tammuz is probably referred to or the beginning of the so-called dark period when the days begin to shorten and Nergal the blazing sun descends to the lower world to remain 160 days. For some reason Ašrat, here called the queen, appears to order the decisions, probably the fates of those that die. The phrase "The divine queen appeared" is usually said of the rising of stars or astral bodies, but the reference here is wholly obscure. As a star she was probably Virgo. At any rate some mystic pantomime must have been enacted in the month of Tammuz in which the daughters of Esagila and Ezida and the queen recorder of Sheol were the principal figures. The pantomime represented the passing of light, the reign of night and the judgment of the dead. Clearly an elaborate ritual attended by magic ceremonies characterized the ceremony. At this point the tablet gives a commentary on

1 maš-dû = muškēnītu.
2 Ḫaraḫilum.
3 See Tammuz and Ishtar, p. 151. Ašrat or the western Ashtoreth usually had the title bēlit štri, "Lady of the plains" and was identified with the Babylonian Geštinanna and Nidaba. Hence [Bēlit]-štri is duššarrat irstim, scribe of the lower world, K.B. VI 190, 47; cf. IV R. 27 B 29.
4 See lines 51-4 of this tablet. Nergal descends into the earth on the 18th of Tammuz and remains until the 28th of Kislev.
5 šarrat.
the mystic meaning of cult objects used for the healing of the sick or the atonement of a sinner. Obviously some connection exists between this mystagogy and the myth described. The commentary is probably intended to explain the hidden powers of the objects employed in the weird ritual, at any rate the mystery is thus explained.¹

(1) Gypsum is the god Ninurta.² (2) Pitch is the asakku-demon.³ (3) Meal water (which encloses the bed of the sick man) is Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea.⁴ [A string of wet meal was laid about the bed of a sick man or about any object to guard them against demons. Hence meal water symbolizes the two gods who guard against demons. See especially Ebeling, KTA. No. 60 Obv. 8 țisurrâ talamme-šu, “Thou shalt enclose him with meal water.”]

(4) Three meal cakes are Anu, Enlil and Ea.⁵ (5) The design which is drawn before the bed is the net which overwhems all evil. (6) The hide of a great bull is Anu. [Here the hide of the bull is the symbol of the heaven god as of Zeus Dolichalos in Asia Minor.]

(7) The copper gong⁶ is Enlil. But in our tablet II 13 symbol of Nergal and in CT. 16, 24, 25 apparently of Anu. The term of comparison in any case is noise, bellowing.

(8) The great reed spears which are set up at the head of the

¹ Here epitomized. It will be found transcribed and translated by Zimmer in his Zum Babylonischen Neujahrfeier, p. 129.
² MAŠ. See below Col. II 15, gypsum is Ninurta, the god of war, primarily a god of light. Gypsum, Sum. im-bur, “radiant clay,” became symbolic of Ninurta because of its light transparent color.
³ So, because gypsum, lime and pitch are smeared on the door of the house and the god of light (Ninurta) tramples upon the demon of darkness.
⁴ Two inferior deities related to Nergal, god of the lower world. Their images placed at the enclosure of a house prevent the demons. Zimmer, Rt. 168, 21 f. The image of Lugalgirra designed on a wall prevents the devils, ibid. 166, 12. He binds the evil ones, IV R. 21⁷ C III 26. The two are placed at the right and left of a door to forbid the devils to enter. Mablu VI 124.
⁵ The great trinity: heaven, earth and sea.
⁶ In any case a cult utensil on which a noise was made, CT. 16, 24, 32.
sick man are the seven great gods sons of Išhara. The seven sons of Išhara are unknown, but this goddess was a water and vegetation deity closely connected with Nidaba goddess of the reed. The reed, therefore, symbolizes her sons.

(9) The scapegoat is Ninamašazagga. Here the scapegoat typifies the genius of the flocks who supplies the goat. See, however, another explanation below Obv. II 17.

(10) The censer is Azagsud. The deity Azagsud in both theological and cult texts is now male and now female. As a male deity he is the great priest of Enlil, CT. 24, 10, 12, and always a god of lustration closely connected with the fire god Gibil, MEEK, BA. X pt. 1 No. 24, 4. But ordinarily Azagsud is a form of the grain goddess who was also associated with fire in the rites of purification. As a title of the grain goddess, see CT. 24, 9, 35 = 23, 17; SBP. 158, 64 A-sug where ZIMMERN, KL. 11 Rev. III 11 has Aṣag-sug. She is frequently associated with Ninḫabursildu and Nidaba (the grain goddess) in rituals, ZIMMERN, Rt. 126, 27 and 29; 138, 14, etc. The censer probably symbolizes both male and female aspects, the fire that burns and the grain that is burned. See below II 9, where the censer is symbol of Urashā a god of light.

(11) The torch is Nusku the fire god in the Nippur pantheon. Below (II 10) the torch is Gibil, fire god in the Eridu pantheon.

The mystic identifications do not always agree, but the term of comparison can generally be found if the origin and character of the deities are known and the nature of the symbol determined. Each god was associated with an animal and a plant and with other forms of nature over which they presided. When the cult utensils are symbols the term of comparison is generally clear.

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1 See the Chicago Syllabar 230 where she is identified with Nidaba.
2 Cf. ZA. 16, 178, 27; BA. V 649, 3; Shurpu VIII 10.
Below will be found such interpretations of these mysteries as the condition of the tablet and the limits of our knowledge permit. Most difficult of all are the metal symbols which begin with Obv. I 10. Here silver is heaven, but it can hardly be explained after the manner of the same connection of Zeus Dolichaîos with silver in Kommagene. The cult of this Asiatic heaven god is said to have been chiefly practiced at a city in the region of silver mines.¹ That is an impossible explanation in the case of Anu whose chief cult center was at Ereh. The association of gold with Enmesharra, here obviously the earth god, is completely unintelligible. In Obv. I 31 he is possibly associated with lead or copper as the planet Saturn. In lines 1 14–18 the symbols are broken away, but they are probably based upon astronomy. Metals seem to be connected with fixed stars and planets on the principle of color. The metallic symbolism of the planets was well known to Byzantine writers who did not always agree in these matters. Their identifications are certainly a Græco-Roman heritage which in turn repose upon Babylonian tradition.² The following table taken from Cook, Zeus, p. 626, will illustrate Græco-Roman ideas on this point:

Kronos—lead (Saturn); Zeus—silver (Jupiter); Ares—iron (Mars); Helios—gold (Sun); Aphrodite—tin (Venus); Hermes—brass (Mercury); Selene—crystal (Moon).

Our tablet preserves only the names of the deities at this

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¹ So A. B. Cook, Zeus, 632. I would, however, entertain doubts concerning this explanation of silver as the emblem of the Asiatic Zeus and of Jupiter Dolichenus. The identification of this metal with the sky god in Babylonia and Kommagene surely repose upon a more subtle idea. [For the explanation of silver = Anu and gold = Enlil, see p. 342.]

² The Sabians, a pagan Aramaic sect of Mesopotamia at Harran, are said to have assigned a metal to each planet. Since a considerable part of their religion was derived from Babylonia we may consider this direct evidence for the Babylonian origin of the entire tradition. For an account of the metals assigned to the planets by the Babylonians, Persians, Greeks and Sabians, see Bousser in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 1901, article on "Die Himmelsreise der Seele." The order of the planets, taken from the Byzantine list above, is based upon their relative distances from the sun.
point, and if metals stood at the left we are clearly authorized to interpret the divine names in their astral sense. This assumes, of course, that these astral identifications obtained in the Cassite period. Assuming this hypothesis we should have the metals for Beteigueze, Ursa Major, Venus, Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, New-moon(?), a star in Orion, Venus as evening and morning star, Virgo, and perhaps others.

The reverse of the tablet is even more mystic and subtle. The first section connects various cult substances with parts of the body. White wine and its bottle influence the eyes. White figs pertain to a woman’s breasts. Must or mead have power over the limbs as the members of motion. Terms of comparison fail to suggest themselves here and we are completely disconcerted by the fancy of the Babylonian mystagogue. In the next section, which is only partially preserved, we have twelve gods of the magic rituals. The province of each in relation to the city and state is defined. Kushu, the evil satyr who receives the sin-bearing scapegoat, hovers over the homes of men. Muhru, the deity who receives burnt offerings, or incarnation of the fires of sacrifice, dwells at the city-gate. Sakkut, a god of light and war, inexplicably protects the pools. Then follow hitherto undefined and unknown Cassite deities and a break in the tablet.

As in the Assyrian duplicate, Zimmern Rt. 27, so also here, the reverse contains a lexicographical commentary on mythological phrases. The name of the god Negun is commented upon here and most timely information is given. Both the phonetic reading of the name and the character of the deity are defined. The colophon at the end has the usual formula attached to cult instructions whose contents are forbidden to the uninitiated.
1. *duḫa-gub-ba* . . . . [1]


3. *duk-ge-na-nu-tûr* d. [MES-GAR]

4. *Eššinig d. A-nim*

5. *Eššag-ĝišmar* d. *Dumu-ĝi*

6. *in-nu-ug3* d. *E-a*

7. *Ešul-ĝi d. Nin-arla*

8. *Eš* d. *Nin-ašt*

1. The vessel of holy water . . . . [of the gods]

2. is Ninhabursidu, queen of incantations.

3. The little *kanna*-vessel is the deity . . . .

4. The tamarisk is Anu.

5. The date palm-head is Tammuz.

6. The *mashtakal*-plant is Ea.

7. The *šalalu*-reed is Ninurta.

8. The *El*-plant is Ninâ.

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1 Restoration from Zim. Rt. 27.

2 This deity appears in incantations as the queen of the holy waters *bêlit egubē*, IV R. 28b 16; Bab. I 28, Sm. 491, 3. Although placed in the court of Enlil the earth god as sister of Enil by the theologians, CT. 24, 11, 40 = 24, 52, where she is associated with a special deity of holy water, *A-gub-ba*, yet by function and character she belongs to the water cult of Eridu. Her symbol is the holy water jar (*duḫu*) *agubba* and the deity *Azubba is šu-šu lag-lag-qa Erida-ge*, Purifying handwasher of Eridu, CT. 24, 11, 41 = 24, 53. The river goddess *Eš* is also *bêlit agubē*, CT. 16, 7, 255 where in II 254 Ninhabursidu is abat *A-gub-ba*, sister of *Agubba*, and the river goddess is mother of Enki, or Ea, god of the sea, CT. 24, 1, 25. The reading *ḫabur* for *A-ḪA is most probable, and the cognate or dialectic form *ḫubur* is a name for the mysterious sea that surrounds the world. See BL. 115 n. 2. The holy water over which she presides is taken from the *apsu* or nether sea, which issues from springs, hence *egubē* is spring water, CT. 17, 5 1 11. The name, then, really means "Queen of the lower world river, she that walks (*duḫu*) the streets (*sîl*)." The Semitic scribe of CT. 25, 49, 6 renders the name in a loose way by *bêlit ẖelliti bêlit alêkat sulê [raplāti], Queen of lustration, queen that walks the [wide] streets (of the lower world). For the title *bêlit ẖelliti*, see CT. 26, 42 1 14. For a parallel to the description of her walking the streets of inferno, cf. *Ḫal-Ḫag qa šil-Ḫagal-la edin-na*, Lady of purity who (walks) the wide streets of the plain (of inferno), consort of Irragal, god of the lower world, SBP. 158, 59. A variant, KL. 16 II 8 has *sil-Ḫig-edin-na*, the dark street, etc.

3 Conjectural restoration from ASKT. 96, 21. ZIMMERN, Rt. 27 1 3-4 has a longer description of *[Ninhabursidu a-ḫa-lat *[A-gub-ba bêlit] mēti?] la nāti(?)*. Variant of *kān-ti-râ*, V Raw. 42, 39.

4 In K. 165 Rev. 8 f. the tamarisk and date palm are said to be created in heaven (*gīš an-na št-ša*) and the same is said of them in Gudea, Cyl. B 4, 10, *gīš-šinig gīš-tēḫa* (i. e. = *šīq = gīšmar*) an *u-tud-dā*. This plant appears frequently in magic rituals, IV R. 50b 4 *的主题* (Semitic), IV R. 16b 31, *Suruḫu* IX 1-8, and also in medical texts. *bina* is now identified with Syriac *battā* (broad of heaven in Psalms 105, 40), said to have been the exudation of the tamarisk, is possible. If this identification be correct, a comparison with the Hebrew legend of the *manna* (bread of heaven in Psalms 105, 40), said to have been the exudation of the tamarisk, is possible. The Semitic *ḫubur*, Aramaic *ḥērā*, see MEISSNER, MVAG. 1913, 2 p. 40 and BE. 31, 69 n. 2. Used both in medicine and magic.

5 Passim in rituals and medicine. See BE. 31, 69, 27; 72, 29; *King, Magic 11, 44*; MEISSNER, SAL. 2805.

6 In *Suruḫu* VIII 70 mentioned with *šālālu*. A magic ointment made of the *El* and *mashtakah*, CT. 34, 9, 41. See also Ebeling, KTA. 90 rev. 17; *King, Magic* 30, 25. Perhaps identical in name with the stone *arzallu*, SAL. 8545. On a Dublin tablet often *gīš El*. Cf. *u-sīg-el-šar* = *šāmu*, onion.

7 For the correct reading *ni-na-a*, see AJSL. XXXIII 104, 159.
9. gišburru

10. ḫakubabbar

11. ḫakku-gi

12. ḫurudu

13. ḫan-na

14. [ ]

15. [ ]

16. [ ]

17. [ ]

18. [ ]

19. [ ]

20. [ ]

21. [ ]

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9. The gišbur wood is the Fire God Girra.

10. Silver is the great god (the moon).

11. Gold is Enmešarra (the sun).

12. Copper is Ea.

13. Lead is Ninmah.

14. [ ] is Ninurta.

15. [ ] is Ninlil.

16. [ ] is Ishtar-Venus.

17. [ ] is Marduk-Jupiter.

18. [ ] is Nergal-Mars.

19. [ ] is Ninurta-Saturn.

20. [ ] is Nusku.

21. [ ] is Papsukal.

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1 Here a wood employed in magic, cf. BE. 31, 60, 6+15. In syllabars giš-BUR = gišburru, giškirru, indicates a weapon or an utensil.

8 NITA-DU, fire god, title of Nergal as fire god and identical with ḫir = Nergal.

4 Here certainly Anu, heaven god, followed by Earth and Sea gods. Note also ḫu-la in liturgies passim as title of Anu, BL. 136. Anu = Sin, see p. 342.

4 Title of Enil, lord of the totality of decrees. Enil = Šamaš.

6 Originally title of the great unmarried mother goddess bēlit ilāni, but often a title of the virgin types Innin and Ninā, BL. 141; of Gula ibid. Also somewhat frequently she is Damkina, consort of Ea, IV R. 54b 47; CT. 33, 3, 21 her star beside that of Ea. Here she is the mother goddess and the same order, Heaven, Earth, Sea, Mother Goddess in Šurpu IV 42, where Nin-maḫ has the Var. Nin-tud, EBERLING, KTA. p. 121, 11. Symbols of these four deities on boundary stones in same register, HINKE, A New Boundary Stone, p. 28 second register, et passim.

6 Possibly a metal stood here, identified with ḫAR, a star in Orion (Kaksidi = Beteigeuze), CT. 33, 3, 6: King, Magic 50, 29.

7 Possibly the constellation Ursus Major. Margidda, the Wagon is intended, identified with Ninlil on a Berlin text, WEIDNER, Handbuch 79, 10. See also BEZOLD in DEIMEL, Pantheon Babylonicum 215.

8 From the context certainly a title of Marduk. ZIM. 27 I 19 omits LU-TU.

8 Or Bšš-šarbe, title of Nergal, v. VAB. IV 170, 67. Between lines 17 and 18 the variant inserts two lines.

10 But Mars in Amos 5, 26. I accept here the later identifications, Nergal-Mars, Ninurta-Saturn. The identifications in the earlier period of Babylonian astronomy appear to have been Ninurta-Mars and Nergal-Saturn.

11 Probably the astronomical form of Nusku as god of the new moon, IV R. 23a 4. His character as fire god is symbolized by the torch, ZA. VI 242, 24. In 11 10 supply Gisibil after ZIMMERN RT. 27, 5. As fire god he is messenger of Enil.

18 Papsukal, messenger of Zamama, god of Kiš, a form of Ninurta. He also like Nusku derives his messenger character from his connection with light, Papsukal 3a Is-ir-ti. Papsukal of the morning light, CT. 24, 40, 53. Since Ninurta is identified with Alpua of Orion, Papsukal is
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22. [ ] 34 g4 Sakkut 22. [ ] is Sakkut.
23. [ ] 36 34 Ramman 23. [ ] is Ramman.
24. [ ] 24 34 Ishtar Uruk-(ki) 24. [ ] is Ishtar of Erech.1
25. [ ] 24 34 Ishtar Agade-(ki) 25. [ ] is Ishtar of Agade.2
26. [ ] 24 34 Belit-šeri 26. [ ] is Bēlit-šeri.4
27. [ ] 24 Nini-lil 27. [ ] is Ninilil.
28. [ ] 24 34 Ninurta 28. [ ] their band(?) is Ninurta.
29. [ ] ilâni sibiti 29. [ ] is the seven gods.
30. [ ] 34 En-mešar-ra 30. [ ] is Enmasharra.8

OVERSE II

2. gîš [ ] [4d.] 2. [ ]
3. gîš [ ] [4d.] 3. [ ]
4. 34 šim [ ] [4d.] 4. [ ]
5. šim-šal 5. [4d.] 5. Box-wood is the god............
6. gi-dug-ga 6. [4d.] 6. The good reed is the god.......

identified with one of the stars in Orion, CT. 33, 2112; 34-ši-bu-ani 34 Pop-sukal [sukal 34 Anum Ishtar] restored from Viroleaud, Supplement LXVII 10. Here he is messenger of heaven and of Ishtar as Venus, queen of heaven, that is, he is a messenger of the powers of celestial light. Nusku and Pop-sukal often occur together in magic texts, Sbarpa VIII 10.

1 Here probably Sakkut as lord of light and justice, god of Isin, in his normal capacity. See BL. 120 n. 6. His emblem is something made of date palm, 34 gîšimmar. This deity is unknown in magic texts except in Zimmerm. Rt. 70, 8.

2 Ishtar of Erech is Venus as evening star, the effeminates Venus of Erech, see Tammar and Ishtar, 54 and 180 n. 4.

4 Venus as morning star. The Ishtar of Agade was the type of war goddess, see op. cit. p. 100; hence Venus as morning star is sometimes called the Bow Star, Kugler, Sternkunde 11 198.

4 Western title of Geštinanna, sister of Ishtar. Here perhaps the constellation Virgo.

4 The seven gods are the Pleiades, CT. 33, 2, 44. Since they are followed by Enmasharra perhaps here to be identified with the seven sons of Enmasharra (see BE. 31, 35). In ZA. VI 242, 20 gi-uru-gal-meš, "the great reed spears" are symbols of the seven great gods, sons of Ishara. But traces of the last sign are not those of MES here.

6 In astronomy a form of Nin-urta = Saturn, but by character allied to Nergal a lower world deity. See line 11 above. For E. as Saturn note V. Raw. 46 a 21, his star UDU-LIM and II R. 48, 52 the same star is 34 UDU-BAD sag-ul = kaimanu, Saturn. See also BE. 31, 35 n. 4 line 12, kaimanu title of Enmasharra.

7 šimešal employed in medical texts, see SA. 3574 and Jastrow, Medical Text Rev. 5. Here also without gîš. Holma, Beiträge zum assyrischen Lexicon, p. 85, identified it with Syr. lamārta, Persian and Arabic šimal.

8 Passim in medical and incantation texts, CT. 23, 45, 9; RA. 14, 88, 6; Ebeling, KTA. 26 R. 20; IV R. 55 No. 2, 18.; etc.
7. \(\mathbf{\text{šim-li}}\) \(\text{\textit{Immer}}\)  
8. \(\text{\textit{špāši}}\) \(\text{burrumī}^1\) \(\text{\textit{Labartu(?)}}\) \(\text{\textit{mar[al}}}^2\) \(\text{\textit{Anim}}\)  
9. \(\text{\textit{šim-ZU}}\) \(\text{\textit{Nin-urta}}\)  
10. \(\text{\textit{niq-na}}\) \(\text{\textit{Uraša}}\)  
11. \(\text{\textit{gi-bil-lā}}\) \(\text{\textit{Gi-bil}}\)  
12. \(\text{\textit{kū-la-ri}} \) \(\text{\textit{ibbāšī}}\) \(\text{\textit{Ne-gun}}\)  
13. \(\text{\textit{mul-lil-lum}}\) \(\text{\textit{Ig[i-BALAG]} ë\textit{nu-giš-sar}}\) \(\text{\textit{En-lil-lā}}\)  
14. \(\text{\textit{urudō}}\) \(\text{\textit{nīg-kalag-ga}^10}\) \(\text{\textit{Nin-[sar} \text{\textit{Nergal}}\)  
15. \(\text{\textit{kūš-gū-gal}^2}\) \(\text{\textit{NINDA+GUD}}\)  
16. \(\text{\textit{im-bar}}\) \(\text{\textit{Utu-gal-lu}}\)  
17. \(\text{\textit{esir}}\) \(\text{\textit{dā}}\)  
18. \(\text{\textit{māš-gul-dū-ba-a}}\) \(\text{\textit{Ku-šu}}\)

---

1. Here variant ZIM. Rt. 27 Obv. II begins.
2. Written \(\text{\textit{sig}}\) \(\text{\textit{dar-a}}\).
3. The name of this deity is not legible in ZIMMERN’s variant and the first sign of the name on the Nippur text is doubtful but apparently the \(\text{\textit{I}š\textit{tīg}}\) and \(\text{\textit{gunu}}\) of Galu, that is REC. 100 later \(\text{\textit{RAB+GAN}}\), (v. SAL. p. 155 note 1). After this sign ZIMMERN and I have seen a sign \(\text{\textit{KU}}\) or \(\text{\textit{SU}}\). \(\text{\textit{Labartu}}\) is usually written \(\text{\textit{RAB+GAN-ME}}\). Here we may have to do with some new ideogram for this deity. She is the daughter of Anu, HAUPT, ASKT. 94, 59. A prayer to the daughter of Anu is KING, Magic No. 61, 5-21.
4. ZIM. \(\text{\textit{SU}}\).
5. But in ZA. VI 242, 23 symbol of Azazud.
7. See MÜSS-ARNOLT, p. 940. Also note \(\text{\textit{miknakku}}\) \(\text{\textit{ka}}\) \(\text{\textit{kū-la-ri}}\), censer of incense, CT. 29, 50, 9; \(\text{\textit{kūtarī}}\) \(\text{\textit{ka}}\) \(\text{\textit{iḫīrī}}\), incense pertaining to the ritual of the incantation, ibid. 20. \(\text{\textit{kūtarī}}\) is a plural form employed to denote several acts of fumigation.
8. Reading established by Rev. II 8. But see MEKK, AJSL. 31, 287, \(\text{\textit{li-si}}<\text{\textit{ne-su}}(n)\) gloss on the star \(\text{\textit{Ne-šum}}\); son of Ninlil, hence a star in Ninlil’s constellation Ursa Major, VIROLLEAUD, Sim XIII 22.
10. In ZA. VI 242, 19, symbol of Enlil. But CT. 16, 24, 25 hero of Anu. In rituals generally with \(\text{\textit{kugugal}}\).
11. Sword bearer (\(\text{\textit{māš patri}}\)) of Enlil, CT. 24, 10, 16.
14. ZA. VI 242, 15 gypsum is \(\text{\textit{Māš}}\).
15. But ZA. VI 242, 15 bitumen is the \(\text{\textit{asakkus}}\) demon.
16. A pest demon son of Anu, III R. 69, 70. On the other hand, ZA. VI 246, 22 the scapegoat represents the patron of flocks Ninamašzag who supplies the goat. When sin is transferred to the goat it falls under the protection of Kushu. See Rev. I 6.
19. "The living lamb" is Gira.®
20. The goat of the torch® is Muhru.
21. "Scattered grain(?)," chick pea (?)
22. seed-corn, eating table and
23. the kagät-pots are Ninurra-Ea.
24. The seven (headed) weapon of
laurel wood, the storm, the
weapon of Marduk.
25. Red sun-disk(s) are the Anunnaki.
26. The golden sacred kid(?) is the
Great Twins.®
27. The kid is Ungal® of Nippur.
28. The crane is Ninsig.®
29. The sun of cedar, weapon of
Zu.®
30. Honey . . . . is the god . . . .
31. Oil . . . . oil . . . .
32. . . . . River-god, god . . . .

1 Cf. En-udú-til-la, SBP. 150 n. 5 l. 8.
2 That is burnt offering.
3 I. e. Ea as the god of potters. Nunurra is paḫaru rabû of Anu, Meek BA. X pt. 1 p. 42, 14.
4 Note CT. 24, 14, 41, *Nun-ur-ra(duk) ka-[ear].
5 Sic! Semitic.
6 Cf. IV R. 28® No. 4 Rev. 3. The symbols in lines 24-6 are obscure.
7 Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea.
8 The temple of Gula and Ungal of Nippur, CLAY. BE. XV 34, 2. Ungal = ˇluiš-ti, population.
9 God of the people of Nippur.
10 A form of Enki as patron of metallurgy. See RA. 12, 83 n. 5.
11 sun probable reading for BAD in this sense. Offerings to the gil-sun, Genouillac, Drehem,
55 Obv. II 15.
12 Sign a confusion of N1+gil and KAK+gil, see RA. 13, 3.
13 Zu, the eagle, bird of the blazing sun, Ninurta, Ningirsu, is the only emblematic animal that
figures as a deity. The myth of his conflict with the serpent in the story of Etana dramatizes
the old legend of the conflict between sun and clouds. He appears in magic here for the first time.
### Reverse I

1. **kararu ešu ḫakkul-ši ena-šu**  
   1. White wine and bottle are his eyes.

2. **titlu piššu**  
   2. The white fig is her breasts.

3. **i-nurmu**  
   3. The nur-fig is his (her) knees.

4. **titlu**  
   4. The fig is his (her) loins.

5. **mirsu**  
   5. Must is his (her) crotch.

6. **4-Kuši šer ki-i-ši**  
   6. The god Kushu over the chamber.

7. **4-Mu-ul-ru ina ṣan abuli**  
   7. Muḫru before the city gate.

8. **Sak-ktu ina ḫabal appari**  
   8. Sakkut in the midst of the pool.

9. **Si-lak-ki ina ma-na-ḫa-li**  
   9. Silakki in the ruins.

10. **E-ḫu-ru-mu ina lībbi šer isdi**  
    10. Ekurum in the leg.

11. **Ab-ba-gu-la ina igari**  
    11. Abbagula in the wall.

12. **i-ši ina nasiati**  
    12. [ ] in the fortress.

13–17.  
13–17.

18. **ilāni**  
18. Twelve gods.

### Reverse II

1. **[SAG-GIR]-ME ša ina ṣanišu namru**  
   1. The battle which before him gleams.

2. **[**  
   2. . . . not are received.

3. **[**  
   3. [ ] NU = not.

4. **[**  
   4. [ ] BI = that : IIA = to present.

---

1 See Vab. IV 154, 44 and note.
2 ša here for ša, feminine. The form should be dual.
3 Gunu of MA = titlu; Sumerian pel, value also assigned to MA = titlu in the Chicago Syllabar, 115 f.
4 kišu, compensation for kišū. See also STRASSMAIER, Nabonidus 699, 24, ki-šu. Note that the ṣulmuḫu (probably an image of a scapegoat) symbol of Kuši is placed opposite the door in ZIM. RT. P. 168, 29.
5 CLAY, Personal Names of the Cassite Period, mentions a deity Si-lak-šu-ku(?). In any case a Cassite deity not mentioned in Babylonian lists and texts.
6 Otherwise unknown. A Cassite deity(?).
7 Probably same as Abagal, DEIMEL, Pantheon, p. 43.
8 Cf. ZIMMERN, 27 R. 14–17
9 Written NU. Cf. ZIMMERN, 27 Rev. I 19.
10 Cf. ibid. 21.
5. [Ne-gun] erim-bi nu-tuk-a ai-bi
    ina kāṭe-šu la usānī
5. Negun who foes has not. The
   wicked from his hand escape
   not.

6. NE-RU:ai-bi:ID:ša-tu:TUK-A
   SAL-ŠEŠ?
6. NE-RU = wicked: ID = hand:
   ?

7. Ne-gun1 ka-lu-ū i-ša-tam
7. Negun is he that burns with fire.

8. HU-gunu1:gu-nu-u:SI:ka-lu-u
8. The gunu of HU has the syllabic
   value gunu:ši(g) = to burn.

9. NE:i-ša-tu:sa-miš ka-lu ni-ka
9. NE = fire: Or = to consume
   offerings in fire.

10. SAL-ŠEŠ:ba-nu-ū: ga-lu
10. ninmuš = blaze, burn.

11. SI:ba-nu-ū:NE
gal-ū
11. si(g) = blaze: bil = burn.

12. mādā mādā li-kal-lim
12. Let the knowing inform the
    knowing.

13. la mādā ul immar
13. He that knows not may not
    read.

    ki-ma labirí-šu "Ninurta-našir
    mar Išiṣ-kiša ameluĂšipu išur
    bāši E-šu-me-rā
According to its original Nin-
urta-našir son of Išu-kiša,
the priest of magic wrote.
It is the property of the
temple Ešumerā.4

---

1 Sign is HU-gunu an error for SI-gunu. Only the latter sign has the values bright, burn. Line 8 proves that the sign is based on SI.
2 nin-muš. The sign ŠEŠ has the value muš. Note Sal. 2629 the gloss ga-an-ŠEŠ and
   variant Chicago Syllabar 212 ga-an-muš. See also JRAS. 1905, 81-4-28 l. 14. For muš=bakū
   cf. Sal. 1916.
3 This is a real library note and is clear evidence for assuming that the temple of Nippur
   possessed a library, at least in the Cassite period. For similar library notes on the tablets from
   Aššur, see RA. 13, 99. Note also the Smith Esagila tablet published by Scheil, Mémoires de
   l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres XXXIX, Rev. 7, mādā mādā likallim la mādā ul
   immar an șī dubbi gabri Barsip-ki šašir-ma UB-TU șa-ba-rī. For an șī (KA), see RA. 13, 92.
ADDENDUM ON OBV. 110 F.

Anu in this passage really denotes Sin, the moon, which has been connected with silver on account of its color. The identification of Anu, the heaven god, with the moon god rests upon the astronomical connection between the moon and the summer solstice, see WEIDNER, Handbuch der Babylonischen Astronomie, 32. Sin is called "Anu of heaven," KING, Magic, No. 1, 9, and for the connection with silver, see VIROLLEAUD, Astrologie, Supplement, V II, kāşpu "A-nu ūrašu "Enlil erût "Ea. Enlil is connected with gold in VIROLLEAUD, Astrologie, Second Supplement, XVII 14, and Enlil is not infrequently identified with Shamash, see p. 158, 1–2 and p. 308, 18, and gold is the traditional metal of the sun.

The Greek identification of Zeus, the sky-god, with silver is certainly borrowed from Babylonia; see p. 334.
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<td>2</td>
<td>11005</td>
<td>Upper part of a large two column tablet. Unbaked; light brown. Top and left edge of the fragment damaged. H. 3½; W. 3½; T. 1¼–1½. Liturgy of Ishme-Dagan. See pages 258–259.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>7847</td>
<td>Dark brown unbaked tablet. Right upper corner slightly damaged. Right lower corner broken away. Two columns. H. 8; W. 5½; T. 1–2. Mythological hymn to Innini. The obverse is translated on pages 260 to 264, but the reverse is too badly damaged to permit an interpretation. The text ends with the line, “Oh praise Innini,” the literary note characteristic of epical compositions. The scribe adds a note stating that there are 153 lines. Written by the hand of Lugal-ge-a... son of E-a-i-lû(?)...</td>
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<td>Light brown fragment from the left upper corner of a large unbaked tablet. H. 3½; W. 1½–1; T. 1½–1. Duplicate of 7847. This tablet omits the liturgical note, “Oh praise Innini.” It has the colophon, “Written by the hand of Ninurash-mu......, in the presence of Nidaba-igi-pa(?)-...ge-en.”</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>8533</td>
<td>Upper part of a large two column tablet. Light brown, soft and crumbling. Purchased by the Expedition in 1895, from Abu Hatab. H. 3(\frac{1}{4}); W. 5(\frac{1}{4}); T. 1(\frac{1}{4})-(\frac{3}{4}). Hymn to Enlil.</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>Large light brown tablet; five columns; broken perpendicularly at the middle. Isin period. H. 8(\frac{1}{4}); W. 4; T. 2. Liturgy to Enlil. Lamentation for the city of Ur. See pages 279-285.</td>
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