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**PUBLICATIONS OF THE BABYLONIAN
SECTION**

VOLUME X

STEPHEN LANGDON

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE BABYLONIAN SECTION
Vol. X No. 1

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

BY
STEPHEN LANGDON

PHILADELPHIA
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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. II 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 *zag-sal*. For a similar composition see BE. XXXI 14-18, a hymn to Dungi. Connected with this liturgical note is the use of the verb *zag-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.¹ 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,² 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,³ and the boats of Dilmun, Magan and Meluhha occur together in a lexicographical list.⁴ The copper of Dilmun, Magan and Meluhha is mentioned in another text.⁵ Geographical lists also connect Eridu and Dilmun,⁶ 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

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 AL³ 88 V 5-7. Note also that Sargon, the ancient, conquers Dilmun, Magan and Meluhha, CT. 13, 44 B 16.

⁵ V Raw. 27A 25-7.

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

¹ CT. 25, 35A 20-30.

² *Ibid.* 12-18.

³ *Ibid.* l. 19.

⁴ VIROLLEAUD, *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.

kasgid or hour's march was 5346 meters¹ 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 stream² 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-

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 l. 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.¹ Here Babylon is the center of a flat circular surface, with the land of Aššur located to the right. On the upper edge the draughtsman 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 (*é-ku*) and marshes (*apparu*). In the upper left corner, *i. e.*, in the northwest, the scribe places the Hittites (*ba-at-tim*). Around this circular world flows the *nâru 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

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.¹ In Hebrew and Assyrian idiom *rêš nâri*, רֶשֶׁתְּנָרִי “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 Pîshon 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 Gîhon; 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 Hîddekel,² which is the one flowing before Aššur.” The city Aššur, 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 Aššur. But cities in northern Mesopotamia such as Aššur 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 Aššur was unknown to the early Sumerians at least in a vague way and consequently the mention of Aššur 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,"¹ 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."² 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 *pú kùr-dilmun-ki-ka = ina bur-ti ša-di-i dil-mun*, "At the well of the Mountain of Dilmun (Ishtar washed her head)."³

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 גֶּן־עֵדֶן, "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. II 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 (Ἄος).

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*,¹ is obviously identical with *Zi-ud*, the Sumerian original of *Uta-napisbtim*, Semitic name of this hero in the eleventh book of the Epic of Gilgamesh, 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

¹ In this name we have an excellent example of the Sumerian method of forming compounds by placing the construct after the genitive. *Zi-ud=ud-zi*, "breath of life," is rendered into Semitic by the only construction possible in Semitic, viz. construct and genitive. The full translation should be *Uta-napisbti-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.¹ 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 pre-diluvian times. In the description of the Flood, however, our text says that "Nintud mother of the Land (of Sumer) had begotten mankind."² 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."³ And

¹ 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.

² *in-tu-ud*, Obv. II 46; III 20.

³ *mu-e-ši-du-mu-un*, Rev. II 41. The verb *dumu* is connected with the noun *dumu*, "son."

Enlil is also called "the begetter," or "father begetter," the same verb being employed as in the case of Ninharsag.¹ All these references to the direct descent of man from the Earth God and the Earth Goddess we must interpret figuratively.² 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 brother³ 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,"⁴ 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. II 42.

² Note for example *Code of Hammurapi* 44, 43, where Hammurapi speaks of Nintud as *ummu bānīti*, "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 *umma bānīti-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, *A-ru-ru SAL+KU(aḫatu)* *Mu-ul-lil-lá*, "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; [*A-ru-ru ama-tūr* *Lil-ra-ge*, "Aruru the aunt of Lillu;" *Lil-ra*, i. e., *Lir-ra* is a son of Ninlil, 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. I 13 f. Here the verb is *dim*, ordinarily used for "to build"

Atarhasis¹ and Ea, Mami the mother goddess restores men upon the earth by creating them from clay.

“When she had recited her incantation and had cast² 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 womb³ creatress of fate caused them⁴ to complete,⁵ 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.”⁷

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

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 [ta-at-]la-di, and for the verb *nadû* employed with *šiptu*, cf. *idišuma šiptam*, “over him cast the curse.” This act is distinct from the recitation (*manû*) 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, *ša u-ša-ak-li-lu-šu e-ri-iš-tum* ^{u^{at}} *Mama*, “(Hammurapi) whom the wise Mama (= Mami) caused to be perfected (in his mother’s womb).”

⁶ *maš-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 *lipit kat* ^{u^{at}} *Aruru mišhariš napīšti*, CRAIG, RT. 51, 24; MARTIN, *Textes Religieux* 184; A. JEREMIAS, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* 334.

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 á-um libbi-šu lu-u ma-[ši-il á-um-šu]*. For *ámu*, spirit, soul, see SBP. 98 n. 7. For *mašálu* construed with *ana*, cf. *išten ana šanē la mušul*, "One is not compared to another," HARPER, *Letters* 355, 17. *ana alakti rabūti-šu la umaššalu ilu ajumma*, "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. *é aṣag-dib-bi é-nun*

3. *é Keš-(kī) aṣag-dib-bi⁽¹⁾ nun⁽²⁾*

4. *é-a⁽³⁾ en-bi á-nun-na-meš*

5. *nu-éš-bi dim é-an-na-meš*

6. *kisal-e lugal bur-ra-an⁽⁴⁾ mu-e-gub*

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.

⁽¹⁾ Var. omits.

⁽²⁾ Read *é-nun* = *kummu*. Traces of *é* on the prism.

⁽³⁾ *é-a* = *é-a* = *ášá*.

⁽⁴⁾ Var. *a-an*

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

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| <p>7. <i>en-dug-šag tug(?) -lal nam-mi-in la!</i>⁽¹⁾</p> <p>8. <i>a-dug?-e umun</i>⁽²⁾ <i>dEn-ki ne-gab in-?</i></p> <p>9. <i>tu-e</i>⁽²⁾ <i>a-kin</i>⁽³⁾ <i>a-an mu-e-gub</i></p> <p>10. <i>lāl-e . . . a-šu-bi ki-aṣag-ga-a-an dū(?) -</i>
<i>dū(?) e(?)</i>⁽⁴⁾</p> <p>11. <i>en-dū-sīg</i>⁽⁵⁾ <i>abkal ubar-e-ne</i>⁽⁶⁾ <i>ka</i>⁽⁷⁾ <i>ki-</i>⁽⁸⁾
<i>a-an ma-gál-li-eš</i></p> <p>11. ^{bis} . . . <i>šeš-a-ni su-mu-un-sīg-gi-ne</i>⁽⁹⁾</p> <p>12. . . . <i>RU URU-RU mu-ni-ib-bi</i>⁽¹⁰⁾ <i>-ne</i></p> <p>13. . . . <i>ma-ge gíg-ga</i>⁽¹¹⁾ <i>mi-ni-ib-za</i></p> <p>13. ^{bis} [<i>šu?</i>-] <i>d-lal-e gù-ḡu-mi-ni-ib-bi</i>⁽¹²⁾</p> <p>14. . . . <i>ligir?</i>⁽¹³⁾ <i>-ra sūḡ-sūḡ mi-ni-ib-za</i></p> <p>14. ^{bis} [. . . <i>ē</i>] <i>dug-[gi] si-ḡa-ba-mi-ib-sá</i></p> <p>15. [. . . <i>ē</i>] <i>dug-ka-ṣal-bi al-dug</i>⁽¹⁴⁾</p> | <p>7. The beneficent lord hath clothed it with
.....⁽¹⁵⁾</p> <p>8. The.....⁽¹⁶⁾, lord Enki <i>watches over it</i>.</p> <p>9. The baptizer.....treads.</p> <p>10. The.....⁽¹⁷⁾ in the holy place dwells.</p> <p>11. The.....lord, the councillor—the pro-
tegées <i>salute him with prostration</i> to the
earth.</p> <p>11. ^{bis} His.....they.....</p> <p>12. . . . <i>the city humiliated</i> they recite.</p> <p>13. . . . with sorrow abounded.</p> <p>13. ^{bis} The <i>bound</i> cried aloud.</p> <p>14. . . . in desolation abounded.</p> <p>14. ^{bis} . . . the harem truly she directed aright.</p> <p>15. . . . of the harem its festivity she
made good.</p> |
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(1) Var. Cstpl.: 1992 Rev. II 4 [*nam-*] *mu-un-lal*.

(2) Var. RADAU 8, omits.

(3) So RADAU. The prism has the sign *UR* Br. 11887 clearly written.

(4) Var. RADAU, 8, *lāl-e ki-aṣag-ga nam-mi-in-durun(?)*.

(5) Cf. CT. 16, 37, 22, *dēn-dū-sīg(?) -bi*. THOMPSON read *ŠA* (for *sīg?*).

(6) So clearly Cstple. 1992 Rev. II 7.

(7) Ash. Prism; Cstple. 1992 Rev. II 7. RADAU, *KA+LI* sic! (for *sīg?*) is slightly damaged here.

(8) The prism has *ki* clearly, not *ku*.


(9) This line is preserved on Cstple. 1992 and RADAU 8, but the prism omits it.

(10) My copy Cstple. 1992 Rev. II 10 has *ga*, probably an error for *bi*.

(11) Var. RADAU, *ga-a-an*; Cstple. 1992 simply *gig*. 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-tul-ba-ám (a-an) = ina šuklišu*. This line would be rendered into Semitic by *ina murši uštabarri*, cf. IV R 24 No. 3, 21.

(12) Cf. ZIMMERN, KL. 28 Rev. 31 ff.

(13) This sign on the prism is clearly not the one given by RADAU. My collation has

 *Ligir* is, however, the most probable rendering.

(14) Cstple. 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 creation of man in the image of Ninib (*ašširigi*) 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
design¹ a form may man bear.


Their strong one like Ninib (*ašširigi*) in form may a
mother beget.



Their lady like Nintud in form shall be.”

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| 16. <i>é-dug ka-za-bi al-dug</i> ⁽¹⁾ | 16.of the harem its festivity she made
good. |
| 17. ⁽²⁾ <i>za-bi-a mu-un-durun</i> | 17.in their....abode. |
| 18. <i>ga</i> ⁽³⁾ <i>sag-gà nin-tag-bi-a mu-un-durun</i> | 18. ....in their....abode. |
| 19. [EN-HAR-(<i>ki</i>)-] ⁽⁴⁾ <i>gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-[an-tum-mu]</i> | 19. In accordance with the incantation of
the “earth design” a form let man bear. |
| 20. <i>ur-sag-bi dš-šir-gi-gim rib-ba ama ši-[in-ga-an-ù-tud]</i> | 20. Their strong one like Ninib in form may
a mother beget. |
| 21. [<i>nin-bi</i>] ⁽⁵⁾ <i>dNin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba er-[mu-ni-in-duḡ]</i> | 21. Their lady like Nintud in form is. Who
shall lament? |

⁽¹⁾ Cstple. 1992 omits this line. Here ends the variant in the Museum collections.

⁽²⁾ The sign before *za* appears to be *ga* on the prism.

⁽³⁾ I have carefully collated these signs and read -*ga*.

⁽⁴⁾ This ideogram  is followed by *ki-ga* (Var. *gà*) III 17; by *ki*. III 3, II 7, I 25, and in II 21 both *ki* and *ga* are omitted. We are induced to suppose on the analogy of forms like *unu-(ki)-ga-(ki)* = *Urug-ga*, Erech, ZIMMERN, KL. 200, 26; -(*ki*)-*na* = *Ninā*, ALLOTTE DE LA FUYE, *Documents Pré-sargoniques* 167; that EN-HAR represents the name of some city which ends in *g*, and according to I 25, where it follows immediately upon Keš, that it is a quarter of that city. Such was my impression when this difficult text was edited in the *Liturgies*, but for another view see note 1 below.

⁽⁵⁾ *ra* emphatic demonstrative equivalent to *am*, see *Sum. Gr.* §163.

¹ *én-ḡar-ki-ga*, see above, note (4); Semitic *kima šiṭli ušurat iršitim*. If this interpretation be correct we must explain *ḡar* as an abbreviation for *giš-ḡar*, for *ḡar* 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.¹ 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,² 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.³ In this act Aruru assists him; "Aruru built with him the first men."⁴ The text from which

"design" occurs rarely without the abstract prefix *giš* and is then rendered by the loan-word *ḫarru* in Semitic. *ki* or *iršitu* has here the meaning "ground," and *gar-ki* would mean "a plan designed on the ground," from which man was patterned. For the idea compare *ki-a gar-ra = ša ina kaḫḫar ešrit*, HAUPT, 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 4; *banū abi* ^u*En-lil*, SBP. 84, 15; *banē ili u šarri bašū itti-ka*, PSBA. 1912, 153 l. 14.

³ *amelūti iblani*.

⁴ *ḫēr amelūti*, "the seed of mankind," i. e., those from whom mankind descended. *Adapa* is called the *ḫēr amelūti*, which obviously reveals a tradition that Adapa was the first created man, DHORME, *Cboix*, 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*, 24. 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 l. 13, *Ezida šubtum širtum naram libbi* ^u*Anu u* ^u*u* *štar attā* and the underline, *enim-enim-ma [é-]mà-mà-dé-ge*, "Incantation for the building of a temple." Note also that a poem of Creation, *enima Anu ibnū šamē*, "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 f.

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.¹ The description of this act occurs at the beginning of the sixth book as restored by DR. L. W. KING² and runs as follows:

“When Marduk heard the discourse of the gods,
His heart prompts him³ as he devises a clever thing.
As his mouth is opened⁴ 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 his⁵ head and to mix earth with the blood that flowed therefrom, and to fashion men and animals capable of bearing the air.”⁶ An earlier source detected by ZIMMERN in a tablet of the first Babylonian dynasty⁷ shows that this idea of creating

¹ PSBA. 1910, 161, K. 12830, 1; cf. also page 167.

² KING, *The Seven Tablets of Creation* p. 86.

³ *ubbal*, an historical present followed by the *hal* present, see MEISSNER, *Kurzgefasste Assyrische Grammatik*, §51 g, and for the historical present, *ibakki šelību*, CT. 15, 32 Rev. 9.

⁴ For the subjunctive permansive construction *epšu pi-šu*, *epša pi-kunu*, etc. (see examples in MUSS-ARNOLT, *Lexicon* 788 b); see also ZA. IV 233, K. 3199, 11.

⁵ The head of Belus.

⁶ *ιδόντα δὲ τὸν Βῆλον χώραν ἔρημον καὶ καρποφόρον κελεύει ἐνὶ τῶν θεῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀφελόντι ἑαυτοῦ τῷ ἀπορρύνει αἵματι φινῶσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ διαπλάσαι ἀνθρώπους καὶ θηρία τὰ δυνάμενα τὸν ἀέρα φέρειν*, CORY, *Ancient Fragments*, second edition, p. 26.

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 weatherworn. 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.

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| <p>4. <i>kāt</i>¹ <i>ši-kin balāṭi a-we-lum li-iš-ši</i></p> <p>5. <i>il-ta-am iṣ-ṣu-u in-</i>²</p> <p>6. <i>u-su-uš ilāni e-ri-iš-tu</i> ^{ilal} <i>Ma-mi</i></p> <p>7. <i>at-ti-i-ma šā-as-su-ru</i></p> <p>8. <i>ba-ni-a-at a-we-lu-tim</i></p> <p>9. <i>bi-ni-ma, lu-ul-la-a li-bi-el⁴ ap-
ša-nam</i></p> <p>10. <i>ap-ša-nam li-bi-el ŠI</i></p> <p>11. <i>kāt ši-kin balāṭi a-we-lum li-iš-ši</i></p> <p>12. <i>ardatu(?) rabītu bi-a-ša te-pu-ša-
am-ma</i></p> <p>13. <i>iṣ-ṣa-kar a-na ilāni rabu-ti</i></p> <p>14. <i>it-ti-ja-ma la-na tu-? -e-?</i>⁵</p> <p>15. <i>it-ti dunani-šu i-ba-aš-šiu</i></p> | <p>4. A form of a creature of life may
man bear.</p> <p>5. A goddess they called, they</p> <p>6. "Oh help of the gods, wise
Mami,</p> <p>7. Thou art a mother-womb,</p> <p>8. Creatress of mankind.</p> <p>9. Build a virile figure, let him
bear the yoke.</p> <p>10. The yoke let him bear</p> <p>11. A form of a creature of life let
man bear."</p> <p>12. The mighty maid⁶ opened her
mouth,</p> <p>13. Speaking unto the great gods.</p> <p>14. "With me a form shall
you</p> <p>15. With his shape shall there
be.</p> |
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¹ Uncertain. The sign after *ŠU* I have taken for *𒀭* and the whole for *kāt*, Br. 7095. *kāt*, construct of *kantu* > *kattu* "form," is possible, for which we have the analogy of *bintu* > *bītu*, cstr. *bīt* "house." My rendering has been influenced by the Sumerian hymn to Nin-tud 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., *išdi kussē šarrūtišu*, Tiglathpileser, *Prism VIII* 78.

² Certainly not *iḫ-du-u*.

³ Cf. Rev. 20.

⁴ For *li-bil*? Cf. *Li-bi-il-ḫegalla*, name of a canal at Babylon, VAB. IV Index, and *u-bil apšanaki*, KING, *Magic*, 8, 7.

⁵ *tu-li-e-šu-uš*, might answer to the traces on the tablet.

⁶ Uncertain. For the original form of *GIN*, Brunnow, 11131 see ALLOTTE DE LA FUÏE, 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 *Tammuṣ 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. I, 440.

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| 16. <i>šū-u-ma ?-la-? ka-la-ma</i> | 16. He shall ¹ all things. |
| 17. <i>ti-iṭ-ṭa-am li-ma da-ma</i>
<i>lu(?) -nu-uš</i> | 17. Of clay shall he, of blood
shall he" |
| 18. ^d <i>En-ki pi-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma</i> | 18. Enki opened his mouth, |
| 19. <i>iṭ-ṭa-kar ana ilāni ra-bu-ti</i> | 19. Speaking unto the great gods. |
| 20. <i>i-na ar-ḫi ri-bu-ti u -la-ti</i> | 20. "In the wide highways and
the |
| 21. <i>te-li-il-tu ma-ti di-in-ri-?-?</i> | 21. <i>Cleansing of the land</i> |
| 22. <i>ilam iṣ-te-en li-iṭ-bu-ḫu-ma</i> | 22. One god let them slay. |
| 23. <i>li-te-el-li? ilāni i-na di-?-bi</i> | 23. Let the gods |
| 24. <i>i-na ši-ri-šu ù da-mi-šu</i> | 24. With his flesh and his blood, |
| 25. ⁱⁱ <i>Nin- ḫar-sag li-ba-li-il ti-iṭ-</i>
<i>ṭam</i> | 25. May Ninharsag mix clay." |

THE ERIDU TRADITION

In the tradition concerning the creation of man by Marduk we have apparently to do with a Babylonian transformation of the Eridu view which taught that Enki or Ea the water god created man from clay, which the Nippurian schools taught concerning Aruru.² 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 Eridu 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 Eridu tradition in some quarters.³ According to this source "the gods" created the heavens and the earth, the cattle and creeping things, after which Enki⁴ created

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, *Choix*, 96.

⁴ *Nin-igi-aṣag* is the title used in this poem.

“two little ones.”¹ A tablet from Babylon of the late period² but doubtlessly resting upon a much earlier text says that Enki³ 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.

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 Ninharsag⁴ 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.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.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

¹ 2 *su-ša-ri ib-ni*.

² WEISSBACH, *Miscel.* No. 12.

³ The text employs the title *Nu-dim-mud*.

⁴ Col. I 13 where also Anu the heaven god and Enlil the earth god are added.

⁵ Here Marduk replaces Enki.

⁶ *numun-nam-lù-kaš* (= *zēr amelūti*) Col. IV 7, cf. I 2. This is the transcription given by POEBEL. The bilingual text has *numun-nam-lù-gāl-lu*, CT. 13, 36, 21; cf. THUREAU-DANGIN, SAK. 154 III 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 τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, 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 Nintud¹ as weeping for mankind whom she had created and planning to save them.² 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."³ 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*,⁴ generally in connection with animals only.⁵ 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 dinnana-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. I 41, *na-rig-mu*, "My purging." The pronoun "my" undoubtedly refers to Nintud in both poems.

³ Genesis 2, 7.

⁴ DHORME, *Choix*, 86, 22, *buḫ ṣēri šī-kin napišti ina ṣēri ibtani*, "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. ^a*nin-duk-ka-bur* (glossed *pa-ka-rum?*), CT. 24, 12, 23=25, 86, is given as a title of *Bēlil-ilāni* in connection with the name Aruru. On the other hand, *nun-ur-ra*=^a*duk-ka-bur*=^u*Ea* *ša paḥari*, CT. 25, 48, 7. ^a*nun-ur-ra*=^u*E-a*, VR. 51 B 71. Hence *duk-ka-bur* has the Sumerian locution *nunurra* and the Semitic value *paḥaru*, potter. Hence Aruru is *bēlil paḥari*, "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 *nišmath baiit* 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.”¹ 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.”² 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,³ placed in our hearts the passion of a mad lion.”⁴ 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.”⁵

¹ Apollodorus, 1, 7, 1; Προμηθεὺς δὲ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπους πλάσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πῦρ, λάθρα Διός, ἐν νάρθηκι κρύψας.

² Lucian, *Prometheus*, 13; καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν ποιητικὸν λόγον <γαίαν ὕδει φύρας> καὶ διαμαλάξας ἀνέπλασα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔτι καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν παρακαλέσας συνεπιλαβέσθαι μοι τοῦ ἔργου. 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. συνεργάζετο δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐμπνέουσα τὸν πηλόν. It would be interesting to know how Orelli obtained this distortion of Lucian for it is the only mention of breathing upon the clay to give it a soul.

³ I. e., some characteristic from each animal.

⁴ Horace, *Carmina* I 16:

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

⁵ Hyginus, *Fabulae* 142: Prometheus Iapeti 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;¹ 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.² 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

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, I p. 221, Epigram 352: Ἐξ ἀπαλῶν χειρῶν τάδε γράμματα. λῦστε Προμαθεῦ. ἔντι καὶ ἄνθρωποι τὴν ὁμαλοὶ σοφίαν.

Greek traveler Democritus says that he was at Babylon, and Clement of Alexandria states that Democritus translated the story of Aḥīkar 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 Ergane³ 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

¹ Diels, H., *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 2d ed., Vol. I 439, No. 299; λέγεται γὰρ τὴν Ἀκικάρου στήλην ἑρμενευθεῖσαν τοῖς ἰδίους συντάξαι συγγράμμασι.

² Frag. Soph. 701 in *Bibliotheca Graecorum Scriptorum*, p. 368, preserved in the Scholae of Hippocrates: καὶ πρῶτον ἀρχὸν πηλὸν ὀργάζειν χερσίν. The text is not quite certain regarding ἀρχόν but the passage is clearly connected with Horace, *Carmina* I 16 so that Sophocles may possibly refer to Prometheus here.

³ Title of Athena as the "worker."

⁴ See Frag. Soph. *ibid.* Frag. 705:

Bât' εἰς ὁδὸν δὴ, πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λεῶς
οἱ τὴν Διὸς γοργῶπιν Ἐργάνην στατοῖς
λίκνοισι προστρέπεσθε, τὴν παρ' ἄκμονι
τυπάδι βαρεῖα καὶ κόποις ὑπήκοον
ἄψυχον ὕλην δημιουργοῦντες χερσίν.

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 scholia 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: Πανδώρας, ἣν ἐπλασαν θεοὶ πρώτην γυναῖκα.

² Hesiod, *Theogony* 571.

³ *Ibid.* 185.

⁴ Orpheus, *Argonautica*, 17-20:

Βριμῶς τ' εὐδυνάτοιου γονὰς, ἧδ' ἔργα δίδηλα
Γηγενέων, οἱ λυγρὸν ἐπ' Οὐρανοῦ ἐστάξαντο
Σπέρμα γονῆς τὸ πρόσθεν, ὅθεν γένος ἐξεγένοντο
Θνητῶν, οἱ κατὰ γαῖαν ἀπείριτον αἰὲν ἔασι.

⁵ Γῆς πάς εἰμὶ καὶ Ὀυρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.

⁶ Orpheus, preserved by Malala a Byzantine writer; see CORY, *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 figure³ of the future queen Hatshepsut from clay on a

¹ *ḫeten* 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" (*ilu ša ameli*), 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 goddess Heḳet 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 EDUARD NAVILLE, *Deir el Babari*, part II, plate XLVIII and pages 14 ff.

² Heḳet is only a local form of Hathor.

³ See COLIN CAMPBELL, *The Miraculous Birth of King Amon Hotep III*, 27 f. and plate opp. page 28.

⁴ Following their custom of explaining unintelligible foreign words by a native homophone, the Hebrews explained *Hawwā* by connecting it with the verb חָיָה, 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."¹ 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.'"² 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*,³ goddess and queen."⁴ Since the imprecator

¹ *il-ti-su* = "with him," "in company with him."

² *etb Jabwēb*.

³ This is of course the proper pronunciation of the letters *HVT*.

⁴ So LIDSBARSKI: G. A. COOKE, *North Semitic Inscriptions* 135 follows CLERMONT-GANNEAU who renders, "O ladies *Hawwatb* Elath and Milkath."

placed the sheet of lead on which he wrote the curse in a sepulchre, we have generally inferred *Hawwat* 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 *Tammuz 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 *Hawwā*.

¹ Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914.

² *Ibid.*, 122 n. 4 and PSBA. 1914, p. 281.

³ *Ibid.*, 123 n. 3.

THE ERIDU 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,¹ 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.²

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^b-3²⁴ 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. 982+80-7-18, 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 *Tbontafeln 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,¹ his build became well developed,² his growth was extensive.³ He became skilled in navigating the seas by aid of the winds.⁴ Ea had equipped him carefully,⁵ and he was exalted much in fame.⁶ 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.⁷

"I caused him to be equipped with a vast intelligence to reveal the forms of the land."⁸

uṣurat māti, the forms of the lands, means in Babylonian theology the divine concepts of things, which exist in the world,

fragment and this text. A fragment K. 8743 published on plate IV is said to be a duplicate of lines 12–20 of the obverse of the Amarna tablet. This is true only in a general sense, for this fragment differs considerably; we must infer that the Assyrian redaction (to which K. 8743 belongs) differed much from the Babylonian to which the Amarna text belongs. A fifth fragment of twenty-two lines from the Assyrian version belongs somewhere near the end of the epic: K. 8214, published by STRONG, PSBA. 1894, 274, and collated by the writer. K. 8743 and 8214 are in the same handwriting, have the same clay texture and belong to the same copy. Rm. 982 is of other color and texture and the writing is from another hand. K. 8214 is from the obverse of a large single column tablet. Line 6 after *su* I read 𒀭. Line 9 𒀭. Line 10 𒀭—*ki*. Line 11, *NU* is wholly uncertain. Line 20, I see 𒀭. The sign in line 6 is probably *el* but I do not know the construction *el ki-ma* for "more than." I would, however, render [*ki*]ōit-*su el(?)ki-ma ki-bit* ^{2u}*A-nu man-nu u-at-tar*, "Who has made his command to exceed the command of Anu?" At the beginning of line 20 I would restore [*mar-ṣ*]*u*.

¹ *i-ti-il-ma*, Rm. 982 Rev. 4; prt. of *etlū*

² *ṣam-ḫat nab-ni-su*, Rev. 6.

³ [*ṣu*]-*ṣu-lat ṣi-ta-ṣu*.

⁴ *i-riṣ mēḫi*, "skilled with storms."

⁵ *uṣ-la-aṣ-bi-ṣum-ma*, III² of *ṣabā*, to fix firmly, to prove, examine. See for this root VAB. IV 359; *aṣṣum eḫlam ṣu-bi-im* (II Inf.), "In order to inspect the field," CT 29, 5, 6. *bit* ^{2u}*Enlil bēli-ia uṣ-te-iṣ-bi-ma*, MESSERSCHMIDT, KTA. 2 III 5, cf. II 11, *ṣu-te-iṣ-bi-u* "(which) had been made well." *ana ṣu-te-iṣ-bi-i*, KING, Bd. St. 27, 28.

⁶ *ṣu-uṣ-ḫu ma'-diṣ*.

⁷ Genesis 2, 19 f.

⁸ *uṣ-na rapaṣ-tum u-ṣak-lil-ṣu u-ṣu-rat māti kul-lu-mu*, Frag. Scheil 3.

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 (*šimtu*) and to give it a name (*šûmu*). 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," *šimtu*, 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-

¹ 𒍪𒍪; Babylonian *šûmu*, Arabic *simu*, *ismu*. This word has apparently no connection with the verb 𒍪𒍪, *šûmu*, Arab. *šâma*, to fix, determine, whence *šimtu* fate.

² Frag. Scheil, 4.

³ ^{au} *Ea ki-ma rid-di inâ a-me-lu-ti ib-ni-šu*. 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 *zir amelûti*, "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 said⁶ and he took Adapa, and caused him to have boils⁷ and clothed him in a coarse mourner's garment. Before his departure to appear before the heaven god Ea gives him the following advice:

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'irulu dakātu ša (d)Eridi iḫpuš*, "Fishing the trade of Eridu he practises." *dakātu* is a variant of *dikātu*, literally "a summoning, a calling." Cf. *da-ku-ut šabē-ja aškun*, MESSERSCHMIDT, KTA. 13 I 30.

³ *gimuššu*, "oar or punt-pole," here used as a rudder. Hardly "rudder" in the modern sense. Read *ina (išu)gi-muš-ši-ma*, and for *giš-gi-muš*, belonging to the equipment of a ship see GENOUILLAC, TSA. 26 Rev. I. Without determinative *giš* in ALLOTTE DE LA FUYE 55 V, offerings to the *gi-muš* of the god Nindar.

⁴ *a-na bi-i-tu be-li-ia u-ša-am-ši-i-el-an-ni*, "(The south wind) caused me to descend unto the house of my lord;" see DHORME, *Cboix*, 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* ^u*E-a ša šamē 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 šabāti-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, *Cboix* 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. [..... ^u A-nu a-ma-ta an-ni-]ti ina še-mi-šu | 1. When Anu heard this report, |
| 2. [il-si na-ra-ru i-ḫab-bi ina ug-]gat lib-bi-šu | 2. <i>he</i> cried, <i>Help!</i> saying in the wrath of his heart, |
| 3. [li-il-gu-ni-šu] mar šip-ri i-šaḫ-ḫar | 3. “ <i>Let them bring him to me.</i> A messenger he sends, |
| 4. [ḫarrana ušašbassuma ana ^u E-a m]u-du-ú lib-bi ilāni rabāti | 4. <i>Causing him to take the way unto Ea,</i> knower of the hearts of the great gods, |
| 5. [ša.....] Pl. i-bar-rum | 5. who investigates the |
| 6. [šu-u it-ti-bi a-na bit ^u E-a] šar-ri ka-ša-di | 6. <i>This one went forth</i> to come unto the house of Ea, the king. |
| 7. [.....]ma a-ma-ti uš-ta-bil | 7. He and he was much concerned about the affair. |
| 8. [A-da-pa ik-šu-ud-ma il-ḫi-]šu a-na šar-ri ^u E-a | 8. <i>Adapa he found</i> and took him unto the king Ea. |
| 9. ....ri il-taḫ-ḫa-a[s-su] | 9. he touched him. |
| 10. [^u E-a ḫa-si-su rap-ša]uḫ-ni mu-du-u lib-bi ilāni rabāti | 10. <i>Ea, the wise,</i> the intelligent, knower of the heart of the great gods, |
| 11. [a-na.....]šame-e u-kan-šu | 11. <i>Against the</i> of heaven he confirms him. |
| 12. ....ma-la-a ul-taš-ši-šu | 12. boils he caused him to bear. |
| 13. ....u-ba-lil-ma kar-ra ul-taḫ-ḫi-[is-su] | 13. He <i>with</i> <i>his</i> made foul and clothed him with a mourner’s garment. |
| 14. [ḫe-ma iṣ-kun-šu a-ma-]ta i-ḫab-bi-šu | 14. <i>Advice he gave him,</i> addressing him an injunction. |
| 15. [A-da-pa a-na pa-ni ^u A-ni]šar-ri at-ta ta-lak-ma | 15. “ <i>Oh Adapa</i> thou goest before <i>Anu</i> the king. |
| 16. [ḫe-mi šu-ta-]bil-ma a-ma-ti ša-bat | 16. <i>My advice think on</i> and keep my injunction. |
| 17. [a-na šami-e ina e-li-ka a-]na bābi ^u A-ni ina ḫe-ḫi-ka | 17. <i>When unto heaven thou ascendest,</i> when unto the gate of Anu thou approachest, |
| 18. [ina bābi ^u A-ni ^u Dumu-zi u ^u Giš-zi-da] iṣ-ḫa-aḫ-ḫu | 18. <i>at the gate of Anu Tammuz and Gišzida</i> 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.¹ 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 *šdhu*, cry, is certain from CT. 29, 49, 2 *kaḫḫadu naksu išlḫ*, "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.¹ 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 heart²
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.³ 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

¹ At the end of his speech Adapa says that in his anger he cursed the south wind, *al-la-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, *rusé*. 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.¹ 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 Canaanitish version but the phraseology differs so greatly that scholars have failed to detect this fact.²

1. šu-u

2. [šam-na] iḫ-bi-šum-ma šu-u iḫ-
 [pa-šiš]

3. [šu-ba-la] iḫ-bi-šum-ma šu-u il-
 la-biš

1. and he

2. Oil he commanded for him and
 he anointed himself.

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 Canaanitish found at Amarna. In fact the Amarna text cannot be an Assyrian or Babylonian product for it contains words peculiar to Canaanitish; as *annika* obv., 14 and *kā* 22. This text belongs to a version written in the Canaanitish 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 Canaanitish 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 traditions upon independent lines for many centuries before the Hebrews incorporated them into their documents.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>4.¹<i>A-nu ana ep-šit</i> ¹¹<i>E-a</i>
 <i>ša-kiš i-ši-iḫ-ma [igabbi]</i></p> <p>5. [<i>ilāni</i>]¹<i>ša šami-e u irši-tim ma-la</i>
 <i>ba-šu-u man-nu ki-a-am lu iḫ-</i>
 <i>[bi]</i></p> <p>6. [<i>ki</i>]²<i>bit-su el ki-ma ki-bit</i> ¹¹<i>A-nu</i>
 <i>man-nu u-at-tar</i></p> <p>7. [. . . .<i>A</i>]³<i>da³-pa iṣu i-šid šami-e</i>
 <i>ana e-lat šami-e</i></p> <p>8. [. . . .<i>ip</i>]⁴<i>pa-lis-ma pu-luḫ-ta-šu</i>
 <i>i-mur</i></p> <p>9. [<i>ina u</i>]⁵<i>mi⁴-šu</i> ¹¹<i>A-nu ša A-da-pa</i>
 <i>e-li-šu ta iṣ-kun</i></p> <p>10. [<i>alu</i>]⁵<i>ki ša</i> ¹¹<i>E-a šu-ba-ra-šu iṣ-</i>
 <i>kun</i></p> <p>11<i>gu-us-su ana á-kát ū-me</i>
 <i>ana šu-pi-i šim-lam i?-šim?</i>⁶</p> <p>12. [<i>ina ū</i>]⁵<i>mi A-da-pa ḫi-ir a-mi-lu-</i>
 <i>ti</i></p> <p>13. [<i>ina</i>]⁵<i>ni-šu šal-tiṣ kap-pi šu-</i>
 <i>ū-ti iṣ-bi-ru</i></p> <p>14. [<i>ū</i>]⁵<i>a-na šami-e e-lu-u ši-i lu-u</i>
 <i>ki-a-am</i></p> <p>15. [<i>iṣ</i>]⁵<i>ša-kan u ša lim-niṣ ana niṣṣ</i>
 <i>iṣ-lak-nu</i></p> | <p>4.Anu because of the deed of
 Ea cried loudly saying,</p> <p>5. "Of the gods of heaven and
 earth as many as there be
 who verily would have com-
 manded thus?</p> <p>6. Who makes his command to sur-
 pass the command of Anu?"</p> <p>7.Adapa from the horizon of
 heaven to the zenith of
 heaven</p> <p>8.looked and saw its gran-
 deur.</p> <p>9. Then Anu, <i>as regards</i> Adapa,
 upon him placed⁷.</p> <p>10. <i>Of the city</i> of Ea he instituted
 sacerdotal rights⁸ for him.</p> <p>11.his priesthood to glorify
 unto far away days as a
 destiny <i>he</i> fixed.</p> <p>12. At the time when Adapa the
 seed of mankind</p> <p>13. <i>with his</i>cruelly broke the
 wings of the south wind,</p> <p>14. and ascended to heaven, this
 verily so</p> <p>15. is issued. And whatsoever of ill
 this man has brought upon men</p> |
|---|---|



¹[AN-]MEŠ. 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.



²No sign can be seen before *bit*.

³DA is not certain but possible.

⁴The end of the sign *mi* can be read.

⁵Or restore *eri-dug*-(*ki*) = Eridu.

⁶*i-šim* is wholly uncertain. I read  .

⁷The loss of this word from our text is regrettable. Apparently Anu places upon Adapa some kind of sorrow. My collation has  . I thought at first to read *e-li-šu-ma mi-ta iṣ-kun*, but the traces are against this.

⁸*šubarū* 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. [ù] <i>mur-šu ša ina zūmur nišē</i>
<i>iš-tak-nu</i> | 16. and the disease he has brought
upon the bodies of men, |
| 17. [šu-]a-tum ^{iat} <i>Nin-kar-ra-ak u-</i>
<i>na-aḫ-ḫu¹</i> | 17. the goddess Ninkarrak will allay
it. |
| 18. [liṣ]-bi-ma <i>si-im-mu mur-šu lis-</i>
<i>ḫur</i> | 18. May illness depart, may sick-
ness turn aside. |
| 19. [eli <i>ameli</i>] <i>šu-a-tum ḫar-ba-šu</i>
<i>lim-ḫu-ma</i> | 19. Upon this man may his horror ²
fall. |
| 20. <i>šit-tum ṭab-tum la i-ṣal-</i>
<i>lal</i> | 20. sweet sleep not shall he
enjoy. |
| 21. <i>lal bu-u-du nu-ug lib-bi</i>
<i>nišē</i> | 21. ? , joy of heart of men. ³ |
| 22. <i>DA-bi</i> | 22. |

Unfortunately this fragment allows no decision concerning 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 revelation 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 temptation 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 *ḫar-ba-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 *bādu* or *pādu* which suits the context. *bādu*, *pādu* 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

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," Assy. *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 Jahweh commanded (וַיִּצְוֶה) 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 *lugal-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-sá-a = šuma nabû*, "to proclaim a name," or simply *nabû* to name. Cf. CT. 13, 36, 4: *[er]i[a]tag-ga kidur šag-dug-ga-ge-e-ne mu maḡ-a mi-ni-in-sá-a = dlu el-lum šu-bat tu-ub lib-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 *lugal-mu* "my king," as in Obv. III 9. In fact this hero does not receive the name ⁴Tag-tug until after the Flood, Rev. I 36.

³ Note also in the Eridu version of the Fall that it is the Anunnaki who give Adapa his name. See DHORME, *Cboix* 148, 8 and above page 40.

patrons; over against these I here place the patrons of civilization in the Hebrew (J) narrative.

SUMERIAN.	HEBREW.
1. <i>Abu</i> , patron of pastures, and flocks. ¹	1. <i>Abel</i> , patron of flocks.
2. <i>Nintulla</i> , patroness of cattle.	2. <i>Cain</i> , patron of agriculture. ²
3. <i>Nin-KA-utud</i> patron(ess?) of health.	3. <i>Enoch</i> , patron of city life.
4. <i>Ninkasi</i> , patroness of the vine and of drinking.	4. 'Irād. ³
5. <i>Naṣi</i> , patroness of?	5. <i>Mēbijjā'āl</i> , ⁴ patron of health.
6. <i>Daṣimā</i> , patroness of?	6. <i>Mēbūshālah</i> . ⁵
7. <i>Nintil</i> , patroness of femininity.	7. <i>Lamech</i> , ⁶ patron of psalmody.
8. <i>Enšagmē</i> , patron of wisdom.	8. <i>Jābāl</i> , patron of tents and flocks.
	9. <i>Jūbāl</i> , patron of music.
	10. <i>Tūbāl-Cain</i> , ⁷ patron of smiths. ⁷

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, Attis 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, 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.

² 'P in the name *Tūbāl-Cain*, patron of the smiths, clearly means, "the smith," Arabic *ḥain*, but in the name of the first son of Adam, the word has probably no connection with this Semitic root.

³ So J., Gen. 4, 18; P. has *Jered*, Gen. 5, 15.

⁴ Or *Mēboujā-āl*; P., *Mabālal-āl*. The name is probably for 𒌦𒍪𒍪𒍪, "God makes alive," or "God is my enlivener."

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

⁶ *Lamech* is a Hebrew transcript of *lumḥa*, the Sumerian title of Enki(Ea) as patron of the temple musicians, CT. 25, 48, 11; 24, 43, 120. See *Babylonian Liturgies* XXIV f.

⁷ The last three names appear to be of western origin and attached to the earlier Canaanitish 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."¹ "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.² Neither the Nippur nor the Adapa version mentions the ejection from Paradise.³ 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

¹ The verb *ba-ra-an-bar-ri-en*, Rev. II 38, may be sec. per. sing., since the ending *e+n* could well be an emphatic form of the sec. per. ending *e*; cf. *bé-ib-si-il-e*, Var. *im-ši-il-li-en=tušallit*, SBP. 198, 15. But the verb *ba-di-gi-a* which must have the same subject is in the third per. It is better to regard *e+n* 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-ga-ru* before which the determinative for plant (*ú*) must be supplied. This is clearly identical with *am-ga-ra*, or Semitic *kasû*, 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 healthgiving 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 I 24 f.

this title.¹ 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.² 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

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, 4^b+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^b-4+5, 19+6, 1-4+6, 5-8+7, 1-12+16-17+22 f+8, 6+12+20-22+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.¹ 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

¹ "Dying thou shalt die," Gen. 2, 17, obviously refers to the beginning of bodily weakness and attenuated mortality. The Babylonian verb *mdtu*, cognate to 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 take¹ 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

¹ The MT. has here וְיָקַח, "also" which implies in the same source also a tree of knowledge. The Septuagint and the Syriac texts omit וְיָקַח and this is surely the correct text. It then follows that עֵץ הַחַיִּים, "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.¹ 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 months² 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 march³ 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

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.¹ 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.² 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 Arpākšad 438 years, Shelah 433, 'Ēber 464, Peleg 239, Re'ū 239, Serūg 230, Nāhōr 148, and Terah 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.¹ 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,² 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-

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.¹ 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 Berossus² 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. **Alwpos*, Alorus, of Babylon, a Chaldean. Source unknown.³ Reigned 36,000 years.

¹ Note how P. changes *Mebijjæl*, a name connected with healing, into *Mábäläl-il*, "Praise of God." For Cain which at least in Gen. 4, 22 means a "smith," P. has *Kénân*, probably a word having no connection with *Kayin*, Cain. *'Iräd*, surely a Sumerian or Babylonian word for some craft, is distorted to *Yéred*, "descent."

² See CORY, *Ancient Fragments*, 30 f.

³ Hardly connected with the mother goddess *Aruru* as asserted by Hommel and Jeremias. The name is Sumerian.

2. Ἀλάπαρος, Alaparus. Probably for Adaparus, Adapa, a Sumerian,¹ a sage.² Reigned 10,800 years.

3. Ἀμήλων, Amēlon,³ of Pantibiblus (*i. e.*, Sippar?). This name is Semitic, Babylonian *amēlu*, "man."⁴ Reigned 46,800 years.

4. Ἀμμένων, Ammenōn, the Chaldean.⁵ This name is probably from *umṁānu*,⁶ "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,⁷ of Pantibiblus. Reigned 64,800 years.

6. Δάωνος, Daōnus,⁸ 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

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 Vogué* 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-muz and Ishtar*, 32 f. 𐤔𐤏𐤍, "man," and 𐤔𐤏𐤍𐤔, "earth," obviously belong together, and I am sure that *adbāmā* 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-pad abkal Eridi*, "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 *šin-na-at abkalli A-da-pad*, "the likeness of the sage Adapa," Lay. 38, 4. Ašurbanipal says that *tu ab-kal-li A-da-pad aḫuz*, "I learned the . . . of the sage Adapa," LEHMANN, *Sham*. L.⁴ Pl. 34, 13. Sargon also says that he is a king with the *šin-na-at abkalli*, "likeness of the sage," Sarg. Cyl. 38. In HARP. *Lett.* 923, 8 *abkallu u A-da-pad*, "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 Ἀμίλλαρος; Armenian ed. of Eusebius *Almelon*.

⁴ HOMMEL, *ibid.*

⁵ Abydenus says he was from Pantibiblus.

⁶ HOMMEL, PSBA. 1893, 244. *umṁānu* is a loan-word in Semitic from Sumerian.

⁷ Var. of Abydenus in Syncellus Codex Par. Μεγάλαρος. Armenian *Amegalarus*.

⁸ Abydenus, Δαώς.

Abydenus may perhaps stand for *Λαώς*;¹ we have already assumed a confusion of this kind in Adapa(d)=Alaparus. *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. *Εὐεδώραχος*, Euedorachus of Pantibiblus.² 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.³ The name is pure Sumerian, and means "Lord of the decrees of the totality of heaven and earth." Reigned 64,800 years.

8. *Ἀμεμψινός*, Amempsinus, a Chaldean from Laranchæ, i. e., Larak.⁴ Reigned 36,000 years. Generally regarded as Semitic for *Amel-Sin*, "Man of Sin,"⁵ 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.⁶

9. *Ὠπάρτης*, Opartes,⁷ 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

¹ A connection with Babyl. *le'u*, "wise, intelligent," would be probable, if we assume this to be original.

² Abydenus, *Εὐεδωρέσχος*, *Ἀεδωρέσχος*; Armenian, Eusebius, Edoranchus.

³ See ZIMMERN, *Ritual Tafeln*, 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 *Ὠτιάρτης*, but this has been corrected to Opartes, and identified with Ubar-Tutu.

father of Uta-napištim¹ was *Ubar-^dTu-Tu*,² moreover Uta-napištim is said to have been a "Man of Šuruppak," and Laranchæ and Šuruppak were probably names of adjacent quarters of the great city Isin. Hence both Opartes and Ubar-^dTutu belong to the same city.

10. *Ξίσουθρος*, Xisuthrus, son Opartes. Reigned 64,800 years. The Greek is based upon the Semitic title of Uta-napištim, *atra-ḫasisu* > *ḫasis-atra*, "The supremely wise."³

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 Pantibiblus. Even here we have in No. 7 a Sumerian ruler. On the whole this list is preponderatingly 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.⁴ The argument to which I have nothing new to add is as follows.

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., *Sburpu* 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 Šuruppak 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-ḫa-sis*, in the Gilgamesh version, DHORME, 118, 196 and in an early Babylonian version, *Frag. Scheil* VIII 4, as *at-ra-am-ḫa-si-is*. The hero of the Flood has also the same title *atra-ḫasis* in a fragment from another version, DHORME, 126, 11. The inversion *ḫasis-atra* is probably based upon a too mechanical rendering of the Sumerian *PI-DIRIG(?)*.

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 (נֹחַ) 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 *nāḥu*, "to repose." As for the form with internal vowel *a*, *tag*, we know that it can be rendered by *labāṣu*, 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. *labāṣu* is probably the same root as *rabāṣu*, "to lie down;" it is true that the verb *labāṣu* is explained by *tag* in a syllabar where it occurs between *zu'unu*, "to fashion skillfully," and *maḥāṣu ša mimma*, "to hammer something," and the verb has undoubtedly the same active idea here.¹ Also in the only other passage where *labāṣu* occurs it is given the same active sense "to cast down."² Naturally this persistent use of *labāṣu* in the sense of "cast down, smite," may exclude

¹ Syl. C 292-5.

² *ka-ṣu-gál* = *la-ba-ṣu*, Syn. *laban appi*, CT. 13, 32, 11.

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 *pašāḫu* and *nāḫu*, "to rest," as well as the variant *ten*.³ Also *tug* has the variant *tub*, a word which is repeatedly employed for *nāḫu*. 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 *nāḫu*, *tag-tug*, should be rendered by *nūḫu*, "to cause to repose," and the permansive singular would be *nu-uḫ*, "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 *Nōaḥ*. 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 was the reason for my entry to *tag* in the sense of "rest, abide," in *Sum. Gr.* 245. Cf. *nabāšu*, *napāšu*, "to overwhelm."

² See *Sum. Gr.* 208; SBP. 320, 12; BÖLLENRÜCHER, *Nergal*, 31, 12, *dāg-ga* = *šub-ti*; MEISSNER, SAI. 3869. *dāg-na nu-un-ti* = *ina šubti-šu ul ašib*, MEEK, BA. X, No. 38, 9.

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

OBVERSE I

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [e-ne-ba-]ám e-ne-ba-ám me-en-
 ši-en 2. [kùr] Dilmun ki-aṣag- ga-ám 3. [ki-aṣag-]ga e-ne ba-ám me-en-ši-
 en 4. kùr Dilmun ki-aṣag- ga-
 ám 5. kùr Dilmun ki-aṣag-ga-ám kùr
 Dilmun el-ám 6. kùr Dilmun el-ám kùr Dilmun
 lăg-lăg-ga-ám | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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 moun-
 tain of Dilmun is pure. 6. The mountain of Dilmun is
 pure, the mountain of Dil-
 mun 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."
enumišu Adapa mār (āl) Eridi
[mas-]su(d) i¹ Ea ina maṣali ina ṣadadi
ūmišamma ṣigar (āl) Eridi iṣṣar.

For the restitution *mas-su(d)* = *massū*, "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 DHORME, *Choix* 150, 16-18.

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| <p>7. <i>áš-ni-ne Dilmun-(ki)-a ù-bé in-nad¹</i>
 8. <i>ki ^den-ki dam-a-ni-da ba-an-da-ná-a-ba</i>
 9. <i>ki-bi el-ám ki-bi läg-läg-ga-ám</i>
 10. <i>áš-ni-ne</i>
 11. <i>ki ^den-ki ^dnin-el-la² ba-an-[da-ná-a-ba]</i>
 12. <i>ki-bi el-ám</i>
 13. <i>Dilmun-(ki)-a ú-nag-ga-(ġu)dúg-dúg nu-mu-ni-bi³</i>
 14. <i>dar-(ġu)-e ġu-dar-(ġu)-ri nu-mu-ni-ib-bi</i>
 15. <i>ur-gu-la sag-ġiš nu-ub⁴-ra-ra</i>
 16. <i>ur-bar-ra-ge⁵ síl nu-ub- ģar- ri</i>
 17. <i>lik-ku máš gam-gam nu- te- -ba</i>
 18. <i>tud(?)še-kur-kur-e nu- te- ba</i></p> | <p>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 raven⁶ shrieked not.
 14. The <i>kite</i>⁷ shrieked not, kitelike.
 15. The lion⁸ slew not.
 16. The wolf plundered not the lambs.
 17. The dog approached not the kids in repose.
 18. <i>The mother (goat)</i> as it fed on grain he disturbed not.</p> |
|--|---|

¹ For *ù-nad* = *šalālu*, v. IV R. 13b 39 *ù-ba-ra-e-ne = la ašlalu*. The verb should be inflected with the dual ending *áš-áš*, 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. *ù-ne* becomes *e-ne* in *e-ne-ba-ám*, "he that slept," or "they two that slept."

² This title is applied also to the consort of Negin, son of Ninlil, in CT. 24, 26, 113; Negin is a name of Ninurašā. Note also the connection of these deities in *šuNeginna-e(?) -mu-ki(?)* son of *Amel-^dNinella*, CT. 8, 44b 18 f. Also *gašan-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.

³ Cf. *dúg-mu-ni-ib-bi*, [The storm in heaven] shrieked, ZIMMERN, K. L., 28 Rev. 31 ff. Also SBH. 97, 74 *an-la a-nun-na dúg-bé-ib-bi*, "On high the tempest shrieked."

⁴ The sign is clearly *te* but *ub* 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 *larru*, a loan-word from *dar*, is rendered in Sumerian by *NAM + ŠAB-dar-ġu* in CT. 14, 4, 6 and *NAM + ŠAB* is the raven (*aribu*), hence a bird allied to the raven; in the same passage the "night bird" *iššur mūši* precedes. MUSS-ARNOLT, *Lexicon*, 129a renders "kite" which is probable.

⁸ The Semitic deluge l. 188 has *ur-maš*.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>19. nu-mu-un-<i>zu</i> dīm-išgar -ra-bi...
-ba</p> <p>20. mušen-e an-na dīm-bi nu-...e</p> <p>21. tud-(<i>gu</i>)-e sag-nu-mu-un-da-
šub-e¹</p> <p>22. igi-gig-e igi-gig me-en nu-mu-
ni-bi</p> <p>23. sag-gig-gi sag-gig me-en nu</p> <p>24. um-ma-bi um-ma me-en nu</p> <p>25. ab-ba-bi ab-ba me-en nu</p> <p>26. ki-el a-nu-tú-a-ni eri-a nu-mu-ni-
ib-sig-gi</p> <p>27. galu id-da bal-e-mi-dé nu-mu-
ni-bi</p> <p>28. ligir-e X² ga-na nu-um-nigin</p> <p>29. lul-e e-lu-lam nu-mu-ni-bi</p> <p>30. galam eri-ka i-dúr³ nu-mu</p> <p>31. ^dnin-el-la a-a-ni ^den-ki-ra gù-
mu- na- de-a</p> | <p>19. The (ewes) impregnate their
foetus....</p> <p>20. The birds of heaven their young
[forsook] not.</p> <p>21. The doves were not put to
flight.</p> <p>22. "Oh disease of the eyes thou
art the 'Sick Eye,'" one
said not.⁴</p> <p>23. "Oh head ache thou art the
'Head Ache,'" one said not.</p> <p>24. As to the old woman, "thou
art an old woman" one said
not.</p> <p>25. As to the old man, "thou art
an old man" one said not.</p> <p>26. A pure place where water was
not poured for cleansing in
the city one inhabited not.</p> <p>27. "A man has changed a canal,"
one said not.</p> <p>28. A prince his wisdom withheld
not.⁵</p> <p>29. "A deceiver deceives," one said
not.</p> <p>30. "The counsellor of a city
.....," one said not.</p> <p>31. Ninella to Enki her⁶ father
spoke.</p> |
|--|--|

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* = *tamû*, *sag-gi-ša-ra* = *nêru*.

² The sign is *šessig* of , 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*?

³ Cf. ZIMMERN, KL. 26 Rev. I 17.

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* = *šûkuru*, to make rare.

⁶ *Ninella*, the consort and daughter of Enki, is obviously identical with *Damgalnunna* in II 32, who is there represented as the daughter of Enki. *Damgalnunna* is ordinarily represented as the consort of Enki in religious texts.

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|--|--|
| <p>32. <i>eri-mu-e-sig eri-mu-e-sig nam
mu-sum-ma-za</i></p> <p>33. <i>Dilmun eri mu-e-sig eri</i></p> <p>34. <i>[...]mu-e-sig eri</i></p> <p>35. <i>..... id-da nu-un tuk- a</i></p> <p>36. <i>[eri]mu-e-sig eri</i></p> <p>37. <i>.....da</i></p> <p>38. <i>.....a.....a</i></p> | <p>32. "A city thou hast founded, a city thou hast founded and a fate thou hast given.</p> <p>33. In Dilmun a city thou hast founded, a city (thou hast founded and a fate thou hast given).</p> <p>34.thou hast founded a city (thou hast founded and a fate hast given).</p> <p>35.(which) a canal has not.</p> <p>36. [...] thou hast founded, a city (thou hast founded and a fate thou hast given).</p> |
|--|--|

About seven lines broken away.

OBVERSE II

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. <i>gir-ma-an-gal-la-za a ge-im-ta-š¹
de</i></p> <p>2. <i>eri-žu a ge-gál-la gu-mu-ra-nag-
nag</i></p> <p>3. <i>Dilmun-ki a ge-gál-la</i></p> <p>4. <i>dul a-šeš-a-žu dul a dug-ga ge-
im-[-ta-da-du-ne]</i></p> <p>5. <i>eri-žu é gú-ka-ra² kalam-ma-ka
ge-a</i></p> <p>6. <i>Dilmun-ki é</i></p> <p>7. <i>š-dé-šu³ babbar ud-dé- a</i></p> <p>8. <i>babbar an-na gub-bi- e</i></p> | <p>1. In thy great..... may waters flow.</p> <p>2. Thy city may drink water in abundance.</p> <p>3. Dilmun may drink water in abundance.</p> <p>4. Thy pools of bitter waters as a pool of sweet waters may flow.</p> <p>5. Let thy city be the home which assembles the Land of Sumer.</p> <p>6. Let Dilmun be the home which assembles the Land of Sumer.</p> <p>7. Now oh Sun-god shine forth.</p> <p>8. Oh Sun-god in heaven stand.</p> |
|--|---|

¹ The photograph appears to have *da-du* not *DUL-DU*(=š), 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 *gú-gar-ra* = *puḫḫuru*, RA. 10, 71 II 1.

³ Cf. *š-dé-šu* = *inanna*, IV R. 13, Rev. 40 in Corrections and PSBA. 1914, 192.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 9. <i>gír-du-a dug-ezen ki-na-ta</i> | 9. He that marches from his place. |
| 10. <i>sugur-e ^dnanna(r)-a- ta</i> | 10. the Moon-god |
| 11. <i>ka-a-ki-a-laḡ-ta a-dug-ki-ta mu-na-ra- gub</i> | 11. From the <i>mouth</i> of the earth walking forth, with sweet waters of the earth he comes unto thee." |
| 12. <i>gír-ma-an-gal-la-na a im-ta-ē-dé</i> | 12. In his great waters went up. |
| 13. <i>eri-ni a ḡe-gál-la im-ta-nag-nag</i> | 13. His city drank water in abundance. |
| 14. <i>Dilmun-(ki) a ḡe-[gal-la im-ta-nag-nag]</i> | 14. Dilmun drank water in abundance. |
| 15. <i>dul a-šeš-a-ni a-dug-ga na-nam</i> | 15. His pool of bitter waters was (a pool of) sweet water. |
| 16. <i>a-šag agar-ra?¹ nam-a-ni še-mu-na-ab-?</i> | 16. The low-lands |
| 17. <i>eri-ni é gú-ḡar-ra kalam-ma-ka na-nam</i> | 17. His city was the home which assembles the Land (of Sumer). |
| 18. <i>Dilmun-(ki) é-gú-[ḡar-ra kalam-ma-ka na-nam]</i> | 18. Dilmun was the home which assembles the Land (of Sumer). |
| 19. <i>ì-dé-šu ^dabbar ud-dé-a ūr ḡe na-nam-ma²</i> | 19. Now oh Sun-god shine forth. Verily it was so. |
| 20. <i>áš-ḡa³ gišpitug-gi tuk-a</i> | 20. He the renderer of decision, the possessor of wisdom, |
| 21. <i>^dnin-tud-ama-kalama-šu</i> | 21. To Nintud the mother of the Land of Sumer, |
| 22. <i>^den-ki-ge gišpitug-gi tuk-a</i> | 22. Enki the possessor of wisdom, |
| 23. <i>^dnin-tud</i> | 23. Even unto Nintud (the mother of the Land of Sumer) |
| 24. <i>uš⁴-a-ni e-a ba-an-ši-in-dun⁵</i> | 24. His counsel in the temple revealed. |

¹ The signs are not precisely those of *KAR-RA*.

² *šuatū lū kiam*, "verily it was so." This phrase was rendered into Hebrew by וַיְהִי כֵן.

³ Below *NI* a clearly written *TAR*. Perhaps *ḡal* > *ḡil* > *sil* and glossed *sil*.

⁴ *uš* = *šmu*, v. *Sum. Gr.* 255.

⁵ *dun* = *pítū 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."

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| <p>25. á-a-ni gi-a kàs-kàs¹-e ba-an-ši-
kàs-kàs-e</p> <p>26. uš-a-ni bar-šú maḡ-dug ša-ba-ra-
an-zi-zi</p> <p>27. gù-bé-in-de mà-ra galu nu-mu-
un-dib-bi</p> <p>28. ^den-ki-ge gù-bé²-in-de</p> <p>29. zi-an-na ni- pad</p> <p>30. ná-a³ mà-ra ná-a mà-ra enim-ni</p>
<p>31. ^den-ki-ge a ^ddam-gal-nun-na enim-
ni mi-ni-in-dúg</p> <p>32. ^dnin-ḡar-sag-ḡà-ge ašag-ga ba-ni-
in-rig</p> <p>33. ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a ^den-ki-
ga-ka</p> <p>34. ud-àš-ám iti- áš-a-ni</p> <p>35. ud-min-ám iti-min-a-ni</p> <p>36. ud-eš-ám iti-eš-a-ni</p> <p>37. ud-lim-ám iti-lim-a-ni</p> <p>38. ud-ḡà-ám</p> <p>39. ud-āš-ám</p> | <p>25. His revelation in the <i>reed-house</i>
as a decision he rendered unto
her.</p> <p>26. His counsel in secret grandly
and beneficently to her he
affirmed.</p> <p>27. He spoke. "Unto me man en-
ters not."⁴</p> <p>28. Enki spoke,</p> <p>29. By heaven he swore.</p> <p>30. "Cause him to sleep⁵ for me,
cause him to sleep for me,"
was his word.</p> <p>31. Enki the father of Damgal-
nunna uttered his word.</p> <p>32. Ninharsag the fields. . . .⁶</p> <p>33. The fields received the waters of
Enki.</p> <p>34. It was the first day whose
month is the first.</p> <p>35. It was the second day whose
month is the third.</p> <p>36. It was the third day whose
month is the third.</p> <p>37. It was the fourth day whose
month is the fourth.</p> <p>38. It was the fifth day [whose
month is the fifth].</p> <p>39. It was the sixth day [whose
month is the sixth].</p> |
|--|---|

¹ For *kas* = *purussū*, v. *ka-dš*, SBH. 77, 7.

² The reading *bé* for *ne* is a suggestion of POEBEL.

³ *šuni'il*, CT. 16, 45, 47.

⁴ See for another suggestion on this important line, PSBA. 1914, 256.

⁵ *I. e.*, to perish.

⁶ 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 *urabbiš*, "she devastated," which is the most natural rendering. Perhaps we have to do with the verb *rig* > *ri* to fashion, build, whence *rib* "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."

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|--|--|
| 40. <i>ud-imin-ám</i> | 40. It was the seventh day [whose month is the seventh]. |
| 41. <i>ud-ussu-ám</i> | 41. It was the eighth day [whose month is the eighth]. |
| 42. <i>ud-elim-ám iti-elim-a-ni iti nam-sal-a-ka</i> | 42. It was the ninth day whose month is the ninth; month of the cessation of the waters. |
| 43. <i>íá-lum¹-gim íá-lum-gim íá-dug-nun-na²-gim</i> | 43. Like fat, like fat, like tallow. |
| 44. [^d <i>nin-tud</i>]- <i>ama-kalama-ka</i> | 44. Nintud mother of the Land, |
| 45. [^d <i>nin-kùr-ra</i> ?] | 45. [<i>Even Ninkurra</i>], |
| 46. <i>in-tu-ud</i> | 46. had created them. |

OBVERSE III

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. ^d <i>nin-tud gú-íd-da-gà-šú mi-ni-ib-gí(?)</i> | 1. Nintud to the bank of the river <i>summoned</i> . |
| 2. ^d <i>en-ki-ge mà-ra im-da-lal-e-ne im-da-lal-e-ne³</i> | 2. "Enki (for me) they are reckoned, yea are reckoned." |
| 3. <i>sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne gù-mu-na-de-e</i> | 3. Her herald the divine anointed ones ⁴ called. |
| 4. <i>galu-dumu⁴ šág-ga-e-ne nu-mu-un-žu-te-bi⁵</i> | 4. The sons of men who were pious she was not wroth against. |
| 5. ^d <i>nin-tud šág-ga-e-[ne nu-mu-un-žu-te-bi]</i> | 5. Nintud against the pious was not wroth. |
| 6. <i>sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gí-gí</i> | 6. Her herald the divine anointed ones caused to return. |
| 7. <i>galu-dumu šág-ga-e-ne nu-mu-un-žu-te-bi</i> | 7. The sons of men who were pious she was not wroth against. |

¹ Probably the original of *íá-lu* = *lipá*, fat, tallow, AJS. 28, 219. Cf. DP. 2d I 3.

² The same word in *Gud. Cyl. A* 18, 21 where it follows *íá-nun*, butter.

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

⁴ Cf. ZIMMERN, KL. 27 Rev. II, 9.

⁵ For *žu-teg* = *šáru*, v. BA. V. 638, 11.

⁶ Probably priests. Or perhaps the Anunnaki are meant.

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| <p>8. ^dnin-tud šág-[ga-e-ne nu-mu-un-
zu-te-bi]</p> <p>9. lugal-mu ní-dirig-ga-ri¹ ní-dirig-
ga-ri</p> <p>10. gír-ni áš-a ^{ti} má-a bé-in-gub</p> <p>11. 2 gu-ma² maškim³-ma nam⁴-mi-
in-gub</p> <p>12. dū-im-ma-an-tab gibil-im-ma-an-
su-leg</p> <p>13. ^den-ki-ge ašag-ga ba-ni-in-rig</p> <p>14. ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a ^den-ki-
ga-ka</p> <p>15. ud-àš-ám iti-àš-a-ni</p> <p>16. ud-min-ám iti-min-a-ni</p> <p>17. ud-elim-ám iti-elim-a-ni iti nam-
sal- a-ka⁵</p> | <p>8. Nintud against the pious was
not wroth.</p> <p>9. My king, who was filled with
fear, yea was filled with fear,</p> <p>10. His foot <i>alone</i> upon the boat
set.</p> <p>11. Two "bumbles," as watchmen
he placed on guard.</p> <p>12. <i>Doubly he caulked the ship;
torches he lighted.</i>⁶</p> <p>13. Enki devastated the fields.</p> <p>14. The fields received the waters
of Enki.</p> <p>15. It was the first day, whose
month is the first.</p> <p>16. It was the second day, whose
month is the second.</p> <p>17. It was the ninth day, whose
month is the ninth; the
month of the cessation of the
waters.</p> |
|---|---|

¹ For this emphatic *ri*, v. *Sum. Gr.* §163; also *ri=ge* in *enem^dmullilla-ri*, "the word of Enlil," *Bab. Lit.* 186 Rev. 11. Literally "the terror filled."

² *kanšl*, dual of *kanšu*, "the humble," a designation for slaves or attendants. Wholly uncertain. For *gum* a derivative of *gam=kanāšu*, cf. *Sum. Gr.* 218.

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 II 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-ta-e-gdl=tapti*, "thou hast opened," IV R 20 No. 2, 3; *na-ám-mà-ni=ublamma*, SBP. 172, 36; *nam-ma-ra-è* (From his queen), "he caused him to go forth," SBP. 284, 16. *lš-è-ninnū-ta šg-ga nam-ta-è min-kam-ma lš-šū šg-u-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. *gū-nam-mi-de*, "he called," SAK. 12 VI 7; *gū-nam-mi-in-de*, CT. 16, 20, 132; cf. 22, 236. This *nam* is obviously the emphatic *nam* seen in *nanam* an emphatic enclitic; *šū-gi-me na-nam*, "verily I take hold," II R. 16, 36; *kūr gig-gig-ga-na-nam*, "the land it afflicts," SBP. 44, 3 (cf. 5). Note also *na-mu-un-ba-al*, "verily 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-sū-ud=šiparu*, torch, BA. V, 708, 4. This phrase is wholly uncertain. *su-leg* in *nig-su-leg*, KL. 78 R. 19 has a meaning synonymous with "atonement, purification."

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>18. <i>ia-lum-gim ia-lum-gim ia-dug-nun-na-gim</i>
 19. [^d<i>nin-kur-ra ia-lu</i>]m
 20. ^d<i>nin-tu</i>[d <i>ama kalama-ka</i>] <i>in-tu-ud</i>
 21. ^d<i>nin-kur-ra</i> [gú-id-da-gà-šú] <i>mi-ni-[ib-gi?]</i>
 22. ^d<i>en-ki-ge ma-ra im-[da-lal-e-ne im-da-lal-e-ne]</i>
 23. <i>sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne</i> [gù-mu-na-de-e]
 24. <i>galu-dumu-šag-ga-e-ne nu-mu-un-[zu-te-bi]</i>
 25. ^d<i>nin-kur-ra šag-[ga-e-ne nu-mu-un-zu-te-bi]</i>
 26. <i>sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi-gi</i>
 27. <i>galu-dumu šag-ga-e-ne su-in-SAL+KU-ni</i>
 28. ^d<i>nin-kur-ra šag-[ga-e-ne su-in-SAL+KU-ni]</i>
 29. <i>lugal-mu ni-dirig-ga-ri ni-dirig-ga-ri</i>
 30. <i>gi-ri-ni aš-a</i> ^{si}<i>ma-a be-in-gub</i>
 31. 2 <i>gu-ma maškim-ma nam-mi-in-gub</i>
 32. <i>dū-im-ma-an-tab gibil-im-ma-ni-su-te</i>
 33. ^d<i>en-ki-ge ašag ba-ni-in-rig</i></p> | <p>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 wroth against.
 25. Ninkurra against the pious sons of men was not wroth.
 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 <i>alone</i> on the ship had set.
 31. Two "bumbles" as watchmen on guard he had placed.
 32. Doubly he had caulked the ship; torches he had lighted.
 33. Enki devastated the fields.</p> |
|---|---|

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 *Ninbarsag*, "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 ^d*Nintud ama-maš kur-kur-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 stonecutters 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.

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|---|---|
| <p>34. <i>ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a ^den-ki-ga-ka</i></p> <p>35. <i>ud-aš-ám iti aš-a-ni</i></p> <p>36. <i>ud-elim-ám iti elim-a-ni iti nam-sal-a-ka</i></p> <p>37. <i>ia-lum-gim ia-lum-gim ia-dug-nun-na-gim</i></p> <p>38. <i>^dnin-kùr-ra ia-lum</i></p> <p>39. <i>^dtag-túg sal-ni-dim in-</i></p> <p>40. <i>^dnin-tud-ri ^dtag-tug-[ra] gù-mu-na-de-e</i></p> <p>41. <i>na-ga-e¹-rig na-rig-mu.</i></p> <p>42. <i>gù-ga-ra-dúg(?) enim-enim-mu</i></p> <p>43. <i>galu-aš-ám mà-ra im-da-lal-[-e-ne im-da-lal-e-ne]</i></p> <p>44. <i>^den-ki-ge mà-ra im-[da-lal-e-ne im-da-lal-e-ne]</i></p> <p>45. <i>igi-im-?-e-</i></p> | <p>34. The fields received the waters of Enki.</p> <p>35. It was the first day whose month is the first.</p> <p>36. It was the ninth day whose month is the ninth; the month of the cessation of the waters.</p> <p>37. Like fat, like fat, like <i>tallow</i>,</p> <p>38. Ninkurra (like) fat [had created them].</p> <p>39. To the divine Tagtug she <i>revealed secrets</i></p> <p>40. Nintud to the divine Tagtug spoke.</p> <p>41. "Verily I will purge thee²; my purging. . . .</p> <p>42. I will tell thee; my words. . . .</p> <p>43. Oh thou one man, for me [they were reckoned, yea were reckoned].</p> <p>44. Enki, for me has reckoned [has reckoned].</p> <p>45.</p> |
|---|---|

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.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>13. <i>sal-ni-dim igi-im³. . . .</i></p> <p>14.</p> | <p>13. <i>revealed secrets [caused] to see. . . .</i></p> <p>14.</p> |
|---|--|

¹ See THUREAU-DANGIN in RA. 11, 53 for *e* indicating the second person both of the subject and object.

² *I. e.*, Ninharsag 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-šar a*
 17.
 18. [*é-bara-gu-ul-dú*]-*ba DU-um*
 19. *é-rab-ga-ra-an-ba DU-um*
 20. *e-a túg-sú-nun-túg-tud¹-mu ġe-dúr*
 21. *^den-ki-ge túg-sú-nun-túg-tud-mu ġe-ne-in-dúr*
 22. 2 *gu-ma a-si-si-²da-ni*
 23. *eg a-bé-in-si*
 24. *pà a-bé-in-si*
 25. *kislaġ a-bé-in-?³*
 26. *nu-giš-šar a-na NE*
 27. *gú-za⁴l gú-da im-ši-in*
 28. *a-ba me-en giš-šar*
 29. *^den-ki-ge nu-giš-šar [ra*

15.
 16. in the garden
 17.
 18. [In Ebaraguldu] *stand*.
 19. In Erabgaran *stand*.
 20. In the temple may my guide dwell,
 21. May Enki my guide dwell.
 22. Two "bumbles" who fill with water,
 23. The water course filled with water.
 24. The canal they filled with water.
 25. The barren land they *irrigated(?)*
 26. The gardener
 27. A secret
 28. Who art thou? the garden
 29. Enki to the gardener

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 úr-ra-ni bé-in-mal-e*
 37. *^den-ki-ge igi-ni-im-ma-an-siġ-siġ⁶ mudur šu-bé-in-duġ*

34.
 35. In E-baraguldu he stood.
 36. In E-rabgaran he stood.
 His seat he took.
 37. Enki beheld him.
 A scepter in his hand he grasped.

¹ A title of Girra, god of the flocks, and interpreted by *ša si-ma-ni*, CT. 24, 42, 95. The ideogram is usually rendered by *šummanu*, a nose cord for leading oxen (also men, as in Senh. Taylor inscr. V 74). *simanu* and *šummanu* 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 mātīm* seems to translate the ideogram. An unpublished text from Erch employs *markasu* as a synonym of *massū*, "leader." In CT. 24, 7, 19 the ideogram *túg-sú-nun-túg-tud* designates apparently Ninurašā 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-eš*.

³ We expect *de*, i. e., *a-bé-in-de* = *šaġū ša iġli*, but the sign is not *de*.

⁴ Read *gú-za⁴l* = *pirištu*, Voc. Hittite, Berlin 7478 II 28.

⁵ The sign is imperfectly made.

⁶ Cf. *igi-siġ* = *amāru*, Br. 9323; RA. 10, 74, 29, and the name of the deity *igi-siġ-siġ*, CT 24, 3, 25; ZIMMERN, Rt. No. 27, 8.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>38. ^den-ki-ge ^dTag-túg-ra gír-im-ma-an-gub
 39. é-na al-de-de-e gál-kid gál-kid
 40. a-ba me-en za-e me-en
 41. mà-e nu-giš-šar gúl-si giš-ma¹...
 42. X-dingir-šu ga-mu-ra-ab-sig
 43. ^dTag-túg šag-gúl-la-ni-ta é-e gál-ba-an-kid
 44. ^den-ki-ge ^dTag-túg-ra sal-ni-dim
 45. gúl-dš gar-ra-na ba-na-ab-sum-mu
 46. é-bara-gu-ul-dú-ba ba-na-ab-sum-mu
 47. é-rab-ga-ra-an-ba ba-na-ab-sum-mu
 48. ^dTag-túg sal-ni-dim gub-mu-na-ab-zi šu-mu-na-sig-gi</p> | <p>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.</p> |
|---|---|

REVERSE II

Here about six lines are obliterated.

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|--|--|
| <p>7.
 8. [ú im-ma-]an-mă
 9. [ú im-ma-]an-mă
 10. [ú im-ma-] an-mă
 11. [ú im-] ma-an-mă
 12. [ú]
 13. [ú]
 14. ú [.] im-ma-an-mă
 15. ^den-ki-ge mà-ra im-da-lal-e-ne im-da-lal-e-ne
 16. sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne gù-mu-na-de-e</p> | <p>7.
 8. [The plant.] grew.
 9. [The plant.] grew.
 10. [The plant.] grew.
 11. [The plant.] grew.
 12. [The plant.] grew.
 13. [The plant.] grew.
 14. The plant. grew.
 15. "Enki, for me they are reckoned, they are reckoned."
 16. Her herald the divine anointed ones called.</p> |
|--|--|

¹ giš-ma is the ordinary ideogram for *tillu*, fig.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>17. <i>ú mà-e nam-bi li-bé-sá</i></p> <p>18. <i>a-na-ám bé-e a-na-ám bé-e</i></p> <p>19. <i>sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne mu-na-ni-gi-gi</i></p> <p>20. <i>[lugal]-mu ú-gi¹ mu-na-ab-bi</i></p> <p>21. <i>mu-na²-kud-dé ba-kur-e</i></p> <p>22. <i>lugal-mu ú-gurun mu-na-ab-bi</i></p> <p>23. <i>mu-na-sir-ri ba-kur-e</i></p> <p>24. <i>lugal-mu ú- mu</i></p> <p>25. <i>mu-na-kud-dé ba</i></p> <p>26. <i>lugal-mu ú-a-gūg mu</i></p> <p>27. <i>mu-na-sir-ri ba-kur-e</i></p> <p>28. <i>[lugal-mu] ú?-tu-tu mu</i></p> <p>29. <i>[mu-na-kud-dé] ba</i></p> <p>30. <i>[lugal-mu ú-] mu</i></p> <p>31. <i>[mu-na-sir-ri ba</i></p> <p>32. <i>[lugal-mu ú- mu</i></p> <p>33. <i>[mu-na-kud-dé] ba</i></p> <p>34. <i>[lugal-mu ú]- am-ḡa-ru mu-na-ab-teg</i></p> <p>35. <i>[mu-na-sir-ri] ba-kur-e</i></p> <p>36. <i>. ú nam-bi bé-in-tar šāb-ba ba-ni-in-di</i></p> | <p>17. As for the plants, their fates I have determined forever.</p> <p>18. Something it is; something it is.</p> <p>19. Her herald caused the divine anointed ones to return unto her.</p> <p>20. My king as to the woody plants she commanded:</p> <p>21. "He shall cut off; he shall eat."</p> <p>22. My king as to the fruit bearing plants, she commanded:</p> <p>23. "He shall pluck; he shall eat."</p> <p>24. My king as to the plants, she commanded:</p> <p>25. "He shall cut off; he shall eat."</p> <p>26. My king as to the prickly plants, she commanded:</p> <p>27. "He shall pluck; he shall eat."</p> <p>28. My king as to the plants she commanded:</p> <p>29. "[He shall cut off;] he shall eat."</p> <p>30. [My king as to the plants] she commanded:</p> <p>31. "[He shall pluck; he shall eat]."</p> <p>32. [My king as to the plants she commanded]:</p> <p>33. "[He shall cut off; he shall eat]."</p> <p>34. [My king] the cassia plant approached.</p> <p>35. He plucked; he ate.</p> <p>36. the plant, its fate she had determined; therein she came upon it.³</p> |
|---|--|

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.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>37. ^dnin-ġar-sag-ġà-ge mu ^den-ki
nam-erim ba-an-kud</p> <p>38. i-dé na-ám-ti-la en-na ba-diġ-ġi-a
i-dé-ba-ra-an-bar-ri-en</p> <p>39. ^da-nun-na-ge-ne saġar-ta im-mi-
in-dúr-dúr-ru-ne-eš</p> <p>40. ġuš-a ^den-lil-ra mu-na-ra-ab-bi</p> <p>41. ma-e ^dnin-ġar-sag-ġà mu-e-ši-du-
mu-un a-na-ám nig-ba-mu</p> <p>42. ^den-lil tud ġuš-a mu-na-ni-ib-
ġi-ġi</p> <p>43. za-e ^dnin-ġar-sag-ġà mu-e-du-mu-
un-nam</p> <p>44. uru-mà 2 ġiš-mal¹ ġa-ri-dū mu-ru
ġe-pad-di</p> <p>45. elim? sag-ni aš-ám² im-ma-an-
pèš-pèš³</p> <p>46. [ġir?]-ni aš-ám im-ma-an-búr-
búr</p> <p>47. ġi-ni aš-ám ġibil-bé-in-ġar</p> | <p>37. Ninharsag in the name of Enki uttered a curse.</p> <p>38. "The face of life until he dies not shall he see."⁴</p> <p>39. The Anunnaki in the dust sat down (to weep).⁵</p> <p>40. Angrily unto Enlil she spoke.</p> <p>41. "I Ninharsag begat thee children and what is my reward?"⁶</p> <p>42. Enlil the begetter angrily replied;</p> <p>43. Thou oh Ninharsag hast begotten children, (therefore)</p> <p>44. "In my city two creatures I will make for thee," shall thy name be called.</p> <p>45. The renowned—his head as a prototype she had moulded.</p> <p>46. His foot as a prototype she had designed.</p> <p>47. His eyes as a prototype she had made luminous.</p> |
|---|--|

¹ In the legend of creation DT. 41 line 9, Ninigiazag, i. e., Ea, creates two *šu-ġa-[re]*. This restoration is plausible but uncertain. "Two small creatures" is the version generally given for this line. *ġiš-mal* would be rendered perhaps by *šiknatu*, "creature."

² Literally *maḥrū*, *restū*, "first."

³ *pèš*, "to sculpture," *pašāšu*, *pašādu*. Both verbs are doubtful but for *pašādu* compare MESSERSCHMIDT, KTA. 18, 7, *ḫiṣir šadē ina agġullat ēri lu-pi-ši-id*, "the living rock with bronze axes I hewed." Note also *pèš* = *purkullu*, sculptor, and *pašūru*, 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 *ilāni šu-ut ilu A-nun-na-ki*. For *šu-ut* in the sense of *id est*, "that is," see CT. 17, 42, 13, *dNintud šu-ut dMaḡ*, "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.

REVERSE III

About five lines are broken away.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 6. ....ne en ^d en-lil. | 6. ....the lord Enlil. |
| 7. ....ne en-zi. | 7. ....the lord. |
| 8. ...š ^u mu-du-ne en dingir. | 8. To.they went, the lord,
god. |
| 9.š ^u mu-du-ne en. ¹ | 9. To.they went, the lord of
the gods. |
| 10. ? ? ni-me-a zi(?)mu-mu ? ? mu | 10. |
| 11. | 11. |
| 12. ^d nin-ġar-sag-ġa-ge ? im- | 12. Ninharsag. |
| 13. | 13. |
| 14. | 14. |
| 15. | 15. |
| 16. | 16. |
| 17. ....teg ba-an- | 17. |
| 18. ^d nin-ġar-sag-ġa-ge é ? kàs-im-ma-
an- | 18. Ninharsag. |
| 19. ^d en-lil.š ^u -ga-ni ba-an-tùb-
bi-eš | 19. Of Enlil, in his.they re-
posed. |
| 20. li-im-ra -an-ag-eš | 20. |
| 21. nam-im-ma-an-tar-eš | 21. Fates they declared. |
| 22. š ^u -li im-ra-an-búr-ru-uš | 22. Destiny they fixed. |
| 23. ^d nin-ġar-sag-ġa-ge.la-na
ba-ni-in-tùb | 23. Ninharsag in her.reposed. |
| 24. šeš-mu a-na-zi a-ra-gig | 24. "My brother what of thee is
ill?" |
| 25. utul-?-mu ma-gig | 25. "My pastures are distressed." |
| 26. ^d abú ² im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud | 26. "Abu I have created for thee." |
| 27. šeš-mu a-na-zi a-ra-gig | 27. "My brother what of thee is ill?" |
| 28. ú- tul-mu ma-gig | 28. "My flocks are distressed." |
| 29. ^d nin-tul-la ³ im-ma-ra-an-tu-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 𒀭 in line 25 is followed by a broken sign the whole may possibly be an unknown group of signs for *re'itu*, pasture.

³ Nintulla also in CT. 24, 26, 113, where she is the consort of Negun.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>30. šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-zu KA mu
ma-gig</p> <p>31. ^dNin-KA ú-tud im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud</p> <p>32. šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig ka mu
ma-gig</p> <p>33. ^dnin-ka-si¹ im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud</p> <p>34. šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig [... mu
ma-gig]</p> <p>35. ^dna-zi² im-ma³-ra-[an-tu-ud]</p> <p>36. šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig da-[zi-mu
ma-gig]</p> <p>37. ^dDa-zi-mā-a im-ma-ra-[an-tu-ud]</p> <p>38. šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig til-[mu
ma-gig]</p> <p>39. ^dnin-til⁴ im-ma-ra-an-[tu-ud]</p> <p>40. šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig mē-mu
[ma-gig]</p> <p>41. ^den-šág-mē im-ma-ra-an-[tu-ud]</p> <p>42. túl-túl-lá-ba⁵ tu-ne-en-na-áš gar-
ra-[ne-en-na-áš]</p> <p>43. ^dab-ú lugal ú ġe-a</p> <p>44. ^dnin-tul-la en má-gan-na ġe-a</p> | <p>30. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My . . . is ill."</p> <p>31. "^dNin-KA-ù-tud I have created for thee."</p> <p>32. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My mouth is distressed."</p> <p>33. "The queen who fills the mouth (with wine) I have created for thee."</p> <p>34. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My . . . is ill."</p> <p>35. "The goddess <i>Nazi</i> I have created for thee."</p> <p>36. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My . . . is ill."</p> <p>37. "The goddess <i>Dazimā</i> I have created for thee."</p> <p>38. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My health is ill."</p> <p>39. "The queen of life I have created for thee."</p> <p>40. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My understanding is distressed."</p> <p>41. "The Lord who renders the understanding good I have created for thee."</p> <p>42. Since grandly were they born, (grandly) they do,⁶</p> <p>43. Abu lord of vegetation let be.</p> <p>44. Nintulla lord⁷ of Magan let be.</p> |
|--|---|

¹ Ninkasi is a title of Geštinana, the vine goddess.

² See also CT. 24, 48, 10; a handmaid of Sin.

³ Text *NEI*

⁴ Probably goddess of femininity. In line 48 she is connected with the month (*itū*) and in III R. 66 Rev. 4 she follows ^{itū}a-a-i-tu, "Father of the month?"

⁵ The text has *lā-lā*; cf. *Sum. Gr.* §43 and p. 248 *tul.* 2.

⁶ The restoration is uncertain. Cf. *Sum. Gr.* §211 for emphatic *en-na*.

⁷ Sic! Here a male divinity?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>45. ^dnin-KA-ù-tud ^dnin-a-zu ġa-ba-an-tuk-tuk</p> <p>46. ^dnin-ka-si nig-šag-si ġe-a</p> <p>47. ^dna-zi ù-mu-un-dar-a ġa-ba-an-tuk-tuk</p> <p>48. ^dda-zi-mā-a zi-im ġa-ba-an-tuk-tuk</p> <p>49. ^dnin-[til] nin-iti-e ġe-a</p> <p>50. [^den-šag-mē] en Dilmun-na ġe-a</p> <p>51. zag-sal¹</p> | <p>45. May Nin-KA-u-tud Ninazu possess.²</p> <p>46. May Ninkasi be she that fills the heart.</p> <p>47. May Nazi the lord of possess.³</p> <p>48. May Dazimā possess.</p> <p>49. May Nintil be the mistress of the month.</p> <p>50. May Enšagme be lord of Dilmun.</p> <p>51. Praise!</p> |
|---|--|

NOTE ON OBERSE III, 11

The two watchmen correspond to the boatman of Utanapištim in the Gilgamesh Epic story. In that legend we have considerable warrant for supposing that on the ship Utanapištim 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-Nimin⁴ 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-Ninnū, where Ninnū 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

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-Sbanabi*, 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-ṣu-ur-^uKurgal*, 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-^uKurgal* represents originally another person then this story also mentioned two boatmen. In favor of regarding *Puṣur-^uKurgal* as identical with Ur-Enlil is first of all the fact that *^uKūr-gal* in this poem, which was composed in the period of the first Babylonian dynasty, obviously refers to Enlil; see for this meaning of *kūr-gal*, SBP. 220, 1; 280, 13; IV Raw. 23 A 29. The reading *Puṣur-^uAmurrū*¹ is certainly false, for *kūr-gal* became a title of the western Adad or *^uAmurrū*, only in the late period; see CLAY, BE. X 7 ff, and TALLQUIST, *Namenbuch* 233. Even here *kūr-gal* probably refers to Enlil in most cases. *Puṣur-^uKurgal*, or *Puṣur-^uEnlil*, 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 *NITAḤ* have the meaning *ardu*, "male," and *NITAḤ* has the value *gir* as is proven by *^uNITAḤ-ra=gi-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 *NITAḤ* and *UR* is, "virile, strong, manly," hence *UR* may well have the value *gir*. Supposing this to be true this sign would readily

¹ So UNGNAD, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder* 52, and he is erroneously followed by ROGERS, *Cuneiform Parallels* 94.

be used for writing the word *gīra*(=*puṣru*) also. *Pu-ṣu-ur-^uKurgal*, may be a Semitic translation of *Ur-^uKurgal*, or *Ur-^uEnlil*. 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. ....ga-..... | 1. |
| 2. <i>zi-ud-sud-du</i> ¹ <i>enim</i> <i>ga-[ra-ab</i>
<i>dúg-dúg]</i> | 2. Oh Zi-udsuddu a command
" [I will speak to thee] ³ |
| 3. <i>na-ri-ga-mu</i> ² <i>šu-zi-dé</i> [<i>ga-mu-</i>
<i>nariga]</i> | 3. My purification faithfully [<i>will</i>
<i>I accomplish</i>]." |
| 4. <i>dúg-dúg-ga mu-na-ab-te(g)</i> | 4. Words to him she spoke..... |
| | |

REVERSE

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>TUD na-an-gaz zag (?) é?</i>
..... | 1. In.....not shall be sacri-
ficed; <i>beside</i> the..... |
| 2. <i>na-an-gaz-gaz zag ingar e-</i>
<i>[gaz-gaz?]</i> | 2. In.....not shall be sacrificed;
beside the brick wall shalt
thou [<i>sacrifice</i>] |
| 3. <i>é-gal na-an-gaz-gaz zag</i>
<i>šú(?) úr(?)</i> | 3. In...of the palace not shall be
sacrificed; beside the.....
[<i>shalt thou sacrifice</i>] |
| 4. <i>sag-kùr-ra</i> ⁴ <i>kùr-bi-éš-ša e</i> | 4. The slave from a strange land,
to his land thou shalt [cause
to return] |
| 5. <i>galu ki-nu-žu-a-ni ša-ù-um</i> ... | 5. Him that knows no place (home)
shalt thou cause to [.....] |
| 6. <i>dumu-mu ki</i> ⁴ <i>babbar è-a</i> | 6. My son where the sun goes up, |
| 7. <i>a šu-mu-ra-an-de-e igi-žu-šú ge</i>
..... | 7. Shall he be thy water libator,
before thee....shall he..... |
| 8. <i>é-nu-tuk é-a-ni tûl-la-ba</i> | 8. Of him that has no house, his
house enlarge. |
| 9. <i>uru-nu-tuk uru-ni tûl-la-ba</i> | 9. Of him that has no city, his
city enlarge. |
| 10. <i>la-ba-da-dug-li e-la-li?</i> | 10. Him that is not happy, with
joy [<i>enthuse</i>]. |
| 11. [<i>dumu-</i>] <i>mu ki</i> ⁴ <i>babbar-è-[a]</i> | 11. My [son] where the sun goes up, |
| 12. <i>na-an-ni</i> | 12. |
| | |

¹ In view of this reading and of *zi-sud-da = ut-na-piš-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. 4561 Obv. III 41.

³ Restored from Ni. 10673 Rev. IV 4, and 4561 Obv. III 42.

⁴ Cf *NITAH* × *KÛR* = *ardu*.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

PLATE

- I, II.....Light brown tablet. Baked. Built up from three fragments. Nearly complete. Three columns on obverse, and three on reverse. Measurements in centimeters, $19.7 \times 13.6 \times 3$. Sumerian epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man. C.B.S. 4561. Period of the Isin Dynasty.
- 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, $14 \times 13 \times 2.5$. 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 Canaanitish 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, $7 \times 5.1 \times 2.5$. C.B.S. 4611. See page 90.

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13, 41 = 25, 96. Same name as earlier ^d*Ma-ma*, root \sqrt{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; Gimil-ma-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 Chaldéens*, 353 l 3, but Ur-^dMa-mi, 398 l 4; Bur-^dMa-mi, DeClercq Catalogue, 209. In Hammurapi period, Utul-^dMa-mi, and Ma-mi-šarrat, 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 *Ma-ma*, 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 Ninmah, see VAB. IV, Index. For this temple to A-mà in Babylon see RTC. 118 Rev. 5. In n. pr. ^dA-mà-išdagal, Stèle Maništusu, C. XIII 24; XIX 28. The priest of A-mà, *ibid.* A. XV

19. Maništusu is šakkanak of ^dA-mà, 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 Ašnunak, 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 ^{ilal}A-mà. In Neo-Babylonian period the title survives. ^{ilal}Anim ^{ilal}Enlil u ^{ilal}A-mà arrassu marrutu li-i-ru-ur, "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 bîti*) in n. pra. of the late period, TALLQUIST, *Neu-babylonisches Namenbuch*, 226. Not to be confused with DUMU-É = *mar bîti*. A marble slab from Agade, OBI pl. VII Col. V 4 has ^dA-mà (HINKE, *Boundary Stones*, 220). On the other hand, ^dA-É = *mar bîti* = Nebo, is certain in *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, I 2761+3, ^{ilal}Nanā u ^{ilal}A-É (Kudurru of Nabušum iškun). Cf. *ibid.* I 17 ^{ilal}A-É *kardu mugdašru* and Nanā is *birat* ^{ilal}Nabu in l. 5, hence A-É = *mar bîti* = 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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Ninkasi (*ilat*), 52; 84, 33, 46.

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

Ninḫarsag (*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 Šulsigè, ZIMMERN, KL. 78, Obv. 15, Rev. 14; SBP. 150, note 5, line 10. Šulsigè 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 ^d*nin-tu-ud*, CT. 24, 12, 13 = ^d*nin-tud* 24, 25, 82. Note also her title *ummu bānîtu*, "begetting mother," where *tud* is rendered by *bānîtu*, Code XLIV 40, and as ^dMaḡ she is *ummu bānîti-ia*, VAB. IV 128, 16; as ^dNinmaḡ she is also *ummu bānîti-ia*, KING, *Letters and Inscriptions*, 201, 45. In ^d*nin-tud-ra*, POEBEL, *Creation Epic*, l 3, *ra* is either an emphatic particle or the postposition *ra*. The forms ^d*nin-tud-tud-ri*, CT.

24, 25, 81 and ^d*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 bānîtu dunani*, "Queen, creatress of forms." As a married type she is associated with ^dŠulsigè, CT.

24, 25, 97, and BL. 91, 13.

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

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

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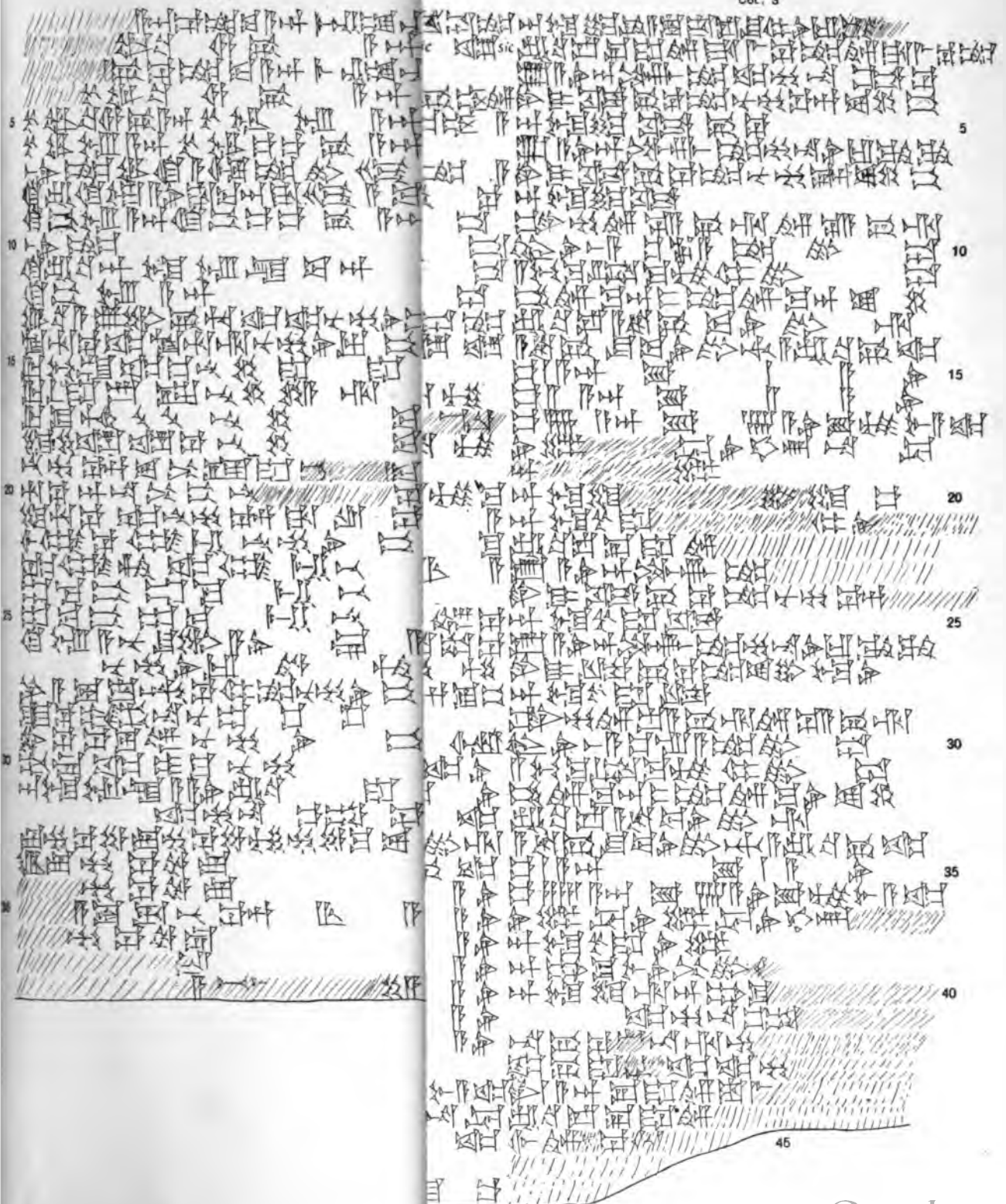
ABBREVIATIONS

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.
Bab.	Babyloniaca, ed. CHAS. VIROLLEAUD.
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.
PSBA.	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Literature.
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

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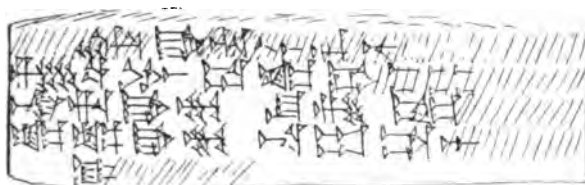
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OBVERSE

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
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PUBLICATIONS OF THE BABYLONIAN SECTION

VOL. X

No. 2

SUMERIAN LITURGICAL TEXTS

BY

STEPHEN LANGDON

PHILADELPHIA
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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 *zag-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 [^dNidab]a *zag-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 Flood¹ 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

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 *zag-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 *zag-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* ^d*En-ki zag-sal*, "Oh sing in praise of father Enki."¹ The word *zag* designates some kind of an instrument perhaps and *sal* is a verb meaning to sing in joyful strain.² In any case *zag-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* ^d*En-lil zag-sal*,³ "Oh sing in praise of Enlil." Two hymns in heroic measure sung to the mother goddess Innini end with the rubric, *zag-sal-zu dug-ga-ám*, "It is good to sing thy praise."⁴ And a long epical composition to Nidaba ends with the line, *zag-sal-mu dug-ga-ám*, "It is good to sing my praise."⁵ In similar manner a double column tablet ends *ama* ^d*Ninā zag-sal-zu dug-ga-ám*, "Oh mother Ninā it is good to sing thy praise."⁶ Although the rubric ^d*Nidaba zagsal* 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

¹ LANGDON, *Historical and Religious Texts*, p. 45. The same rubric at the end of Ni. 14059, also a hymn to Enki.

² See *sil(3)* in *Sumerian Grammar* 240.

³ Ni. 9205 (unpublished).

⁴ Ni. 14065 and 13859 (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, *Kullieder*, 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. 13889, a large tablet devoted to the names of the gods, ends ^d*Nidaba zaḡsal*. 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-ita* ^d*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 I, 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 Damiḫ-ili-šu and we have liturgies to the first,¹ third,² fourth,³ fifth,⁴ sixth⁵ and eleventh.⁶ 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 Gilgamesh. Although a few tablets have been found which indicate the existence of

¹ Ishbi-Girra; see *Sum. Gr.*, p. 16.

² Idin-Dagan; see *ibid.*

³ Ishme-Dagan. Two liturgies in this volume and one in ZIMMERN, KL. 200.

⁴ Libit-Ishtar. Liturgy to, in ZIMMERN, KL. 199.

⁵ Libit-Ishtar. 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 N'ppur. 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 (l 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.

OBVERSE II

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1.?-sîg-sîg-ga-bi ũ-ga-ám-
dúg ¹ | 1. its brilliant.....let
him behold. |
| 2. má-gan-(ki) dilmun-(ki)-
bi | 2. Magan and.....Dilmun |
| 3. ....en igi-ge-im-da-a-duġ | 3. ....may be looked upon. |
| 4. Dilmun(ki)na giš-ge-en-dū ² | 4. May Dilmun..... |
| 5. [Má]-gan-(ki)-na an-zaġ ge-en-
lal | 5. May Magan the limits of heaven
reach. |
| 6. ....gi-lum me-luġ-ġa-(ki)-a- ge | 6. The.....of Meluhha |
| 7. ....UD bal-šú ġe-mê-e ³ | 7. |
| 8.kur-kur-ra-ra nippur-(ki)-šú
ġe-na-ab-tum | 8. [The tribute?] of the foreign
lands unto Nippur may he
bring. |
| 9. ....é-nu-tuk- ra | 9. Unto.....who has no house |
| 10. | 10. |
| 11. [é-gal kalam-ma-]na è- a- ra | 11. For him [who from the palace of
his land] had gone forth, |
| 12.ne sal žid mu-un-ne-dé ⁴ | 12.he established faith-
fully for them. |
| 13.me-el-lu ũ- a | 13. The.....who exalts the pure
decrees. |

¹ The compound verb ũ-dúġ = ġālu, barû, behold, forms its imperative second singular in the unusual manner ũ-ga-e-dúġ = ġil, SBP. 138,27, for which we have the variant ũ-gā-e-dé, in IV R. 28* No. 4b5. 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 ũ-dé-dúġ for ũ-ga-e-dúġ, SBP. 292, 1 ff., and for *g>d* see §50. Note the verb ũ-dug-gi, a participle conjugated with the verb *me* to be, ũ-dug-gi-im-mi, "I am beholding," RADAU, *Miscel.* 2, 16 = *Sum. Gr.* 197.

² *giš-dū* occurs regularly for the act of slaying animals for sacrifice: In the temple *giš-bé-dū* "he sacrificed," RA 9, 112 II 22; *gukkal giš-dū*, unweaned kid for sacrifice, LANGDON, *Drehem* 21; LEGRAIN 79, 10; *māš-giš-dū*, kid for sacrifice; *gud giš-dū*, ox for sacrifice, passim in *Drehem* texts.

³ Cf. *bal-šú me-a*, CT. 15, 10 Rev. 9.

⁴ Possibly a *lapsus calami* for *KA*, *dúġ*.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 14. gīr- gub- ba | 14. ....treads. |
| 15. ....zag- du- a | 15. ....is glorified. |
| 16. ....kal-la-āš me-maḡ šu-ti-a | 16. ....possesses the far famed decrees. |
| 17. ....en an-ki..... | 17. ....lord of heaven and earth |
| 18. ....è- a- ra | 18. The...who went forth |
| 19. ....ne | 19. The..... |
| 20. ....erida-ra- ne | 20. The...of Eridu... |
| 21. ....ki-en-gi-ra-ge- ne | 21. The [inhabitants] of Sumer |
| 22. ....mu-na-ab-bi- ne | 22. ....said to him. |
| 23. ....im-mi-ib-du?-ne | 23. |

COL. III

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. ....-má..... | 1. ¹ |
| 2. en-ra ^{si} má-šú..... | 2. For the high-priest upon a ship |
| 3. ^d ligir-sîg ² PA..... | 3. <i>Ligirsig</i> |
| 4. en-ra mudur azag šu..... | 4. To the high-priest a splendid scepter..... |
| 5. la-ḡa-ma ³ engur-ra še-bi..... | 5. Lahama in the abyss a flood |
| 6. ka-ra-e-ne ḡen-gam mušen an-na | 6. Their wail woefully(?) like the birds of heaven..... |
| 7. lugal ù-na-gub ⁴ a-a ^d en-ki kalam-ma-[.....] | 7. The king, who stands aloft, father Enki, the Land [.....] |
| 8. é-gal kalam-ma-na è-a-[ra].. | 8. For him who from the palace of his Land had gone forth, |

¹ The scribe has obviously written his text erroneously.

² A reading *mir-si*(g) is possible, in which case *dingir mirsi* may perhaps mean "god of the flood;" for *girsū*, flood, see *Liturgies*, p. 96.

³ *la-ḡa-ma* = *Laḡamu*, of the Creation Epic. Identical with *Laḡama*, CT. 24, 1, 15; 20, 9, female principle of *Laḡmu*; here *Laḡmu* and *Laḡama* 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 *Laḡmu* is described as a sea-serpent and identified with Ea; cf. Rm. 279, 1-12. The paragraph 25-40 probably describes *Laḡamu* or *Damkina*; she has the body of a fish and scales like a [serpent?]. *Laḡmu* and *Laḡamu* 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 *Laḡamu* belongs to the dragons of chaos, I 121; II 27; III 31, 89. In our passage *Laḡama* clearly represents the ocean.

⁴ Cf. *Liturgies* 115, 1.

OBVERSE III

- | | |
|---|---|
| 9. <i>ge-gál an-ki-a pa-è mu-na-ab-ag</i> | 9. Surpassing abundance in heaven and earth he made. |
| 10. <i>^den-ki-ge nam-im-mi-ib-tar-ri</i> | 10. Enki issued a decree. |
| 11. <i>ki-en-gi kur-gal ma-da an-ki</i> | 11. "Sumer, ¹ the great mountain, land of Heaven and Earth, |
| 12. <i>še-ir-zi-gùr-ru babbar-è-ta babbar-šù-uš kalam-e me sum-mu</i> | 12. Bearing a sheen of splendor, from sunrise to sunset teaching the Land decrees, |
| 13. <i>me-zu me-mağ šu-nu-tu-tu</i> | 13. Far famed are thy decrees and unchangeable, |
| 14. <i>šag-zu galam gen² galu nu-pad-dé</i> | 14. Thy heart is profound; man has not discovered it. |
| 15. <i>umun-zið ki-an ù-tud-za an-gim šu-nu-te-gà</i> | 15. As a true form (designed by) earth and heaven thou wast created, like heaven intangible. |
| 16. <i>lugal ù-tud mūš-zið keš-di</i> | 16. Offspring of a king, clad upon by a true form. |
| 17. <i>en ù-tud sag men mà-mà</i> | 17. Offspring of an high-priest whose head is crowned. |
| 18. <i>en-zu en idim³ dingir lugal da bara-an-na-ka i-im-durun</i> | 18. Thy high-priest is the lord of the deep, the divine king who within the sanctuary of heaven dwells. |
| 19. <i>lugal-zu kur-gal a-a ^den-lil</i> | 19. Thy king is the great mountain father Enlil. |
| 20. <i>giš-siğ⁴-gim dug-dug-gi ša-mu-ra-an-gib(ib) a-a kur-kur-ra-ge</i> | 20. Like a wall he turns back for thee the <i>wicked ones</i> (?), father of all lands. |
| 21. <i>^da-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne</i> | 21. The Anunnakki, the great gods, |
| 22. <i>šag-za ki-ur-ra šu-ba-ni-in-ti-eš</i> | 22. Within thee Kenurra ⁵ inhabited. |
| 23. <i>gi-gun-na gal-gal-za ú-mi-ni-ib-sú-sú-ne</i> | 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.

² Cf. Rev. I 8.

³ *idim*, abyss, well, the deep, is employed in the title of Ea *dingir idim*, "god of the deep."

⁴ *giš-siğ* = *giš-siğ* = *i-zi* > *i-zi* = *igaru*; cf. ZA. 24. 387; K. 4558 II 14; II R. 152 22, etc.

⁵ Chapel of Ninlil in Ekur temple of Enlil.

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| <p>24. <i>é ki-en-gin tūr-ṣu ḡe-dū-dū áb-ṣu ḡe-lu-lu</i></p> <p>25. <i>amaš-ṣu ḡe-gar-gar udu-ṣu-ḡe-šár-šár</i></p> | <p>24. The house(s) of Sumer, thy stable(s) let be built, and may thy cattle be many.</p> <p>25. May thy sheepfold(s) be built and thy sheep be fat.</p> |
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45

NEARLY COMPLETE LAMENTATION TO ARURU

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. <i>mèn ?-e HAR-a^d</i></p> <p>2. <i>SAL+KU¹-gal^d mu-ul-lil-là</i></p> <p>3. <i>é-maḡ é-a-na-ka</i></p> <p>4. <i>^da-ru-ru [ūr-]šag³ é-maḡ é-a-na-ka</i></p> <p>5. <i>gu é-bi-šú é-maḡ-a-ni-šú</i></p> <p>6. [<i>ù</i>]-<i>ma-du-du-bi ù-ma-ni maḡ me-en</i></p> <p>7. <i>ù-ma mu-lu-mu bar-ta KU-a-mèn</i></p> <p>8. <i>ù-ma mu-lu é-a-mu bar-ta KU-a-mèn</i></p> <p>9. <i>en-e⁴ ka-na-ág-gà-ka bar-ta KU-a-mèn</i></p> <p>10. <i>é-ki-nam-ma-ka bar-ta KU-a-mèn</i></p> <p>11. <i>é-gal keš-(ki)-a-ka bar-ta KU-a-mèn</i></p> <p>12. <i>nin-mèn ud-nu-ṣu iti^d nannar⁵ nu-ṣu men</i></p> | <p>1. thou art;</p> <p>2. great sister of Enlil.</p> <p>3. of Emah² her temple.</p> <p>4. Aruru <i>procreative womb</i> of Emah, her temple.</p> <p>5. in that temple, in her Emah</p> <p>6. Which attains unto her glory, her glory was far-famed,</p> <p>7. The glory of my lord abides far away.</p> <p>8. The glory of the lord of my temple abides far away.</p> <p>9. The lord of the Land abides far away.</p> <p>10. From the "Temple of Fate" she(?) abides afar.</p> <p>11. From the Hekal of Kesh she(?) abides afar.</p> <p>12. A queen thou art. The day thou knowest not, the new moon thou knowest not.</p> |
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¹ This text does not distinguish between the sign *NIN*=*belu* and *SAL+KU*=*aḡatu*. 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 Ninlil.

³ Conjectured restoration from the name of Aruru's temple in Keš. Cf. *Nintud ūr-ra*, BL. 72, 13.

⁴ *en-e* probably refers to Enlil here; cf. Enlil *e-ne ág-ṣi-da-ge*, "lord of justice," ZIM. KL. 9, 4.

⁵ Cf. ZIMMERN, KL. 65, 14 ff.

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| 13. <i>SAL+KU</i> ^d <i>mu-ul-lil-lá mèn ba-ni-in-kuš-ù ba-nad</i> | 13. The sister of Enlil she is; she languishes, she sleeps. |
| 14. <i>nin-mèn éš-lál¹ é ág-nam-ma-an-šù</i> | 14. A queen she is. The house <i>LAL</i> of the temple she inhabits not. |
| 15. ^d <i>a-ru-ru é-a-na gù-bi-na-ma-an-gí</i> | 15. Aruru her temple has renounced. |
| 16. <i>dam-a-ni-gim ná-a ba-ni-in-dúr-ru-ne-eš-ám</i> | 16. Like her whose husband slumbers they sit. |
| 17. <i>tu-mu-ni-gim ná-a ba-ni-in-dúr-ru-ne-eš-ám</i> | 17. Like her whose child sleeps they sit. ² |
| 18. ^d <i>a-ru-ru an mu-na-du nu-mu-ni-in-tùg³-e</i> | 18. To Aruru Anu went, but pacified her not. |
| 19. ^d <i>en-lil mu-na-du nu-mu-ni-in-tùg-e</i> | 19. Enlil went but pacified her not. |
| 20. ^d <i>nin-lil mu-na-du nu-mu-ni-in-tùg-e</i> | 20. Ninlil went but pacified her not. |
| 21. ^d <i>en-ki mu-na-du nu-mu-ni-in-tùg-e</i> | 21. Enki went but pacified her not. |
| 22. ^d <i>nin-mağ mu-na-du nu-mu-ni-in-tùg-e</i> | 22. Ninmah ⁴ went but pacified her not. |
| 23. ^d <i>nannar mu-na-du nu-mu-ni-in-tùg-e</i> | 23. Nannar went but pacified her not. |
| 24. ^d <i>babbar mu-na-du nu-mu-ni-in-tùg-e</i> | 24. Babbar went but pacified her not. |
| 25. <i>e-ne-ra⁵ d</i> ^d <i>a-nu-na mu-un-na-làg-làg-gi-eš</i> | 25. Unto her the Anunnaki hastened. |
| 26. <i>an-a an a-ri-a mu-un-na-làg-làg-gi-eš</i> | 26. They whom Anu in heaven begat ⁶ hastened. |
| 27. <i>ki-a an a-ri-a mu-un-na-làg-làg-gi-eš</i> | 27. They whom Anu in earth begat ⁷ hastened. |

¹ Cf. *éš-lál kur-ri-gál mu-na-ab-šub*, "The *éš-lál* which is in a strange land he occupies," Cstpl. 2378, 16 in *Historical and Religious Texts* No. 35. Cf. also *lál-e ki-aṣag-ga nam-mi-in-durun*, "The *lál*, 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 *LĀL* 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 šāšū*, BL. 122, 28.

⁶ The *Igi*.

⁷ The Anunnaki.

28. *um-ma sir-sag-e¹ sir-mu-na-ra²* 28. The artist the first melody chants.
29. [...] *šā-ab—gi-gi-mu sir-mu-na-ab-bi* 29. My.....he sings.
30. ...*ma mu-lu gù-de gù-de-žu nam-mu* 30.the man of lamentation laments to thee.³
31.*mu-lu ad-di ad-di-žu⁴ nam-mu* 31.the man of wailing wails to thee.
32.*mu-lu er-ri⁵ er-gul-žu-nam-mu* 32.the man of weeping is thy sorrowful weeper.
33. *ušumgal⁶ mu-lu še-DU še-DU-žu nam-mu* 33. The great *ušum*, the man of threnody is thy threnodist.
34. ^d*a-ru-ru gù-žu mu-lu kúr-ra im-me⁷* 34. Oh, Aruru, thy songs a stranger utters.
35. ^d*a-ru-ru er-žu mu-lu kúr-ra im-me* 35. Oh, Aruru, thy liturgy a stranger utters.
36. *NU-NUNUZ-e še-DU-žu mu-lu kúr-ra im-me* 36. Oh, woman, thy threnody a stranger utters.⁸
37. ^d*a-ru-ru an-zi-ga nigin-e-bi-en* 37. Oh, Aruru, the seized away, return.
38. ^d*a-ru-ru é-tùr amaš-a-ge nigin-e-bi-en* 38. Oh, Aruru, to the stalls and the sheepfolds return.
39. *šu-mu é-dub-a-ge⁹ NE-im-du¹⁰* 39. The inmate of the house of letters implores.
40. *ma-e-gin¹¹ ab-al(?)—gim gù-gig nu-gà-gà* 40. As for me like a...cow words of misery I restrain not.
41. [*ma-e?*]-*gim gil-li-em-mà ab.... er-nu-ni-ib-gul-e¹²* 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 I. 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* = *iḫabbi*, 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 é-dub-ba* = *dup-šar*.

¹⁰ This verb probably means "to pray, implore." Cf. *šag-NE-du* = *unninu* and *Historical and Religious Texts* 55, 1, *seš-a-ni ur-sag* ^d*gibilgamiš*.....*NE-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-tùg-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.¹ This title has not yet been

¹ Cf. also BL. 139.

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.

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|--|---|
| 1. <i>dingir gu-ul-gu-ul edin-na edin-na ba-zi-ga</i> | 1. The great god, on the hills, on the hills advances. |
| 2. <i>dingir edin-na dingir gu-ul-gu-ul edin-na edin-na ba-zi-ga</i> | 2. The god of the hills, the great god on the hills, on the hills advances. |
| 3. ^d Amurru ù-[mu]-un nun-ùr ¹ sá-mal-ge | 3. Amurru, lord <i>nunur</i> , councilor. |
| 4. <i>e-gi zi-di a-ba ga-ša-an gu-la²</i> | 4. Faithful prince, father of the great queen. |
| 5. <i>ùr-sag dingir-zi-da mèn</i>
^d Amurru | 5. Heroic, faithful god thou art, Amurru. |
| 6. ^d Amurru dingir-zi-da mèn
^d Amurru | 6. Amurru, a faithful god thou art, yea Amurru. |
| 7. <i>a²-ùr-sá-sá-mu</i> ^d Amurru | 7. He that directs my limbs, Amurru. |
| 8. <i>di-li-ri-mà-mu</i> ^d Amurru | 8. He that gave life unto my form, Amurru |
| 9. <i>bar-bi mu-lu-ga-bi</i> | 9. |

REVERSE

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>a-ra-[zu</i>] | 1. Supplication |
| 2. <i>lù</i> | 2. The man who [. thou dost] |
| 3. <i>lù e-ri di[m-me-ir-bi la-a-zu-ta mu-un-kur-e]</i> | 3. If a man has [.] |

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

² This title designates Ninā 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 *d*; the title would probably be rendered *mušlêšir mešrêti-ja*.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>4. <i>lù e-mi-da</i>¹ [.....] <i>bi la-a</i>
[<i>zu-ta ag-a-ni</i>]</p> <p>5. <i>ib-si</i>² <i>su-mu-ra-žu</i>³ <i>mi-ni-su-ud</i>
<i>šag-žu gi-im-ši</i>-[.....]</p> <p>6. <i>ur-gu-ud ki-in</i>⁵ <i>gu-ru</i>⁶-<i>ki-in</i> <i>šu-
zu-a šu-mu šu-al</i></p> <p>7. <i>nam-da-ad</i>⁸ <i>gu-ud šu-bar-zi</i>⁹ <i>sag-
di-ib</i>¹⁰-<i>za gi</i></p> <p>8. <i>uku-e pad gi-ni-ib-bi</i>
<i>ka-na-mi tu-su</i></p> <p>9. <i>šag-žu šag-a-ma du-da-ki ki-bi</i>
<i>ga-ma-gi-gi</i></p> <p>10. <i>ama du-di a-ia du-da-a-ki ki-bi</i>
<i>ga-ma-gi-gi</i></p> | <p>4. If a man [has.....]</p> <p>5. It is enough! Thy <i>mercy</i> is un-
searchable. May thy heart
.....</p> <p>6. Like a mighty hero, like a strong
man in thy hand <i>take</i>⁷ my
hand.</p> <p>7. The sin overlook; faithfully
remove, and thine anger turn
away.</p> <p>8. "Give heed to the people,"
let be said (to thee); and the
Land.....</p> <p>9. May thy heart like the heart
of a childbearing mother re-
turn to its place.</p> <p>10. Like a childbearing mother,
like a begetting father return
to its place.</p> |
|--|---|

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

¹ Probable variant of *aggig*, IV R. 10a 34.

² Literally *uggatu malât*, "the wrath is full," *mašî*, "it is enough;" a phrase characteristic
of penitential psalms; see ASKT. 122, 14, *gašan-mu e-ri-žu-šû ib-si ba-ab-dûg*, "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 *gim* > *gin* > *kin = kima*, cf. CT. 15, 11, 6, *še-gim*, Var. *še-gi-in*, VAT. 617 in ZA. 25, 201.
Also *ki = kin = kima*, below, lines 9 f.

⁶ *guru = guruš = idlu*.

⁷ *šu-al = šu-ila = katâ našû*(?). See al 1), *Sum. Gr.* 202.

⁸ For *nam-tag*. Cf. *ašaga > ašada*, field, *Man. Tammuz* V 9.

⁹ Cf. IV R. 17a 38.

¹⁰ Var. of *šag-dib = kiš 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 é-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. ^d *muš-da-ge kidur kenag-
gà-ni gīr-kūr ba-ra-an-dūr*

3. *nitalam-a-ni dingir nam-*

4. *šág-ga-a er- in- bil- bil- e*

5. *a gišgal-gul-la é-gul-la-mu gig-
ga-bi ni-im-me*

6. *íd-bi šag-sug-ga ni-gál¹ a-nu-un-
de*

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.

¹ See *Bab. Liturgies*, p. 75 n. 10.

7. *id* ^d*en-ki-ge nam-kud-du-gim*
sag¹-bi-a ba-tíl
8. *a-šag-ga še-gu nu-gál kalam-e*
nu-nag-e
9. *dūl* ^{siš}*šar-bi ġir-gim ba-mur-*
mur² dúb-bi sīg-gan ba-ab-dū³
10. *māš-anšu nig-ūr-tab-lab-.....*
.....nu-mu-un-BU-e
11. *nig-ūr-tab-tab an-ġir-ge ni nu-*
mu-ni-ib-še-en-še-en
12. *d⁴lugal-(?)da-ge uru-ni-ta bar-ta*
ba-da-túm⁴
13. *d⁴nin-žu-an-[na?] ki-dúr kenag-gà-*
ni ġir-kúr ba-ra-an-dúr
14. *a ġišgal-gul-la é-gul-la-na ġig-ga-*
bi im-me
15. *š-si-in-(ki) nigin kar-ri nu-me-a*
a-e KU-e-DAR
16. *d⁴[nin š-]si-in-na sag-kalam-ma-ge*
er-ġig ni-dug-ga
17. *[a ġišgal-gul-la é-gúl-la-na ġig-*
ga-bi im-me
18. *[nigin nippur](ki)-a⁵ dur-an-ki-*
ka miṭṭa ba-an-sīg
19. *[igi d⁴en-lil-li] uru-ni nippur-*
(ki-)a ela ba-ab-gar
7. The "Canal of Enki," like a malediction by a curse, is brought to nought.
8. In the fields rain is not; the land is watered not.
9. The garden cellars are become heated like an oven and its stores are scattered.
10. The domestic animals as many as are four-footed of the.... not.
11. The four-footed animals of the plains repose not.
12. The god, Lugal-?-da-ge, from his city has been taken away.
13. As for Ninzu-anna, her beloved abode the foot of stranger entered.
14. How long of her destroyed habitations and her destroyed temple shall the misery be?
15. In Isin mercy and salvation are not:?
16. The Lady of Isin, princess of the Land, weeps bitterly.
17. How long of her destroyed habitations and her destroyed temple shall the misery be?
18. [*All of Nippur*], the binder of heaven and earth, by the death dealing weapon is smitten.
19. [Before Enlil,] in his city Nippur a deluge was sent.

¹ *sag-bi* = *mamit*, is the original of the regular form *sag-ba*, from $\sqrt{\text{siš}}$ 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 *dūg*.

⁴ Or *gub*. Literally, "has been placed outside."

⁵ Restored from ZIMMERN, K-L., 199 II 51. The variant has a somewhat different text, *d⁴en-lil-li dur MI(?).....*

20. [ama ^dnin-lil nin ki-úr-ra-[ge]
er-gig ni-šéš-šéš¹
21. [a] gišgal-gul-la é-gul-la-na gig-
ga-bi-im²
22. [Keš-](ki) an-edin-na-áš dū-a šu-
lil-lá- ba- ab- dúg
23. Adab-bu-(ki) é id-bil-lá a-ri a-e
ba-da-ab-dim
24. kúr Gu-ti-um-ge ki-nad ba-ni-ib-
gar ki-bal šu-ba-ab-dúg
25. Gu-ti-[um-ki]-šag-ba ni-bal-bal
numun(!) ba-ni-ib-i-i
26. ^dnin-tud-ri nig-dim-dim-ma-ni³
er-gig-ni-šéš-šéš
27. a⁴ gišgal-gul-la é-gul-la-na⁵ gig-
ga-bi-im-me
28. a-gi edin-na-aṣag-ga šu-
lil-lá-ba-ab-dúg
29. unu. . . . ^dinnini ba-da-an-ṣar
ki-erim-e⁶ ba- ab- dúg
30. é-an-[na] éš gè-pàr aṣag-ga erim-e
igi i-ni-in-bar
31. [gè-pàr]aṣag nam-en-na-ba šu-
ba-e-⁷lal-lá
32. gè-pàr-ta ba-da-an-ṣar
33. erim-e ba- ab- túm
34. [a gišgal]-gul-la é-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-šéš-šéš*.

² This line is omitted on the variant.

³ Var. adds *šú*, which is necessary to the sense.

⁴ Var. omits.

⁵ Var. *mu*.

⁶ On abstracts formed with prefixed *ki*, see *Sum. Gr.* §152.

⁷ *e* 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. 7 l. 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 ZIMMERN in his *Kultlieder* 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 *šeš-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. *aṣag ḏinnini* occurs in *Historical and Religious Texts* No. 55, 14; KL. 196 II 21; 24. The temple of Innini in Erech, *é-an-na* occurs in KL. 196 I 7; Ni. 4564, Obv. 16. Note also *lugal-a-ni-ir ṣag-sal mu-na-bi*, "To his king praise he uttered," Ni. 4564 Rev. 16, and *lugal-a-ni-ir ḏGibilgamiš gù-mu-un-du* "(Enkidu) to his king Gilgamish spoke," KL. 196 Rev. II 17.

¹ The Semitic epic of Gilgamish calls them "brothers," *aḫā kilallān* (*šeš* Pl.), see HAUF, *Nimrodepos*, 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:

unug-(ki) giš-kin-ti¹ dingir-ri-e-ne-ge
é-an-na é-an-ta è-ne
dingir-gal-gal-e-ne me-bi ba-an-ag-eš-ám
bád-gal bád-an-ni ki-us-sa

"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."²

And Reverse 9-13:

unug-(ki)-ga dim-ma-bi ba-sūg
⁴gi-bil-ga-miš en Hallab-ge³
ur-sag-bi-ne-ir gù-mu-na-de-e
ur-sag-mu-ne igi-mu-un-suĝ-suĝ-ù-ne

"In Erech his work was confounded.
 Gilgamish 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 Gilgamish 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 Gilgamish Epic.

¹ Applied to a temple(?) in SBH. 94, 35, *mu-uš-kin-ti ka-nag-gà*, "the skilled work(?) of the land."

² Cf. Gilgamish Epic. VI 174.

³ Same title Obv. 25.

4560

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

¹ THUREAU-DANGIN, SAK. 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.

OBVERSE II

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>ní-te Ur-^dEngur é-ka-ra . . .</i> | 1. awe Ur-Engur |
| - <i>šu</i> | |
| 2. <i>é-gal-a-na</i> <i>ni-nad</i> | 2. in his palace he lies. |

¹ A tablet in the Bodleian Library dated in the first year of ^dIbi-Sin mentions offerings to the cults of his divine predecessors, ^dDungi, ^dBur-Sin, ^dGimil-Sin. It is curious indeed that the founder of this dynasty and father of the second king Dungi did not receive divine honors. Evidently this practice and religious theory had not been adopted in the reign of the first king. Dungi himself does not appear to have received this title until he had reigned many years. The fact that his successors did not elevate Ur-Engur to this rank and build a temple to his cult tends to prove that the divinity of kings depended upon a sacrament of some kind administered to the living king. Religious ideas which controlled this cult of emperor worship prevented the elevation of a dead king to the rank of a god. After Dungi the kings of Ur receive this title immediately upon accession to the throne.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 3. ... <i>dīm</i> ¹ -e kenag-mà gú-nu-mu-un-
gi-gi(sic!) | 3. The lord, my beloved, turns not
back the breast. |
| 4. ...ra ni-nad giš-lal-bi im-gub | 4. In...he lies, the bridal cham-
ber ² he occupies. |
| 5.súr-ba RU-TE teg-sag ³
gim.... | 5.raging....like..... |
| 6.ra-gim im-ma-sud me-
gim-bi.... | 6.like....is long, whose
limbs..... |
| 7. ....na -zu mu-ni-in.... | 7. |
| 8. ....šar a-gim é-gal.... | 8. |
| 9. [n]ad? nitaḡlam a-ni....URU-
LU-da..... | 9. |
| 10.a-ni-da dam-a-ni-gim....
lá | 10. |
| 11.ga-ni DI-mu-dū GIBIL
KUŠ a-la-na-ba..... | 11. |
| 12.nig-dug-ga la-ba-an-tag-gi
šu-gib-ba..... | 12. |
| 13.a-ni ^d a-nun-na-ge-ne kuš-
im-ma-an-[] | 13. |
| 14.ba-e-gub ud-bi la-ba-ni-
ib-si | 14.thou standest; that day
was not..... |
| 15.a-dúg-ga-šú teg.....la-
ba-gál | 15. |
| 16.dū ki-ba-ág-gà-bi igi-gál-bi
ba-kúr | 16.which he loves, his un-
derstanding is changed |
| 17. la(?)lù nu-zu ⁴ -ù-ne i-im-bal-bal-
e-ne | 17. Their.....they altered. |
| 18. ...-sal-la Ur- ^d Engur ga-gaz-gim
a-ba-ni-in-ru-aš | 18.of Ur-Engur like one that
drinks milk they bestowed. |
| 19. ...a-ni im-bàr-gid-da-gim gal-bi
im-ši-gub | 19.his, like..., grandly he
mounted. |
| 20.nu-gà-gà-a nig- šag-gi šu-
nu-gid i-im-me | 20.ceases not; whose thoughts
are unattainable, thou art. |

¹ REC. 290; see for this form PSBA. 1913, 277. For *dīm* in the sense of "king," see SBP. 292, 14 *é-dīm-ma*, the royal house; probably in SBP. 14, 15, *dīm-ma-zu ki-nu-un-gam amaš-zu ta-dm-gid-gid*, "thy lord is not revered, thy sheepfolds are demolished," where *dīm* refers to Tammuz.

² See *Bab. III* 179.

³ Cf. *Historical and Religious Texts*, p. 17, 12.

⁴ The sign is perhaps *ba*.

21. *Ur-^dEngur me li-e-a¹ nam-mu*
 22. *...ki sak-ki kalam-ma-šu*
 23. [*dingir-*] *nin-sun enim-dug-li-na*
ba-da-du
 24. *ni-lāg-eš-a² er-mu-da-ab- uš- e*
 25.*ki nu-ṣu-na ^{is}mā-bi ba-da-*
ab-ṣu³
 26. *..?e-[?] ba- da- ab- tar*
 27. *gi-muš giš-ṣi ḡe-gāl-la-bi ḡu-edin*
ba- ab- du
 28. [*Gu-edin-*] *na dub-ba-da-ab-dūg*
bal-bi ba-tar
 29.*ši A-SU⁷ba-da-gar saḡar-šeš-*
a⁸ ba-túm
 30.*ud-da-ba ru Kiš(ki)*
mu-un-di-ni-ib-túm
 31.*kalam-ma-ge ba-da-bal ur*
kalam-ma ba-kúr
 32.*ra in-ti⁹-sug-ga-ám*
 33.*^{is}ginar ba-da-šuš ḡar-ra-*
an im-ma-da-sūḡ ṣu-nu-um-
ma-nigin¹¹
21. Ur-Engur! I will praise.
 22.
 23. Ninsun with comforting words
 walked with him.
 24. Those whom he plundered fol-
 lowed with him in tears.
 25.in a place which was
 unknown his ships were
 known.⁴
 26.was severed.
 27. Oars of cedar⁵ its wealth to
 Guedin⁶ brought
 28. In Guedin(?), it was heaped up,
 and its exchange value was
 fixed.
 29.was made, in lessive 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 overthrown, the
 expedition¹⁰ 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-ṣi-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 *túg*) ordinarily means *ṣabšu*, a kind of garment, CT. 5, 3 l 5; RTC. 221 Rev. 3. The sign *A* is written *min*="two."

⁸ According to II R. 32, 8, *idranu*, potash.

⁹ For *ta* passive. See *Sum. Gr.* §200 and *ḡa-ma-te-dūg*, "let it be proclaimed," ZIM. KL., 199 l 43.

¹⁰ Literally, "route."

¹¹ *Ṣu-nigin* occurs as a verb also in KL. 65, 10, *ṣu-mu-un-nigin-e*, "it gathers, captures."

34.^{as}ginar ba-da-šuš ġar-ra-an
im-ma-da-sūġ šu-nu-um-ma-
nigin
35. kur?ra imin-bi nig-ba ba-ab-sum-
mu
36. ba-diġ-ġi-eš- a
37.nin-dingir-diġ-ġa ġi-e¹
ba-dūb-ba
38.(?) mu-un-ġu-uš kur-ra ġa-
pa-āġ mu-un-ġar
39.mā-ab-kum-e² udu - im-ma-
ab-šar-ri
40.nig-gal-gal-la³ ba-ši-in-dūr-
ru-ne-eš
41.ūru-ām a-kur-ra ūru-na-
ām
42.an kur- ra- ge
43.šag-ġa-ni mu-un-ġu
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,⁴ an high priest he
is.
42. ...of the mountain.
43.his heart knows.

COL. III

1. lugal-e nidab-kur-ra-ġe ġiš-im-
ma-ab-tag-ġi
2. ur-^dengur nidab-kur-ra-ġe ġiš-im-
ma-ab-tag-ġi
3. ġud-dū māš-dū udu-šeg en-na-ab-
du-du-a
4. ġiš-kāk-diġ⁵ ġiš-šir-gal⁶ é-mar-ur*
ġiš-kak-šir ġir-ka-sil
1. The king freewill offerings of the
mountains brought as sacri-
fice.
2. Ur-Engur freewill offerings of
the mountains brought as
sacrifice.
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. 3.³ Cf. *galu nig-gal-gal-la* = *ša rapāti ša atrāti*, "he of greatness, excellence," Voc. Hittite, 7455.⁴ Cf. *ā-kur-ra*, SBP. 86, 28 n. 2.⁵ Cf. Nip. 4577, 18 and SBH. 39, 3. The Semitic rendering is *aplūḫtu*, "boomerang," or *miḫtu*, "sickle."⁶ Sic without determinative *dāġ*.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 5. <i>kuš-lu-úb-dár-a¹ ib-ba-gál-la-ba</i> | 5. A variegated leather pouch which..... |
| 6. <i>^dné-unu-gal ^den-lil kur-ra- ra</i> | 6. to Nergal, the Enlil of the mountains |
| 7. <i>sib ur-^dengur-ge é-gal-a-na giš-im-ma-ab-tag-gi</i> | 7. The shepherd Ur-Engur in his palace ² offered. |
| 8. <i>giš-gid-da kuš-lu-úb-kalag(?) si-mê-a i-mi-ib-ug?-an-na³</i> | 8. A bow,.....smiter of battle, the <i>imib</i> -weapon, panther of Anu, |
| 9.? <i>ki-us-sa á nam-ur-sag-gà.....TUM SIL</i> | 9. ....that treads the....., strength of heroism, |
| 10. <i>[?]-ga-da-gar kenag ^deriš-ki-gal-la</i> | 10. To.....beloved of Erishkigal, |
| 11. <i>^dgibil-ga-mes lugal-kur-ra- ge</i> | 11. Gilgamish, lord of the mountain, ⁴ |
| 12. <i>sib ur-^dengur-ge é-gal-la-na giš-im-ma-ab-tag-gi</i> | 12. The shepherd Ur-Engur in his palace offered. |
| 13. <i>[.....⁵]-keš-da iá ba-ni-in-de-a bur-šagan⁶ šu-dú-a</i> | 13. A <i>copper</i> (?)- <i>KEŠDA</i> , into which oil is poured, a well-made stone ointment bowl, |
| 14. <i>túg....la-TUL-gid túg-nam-nin⁷ nam-nin-a</i> | 14. A long.....garment, a "royal garment," for the royalty, |
| 15. <i>é mǎ-dalla me- kur-ra</i> | 15. of the temple that glorifies the decrees of the world, |
| 16. <i>^dnin-(?).....a-ba- ra</i> | 16. Unto Nin-sun..... |
| 17. <i>sib[ur-^dengur-ge é-gal-la-na giš-im-ma-ab-tag-gi]</i> | 17. The shepherd [Ur-Engur in his palace offered.] |
| 18. <i>LU.....</i> | 18. |
| 19. <i>pa aṣag-gi...en-na....šu ṣagin</i> | 19. A pure staff...lazuli.... |
| 20. <i>^ddumu-ṣi-túm-ma kenag ^dinnini-ra</i> | 20. which is worthy of Tammuz ⁸ the beloved of Innini, |

¹ *LU-KU=lubbu.*

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

³ Cf. *mi-ib-an-na-ge ug-gim kur-šú dúg-gar-ra-a*, "The weapon *Mi-ib* of Anu which, like a lion, roars against the strange land," *Gud. Cyl. B* 7, 24.

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

⁵ *urudu?* Cf. *giš-kešda* a cult utensil.

⁶ Cf. IV Raw. 20, No. 2b 3; 28b 14.

⁷ *lêdik bēlâtîm*, BL. p. 80, 14.

⁸ *túm-ma=šáluku*; see HROZNY, *Ninrag* p. 16, 18; EBELING, KTA. No. 4 Obv. 33, Rev. 10; POEBEL, PBS. V 154 V 6 f.

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| 21. <i>sib ur-^dengur é-gal-a-na giš-im-ma-ab-tag-gi</i> | 21. The shepherd, Ur-Engur, in his palace offered. |
| 22. <i>gil-sa¹ šu-dū-a kēš-²aṣag-gi má-gur-bi su?-lag-ga</i> | 22. A beautiful <i>gilsa</i> , a sacred <i>KEŠ(?)</i> whose skiff. |
| 23. <i>dāg-gug-aṣag nig-dū dingir-ri-e-ne</i> | 23. Of pure porphyry, that which is appropriate to the gods, |
| 24. <i>^dnam-tar galu nam-tar-tar-ra-ra</i> | 24. To Namtar lord of fates, |
| 25. <i>sib ur-^dengur é-gal-a-na giš-im-ma-ab-tag-gi</i> | 25. The shepherd, Ur-Engur, in his palace offered. |
| 26. <i>dub-ba³ ṣagin. . . nam-irigal-a-ge</i> | 26. A tablet of lazuli. . . . of the fate of Arallu, |
| 27. <i>giš-kešda-aṣag⁴ dāg-gug-tag-ga giš-bi gu?-sal-a</i> | 27. A <i>Kešda-aṣag</i> fashioned of porphyry, whose wood. |
| 28. <i>^dRuš-bi-šag dam ^dnam-tar-ra-ra</i> | 28. To Rušbišag, consort of the god of fates, |
| 29. <i>sib ur-^dengur-ge é-gal-a-na giš-im-ma-ab-tag-gi</i> | 29. The shepherd Ur-Engur in his palace offered. |
| 30. <i>giš-gar šu-? aṣag-gi-ta ri(?) -a</i> | 30. A wagon. with golden. . . . covered(?), |
| 31. <i>gīr ki gīr-uḡ.</i> | 31. |
| 32. <i>gīr-ūr dar-dar.</i> | 32. |

¹ *gil-sa* refers to a definite object here as in Gud. B. 6, 76.

² Probable value of REC. 215. For *su-lag-ga* cf. SAK. 48 V 14.

³ 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 the living 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 *dupšarrat arallū* (scribe of Arallu), is employed of types of the queen of the land of the dead. ^d*nin-[na]-an-na*, a title of the mother goddess Innini, CT. 16, 3, 95. *Nin-geštin-na*, vine goddess, identified with the western mother goddess *bēlīt šēri* (and related to the grain goddess Nidaba), IV R. 27b 29; DHORME, *Cboix* 214, 47. For Nidaba as the scribe who holds a tablet and knows the secrets of the stars and all wisdom, see *Tammuz and Ishtar* 151 f. The goddess *Mar-urul-an-ki ad-gi-gi* (*nāš abubi šamē u iršilim 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 Eriškigal, *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."

⁴ *kešda-aṣag* is a title of Arallu in CT. 16, 3, 95.

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|--|--|
| 33. <i>sib munsu</i> ¹ <i>a-</i> <i>uš-e</i> | 33. To the shepherd, the pastor, who
..... |
| 34. <i>dun ur-sag</i> ^d <i>nin-giš-zi-</i> <i>da</i> | 34. The mighty, the valiant Ningiš-
zida, |
| 35. <i>sib ur-dengur-ge é-gal-a-na giš-</i>
<i>im-ma-ab-šag-gi</i> | 35. The shepherd Ur-Engur in his
palace offered. |
| 36. <i>dāg-dub-šagin ba-da-ra-ni</i> ² <i>lā-a</i> | 36. A tablet of lazuli attached to a
<i>bundle</i> , |
| 37. <i>SAR-DI-da guškin kubabbar sag-</i>
<i>bi ruš-ma</i> | 37. A <i>SAR-DI-DA</i> of gold and
silver, which is exceedingly
brilliant, |
| 38. ^d <i>nannar aš-me-ašag-gi šag-ga-na</i>
<i>gub-bu-dé</i> | 38. For Nannar sacred disks to
stand at his side..... |
| 39. <i>tūg-sakḫad giš-pituk-maḡ-galu-šu</i>
<i>giš-šir-gal</i> | 39. A headdress for the great sage,
the learned, of marble, |
| 40. <i>gi-dub-ba šāg-bar-ra nig-nam-</i>
<i>dub-šar-ra-ge</i> | 40. A stylus of bronze, instrument
of the art of writing, |
| 41. ? <i>-gan-škur gi-diš-nindā</i> ³ | 41.a rod measuring reed
(<i>made of</i>) |
| 42. <i>KAK-UŠ</i> <i>a-ni nin</i> | 42. |
| 43. <i>dub</i> <i>ra li</i> | 43. |

COL. IV

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------|
| 1. | 1. |
| 2. | 2. |
| 3.- <i>a-bi</i> | 3. |
| 4. <i>na</i> ? <i>ab</i> | 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 I 3; *sib* and *munsu* are both rendered by *re'u* shepherd which makes their conjunction here inexplicable. Evidently some distinction exists between these words.

² *badarana*=*ḫat-tar-ri* (or *pa-tar-ri*?), syn. *paṭru*, sword, BL. 79, 21=Pl. 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*)=*itta*, side, border, and equals twelve cubits or between five and six yards, see THUREAU-DANGIN, JA. 1909, p. 97. Hence the word *ḫan nindanaḫu*, means a reed measure 12 cubits long. For the usual *gi-ninda-gan*=*ḫan nindanaḫu*, "reed of the side of a field," SAI. 1558, we have *gi GAR (ninda)-na*=*ḫa-an [nindanaḫu]*, VR. 32, 43. Our text has *ḫan išten nindanaḫu*, "reed one *ninda* long," which verifies Meissner's restoration, SAI. 1654. Note also [*gi-BAR-NINDA*]=*ḫan [mišil nindanaḫi]* or a reed $\frac{1}{2}$ *ninda* long, CT. XI, 47 III 25.

5. [sib(?) . . .]kur-ra-ge si-bé-in-sá-a-ta
 6. [ur-^dEngur sib(?)]kur-ra-ge si-bé-in-sá-a-ta
 7.urugal-la-ge bé
 8.šù-ge bé
 9. ur-^dengur-ra-ge mu-ni-ib-túg-ù bé
 10. kur-ra kimu-na-mà-mà bé
 11. dúg-dúg-ga ^dereš-ki-gal-la-ka-ta
 12. erim giš-KU[? ?] en-na-ba- ? -ga
 13. galu nam-tag-ga en-na-ba-a
 14. lugal-la šu-ni-šú . . . im-ma-ab-sum-mu-ne
 15. ur-^dengur ki-bi-šúeš . . .
 16. šeš-kenag-gà-ni ^dgi(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-za-la-ba
 19. lugal-mu i-si-iš ki-en-gi-ra-ge sá-nam-bi mu-ni-ib-dúg
 20. ur-^dengur i-si-iš ki-en-gi-ra-ge sá-nam-bi mu-ni-ib-dúg
 21. bad uri-(ki)-ma mu-un-til-la-ni
 22. é-gal-i-zi-na mu-un-?-ninu-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 Ereshkigal,
 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 Gilgamish,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,³

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. <i>sib-bé é-a-ni</i> <i>ta bé-in-aga-ni</i> | 23. The shepherd whose home by
. had been plundered(?), |
| 24. <i>dam-a-ni úr-ra-na</i> <i>nu-mu-
un-gí-a-ni</i> | 24. Whose wife to his bosom . . one
had not restored. |
| 25. <i>dumu-ni dū-ba-na li-be-in-peš-
a-ni</i> | 25. Whose son grew not up on his
knees, |
| 26. | 26. |
| 27. | 27. |
| 28. <i>sib-ḫid i-lu nig-me-gar ni-te-na</i>
. . . | 28. The faithful shepherd, wailing
and lament in fear. |
| 29. <i>mà-e nig ne-e ba- aga-a-mu</i> | 29. As for me whatsoever I have
made, |
| 30. <i>dingir-ri-e-ne-ir mu-ne-gub-bu-
nam</i>
? <i>-úr mu-ne-gál</i> | 30. To the gods verily I erected,
and. |
| 31. <i>^da-[nun-na]-ge-ne gé-gál-la pa-
mu-ne-è-a-ni</i> | 31. To the Anunnaki whom with
riches I have glorified, |
| 32. <i>giš-nad ú-ḫagin¹ dág-ga-ba gilsa
mu-ne-gar-ra-mu</i> | 32. A bed of lazuli whose couch ²
with a precious work I con-
structed, |
| 33. <i>an-ki mal-la-ba e-ḫu-la mu-la ba-
ni-ib-sūd³-ḫi</i> | 33. Like heaven and earth con-
structed, with a covering like
the stars I made bright. |
| 34. <i>me-en nig-abrig-šág-ga⁴-mu
an-gim mu-ne-sú-ud</i> | 34. A am I, whatsoever (was
revealed to me) by favorable
omen this I made beautiful
like heaven for them. |
| 35. <i>da-gub-ba DI-a-mà-a-na</i>
<i>šū-ba-ni-ti</i> | 35. |
| 36. <i>da-ḫu-ù nu-túg-mà-a⁵ ud-
im-ma-ni-tíl</i> | 36. |
| 37. <i>ne-šú IM-an-ta-ám-mà gim</i> | 37. |
| 38. <i>ta-e-a síg uri-(ki)-ma-šú šū-
nu-um-ma-nigin⁶</i> | 38. |

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* = *mašāḫu*, cf. the gunufied form of this sign with values *suḡ*, II R. 26a 15 and *sub*, RA. 10, 79, 9. All these roots *suḡ*, *sud*, *šud*, *sub*, *šub* have the meaning shine.⁴ For *abrig-šág*, favorable omen, see IV Raw. 35 No. 6 II 1; KING, LII., 61, 26.⁵ *la inuḫḫa*.⁶ Cf. Obv. I 34.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 39. <i>zid giṭlam-mu mu-un-ṣu-ám</i> | 39. Of my faithful wife whom I had known, ¹ |
| 40. [<i>šag?</i>] <i>a-nir nig-gig-ga-a ud-mi-ni-ib-ṣal-ṣal-e</i> | 40. (Her) heart of bitter sorrows I made glad. |

COL. V

- | | |
|--|--|
| 7. <i>ù-ši-in-tu-ra?</i> | 7. |
| 8. [<i>šag?</i>] <i>a-nir nig-gig-ga-a ud-mi-ni-ib-ṣal-ṣal-e</i> | 8. The heart of bitter sorrow I made glad. |
| 9. <i>šág-ga-ni bar-ta ba-da-gub</i> | 9. stood aside. |
| 10. . . . <i>šág-ga-ni sag-gà-na li-bé-in-</i> | 10. . . . upon his head not did he |
| 11. . . . <i>na-ge á-maḡ-a-ni sag-gà-na li-be-in-gi-en</i> | 11. . . . his mighty arm upon his head not did he lay. |
| 12. . . . <i>en áš-im-ür KU-ta nu-un-ri</i> | 12. . . . the lord Sin. . . . not. |
| 13. . . . <i>nun-ki-ga-ge ba-ra ba-ra-ta-an-è</i> | 13. . . . of Eridu caused to go far away. |
| 14. . . . <i>im-ma-ni-in-si-ig enim šu-nu-mu-un-di-ni-ib-gí</i> | 14. . . fixed and revoked not. ² |
| 15. . . . <i>imi-sur-ra ba-ra-ab-šig giš-úṣ nu-mu-šág(?)</i> | 15. |

LITURGICAL HYMN TO DUNGI

(TABLET AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN)

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

¹ For *ṣu* in the same sense, but of animals, see PBS. X pt. 1 p. 70, 17, *nu-ub-ṣu*, "he knew not."

² Cf. THUREAU-DANGIN, SAK., 52 n. f.

6. ^ddun-gi lugal uri-ma me-en
 7. igi-duġ-bar-ra-na gú-^zid ma-ni-in-de
 8. en a^zag¹ sá-bi-ga-na.....sig
 9. lum.....ga.....me-en
 10. ^zí.....ga ġu za bi.....me-en
 11. sib.....^dnannar me² dam-^ḫar.....me-en
 12. enim ^dnin-lil-lá ki-gar šág-ga ki-šar-ra ma-làg
 13. ú-il-la⁴ é(?)igi-ù-ni-in-duġ gú ù-? ?-de-de
 14. ud-bi nam(?)-sìr-ra lugal(?)dú.....
 15. ^ddun-gi me ka-^zag-sal uri-(ki)tùb-bi-mèn
 16. ^dnin-tud-ra⁵ nig-ma.....
 17. dingir-ri-e-ne ni-DU.....mà
 18. ^dmul-genna⁶ suġuš-a KA.....ra
 19. mu-ġe-gál-la túb-bi ? ? -da
 20. um-mi-a.....gi-mu-ne-^zu
 21. enim nin-mu^d.....ta
 22. a-da-ge⁷ nim bad-du ma-al-?-tùm mu-šì-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 Ninlil, 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 FUÏE, 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 *šág* and *ki* are uncertain.

⁴ Cf. *š-il-la* = *šakú*, 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; *umun genna*, i. e., *bēlu kamanu*, PSBA. 1908, 80 l. 12; ^d*genna* 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 riggi*, SBH. 101 Rev. 6; *ad-mu* = *rigmi*, my wail, SBH. 75, 7; *mulu ad-da-ge* = *bēl nissāti*, 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. *mu-lu ad-di ad-di-^zu nam-mu*, Ni. 4596, 31 in this volume.

23. *sig túg-mal šu ab-e-bal . . . ni lal* 23. In the lower land songs of
pacification thou didst cause
to be uttered, . . .
24. *kur-nim-šú ú-?-gal-gim . . . gid-
da* 24. Unto the upper land like a
great . . . he *approached*.
25. *igi-nim-ta kalama še-gim dul-li
ni-lal* 25. From the upper land over
Sumer *beneficently* a shadow
he stretched.
26. *kur dūn bad-du-áš ag . . . ni-lal* 26. Upon the violent foreign land
far away . . . he stretched.
27. *lul šu-šú¹-ag kaskal . . . ta-gub-
mal* 27. The doers of rebellion from the
ways . . . he caused to stand
aside.
28. *šu-?-a ki-gīr-gin-na-ge* 28.
29. *sīr-gid-da teg nam-lugal- la* 29. With a long song befitting royal
power,
30. *bad-du-máš nig-bal-bal-e ga-mu-
ši-gar-gar-ra* 30. a meditation I will com-
pose for it.
31. *nam-duš-šar-ra nig-gi-gi-žu² ga-
mu-ši-mà-ar-mà-ar-šu* 31. In writing thy laws² I will set
forth.³
32. *ud šar-šar-ra gar-ra-bé-gál ma-
an-ru-a-mà* 32. When the writings are set forth,
. (?)
33. *gūl-gūl-li-mal dug-dug-gi-mal* 33. Gladness causing, prosperity
causing.
34. *zi-zi šū-šū LU . . . za-am za-
am⁴* 34.
35. *dūl šu-si giš-ka-silim . . . til-la* 35. The weapon of sweet voice
.
36. *nig-á-nú-gi-á⁵ la-ba-gub-bu-ne-
en-na-mu* 36. The unopposed which is not
restrained.
37. *dug-gar nu-kuš-ù šá-al-è me* 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 *mà-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* (= *malilu*), 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 (*tigū*). *za-am* contains, probably, the element *za*, second per. sing.

⁵ *ša la immaḥaru*; see II R. 36a 27 and SBP. 86, 28.

38. *gi-gid za-am za-am ga-mu-ši-mà-
ar-mà-ar-šu* 38. *On the flute.* I will set forth
(these matters).
39. *mu dingir-lugal sag-bi-šú ò-a* 39. The name of the divine king
transcends all,
40. *en-lil nig-dúg-ga-ni šu-nu-bal¹-
e-ne* 40. (The name) of Enlil whose fixed
decree² is not transgressed.
41. *mu en-zu uru nam-kud-da-ni* 41. The name of Sin who a city
lum³-bi nu-gùr-ra-[ni] fated, whose splendor is not
to be supported.
42. *galu nam-kud-du-ni nig-gig* 42. Whose curse the unclean *purges*.
sagar-ra-ka
43. *mu babbar maškim⁴ dingir-ri-
e-ne* 43. The name of Shamash attendant
of the gods.
44. *nig-lul-li-du-mà galu ba-ra-ma-
ni-in-gar* 44. My music let no man make.
45. *sub-mu nig-nu-um-s ig-s ig-ga* 45. My prayer which is unequalled
dam⁵ ba-ra-ni-dúg let no wife utter.
46. *dun-gi me sá ní-mal dirig-ga* 46. Divine Dungi! I in song
sir-ra ma-ra-an-gál institute for thee,
47. *aqag-šág-ga-gim lág-lág-ga- mà* 47. Who as one clean and pious
brings about purity,
48. *giš-dúr ki-gar: sir-sab⁶-ba-mu* 48. Instituting *culture*. My chief
song.
49. *sib me-nig-na-me zag-tíl-tíl-la-
mà* 49. The shepherd who fulfills the
decrees as many as there be,
50. *nam-lugal-? sal-šid nin-ge-ni-
dúg* 50. Royal power. may care for
faithfully.
51. *mu nig-li-du-mà li-na. ba-
gál-la* 51. When my melodies in future
days are. ,
52. *lul ba-lag-na ge. -en* 52. May the musician on his lyre
.
53. *li-du-mà a-da-du. ge da-ma-
al ga-lum(?) ge-dū* 53. May my melody *weeping*.
. . . *dispel*

¹ The sign has one superfluous wedge at the end.

² *nig-dúg-ga* = *adannu*, "fixed time in which things occur."

³ *lum* in this passage has clearly the same meaning as the cognate *lam*.

⁴ For *PA+DU* instead of *PA+DU gunufied*, see BM. 91-5-9, 279, 8, in CT. 6; and 88-5-12, 711 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. <i>sir-gid-da teg nam-lugal- la</i> | 54. In a long song befitting royal power, |
| 55. <i>bad-du-máš nig-bal-bal ge-im</i> | 55. a meditation let be. |
| 56. <i>gi-gid za-am za-am ge-im</i> | 56. The flute. . . . let be. |

4566

LITURGICAL HYMN TO LIBIT-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. 19797¹ 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 *lil²-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.

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-aṣag, since this name occurs in Ni. 13954.]

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Lil-aṣag ab numun-i-i¹ na-aṣag-
ga mu-dug-ga sá-a</i>
2. <i>šāb-ba a-lu² lugal RU-TIG³ lugal
ṣi-lāg-lāg-gi</i>
3. <i>é-malga-sud eri bār ^{na}ṣagin-na
ni-in-šu-bu-un(?)</i>
4. <i>kur-sud-sud ešbar me-i-i šit-e ka-
šu-gál</i>
5. <i>ṣu nun ṣag-lal-sud kalam-
ma X⁵ kur-kur- ra</i>
6. <i>a-ṣu-gal sag-gíg-ga nam-
eri-tar-ri</i>
7. <i>dumu-sag dingir-aṣag-ga ki-el
ama ^dba-ú</i>
8. <i>é eri-aṣag šúb é be-in- gub</i>
9. <i>bara-ṣa-ku be-in- gar⁶</i>
10. <i>8 é ^dba-ú.....</i>
..... | 1. Lilazag, ² of the house of exalted seed, the holy man, named by a good name.
2. Whose heart is....; the king; the king who makes glad the soul.
3. "The Temple of Wisdom" in the clean city with lapis lazuli he made splendid.
4. The far away land he subdues, having recounted unto them the observance of laws and decrees.
5. The....., merciful prince of the Land; the....of the foreign lands.
6. The great.....of the dark headed people; who declares the fate of his city.
7. First born son of the holy goddess, the woman, mother Bau.
8. As to a temple in the holy city, the clean city, a temple he founded.
9. A.....chapel he made.
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*

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-i*, "he exalted his race." See also Ni. 7184, 19.

² 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 Cf. K. L. 199 Rev. I 1.

⁴ Title ordinarily applied to the river god, *^did-lu-RU-TIG*, IV R. 14 No. 2, 22; BL. No. 46, 8; SBH. 132, 40; CT. IV 3a 33. See also BL. No. 69, 9.

⁵ 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*.

⁶ See also *Historical and Religious Texts*, Cst. 1575.

contains the earliest mention of these astronomical deities. The Semitic translation is *ilāni sibitti* or the seven gods, ZIMMERN, 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 inferred 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 $\dot{a} \times gi\dot{s} + gi\dot{s}$ or $5 \times (60 + 60) = 600$. 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, BE. 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.

19. ["Divine Ishme-Da]gan son of Dagan I am.

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. *gu-mu-un-peš-peš-e*, "may he multiply;" *sá-dúg ge-ni-tab-lab*, "the regular offerings may he double;" *mà ka-bar-a-gim ge-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. . . . *lugal-mà alad ge-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 *Gaštinna*,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-te-en-dug*, lord of sacrifices (*ša ni-ki-i*), and under the original title *Pa-geštin-dug(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-zağ*, "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-aṣag*, "She of the pure decrees;" (6) *Eme-*

¹ Hardly to be read *kurun-nam*, although *GAŠ-TIN* has the Semitic value *kurun*, v. SAI. 3510.

² KING's copy has *dumu*, i. e., *mar nikī*, but it is probably to be corrected to *mulu*.

teg, "She of seemly tongue" (*lišan simti*);¹ (7) *Kidurkaṣal*, "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 *Gaštinnam*, 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, AJSL, 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 tuk-tuk dagar-ra me-teg gar=sinništu itpeštu ummu ša ana simāti šaknat*, "The skilful woman, the mother who is sent to do what is seemly," a description of *Nin-KA-si*. For *dagal* > *dagar*, cf. *dagar-ra* (= *rapšu*), CT. 15, 10, 10; ZIMMERN, K-L. 15 I 21, and see especially *Liturgies*, p. xx n. 3.

² Cf. ZIMMERN, *Sburpu* 9, 56 and RA. 9, 78. Perhaps *la pitlu*.

OBVERSE II

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>nig-a-na mu-sà</i> | 1. Whatsoever things are named
..... |
| 2. <i>giš-pitug imin-a šu-gal ga-mi-[ni-
ib-dú]</i> | 2. May he with understanding of
the seven (numbers) grandly
[adorn me]. |
| 3. <i>en-zu dumu-sag en-lil-[lá-ge]</i> | 3. Sin first born son of Enlil, |
| 4. <i>giš-gu-za nam-lugal-la</i> | 4. A throne of royalty..... |
| 5. <i>bara nam-en-na sag-ga-šú</i> | 5. In a chamber of ruling loftily
[may....] |
| 6. <i>ud-sú-du-šú giš-dúr</i>
<i>bē-in-tag</i> | 6. May he fashion unto far away
days a <i>restless</i> scepter. |
| 7. <i>nusku sukkal en-lil-lá-ge</i> | 7. May Nusku the messenger of
Enlil, |
| 8. <i>gišdur nam-lugal-la šu-mà ga-ma-
ni-gar</i> | 8. Into my hand a regal scepter
place. |
| 9. <i>é-kur-ra á-bi ga-ma-an-pad-pad</i> | 9. In Ekur oracles unto me may
he reveal. |
| 10. <i>ki-gub-bu ní-teg-gà-e-bi ga-ma-an-
gar</i> | 10. Wheresoever I go, his awe may
he lend me. |
| 11. <i>šag en-lil-lá dagal-la-ám ta-ge-
mi-gi-in</i> ¹ | 11. The heart of Enlil like (the
heart of) a mother may he
make faithful. |
| 12. <i>nin-uraš ur-sag kalag-ga en-lil-
lá-ge</i> | 12. Ninuraš, the valiant hero of
Enlil, |
| 13. <i>nu-nam-nir</i> ² <i>enim-mà ga-ma-
ni-in-gub</i> | 13. The divine prince of valor my
commands may make sure
for me. |
| 14. <i>ka-šág-ga en-lil nin-lil-lá m-
a-ar gu-mu-na-ab</i> | 14. A favorable word to Enlil and
Ninlil for me may he speak. |
| 15. <i>nam-lugal-la pal-mu ge-ne-in-
dirig</i> | 15. With royal power may he cause
my reign to be surpassing. |

¹ *ta-gi-in*, I would compare with *tam-gin* in *gar-bi tam-gin-dé*, "to encourage his soul," SBP. 328, 4 (instead of the reading *ug-gi* there given). *tam* = *kinu*, CT. 12, 6, 46 and *ta* has the meaning *kattu*, "form," probably from the same root. Also *gin* has the meaning *kinu*. *ta(m)-gin* is probably one of those intensives made by compounding two roots of similar meaning, as *mal-gar*, *šuš-rig* (IV R. 16a 62), *šuš-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.

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|---|---|
| <p>16. <i>nam-en-na ma-e ġe-im-mi-?-en</i>
<i>DA(á)-taġ-mu ġe-e</i></p> <p>17. <i>é-kur-ra řu-ġu-mu-da-ġál-ġál¹</i></p> <p>18. <i>mařkim nam-lugal-má ġe-e</i></p> <p>19. <i>ġiř-KU-lig-ga kur-kur gam-gam-e</i></p> <p>20. <i>da-maġ řu-ři-da-mu ġe-ne-in-si</i></p> <p>21. <i>^dbabbar nig-si-sá ka-ġi-na ka-má</i>
<i>ġa-ma-ni-in-ġar</i></p> <p>22. <i>sá-lar-ru ka-áš-bar kalam-e si-</i>
<i>sá-e</i></p> <p>23. <i>nig-ġi-na sag-ga-řú řág</i></p> <p>24. <i>ři-da-tuk uř-ku-e² erim-du ġa-</i>
<i>lam-me</i></p> <p>25. <i>řeř-ġe řeř-ra nig-ġi-na-sá</i>
<i>a-a-ra</i></p> <p>26. <i>SAL+KU gal-ra ka-duġ-na nu-</i>
<i>sá ama-ra IM-řU-NE</i></p> <p>27. <i>si-ig-ga kalig-ga-ra nu-mal-mal</i>
<i>galu.....</i></p> | <p>16. With lordship may he cause me to be.....; my helper may he be.</p> <p>17. In Ekur may he take me by the hand.</p> <p>18. The protecting genius of my royalty may he be.</p> <p>19. With a valiant weapon subduing the foreign lands,</p> <p>20. A mighty arm, may he fill my faithful hand.</p> <p>21. May the Sun-god place justice and righteousness in my mouth;</p> <p>22. The judge, giver of decision, who directs the Land;</p> <p>23. Who makes justice exceedingly good.</p> <p>24. The transgressor(?) he pardons, the wicked he destroys.</p> <p>25. To justify brother with brother to the father.....</p> <p>26. Not to justify the slander(?) of a sister against the elder (brother) to a mother, <i>courage he ensures.</i></p> <p>27. Not to place the weak at the disposal of the strong a man</p> |
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REVERSE I

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|--|--|
| <p>1. <i>á-tuk nig-řag-ga-na nu ag galu</i>
<i>galu ġab-nu-ġar</i></p> <p>2. <i>nig-erim nig-á-ři-ġa³ ġa-lam-e</i>
<i>nig-si-sá mā-mā⁴</i></p> | <p>1. That the rich man may not do whatsoever is in his heart, that one man to another do not anything disgraceful,</p> <p>2. Wickedness and hostility he destroyed justice he instituted.</p> |
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¹ See F. THUREAU-DANGIN, SAK. 108, XVIII 17.

² Variant of *uř-kú-e* = *pađú*.

³ Cf. RA. 9, 112 I 13, and *Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello*, p. 214 II 7.

⁴ *mā-mā* is an intensive formation from *mā* = *banú*.

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| 3. ^d <i>babbar dumu</i> ^d <i>nin-gal-e tud-da-a</i>
<i>ga-la-ba¹-mà ge-ni-in-gar</i> | 3. May the Sun-god, son whom
Ningal bore, my portion
create. |
| 4. ^d <i>innini nin an-ki-ge-a</i> | 4. He whom Innini, queen of
heaven and earth, |
| 5. <i>nitadam kenag-ni-šú ge-en-pad-</i>
<i>dé me-en</i> | 5. As her beloved spouse has
chosen, I am. |
| 6. <i>mìr- gin-na-mà la?-la? gu-mu-</i>
<i>ši-in-ag</i> | 6. For my <i>luxury</i> may she
create. |
| 7. <i>igi nam-til-la ka-za! gu-mu-ši-in-</i>
<i>bar</i> | 7. With a joyous eye of life may
she look upon me. |
| 8. <i>sag-di ūg-ga-ni mà-a-šú gu-mu-ši-</i>
<i>in-ziḡ</i> | 8. Her blazing form upon me may
she cause to shine. ² |
| 9. ^{en} <i>nad gi-in-na ge-bé-in-gin(en)³</i> | 9. May she establish for me a
couch secure. |
| 10. <i>gè-pàr-ra ud-sud-sud-mal-mà,</i> | 10. In the mysterious sanctuary to
create me length of days, |
| 11. <i>nam-en nam-lugal-da tab-e-a-mà</i> | 11. To add the office of high priest-
hood unto regal power for me, |
| 12. <i>é-an-na-ka muš-nu-túm-mu-mà</i> | 12. That in the "House of Heaven"
the serpent rob me not, ⁴ |

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.

² In lines 4-8 Innini is described as the consort of the sun god. Ordinarily the consort of Shamash is Ajā, 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 Ajā with Innini-Ishtar, 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 *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 96 ff.

³ *en* is probably a phonetic indication after the sign *DU* to read *gin* or *gen* = *kīnu*.

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 Gilgamesh from whom a serpent stole the plant of life, see the Epic of Gilgamesh 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, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, Chapter III. [See now Ni. 7184 Rev. 21.]

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| 13. <i>ki-unug-(ki-)ga am-gim</i> | 13. That in the land of Erech like a wild bull. |
| 14. <i>kullab-(ki) me-lám-mu dūl¹-lu-da</i> | 14. To cover Kullab with my glory, |
| 15. <i>enim-aṣag nu-kúr-ru-da-ni ḡe-bé-in-dúg</i> | 15. An holy command which is unchanged may she utter. |
| 16. <i>^den-ki ^dnin-ki ^den-ul² ^dnin-ul²</i> | 16. May Enki and Ninki, Enul and Ninul, |
| 17. <i>^da-nun-na en nam-tar-ri-bi</i> | 17. The Anunnaki, lord(s) who decree fate, |
| 18. <i>dingir utug nippur-(ki) alad ékur-ra-ge-ne</i> | 18. The divine spirit of Nippur and the protecting geniuses of Ekur, |
| 19. <i>dingir-gal-gal-e-ne³ a nam-mu-un-tar-ri-eš-a⁴</i> | 19. The great gods who determine oracles, |
| 20. <i>ḡe-ám⁵ umun-kur-ru-ga⁶ ḡe-im-mi-in-dúb-eš</i> | 20. Crush the <i>pride</i> of the hostile ruler. |
| 21. <i>^diš-me-^dda-gan dumu ^dda-gan me-en</i> | 21. Divine Ishme-Dagan son of Dagan thou art. |
| 22. <i>^den-lil lugal kur-kur-ra-ge</i> | 22. May Enlil lord of the lands |
| 23. <i>ru úr-ra-ta</i> | 23. Who in. |
| 24. <i>šu-gi-e ḡe-bé-in-pad-dé</i> | 24. choose. |

¹ The sign is the *šeššig* of *UR* and is to be identified with Br. 6964 where the sign has also the regular gunufication at the left. The sign either *šeššig* or *šeššig* plus the gunufication has the values *dul*, *dun* "to cover" and *ligir* "prince." For this sign see also ZIMMERN, *Kultlieder*, 199, 41 and POEBEL, 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 *Igigi* are probably referred to here.

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

⁵ *ḡe-am* occurs also in the title of Enlil, *ḡe-ám-gi-na*, CT. 24, 22, 105. A connection with *ḡen*, *ḡan*, abundance, suggests itself and the reading *ḡe-a-an* may be preferable.

⁶ *ga*, indirect construct for *ka*.

4584

FRAGMENT OF A LAMENTATION ON THE DESTRUCTION OF UR

OBVERSE

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>ud-ba ud uru-da ba-da-an-gar</i>
<i>uru-bi(?)[še-ām-du]</i></p> <p>2. <i>a-a^d nannar uru dim-dūl-dūl²-da</i>
<i>ba-da-an-[gar]</i></p> <p>3. <i>uku-e še-ām-du</i></p> <p>4. <i>ud-ba ud kalam-da ba-da-an-kār</i>
<i>uku-e še-ām-du</i></p> <p>5. <i>uku-bi šika-kud-da nu-me-a bar-</i>
<i>ba ba-e-si</i></p> <p>6. <i>bād-bā gū-nin³ kaskala im-ma-an-</i>
<i>gar-gar uku-e še-ām-du</i></p> <p>7. <i>gīr-gāl-la-ba ād-a im-ma-</i>
<i>an-BAD</i></p> <p>8. . . . -<i>a-ba sag-bal-e ba-ab-gar</i></p> <p>9. <i>ād im-ma-an-gar-gar.</i></p> | <p>1. At that time the spirit of wrath¹
upon the city he sent and
the city lamented.</p> <p>2. Father Nannar upon the city
of master-workmen sent it,</p> <p>3. and the people lamented.</p> <p>4. At that time the Word hastened
upon the Land, and the people
wailed.</p> <p>5. Her people without water jars
without her sit in humiliation.</p> <p>6. Within⁴ her reed baskets are
thrown in the ways and the
people lament.</p> <p>7. in her streets the
corpses.</p> <p>8. In her. . . . an usurper exer-
cised.</p> <p>9. In her. . . corpses were placed.</p> |
|---|---|

¹ A synonym of *enem* = *amatu*, "the word." See SBP. 98 n. 7.

² *dim-dūl-dūl* is probably a plural (*Sum. Gr.* §124) of *dim-dūl* = *dim-gul* = *TAR-kullu*, Syl. b 284 and note also *dim-gul* gloss on *MA-MUK*, CT. 25, 4, 8. The original word appears to have been *dimgul* = *TAR-kullu*, and later *dim-gal*, BR. 2759, SAI. 1873, SAK. 270. The Assyriologists usually render the loan-word by *tarkullu*, DELITZSCH, H. W., 303 and MUSS-ARNOLT, *Lexicon* 359 or *tarkullu*, *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 *ummānu*, "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 mātīm*, "leader of the Land," SBP. 160, 13. Ishtar is the *dim-gal*, "directress" of Babylon, SBH. 97, 65. ^{11a} Ninuraša is the *dimgul an-na*, chieftain of heaven, II R. 57b 56 and *dimgal kalam-ma*, "chieftain of the Land," *ibid.* 59.

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

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

1. <i>urú ud-dě am- gul-e</i>	1. The city the spirit of wrath destroyed.
2. <i>giš-gi-gál¹ ki-šub-gú-da-kam</i>	2. The interlude of the strophe (is as follows)
3. <i>ama ^dnin-gal uru-(ki)-ni² nu-bé- šub-ba</i>	3. The mother Ningal her city inhabits not.
4. <i>bar-ta ba-da- du</i>	4. Without she wanders.

4568

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,

¹ For *giš-gi-gal* = *miḫir ʾa zamari*, see ZIMMERN, *Ištar und Šaltu*, p. 6. In all the known examples of this liturgical note the interlude of two or three lines is separated from the *ki-šub-gú* by lines. Here the interlude or choral reflection apparently ends the liturgy, which is contrary to all known rules of liturgical practice. *ki-šub-gú*, the ordinary word for "strophe" (*šēru*, see ZIMMERN, *ibid.* p. 5), is followed by *da* which occurs only here. The word is often shortened to *ki-šub* and *ki-šū*, see BL. p. xlv.

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.

mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e ⁴*babbar* ⁴*marduk-e-ne-bi-da*¹ *ge nig-dim-dim-ma-bi al-in-na-an-du-uš-ám*² *alam sub-sub-bé alad-gushkin-áš-áš-bi-ta é-babbar igi* ⁴*babbar-šú é-sag-il*³ (*igi* ⁴*marduk-šú*) *ki-gub-ba-ne-ne mi-ni-in-gi-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 Ebabbar before Shamash and in Esagila before Marduk established."

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>suĝ-me ĝuš ušum⁴-gal nam-kal-a</i> | 1. Terrible form ⁵ governor of valor, |
| 2. <i>til-du⁶-la sag-di⁷-lāg-ga-na im-ma-ši-in-bar</i> | 2. Whose brilliant form shines upon all living things. |
| 3. <i>nam-šāg-ga-ni-šú la-la na-an-ši-⁸ in-ag</i> | 3. Because of his beneficence plenty is created. |
| 4. <i>alam-sī a-ni-šú dug-li im-ma-ši-in-til</i> ¹⁰ | 4. Because of his radiant ⁹ statue prosperity is made complete. |

¹ For this peculiar form of the conjunction *bi-da* or *bi-ta* attached to the plural ending *e-ne*, see also *e-ne-bi-ta* in the date formula of the 34th year of Hammurapi. *ge* marks the subject.

² This compound verb is formed from the root *al*, lofty, and the intensive suffix *dāg* > *du*; *uš* is the plural inflection and *ám* the sign of a dependent phrase. *al* is connected with *il* = *elá*, see *Sum. Gr.* p. 202.

³ See POEBEL; STRASSMAIER has apparently NE. i. e., *gil*?

⁴ The sign *ušum* is expected here but the text has *gir* clearly.

⁵ This is the first example of the sign *SUH* with the gunufication at the left, REC. 294^{bis}.

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

⁷ *būnu namru*, v. SAK. 214 f. 16. The scribes themselves appear to have been uncertain concerning the sign *di* for which they frequently write *ki*; *di*, however, is the original and correct reading since it is the well-known augment, *dug*, *du*, *da*, *di*. Note *sag* = *ṣimu* and *sag-di* = *ṣimu*. Also *sag-du-ga* = *bānū*, begetter, a word certainly connected with *būnu*, form. See *Sum. Gr.* §153. For *sag-di* see also Ni. 4563 Rev. 18. The scribes appear to have confused *sag-di* with *sag-ki* = *pātu*, front.

⁸ Here infixed *ši* reproduces a causal *šú*, a rare usage of this infix, see *Sum. Gr.* p. 145 above. *in* is obviously a mere euphonic element.

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

¹⁰ Cf. *dug-li nu-til-la*, "joy he completes not," SBH. 101, 50.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 5. <i>bal-a-ri-ni-šú im-ma-an-ši-gub</i> | 5. Over his transgressors he has been established. |
| 6. <i>den¹ kal-la-bi šag-im-ma-ab-túb-bi</i> | 6. Whose precious presence appeases the heart. |
| 7. <i>šag-gú-bi - gi-a-na² im-ma-ab-nigin-e³</i> | 7. At whose repentance there is forgiveness. |
| 8. <i>an ukkin-lugal-ra ka-mu-un-dar-dar-am⁴</i> | 8. Lofty one who to the assembly of kings renders decision. |
| 9. <i>ù-mu-un na-ám-žu⁵ ši-ba-ám ki-gál ám. . . . dam</i> | 9. Lord that knows fate. . . . obedience. . . . |
| 10. <i>sa-am-su-i-lu-na šuba si-a⁶ máš-giš-i-dé-kar-kam⁷</i> | 10. Samsuiluna, the pure, the brilliant, the seer. |
| 11. <i>igi-mu gim-ba-ma bé-túm du-rí-šú ti-is</i> | 11. My eyes. are lifted(?) to bestow life forever(?) ⁸ |
| 12. <i>i-ši-em⁹ àg-dúg-KA+NE¹⁰a asilal da-ra-ab-si</i> | 12. I will fill thee with rejoicing. |
| 13. <i>kalama gú-ri-a¹¹ gúb-dar¹²-ma mu-ra-an-ag</i> | 13. The land to obedience I will reduce for thee. |
| 14. <i>sa-am-su-i-lu-na da¹³-gál-za-a-kam kalam-šár-ra-en-e¹⁴</i> | 14. Samsuiluna thy champion am I, who enriches the land. |

¹ For the reading *den*, *gen*, see SBP. 12, 29.

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 gú-bi-gi-a-ám*, "the hearts of the gods returned to their bank," i. e., they repented, Cyl. A. 25, 21.

³ Literally "(God) is made compassionate."

⁴ Cf. Br. 632 *pû purrušu*. The verb is a variant of *dúg-tar=dēnu*, v. K. 4610 Rev. 17.

⁵ Cf. SBP. 276, 1.

⁶ See note on line 4.

⁷ Cf. *igi-kar-barú*.

⁸ Cf. for this line, *Bilingual of Samsuiluna*, 27-31.

⁹ For *idim*, wailing(?). Note *li-du=šamāru*, a synonym in line 24.

¹⁰ This sign occurs also in the Berlin Astrolab, Hemerologie, l. 27, where it is rendered by *šibil*, fire. Also *KA+NE=šibil*, 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 . . . *aš-gud(?)=libbatu*, anger. See below, line 24.

¹¹ Variant of *Gù-ur-a*; MEISSNER, SAI. 484.

¹² Cf. *nam-gúb-dar* 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.

¹³ Sic! Read *á-gál*.

¹⁴ Var. *šár-ra-da-ni*, being the suffixed conjugation to indicate a relative phrase. The form *šár-ra-en-e* is the gerundive participle in the status rectus. See *Sum. Gr.* §210.

15. *mu-uš-mis-šág-ga-ru 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. *zag nam-lugal-la-šú¹ ul-šú² gub-
bu-da-ni³* 16. Who at the head of kingship
joyously has been placed.
17. *kalama nam-lugal-la-šú nam-dug
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 da⁴-gál ag-dé* 19. Their loftiness to make fearful,
20. *bal-a-ri gù-ri gub-dar-ag-dé* 20. The transgressors to *reduce* to
obedience,
21. *dinnini á⁵-zi-da ba-an-da-gub* 21. Innini with a true arm estab-
lished.
22. *gub-bu-ne-ne-a sa-am-su-i-lu-na
ba-gub* 22. At their left Samsuiluna has
been placed.
23. *sìl-gar-azag-gi-e-ne ní-da-e-ne* 23. Their *holy praise*, their fear,
24. *li-du ág-dúg-KA+NE-a mu-un-
uš-ne-ne* 24. They.....
25. *bal-a-ri gù-ri mu-un-ti-ti-ne* 25. The transgressor in obedience
they will cause to live (dwell).
26. *me-en-ne ga-ša-an an-na alad-
šág-ga-me⁶* 26. They are the propitious spirits
of the queen of heaven.
27. *ildu⁷ il-la sa-am-su-i-lu-na me-
en-ne-en* 27. A group of lions, *object of
adoration* of Samsuiluna, are
they.
28. *me-en-zi-en bal-a-ri-zi-in⁸ gid-
dúg-ge* 28. Your transgressors ye destroy.

¹ Var. *ka*.

² The same signs in ZIM. K. L. 199 II 21, *nam-lugal-la dú-šú*, to adorn the kingship.

³ Var. *na*.

⁴ Probably for *á-gál*.

⁵ The text has again *da* for *á*.

⁶ See *Sum. Gr.* §126.

⁷ Syl. Ass. Berlin, unpublished, renders *IGI-LAMGA-BU(ildu)* by *illat kalbê*, troupe of dogs. The phrase obviously refers to the group of lion-images mentioned in line 18. *illa* I have taken for *igi-illa* = *nîš tni*. For *nîšu* without *tni*, cf. *aššat nîši-ka*, CT. VI 28b 23, 27.

⁸ This is the first example of *zin* 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-dúg* = *nasābu*.

29. *i-zi-em ág-dùg-KA+NE-a la-ba-dú¹* 29. Song and praise I restrain not.
30. *pi-el-pi-li ga-mu-ra-ab-šid* 30. Humiliation I will recite unto you.
- Edge. *šag-lal-lá² alam nu-un ki-tag-tag-i nu-ma-al* Edge. The hymn to the protecting³ 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, *bábbar-ri bábbar-ri-gim te-ga-bi zal*, resembles, both in title and literary construction, the late series *^dbabbar-gim è-ta* of which we have the second(?)⁴ tablet in Assyrian⁵

¹ For the root *du* = *kalû*, to restrain, compare on the one hand *dú* = *ne'u*, CT. 19, 11b 24, and on the other, *DU* = *kalû*, Br. 4886, SA1. 3332. The sign *DU* in this sense was read *gin* by me in *Sum. Gr.* 216 on the basis of *gi* = *ne'u*, p. 215. In any case *gub* means *kalû*, v. ZA. 10, 197, 16 *šag si-sá gub-ba = kušur libbi liklî*, "may contentment of heart abide," where *liklî* is a syn. of *ližžîž*. Note also *nam-ka-gar galu galu-ra in-na-gub-bi-eš*, "Man against man restrains complaint," STRASSMAIER, *Warka* 34, 16; *ba-an-gub-ba-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.

² Cf. *Liturgies*, p. 2 n. 4.

³ For *nun*, protector, v. CT. 16, 7, 243 *nu-un-mà ge-a*, "my protector may h: b:." Also the noun formation with *nin* > *in* > *en*, in *en-nu-un* = *mašartu*.

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 *^dbabbar-gim è-ta*. But its first line is the beginning of another Enlil song, see SBP. 238, 1.

⁵ IV R. 11.

and Neo-Babylonian¹ 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 *dámgara bádakur dúaka-nággallu*, which also forms Col. I of tablet two(?) in the allied series *ḫabbar-gim è-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 *šā-ab u-mu-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 litany begins a long list of titles each replacing the word *umun* "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 *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 intercessionals 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

¹SBH. No. 33. See SBP. 237-47.

²SBH. No. 39. This tablet almost certainly belongs to the series *ḫabbar-gim è-ta*.

³See *Bab. III* 249.

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|---|--|
| 3. UD ¹ <i>e-lum-e mu-un-ṣal-a-ri</i> ² | 3. <i>Babbar</i> the exalted illuminates. |
| 4. UD ¹ <i>ḏmu-ul-lil-li mu-un-ṣal-a-ri</i> | 4. <i>Babbar</i> -Enlil illuminates. |
| 5. <i>am-e urú e-en-ṣal-a-ri</i> | 5. The bull the city illuminates. |
| 6. <i>ḏmu-ul-lil-li urú-na e-en-ṣal-a-ri</i> | 6. Enlil his city illuminates. |
| 7. [ṣe-ib] <i>nibru-(ki)-na e-en-ṣal-a-ri</i> | 7. The brick-walls of Nippur he illuminates. |
| 8. [ṣe-ib é]- <i>kur-ra-ka e-en-ṣal-a-ri</i> | 8. [The brick-walls] of Ekur he illuminates. |
| 9. [ṣe-ib é -]- <i>gal-la³ e-en-ṣal-a-ri</i> | 9. The brick-walls of <i>the palace</i> he illuminates. |
| 10. [ṣe-ib ṣimbir-]- <i>ki-ta e-en-ṣal-a-ri</i> | 10. On the brick-walls of Sippar he shines. |
| 11. <i>ṣe-ib é-bàr-ra e-en-ṣal-a-ri</i> | 11. The brick-walls of Ebarra he illuminates. |
| 12. <i>urú⁴ ḏanunitum-ma⁵ e-en-ṣal-a-ri</i> | 12. The <i>city</i> of Anunit he illuminates. |
| 13. <i>ṣe-ib ul-maš-a-ta e-en-ṣal-a-ri</i> | 13. On the brick-walls of Ulmaš he shines. |
| 14. <i>ṣe-ib tin-tir-(ki)-ta e-en-ṣal-a-ri</i> | 14. On Babylon he shines. |
| 15. <i>ṣe-ib sag-il-la e-en-ṣal-a-ri</i> | 15. The brick-walls of Sagilla he illuminates. |
| 16. <i>ud múš til-e ud gīn til-e⁶</i> | 16. Spirit that brings the youth to extremity; spirit that brings the maid to extremity. |

form *ḏbabbar-gim ud-da-im-ta*. The same series appears in the catalogue IV R. 53 l 35 with the addition of *bar-ú* and this occurs also at the end of K. 3264, see SBP. 237. [This term *bar-ú* occurs as yet outside the catalogue l 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 *ḏbabbar-gim ḏ-ta*.

¹ The restoration [*dingir*]-*babbar* which would make "God Shamash," a title of Enlil does seem probable. Enlil 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. *ḏŠamaš-ḏEnlil*, "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 *egalla* 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 *Eulmaš* 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. <i>ud tūr gul-e ud amaš sir- ri</i> | 17. Spirit that destroys the stalls;
spirit that desolates the folds. |
| 18. <i>tug-aṣag-di ud šāb-ba nu-pad-dé-
da-ri¹</i> | 18. Possessor of <i>wisdom</i> , spirit whose
intentions are not discerned. |
| 19. <i>tūr al-gul-gul-e amaš sir-sir-ri</i> | 19. The stall it destroys; the sheep-
fold it desolates. |
| 20. <i>ág-ṣi-em maḡ-ba mu-da-ab-
gi-gi²</i> | 20. <i>Small</i> and great it slays. |
| 21. <i>múš-an-na lal-gub³ múš-bi še-ám-
šá</i> | 21. Upon the youth it arrives and
that youth wails aloud. |
| 22. <i>gīn-an-na⁴ lal-gub gīn-bi še-ám-
šá</i> | 22. Upon the maid it arrives and
that maiden wails aloud. |
| 23. [<i>giš-mes gal-gal-</i>] ⁵ <i>gú-ri-⁶[uš-ám-
me]</i> | 23. The great <i>mēsu</i> -trees it sweeps
away. |
| 24. [<i>ud-du dū-dū-</i>] <i>dam šu-šú [al-ma-
ma]</i> | 24. Spirit that reduces all things
to obedience. |
| 25. [<i>e-ne-em⁷ enu-ul-lil-li bul-bul-ám
i-dé nu-bar-bar-</i>] <i>ri</i> | 25. The word of Enlil rushes forth
and eye beholds it not. |
| 26. | 26. |
| 27. ....NE | 27. |
| 28. [<i>...⁸mu-ul-lil-li...</i>] <i>NE</i> | 28. |
| 29. [<i>ù-mu-</i>] <i>jun-e [kur-kur-ra⁸....
..]</i> | 29. The lord of the lands..... |
| 30. [<i>ù-mu-</i>] <i>jun dúg-ga-[ṣid-da....]</i> | 30. Lord of the faithful word..... |
| 31. [<i>a-a ka-nag-ga....]</i> | 31. The father of the Land.... |
| 32. [<i>sib sag-gig-ga...</i>] | 32. The shepherd of the dark-headed
people... |

¹ Var. has another emphatic particle *nam*; *da* postfixed passive particle.

² Var. *mu-ám-da-ab-gi-gi*.

³ Var. *múš-a-[na] nam-mi-gub*.

⁴ Var. *mi-a-na*.

⁵ Var. *e*.

⁶ Var. *gú-gūr-ru*. For *gur*, *gurgur*, *gugur*, to sweep away, see *Sum. Gr.* 219 *gur* 1.

⁷ These signs correspond to KL. 12 I 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 *dé* or *ne*, or *bé*. 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-dū ni-te-na....]

33. He of self-created vision....

34. [am erin-na sá-sá...]

34. The hero who directs his host

....

35. [ù-lul-la dūr-dūr....]

35. He that quiets the strength of
rebellion...

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

COL. II

1. dam-ga¹-ra ba-da-[kúr dū-a ka-
nag-gà al-lú]1. The shepherd is estranged, all
the Land is terrorized.2. urú-ta dam-ga¹-ra [ba-da-kúr dū-
a ka-nag-gà al-lú]2. Against the city the shepherd
is estranged, all the Land is
terrorized.3. mu-lu-sir-ra² éš [nibru-(ki-)ta ba]3. The master of threnody against
the abodes of Nippur is
estranged.4. še-ib é-kur-ra-ta [ken-úr³ é-nam-
ti-la⁴ ba]4. Against the brick-walls of Ekur,
of Kenur and Enamtila he is
estranged.5. še-ib é⁵ zimbir-(ki-)[ta éš é-bar-ra
ba- da- kúr]5. Against the brick-walls of Sippar
and the abode Ebarra he is
estranged.6. še-ib tin-tir-(ki)-ka-[ta é-sag-il-la
ba]6. Against the brick-walls of Tintir
and Esagila, etc.7. urú-ta ù-mu-un-bi [na-ām-ba-da-
an-tar]7. Against the city whose lord has
cursed it.8. ga-ša-an-bi gi-gi-a⁶ [ba-da-an-tuš]8. Its mistress⁷ sits in misery.9. urú ù-mu-un⁸-[bi li li-bé-in-tar-
ra-bi]9. The city, whose lord no longer
guides its destiny,¹ Var. SBP. 238, 1 *kar*.² *bēl širḫi*, here a title of Enlil as the one who caused the lamentations of Nippur. The same title is applied to Gula in KL. 25 II 7.³ Chapel of Ninlil in Ekur.⁴ Chapel of Enlil in Ekur.⁵ Sic! an error of dittography.⁶ Var. *gi-gi-bi*.⁷ Ninlil.⁸ Text *e-en* which is probably erroneous.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 10. <i>ù-mu-un-e</i> ^d [<i>mu-ul-lil-li lil-la-áš tu-ra-bi</i>] ¹ | 10. Which the lord Enlil surrendered to the winds. |
| 11. <i>mulu er-ra-ge er mu-ni-ib-šéš-šéš</i> | 11. The mourner mourns. |
| 12. <i>mulu ad-da-ge ad-[du mu-ni-ib-gar]</i> | 12. The wailer beats himself. |
| 13. <i>mu-dül-²di gif-gir-³mu-ni-ib-[dúg?]</i> | 13. The herdsman hastens in distress. |
| 14. <i>sib-bé gi-er⁴ mu-ni-ib-ne⁵</i> | 14. The shepherd sits down to play the reed of weeping. |
| 15. <i>gudu giš-asilal-lá⁶ nu-mu-ni-ib-bé</i> | 15. The anointer commands no more the atonement. |
| 16. <i>gala-e⁷ a šag-ru nu-mu-ni-ib-bé⁸</i> | 16. The psalmist commands no more the "How long thy heart?" |
| 17. <i>gudu-bi dug-li-da⁹ ba-ra-è</i> | 17. The anointer departs from his riches. |
| 18. <i>en-bi mi-pàr-¹⁰ta ba-ra-è</i> | 18. Her high-priest from the dark chamber ¹¹ has gone forth. ¹² |
| 19. <i>ù-mu-un-bi nu-mu-un-til ga-ša-[an]-bi nu-mu-un-til</i> | 19. Her sovereign remains not; her queen remains not. |
| 20. <i>u-mu-un dīm-¹³ma kur-šú ba-ū¹⁴</i> | 20. The lord cried aloud and rode to the mountains. |
| 21. <i>[ga]-ša-[an]-bi¹⁵ dīm-ma¹³ kur-šú ba-da-ū¹⁴</i> | 21. Her queen cried aloud and rode to the mountains. |

¹ Here begins KL. 12 II 1 = SBP. 238, 19.

² *mudul* < *mudur* = *batū*, staff, *Sum. Gr.* 229. Here used also for shepherd. This word goes back to *mu-gur* = *GIŠ-BU* = *mudulu*, *gašišu*, *maššū*, *gišlalū*, 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. *gir-gir*; the root is *gir* (i), hasten, be nervous, *galātu*; this fixes also the original sense of *šāpu*, tread, hasten.

⁴ Var. *er-ra*.

⁵ *ne* = *nad*.

⁶ Var. *gudu-bi asilal-lá* = *pašissu duppir*, v. FRANK, *Religion*, 64 n. 147.

⁷ Or *lagar*, *labar*, see BL. XIX f.

⁸ Var. *ib*.

⁹ Var. *ta*.

¹⁰ Var. *par*.

¹¹ *gišaru* usually indicates a stage of the *zigurra*. See RA. 11, 109.

¹² Here the later version has an insertion concerning the psalmist, v. SBP. 240, 37.

¹³ Var. *idim-ma-ra* [sic!].

¹⁴ Var. *a*.

¹⁵ Here begins KL. 33 II.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 22. <i>ka-a¹ kun-bi mi-ni-ib-úr-úr-e²</i> | 22. The fox's tail <i>bristled</i> . |
| 23. <i>dar-ġu³e ġù-il-la im-ta-di-di-e⁴</i> | 23. The many colored bird shrieked
aloud. |
| 24. <i>šāb-bi lil-la-ām bar-bi lil-la-ām</i> | 24. Within her is the whistling
wind; without her is the
whistling wind. ⁵ |
| 25. <i>šāb-bi si-ga⁶ ni-gul-gul-e</i> | 25. Her interior by the wind is
made desolate. ⁷ |
| 26. <i>šāb-bi mu-lu sîr-ra⁸ mulu im-ta-
ne-a⁹</i> | 26. Within her the master of thren-
ody and weeping has caused
men to go forth. |
| 27. <i>mar(?) – maġ-bi¹⁰ ki-¹¹ba i-ni-gid-
da</i> | 27. Her <i>treasure house</i> from its place
has been seized. |
| 28. <i>mu maġ-bi i-ra in-dib</i> | 28. Her has been taken. |
| 29. <i>an-ġu-ab-bi ba-gaṣ-gaṣ</i> | 29. Her has been demolished. |
| 30. <i>ba</i> | |

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 *úr-úr-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. 11a 47 and Nip. 4561 I 14 have *ġu* 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. 11a 51 *ni-si-ga=ni-sig=urpatu, irpitu*. This form yields the true reading of *IM-DIRIG* and also establishes the word *ni, ní* for wind.

⁷ Here SBH. 62, 29 IV R. 11a 53=SBH. 92b 8 have *e-dé-bi ġul-a ni-gul-gul-e*, v. SBP. 242, 53.

⁸ Cf. SBH. 92b 9, *mu-lu sîr-er-ra=bél širḫi u biḫḫti*.

⁹ Probably for *im-ta-ni-à-a=ušēšī-šunuti*

¹⁰ *mar-maġ=tublu?* Cf. *é-e šid-lal=tublu* SBH 92b 24 and *maġ=tublu* II R. a 49. *tublu* designates some part of the temple here.

¹¹ ZIMMERN'S text has *DI*.

COL. III

(About twenty-two lines broken from the top.)

- | | |
|---|--|
| (23) 6. ^d <i>am-an-ki am urú-ši-ib-ba-ge</i>
(24) 7. <i>ama é-maġ² ^ddam-gal-nun-na-ge</i>
(25) 8. ^d <i>asar-lù-dug ù-mu-un tin-tir-(ki)-ge</i>
(26) 9. <i>mu-ud-na-ni ^dpà-nun-na-ki-ge⁵</i>
(27) 10. <i>sukkal⁸-ṣid mu-dug-ga-sà-[a]</i>
(28) 11. <i>sukkal-ṣid ù-mu-un [.
 ⁷]</i>
(29) 12. <i>dumu⁸-sag ^d[uraš-a é-gi-a-ni]</i>
(30) 13. <i>ù-[mu-un mu-du-ru sīg-šu-dú]</i> | 6. The divine wild bull of heaven and earth, wild bull of the holy city. ¹
7. Mother ³ of the house of the famous one, goddess, great spouse ⁴ of the prince.
8. Asarludug, lord of Babylon.
9. His spouse, Panunnakige.
10. The faithful messenger, he named with a good name.
11. The faithful messenger.
12. The first born daughter of Urašā, his <i>bride</i> .
13. The lord of the wand, adorned with splendor. ⁹ |
|---|--|

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 *éš-maġ*; see also 106, 7 and IV R. 21* No. 2 Rev. 13. On the other hand 112, 26 has *ama dumu-maġ*, "Mother of the famous son," i. e., Marduk. *éš-maġ* and *é-maġ*=*bit šēri*, probably a technical name. For the *é-maġ* of E-ninnū at Lagash, see SAK. 68 V 51 (and 88 l), IV 1, built by the canal. *bit šēri* 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. *maġ* should not render *šēru*, "field, highland," but *šēru*, "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.

³ "Mother" is probably used in a pregnant sense, "she who bore the god of the house of the water cult."

⁴ Read *dam* with all variants; ZIMMERN has *nin*.

⁵ For *pà-nun-an-ki-ge*, which is obviously the original of the meaningless *PAP-nun-an-ki*, *PAP-nun-na-ki*. 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. <i>gi</i>	2. <i>pa-te-si-ge(?)</i>
3. <i>ur-sag ligir?</i>	4. <i>ù-mu-un-si</i> ¹ ^d [<i>mu-ul-lil-lá</i>] <i>ligir ni</i>
5. <i>ur-sag-gal(?)</i> [^d <i>urašā-ra</i> ?] ^p	6. <i>zu(?)</i> - <i>ri-kur-ra</i> ²
7. ³ <i>amurrū</i> [<i>mu-lu gar-sag-gà-ge?</i>]	8. <i>šu(?)</i>
9-15 no traces.	
16. <i>nin</i> ⁴	17. <i>ama-gal</i> <i>ga-[ša-an</i>]
18. <i>urú-mu-a</i>	19. <i>nibru</i> -(<i>ki</i>).....
20. ....	.....⁶

REVERSE II

(16) 1. <i>mu é-dū-a mu-mu pad-dé</i> <i>mu-mu nu-pad-dé</i>	1. The name of the builded temple by my name is named, which by my name was not called.
(17) 2. <i>mu urú-dū-a mu-mu pad-dé</i> <i>mu-mu nu-pad-dé</i>	2. The name of the builded city by my name is called, which by my name was not called.
(18) 3. <i>kur in-gaz-e kur in-ga-sīg</i> <i>mu-mu ni-pad-dé</i>	3. "The strange land he smites, the strange land he humili- ated," shall my name be called.
(19) 4. <i>kur ur-ba um-mi-in-gul uḡ-</i> <i>ga mu-mu ni-pad-dé</i>	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 Ninurašā.² Title of Ramman? Cf., however, SBH. 56, 2 for *zu-ri(?)*³ Cf. BL. No. 56 r. 20. Read *umun* after *gal*?⁴ KL., 16 l. 1.⁵ Restore, 20. *s[ub še-ib é-kur-ra ki-dé-en-gi-gi]*21. [*ki-šū-bi-im balag gù-dé*]??⁶ Here ended this column.

- (20) 5. *kur-kur qar-ri-eš-e¹ mu-un-gab-gab² mu-mu ni-pad-dē*
 (21) 6. *ki-bal qar-ri-eš-e¹ mu-un-gāl-gāl³ mu-mu ni-pad-dē*
 (22) 7. *a-(gi-a)-mu(?) -a um-mi-in-sur mu-mu ni-pad-dē*
 (23) 8. *šag gi-ū gi-ū⁴ šā-ab túg-e túg-e⁵*
 (24) 9. *šag an-[na]⁶ gi-ū gi-ū*
 (25) 10. *šag^d mu-ul-lil-lá gi-ū gi-ū*
 (26) 11. [*šag ur-sag-gal*] *gi-ū gi-ū*
 (27) 12. [*šag gi-ū*] *gi- [ū]*
 (28) 13. [*šag gi-ū*] *gi-ū*
 (29) 14. *šā-ab šu-mu-un-túg-[mal] im⁸ ra- du'-[a]⁹*
 (30) 15. [*uru-*] *zu^d babbar-gim za-e-ta [ē-bar-ra]¹⁰*
 (31) 16. *nippur-(ki)^d babbar-gim za-e-[ta ē-bar- ra]*
5. "The lands in anger he devastated," my name shall be called.
 6. "The hostile land, in anger he destroyed," shall my name be called.
 7. "With . . . waters he *makes clean*," shall my name be called.
 8. Oh heart, be reconciled, be reconciled, oh heart, repose, repose.
 9. Oh heart of Anu, be reconciled, be reconciled.
 10. Oh heart of Enlil, be reconciled, be reconciled.
 11. Oh heart of the great hero,⁷ be reconciled, be reconciled.
 12. Oh heart of . . . be reconciled, etc.
 13. Oh heart of . . . be reconciled, etc.
 14. To cause the heart to repose, let us speak unto thee.
 15. Unto thy city like the sun hasten gloriously.
 16. Unto Nippur like the sun hasten gloriously.

¹ Sic!² *gab-gab* = *gab-gab* = *kummuru*.³ On this root see *Sum. Gr.* 214.⁴ Cf. IV R. 21*^b 30 and *Sum. Gr.* §216.⁵ Cf. *ibid.* 32. Var. KL. 84 *ša-ab gi-ū*, etc.⁶ Cf. BL. 49, 4 and MEEK, No. 32, 4. Var. KL. 84, 1 has *šag^d gu-la*, a title of Anu.⁷ *I. e.*, Ninurašā. Cf. BL. 49, 13.⁸ Sic! not *NE*.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 *zi-zi-ta*. *za-e* = *zö* or *zē* is for *zal* > *zā* > *zē*; for the tendency of open *ā* to become *ē*, cf. *a-sū* > *e-sū* > *e-zu*, CT. 25, 20, 18; *ē* = *mā*, "water," for *ā*, in KL. 2 I 10, *ē urú*, "waters of the city," for which SCHEIL, *Tammuz* has *a-urú*. *ē nu-me-a*, "waters were not," KL. 44 r. 5, cf. BL. 207, III 2 and p. 110 note. For *ē-bar-ra*, SBH. has *ē-ba-ra* = *ār-ḫa*, energetic imperative, "hasten." *za-e-ta*, *zi-zi-ta* = *ina upē*. For *upē*, cf. KING, *Magic* 20, 12 and SBH. 128, r. 37.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (32) 17. <i>é-kur</i> ^d <i>babbar-gim</i> <i>za-e-ta è-bar-ra</i> | 17. Unto Ekur like the sun hasten gloriously. |
| (33) 18. <i>ken-úr</i> ^d <i>babbar-gim</i> [<i>za-e-ta è-bar-ra</i>] | 18. Unto Kenur like the sun hasten gloriously. |
| (34) 19. <i>zimbir-(ki)</i> ^d <i>babbar-gim</i> <i>za-e-ta è-bar-ra</i> | 19. Unto Sippar like the sun hasten gloriously. |

REVERSE III

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. [<i>é-bàr-ra</i> ^d <i>babbar-gim</i> <i>za-e-ta è-bar-ra</i>] | 1. Unto Ebarra like the sun hasten gloriously. |
| 2. [<i>urú</i> ^d <i>anunitum-ma</i> ^d <i>babbar-gim</i> <i>za-e-ta è-bar-ra</i>] | 2. Unto the city of Anunit like the sun hasten gloriously. |
| 3. [<i>é-ul-maš</i> ^d <i>babbar-gim</i> <i>za-e-ta è-bar-ra</i>] | 3. Unto Ulmas like the sun hasten gloriously. |
| 4. [<i>tin-tir-(ki)</i> ^d <i>babbar-gim</i> <i>za-e-ta è-bar-ra</i> ¹] | 4. Unto Babylon like the sun hasten gloriously. |
| 5. [<i>é-sag-il-la</i> ^d <i>babbar-gim</i> <i>za-e-ta è-bar-ra</i>] | 5. Unto Esagilla like the sun hasten gloriously. |
| 6. [<i>nippur-ki urú-šu</i> ² <i>urú-šu</i> <i>ge-dū-e</i>] | 6. [Thy city Nippur] be built. |
| 7. [<i>é-kur é-šu</i> <i>nippur-(ki)</i> <i>ge-dū-e</i>] | 7. [Thy temple Ekur] in Nippur be built. |
| 8. [<i>ken-úr é-nam-ti-la</i>] <i>ge-dū-e</i> | 8. [Kenur and Enamtila] be built. |
| 9. <i>zimbir-ki ge-dū-e</i> [<i>é-bàr-ra</i>] <i>ge-dū-e</i> | 9. Sippar be built, Ebarra be built. |
| 10. <i>é-sá-kud-kalam-ma ge-dū-e</i> [...] <i>ge-dū-e</i> | 10. Esakudkalam-ma be built, . . . be built. |
| 11. <i>tin-tir-(ki) ge-dū-e sag-ila ge-dū-e</i> | 11. Babylon be built, Sagilla be built. |
| 12. <i>é-zi-da</i> ³ <i>ge-dū-e kiš-(ki) ge-dū-e</i> | 12. Ezida be built, Kish be built. |
| 13. <i>é-kišib-ba ge-dū-e é-me-te-ur-sag ge-dū-e</i> | 13. Ekišibba be built, Emeteursag be built. ⁴ |
| 14. <i>gar-sag-kalam-ma ge-dū-e é-tur-kalam-ma ge-dū-e</i> | 14. Harsagkalamma be built, Eturkalamma be built. ⁵ |

¹ First line on KL. 12 Rev. III.² So ZIMMERN'S text. Not *ki*. Cf. SBH. 70, 21.³ 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 Emetenursag.⁵ Probably both temples in quarters of Erech, cf. BL. 93, 7 f.; 78, 31 f. According to KL. 199 r. 1 35 Harsagkalamma is also the name of a temple in Kish.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 15. <i>gú-dū-a-ki ġe-dū-e mes-lam ġe-dū-e</i> | 15. Cutha be built, Meslam be built. |
| 16. <i>dil-bad-(ki) [ġe-dū-e]é-i-bé-an-na ġe-dū-e¹</i> | 16. Dilbat be built, E-ibe-Anu be built. |
| 17. [<i>šag-iṣi-túm ġe-ra-ab-bi</i>] | 17. [May one utter petition unto thee.] ² |
| 18. [<i>dib-bi-iṣi-túm ġe-ra-ab-bi</i>] | 18. [May one utter <i>intercession</i> unto thee.] |
| 19. [<i>šag-ġi-ū šag túg-mal-ù</i>] | 19. [Oh heart be reconciled, oh heart repose.] |
| 20. .... | ..... |

SBH. No. 39.

SERIES, "LIKE THE SUN HASTEN"

This tablet belongs to the Neo-Babylonian redaction of the series *‘babbar-gim-è-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 ṣal*, which see, for a new edition of SBP. 238–43. I venture to designate BL. 73,³ an Assyrian copy, as the sixth or last tablet. This text contains the *eršemma* 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 è-ta ša i^{lu}Enlil*.⁴ 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 MEEK. 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 bàr-an-na-ra* series, SBP. 96-129.

OBVERSE?

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

- | | |
|--|--|
| ..... | .....¹ |
| 1. <i>i-dê-ṣu</i> [<i>û-di-ṣu nu- kuš-ù</i>] | 1. Thy seeing eyes weary not. ² |
| 2. <i>tig-ṣu ki-ma-al-[la nu-gí- gí]</i> ³ | 2. When thy neck is set it turns not back. |
| 3. <i>šag-ṣu bal-bal li-šú ni⁴-kuš-ù</i> | 3. How long until thine estranged heart weary not? |
| 4. <i>dam bé-ib-tāg ki-kúr-ra bé-in-šub</i> | 4. The wife he rescued and settled in a strange place. |
| 5. <i>aš-ša-ta ú-še-zib-ma a-šar ša-nim-ma id-di</i> | |
| 6. <i>dumu bé-ib-tāg nim-nim-ma bé-in-šub</i> | 6. The son he rescued and settled in a place not his own. |
| 7. <i>ma-ra ú-še-zib-ma ina la áš-ra-[ti]-šù(?) id-di⁴</i> | |
| 8. <i>mu-un-ga ma-al-la kúr-ri ba-an-zi-em⁵</i> | 8. The accumulated property thou hast given to the stranger. |
| 9. <i>ma-ak-ku-ri šak-na ana nak-ri ta-ad-din</i> | |
| 10. <i>gil-sa-a ma-al-la kúr-ri⁶ [šú-kut-ta ša-kin-ta ana nakri taddin]</i> | 10. The hoarded treasures thou hast given to the stranger. |
| 11. <i>giš-gu-za-aṣag-ga-bi kúr-ri ba-an-da-tuš</i> | 11. 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 *gí*. Cf. SBP. 138, 21.

⁴ So IV R. 28* 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."

⁶ Cf. BL. XVI 25.

⁷ Cf. *ibid.* 27.

12. ina ku-us-si-ša¹ el-li nak-ri it-
ta-ša-ab
13. *mu-nad-bi² aṣag-ga-bi kúr-ri ba-
an-da-nad*
14. ina ir-ši-šu el-li-tu ša-nu-um-
ma i-ni-il
15. *é-ṣu mu-lu-kúr-ra a-gim mu-un-
na-ṣi-em*
16. bit-ka ana nak-ri ki-i ta-ad-
din
17. *uru-ṣu mu-lu-kúr-ra a-gim*
18. *ṣag-ṣu ḡe-en-túg-mal bar-ṣu ḡe-
en-šed- dé*
19. ^d*mu-[ul-] lil-lá-[ḡe?] ṣag-ṣu*
20. [^d*kur-gal am-]*nad³ ṣag-ṣu
21. [nippur-ki] urú-ṣu ḡe-dū-e
22. [nippur-ki] āla-ka li-in-ni-
pu-uš-ma
23. [é-kur] é-ṣu ḡe-dū- e
24. [ken-úr é-nam-ti-la éš] nippur-ra⁴
ḡe
25. [é-te-me-an-ki éš] é-dār-an-na ḡe-
dū
26. urú-ṣu babbar-gim ṣi-ṣi-ta è-ba-
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.
21. Nippur thy city be rebuilt.
23. Ekur thy temple be rebuilt.
24. Kenur and Enamtila the
abode(s) of Nippur be rebuilt.
25. Etemeanke and the abode Edar-
anna be rebuilt.
26. Unto thy city like the sun
hasten in splendor.

¹ Sic! but l. 14 *ina ir-ši-šu*, where the masc. *šu* is employed. The pronouns can hardly refer to *šukuttu* for no evidence supports a meaning "chapel, shrine" for *šukuttu*, although it has the meaning "treasure house," BL. 47, 18. Cf. SBH. 84, 9 where it is a synonym of *makkuru*. *ša* and *šu* cannot both be employed of the same antecedent unless one or the other is an error. I regard *bītu*, "temple" (always masc.) as the antecedent and *ša* as an error.

² Sic! an error. Strike *bī*.

³ Restoration uncertain. Cf. SBP. 276, 9.

⁴ Here the scribe has written, 6 *mu-meš gū-ud-meš*, "Six lines are omitted." These six lines are:

- (1) *ṣimbir-(ki) ḡe-dū-e*, "Sippar be rebuilt."
 (2) *é-bār-ra é-sá-kud-kalama ḡe*, "Ebarra and Esakudkalama, etc."
 (3) *tin-tir-ki ḡe*, "Babylon, etc."
 (4) *é-sag-il-la é-tūr-kalama ḡe*, "Esagilla and Eturkalama, etc."
 (5) *baḏ-si-ab-ba-(ki) ḡe*, "Barsippa, etc."
 (6) *é-ṣi-da éš é-maḡ-ti-la ḡe*, "Ezida and the shrine Emahtila, etc."

See for these lines SBP. 238, 6-11.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 27. ana âli-ka ki-ma ^{ilu} šamši ina
u-pi-e ar-ḥa | |
| 28. nippur-ki urû- ^d zū ^d babbar-gim ^{zi} i ¹ | 28. Unto Nippur thy city like the
sun in splendor hasten. |
| 29. é-dár-[an-na ^d babbar-gim ^{zi} i] | 29. Unto Edaranna like the sun in
splendor hasten. |
| 30. | 30. ² |
| | |

REVERSE(?)

(Eight or ten lines missing.)³

- | | |
|--|--|
| | |
| 1. ....é..... | 1. the temple.... |
| 2. [elim-ma?] umun kur-kur-[ra-ge] | 2. Ob exalted one, lord of lands. |
| 3. [....-]ra umun ^d mu-ul- il-lá | 3. ....lord Enlil. |
| 4. elim-ma ur-sag ^d asar-lù-dug | 4. Oh exalted one, heroic Asar-
ludug. |
| 5. ur-sag-gal umun ^d en-bi-lu-lu | 5. Mighty hero, lord Enbilulu. |
| 6. sib [^{zi} i-da?] sib sag-gíg- ga | 6. Faithful shepherd, shepherd of
the dark-headed peoples. ⁴ |
| 7. mu-lu sag- ^{zu} a túg ba-tul-la ⁵ | 7. Thou who hast covered thy
head with a garment. |
| 8. tig- ^{zu} ùr-ra ba-e-ni-mar-ra | 8. Thy neck thou hast placed in
thy bosom. |
| 9. šag- ^{zu} gi-pisan-gim ãm-ma ba-
šù-a | 9. Thy heart like a reed water
bucket thou hast covered. |
| 10. e-lum mu-uš-pitug- ^{zu} ùr-ra mi-
ni-ib-us-sa ⁶ | 10. Exalted one thou hast put thine
ears in thy bosom. |
| 11. [dúg-ga- ^{zu} a-ba mu-]un-kúr-ri dé | 11. Thy command who can alter? |
| 12. ki-bīt-ka man-nu u-nak-kar | |
| 13. tağ-a- ^{zu} a-ba mu-un-dib-bi-dé | 13. Thy help who can surpass? |

¹ Here again six lines with the six titles in note 2 and the refrain ^dbabbar-gim ^{zi}i-^{zi}-ta è-ba-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, ^{ge}-dū-e and ^dbabbar-gim ^{zi}i-^{zi}-ta (or ^{za}-e-ta) è-ba-ra, characterize the last melody of the classical series Ni. 4591 + KL. 12, but occur there in the order ^dbabbar-gim, etc., and ^{ge}-dū-e.

³ Here began a melody whose motif is lost.

⁴ SBP. 124, 5; 120, 7, etc.

⁵ Var. SBH. 131, 50 bi-tul-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-dé il-la-žu a-ba ba-ra-è | 15. From thy vision who escapes? ¹ |
| 16. dug-bad-du-žu a-ba ba-ra-šub-bu | 16. From thy stride who shall flee? |
| 17. kur igi-nim-la mu-un-žu mağ-ám | 17. In the upper land thy name is famous. |
| 18. ina ma-a-tu e-li-tu šum-ka ši-ri | |
| 19. kur-igi-sig-ga-la mu-un-žu mağ-ám | 19. In the lower land thy name is famous. |
| 20. ina ma-a-tu šap-li-tu šum-ka ši-ri | |
| 21. an-na mağ-mèn ki-a mağ-mèn | 21. In heaven thou art mighty; in earth thou art mighty. |
| 22. ina ša-me-e ši-ra-ta ina irši-tim ši-ra-ta | |
| 23. an-na mağ-mèn mu-un-žu mağ-ám | 23. In heaven thou art mighty and thy name is famous. |
| 24. ina šami-e ši-ra-ta šum-ka ši-ri | |
| 25. mu-un-žu mağ-ám za-e dingir mağ-ám | 25. Thy name is famous; thou art a mighty god. |
| 26. šum-ka ši-rum at-tu i-lum ši-rum | |
| 27. za-e dingir mağ-ám dam-žu nin-mağ-ám ² | 27. Thou art a mighty god and thy consort is a mighty queen. ³ |
| 28. ditto aš-šat-ka be-lit ilani | |
| 29. dam-[žu ^d a-]ru-ru ⁴ SAL+KU ^d mu-ul-lil- lá | 29. Thy consort is Aruru, sister of Enlil. |
| 30. [aš-šat-ka ^{ilat} a-ru-ru ⁵] a-ḥat | 30. |
| 31. ^d mu-ul-lil-lá | 31. of Enlil |

(About twenty-four lines broken away.)

¹ Cf. SBP. 8 n. 2.

² Cf. SBP. 276 Rev. 1, *ga-ša-an nu-um-til dam-žu ga-ša-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 *bēl* of Nippur and his consort, originally his sister Aruru, was given the name Ninlil. In MEEK, 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."

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 ù-mu-un túg-e-en-ne ul-li-eš
ša-ab túg-mal bar túg-mal-da láb-¹bé-en
me-en-ne ša-ab ù-mu-un mu-un-túg-e-en-ne ul-li-eš
ša-ab an-na šag ^dasar-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."²

Note that the prefix *mu-un* in line 4 indicates that we restore *mu-un-túg-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-nunuš 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*, *laš*, *lag* (= *alāku*) when followed by *NE* should probably be read *lab-be*.

² See for these restorations *Babyloniaca* 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. <i>ga-ša-an i-ri-ga-al¹ a-ma ku-ul-la-ba ab</i> | 1. Oh queen of the "great city,"
mother of Kullab, <i>ab</i> ² |
| 2. <i>en-a-nu-un³ dūr-ur-ku⁴ imin ab</i> | 2. Enanun that harnesses the
seven dogs, <i>ab</i> |
| 3. <i>ma-sú in-da-ag⁵ ra mu-ú-ri-na⁶ ab</i> | 3. Chieftain Indag, the <i>urinu</i> -
spear, <i>ab</i> |

¹ Note l. 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 ilat¹Gula*, "Mother-womb, Gula," a title emphasizing the mother goddess as patroness of childbirth, see *Tammuz and Ishtar* 60. Also *en-d-nun ama gū-an-ni-si-ge* 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 gū-an-ni-si-ge* is rendered, *um-mi iš-ta-[ra šarrat ša-su-u]*, "The mother Ishtar, queen of lamentation," restored from K. 4349 D² 8 in CT. 24, 21, a variant of CT. 25, 2, 33. K. 4349 D² recognizes both aspects of Enanun, *i. e.*, *ištara šarrat šasū* (=Innini as weeping mother) and *ummi rīmi ša ilat¹Gula*, "Mother-womb, this is Gula." For *en-d-nun ama gū-an-ni-si* as title of Innini see also, ZIMMERN, KL. 11 Rev. III 1. *gū-an-ni-si* is perhaps, despite the Semitic translation above, to be regarded with RADAU, BE. 30, 14 as a variant of *gū-d-nu-sá=gū-d-nu(n)-gi-a* (by palatalization, see *Sum. Gr.* §40(b))=*ḫarradat ša la immaḥḥar*, see SBP. 158, 58; 82, 52; 86, 28 and *ku-a-nu-si*, KL. 11 Rev. III 7. Hence *En-d-nu(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 *gū-a-nu-si=ilat¹Allatum*, CT. 25, 4, 25.

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

⁵ Var. of *il¹Endagga*, husband of Gula, CT. 25, 2, 32 (=K. 4349 D² 7).

⁶ *mu < giš* as in *mu-uri=urinu*, M⁸, 82-5-22; 574, 8. For *giš-uri*, a spear with handle, see RA. V 130. Uncertain.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 10. <i>ù-mu-un ma-da šu-du¹ a-na[ab]</i> | 10. Lord of the earth, light of
heaven, <i>ab</i> |
| 11. <i>ù-mu-un a-ṣu² ù-mu-un e-[.
ab]</i> | 11. Lord, healer, lord [of the seizing
hand] |
| 12. <i>ù-mu-un mu-ṣi-da³ gu-ni . . [ab]</i> | 12. "Lord of the true tree," whose
neck <i>ab</i> . |

1. <i>e-ri-da⁴</i>	<i>gu i-nu</i> [... <i>ab</i>]	1. Oh virile lord, ox..... <i>ab</i>
2. <i>ga-ša-an ti-il-dib-ba me</i>	<i>zi</i> ...[<i>ab</i>]	2. Queen that gives life to the dying....[<i>ab</i>]
3. <i>ga-ša-an su-bu-ra⁵ ba-an-su-ur⁶-</i> <i>a-na ab</i>		3. Queen of the earth, heavenly table, <i>ab</i>

* Literally, "table of heaven." Ninmarki, a related type of mother goddess in RADAU, *Miscel.* 3, 4, is called *giš-banšur gir-gi-ne=paššur=ubarti*, "table for the fugitive handmaid." [*ubarru*, fugitive, Sum. *gir* in JSL. 28, 232, 16 and *me-e gir-mèn=u-ba-ra-ku*, a fugitive am I, MEEK, 87, 9=SBP. 122, 33=BL. 94, 12. Hence *u-ba-ru*, foreign resident, contrasted with *mar āli*, native citizen, Shurpu VIII 41. Note *ubartu*, 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 *paššur niši*, "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* I take to be the ordinary theological addition *ana*, *anna*, "heavenly," see *Tammuṣ and Išhtar*, 29 n. 1, 44, etc.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>4. <i>ga-ša-an i-si-na ma-šu-gi¹ ki-ga</i>
 <i>ab</i></p> <p>5. <i>du-mu-žu pa-bi-il-sa-ág² tu-ku-ul³</i>
 <i>nam-mu-žu⁴ ab</i></p> <p>6. <i>gu-nu-ra⁵ di-im-gu-ul ka-na-ām-</i>
 <i>mà ab</i></p> <p>7. <i>da-mu sa-ga⁷ me-ir-si ni-mi-in-</i>
 <i>dī ab</i></p> | <p>4. Queen of Isin, sovereign of the earth, <i>ab</i></p> <p>5. Thy son Pabilsag, <i>the comforter of wisdom (love?), ab</i></p> <p>6. Gunura, <i>tarkul⁶</i> of the Land, <i>ab</i></p> <p>7. Pious Tammuz, who the floods causes to flow, <i>ab</i></p> |
|--|---|

¹ *mašugi* = *māš-sag* = *ašaridu*, SAL. 1178, and probably identical with *māš-šug* = *massū*, leading-goat; hence, lord, chieftain. Shamash is *māš-sag kur-kur-ra* = *ašarid matāla*, "sovereign of the lands," MEEK, 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 *Belit-šēri* (= *Geštinanna*, sister of Tammuz) *Gula* and *Gunura* (= *Ninā* sister of Ningirsu). This list of eleven gods, ll. 10–20, refers obviously to Innini 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 *Nintin-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, *Pabilšarsag* lord of Larak, is probably his most ancient name, hence by origin a mountain god, type of Tammuz, who became a local *ba'al* 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-uraš* 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. I 25 and Syl. C. 265. *tukul* is then a Semitic loan word.

⁴ *nam-mu-žu* = *narāmu*(?) probably not *rēmu*, mercy. In any case the idea of love suits the character of Tammuz. *mu-lu-mu-žu* = *ra'imtu*, "[Ištar] the loving," or "the merciful"(?), in SBH. 106, 53, leaves us in doubt concerning the root, *rāmu* or *rēmu*. If this interpretation be correct *nam-mu-žu* contains the root *žu* with abstract prefix *giš* > *muš* > *mu* and the abstract prefix *nam*. *mulu mu-žu* really means *bēl* (or *bēlit*) *mūdātī*, "He of wisdom," and the rendering *ra'imtu* "she that loves" is secondary. For *giš-žu* = *mūdātu*, wisdom, cf. *gal-mu-žu*, "Mighty in wisdom," Gud. Cyl. A. 12, 20. Another *giš-žu* = tablet, scroll, in colophons, see Del. H. W. 193b 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, *giš-mā-mug*.

⁷ Var. *šág-ga* = *damku*, SBP. 160, 14; KL. 8 IV 6.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 8. ù-mu-un ^d Immer am i-di-en ¹ ab ² | 8. Lord, god of the storms, bull of
terror, <i>ab</i> |
| 9. ù-mu-un šī ³ ka-na-ām-mà šī
kur-kur-ra? | 9. Lord of the life of Sumer, of the
life of the lands. . . . |
| 10. su-ud du-mu nu-un e-še-en-di-li ⁴
aṣag-[ga ab] | 10. Sud, daughter of the prince,
radiant ešendili, <i>ab</i> |
| 11. e-ṣi-ra na-ām-in-ge še-i-li na-ām-
dib-dib-bi ⁵ | 11. |
| 12. su-mu-un-ga-an ⁶ ṣig-gál ⁷ igi-in-
ba-ar ú šī-im-dib-a <i>ab</i> | 12. Gira, the god who gives heed
to the cattle, who causes
them to have grass, <i>ab</i> |

¹ Var. *nī-te-na*, SBP. 160, 15. Note the variant *nī-a-an-na*, KL. 8 IV 7 and *nī-dū-an-na*, 11 Rev. III 29.

² 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 motif.

³ *šī* = *ṣi* = *napištu*. Cf. KL. 8 IV 8; 11 Rev. III 31; SBP. 160, 17.

⁴ KL. 8 IV 9, *ṣu-kur-ru dumu nun-a eš-šid-dil aṣag-ga-ta*. SBP. 160, 18, *ṣu-ud-ām ama e-šab-ba*. SBP. 26, 7 = BL. 72, 3, *ṣu-kur-ru dumu-nun-abṣu-ge*. Hence *su-ud* and *ṣu-ud-ām* are titles of *ṣuruppak*, the goddess of Shuruppak, a form of Gula, called *marat rubi apst*, "daughter of the prince of the sea." This goddess is clearly a form of Gula (see SBP. 161 n. 12) and *ṣuruppak* like Larak was probably a part of the great city Isin, modern Fara. But *ṣuruppak* is given as a title of Ninlil in the great list, CT. 24, 5, 9 = 22, 109, where she is also called *ṣu-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, 36 = SBP. 160, 18 renders *ṣu-ud-ām* by "ditto," and *dumu nun-a* by [*ma-rat ru-bi*]-e, "daughter of the prince," i. e., daughter of Ea. The noun *sud* probably means "light," see above, note on Obv. 10 and *ṣu-da-ām*, a title of Aja, goddess of sunlight, and originally a type of the mother goddess Innini, later associated with Shamash of Agade, see *Tammuz and Ishtar* 96 f. *su-ud-da-ām* = *nār šamē*, a title of Innini as Venus, SBH. 98, 1. *ṣu-ud-ām* clearly refers to Aja *marat rubi*, 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. *ešendili* probably denotes a similar idea.

⁵ Var. KL. 8 IV 13 *KA-DI nam-en-me LI-ŠAR-te-me na-ām-dib-dib-ba* (*ba* sic!) *-ta*. Thus we have at last the reading of the ophidian god *KA-DI* of Dir, *ṣ-ṣir* = *e-ṣi-ir*. *ṣir* = *ṣir*, is probably the root *sir*, "be long," hence serpent, rendered by *širu* in Semitic. The Sumerian and Semitic words are not philologically connected. For *KA-DI* as a serpent god see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 16 and 119 ff. The line corresponds to SBP. 162, 24.

⁶ A variant of *sumugan* < *sumukan* = *ṣu* *Girra*, god of the cattle and son of Shamash, CT. 24, 32, 112; ASKT. 105 Rev. 10 *Gira dumu Babbar sab nig-nam-ma-ge*, "Gira son of Shamash, shepherd of whatsoever exists." *sumu-gan* contains the root *gan* = *alādu*, "to beget," and is connected with *ša-gan* (= *mu'allidu*) also a title of Gira, BM. 38177 and *sakkan* (< *ša-gan*) a dialectic variant, 81-8-30, 25 Rev. 8. See also THUREAU-DANGIN, RA. 11, 104.

⁷ Since Gira is the god of cattle, *ṣig-gál* should be rendered by *bālu*, cattle, a passage which tends to show that 11 R. 24, 23 has no sign broken away before *ṣig-gál* = *ašū* (*bālum*), domestic animals. Also DELAPORTE, *Catalogue* No. 298, has a similar title of Gira, *ṣig-gál šār-šār-bi*, he who makes fat the cattle. [For *šār* = *duššū*, see Syl. C. 75 and IV R. 20, 26.] This line corresponds to KL. 8 IV 12, *ḡir maš-anšu igi-bar [ú] na-ām-ma-tūk-tūk ta*.

13. [en-gi]-im-du ab-si-im-ma¹ e-pa-ri³ gi-ir⁴ [še-gu-]nu ma-a⁵ ab 13. Engidu,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

¹ *abšim* > *abšin* > *abšenu*, "ear of corn."

² So also *en-gi-du*, KL. 8 IV 11, but SBP. 162, 27, *en-ki-im-du*. For the rise of a phonetic nasal, cf. *saglienlar* = *sagilar* = *pākidu*. 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-e-pā ra-ab* [?], 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 *bēlu ša iršitam udaḥḥadu*, "lord that makes the earth fruitful."

³ SBP. 162, 27 *umun-e-pā-a-ra*. *ra, ri* are employed here for the conjunction and.

⁴ *gir* = *tebū*, *šalū*, see *Sum. Gr.* 217 (*gir* 7). Note Var. KL. 8 IV 11, *ki-ab-sim-a e ṣi-ri*, where *pa, pā*, is omitted. For *ṣir* = "to wash, lave," cf. *gi-ir*, Var. of *sir* = *taḫānu*, "wash," SBH. 121, 11. *sag-sir-sir* (or *sar-sar*), glossed *ḫar-ḫar* (!) = *rummuku*, RA. 10, 77, 37. Voc. Berlin 2559 l 39 gives *gigri* (< *gir-gir*) = *labū*. *ṣa-al* on the edge is unintelligible.

⁵ Var. KL. 8 IV 11 *mā-a*.

OBVERSE

1. *nin ni-ila*.....
2. *ligir(?)² a^aba-ú gú-gal nin*.....
ur-sag.....
3. *dingir sumugan me-mağ-a šu-dú*
... il-lu- gal-lu
4. *sù-un-sù-na sal-ziid nin-gal*
^{d[3]}šag-ta-de-aga
5. *dumu-an-na tūr KA-pad-dé*
bur... šu-ni-si
6. *nin-a-zu-gal sag-gig-ga lù-ti-li*
lù ù-tud
7. *šu-gal geštin kaš-e še KU⁴ kalama*
lu-a.....
8. *šag-lal-tuk šilam-sud kalam-ma*
nin-gar.....

* For *zid*?

9. ^den-lil lugal kur-kur-ra-[ge]
10. ^dnu-nam-nir en nam-tar-ri
11. éš nibru-(ki) dur-an-ki-a enim-
gal-bi be-in-[dúg]
12. é-kur zagin-na mi-ni-im-mağ-en
igi la.
13. sa-ku-kalig-ga ^dnu-nam-nir-ra-
[ge me-en]
14. an-gub-ba² é-kur-ra ka-paḍ -sum-
mu gú.
15. ^den-lil-lá é-am a-mağ-a-ni me-en
a-gub-ba-ni⁴ [me-en]
16. sù-na šita-ba ki-lal a-ṣu-uš
17. ^dnu-nam-nir nun kur-kur-ra-ge
18. nam-sag-ṭu-mağ⁵ an-ki šu-ṣu im-
mi-in-la-sum
19. mu-un-ila-en nam-nin éš numun-
i-ṣa-ra mu-ra-an-sum
20. a-a ugu⁶-ṣu an dingir-mağ-e mu-
mu ME-ZÍD⁷ mi-ri-in-mu
21. ur-sag ^den-lil-lá ^dnin-gir-su gil-
lam šú-ma-ra-an-sum
9. Enlil king of the lands,
10. Nunamnir, lord that decrees
fate,
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-
namnir, [thou art].
14. Sentinel of Ekur, that givest
bread to eat, that. [thou
art].
15. Of Enlil in the temple his right³
hand thou art; his left hand
thou art.
16. His shining weapon is suspended
at thy side.
17. Nunamnir 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, Nin-
girsu, hath caused to be given
unto thee a wife.

¹ Addressed to the king Ishme-Dagan.

² an-gub-ba = ina šamē kaṣamānu, 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 muktn parši, a kind of councillor, CT. 32, 19, 15 f.; 34, 9 and 15; and *ibid.* Col. II 20.

22. *é-ninnû uru-aṣag éš 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. *lagaš-(ki) gir-su-(ki) dim-gal-*
kalam-ma-ka 23. In Lagash and Gir-su metropolis
of the Land,
24. *é-malga-sud¹ kidur-kenag-ṣa* 24. The house of wisdom, thy be-
loved abode,
25. *sil-sir-sir² é nam-nin-a-ka bara-*
maḡ-ṣu mi-ni-ri 25. Silsirsir,² temple of lordship, thy
magnificent hall, he founded.
26. *kidur-maḡ-ṣu dar³-an-ki lagaš-*
(ki)-a im-ši-šū-šū-e-ne-eš⁴ 26. Thy magnificent dwelling place,
band of heaven and earth, in
Lagash they have placed.
27. *nin ṣag-dib⁵ bar-ni šu-nu-teg-gà* 27. The queen that holds universal
power, whose side is unattain-
able.
28. *dumu an-na nin-gal nig-nam-ṣu* 28. Celestial daughter, great queen
that knoweth anything what-
soever,
29. *šul me-gim-šáḡ⁶ nun d⁷iš-me d⁸da-*
gan dumu d⁹en-lil-lá-ge 29. The mighty one, healer of the
limbs of the prince, Ishme-
Dagan son of Enlil,
30. *ki-el ama d¹⁰ba-ú igi-ṣid mu-ši-bar*
nam-dug mu-ni-tar ud-ti-la è-a-
šú 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 *é-sil-sir-sir*, temple of Bau in Lagash. See SAK. Index, p. 268, and RA. 10, 102, n. 1. A Berlin vocabulary renders *sil-sir-sir* by *ussuru*, *sunnuḡu*, *unnuḡu*, *sukḡtu*, 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 *tar* in *tarkullu*. (See *Sum. Gr.* 208 *dur* 2.)

⁴ A double plural. *eš* probably indicates the past tense here.

⁵ Literal'y, "holds the boundary," then to possess, encompass. *nam-šul-la ṣag-dib-ba*, possessing heroic strength, RADAU, *Miscel.* 5, 1; see also BE. 29, I II 20 and II end; KL. 199, 1; 200, 4.

⁶ Semitic *mudammīḡat binḡti*, she that makes the limbs healthy, a title which harmonizes with Bau, goddess of healing. See also GÉNOUILLAC, *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-šá*, is employed for Shala, II R. 57a 36; RA. 13, 11 and KL. 24 II 4.

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|---|--|
| 31. <i>sa- sud- da- á¹</i> | 31. It is a long <i>sa[bar]</i> . |
| 32. <i>ama ^dba-ú nun ^diš-me- ^dda-gan</i>
<i>dumu ^den-lil-lá-ra</i>
<i>nam-til ud-sud-du sum-mu-</i>
<i>dam</i> | 32. The mother Bau unto the prince
Ishme-Dagan son of Enlil life
unto distant days hath given. |
-
- | | |
|--|--|
| 33. <i>giš-gí-gál² sa-sud-[da-kam]</i> | 33. This is the interlude for the
long <i>sa[bar]</i> . |
|--|--|

REVERSE

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>[ki] nam-til-la é ^den-lil-lá-šú</i> | 1. In the place of life, temple of
Enlil, |
| 2. <i>[] UD-LU ka-gar-šág-ga</i>
<i>gab-na im-mi-lab</i> | 2. good thoughts in his
breast multiplied. |
| 3. <i>ab(?) ^diš-me-^dda-gan za-e im-me-</i>
<i>ni-lud</i> | 3. Thee oh father(?) Ishme-Dagan
he created. |
| 4. <i>lugal-mèn nam-til-la-da im-da-e-</i>
<i>gub</i> | 4. A king thou art and with life
thou hast been firmly fixed. |
| 5. <i>kur-gal ^den-lil-ra X³-ki-mu-ne-</i>
<i>gál</i> | 5. Unto ⁴ the great mountain Enlil
. |
| 6. <i>a-a ^dmu-ul-lil ù-mu-un-gal kur-</i>
<i>kur-ra</i> | 6. Father Enlil great lord of the
lands |
| 7. <i>^diš-me-^dda-gan-na na-ám be-ib-tar</i>
<i>mu- ib- e-ne-ir mu-</i>
<i>ne-dúg</i> | 7. For Ishme-Dagan decreed the
fate, for him he
ordered. |
| 8. <i>^den-lil lugal kur-kur-ra-ge igi-zi-</i>
<i>til-la sag-ki läg-ga-ni mu-un-</i>
<i>ši-in-bar</i> | 8. Enlil king of the lands cast the
faithful eyes of life of his
bright face upon him. |
| 9. <i>^diš-me-^dda-gan-na nam-mu-ni-ib-</i>
<i>tar-ri</i> | 9. For Ishme-Dagan he decreed
fate. |
| 10. <i>^{giš}gu-za me-ür-ür aga zi-ud-</i>
<i>sud-du-a ḫad-ḫal-kalag gi-ni</i>
<i>uš-aš-a läg-e</i> | 10. A throne that proclaimeth laws,
a crown that prolongeth the
breath of life, a precious
scepter that conducteth <i>the</i>
<i>faithful in unison,</i> |

¹ A liturgical rubric found as yet only in liturgies to deified kings. The full form is *sa-bar-sud-da-ám*, KL. 199 I 29; cf. *bar-sud-da-ám*, RADAU, BE. 29, I 15. The rubric occurs also in KL. 199 II 34 and BE. 29, I III 22.

² See above, p. 141, n. 1.

³ *MA-GUNU*, SAL. 2767.

⁴ Perhaps *ra* is here the demonstrative pronoun, in which case Enlil is the subject.

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|---|--|
| <p>11. <i>nun</i> ^d<i>iš-me-da-gan nam-e-eš ge-tar</i></p> <p>12. <i>id idigna id žimbir-e gen-gál a-duġ(?)—ġa ġu-mu-ra-ab-tum ġu-bi ġa-ra-sug-e</i></p> <p>13. <i>ġu-bi kaš-ú-bi-e ġu-mu-ra-an-mă sîl ġa-ra-ab-lal</i></p> <p>14. <i>garak</i> ^{siš}<i>šar-ba lâl-e ġu-e ki-ġu-mu-ra-ni-ib-uš</i></p> <p>15. <i>a-kaš žid-bi¹ še-gu-nu² ġa-ra-ab-mă ġu-bi ġa-ra-dub-dub</i></p> <p>16. <i>tûr ġa-ra-dû-dû³ amaš ġa-ra-dagal-dagal</i></p> <p>17. <i>nam-lugal-la mu ġu-mu-ni-maġ</i></p> <p>18. <i>nam-nun-na sag-an-šú ġe-ni-ila</i></p> <p>19. <i>sig igi-nim kur-zaġ-tîl-la-bi ġu-un ġu-mu-ra-ab-ila</i></p> <p>20. <i>buranun⁴ ud-gim idigna ġe-ni-in-è</i></p> <p>21. <i>nindaba-žu é-kur-zaġin-na muš nam-ba-an-tum-mu</i></p> <p>22. ^d<i>en-lil-li nam-šú mu-ni-in-tar⁵</i></p> <p>23. <i>lugal-la é-kur-ta šibir⁷-maġ mu-na-sum</i></p> | <p>11. Be decreed unto the prince Ishme-Dagan for his destiny.</p> <p>12. May the Tigris and the Euphrates bring thee abundance, and their banks be full for thee.</p> <p>13. May their banks produce for thee drink and food, and bring thee gladness.</p> <p>14. In the cellars of the gardens may the honey reach the edges.</p> <p>15. May the field produce for thee <i>gunû</i>-grain unfailingly and may the granaries be heaped for thee.</p> <p>16. May the stalls be filled with increase for thee and the sheepfolds be spacious for thee.</p> <p>17. May he make famous the imperial power.</p> <p>18. May he exalt higher than heaven the rights of princes.</p> <p>19. May the lower land and the upper land even unto the borders of the earth bring tribute unto thee.</p> <p>20. May the Euphrates like the sunshine go up unto the Tigris.</p> <p>21. Not shall the serpent seize thy sacrificial cakes in holy Ekur.⁵</p> <p>22. Enlil decreed this for his fate.</p> <p>23. Unto the king in Ekur a mighty scepter he gave.</p> |
|---|--|

¹ See *Sum. Gr.* §72.

² See OLZ. 1912, 447; JASTROW, *Religion* II 713. The *gunû* grain has not been identified.

³ See *du* (10) in *Sum. Gr.*, p. 211 and *dû-dû* = *šumažžu*, rich, RA. 10, 75, 8.

⁴ Note the unusual method of writing *buranun*.

⁵ We have here an additional reference to the serpent adversary, which occurs also in another liturgy to Ishme-Dagan, Ni. 4563. See above, p. 138, n. 4.

⁶ Cf. above, l. 11.

⁷ Cf. ZIMMERN, KL. 199 II 22.

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|--|---|
| 24. <i>nir mu-un-gal enim ^den-lil-lá-ta
gab-šu-gar nu-mu-un-tuk</i> | 24. He became majestic and by the command of Enlil no rival he had. |
| 25. <i>gīr-il-il-la im-gub-gub-bi</i> | 25. He is <i>given exalted station</i> , he is adored. |
| 26. <i>dág-gal-maḡ ki-dúr nam-lugal-la-ka im-ma-da-an-tur-tur</i> | 26. Into the vast dwelling, the far-famed habitation of royalty he was made to enter. |
| 27. <i>bara aḡag ḡagin-na dūr-be-in-gar¹ é-gal mu-un-[]</i> | 27. In the chapel of gold and lapis lazuli he takes his seat. The palace. |
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- | | |
|--|---|
| 28. <i>sal-ḡid dumu-an-na ^den-lil enim-ma-[ni-ta] bara-aḡag ḡagin-[na dūr-ù-bé-in-gar]</i> | 28. Oh faithful woman, celestial daughter, <i>by</i> the command of Enlil in the chapel of gold and lapis lazuli [<i>cause him to sit</i>]. |
| 29. <i>ki-el ama ^dba-ú dumu-an-na ^den-lil bara-aḡag [ḡagin-na]ab-bi</i> | 29. Oh maiden mother Bau, celestial daughter, Enlil. in the chapel of gold and lapis lazuli. |
| 30. <i>^diš-me-^dda-gan dumu ^den-lil-[lá]-ra nam-til ud-sud-du sag-[e-eš PA]-KAB-DU-a-ni-ib</i> | 30. Unto Ishme-Dagan son of Enlil life unto far away days grant as a gift. |
| 31. <i>uru en-bi-im[.]^dba-ú-kam</i> | 31. Of the city he is its lord and he is the. of Bau. |
-
- | | |
|---|--|
| 32. <i>en eš-bar galam dingir-ri-[e-n]e sig-nim-ma uru-šub-bi</i> | 32. Oh lord by the profound wisdom 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 ḡi-ḡi-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 *dūr-gar* see MEEK No. 83 rev. 4. For the noun *dūr-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.

*kuš-ša an-ga-ám an-ga-ám
kuš-ù*

Oh sigh indeed; indeed sigh.

-
- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>é-gul-la ki-bi me-na² gi-gi-mu</i> | 1. As for the temple destroyed how long until it be restored to its place? |
| 2. <i>nu-gig-an-na dingir ga-ša-an an-na[mu]</i> | 2. Heavenly virgin, ³ divine queen of heaven, as for, etc. |
| 3. <i>kur-sun-sun ga-ša-an é-an-na [mu]</i> | 3. She that shatters the mountains, queen of E-anna, as for, etc. |
| 4. <i>é ma-mú-da ma-dū-a[mu]</i> | 4. The temple which had been built like a dream, how long, etc.? |
| 5. <i>urú ma-mú-da ma-dū-a[mu]</i> | 5. The city which had been built like a dream, ³ how long, etc.? |
| 6. <i>é tūr-amaš-gim lu-lu-a mu⁴</i> | 6. The temple which was made wealthy like a stall and a sheepfold, how long, etc.? |
| 7. <i>e-zi-gim amaš-gim lu-a mu</i> | 7. Which like the flocks and sheepfolds was made wealthy, how long, etc.? |
| 8. <i>bur-gul-e bur ba-an-gul-la mu</i> | 8. Which the engraver carved as a vase, how long, etc.? |
-

¹ Published in PSBA. 1895, pl. I, II.

² See *Sum. Gr.*, p. 177.

³ Cf. SBH 60, 21.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, Obv. 7. *lu-lu* < *lum-lum* = *duššu*; cf. also IV R. 12 R. 33; 9a 61, and *e-zi lu-a = šēni duššāti*, Sm. 526, 9.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 22. <i>é-ziid-a mu-gi-ga nam-me-a lil-lá-ám ba-ni-in-gúr</i> | 22. In the faithful temple darkness is and lo! it is turned over to the wind. |
| 23. <i>ka-lu-šu-nu i-za-ma-ru</i> | 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 instrument 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 *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 instrument, wailing voice of the storm., yea with the instrument *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. I end *ki-mé*, in the place of battle.

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 duplicate will be found on the last plate of this volume, Ni. 10215.

1. []nig-dû-e pa na-an-ga sî-
 in- è
2. []nam-tar-ra-na šu-nu-bal-
 e-ne
3. []mu-un-ba-ab-ta-è-dê
4. an[]du-ne sag na-an-ga
 ma(?) -an- sîg
5. ki[]-ne sag na-an-ga ma-
 an-sîg
6.DU a sag- sar-
 sar²-dê
7.SAL+ME³ u-nam-
 mi-in-lal
8. giš-al-e mu-un-gar babbar ib-è
9. èš-kàr mu-un-dû nam-al-tar-ri

³ Semitic *naditu*, v. LANDSBERGER, ZDMG. 69, 506.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 10. <i>giš-al-e il-e-da si-ba-ab-sá-e</i> | 10. He gave directions for carrying the instrument <i>AL</i> . |
| 11. <i>^den-lil-li al-a-ni zag-sal ba-an-dúg</i> | 11. Enlil sang the praise of his instrument the <i>AL</i> . |
| 12. <i>al-a-ni[]gi-ga sag-bi nà zagin</i> | 12. His <i>AL</i>.....whose head is of lazuli. |
| 13. <i>giš-al é-a-ni a zag-e[]ga-ám</i> | 13. The instrument <i>AL</i> in his temple, the pure, was..... |
| 14. <i>giš-al-la-ni[]ba engar-zagin-kam¹</i> | 14. His instrument the <i>AL</i> whose .....was like the....of a healthy farmer, |
| 15. <i>gù-bi² gud-si-áš bad-gal ed-dé-dam</i> | 15. Its voice like that of a horned bull over the great wall arose. |
| 16. <i>en-e al mu-un-šid nam-mi[]</i> | 16. The lord on the <i>AL</i> recited in numbers(?)..... <i>fate</i> he |
| 17. <i>ki-in-gin.....a zag.....[]</i> | 17. Sumer..... |
| 18. <i>sag nam-lù-gál ù-šub[]</i> | 18. The face of mankind with brightness [<i>he caused to shine</i>]. |
| 19. <i>^den-lil-šú kalam-ma-ni ki-mu-un-šì-in-[kin-kin?]</i> | 19. Unto Enlil his land [<i>gave heed</i>]. |
| 20. <i>sag-gig-ga-ni³-šú igi-šid nam-mi in-bar</i> | 20. Upon his dark-headed people he cast a kindly gaze. |
| 21. <i>^da-nun-na mu-un-na-làg-làg-gi-eš</i> | 21. The Anunnaki hastened thither. |
| 22. <i>šu-ba⁴ ka-ba mu-un-ni-gál</i> | 22. Their hands, their mouths, he opened(?) |
| 23. <i>^den-lil-a-ra ma-a mu-ni-in-šid-e-ne</i> | 23. Unto Enlil adoration they offered in fidelity. |
| 24. <i>kalam sag-gig-ga al mu-un-da-bi⁵-ne</i> | 24. Unto the land of the dark-headed people destiny they uttered. ⁶ |

¹ Cf. *Textes El.-Sem.*, Vol. 14, p. 125. For *zagin*=*ellu*, clean, brilliant, applied to persons, see SBP. 158, 53; CT. 17, 4 ll 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., ll 13=e, ll 13.

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------|---|
| 25. <i>SAL+KU en ù-tud-dé-</i> | <i>en</i> | 25. "By the sister ¹ of the lord ye were created. |
| 26. <i>lugal ù-tud-dé-</i> | <i>en</i> | 26. By the king ye were created. |
| 27. ^d <i>nin-men-na-ge² tud-tud al-mà-</i> | <i>mà</i> | 27. Ninmenna fulfilled the creating. |
| 28. [<i>más</i>]- <i>sag(?)an-ki-a en³ nu-nam-</i> | <i>nir-ri⁴</i> | 28. The <i>leading goat</i> in heaven and earth, lord Nunamnir, |
| 29. <i>sag-zi sag-kalag-</i> | <i>ám</i> | 29. He who is impetuous, the heroic, |
| 30. <i>mu-ne-ib-</i> | <i>sà-sà</i> | 30. gave unto them a name. |

OBVERSE 2

- | | | |
|--|------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>sag-bi gu-nu(?)-</i> | <i>ám</i> | 1. Their chief, whom like. |
| 2. <i>mu- un- (ne)- è- dé- a</i> | | 2. He shall have raised up for them, |
| 3. <i>dingir-ri-e-ne-ra PAD-ziid mu-</i> | <i>un-düb-bi⁵</i> | 3. Unto the gods shall offer meal cakes." |
| 4. ^d <i>en-ki-ge al-a-ni zag-sal-ba-an-</i> | <i>düg</i> | 4. Enki sang the praise of his instrument, the <i>AL</i> . |
| 5. <i>ki-el^d nidaba eš-bar-ra ba-an-du</i> | | 5. The maiden Nidaba rendered advice. |
| 6. <i>al^e-mul al^e-ažab-ba šu-mu-ni-gál</i> | | 6. The star-like <i>AL</i> , the holy <i>AL</i> she took in her hand. |
| 7. <i>é-kur (é)^d en-lil-lá giš-al-e gar-ra-</i> | <i>ám</i> | 7. In Ekur, temple of Enlil the instrument <i>AL</i> was placed. |
| 8. <i>ud-dé [giš] al-dū-e gig al-mu-mu</i> | | 8. By day the <i>AL</i> shall utter speech, by night the <i>AL</i> shall give forth song. |
| 9. <i>nippur-ki ki-gar-ra-la tum-ma-</i> | | 9. In Nippur the well builded, in Tummal, |
| | <i>al-(ki)-a</i> | |

¹ *i. e.*, Aruru, or Nintud, see PBS. X, pt. 1, p. 17, n. 3.

² Var. Damgalnunna, 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*.

⁵ Var. *da-bi*. The phrase occurs frequently in pre-Sargonic texts: *PAD-ziid e-düb*, "he made the meal-cake offerings," Nik. 32 Obv. 11, Rev. 1. Also without *ziid* in the title of a priest, *lū-pád-düb-ba*, "The offerer of sacrificial cakes," DP. 151; Hussey, *Harvard Mus.* 2 Obv. 1 2, *et passim*.

⁶ Vars. *giš-al*. Ni. 10215 *ažab-bi šu-a-an-[gál]*.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 10. <i>tum-ma-al-(ki) gi-MAL-GAR¹</i>
<i>ama ^dNin-lil-la-kam</i> | 10. Tummal, which is the reed
..... of mother Ninlil, |
| 11. <i>é-gíg tum-ma-al ninda sá-dúg-</i>
<i>ga-bi-ta³</i> | 11. In the dark chamber ² of her
that..... ⁴ the bread of their
fixed offerings, |
| 12. <i>ur-sag ^d[Nin-urašā] ^den-lil-ra</i> | 12. The heroic god Nin-urasha for
Enlil the instrument <i>AL</i>
created. |
| 13. <i>^{si}[al] mu-un-da-an-tud-tud⁵</i> | 14. A vision during the middle of
the night |
| 14. <i>maš gíg murub en-na-ta</i> | 15. The holy goddess Nin-Isin unto
Enlil..... |
| 15. <i>aṣag ^dnin-i-si-in-na ^den-lil-ra...</i>
..... | |

Lines 16–20 are obliterated. Lines 21–28 contain only a few legible signs. Note lines 21 f., “The devastating storm⁶.....the god Shulpae

From the mutilated reverse no connected translation can be made.

The tablet ends with the instructive lines:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>giš-al giš-nam-tar-ra a-a ^den-lil</i> | The instrument <i>AL</i> is the instru-
ment of the decision of fate of
father Enlil, |
| <i>giš-al giš ṣag-sal-dúg- ga</i> | The instrument <i>AL</i> is the instru-
ment of praise. |
| <i>^dNidaba ṣag- sal</i> | Oh sing praise unto Nidaba. |

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.

¹ Cf. RTC. 304 III 11; MYHRMAN, BE. III 76, 1.

² *ḫiṣṣu*, POEBEL, PBS. V 106 IV 17: cf. *é-gíg é-an-na*, CLAY, *Miscel.* 36, 16.

³ Cf. RADAU, *Miscel.* 4 Rev. 49.

⁴ *tummal*, a title of Ninlil.

⁵ So Ni. 13877. The Constpl. variant omits *giš-al*. Ni. 10215 also omits *giš-al* and has *mu-ḫ-ḫ?*.

⁶ For *ud al-tar* = *ūmu dāpinu*, see RA. 12, Tablet Erech, 11.

COL. I

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>áb-gim gú-de-de ga-ba-ra-è edin-
šú ga-ba-ra-è</i> | 1. Like a cow I will raise the sound
of lament, and unto the field
(of Arallu) I will go. |
| 2. <i>mu-gig¹ an-na ga-ša-an an-na
mèn</i> | 2. Sacred harlot of heaven, queen
of heaven am I. |
| 3. <i>kur-sun-sun ga-ša-an é-an-na
mèn</i> | 3. She that shatters the mountains,
queen of Eanna am I. |
| 4. [<i>an al-</i>] <i>dúb-ba ga-ša-an gè pàr-
ra mèn</i> | 4. She that makes the heavens
tremble, queen of the dark
chamber am I. |
| 5. [^d <i>lil-lá-</i>] <i>en-na ga-ša-an tùr-amaš-
a² mèn</i> | 5. Lillanna queen of the folds and
stalls am I. |
| 6. [<i>ama é-a</i> ^d] <i>da-da NU-NUNUZ
šág-ga</i> | 6. Mother of the temple, Dada
beneficent woman, the child
bearing. |
| 7. [^d <i>na-na-a du-</i>] <i>mu sāg³ é-e ge</i> | 7. Nana first born daughter of Ea. |
| 8. [] <i>ga-ba-ra-è</i> | 8. [Unto.....] I will go forth. |
| 9. [] <i>ga-ba-ra-è</i> | 9. [Unto.....] I will go forth. |
| 10. [] <i>ud-ṣal-la-ge</i> | 10. of the morning light. |
| 11. [] <i>ga-ba-ra-è</i> | 11. [Unto.....] I will go forth. |
| 12. [] <i>ga-ba-ra-è</i> | 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 é-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 Cstple. 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-ukīn is based upon those contained in the great Maḫlu 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 Maḫlu 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.

OBVERSE

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. | 1. |
| 2. [] <i>bēl dabābi-ja</i> ¹ [ù
<i>bēlit dabābi-ja</i>] | 2. my accuser, my fe-
male accuser, |
| 3. [] <i>bēl limut-tim-mu</i> ² [ù
<i>bēlit limut-tim-mu</i>] | 3. my transgressor, my trans-
gressoress, |
| 4. [] <i>ep-ša bartā</i> | 4. machination, rebellion |
| 5. [] <i>kālu ša</i> <i>is-ḥu-ra</i> ³ | 5. all that surround me, |
| 6. [] <i>-ma iḥ-bu-u</i> | 6. they have commanded.. |
| 7. [] <i>-ti-šu-nu AN-</i> | 7. their..... |
| 8. [] <i>iḥaḥḥu</i> ⁴ <i>šalmāni-šu-</i>
<i>nu</i>[] | 8. they stand, their statues |
| 9. [<i>ša ana</i>] <i>ḫā-ši kiš-pi ru-ḫi-e ru-</i>
[<i>si-e</i>] | 9. Who against me sorcery, venom,
witchcraft..... |
| 10. <i>rāmu</i> ⁵ <i>ḫāru DI-BAL šibit pī</i> ⁶
[] | 10. Love, hatred, contention? stutter-
ing?..... |
| 11. <i>nikis napištim</i> ⁶ <i>KUŠ-KU-MAL</i>
<i>IGI-NIGIN-NA ÍD-GUR</i>
[] | 11. Shortness of breath(?), ? ?
? |
| 12. <i>NE-MI pani ni-it ṭe-me</i>
<i>kaṭ ili</i> [<i>u kaṭ</i>] <i>ištarti</i> | 12. distortion? of plans, hand
of god and hand of goddess. |
| 13. [<i>kaṭ</i>] <i>kaṭ mamit kaṭ</i>
<i>amelūti</i> ^{ilu} []? | 13. Hand of... hand of the curse,
hand of man,..... |
| 14. [] <i>HUL-ZA mu-kil rêš limut-</i>
<i>tim iš-</i> [] <i>ma</i> | 14. supporter of evil. |
| 15. [] <i>-ja</i> <i>ú-lab-bi-tu kišadi u-</i>
<i>tar-ri-ru pī-ja</i> ? <i>-bi-ṭu</i> | 15. My..... they have seized, my
neck they have wrung, my
mouth they have.... |

¹ Cf. *Maklu* II 46.² Sic! So also *Maklu* II 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 III 16, *ga-ti(m)* ^{ilu}*Šamši*. See also *Maklu* I 32.³ Cf. KING, *Magic*, 7, 54.⁴ [*KI-AG*] *MAL*.⁵ This conjecture of MEISSNER is supported by *uṣabbil šapti-ja*, (the demon) has seized my lips, KING, *Magic* 13, Rev. 22.⁶ *ḫi-tar-ru-da-a*=*nikis napištim*, KING, *Magic*, 12, 108, variant. Cf. also IV R. 59a 4, [*ni-ki*] *is na-pi-š-ti*.⁷ So our text. *Maklu* I 97 *u-ṣab-bi-tu*.

16. []-ia il-du-du ir-ti¹ id-i-pu²
lib-bi³ un-ni-šu
17. []-ia ik-su-ú bir-
ki-ia ik-su-u
18. [ili(?)]-ia a-li-ka [idi-ia?]⁴ u-šim-
su-u?? ešen-širi-ia ik-pu-pu
19. []-ia ú-za(?) -na-du[]-ia
man-ga lu-'u-tam ú-mal-lu-
in-ni
20. šarti-ia im-lu-šu⁵ ulinni-[ia] ib-
tu-ku ruti-ia il-ku-u
21. epir šepē-a iš-[bu-šu] man-da-at
la-mi-ia u-man-di-du⁷
22. šalmāni-[ia lu ša bi-] nu lu ša
erini lu ša lipi lu ša GAB-
LĀL⁸
23. [lu ša GAB šamašsammi] lu ša
iddi lu ša tišti lu ša li
24.ia ? LU „ ŠE-LUH-A
lu-u epušu-ma
25. [kalba] lu-u ú-ša-ki-lu⁹ šāḫa ušā-
kilu iššur šamē ušākilu nūn
apsi ušākilu
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*;⁵
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 skies¹⁰ they caused
me to eat, a fish of the nether
sea¹¹ they caused me to eat.

¹ So restore *Maḫlu* I 98.

² From *da'āpu*, *dēpu*, to shatter. So also *id-i-pu*, *Maḫlu* I 98. See also ZIMMERN, Rt. No. 60, Obv. 5; MEISSNER, *Supplement*, p. 30; PSBA. 18, 158, etc.

³ So restore *Maḫlu* I 99.

⁴ The traces are against this restoration.

⁵ For *masū*, cf. BA. V pt. IV 184, 74 *ša limātu Bābili imissū*, "who seizes away the wicked of Babylon." The verb corresponds to Arabic *maša'a*.

⁶ *Maḫlu* I 132 *imlusu*. The Babylonian root is *malāšu*, Arabic *malusa*, to shear, see HOLMA, *Personal Names of the type fu'ul*, p. 72. Also Tx. El. Vol. 14, p. 70, a plant *malasu*.

⁷ Cf. CT. 17, 15, 21, and KING, *Magic* 12, 55. For *mandatu*, form, outline, see also K. 2563, 16, *mān-da-ti-ia liḫāt*.

⁸ Cf. MYHRMAN, PBS. I 13, 20; *Maḫlu* IV 40, and EBELING, KTA. No. 80, 10.

⁹ Cf. MYHRMAN, PBS. I 13, 21.

¹⁰ Here *iššur šamē* is employed for unclean birds such as hawks, crows, etc.

¹¹ *nūn apsi* is also employed for some kind of unclean fish.

26. [-]mu-tu-šù-nu an-nu-tu šal-
māni-šù-nu kima-šù-nu la
iṣṣa-ṣu šalmani-šù-nu
27. [ina] pan ilū-ti-ka rabī-tū a-
kal-lu-šù-nu-ti
28. [šalmāni-]ja epušu-ma ina išdi
pagri iš-ku-nu
29. [ina]? duri ip-ḥu-u ina bi-'i
ša dūri i-te-pu-u²
30. [šalmāni-ja ina]ta
^{ilal}AZAG-SU(D)³ uš-ni-lu
„ina šikari ilāni sibitti uš-
[ni-lu]
31. [„] ina [] kiš-kit-te-e
pa-ga(?) -?
32. „ ina kibir nāri ki-lal-li-e
u-[]
33. „ ina ḥurri e-rib ^{ilal}šamši(ši)
ip-ḥu-u „ ina bit ^{ilal}AZAG-
SU(D)ša
34. „ ina utun pa-ḥa-ru iš-ru-
pu „ ina utun ^{amel}KU-RUN-
NA⁴
35. „ ina kan-ni ^{amel}NI-SUR it-
me-ru⁵ „ ina la-ab-ti
36. „ ina ti-nur⁷ siparri iḥ-lu-u „
ina ši-it ^{ilal}šamši (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 . . .

¹ bi'u probably connected with epū, be pale, dark.

² Cf. li-ta-'pu, CT. 23, 10, 18 l. 2.

³ A title of Nidaba.

⁴ Read “ditto” marks.

⁵ Cf. POEBEL, BE. VI 55, 7, and the woman KURUN-NA in the Code of Hammurapi.

⁶ This passage yields the first example of the verb *temēru*, root of *tumru* oven. The verb is obviously a synonym of *šarāpu*.

⁷ See Rev. 15.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>37. „ <i>ina e-rib</i> ^{il}<i>šamši iḫ-lu-u</i> „
<i>ina e-rib ḫabal(?)</i>.....</p> <p>38. „ <i>ina suḫ irbitti útam-me-ru</i> „
<i>ina šapla-na</i> ^{ilal}<i>AZAG-S[UD</i>
.....]</p> <p>39. [„] <i>ḫi-sa-an-nu mu-šar-</i>
<i>di-i ina būri iṣ-ku-nu</i>.....</p> <p>40. [„] <i>ḫaḫḫab ša-ma-mi</i>
<i>ú-[.....]</i></p> <p>41. [„] <i>ša iṣ-ru-ḫi un-?</i>
<i>bābi ú-[.....]</i></p> <p>42. [„] <i>TU-BAR¹ id-di-nu-ma</i>
<i>nāru Hu-bur u-[še-bir?]</i></p> <p>43. End of obverse is mostly de-
stroyed.</p> | <p>37. Images of me at sunset they
ignited; images of me at
<i>midday</i> they.....</p> <p>38. Images of me at crossways they
concealed; images of me be-
neath cereals they.....</p> <p>39. [Images of me.....] a water
vessel.....in a well they
placed.....</p> <p>40. [.....] star of the skies
they.....</p> <p>41. [Images of me upon] which
fistules.....in the gate....
they.....</p> <p>42. [Images of me unto] Gilgamish
they gave and he [caused me
to cross] the Hubur river.
.....</p> |
|--|---|

REVERSE

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>.....</p> <p>3. ^{il}<i>gibillu ša</i> ^{il}<i>nam-tar sukkal</i>
<i>iršitim</i>.....</p> <p>4. ^{il}<i>šamaš ša kiš-ḫi ru-ḫi-e ru-si-e</i>
[<i>ar-ša-]ši(?) limnu-[ti</i>]</p> <p>5. ^{il}<i>lugal-dīg umun-nun² [ša] amel</i>
.....</p> <p>6. <i>ki ili u iṣtar ú-ḫi-nu-in-ni</i>.....</p> <p>7. <i>ú-lam-me-nu-in-ni ina bīti</i>.....
<i>TU ina sūki</i>.....</p> <p>8. <i>iṣ-ku-nu-nim-ma</i> ^{il}<i>šamaš ka-</i>
[<i>šid?limni u aibi?</i>]</p> | <p>.....</p> <p>3. Oh Gibil who..... Namtar mes-
senger of the lower world,</p> <p>4. Oh Shamash who.... sorcery,
venom, saliva, witchcraft evil,</p> <p>5. Oh divine lord of the dead,
protector, who.....the.....,</p> <p>6. Since god and goddess have
become enraged against me
.....,</p> <p>7. Have maltreated me and in
house.....in street.....</p> <p>8. Have placed against me, Oh
Shamash [<i>conqueror of the</i>
<i>wicked and the foe</i>]</p> |
|--|--|

¹ Probably restore ^{il}*GIŠ-TU-BAR*, Gilgamish. The association of Gilgamish with the river *Hubur*, 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-ukīn*, MYHRMAN, PBS. I 13, 37 f. Cf. also IV Raw. 55a 4, No. 2, and also I. 21. EBELING, KTA. No. 26, 7, and CT. 23, 15, 8.

9. ^{iat} *Aja um-ma la i-[]bat*
[come to my aid?]
10. ^{iu} *šamaš ša kaš-ša-pi-ia kaš-šap-
 ti-ia e-piš-ia muš-te-[piš-ti-
 ia]*
 10. May Shamash break the sorcery
 of my sorcerer and sorceress,
 my wizard and my witch,
11. *ra-ḫi-ia ra-ḫi-ti-ia kiš-pi-šū-nu
 ina [.....]*
 11. My befouler and befouleress
 with.....
12. *kima is-par-ri lib-bal-kit-
 [su-na]*
 12. Even as a net.
13. *epišan-šu-nu li-ba-ru-šu-nu-ti
 i:u^ušamaš ka-šid []*
 13. May they catch them at their
 evil doings, and may Shamash
 conqueror of.....
14. *kima di-ka-ri*
 14. [Shatter them] like an earthen
 jar.
15. *ki-ma ti-nur¹ ku-tur-šu-nu li-
 rim²*
 15. Like a furnace may he quench
 their smoke.
16. *li-ḫu-lu li-ḫu-bu u lit-[ta-at-tu-
 ku]*
 16. May they melt, glow and run
 away.
17. *[e-] piš-ta-šu-nu kima mē na-a-
 du ina [ti-ki liḫ-tu]*
 17. May their deed(s), like the
 water of a leather pouch by
 pouring, cease.
18. *šu-nu li-mu-tu-ma ana-ku lu-
 [ub-lu]*
 18. May they die and I live.
19. *šu-nu li-ni-šu-ma ana-ku lu-
 [ud-nin]*
 19. May they quake and I stand
 fast.
20. *šu-nu li-ik-ti-su-ma³ ana-ku lu-
 [uṣ-ṣa-tar]*
 20. May they be bound and I be
 freed.
21. *šu-nu li-iš-ṣab-tu-ma ana-ku lu-
 [.....]*
 21. May they be seized and I.....
22. *ana ki-bi-ti-ka ilu-u-tū⁴ ša la
 innakaru(ru) u an-ni-ka ki-
 nim [ša la innu-u]*
 22. By thy command, which is a
 thing divine, and changes
 not, and by thy true grace
 which alters not,

¹ Sign *ṢAB*, here first with this value.

² *arāmu*, entered in DELITZSCH, H. W. 134b as meaning "destroy" really has this general sense. The original idea is cover, Syn. *kalāmu*, 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 *ḫutru* in *Maḫlu* III 170.

³ For the passive meaning of the *l²* form note *liptasis* "may it be annihilated," EBELING, KTA. 67 Rev. 27.

⁴ Sic! The parallel in *Maḫ* I 119 has *širtu*.

23. *ana-ku* ^{isu}Šamaš-šum-ukīn *mar*
ili-šu arad-ka lu-ub-luṭ lu-uš-
[lim]
24. *nar-bi-ka lu-ša-pi dā-lī-lī-ka ana*
nīšē rapšāti [lu-ud-lul]
25. ^{isu}šamaš *šur-bi a-ši-pu-tam ša*
abkal ilāni i-pu-šu ^{isu}NU-
[DIM-MUD]
26. *šipti kaššapti ša kiš-pi ma'-du-*
tū i-pu-šu
27. *tirra-ma ša-lu-ti¹ ša kaššapti ša*
ru-ḫi-e i-pu-šu šu-pi-i
28. *ar-kiš up-pu-uš*
29. *kikiṭṭū šuāti lu ina ? lu ina šēri*
mē ellūti tanaddī kaḫḫara taš-
abbiṭ
30. ^{isu}paššura *pan* ^{isu}šamši *tašakkan*
3 kurumāti 12-ta-ām ša
kunaša tašakkan
31. *niknakki buraši tašakkan kuruna*
tanakki ḫu-lu ḫu-ka ana pan
^{isu}šamši *tašakkan*
32. *lu te-lab² isu tam te-ši-en*
šalam³ ṭiṭṭi šalam ṭiṭṭi 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
 shalt cast clean waters and
 sweep the ground.
30. A table before Shamash thou
 shalt 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; *šalūtu*, if correct, is the first example of this derivative.

² So I interpret from *la'ābu*, to burn. *tal'ab* > *telāb*, is probably due to the influence of the liquid *l*.

³ GAR-NU.

33. *ki-la-li-e šalam lipi šalam lipi
šalam ba-šà-ri šalam GAB¹
u šamaššammi* 33. An image of tallow, an image
of tallow(sic!), an image of
flesh, an image of baked
bread and sesame.
34. *šalam lî šalam lî še'i kî šalam
lî še'i ? ?* 34. An image of dough, an image
of dough of barley and beans,
an image of dough of barley
and.....
35. *šalam ^{isu}bi-nu šalam ^{isu}eri-ni
šalam iddî šalam GAB-LAL* 35. An image of tamarisk, an image
of cedar, an image of bitumen,
an image of baked bread and
honey.
36. *šalmāni an-nu-ti ta-kas-si-šu-nu-
ti-ma tîpara* 36. These images thou shalt bind
and with a torch
37. *ina NE.....A ^{isu}Nāri.....
ana libbi-šà pa-tūr-ra² tanaddî-
ma* 37. In fire(?) on the bank(?) of the
river thou shalt.....them;
into the midst thereof a
bronze double axe thou shalt
throw.
38. *šiptam an-[ni-tam] 3-šu tamannu
kima ib-taš-lu ina libbi mē
tu-na-aḫ-šu-nu-ti* 38. This incantation three times
thou shalt recite; when they
are boiled thou shalt cool
them in water.
39. *šiptu [.....]-šu-nu mē 3-šu
tamannu-[ma] tašarrap-šu-nu-
ti ina ḫar-ma⁴-ti ta-na-di(?)* 39. The incantation, ".....them
water,"³ thrice thou shalt re-
cite, and burn them: in a waste
place thou shalt throw them.
40. *[šiptu] GA-UD-DU i-.....
šiptu AŠ-HU⁵ umām šanām
3-šu tamannu* 40. [The incantation.....];
the incantation, "Curse of
the bird" on the second day
thrice thou shalt recite.
41. *[.....] aš-ru mamitu muš-
mîtatū ai iṭḫu-u* 41. May the.....and the death
dealing Mamit not come nigh.
42. *[šiptu.....] NE dîm-in-?⁶* 42.

¹ Here to be read some derivative from *epû*.

² Var. of *patarru*, a kind of weapon. Loan-word from *ba-da-ra*, BL. 79, 21; cf. *(gi)-ba-da-ra = kušaru*, PSBA. 1901 May, Pl. II l. 1. *urudu-sun-tab ḫabar-ḡuṣ-a = patarru*, 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*?

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

TEXT	PLATE	MUSEUM NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
1	7-9	4562	Right upper corner of a three column baked tablet. $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches H.; $3\frac{1}{4}$ W.; $1\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$ T. Fragment of an epical and legendary composition. See pages 111-115.
2	10	45	Complete single column tablet. Baked. H. 4; W. $2\frac{1}{2}$; T. $\frac{3}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$. Liturgy to Aruru. See pages 115-117.
3	11	35	Upper part of a single column dark baked tablet. H. 2; W. 3; T. $\frac{3}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$. Psalm to the god Amurrū. See pages 118-120.
4	12- 13	4577	Complete single column tablet. Light brown; unbaked. Cracked on left edge. H. $3\frac{3}{4}$; W. $2\frac{3}{4}$; T. $\frac{3}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$. Lamentation on the invasion of Sumer by Gutium. See pages 120-124.
5	14- 16	4564	Lower half of a long single column tablet. Light brown; baked. H. 4; W. $2\frac{3}{4}$; T. $1\frac{3}{8}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$. A legend of Gilgamish. See pages 124-125.
6	17- 24	4560	Right half of a large three column tablet. Light brown; unbaked. H. $7\frac{1}{2}$; W. 4; T. $1\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$. Hymn to Engur. See pages 126-136.
7	25- 27	Dublin tablet 4566	Nearly complete single column tablet. Light brown; unbaked. See pages 136-140.
8	28		Left upper corner of a large three column tablet. Light brown; unbaked. H. $1\frac{1}{2}$; W. 3; T. 1 - $\frac{1}{2}$. Liturgy to a deified king. See pages 140-142.
9	29- 32	4563	Lower right corner of a large three column tablet. Dark brown; unbaked. H. 5; W. 4; T. 1 - $\frac{5}{8}$. Liturgical hymn to Ishme-Dagan. See pages 143-149.

TEXT	PLATE	MUSEUM NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
10	33	4584	Upper half of a small single column tablet. Light brown; unbaked. H. 2; W. $2\frac{1}{2}$; T. $1\frac{1}{8}$ – $\frac{5}{8}$. Liturgical lamentation on the pillage of Ur. See pages 150–151.
11	34– 35	4568	Complete dark brown baked tablet. Single column. H. $4\frac{1}{4}$; W. 3; T. $1\frac{1}{4}$ – $\frac{5}{8}$. Hymn of Samsuiluna. See pages 151–155.
12	36	497	Left upper corner of a large three column tablet. Dark brown; unbaked. H. 2; W. 3; T. $\frac{5}{8}$. Liturgy. See pages 155–171.
13	37– 38	112	Lower half of a long single column tablet. Light brown; unbaked. H. 3; W. $2\frac{1}{2}$; T. $1\frac{1}{4}$ – $\frac{3}{4}$. Fragment of a litany. See pages 172–178.
14	39– 42	7184	Complete light brown tablet. Single column; unbaked. Liturgical hymn to Ishme-Dagan. H. $5\frac{3}{4}$; W. $2\frac{3}{8}$; T. 1 – $\frac{3}{4}$. See pages 178–184.
15	43	475	Fragment of a large three column tablet. Brick-red and baked. Upper left corner. H. $5\frac{3}{4}$; W. $3\frac{1}{2}$; T. $1\frac{3}{4}$ – $\frac{1}{2}$. Liturgy to Innini. See pages 184–187.
16	44– 47	13877	Complete light brown tablet. Two columns; unbaked. Right edge damaged. H. $5\frac{1}{2}$; W. $3\frac{1}{4}$; T. $1\frac{1}{2}$ – $\frac{1}{2}$. Legend of a musical instrument. See pages 187–191.
17	48	6890	Upper left corner of a large three column tablet. Light brown; partly baked. H. $2\frac{1}{4}$; W. $2\frac{1}{2}$; T. $1\frac{3}{4}$ – $\frac{1}{2}$. Liturgy of the Tammuz wailings. See pages 191–192.
18	49– 53	1203	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. $3\frac{1}{4}$; T. 1 – $\frac{1}{4}$. Incantation and prayers for Shamash-shum-ukin. See pages 193–200.
19	54– 55	2359	Nearly complete single column tablet. Light brown; unbaked. H. $5\frac{1}{4}$; W. $2\frac{1}{2}$; T. $\frac{3}{4}$ – $\frac{1}{2}$. Hymn and legend of Sin.

TEXT	PLATE	MUSEUM NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
20	56- 57	4916	Upper half of a long single column tablet; mole-brown; unbaked. H. $4\frac{1}{4}$; W. $2\frac{3}{4}$; T. $1\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$. Hymn to Enki concerning the building of his temple in Eridu.
21	58- 60	4915	Upper part of a large two(?) column tablet. Light brown; unbaked. Left edge broken away. Reverse damaged. H. $3\frac{1}{2}$; W. $3\frac{3}{4}$; T. $1\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$. An epical legend.
22	61	14031	Small fragment from a large two column text. Light brown; unbaked. H. 2; W. 2; T. $1\frac{1}{4}$. For contents see page 192-193.
23	62	10215	Duplicate of No. 16. Dark brown; baked.

AUTOGRAPH PLATES

OBVERSE

Col. 2

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OBVERSE

Col. 3

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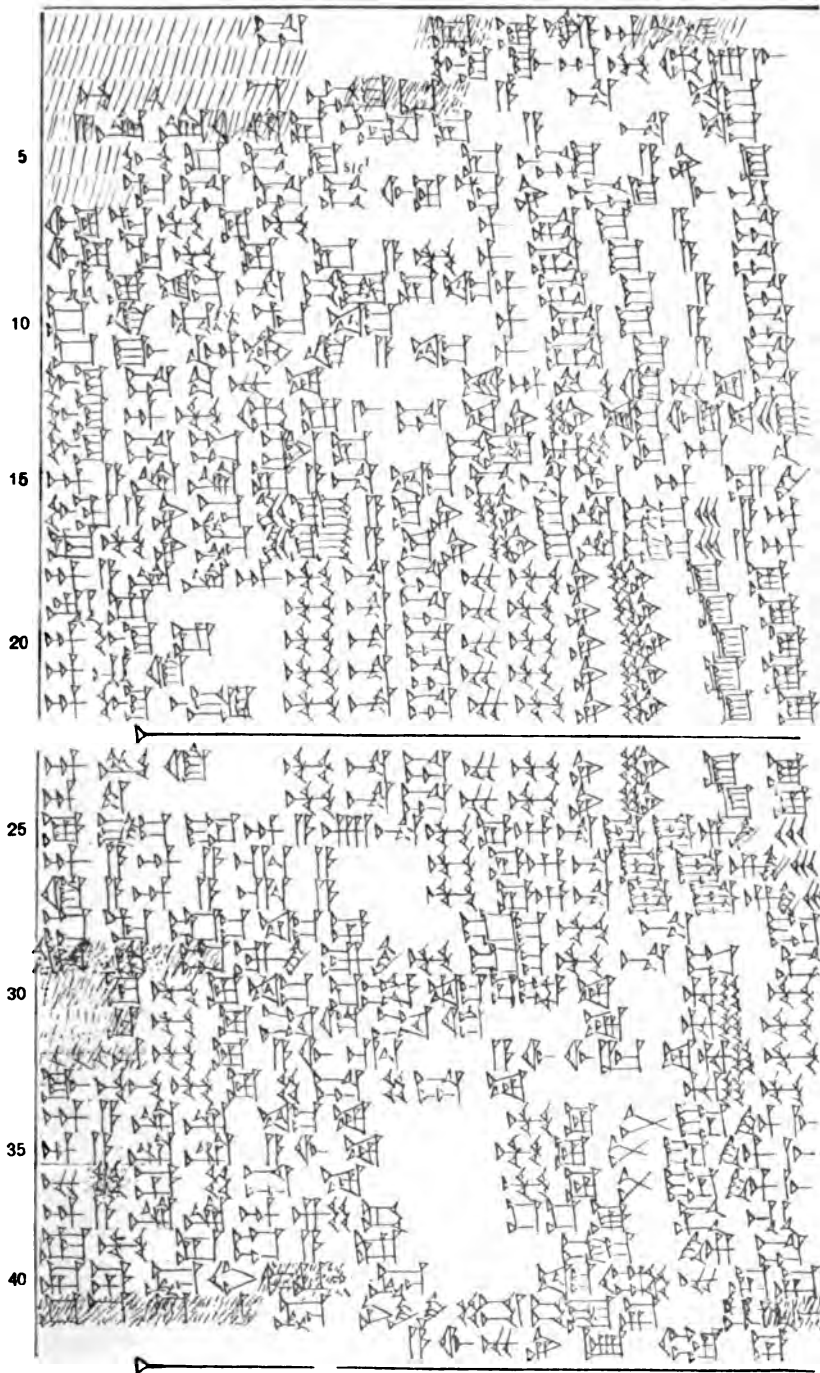
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REVERSE

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OBVERSE

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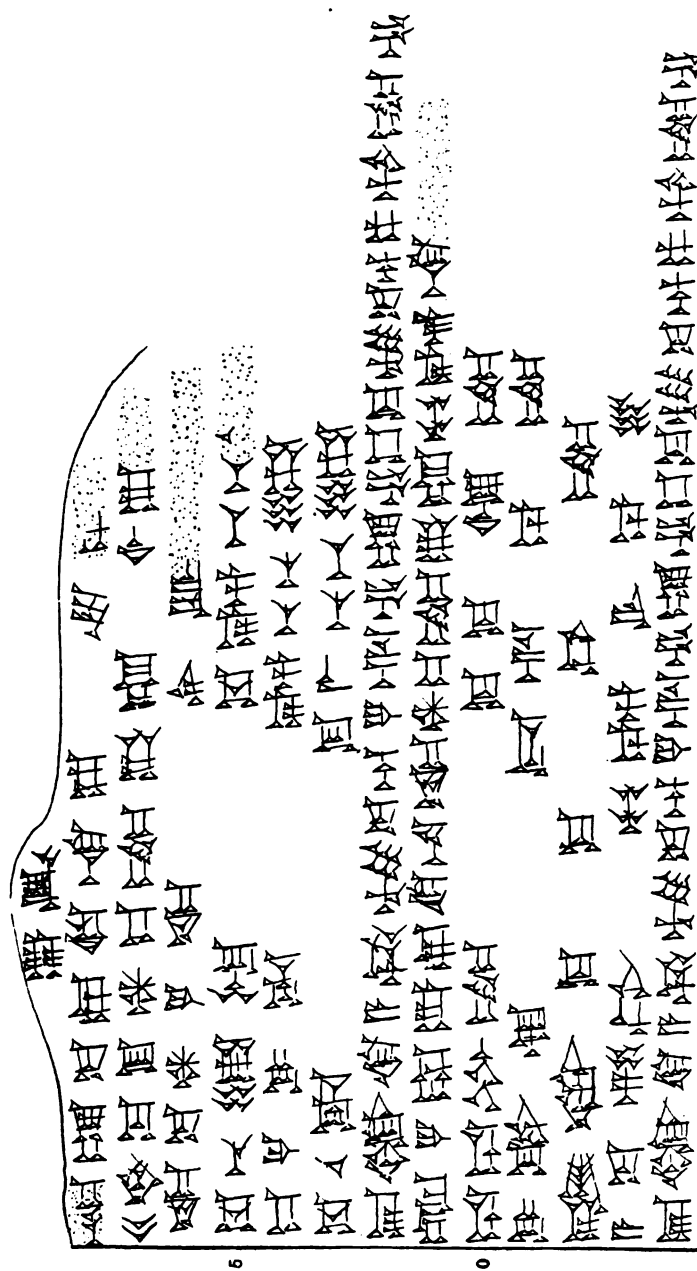
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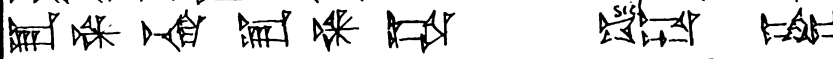
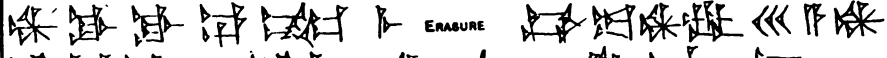

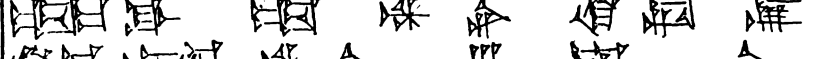

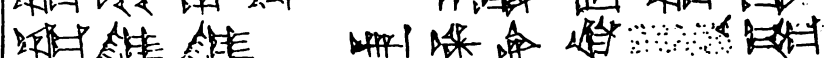
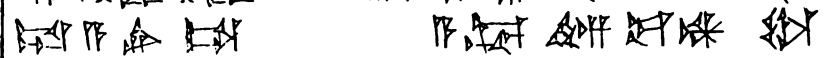
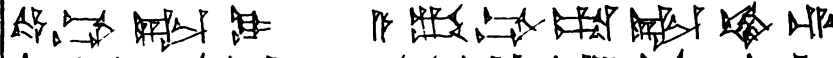
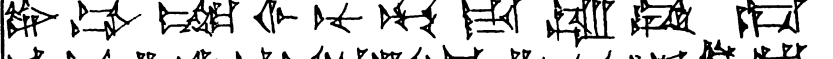
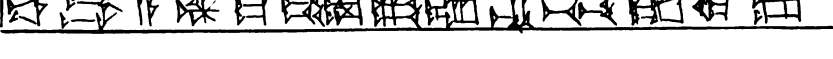

OBVERSE



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OBVERSE

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REVERSE

(The page contains dense handwritten Chinese text arranged in vertical columns. The right side features several large, bold characters, likely serving as section headers or chapter titles. Marginal numbers are present on the left side.)

OBVERSE

Col. 2[illegible]

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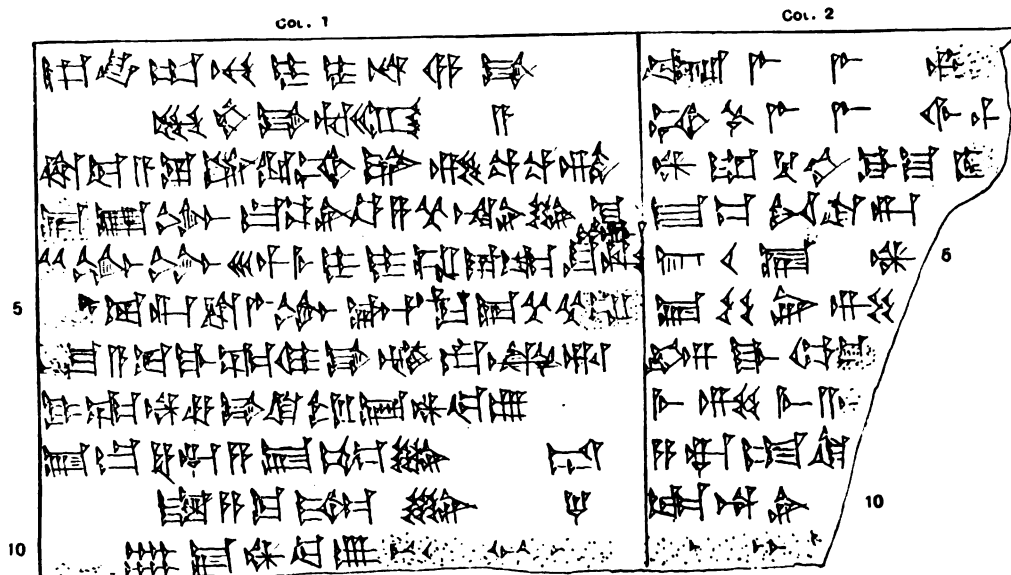
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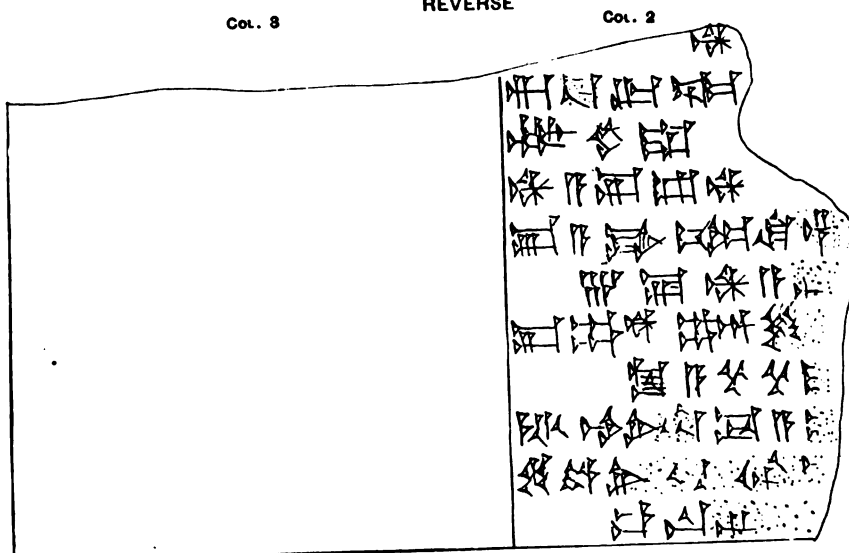
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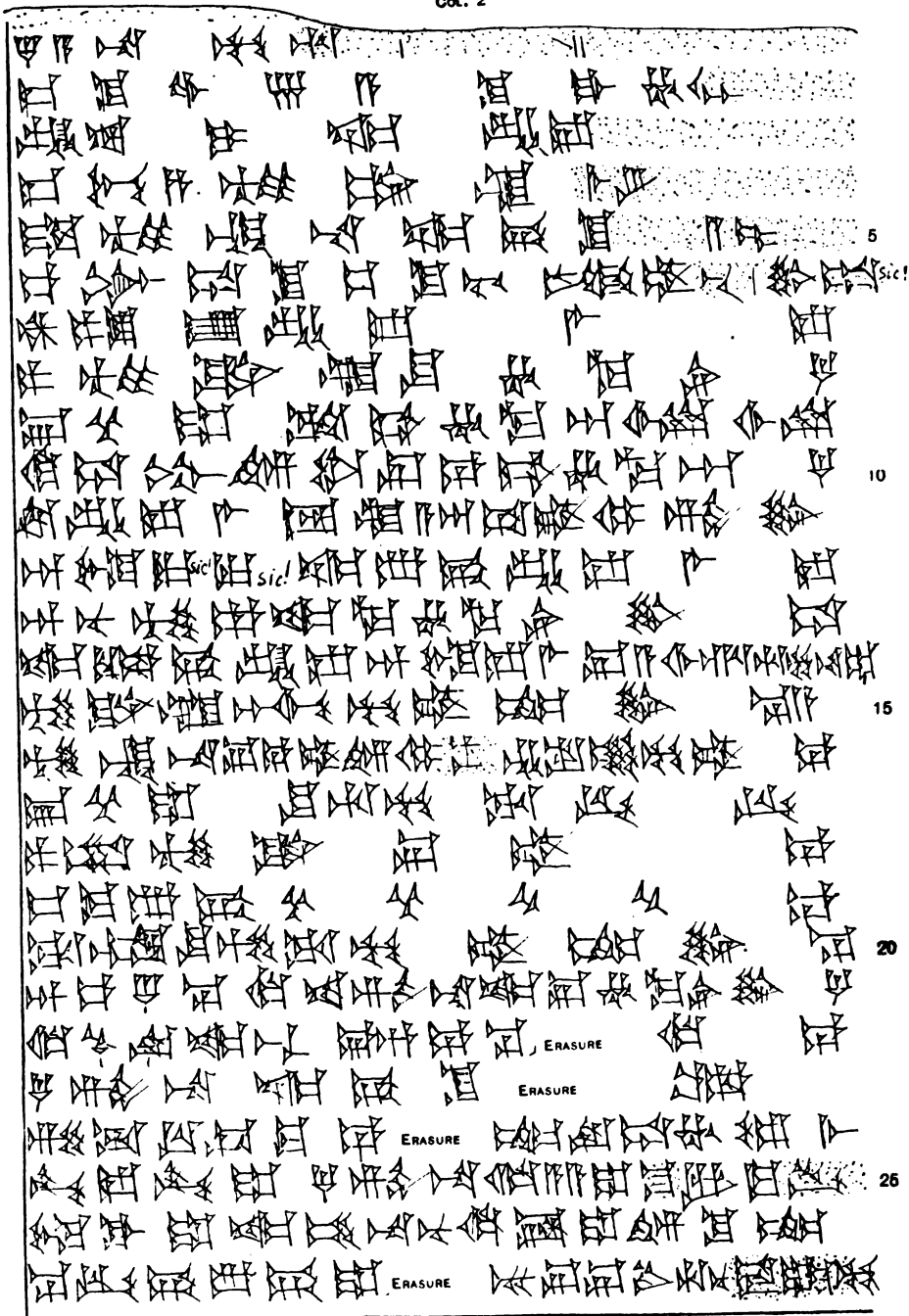
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Col. 1 - CONTINUED

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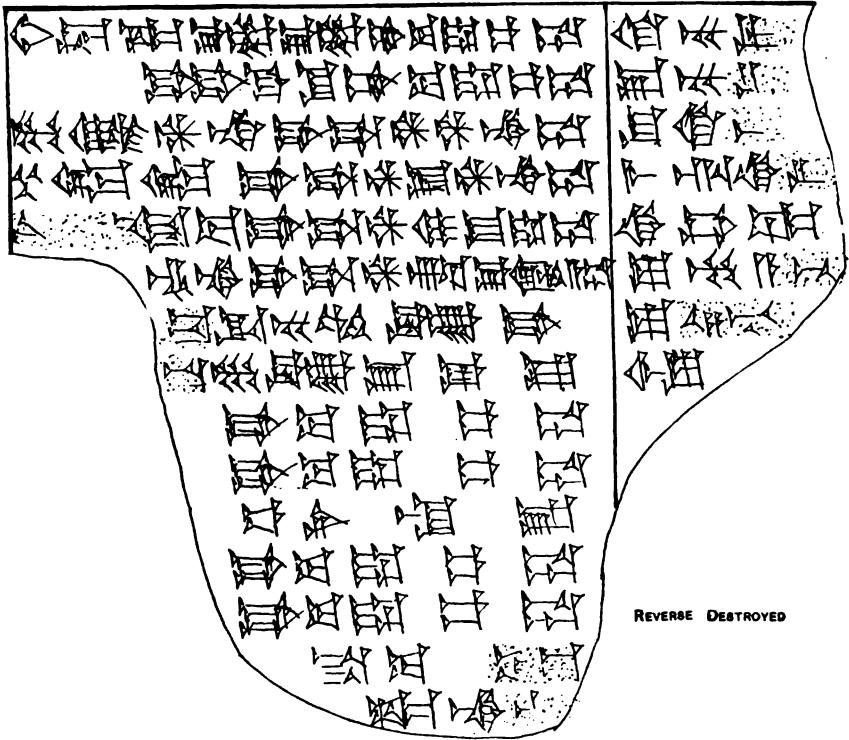
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[Cuneiform text in Column 1, Reverse side]

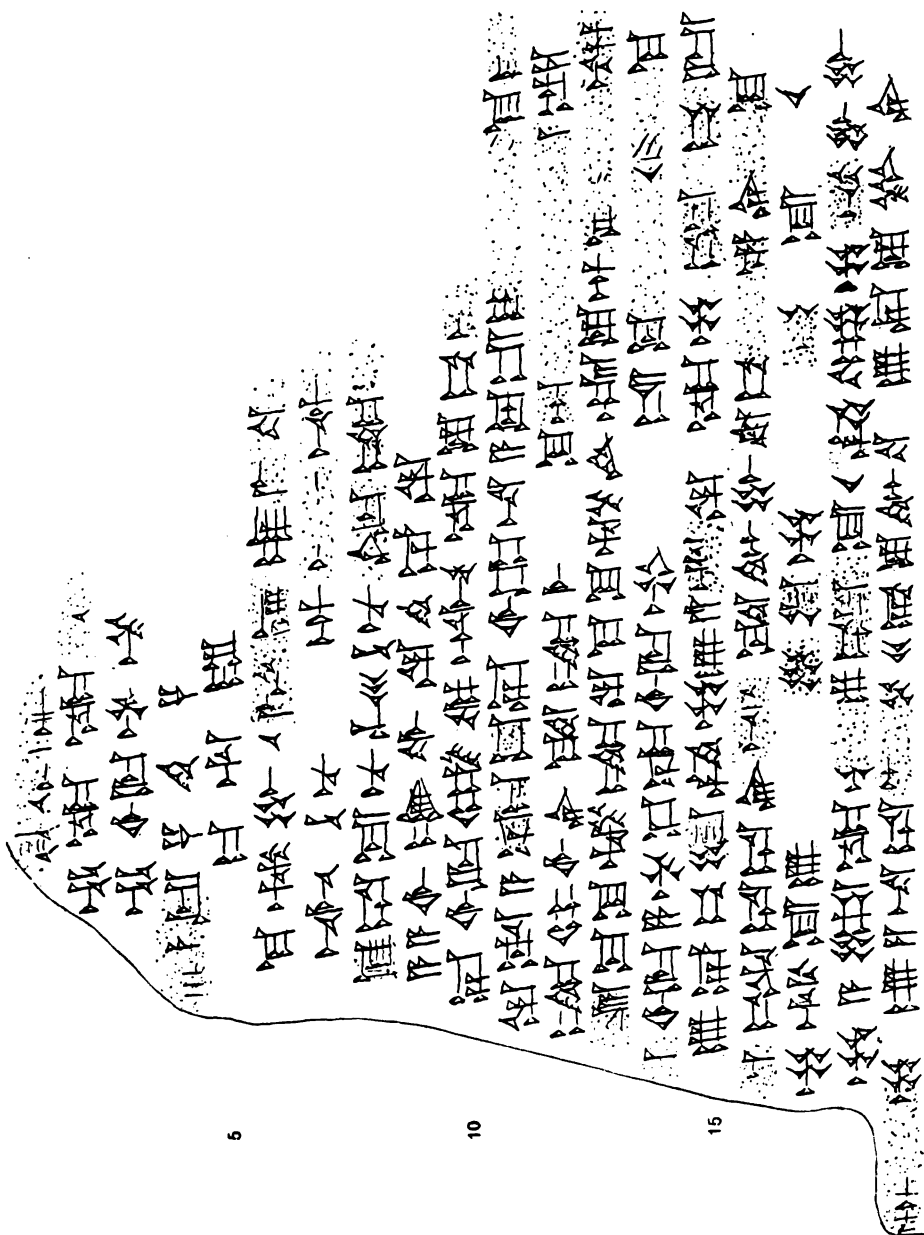
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OBVERSE



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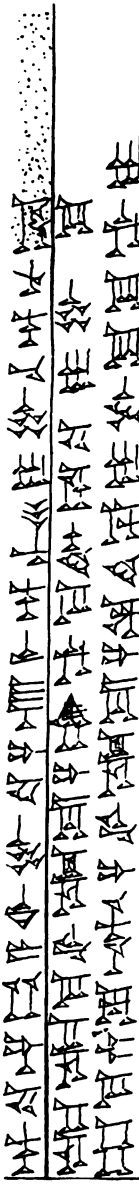
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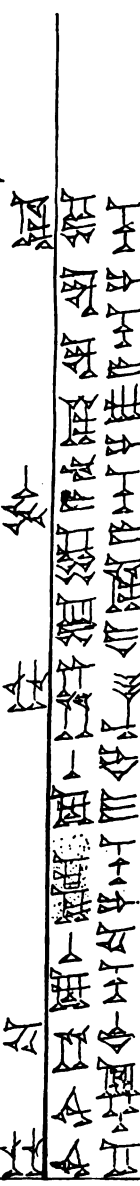
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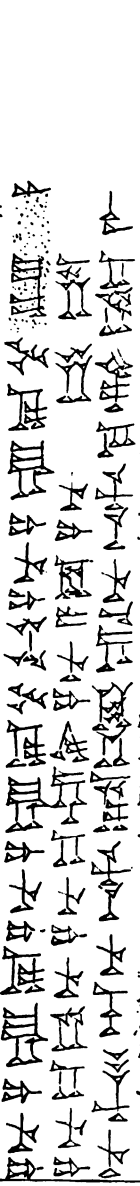
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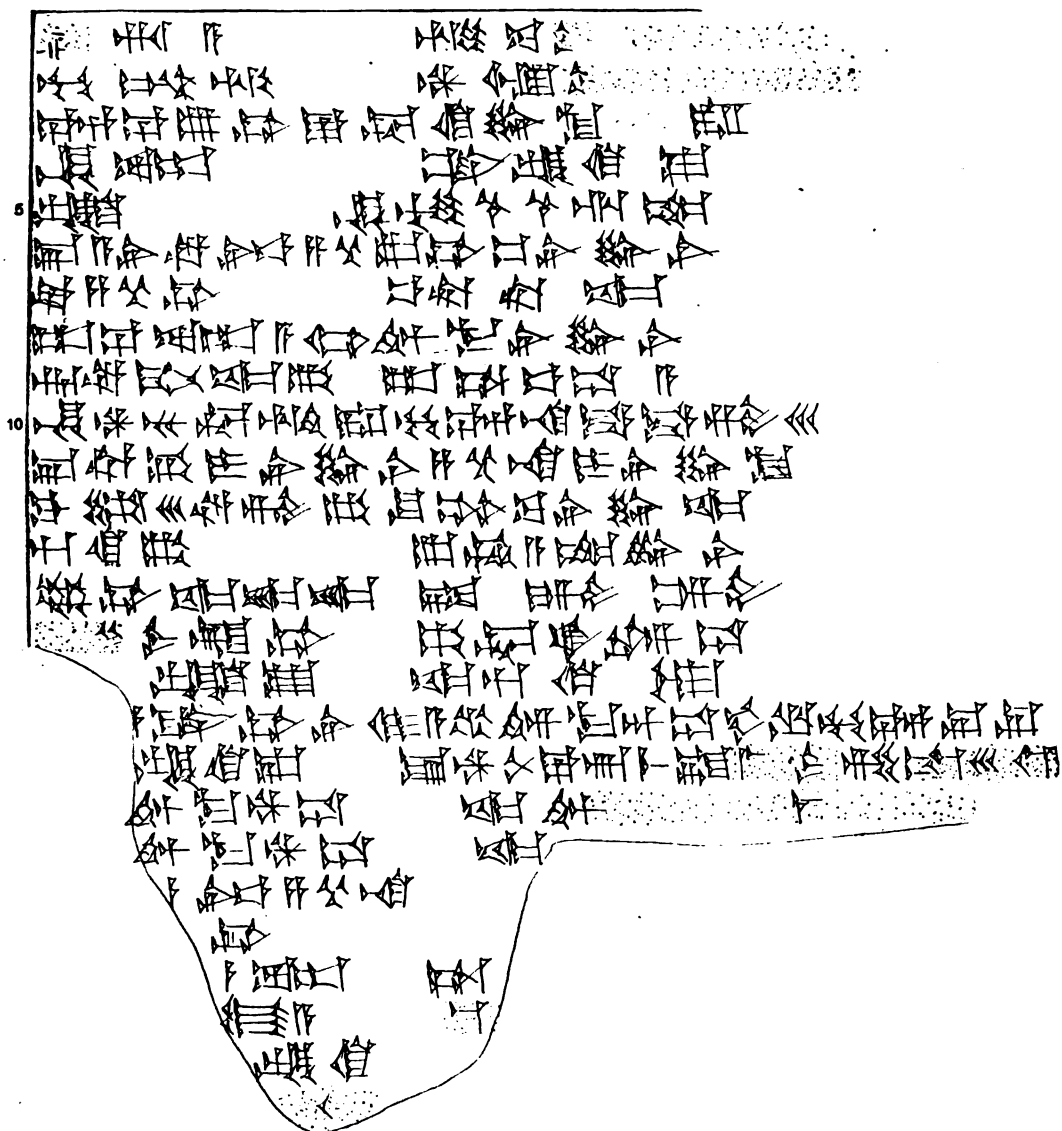








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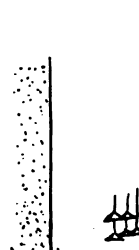
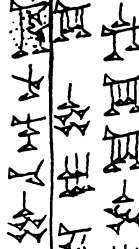
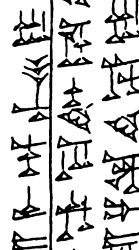
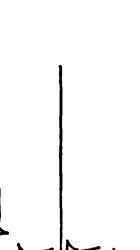
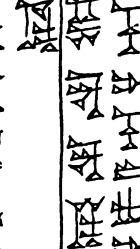


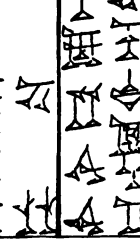
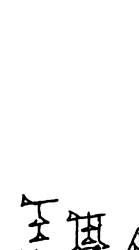






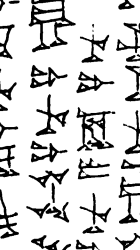


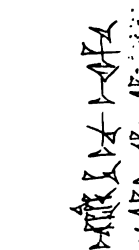


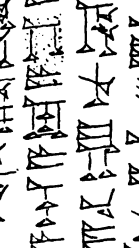













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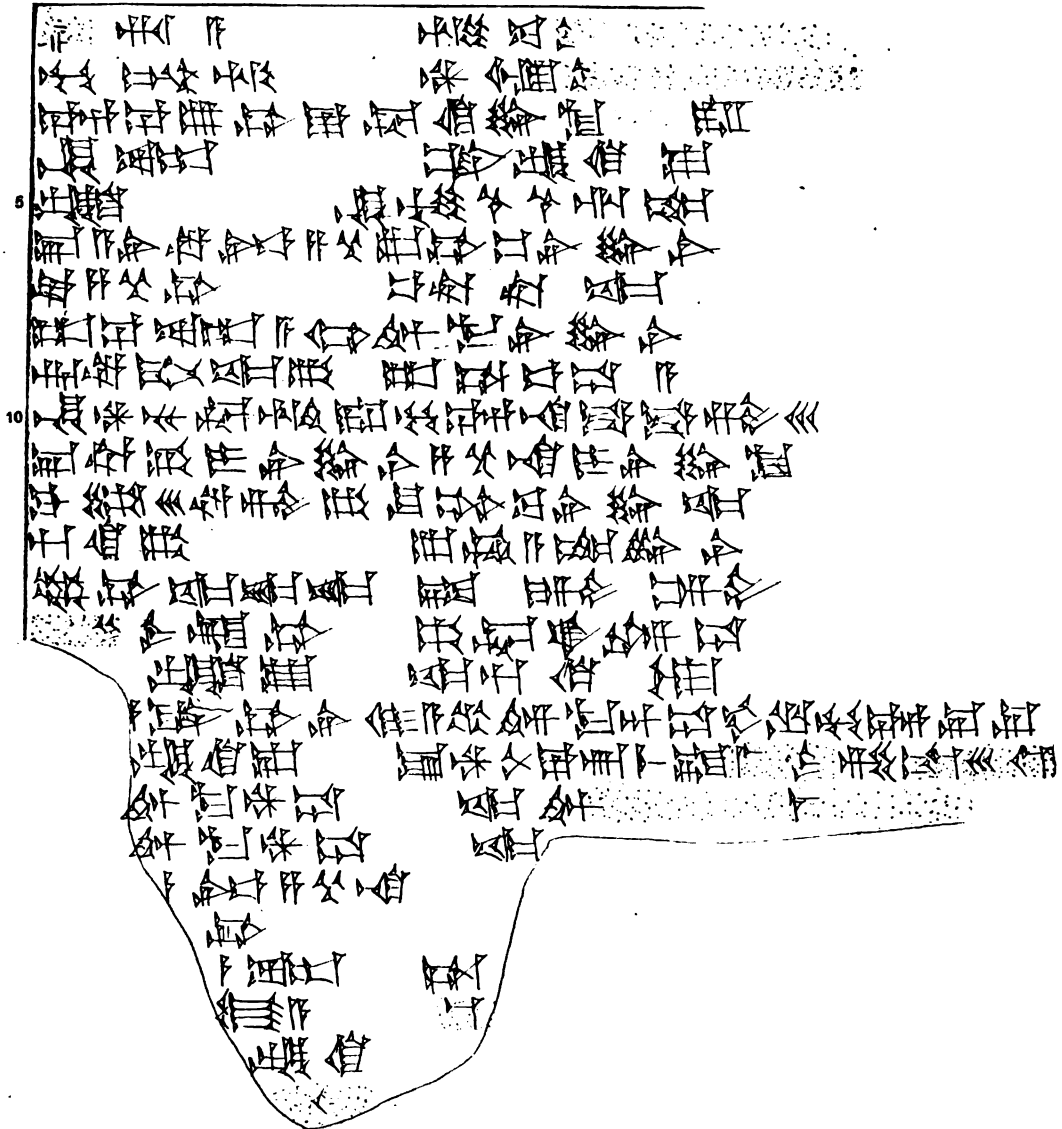
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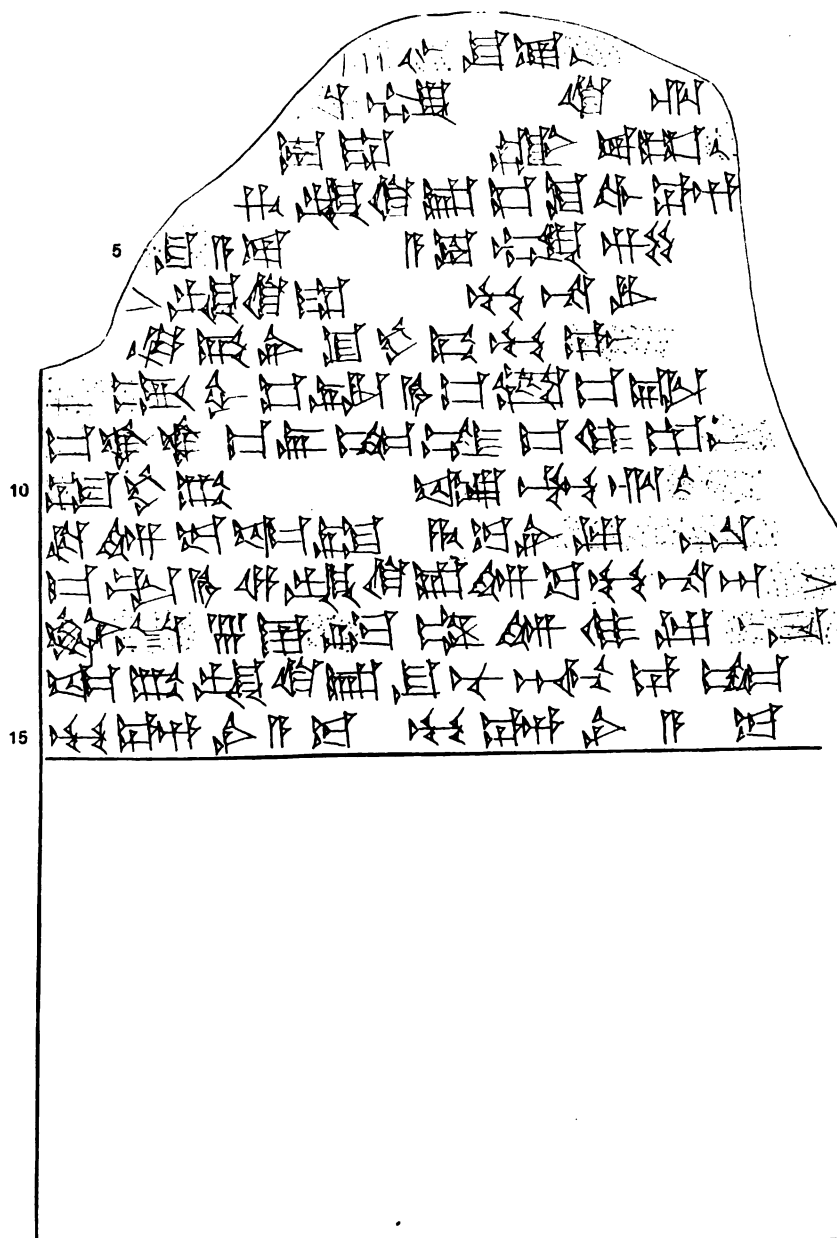
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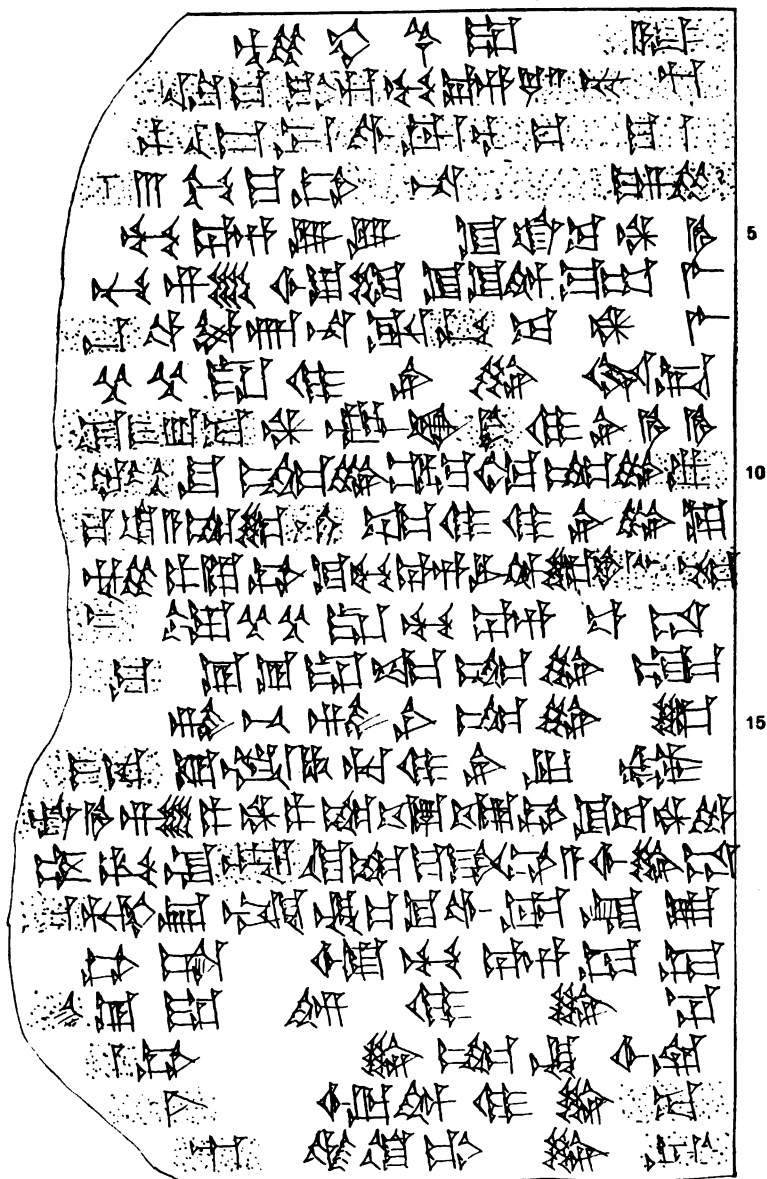


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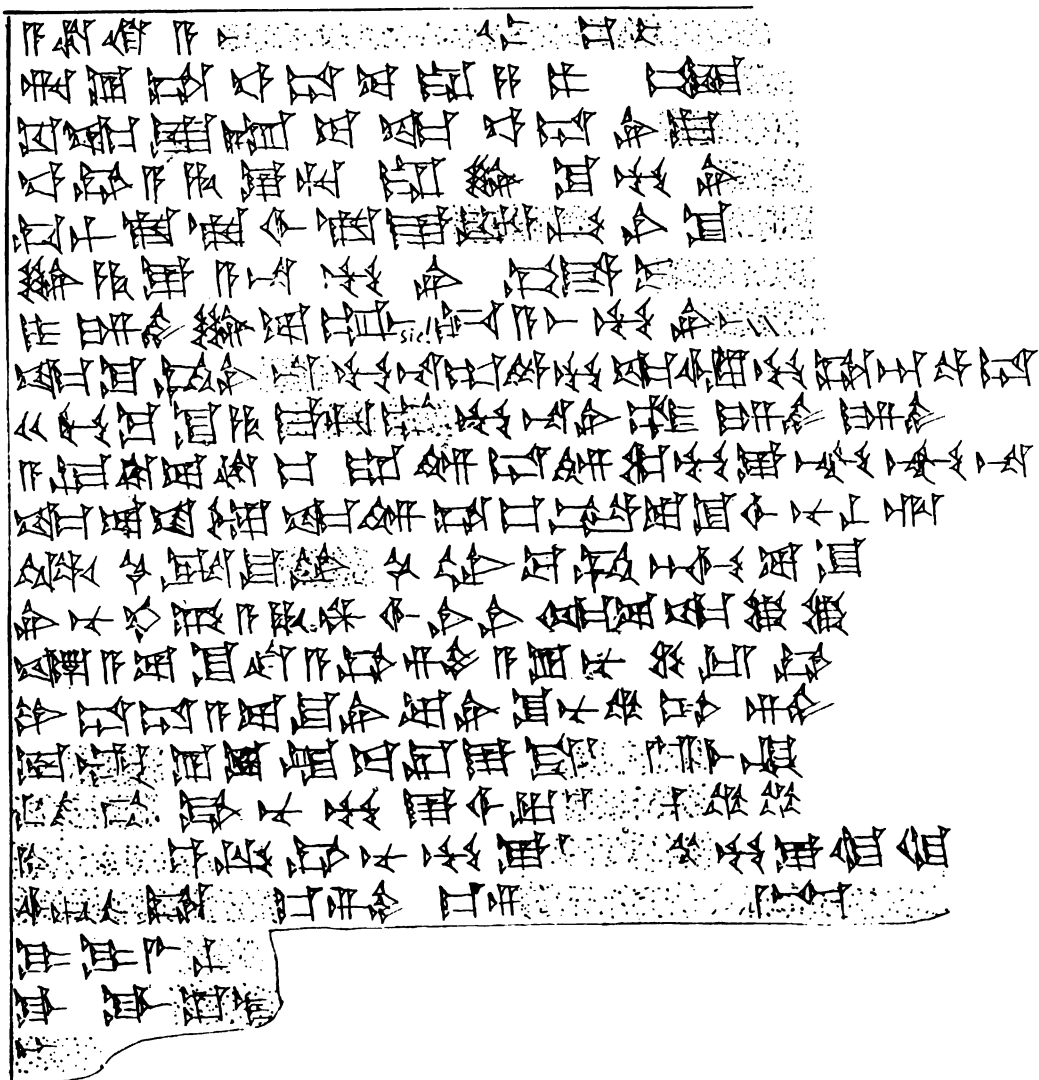
OBVERSE

Col. 1



OBVERSE

Col. 2

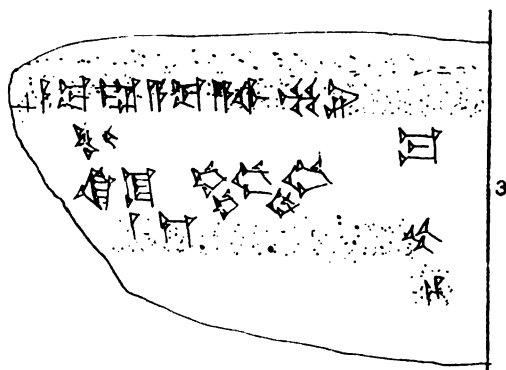


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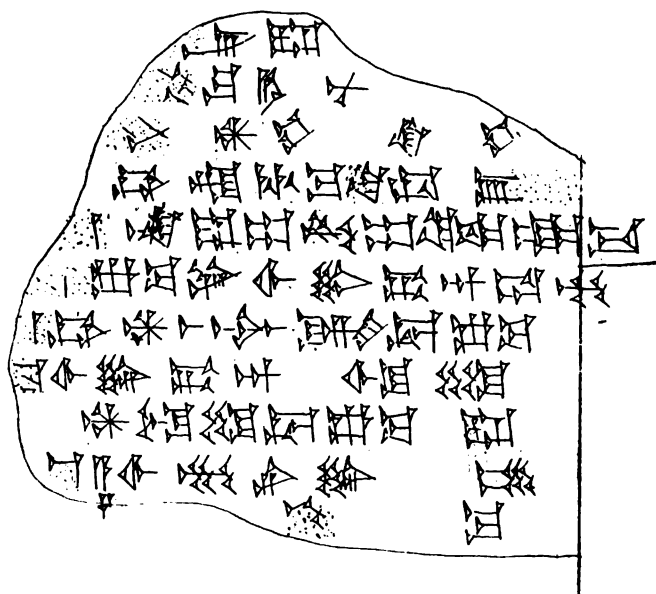
Handwritten cuneiform script on a fragment of a tablet, oriented vertically. The text is arranged in approximately 15 columns, with some lines containing multiple signs. The fragment is irregularly shaped, with a jagged left edge. The script is a form of Old Babylonian cuneiform. The bottom of the fragment shows a few lines of text that are partially cut off.

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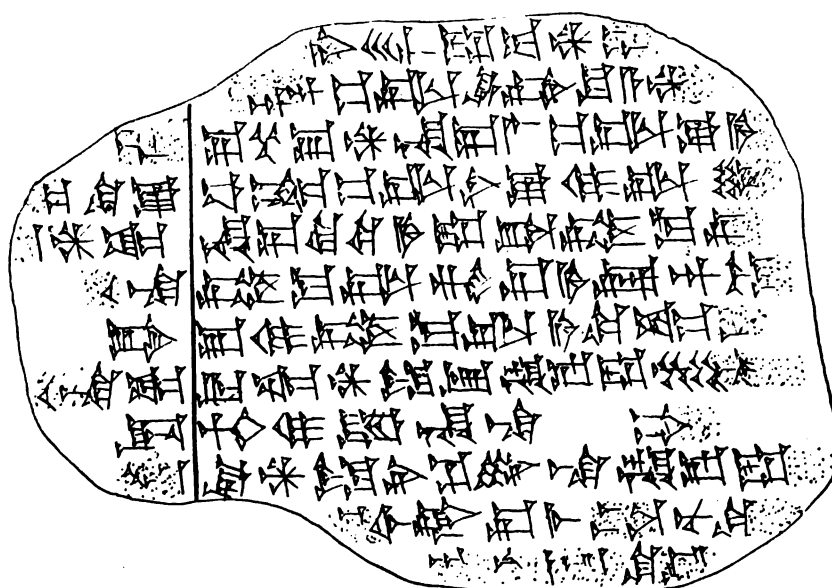
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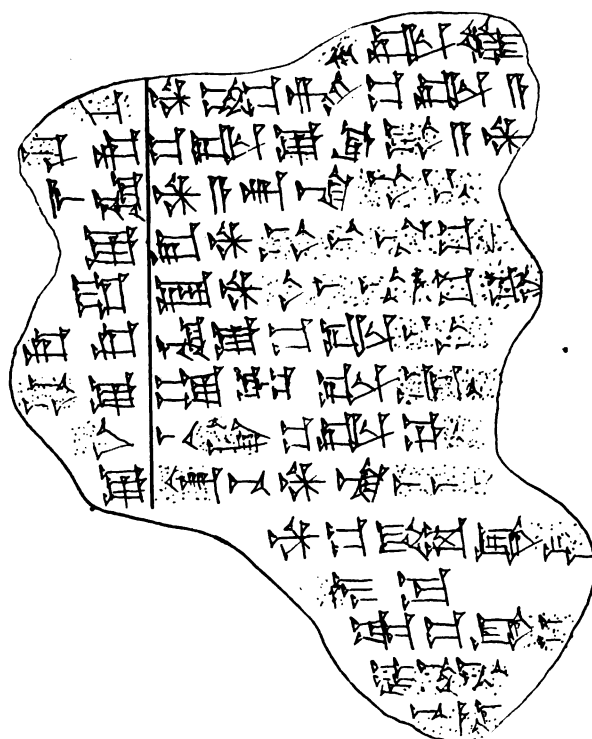
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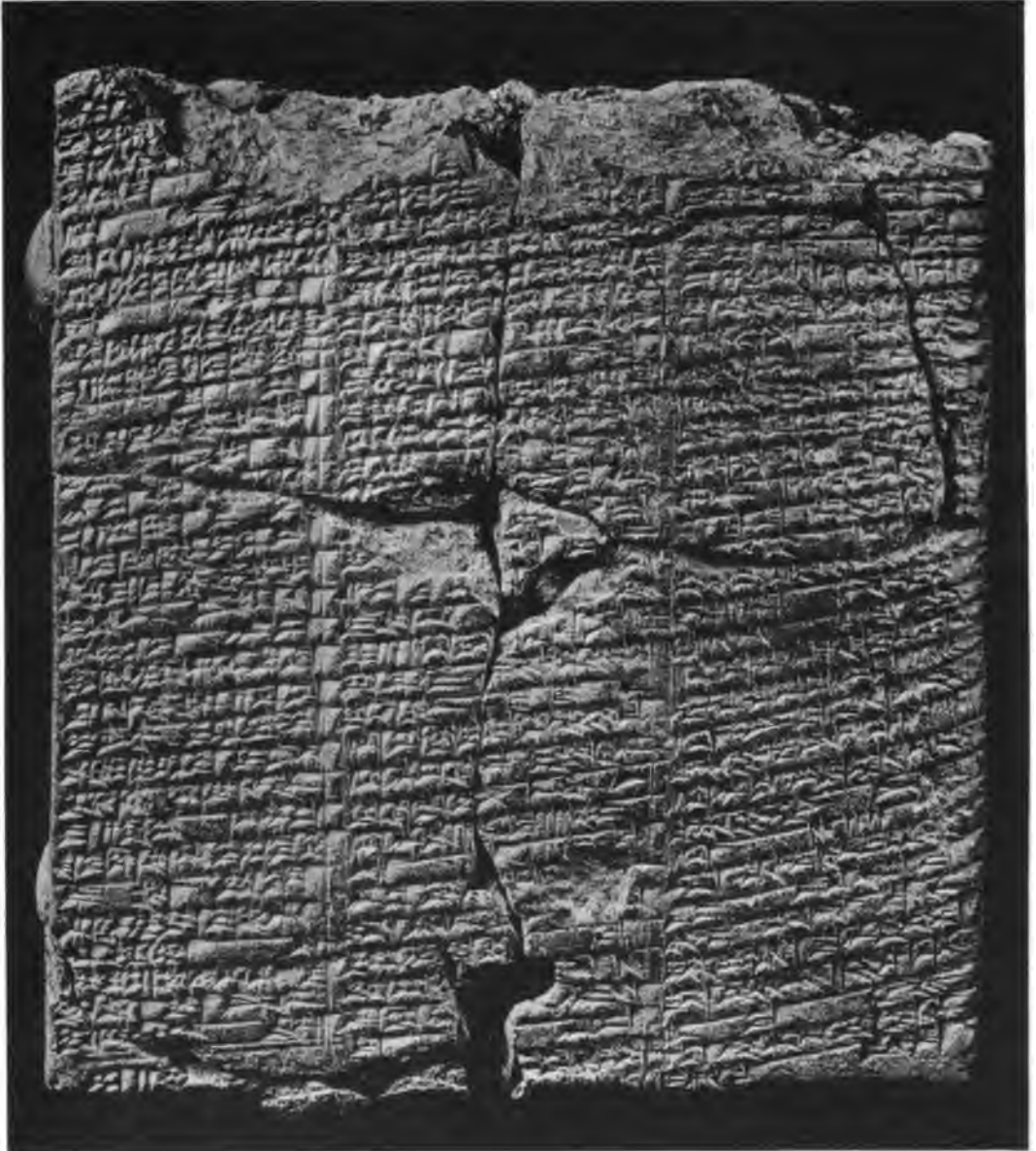


TABLET OF THE GILGAMISH
(REVERSE)



TABLET OF THE GILGAMISH EPIC
(OBVERSE)





TABLET OF THE GILGAMISH EPIC
(REVERSE)

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
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THE EPIC OF GILGAMISH

BY

STEPHEN LANGDON

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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 Bêl 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.¹ The name Gilgamish was originally written **Gi-bil-aga-miš*, and means "The fire god (*Gibil*) is a commander," abbreviated to **Gi-bil-ga-miš*, and **Gi(š)-bil-ga-miš*, a form which by full labialization of *b* to *u* was finally contracted to **Gi-il-ga-miš*.² Throughout the new text the name is written with the abbreviation **Gi(š)*,³ whereas the standard Assyrian text has consistently the writing **GIŠ-TU⁴-BAR*. The latter method of writing the name is apparently cryptographic for **Giš-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,⁵ where Gilgamish begins to relate his dreams to his mother Ninsun.

¹ Tammuz is probably a real personage, although *Dumu-zi*, his original name, is certainly later than the title *Ab-ú*, probably the oldest epithet of this deity, see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 8. *Dumu-zi* 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 MEISSNER's early Babylonian duplicate of Book X has invariably the same writing, see DHORME, *Choix de Textes Religieux*, 298-303.

⁴ Sign whose gunufied form is read *aga*.

⁵ The standard text of the Assyrian version is by PROFESSOR PAUL HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, Leipzig, 1884.

⁶ The name of the mother of Gilgamish has been erroneously read *ri-mat* ^{ilat}*Nin-lil*, or *Rimat-Bêlit*, 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 *Ninsun* as mother of Gilgamish see SBP. 153 n. 19 and R.A., IX 113 III 2. *Ri-mat* ^{ilat}*Nin-sun* should be rendered "The wild cow Ninsun."

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. Gilgamish 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. Gilgamish is enamoured of the beautiful virgin goddess Išhara, 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 Gilgamish 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 Išhara, 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 Gilgamish and Išhara(?) 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

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>it-bi-e-ma</i> ¹<i>"Gilgamiš šu-na-tam</i>
 <i>i-pa-aš-šar.</i></p> <p>2. <i>iṣ-za-kar-am</i>¹ <i>a-na um-mi-šu</i></p> <p>3. <i>um-mi i-na ša-a-at mu-ši-ti-ja</i></p> <p>4. <i>ša-am-ḥa-ku-ma at-ta-na-al-la-ak</i></p> <p>5. <i>i-na bi-ri-it id-da-tim</i></p> <p>6. <i>ib-ba-šu-nim-ma ka-ka'-a</i>² <i>ša-</i>
 <i>ma-i</i></p> <p>7. <i>ki-?-?-rum</i>³ <i>ša a-nim im-ku-ut</i>
 <i>a-na ši-ri-ja</i></p> <p>8. <i>āš-ši-šu-ma ik-ta-bi-it</i>⁴ <i>e-li-ja</i></p> <p>9. <i>ilam</i>⁵ <i>iš-šu-ma nu-uš-ša-šu</i>⁶ <i>u-ul</i>
 <i>el-ti-'i</i></p> <p>10. <i>ad-ki ma-tum pa-ḥi-ir</i>⁷ <i>e-li-šu</i></p> <p>11. <i>id-lu-tum ú-na-ša-ku ši-pi-šu</i></p> <p>12. <i>ú-um-mi-id-ma</i> <i>pu-ti</i></p> <p>13. <i>i-mi- du</i> <i>ja-ti</i></p> <p>14. <i>aš-ši- a-šu-ma at-ba-la-āš-šu a-na</i>
 <i>ši-ri-ki</i></p> <p>15. <i>um-mi</i> ¹<i>"Gilgamiš mu-u-dá-a-at</i>
 <i>ka-la-ma</i></p> <p>16. <i>iṣ-za-kar-am a-na</i> ¹<i>"Gilgamiš</i></p> | <p>1. Gilgamish arose interpreting
 dreams,</p> <p>2. addressing his mother.</p> <p>3. "My mother! during my night</p> <p>4. I, having become lusty, wan-
 dered about</p> <p>5. in the midst of omens.</p> <p>6. And there came out stars in the
 heavens,</p> <p>7. Like a . . . of heaven he fell upon
 me.</p> <p>8. I bore him but he was too
 heavy for me.</p> <p>9. He bore a net but I was not
 able to bear it.</p> <p>10. I summoned the land to assem-
 ble unto him,</p> <p>11. that heroes might kiss his feet.</p> <p>12. He stood up before me⁸</p> <p>13. and they stood over against me.</p> <p>14. I lifted him and carried him
 away unto thee."</p> <p>15. The mother of Gilgamish she
 that knows all things,</p> <p>16. said unto Gilgamish:—</p> |
|---|---|

¹ Here this late text includes both variants *pašāru* and *zakāru*. The earlier texts have only the one or the other.

² For *kakabē*; *b* becomes *u* and then is reduced to the breathing.

³ The variants have *kima kišri*; *ki-[ma]?-rum* is a possible reading. The standard Assyrian texts regard Enkidu as the subject.

⁴ Var. *da-an*

⁵ *ŠAM-KAK* = *ilu*, net. The variant has *ullaprid 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 *nuš-šu* = *nušša-šu*. The previous translations of this passage are erroneous.

⁷ This is to my knowledge the first occurrence of the infinitive of this verb, *paḥēru*, not *paḥāru*.

⁸ Literally "he attained my front."

COL. II

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>aš-šum uš-[ta-] ma-ḥa-ru it-ti-ka.</i> | 1. that he may join with thee in endeavor." |
| 2. ^u "Gilgamish <i>šu-na-tam i-pa-šar</i> | 2. (Thus) Gilgamish solves (his) dream. |
| 3. ^u "En-ki-[dû w]a?-ši-ib <i>ma-ḥar ḥa-ri-im-tim</i> | 3. Enkidu sitting before the hierodule |
| 4. UR []-ḥa-mu DI-?-al-lu-
un | 4. |
| 5. [] <i>im-ta-ši a-šar i-wa-al-du</i> | 5. [] forgot where he was born. |
| 6. <i>ûmê 6¹ û 7 mu-ši- a-tim</i> | 6. Six days and seven nights |
| 7. ^u "En-ki-dû <i>te-bi- i-ma</i> | 7. came forth Enkidu |
| 8. <i>ša-[am-ka-ta] ir- ḥi</i> | 8. and cohabited with the courtesan. |
| 9. <i>ḥa-[ri-im-tu pa-a]-ša i-pu-ša-am-ma</i> | 9. The hierodule opened her mouth |
| 10. <i>iḫ-za-[kar-am] a-na ^u"En-ki-dû²</i> | 10. speaking unto Enkidu. |
| 11. <i>a-na-tal-ka ^dEn-ki-dû ki-ma ili ta-ba-áš-ši</i> | 11. "I behold thee Enkidu; like a god thou art. |
| 12. <i>am-mi-nim it-ti na-ma-áš-te-e³</i> | 12. Why with the animals |
| 13. <i>ta-at-ta-[na-al-]la-ak ši-ra-am</i> | 13. wanderest thou on the plain? |
| 14. <i>al-kam lu-ûr-di- ka</i> | 14. Come! I will lead thee |
| 15. <i>a-na libbi Uruk-(ki) ri-bi-tim</i> | 15. into the midst of Erech of the wide places, |
| 16. <i>a-na biti [el-]lim mu-ša-bi ša A-nim</i> | 16. even unto the holy house, dwelling place of Anu. |
| 17. ^d En-ki-dû <i>ti-bi lu-ru-ka</i> | 17. Oh Enkidu, arise, I will conduct thee |
| 18. <i>a-na É-[an-n]a mu-ša-bi ša A-nim</i> | 18. unto Eanna dwelling place of Anu, |
| 19. <i>a-šar [^u"Gilgamiš] it-[.] ne-pi-ši-tim(?)</i> | 19. where Gilgamish [oppresses] the souls of men(?) |
| 20. <i>û at-[]-di []- ma</i> | 20. And as I |
| 21. <i>ta-[] ra-ma-an- ka</i> | 21. thou shalt thyself. |

¹ Restored from Tab. I Col. IV 21.² Cf. DHORME *Cboix de Textes Religieux* 198, 33.³ *namaštû* a late form which has followed the analogy of *reštû* in assuming the feminine *t* as part of the root. The long *û* is due to analogy with *namaššû* a Sumerian loan-word with nisbe ending.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 22. <i>al-ka ti-ba i-[na] ga-ag-ga-ri</i> | 22. Come thou, arise from the ground |
| 23. <i>ma-a-a¹ -ak ri-i-im</i> | 23. unto the place yonder (?) of the shepherd." |
| 24. <i>iš-me a-wa-a²-za im-ta-gár ga-ba-ša</i> | 24. He heard her speak and accepted her words with favor. |
| 25. <i>mi-il-kum ša sinništi</i> | 25. The advice of the woman |
| 26. <i>im-ta-[ku]-ut a-na libbi-šu</i> | 26. fell upon his heart. |
| 27. <i>iš-ḥu-ut li-ib-ša-am</i> | 27. She tore off one garment |
| 28. <i>iš-ti-nam [ú]-la-ab-bi-iš-šu</i> | 28. and clothed him with it. |
| 29. <i>li-ib- [ša-am] ša-ni-a-am</i> | 29. With a second garment |
| 30. <i>ši-i it-ta-al-ba- áš</i> | 30. she clothed herself. |
| 31. <i>ša-ab-ta-at ga-a³- zu</i> | 31. She clasped his hand, |
| 32. <i>ki-ma ? i-ri-id-di-šu</i> | 32. guiding him like..... |
| 33. <i>a-na gu-up-ri ša ri-i-im</i> | 33. unto the mighty presence of the shepherd, |
| 34. <i>a-š[ar]] tar-ba-ši-im</i> | 34. unto the place of the..... of the sheepfolds. |
| 35. <i>i-na []-ḥu-ru ri-ja-ú²</i> | 35. In.....to shepherd |
| 36. | 36. |

(About two lines broken away.)

COL. III

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>ši-i³-ba ša na-ma-áš-te-e</i> | 1. Milk of the cattle |
| 2. <i>i-te-en- ni- i³</i> | 2. he drank. |
| 3. <i>a-ka-lam iš-ku-nu ma-ḥar-šu</i> | 3. Food they placed before him. |
| 4. <i>i³-te-i³-ma i-na -at-ta³</i> | 4. He broke bread ⁴ |
| 5. <i>ù i³-pa-al-la- as</i> | 5. gazing and looking. |
| 6. <i>u-ul i-di ^dEn-ki- d^u</i> | 6. But Enkidu understood not. |
| 7. <i>aklam a-na a-ka-lim</i> | 7. Bread to eat, |
| 8. <i>šikaram a-na ša-te-e-im</i> | 8. beer to drink, |
| 9. <i>la-a lum-mu- ud</i> | 9. he had not been taught. |

¹ Room for a small sign only, perhaps *A*; *mājak*? For *māka*, there, see BEHRENS, LSS. II page 1 and index.

² Infinitive "to shepherd"; see also POEBEL, PBS. V 106 I, *ri-ja-ú*, *ri-te-ja-ú*.

³ The text has clearly *AD-RI*.

⁴ *patāku* has apparently the same sense originally as *batāku*, although the one forms its preterite *iptik* and the other *ibtuk*. Cf. also *maḥāšu* break, hammer and construct.

10. *ba-ri-im-tum pi-ša i-pu-ša-am-*
ma
11. *iḫ-za-kar-am a-na* ^{11u}*En-ki-dū*
12. *a-ku-ul ak-lam* ^d*En-ki-dū*
13. *zi-ma-at ba-la-ti-im*
14. *bi-ši-ti ši-im-ti ma-ti*
15. *i-ku-ul a-ak-lam* ^{11u}*En-ki-dū*
16. *a-di ši-bi-e-šu*
17. *šikaram iš-ti-a-am*
18. 7 *aš-ša-am-mi-im*¹
19. *it-tap-šar kab-ta-tum i-na-an-gu*
20. *i-li-iš libba-šu-ma*
21. *pa-nu-šu [it-]ta(?)-bīr -ru*²
22. *ul-tap-pi-it [.....]-i*
23. *šu-ḫu-ra-am pa-ga-ar-šu*
24. *ša-am-nam ip-la-ša-aš-ma*
25. *a-we-li-iš i-mē*
26. *il-ba-aš li-ib-ša-am*
27. *ki-ma mu-ti i-ba-aš-ši*
28. *il-ki ka-ak-ka-šu*
29. *la-bi ú gi-ir-ri*
30. *iš-sa-ak-pu šab-[ši]-eš mu-ši-a-ti*
31. *ut-tap -pi-iš šib-ba-ri*⁴
32. *la-bi uk-t[a]-ši-id*
33. *it-ti immer na-ki-[e?] ra-bu-tum*
34. ^{11u}*En-ki-dū ma-aš-ša-ar-šu-nu*
35. *a-we-lum wa-ru-um*
36. *iš-[te]-en id-lum*
37. *a-na[..... u]-za-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 sacrifice
34. Enkidu was their guard.
35. A man, a leader,
36. A hero.
37. Unto... he elevated
-

(About five lines broken away.)

¹ Or *aššammim*? The word is probably an adverb; hardly a word for cup, mug (??).

² *it* is uncertain and *ta* more likely than *uš*. One expects *ittabriru*. Cf. *muttabriru*, CT. 17, 15, 2; *littatabrar*, EBELING, KTA. 69, 4.

³ The passage is obscure. Here *šuḫuru* is taken as a loan-word from *suḫur* = *ḫimmatu*, hair of the head. The infinitive II¹ of *saḫāru* is philologically possible.

⁴ For *šapparu*. Text and interpretation uncertain. *utlappiš* II² from *tapāšu*, Hebrew *tāpaš*, seize.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 19. <i>a-na šarri Unuk-(ki) ri-bi-tim</i> | 19. For the king of Erech of the wide places |
| 20. <i>pi-ti pu-uk epši¹ a-na ha-a-a-ri</i> | 20. open, addressing thy speech as unto a husband. |
| 21. <i>a-na ^{il}Gilgamiš šarri ša Unuk-(ki) ri-bi-tim</i> | 21. Unto Gilgamish king of Erech of the wide places |
| 22. <i>pi-ti pu-uk epši¹</i> | 22. open, addressing thy speech |
| 23. <i>a-na ha-a-a-ri</i> | 23. as unto a husband. |
| 24. <i>áš-ša-at ši-ma-tim i-ra-aḫ-ḫi</i> | 24. He cohabits with the wife decreed for him, |
| 25. <i>šu-u pa-na-nu-um-ma</i> | 25. even he formerly. |
| 26. <i>mu-uk wa-ar-ka-nu</i> | 26. But henceforth |
| 27. <i>i-na mi-il-ki ša ili ga-bi-ma</i> | 27. in the counsel which god has spoken, |
| 28. <i>i-na bi-ti-iḫ a-pu-un-na-ti-šu²</i> | 28. in the work of his presence |
| 29. <i>ši-ma-aṣ-ṣum</i> | 29. shall be his fate." |
| 30. <i>a-na ṣi-ik-ri id-li-im</i> | 30. At the mention of the hero |
| 31. <i>i-ri-ku pa-nu-šu</i> | 31. his face became pale. |

REVERSE II

.....
(About five lines broken away.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>i-il-la-ak-.....</i> | 1. going..... |
| 2. <i>ù ša-am-ka-at[.....]ar-ki-šu</i> | 2. and the harlot.....after him. |
| 3. <i>i-ru-ub-ma³ a-na⁴ libbi Uruk-(ki) ri-bi-tim</i> | 3. He entered into the midst of Erech of the wide places. |
| 4. <i>iḫ-ḫur um-ma-nu-um i-na ṣi-ri-šu</i> | 4. The artisans gathered about him. |
| 5. <i>iḫ-ṣi-za-am-ma i-na ṣu-ki-im</i> | 5. And as he stood in the street |
| 6. <i>ša Unuk-(ki) ri-bi-tim</i> | 6. of Erech of the wide places, |
| 7. <i>pa-aḫ-ra-a-ma ni-šu</i> | 7. the people assembled |

¹ KAK-ši.

² Literally nostrils. *pitik apunnati-šu*, work done in his presence(?). The meaning of the ideom is uncertain.

³ Text ZU!

⁴ Text has erroneous form.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 4. <i>i-ḫa-an-ni-ib</i> [<i>pi-ir-la-šu?</i>] | 4. his hair growing thickly like the corn. |
| 5. <i>it-bi-ma</i> | 5. He came forth. |
| 6. <i>a-na pa-ni-šu</i> | 6. into his presence. |
| 7. <i>it-tam-ḫa-ru i-na ri-bi-tu ma-ti</i> | 7. They met in the wide park of the land. |
| 8. ^u <i>En-ki-dū ba-ba-am ip-ta-ri-ik</i> | 8. Enkidu held fast the door |
| 9. <i>i-na ši-pi-šu</i> | 9. with his foot, |
| 10. ^u <i>Gilgamiš e-ri-ba-am u-ul id-di-in</i> | 10. and permitted not Gilgamiš to enter. |
| 11. <i>iš-ša-ab-tu-ma ki-ma li-i-im</i> | 11. They grappled with each other |
| 12. <i>i-lu-du¹</i> | 12. goring like an ox. |
| 13. <i>ṣi-ip-pa-am 'i-bu-tu</i> | 13. The threshold they destroyed. |
| 14. <i>i-ga-rum ir-tu-tū²</i> | 14. The wall they demolished. |
| 15. ^u <i>Gilgamiš ū 'u En-ki-dū</i> | 15. Gilgamiš and Enkidu |
| 16. <i>iš-ša-ab-tu-ū-ma</i> | 16. grappled with each other, |
| 17. <i>ki-ma li-i-im i-lu-du</i> | 17. goring like an ox. |
| 18. <i>ṣi-ip-pa-am 'i-bu-tu</i> | 18. The threshold they destroyed. |
| 19. <i>i-ga-rum ir-tu-tū</i> | 19. The wall they demolished. |
| 20. <i>ik-mi-is-ma 'u Gilgamiš</i> | 20. Gilgamiš bowed |
| 21. <i>i-na ga-ga-ag-ga-ri ši-ip-šu</i> | 21. to the ground at his feet |
| 22. <i>ip-ši-iḫ³ u-ša-šu-ma</i> | 22. and his javelin reposed. |
| 23. <i>i-ni-'i i-ra-aṣ-ṣu</i> | 23. He turned back his breast. |
| 24. <i>iš-tu i-ra-ṣu i-ni-ḫu⁴</i> | 24. After he had turned back his breast, |
| 25. ^u <i>En-ki-dū a-na ṣa-ši-im</i> | 25. Enkidu unto that one |
| 26. <i>iṣ-ṣa-kar-am a-na 'u Gilgamiš</i> | 26. spoke, even unto Gilgamiš. |
| 27. <i>ki-ma iš-te-en-ma um-ma-ka</i> | 27. "Even as one ⁵ did thy mother |
| 28. <i>ū-li-id-ka</i> | 28. bear thee, |
| 29. <i>ri-im-tum ṣa ṣu-pu-ri</i> | 29. she the wild cow of the cattle stalls, |
| 30. ^u <i>Nin-sun-na</i> | 30. Ninsunna, |
| 31. <i>ul-lu e-li mu-ti ri-eš-su</i> | 31. whose head she exalted more than a husband. |

¹ The verb *la'ātu*, to pierce, devour, forms its preterite *ilut*; see VAB. IV 216, 1. The present tense which occurs here has *ilut* also.

² Note *BUL(tu-ku)* = *ratātu* (falsely entered in MEISSNER, SAI. 7993), and *irattutu* in ZIMMERN, *Sburpu*, Index.

³ For *ipṣaḫ*.

⁴ Sic! *ḫu* reduced to the breathing 'u; read *i-ni-'u*.

⁵ I. e., an ordinary man.

- | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 32. <i>šar-ru-tam</i> | <i>ša ni-ši</i> | 32. Royal power over the people |
| 33. <i>i-ši-im-kum</i> | ^u <i>En-lil</i> | 33. Enlil has decreed for thee." |

<i>duppu</i>	<i>2 kam-ma</i>	Second tablet.
<i>šu-tu-ur e-li</i>		Written upon.....
<i>4 šu-ši</i> ¹		240 (lines).

¹ The tablet is reckoned at forty lines in each column.

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ZI-TAR-RU-DA = *nikis napišti*, 194 n. 6.

DESCRIPTION OF TABLETS

NUMBER IN THIS VOLUME.	MUSEUM NUMBER.	DESCRIPTION.
I	7771	Dark brown unbaked tablet. Three columns. Lower edge slightly broken. Knobs at left upper and left lower corners to facilitate the holding of the tablet. H. 7 inches; W. $6\frac{1}{2}$; T. $1\frac{1}{2}$. Second tablet of the Epic of Gilgamish.

AUTOGRAPH PLATES

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SUMERIAN LITURGIES AND PSALMS

BY

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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 *zag-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 *zagsal*

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 zag-sal*, "O praise father Enlil." For Ni. 13859, cited above p. 104, see POEBEL, PBS. V No. 26.

compositions¹ 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 columns³ 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 Innini⁴ 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

¹ So far as the term is properly applied. Being of didactic import it was finally attached to grammatical texts in the phrase *"Nidaba zag-sal, 'O praise Nidaba,' i. e., praise the patroness of writing.*

² POEBEL, PBS. V No. 25; translated in the writer's *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, 220-257. Note also a similar epical poem to Innini partial duplicate of POEBEL No. 25 in MYHRMAN'S *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, *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 *zagsal* to Enki belongs to the Constantinople collection, see p. 45 of my *Historical and Religious Texts*.

⁶ *Historical and Religious Texts*, pp. 14-18.

to restore the lost paradise.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 [^d*Dungi*] *zag-sal*, "O praise Dungi." It would be difficult to claim more conclusive evidence than this for the correctness of our interpretation of the group of *zagsal* 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.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

¹ See PSBA. 1919, 34.

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, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 8. The writer's exegesis of this tablet will be found in *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, 135-146. It is not called a *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 *zag-sal* group are the following: hymn to Shamash, RADAU, *Miscel.* No. 4; hymn to Ninurta as creator of canals, RADAU, BE. 29, No. 2, translated in BL., 7-11; hymn to Nidaba, 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 tablet¹ 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.² 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 Sippar.³ 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

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.¹ 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

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. 3¹ 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-šu² sîr-gal* "Enlil, "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.³ 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.⁵ 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 Sumerio-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

¹ Translated by RADAU on pages 436–440.

² Abbreviation for *ki-šub-gû-da* = *šêru*, strophe, song of prostration.

³ No. 3 of the texts in part 4.

⁴ *sa-gar* = *pitnu šaknu*, choral music, v. ZIMMERN, 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 *šū-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 (*šū-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 *šū-il-lá* prayers to various deities.

In the introduction to part two of this volume¹ 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 lines² 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

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 69–79.¹ 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 Ninā, 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.

¹ The twelfth *kišub* of a liturgy to Ishme-Dagan is published in ZIMMERN'S *Kullieder*, 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*.

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. <i>túg ba-ra-pad-da</i> | 1. |
| 2. ^d <i>A-nun-na-ge-ne na-ba-an-ri-gi-
eš-ám</i> | 2. The Anunnaki he caused to take
their seats. ¹ |
| 3. <i>ub-šu-ukkin-na² ki di-gal tar-ru</i> | 3. In the Assembly Hall, place
where the great judgments
are decided, |
| 4. <i>eš-bar-e si-di ba-ra-an-šu-uš³-ám</i> | 4. Decisions to arrange he caused
them to know. |
| 5. <i>dingir-bi-ne ki-dúr ba-ab-gar-ra⁴</i> | 5. These gods he caused to take
up there their abode. |

¹ *na-ba-* is for *nam-ba*, emphatic prefix. See PBS. X pt. 1 p. 76 n. 4. Cf. *na-ri-bi*, verily she utters for thee, BE. 30, No. 2, 20.

² On the philological meaning of this name, see VAB. IV 126, 55.

³ For the suffixes *eš*, *uš*, denoting plural of the object, see *Sum. Gr.* p. 168.

⁴ On *ki-dúr-gar* cf. Gudea, Cyl. B 12, 19.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 6. <i>šug-lág-bi im-šub-ba aga-bi im-ri-a</i>
7. <i>ki-lugal du-aṣag¹ kin-sig² unū³-gal-ba</i>
8. <i>tin⁴ lál bal-bal-e mu-šú be-ib-tar-ra</i>
9. <i>Nibru-(ki) uru giš-gig-dagal-la-bi-šú</i>
10. <i>uku-sag-gig-ga ní-im-ši-ib-te-en-na</i>
11. <i>ki-dúr-ba gú-ni a-gim⁵ ba-ra-an-šub</i>
12. <i>ab sig-gan-dúg-ga-gim e-ne sig-gan-ba-ra-an-dúg</i>
13. <i>uru šag-bi er-gíg sig-bi</i>
14. <i>en-na⁶ dam⁷ dingir ga-ša-an-bi li-bi nu-tar-ri⁸</i>
15. <i>é-gu-la ṣa-pa-ag ib-ṣu-a-bi</i>
16. <i>é-ri-a-súd-gim galu nu-un-tur-tur</i>
17. <i>Nibru-(ki) uru ki ligir-ligir-gal-e-ne šu-im-ma-an-ḪA⁹-eš-ám</i>
18. <i>a-na-áš ú-gu i-ni-in-de-eš¹⁰</i> | 6. Their clean sacrificial food he gave, their crowns he clothed upon them.
7. In the king's place, the throne room, the <i>kinsig</i> 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 *dū-aṣag*, throne room. On the meaning of *du* in this word, see AJSL. 32, 107. Written also *dū-aṣag*, in Ni. 11005 II 9

² Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A 25, 14, the *kin-gi* of the *unu-gal*.

³ Br. 7720. The sign *TE* is here *gunufied*. 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, *duk-tin*, a jar of wine.

⁵ *a-gim* = *dimētu*, ban, SBH. 59, 25. *a-gim ge-im-bal-e*, The ban may he elude, Ni. 11065 Rev. II 25. Unpublished. The line is not entirely clear; cf. BRÜNNOW, No. 3275.

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 *ḪA* is probably identical in usage with *PEŠ*, and the idea common to both is "be many, extensive, abundant." Note ZIMMERN, *Kultlieder* 19 Rev. has *ḪA* where SBP. 12, 2 has *PEŠ*. *šū-peš* occurs in Gudea, Cyl. A 16, 23; 11, 9; 19, 9 and CT. 15, 7, 27.

¹⁰ On *ugu-de* = *ḫalāku*, *na'butu*, to run away, see DELITZSCH, *Glossar* p. 43. Also *ugu-bi-an-de-e*, V R. 25a 17; *ú-gù-dé*, RA. 10, 78, 14; *ú-gu ba-an-dé*, if he run away, VS. 13, 72 9 and 84, 11,

- | | |
|--|---|
| 19. <i>uku sag-gig gú-sa-ġi-a¹ udu-gim</i>
<i>be-ib-²-a</i> | 19. The people, the dark headed,
all of them like sheep..... |
| 20. <i>e(?) -en-šú KAK-RU³ er a-nir</i>
<i>šag PA-ĤI-BAD-a</i> | 20. How long shall loud crying(?),
weeping and wailing <i>distress</i>
(?) the heart? |
| 21. <i>en-šú bar⁴ be-ib- ùl</i> | 21. How long shall the soul be terri-
fied? |
| 22. <i>šag nu-ub-ši-túg-e</i> | 22. And the heart repose not? |
| 23. <i>⁵ùb ⁵á-lá mu-un-tuk-a-ri⁵</i> | 23. To the drum and cymbals I sing. |
| 24. <i>gíg-ga a-a na</i> | 24. sorrowfully(?) |
| 25. <i>šig</i> <i>ne ba-dúr-ru-ne-eš</i> | 25. <i>brick</i> they dwell. |
| 26. <i>gar-ra-bi er-šú ba-ab-bi-ne</i> | 26. in tears they speak. |
| 27. <i>šub-ba tūr-ru-ba-ne</i> | 27. are made small. |
| 28. <i>sir-ri-eš ba-ab-bi-ne</i> | 28. in misery they speak. |
| 29. <i>ki-dúr-bi kar-ra</i> | 29. whose habitations are
desolated. |
| 30. <i>im-ši-sir-sir-e-ne-eš⁶</i> | 30. Unto they have hastened. |
| 31. <i>ne-ne-túg</i> | 31. ? |
| 32. <i>ga(?) nu-ru-gim</i> | 32. like one that knows not |
| 33. <i>sūġ⁷</i> | 33. is in confusion. |

(END OF COL. I.)

COL. II

(About fifteen lines broken away.)⁸

- | | |
|--|---------|
| 1. <i>gál</i> | 1. |
| 2. <i>-e ba-ab-dúg-ám⁹</i> | 2. |
| 3. <i>ma-lal im-mé</i> | 3. |

with variant 73, 11 *u-da-pa-ar = udtappar*, if he take himself away. *ú-gu-ba-an-de-ru*, when thou fleest, BE. 31, 28, 23. *ú-gu-ba-de*, GENOUILLAC, *Inventaire* 944; CLAY *Miscellen* 28 V 71: *má ú-gu-ba-an-de*, "If a boat float away," *ibid.* IV 14. See also GRANT *AJSL* 33, 200-2.

¹ Sic! *gú-sa-bi* is expected; cf. RA. 11, 145, 31 *gú-sa-bi = nap̄ar-šu-nu*.

² Sign obliterated; the traces resemble *SU*.

³ Read perhaps *dū-šub = nadū ša rigmi*, to shout loudly. Cf. *dúg sir-ra šub-ba-a-ru = rigme* *zarbiš addiki*, ASKT. 122, 12. Passim in astrological texts.

⁴ The tablet has *MAŠ*. The Semitic would be *adi mati kabattu iparrad*.

⁵ *ri* is apparently an emphatic element identical in meaning with *ám*; cf. SBP. 10, 7-12.

Note *ri*, variant of *nam*, SBH. 95, 23 = ZIMMERN, KL. 12 I 8.

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-ĀŠ!*

4. *gul-nu-ru-ne nig-dug*
be-ib-tar-ru-uš-ām
5. *i-lu-gīg im-me*
6. *nam-lù-gāl-bi mās-anšu-gim šag-*
ba mi-ni-ib-tīl-la-aš
7. *a ka-na-ām-mu im-me*
8. *ki-el kalag tul-tul-lá-bi-ne sūr²-ri-*
-eš mi-ni-ib- sal-la-aš
9. *iš-a-bi im-me*
10. *šeš-bi imi-dugud šeg-gà-gim di-e-*
be-ib-sud-ām³
11. *er-šú nu- gul⁴ e*
12. *é-e áb amar-bi kud-du gim ní-*
bi-šú ūr-gīg-ga⁵ im-gub
13. *sīg-sīg⁶ ni- mal- mal*
14. *balag-dī⁷ lù-ad-dug-ga-ge⁸-ne um-*
me-da-ū-a-di-gim
15. *mu-bi er-ra mi-ni-ib-bal-bal-e-ne*
16. *uru ū-mu-un-bi sag-ib-ta-an-dīm-*
ma
17. *igi-ni sá kūr-ra ib-ta-an-gar-ra*
ad-e-eš ba-an-ara-aš
4. evil they know not, good
they have decreed.
5. Bitter lament I¹ utter.
6. Her population like cattle of the
fields within her have per-
ished.
7. Helas! my Land! I sigh.
8. Maid and young man and their
children cruelly have been
scattered far and wide.
9. Tearfully I sigh.
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-
ery of silence.
14. Oh sing to the lyre! The wailers
like a child nursing mother
who cries in woe
15. because of them devised lamen-
tation.
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 *sūr-ri-eš* 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 *de* to flee. At the end *AŠ* is written for *AN*. Read *a-aš* and construe *šeš* as a plural?

⁴ *gul* = *kalû*, restrain, is ordinarily construed with the infinitive alone; *še-du nu-uš-gul-e-en* = *damāma ul ikalla*, Lang. B.L. 80, 25; SBH. 133, 65; 66, 15, etc.

⁵ Confirms SAI. 6507 = *uškku*, dumb, grief stricken.

⁶ Variant of *sīg-sīg*, etc. See *Sum. Gr.* p. 237 sig. 3. Also POEBEL, PBS. V 26, 29.

⁷ On the liturgical use of *balag-dī*, see BL. p. XXXVII.

⁸ Var. of *ad-āu-ge* = *bēl nissāti*, IV R. 11a 23; *ad-da-ge*, ZIM. K.L. 12 II 3. See for discussion, LANG. PBS. X 137 n. 7.

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|--|---|
| <p>18. <i>é-ṣid kur-kur-ra igi-šú ba-an-gín-na</i></p> <p>19. <i>uku sag-gig-gi uš-ṣi¹ be-ib-tùb-ba</i></p> <p>20. <i>a-na ib-ag a-na im-ḡa-lam-ma-bi²</i></p> <p>21. <i>ù-mu-un-bi ib-la-kàš sag-ki-a mu-un-du</i></p> <p>22. <i>ki-šub³ ḡu- 2 kam</i></p> | <p>18. As for the faithful temple, which in the lands excelled all,</p> <p>19. (Where) the people, the dark headed, reposed in security;</p> <p>20. What has done it, what has destroyed it?</p> <p>21. Its lord is a fugitive, he <i>hastens in flight</i>.</p> <p>22. A melody with prostrations. Second section.</p> |
|--|---|
-
- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>23. <i>me-gal šag-bi⁴ ba-ra-an-è-a-āš ḡu-ḡig-ga nu-mal⁵-aš</i></p> <p>24. <i>giš-ḡi-ḡál-bi-im⁶</i></p> | <p>23. The meaning of the great decrees they have glorified. Sorrowful words they restrain not.</p> <p>24. This is its antiphon.</p> |
|--|--|
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- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>25. <i>uru ù-mu-un-bi šag ba-da-an-dib-ba</i></p> <p>26. <i>en-šú la-ba-ši-gur-ru suḡ⁸-ám-bi nu- um- im me</i></p> <p>27. <i>šig-bi a-na-šú ḡir-ib-ta-an-gar</i></p> <p>28. <i>tu(ḡu) ṣa-pa-ág mà-mà-bi ab-ta ib-ta- an-dal</i></p> <p>29. <i>é ? ṣu šig nar-balag áḡ-ṣi-ba⁹</i></p> | <p>25. The city whose lord is distressed,⁷</p> <p>26. Until when shall it not return (to its rest)? Until when shall its "How long" not be spoken?</p> <p>27. Why are its brick walls trodden underfoot?</p> <p>28. The doves screaming flew from their nests.</p> <p>29. The temple the sweet voiced flute,</p> |
|---|---|

¹ A new ideogram. Perhaps *uššu kīnu*, "sure foundation."

² For suffixed *ni*, *bi*, *ba* in interrogative sentences note also *a-na an-na-ab-duḡ-ni*, What can I add to thee? GENOUILAC, *Drehem*, No. 1, 12, *a-ba ku-ul-la-ba*, Who shall restrain? Ni. 4610 Rev. 1.

³ See BL. p. XLV, and PBS. X 151 note 1.

⁴ On the anticipative construct, see § 138 of the grammar.

⁵ *nu-mal* are uncertain. The tablet is worn at this point.

⁶ On the use of this term, see PBS. X 151 n. 1 and 182, 33.

⁷ Cf. BL. 110, 11.

⁸ Written Br. 3046, but the usual form is the *gunu*, Br. 3009. *suḡ-ám-bi* = *aḫulap-šu*, POEBEL, PBS. V 152 IX 8: cf. also lines 9 and 10 *ibid*. In later texts *suḡ-a* = *aḫulap*, HAUPT, ASKT. 122, 12. DELITZSCH, H. W. 44a. *aḫulap* 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. III 1, 53.

⁹ Cf. *nar-balag nig-dug-ga*, POEBEL, PBS. V 25 IV 48. Our text has the *emesal* form *ag-ṣib*.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>6. <i>dam dumu-bi šag-ba mi-ni-in-
dīg-ga-ám</i></p> <p>7. <i>uru-bi uru-šub-ba im-ma-ni-in-
tu-ra-ám</i></p> <p>8. <i>mu-un-ga-bi ni-e be-in-ne-ra-ám²</i></p> <p>9. <i>uru-gál-la-bi nu-gál-la mi-ni-in-
tu-ra-ám³</i></p> <p>10. <i>dim-ma-bi gīr ib-ta-an-kúr-ra-ám</i></p> <p>11. <i>túg-bi in-sūg⁴-ám lil-e be-in-sīg-
ám</i></p> <p>12. <i>ú-kaš-a-bi ib-ta-an-ḫar-ra-ám</i></p> <p>13. <i>ga-ṣu-bi mi-ni-ib-tíl-la-ám</i></p> <p>14. <i>é-e kúr ág-rig⁵ be-ib-aga-a</i></p> <p>15. <i>a-še-ir-gíg im-me er be-ib-lu-lu</i></p> <p>16. <i>balag-di galu i-lu ba-ab-bi-ám</i></p> <p>17. <i>šag nu-ṣi-ba-bi mu-un-na-ni-ib-
gi-gi</i></p> <p>18. <i>ù-mu-un-bi me-bi ba-ra-an-è-a-
áš⁷</i></p> <p>19. <i>á-bi nu-mu-un-tag-ga-ám li-bi
nu-tar-ra-ám</i></p> | <p>6. Wife and children within her he slew.</p> <p>7. Their city a subjected city he caused to become.¹</p> <p>8. Its property he himself took as plunder.</p> <p>9. Their city which was he has caused to become a city which is not.</p> <p>10. Its works of art he placed a hostile foot upon.</p> <p>11. Its garments⁵ he seized away, the winds tore them in shreds.</p> <p>12. Its food and drink he pilfered.</p> <p>13. Their infants(?) he caused to perish.</p> <p>14. The temple a stranger plundered.</p> <p>15. Bitter sighing I utter, tears I pour out.</p> <p>16. Oh sing to the lyre, he that speaks the songs of wailing.</p> <p>17. Their hearts which are not glad it will pacify.</p> <p>18. The decrees of their lord they have glorified.</p> <p>19. He⁸ concerns himself not with their oracles; he cares not for their future.</p> |
|---|--|

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-ám*, "the storm-wind carried away."

³ In lines 7 and 9 the verb *tur* 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-rig-aga* = *šalālu*.

⁷ See Obv. II 23.

⁸ Enlil.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 36. <i>galu erim-eka na-am-mu ib-til-la</i> | 36. The foe has caused my land to
perish. |
| 37. <i>er-ra ma-pad¹(?)ma-an-mà-mà-
ne-am</i> | 37. They beseech |
| 38. <i>šag ág-gíg-ga ib-síg-mu ad-bi-šú
PI-gà²-bi dē-ib-šed-dē-ne-am</i> | 38. My heart which is filled with
misery by their wailing . . .
may they calm. |
| 39. <i>er-bi ugú³-mà mu-un-mà-mà-dam</i> | 39. Their weeping is made unto me. |
| 40. <i>E+SAL⁴ šag-i-zi-du ma-ar ma-
[an-tuk-tuk-e-ne-am]⁵</i> | 40. In the mother goddess' sanctu-
ary prayer to me they offer. |
| 41. <i>^dMu-ul-lil</i> | 41. Enlil |

(About twelve lines broken away.)⁶

REVERSE II

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. | 1. |
| 2. | 2. |
| 3. | 3. |
| 4. [<i>.. mu-ra-ab</i>]- <i>dúg mu-na-ab</i> | 4. |
| 5. <i>úg-ga-gim</i> | 5. |
| 6. [<i>m</i>] <i>u-ra-ab-dúg mu-na-ab⁷</i> | 6. |
| 7. <i>aga- a- mu</i> | 7. |
| 8. <i>mu- na- ab</i> | 8. |
| 9. [<i>]ma-a[r a]l-la</i> | 9. |
| 10. <i>ib-dū-e KA-mu-na- ab</i> | 10. |
| 11. <i>gar-ra-ge-eš šag-i-zi-du</i> | 11. |
| 12. <i>arru⁸ ma-ra-tuk-tuk⁹</i> | 12. Have mercy upon me. |

¹ The sign like many others on this tablet is imperfectly made. *ma-pad?* or *ma-šig?* The meaning is obscure.

² Text uncertain. Perhaps *PI-SI-gà-bi*.

³ Written *A-KA*. An unpublished Berlin syllabar gives *A-KA (uga) = muḫḫu*.

⁴ Br. 5515. For this sign with value *mašaku*, see DELITZSCH, H. W., *sub voce* and BA., V 620, 20. The Sumerian value is *ama*, Chicago Syllabar, 241 in AJSL. 33, 182.

⁵ Restored from an unpublished text in Constantinople, Ni. 721.

⁶ Section 4 ended somewhere in this break.

⁷ Probably a refrain.

⁸ For the reading, see AJSL. 33, 182, 240.

⁹ See BL. 128, 21.

13. *šag-ṣu šag-sīg ib-ta-ba-e šag-laḡ*
ma-ra-an-gar-ra-me(sic!)¹ 13. Thy heart whose portion has
been affliction become for me
a glad heart.
14. *sag-ṣu ṣi-ṣi- i²giš-šub-ba-ṣa ul-šú³*
ma-ra-an-mà-mà 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-gi-gi⁵ 15. The hostile deeds which he did
unto thee be returned unto
his hand.
16. *uru-ki-a šu-bar-ri nu-ṣu-a mur-*
ri⁶ dé-ib-sīg-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-ám* 17. A melody of prostrations. Fifth
section.
-
18. *à-še ù-mu-un-ṣu gú-šub-ba kúr*
me-e-ši-in-ra-ám 18. Now thy lord *anger upon the foe*
will direct.
19. *arru⁷ ma-ra-an-tuk-ám na-ám-ṣu*
in-tar-ra-ám 19. He will have mercy and will
decree thy fate.
20. *sīg-ṣu a-še-ir ib-ta-an-è-a ib-si*
be-in-dúg-ga-ám 20. Unto thy brick walls where
lamentation arose he will
command "it is enough."
21. *ḡar-šág-gi-ṣu-ra⁸ ma-ra-ni-in-tu-*
ra-ám 21. Thy happy soul he will cause to
return for me.
22. *⁴Nin-urašā maškim kalag-ga*
sag-ṣu be-in-tuk-ám⁹ 22. Ninurash the valiant guardsman
will sustain thy head.
23. *dun-ú-a-ni giš-ib-ši-in-gub-ba-*
ám¹¹ 23. His pastor¹⁰ he will establish
over (the city).
24. *é-kur ḡalag-ḡalag dū-dū-ù-dam á-*
mu-un¹² ba-an-ag-ám 24. Ekur like (a temple) which has
been tenderly built he will
make

¹ Read *A-AN*, i. e., *ám*.

² Cf. *sag-bi ṣi-ṣi*, ZIMMERN, K.L. 199 I 36.

³ Cf. LANG. *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* 154, 16.

⁴ *AR* is written *ŠI+HU*!

⁵ The second sign *gi* is only partially made by the scribe.

⁶ The analysis of the text and the meaning are difficult. Perhaps *a* should be taken with the following sign *a-HAR-ri*, an unknown ideogram. *mur-ri* is here taken for *rigmu*.

⁷ See line 12 above.

⁸ Sic! Demonstrative pronoun. See *Sum. Gr.* § 163.

⁹ Here we have the first occurrence of the original expression for *kullu ša rēši*; cf. BR. 11244.

¹⁰ The epithet refers to Išme-Dagan.

¹¹ Cf. SBP. 330, 10.

¹² This word is obscure and unknown.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 25. <i>ág-dú-bi ki-bi be-in-gi-ám</i> | 25. Its beauty he will restore to its place. |
| 26, 27. <i>gi-gūn-na-bi¹ ki-gi-gi-bi ud-gim kar-kar- bi²</i> | 26, 27. That its great dark chamber be restored to its place, that it shine like day |
| 28. <i>suġ³-ba-la-túm-túm-mu in-na-an-dúg-ga- ám</i> | 28. Unceasingly he commands. |
| 29. <i>garza kúr-ri ib- sūġ⁴- ám</i> | 29. The ordinances the stranger has placed in confusion. |
| 30. <i>me⁵ ib-bir-a-bi ki-bi-šú in-gar-ra-ám</i> | 30. The ritual utensils which have been scattered he will restore to their place. |
| 31. <i>šu-luġ erim⁶-e šu-be-in-lá-a-ba</i> | 31. The rituals of hand-washing which the wicked caused to lapse into disuse, ⁷ |
| 32. <i>aṣag-gi el-e- bi</i> | 32. To cause to be holy and pure |
| 33. <i>uru-aṣag nam-šub-da-ni in-na-an-dúg-ga-ám</i> | 33. In the holy city which has been consecrated he commands. |
| 34. [^d] <i>Iš-me-^dDa-gan sib kenag-gà-ni-ir⁸</i> | 34. For Ishme-Dagan his beloved shepherd |
| 35. <i>bi(?) gú ul-šár-šár-ri-da</i> | 35. ....to cause rejoicing |
| 36. <i>in-na-an-dúg-ga-ám</i> | 36. ....he commands. |
| 37. <i>aṣag nam-tar-ri-da-ni</i> | 37. The holy ....whose fate has been decreed, |
| 38. <i>-ra-ám</i> | 38. |
| 39. <i>DU-ra-ám</i> | 39. |

(About twelve lines broken away, in case this section continued to the end of the tablet.)

¹ On *giġunna*, 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 *lal, lá-a* = *šukammumu*, see SBP. 66, 20.

⁸ *ir* is uncertain. The sign may be either *dū* or *ni*.

11005

LITURGY OF ISHME-DAGAN (No. 2)

COL. II.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 3. ^d En-lil lugal dingir-ri-e-ne-ge | 3. Enlil king of the gods |
| 4. sig igi-nim-ma nam-en-bi ga-ma-an-sig | 4. In the South and North ¹ may give lordship over them unto me. |
| 5. dūg-dūg-ga ^d Nu-nam-nir-ra-ta | 5. By the commands of Nunamnir, |
| 6. ka-ta-è-a ^d En-lil-lá-ta | 6. By the utterance of Enlil, |
| 7. An-nienim-ziid-dē-mà-a-ar ga-ma-an-de | 7. May Anu speak for me an order of confidence. |
| 8. šibir-šibir šu-mu ge-ma-sig | 8. Scepters may he give unto my hand. |
| 9. ^d Uraša-e dū-azag-ga ² -ni-a sal-ziid ga-ma-ni-dūg | 9. May Uraša bestow upon me faithful care in his holy throne room. |
| 10. ^d Nin-lil-li šag lāg-lāg-ga-ni ³ | 10. Ninlil whose heart is pure, |
| 11. bara-maš ud-sud-du gú-KU-MAL ⁴ | 11. She that in the far-famed chapel assures length of days, |
| 12. giš-šub-ba-mà bal-bi šag-gi-da | 12. She that renders good my portion exceedingly, |
| 13. kuš ⁵ ^d En-lil-lá ka-dug-gi-mà | 13. She who unto Enlil spoke assuringly for me good words, |
| 14. é-kur-ri ud-šu-uš sag-uš-mà | 14. She who daily protects Ekur for me, ⁶ |

¹ Literally, "Below and above."² Probably a variant of *dū-azag*. As the phrase is written *dug-azag-ga* might mean "holy knees," *birku ellitu*, 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 *dū*, *dū*, rendered into Semitic by the loan-word *dū*, with the sense "high altar, pedestal of a statue, altar or throne room" see AJSL. 32, 107.³ Cf. Gudea, Cyl. B 13, 4.⁴ 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 *gú za-ra ma-ra-šun-gà-e*, "will speak to thee words of peace."⁵ *kuš*, preposition = *eli*, is derived from *kuš* = *zumru*, "body," literally "at the body."⁶ In view of the parallel passages where kings are called the *sag-uš* of temples and cities (i. e. the *mukīnu* or *mukīl rēš*) it seems necessary to render *é-kur-ri* as the object of *sag-uš*. 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. <i>ki-úr ki-gal-e¹ nam šu-ğa-ma-ni-tar</i>
16. <i>^dEn-ki en-gal erida-(ki)-ga-ge</i>
17. <i>ganun řid-mağ sag-mà ġa-ma-ni-in-uš(?)</i>
..... | 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. <i>ki-úr gal-la li-bi tar-ri-ge</i>
6. <i>^dEn-lil-li á-bi ġu-mu-da-na-ág</i>
7. <i>dúg-dúg-ga a-a ^dEn-lil-lá-šú</i>
8. <i>^dIš-me-^dDa-gan me-en ġu-mu-ge-in-ši-ri</i>
9. <i>ka-ta-è-a lugal-mà-šú ġiš-túg-ni²ge-im-ši-ag</i>
10. <i>ki-en-gi-ra nig-si-sá ġe-ni-in-gar</i>
11. <i>Nibru-(ki) an-gim ġu ġe-im-mi-uš</i>
12. <i>é-kur-ra me-bi ġu-mu-un-úr-úr</i>
13. <i>ġiš(?)-ğar(?) ù-a-ba li-be-[in-tar]</i>
14. <i>garza⁴ ki-ta šub-ba-bi ki-bi ġe-[mu-un-ġi]</i>
15. <i>^dEn-lil-lá me ħal-ħalag-[ni]</i>
16. <i>^dIš-me-^dDa-gan me-en</i>
17. <i>^dNin-lil-lá</i> | 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
neck I will turn.
9. To the utterance of my king
may I lend my ³ 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 Ninlil 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 *billudú* in VAB. IV Index. The meaning, sanctuary, has been suggested for the Semitic *paršu* and this must be taken into consideration.

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LITURGICAL HYMN TO INNINI (No. 3 and duplicate No. 4)

COL. I

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>nin me-dug-ga¹ babbar dalla-è-a</i> | 1. Oh lady of the good decrees,
that risest splendidly like the sun. |
| 2. <i>sar-zið me-lam gùr-ru kenag^d Uraša-a</i> | 2. Faithful woman, bearing a sheen
of terrible splendor, beloved
of Urashā, |
| 3. <i>nu-gig an-na nin(?) sîr-gal-gal-la</i> | 3. Heavenly virgin, queen(?) ² of
the great songs, |
| 4. <i>aga-zi-dé . . . nam-en-na tum-
ma</i> | 4. Who <i>puttest on</i> a faithful crown,
who hast been created fit for
rulership, |
| 5. <i>me-imîn-bi šu-sá-dug-ga</i> | 5. Whose hand attaineth the seven
decrees, |
| 6. <i>nin-mu me-gal-gal-la sag-sîr-bi
za-e me-en</i> | 6. My queen, of the great decrees
their directress ³ art thou. |
| 7. <i>me-mu⁴-ila me šu-šu-šú mu-e
lal</i> | 7. The decrees thou bearest; the
decrees thou holdest in thy
hand. |
| 8. <i>me-mu⁴-kin me gab-šu be-tab</i> | 8. The decrees thou directest; the
decrees thou claspest to thy
breast(?) |
| 9. <i>ušumgal-gim kur-ra sub ba-e-sîg</i> | 9. Like a champion thou subduest
the foreign lands. |
| 10. <i>^dImmer-gim ki tù-gi-a⁵ ^dAšnan
la-ba-ši-gál</i> | 10. Like the storm-god in the place
of the . . . curse the grain-
goddess thou leavest not. |
| 11. <i>a-ma-ru kur-bi-ta è-de</i> | 11. A whirlwind upon their lands
thou sendest. |
| 12. <i>sag-kal-an-ki-a dingir-ri-bi⁶ me-
en</i> | 12. Oh leader of heaven and earth
their divinity thou art. |

¹ Var. *šar-ra*.² Var. is certainly not *nin*.³ For *sag-sîr*, see also ASKT. 96, 25; K. L., 199, 15; 199 Col. III 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. *KA-gi-a/*⁶ Read *HU* for *RI*(?). *mušen*=*bēlu*, *bēlu*, cf. PBS. V 15 Rev. 14. Render "Their divine queen th u art"?

- | | |
|---|---|
| 13. <i>ne-ne-ne-ra kalam-ma a-an-mal</i> | 13. For them thou didst create the Land (of Sumer). |
| 14. <i>dingiri-ir¹ me-sīg-gā² nin-ur-ra-ū-a³</i> | 14. That givest orders unto the gods (?), queen that guidest the universe. |
| 15. <i>enim-aṣag-an-na-ta enim dūg-dūg</i> | 15. That utterest command by the holy order of Anu. |
| 16. <i>garṣa-gal-gal-la gar ṣu a-ba mu- un- ṣu</i> | 16. The great decisions who (but thee) knoweth to teach? |
| 17. <i>kur-gul-gul ud-de-da ba-e-sīg</i> | 17. Thou that shatterest the mountains, by a spirit of wrath thou art filled. |
| 18. <i>kenag⁴ En-lil-lá kalam-ma im-mi-ni-ri</i> | 18. Beloved of Enlil, thou hast founded the Land. |
| 19. <i>á-aga⁴ Nin-lil ba-gub-bi me-en</i> | 19. Thou art she that hast effected the mandate of Ninlil. |
| 20. <i>nin-mu ṣa-pa-ág-ṣu-šú kur ni-gam-gam-e</i> | 20. My lady, at thy cry the lands quake. |
| 21. <i>ni-me-lam-ra⁴-ṣu-da nam-lù-gál-lu</i> | 21. At the fear of thy splendor let mankind |
| 22. <i>nig-me-gar ḡir-bi ù-mu-ri-gub</i> | 22. With shouting await thee. |
| 23. <i>me-te me-ḡuš⁵-bi šu-ba-e-ri-ti</i> | 23. Fittingly they have received their terrible decrees from thee. |
| 24. <i>i-lu er-ra-ṣu gál-la-ra-ab-šéš(?)</i> | 24. Thy lamentations and mournings let them wail for thee. |
| 25. <i>é-a nir-gal-gal-la sil-ba mu-ri-du</i> | 25. Unto the temple the chief singers shall walk the streets for thee (? ?). |
| 26. <i>igi-mé-ta gar ma-ra-ta-si-ig⁶</i> | 26. From before the face of battle they hasten unto thee. |
| 27. <i>nin-mu á-ni-ṣa enim-enim-ni-dūg-e</i> | 27. My lady, of thy fury they speak. |
| 28. <i>ud ul-ul-gim ni-dú-dú-ne</i> | 28. The spirit ⁷ like an onrushing storm rushed over them. |

¹ Var. *ni*. Sic!² Var. *ma*.³ *ḥāmimat kiššati*.⁴ Sic! Prepositions *ra* and *da* in the same phrase!⁵ Text *ḡir*!⁶ Cf. *mar-zen, gar-zen = ḥāšū*, SBP. 116, 33; K.L., 15 II 12.⁷ In liturgies usually translated by "the Word."

- | | |
|---|---|
| 29. <i>ud ka-ra-ta uku im-da-ab-ra-ra</i> | 29. The spirit with a loud cry annihilated the people. |
| 30. ^d <i>Immer-da tù-mu-da-an-gi-gi-in</i> | 30. By the storm god they wereaccursed. |
| 31. <i>im-ġul-im-ġul-da im-da-kuš-ù-ne</i> | 31. By the storm winds they were brought to woe. |
| 32. <i>ġir-za sil kuš-ù i-ni si</i> | 32. Thy foot hastens restless in the street. |
| 33. <i>balag a-nir-da i-lu mu-un-da-ab-bi</i> | 33. Upon the lyre of weeping they utter lamentation. |
| 34. <i>nin-mu ^dA-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne</i> | 34. Oh my lady, the Anunnaki, the great gods, |
| 35. <i>su-din-(ġu)-dal-a-gim¹dul-dē mu-e-ši-ba-ra-aš</i> | 35. Like a flying <i>sudin</i> -bird from the crannies hasten unto thee. |
| 36. <i>igi-ġir-a-za-la² ba-lag-gi-eš-a³</i> | 36. When before thy feet they run, |
| 37. <i>sag-ki ġir-a-za sag-nu-mu-un-ne-ğà-ğà⁴</i> | 37. Unto the presence of thy feet they attain not. |
| 38. <i>šag-ūb-ba-za ba-a ni-te-en-[te-en]</i> | 38. Thine angry heart who shall pacify? |
| 39. <i>šag-ġul-la-za te-[en-te-en-na-dm]</i> | 39. Thine evilly disposed heart let become calm. |
| 40. <i>nin ġar-ni šág nin [. . . . -ni-]</i> | 40. Oh lady, whose soul is magnanimous; oh lady [whoseis] |
| 41. <i>ib-ba nu-te-en-[te-en]</i> | 41. Whose wrath is unpacified |
| 42. <i>nin-kur-ra-dirig-ga</i> | 42. Lady that stormeth over the mountains |
| 43. <i>ġar⁵-sag ki-za ba</i> | 43. The mountains (?) thy place (?) |
| 44. <i>ká-gal-a</i> | 44. The great gate |

¹ Cf. SBP. 6, 16.

² For *ra*. Read *za-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 *bē-in-da-ra-dū-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-ğà-ğà* = *ul i-ir-ru-šu*, "they approached it not," K. 8531, 6 in HROZNÝ, *Ninrag*, p. 8.

⁵ Text *ub*! Read *ub sag-ki-za* = *tupki pani-ki*(??).

COL. II

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>galba¹-ba nu</i> | 1. Its frost |
| 2. <i>ki^{kuš}lu-úb</i> | 2. |
| 3. <i>ka-sir-la(?)²</i> | 3. |
| 4. <i>nir-da-ni-bi³</i> | 4. Their afflictions |
| 5. <i>uru tuš dinig-di-bi mer-i-in-si</i>
[si] | 5. Their city, an arid habitation,
the whirlwinds have filled. |
| 6. <i>kal-šag-gan-bi</i>-šú <i>ma-ra</i>
ab-mú-[mú] | 6. Theirworkmen in
supplicate thee. |
| 7. <i>uru-zaḡin-ra li-be-in-dúg-ga⁴</i> | 7. For the brilliant city they mourn
in song. |
| 8. <i>a-a uku-za li-be-in-eš-a-a</i> | 8. The father thy creator sends
forth cries of distress for it. ⁵ |
| 9. <i>ka-aḡag-zu de-in-dúg-dúg ḡir-za</i>
ḡe-ib-ḡi | 9. May thy holy mouth speak the
command and thy feet return. |
| 10. <i>šā-ab-bi-ta ḡuš ḡe-ib-ta-an-ḡi-ni</i> | 10. From her midst mayest thou
cast the cruel one. |
| 11. <i>sal-bi dam-a-ni-ta šāḡ-ga-na-dš</i>
an ⁶ -da- ab- bi | 11. Let a woman with her husband
speak kindly. |
| 12. <i>ḡiḡ-ù-na-la⁷ na-an-ba-ni-ib-ḡi-ḡi</i> | 12. During the nights forever let her
return unto him. |
| 13. <i>nig-aḡag šag-ga-na nam-mu-da</i>
an-bur-ri | 13. That which is pure in her heart
may she disclose. |
| 14. <i>ù-gul-ḡi-ḡi-i dumu-gal⁸ Zu-en</i>
na-dš | 14. Fervid intercession unto the
great son, Sin, |
| 15. <i>nin dingir-ra dirig-ga⁸ a-ba ki-za</i>
ba-an-tum | 15. Oh lady surpassing the gods
who beside thee brings? |
| 16. <i>me-ḡi-de nin-gal nin-e-ne</i> | 16. Establisher of decrees, oh great
lady, their lady, |
| 17. <i>uru-aḡag-ta è-a ama-uku-ni-ir</i>
dirig-ga ⁸ | 17. Thou that risest from the holy
city, thou that surpasest his ⁹
child-bearing mother, |

¹ For the form, see PBS. V 102 IV 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 *i-lu-dúg* = *šarāḡu*.⁵ *a-a* = *è-a* = *ašú*. CT. 15, 11, 7; K. L. 3b 28. Cf. also the N. Pr. ⁴-*Gišbar-a* = ⁴-*Gišbar-è*
"The fire-god causes to come forth."⁶ So the text for *šāḡ-ga-dš na-an-da-ab-bi*.⁷ See above, line 36.⁸ For the construction *dirig* with *ra*, see *lù-ne-ir dirig* = *eli annim rabi*, POEBEL, PBS V 152 34⁹ Refers to Sin.

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-(ĝu) árabu-(ĝu) múzu kúrra munmállášu ẓáe alménna*, 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 *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 111.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <i>arâ-bu-(ġu) arâ-bu-(ġu) mu-ṣu</i>
 <i>kur-ra mu-un-ma-al-la-šú</i></p> <p>2. <i>ṣa-e al-me-en-na</i></p> <p>3. ^d<i>Mu-ul-lil arâ-bu-(ġu) mu-ṣu</i>
 <i>kur-ra mu-un-ma-al-la-šú</i></p> <p>4. <i>ṣa-e al-me-en-na</i></p> <p>5. ^d<i>Mu-ul-lil šag-sud-du e-ne-em</i>
 <i>ṣid-da</i></p> <p>6. <i>ġu ki-ma-al² e-ne-em di-di³</i></p> <p>7. <i>mu-ṣu kur-ra mu-un-ma-al-la-šú</i>
 <i>ṣa-e al-me-en-na</i></p> <p>8. <i>mu-ṣu kur-ra mu-un-ma-al-la-šú</i></p> <p>9. <i>dúg-ga-ṣu kur-ra ám-da-ma-al-la-šú</i></p> <p>10. <i>tag-a-ṣu kur-ra ám-da-ma-al-la-šú</i></p> <p>11. <i>uru-me-a⁴ an ni-bi nam-dúb ki</i>
 <i>ni-bi nam-sīg</i></p> <p>12. <i>nibru-(ki)-a an ni-bi nam-dúb</i>
 <i>ki ni-bi nam-sīg</i></p> <p>13. <i>ama mu-ġig-ġi ama nu-bar-ra</i>
 <i>ama-mu ni-mi-ni-in-ġi-ġi</i></p> <p>14. ^d[<i>]-e ga-ša-an urú-bar-ra-ra⁵</i></p> | <p>1. Oh bird <i>arabu</i>, <i>arabu</i>¹, thou art he whose name is proclaimed in the world.</p> <p>3. Oh Enlil, <i>arabu</i>-bird, thou art he whose name is proclaimed in the world.</p> <p>5. Enlil of unsearchable heart, of faithful word.</p> <p>6. He that bends the neck, that speaks the word.</p> <p>7. Thou art he whose name is proclaimed in the world.</p> <p>8. At thy name which is proclaimed in the world,</p> <p>9. At thy discourse which is proclaimed in the world,</p> <p>10. At thy aid which is wrought in the world,</p> <p>11. In my city heaven trembles of itself, earth quakes of itself.⁶</p> <p>12. In Nippur the heaven trembles of itself, earth quakes of itself.</p> <p>13. The mother virgin, the mother courtesan, my mother began discourse.</p> <p>14. She the divine, queen of the villages,</p> |
|--|--|

¹ The Sumerian *arâ-bu* (*UD-DU-BU*) is rendered into Semitic by the loan-word *arabû*, called *iššur mēhu*, bird of the storm, ZA. VI 244, 48. In CT. XII 7a 2 *UD-DU* (*ara*) = *namru*, fierce, raging, where the entry is followed by *UD-DU* (*ara*) = *ša UD-DU-bu* (*ġu*), 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 *arabû*, see also REISNER, SBH. 104, 35.

² = *ḫadādu ša kišadi*, see SBP. 110, 22, "bend the neck," i. e., "grant favor."

³ Cf. V Raw. 39a 33.

⁴ Cf. *dagan-me-a* = *ina puḫri-ni*, 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* = *kapru*, see MEISSNER, SAI. 543. Note also *umun urú-bar*, SBH. 22, 57 = 19, 56 and K. 69 Obv. 20. title of Nergal as lord of the city of the dead.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 15. ....ni-mi-ni-in-gi- gi | 15. ....discoursed. |
| 16. ....ku-a-ṣu- dé | 16. When in.....thou dwellest, |
| 17.-la ku-gar-ra'-ṣu-dé | 17. When in.....thou makest
thy abode, |
| 18. [^d Nin-lil-da?] ² ga-ša-an keš-(ki)-
a-ge | 18. With Ninlil (?) queen of Keš |
| 19. ....gen mu-e-da-ab-tar-ri | 19. ....thou decreest. |
-
- | | |
|--|--|
| 20.ge me-ri-mu-šú ⁴
nu-GA-e | 20. "[As I was.....] my foot I
lifted not. ⁵ |
| 21. [a-a-mu lu-]lu-mu-ùr ⁶ su-din-ḡu
ab-ba-ge | 21. To my father, my benefactor, as
a <i>sudin</i> -bird of the sea, ⁷ |
| 22. me-ri-mu-šú nu-GA-e | 22. My foot I lifted not. |
| 23. ^d Mu-ul-lil-]-e šag-sud-da | 23. [To Enlil of] unsearchable heart, |
| 24. [ù-mu-un e-ne]-em ṣi-da | 24. [Lord] of faithful word, |
| 25. [ḡu ki-ma-al e]-ne-em di-di | 25. That bends the neck, that speaks
the word, |
| 26.ge me-ri-mu-šú nu-
GA-e | 26. [As I was.....] my foot I
lifted not. |
| 27. [^d Mu-ul-lil ?]-e me-ri-mu-šú ù ⁸ -
GA-e | 27. [But unto Enlil] I would lift my
foot. |
| 28. ....-ra ga-ám-ši-rá | 28. Unto....verily I will go; |
| 29. [me-ri]-mu-šú ga-mu-ni-ib-GA | 29. My foot I will lift. |
| 30. [a-a-mu]lu-lu-mu-ùr ga-ám-ši-
rá | 30. To my father, my benefactor,
verily I will go; |
| 31. me-ri-mu-šú ga-mu-ni-ib-GA | 31. My foot I will lift. |
| 32. ^d Mu-ul-lil-ra šu-mu-šú ga-mu-
ni-ib-GA | 32. Unto Enlil my hand I will raise; |
| 33. me-ri-mu-šú ga-mu-ni-ib-GA | 33. 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 = *našá*, variant of *ga* (ILA) = *našá*. 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.

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[] | 1. Father [] |
| 2. ? dingir[] | 2. |
| 3. a uru-gul-la é-[gul-la-mu gíg-ga-bi im-mi] | 3. How long? oh my destroyed city, my destroyed temple, sadly I wail. ² |
| 4. ud-ba enim ud-dam bi-[.....] | 4. At that time the word like a storm |
| 5. enim ^d .En-lil-lá [] | 5. The word of Enlil. |
| 6. ^d .En-lil galu nam-tar [] | 6. Enlil who the fate of determined. |
| 7. ^d .En-lil-li nim-[] | 7. Enlil |
| 8. ^d .Mà-mà ³ dumugu [] | 8. Mama the princely son |
| 9. ^d .Nin-mar-(ki)-ra-ge gú [] | 9. Ninmar |
| 10. aqag dāg-ṣagin ^{si} má-gal-gal-la bal-[.....] | 10. The holy one who lapis lazuli in great ships |
| 11. nin nig-ga-šù igi-[]-ti-la a aqag pi-el | 11. The queen humiliates |

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, II Raw. 48, 33, and CT. 24, 30, 5.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 12. <i>nin-e KA. ? gim NE-a im-da-ra?</i>
..... | 12. The queen..... |
| 13. <i>ki lagaš-(ki) nim-ki šu-ni-a im-</i>
<i>ma-ši-in-gi</i> | 13. The land of Lagash he abandoned
unto the hand of Elam. |
| 14. <i>ud-bi-a nin-e ud-da-ni</i>
<i>sá-nam-ga¹-mu-ni-ib-dúg</i> | 14. At that time his wrathful word
verily attained the queen. |
| 15. <i>^dBa-ú galu-sukal-lu-gim ud-da-</i>
<i>ni sá- nam-ga-mu-ni-ib-dúg</i> | 15. His wrathful word attained unto
the divine Bau even as a
messenger. |
| 16. <i>me-li-e-a ud-dé šu-ni-a im-ma-</i>
<i>ši-in-gi</i> | 16. Woe is me, the spirit of wrath
into her hand he entrusted. |
| 17. <i>ud uru gul-gul-e šu-ni-a im-ma-</i>
<i>ši-in-gi</i> | 17. The spirit of wrath that destroys
the city into her hand he
entrusted. |
| 18. <i>ud é gul-gul-e šu-ni-a im-ma-ši-</i>
<i>in-gi</i> | 18. The spirit of wrath that destroys
the temple into her hand he
entrusted. |
| 19. <i>[uru?] ^dDumu-zi-abzu-ge-ta ki</i>
<i>nir-ša-ki-ba-ge im²-ma ba-an-</i>
<i>teg³</i> | 19. In the city(?) of Tammuz of
the sea, the place of <i>wailing</i>
..... terror it caused. |
| 20. <i>nir-šag-(ki) uru nam-šibir-</i>
<i>ka ni-ka-ka-ge i-zi-ba-ab-dúg</i> | 20. The city <i>nirsag</i> , city of....
..... with fire it con-
sumed. |
| 21. <i>uru(?) -ni Ninā-(ki)-a</i>
<i>kur-ri ba-ab-gar⁴</i> | 21. of her city Ninā it
seized away to the mountains. |
| 22. <i>[Si]rar⁵-(ki) ki-dúr kenag-gà-ni</i>
<i>gul-gál-e ba-ab-šub</i> | 22. Sirar her beloved habitation an
evil one has overthrown. |
| 23. <i>[a uru]-gul-la é-gul-la-mu gíg-ga-</i>
<i>bi⁶ im-me</i> | 23. How long? my destroyed city,
my destroyed temple, sadly I
wail. |
| 24. <i>[gè-pàr]⁷ a-za-g nam-en-na-ba šu-</i>
<i>ba-e-lá-lal</i> | 24. Of the holy "Dark Chamber"
the priestly rites are suspended. |

¹ For *namga* as an emphatic adverb, see *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, I 20, Metropolitan Syllabar, Obv. I 12-15. Variant *nanga*, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, 188, I, 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* = *šaḫātu*, *nasāhu* 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 gè-pàr-ta ba-da-an-ka-
erim-e ba-ab-KA(du)¹ 25. Its high priest from the "Dark
Chamber" has been taken
and unto the land of the foe
has gone.
26.KU-si-na ^dNannar-ka da-
dugud ba-ši-in-du 26.
27.gan kaskal-gid ^dNannar-
ka tūr-dugud. 27.
28.ka-ra-gim ib-ri ba-
ra-... 28.
29.gim ib-ri ba-an-de
i-im-gul-gul-lu-ne² 29.they destroyed.
30.aṣag-ga-bi im-ṣi-ir-
ṣi-ri³e-ne-e-ne 30. Of the....its holy....they
shattered and.....
31. [a uru-gul-]la é-gul-la-mu ḡg-ga-
bi im-me 31. How long? oh my destroyed city
and my destroyed temple,
sadly I wail.
32. [gè-pàr] aṣag nam-en-na-ba ṣu-
ba-e-lá-lal 32. Of the holy "Dark Chamber"
the priestly rites are suspended.
33. [en]-bi gè-pàr-ta ba-da-an-ka-
erim-e ba-ab-du 33. Its high priest from the "Dark
Chamber" has been taken
and unto the land of the foe
has gone.
34.gid-da-bi []a-nir
ba-an-da-di 34.
35.-bi nu gud-du sag me-te-
a-dš li-be-ib-gál 35.
36.KA ib-bi ba-ra-an-
kád⁴ 36.
37.a a-ri-a-e
ba-da-ab-lal 37.has bound
with him(?)
38.ka lù-erim-e ba-an-? 38. The....of the....the foe has
.....
39.-da(?) -ab-ag 39.
40. é-sug-ga ba-an-dū 40.

¹ KA with value *du* = *alāku* 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. XII No. 6 Obv. 11.

⁴ Identification uncertain.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>41. <i>ki</i>.....<i>LU a-ri tūr-dugud-</i>
 <i>gim ba-gul</i></p> <p>42. <i>dingir Nin</i> [...] <i>mà</i> [.....] <i>gīr</i>
 <i>kūr ba-ra-an-ku</i></p> <p>43. ^d<i>Nin-lī-ga-ge im</i>.....<i>na er-</i>
 <i>ni-šéš-šéš</i></p> <p>44. <i>a uru-gul-la é-gul-la-mu gīg-ga-bi</i>
 <i>im-me</i></p> <p>45. <i>gè-pār-aṣag nam-en-na-ba² šu-</i>
 <i>ba-e-lá-[lál]</i></p> <p>46. <i>en-bi gè-pār-ta ba-[da-an-ḳar ki-</i>
 <i>erim-e ba-ab-KA(du)]</i></p> <p>47. ^d<i>Nin-a-ṣu-ge</i>.....</p> <p>48. ^d<i>Nin-ḡar-sag</i>.....</p> <p>49. <i>tu-(ḡu)-gim</i>.....</p> <p>50. <i>a uru-gul-la é-gul-la-mu gīg-ga-</i>
 <i>bi im-me</i></p> <p>.....</p> | <p>41.like a ruined cattle
 stall has been destroyed.</p> <p>42. As for the goddess Nin.....
 her....the foe has set his
 foot.¹</p> <p>43. Ninlīga.....weeps bitterly.</p> <p>44. How long? oh my destroyed city
 and my destroyed temple,
 sadly I wail.</p> <p>45. Of the holy "Dark Chamber"
 the priestly rites are suspended.</p> <p>46. Its high priest from the "Dark
 Chamber" has been taken
 and unto the land of the foe
 has gone.</p> <p>47. Ninazu³.....</p> <p>48. Ninharsag.....</p> <p>49. Like a dove.....</p> <p>50. How long? oh my destroyed city
 and my destroyed temple,
 sadly I wail.</p> <p>.....⁴</p> |
|---|--|

13859 (Poebel No. 26)

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* = *enšutu*, priesthood.

³ A title of Nergal.

⁴ About four lines are broken away to the end of the tablet.

OBVERSE

1. *ṣabar aga-[ṣuʔ] im-gūr-gūr-ri*
2. *til-igi-da¹-ṣu im-bi-bi-ri*
3. *ṣid²-gu-ṣig ṣugur-sū-lal (ḡa)-da . .*
. -kūr
4. *eg ḡa ṣḡ eg-eg ḡa sū-lum-ma-gim*
im-bul-[]
5. *gud-dam ra e-sir unug-(ki)-ga-ge*
ṣār-ām mu-na-ab (ʔ)-. uṣ
6. *ṣār-ra giṣ-KU-A¹ mu-na-an-dūr*
ru-ne-eṣ

⁴ Cf. also CT. 15, 19 Rev. 2 where a place word is also expected.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 7. <i>šattam-a-ni lugal gab-gál¹ ki-gub-
bu-ne ba-ra-è</i> | 7. Her precentor, ² the defender
king, whither they go, went
up. |
| 8. <i>ugnim-e igi-im- ma- an- šig</i> | 8. The hosts of peoples she beholds. |
| 9. <i>nar-e li-du-a šu-i-ni-in-gi ūb³
šu-na be-in-šub</i> | 9. The singer refuses to chant and
from his hand has thrown the
drum. |
| 10. <i>ni⁴-nag-a-žu ni-nag-a-žu</i> | 10. Thou drinkest not; thou drink-
est not. |
| 11. <i>a⁵ nu-e-nag amaš-žu um-mi-ni-
nag</i> | 11. Water thou drinkest not, but
thy sheepfolds drink. |
| 12. <i>ni-nag-a-žu ni-nag-a-žu</i> | 12. Thoudrinkest not; thoudrinkest
not. |
| 13. <i>kaš nu-e-nag ūš⁶-žu um-mu-ni-
nag</i> | 13. Beer thou drinkest not, but thy
protégés drink. |
| 14. <i>gud-dam e⁷ e-sir unug-(ki)-ga-ge
šār-ām ma-ra-mi-ū-uš</i> | 14. Like an ox going forth in the
streets of Erech like a multi-
tude(?) he pursues thee. |
| 15. <i>šar-ra-ām giš-KU-A ma-ra-dūr-
ru-ne-eš</i> | 15. In multitudes they have taken
up their abodes in the habita-
tions. |
| 16. <i>mèn⁸ a-na-ag-en sal-e mē-a ma-
an-dug-ga sal-un-ne⁹ mēn-ne-
en</i> | 16. As for me what shall I do? I
who have bestowed care.
A sacred devotee I am. |
| 17. <i>gud-dam e ib-tag-ra be-in-ra ni-
žu¹⁰ e-ne-ib-uš</i> | 17. Coming forth like an ox, <i>hasten-
ing in destructive fury</i> he came;
even thee thyself he pursued. |
| 18. <i>šar-ūr á nam-ur-sag-gà-mu šu-
nu-um-ma-ti</i> | 18. The <i>šar-ur</i> weapon, arm of my
heroic power I have taken
not in my hand. |

¹ Cf. Gudea, St. B 9, 27.

² Semitic *šattamma* 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. 8899.

⁴ For *ni* = *nu*, see SBP. 138, 22, *ni-kuš-ū* = *nu-kuš-ū*; SBH. 70, 3 = 131, 48. Read *li*?

⁵ Text *GAR*!

⁶ *BAD* = *kidinu*, has the value *uš*; cf. *uš-sa* = *kuddinu*, Br. 5061.

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. *é gallab-mà a-gil-ṣu¹-bi dal-la mi-ni-gi²* 19. Of my temple in Hallab its treasures he has hidden far away.
20. *giš-dal é-an-na pa-ba mi-ni-in-kud* 20. Of the *tallu*³ of Eanna its *PA* he broke off.
21. *gud-dam sil-šú im-ma-na-ra-è* 21. Like an ox he came up against thee on the highways.
22. *gud-dam e e-sir unu-(ki)-ga-ge šár-ra mu-ni-in-gaz* 22. Like an ox going forth in the streets of Erech he slaughtered multitudes(?).
23. *šár-ra giš-KU-A-a-na mu-ni-in-dīg* 23. Multitudes in their habitations he caused to die.
24. *giš-ig ká-gal-la im-ma-an-gūr-gūr* 24. The doors of the city gate he shattered.
25. *a-tuḡ⁴-na-ka im-ma-an-è* 25. Her defender he caused to go forth,
26. *šū-PEŠ⁵ dumu šū-PEŠ⁶ d-Innini-ge* 26. The fisherman, the son fisherman of Innini.
27. *šen-urudu mu-na-an-bar-ri-ja-dúg⁶* 27. The copper vessels he scattered.
28. *gud-dam ra im-ma-an-ra-aḡ* 28. Hastening like an ox he has wrought demolition.
29. *gud-dam e er-im-ma-an-šub⁷ sīg-sīg-ni-mà-mal⁸* 29. Coming forth like an ox tears he has caused to fall and misery he caused to be.

¹ Phonetic variant of *gil-sa = sukuttu*. 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 *gi = piḫá*, confine, RA. 9, 77 I, 10; note also *é-a-dm gi = ina bitti piḫá*, K. 41 Col. II 12.

³ Part of the door; see VAB. IV Index.

⁴ Variant of *á-taḡ = rēšu*. The final *ka* is for the emphatic *ge* in the status obliquus (*ga*). 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-ṣi šū-PEŠ*. POEBEL interpreted this as a variant of *šū-ga = ba'iru*, fisherman, and his suggestion is probably correct. We have, however, to consider the possibility of a confusion with *kam = ukkušu*, the afflicted, SAI. 5082.

⁶ The rise of the semi-vowel *i* between the vowels *a-a* occurs under similar circumstances in *igi-ge-ni-ib-ila-ja-dúg*, RADAU, *Miscellaneous Texts*, No. 4, 5. See also *Sum. Gr.* § 38, 2. The form above arose from *bar-ri-a-a-dúg*. The prefixed element *dúg* falls under § 153 of the Grammar. *bar = sapāhu* is a variant *par*, to spread out, scatter.

⁷ *šub*, to let fall, hence *tabāku*, to pour out. Heretofore this meaning of *šub* was known only from the forms *al-šū-šū-be = ittanaḫak*, SBH. No. 62, 15, and forms cited by MEISSNER, SAI. 8345. See also *šū < šub*, *ibid.*, 8334 and *al-šū-šū-be*, MVAG. 1913 pt. 2 p. 49, 16.

⁸ The same passage occurs in Ni. 13856 II 13. *sīg-sīg = šakummatu*, variant of *sīg-sīg*.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 30. ^d Innini <i>zig¹-mu sum-ma-ab</i> | 30. Oh Innini, grant me favor. |
| 31. <i>gud kur-ra ga-mu-ra-ab-sum tûr-
zu ga-mu-ra-ab-lu²</i> | 31. Oxen of the mountains I will
give thee; thy stables I will
enrich for thee. |
| 32. <i>udu kur-ra ga-mu-ra-ab-sum
amaš-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-lu</i> | 32. Sheep of the mountains I will
give thee; thy sheepfolds I
will enrich for thee. |
| 33. <i>aṣag^d Innini-ge mu-na-ni-ib-gi-
gi³</i> | 33. Holy Innini replied:— |
| 34. <i>a-šag ḡallab-(ki)-a dūr-gar be-e-
gar-ra e-ku⁴ ni-nad-ba</i> | 34. "In the plains of Hallab thou
shalt make thy abode where
the people repose." |
| 35. <i>ama-ba⁵ ḡir(?) ḡa-ra-ab-túg-e
balag-al⁶ ḡu-mu-ra-ab-bi</i> | 35. May their hosts <i>attend</i> (?) thee
and proclaim to thee on lyre
and harp(?) |
| 36. ^d Innini <i>nam-ur-sag-[zu]⁷ ga-ám-
dúg</i> | 36. Oh Innini, I will rehearse thy
valor. |
| 37. <i>ṣag-sal-zu dug-ga-ám</i> | 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 *áb-mu-ba-ši-in-dib* is unexplained.

¹ *zig* is probably phonetic for *šeg* = *magāru*, see *Sum. Gr.* 258, *zig¹*.

² *lu* < *lum* = *dašû*, *dišû*, passim.

³ Cf. also PBS. V 25 l 15; II 13 *mu-na-ni-ib-gi-gi*.

⁴ *eku* < *uku* by dissimilation of vowels. See also REISNER, SBH. 77, 17.

⁵ For *ama* = *ummatu*, *ummanātu*, see *Sum. Gr.* 202, *ama³* 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 *zu*, which is not on the tablet.

5. []-ni ēš uri-ki mu-šú ba-
an-sá
6. en ud-sud-du-ge uru-ni-ta
7. ^d.Zu-en-e kidur¹ ba-ni-in-gar
8. uri-ki uru šag-gi-pa-da-na
9. è gud-gim ub-im-me
10. lugal-mu sá-rin-na-ni⁴
11. ki-maš ki-kal-kal ge-en-na-nam-
ma-ám
12. ^d.Zu-en-e uru kenag-gà-ni
13. eš uri-(ki) me-ašag-ašag-ga
14. lugal-mu bara
15. []-e nin [] gar-ra
16. sa- [gar-] ra- á⁵
17. e⁶ ^d.Nannar [áb -] zu me-a
mu-'u-lu en ^d.Áš-ím-ür
19. uru igi-ilá ēš šag [-gál ul-] ti⁷-a-
ni-mà
20. šuruppak-gim [nam-gar-]-gud-e⁸
gál-la-bi
21. . . . -eáb-mu-ba-ši-in-dib
22. [e dumu] ^d.En-lil-lá kalama me-a
mu-'u-lu en ^d.Áš-ím-ür
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 he² caused to abide.
8. In Ur the city which his heart
has chosen
9. The temple like a strong bull
calls unto the regions(?)³
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 Ášimur.
19. In my city of the lifting of the
eyes, the home of his own
abode, which is his fulness of
luxury,
20. Whose design is like Šuruppak,
21. I have caused him to
be a shepherd(?)
22. [Hail! son] of Enlil, in the Land
he is ruler, lord Ášimur.

¹ Written *KU-KI*. Cf. also CT. 16, 44, 80 *KU-KI-gar-ra-bi* = *ina ašābi-šu*.

² Enlil.

³ A reading *dr-im-me*, "it is glorified," suggests itself. Cf. SBH. 93, 1.

⁴ Cf. TSA. 31 Obv. II.

⁵ See PBS. Vol. XII 12.

⁶ Cf. SBP. 295, 17.

⁷ *ul-ti* = *hubušu*, "the lusty man," POEBEL, PBS. V 136 V 13, with which compare n. pra. *Hubbušu*, *Hubbuštu*, in HOLMA, "Personal Names of the Form *fu ul*," p. 50. Note also *ul-ti-a* = *hābšatum*, PBS. V *ibid.* l. 12. The hymn to Sin, SBP. 296, contains in line 14 the same phrase.

⁸ Text not entirely certain. If correctly read the signs *ĤAR-GUD* = *kabattu* must be read in SBP. 48, 45 after the variant SBH. 3, 10.

24. [uru igi-] ila éš-šag-gál ul-[ti]-a-ni
-mà

25. [šuruppak]-gim nam-šar-gud-[e]
gál-la-bi

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 ^dEn-lil-lá kalama
me-a] mu-'u-lu en ^dÁš-šim-ür
4. [ud-]-dug-ga [ki-gar-ra mu-šú ga]
-sá-a
5. ^dÁš-šim-ür šag]-gi-pad-da-mu
6. é-mud-[kur-ra-mu]¹ áb-mu-ba-ši-
in-dib
7. dumu-sag ^dEn-lil-lá kalama me-a
mu-'u-lu
8. ud-dug-ga² ki-gar-ra mu-šú ga-
sá-a
9. ^dÁš-šim-ür me-en ki [šag]-gi-pad-
da-mu
10. é-mud-kur-ra-mu áb-[mu-ba]-ši-
in- dib
- 11-12. lugal tūr-aṣag-ga áb-ṣu me-a
mu-'u-lu šul-pa munsub-nun-na
13. šag-túm-ma bara ša mu-un-dū
eš-e uri-(ki)-mu-šú

1. [.] I have caused him
to be a shepherd(?)
2. [First son of Enlil, in the Land
he is] ruler, lord Ašimur,
4. ["He that institutes battle"]
as a name I name.
5. Ašimur thewhom my
heart has chosen,
6. In Emudkurramu I caused to be
a shepherd(?).
7. First son of Enlil, in the Land
he is ruler.
8. "He that institutes battle" as
a name I name.
9. Ašimur thou art; where my
heart has chosen,
10. In Emudkurramu I have caused
thee to be a shepherd(?).
- 11-12. Lord of the clean sheepfolds,
ruler of the flocks is he, the
glorious(?) hero, far famed
shepherd.
13. In the meadow a sanctuary I
have built; in the abode of
my city Ur,

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. é-šág-nam-sar kur Dilmun-na
nam | 14. In the temple Šagnamsar ¹ which
is in the mount of Dilmun, |
| 15. é-gi-aṣag-bi-a áb mu-ba-ši-in-dib | 15. In the temple of the holy stylus
a shepherd I caused him to
be(?) |
| 16. dumu-sag ^d En-lil-lá kalama me-a
mu-'u-lu šul-pa munsub nun-
na | 16. First son of Enlil, in the Land
he is ruler, glorious(?) hero,
far famed shepherd. |
| 18. šag-túm-ma bara ša-mu-un-dū
éš-e uri-ki-mu-šú | 18. In the meadow a sanctuary I
built; in the abode of my
city Ur, |
| 19. é-šág-nam-sar kur Dilmun-na
nam | 19. In the temple Šagnamsar which
is in the mount of Dilmun, |
| 20. é-gi-aṣag-bi-a áb-mu-ba-ši-in-dib | 20. In the temple of the holy stylus
a shepherd I have caused him
to be(?) |
| 21. sa-gar- ra- ám | 21. It is a <i>sagar</i> melody. |
| 22. nar-balag ² ^d Zu-en-na | 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 *mudammik musarrê*, "Temple of the benefactor of writing." 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* = *tiġû*, 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-zi*, 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-ta è-a-mèn*, Oh woe is me, from the city I depart.³ *dingir ga-ša-an-gal-mèn é-ta 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.¹ *er-gig ni-šéš-šéš*, She weeps bitterly.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 *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.³

OBVERSE IV

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>an-ni e-ne-em-bi ba-ra-mu-un-gur</i> | 1. Anu may prevent his word. |
| 2. ^d <i>Mu-ul-lil-e ni^a-šág ge-am-bi</i> | 2. Enlil may order kindness. |
| 3. <i>šag-mu ba-ra-be-in-šed-di</i> | 3. And may my heart be at peace
from sorrow. |

¹ Rev. II 30.

² Rev. II 37:41. Cf. *er-gig mu-un-šéš-šéš*, ZIMMERN, KL. 25 II 2 f.

³ See *Historical and Religious Texts* 5-8.

⁴ *nig* > *ni*.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>23. ^d<i>Mu-ul-lil-e enim-bi è-a-ni</i>
 <i>. . . e-dam</i></p> <hr/> <p>24. <i>ki-šub-gú 4-kam-ma-ám</i>
 25. <i>uru-ni ba-da-gul-ám me-ni ba-</i>
 <i>da-kúr-am</i></p> <p>26. <i>giš-gi- gál-bi- im</i></p> <hr/> <p>27. ^d<i>En-lil-li ud-de gù-ba-an-de</i>
 28. <i>uku-e še-ám-šá</i>
 29. <i>ud ġe-gál-la kalama-da ba-da-an-</i>
 <i>kar</i>
 30. <i>uku-e še-ám-šá</i>
 31. <i>ud dug Ki-en-gi-da ba-da-an-kar</i>
 <i>uku-e še-ám-šá</i></p> <p>32. <i>ud ġul-gál-e á-ba-da-an-ág uku-e</i>
 <i>še-ám-šá</i>
 33. <i>kin-gal-ud-da ud-da-gub-ba šu-na</i>
 <i>im-ma-an-sġ</i></p> <p>34. <i>ud kalam-til-til-e gù-ba-an-de</i>
 <i>uku-e še-ám-šá</i></p> <p>35. ^d<i>En-lil-li</i> ^d<i>Gi-bil á-tag-a ki-mu-</i>
 <i>na-ni-in-[]</i>
 36. <i>ud-gal an-na-ge gù-ba-an-de uku-</i>
 <i>e še-ám-šá</i></p> <p>37. <i>ud-gal-e² an-ta gù-ni-ib-im-me</i>
 <i>uku-e še-ám-šá</i></p> | <p>23. Enlil the going forth of whose
 word</p> <hr/> <p>24. It is the fourth song.
 25. Her city has been destroyed,
 her ordinances have been
 changed.</p> <p>26. This is its antiphon.</p> <hr/> <p>27. Enlil utters the spirit of wrath
 28. and the people wail.
 29. The spirit of wrath prosperity
 from the Land has destroyed
 30. and the people wail.
 31. The spirit of wrath peace from
 Sumer has taken and the
 people wail.
 32. He has sent the evil spirit of
 wrath and the people wail.
 33. The "Messenger of Wrath,"
 the "Assisting Spirit" into
 its hand he entrusted.¹
 34. He has uttered the spirit of
 wrath which exterminates the
 Land and the people wail.
 35. Enlil <i>has sent</i> Gibil as its helper.
 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.</p> |
|---|--|

¹ 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. *Kingaludda* is mentioned as one of four evil spirits *ilu limmu* in CT. 25, 22, 44. He is mentioned with the Zû bird and the demon *šġdu* as appearing in dream omens, BOISSIER, DA. 207, 34. See also BOISSIER, *Choix*, II 53, 4. On *uddugub* as a title of kings see BE. 31, 22 n. 9.

² The *ud-gal* is regarded as plural = *ámu rabûti* 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.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>14. <i>uku-bi šika-kud-da</i> [<i>nu-me-a bar-ba ba-e-si</i>]
 15. <i>bád-ba gú</i> [¹]-<i>nin</i> [<i>kaskala im-ma-an-gar-gar uku-e še-ám-šá</i>]
 16. <i>ká-gal-maḡ gír-gál-la</i>-[<i>ba àd-a im-ma-</i>] <i>an</i> [<i>BAD</i>]
 17. <i>duk?-tun-sir-gim dū-a-ba</i> [<i>sag-bal-e</i>] <i>ba-ab-gar</i>
 18. [] <i>e-sir gír-gál-la-ba àd im-ma-an-gar-gar</i></p> | <p>14. Her people without water jars sit without her in desolation
 15. Within her in the ways are <i>placed</i> and the people wail.
 16. The great city gate and the highways with the dead are <i>choked up</i>.
 17. Like a leather vessel all of her the usurper cast asunder(?)
 18. In her streets and roads corpses he <i>heaped up</i>(?)</p> |
|--|--|

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 *gír?* Variant *gú-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. I 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

1. <i>KU</i>-? [	]	1.	
2. <i>kalag giš</i> [	]	2. Oh strong one []
3. <i>me-ri kuš-ù</i> -[<i>zu</i> ¹	]	3. Thy weary foot []

¹ Cf. RA. 12, 37, 1.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 4. <i>á-lirum-šu¹-[kuš-ù-zu]</i> | 4. <i>Thy weary arms—breast—hands</i>
[. . .] |
| 5. <i>a-zu²-guruš a-zu [. . .]</i> | 5. Oh strong healer, oh healer
[. . .] |
| 6. <i>kalag^d Da-mu-mu [. . .]</i> | 6. Oh strong one, my Damu [. . .] |
| 7. <i>tu-mu ù-mu-un mu-zi-da [. . .]</i> | 7. Oh child, lord Gišzida [. . .] |
| 8. <i>a-zu a dam ni-kuš-ù-a-zu</i> | 8. Oh healer, how long husband
. wilt thou be weary? |
| 9. <i>a-zu a tu-mu ni-kuš-ù-
a-zu</i> | 9. Oh healer, how long son
wilt thou be weary? |
| 10. <i>i-dé (?) . . . tu-ru ? [na?] zu-dé</i> | 10. When before thou
sittest, |
| 11. <i>kalag da-ga-ám-ma³-ni . . . zu-dé</i> | 11. Oh strong one, when <i>into</i> his
<i>assembly</i> thou |
| 12. <i>a-rib⁴ šu-si me-ri a-bal-mà
na-nam</i> | 12. Alas he whose fingers and feet
[are bound], my irrigator ⁵ is
he. |
| 13. <i>šag-zu-šú la-ağ-[la-ağ-]gu-a-zu</i> | 13. Because of thee she wanders far
for thee. |
| 14. <i>kalag^d Da-mu-mu a-bal-mà na-
nam</i> | 14. My sturdy Damu, my irrigator
is he. |
| 15. <i>ama-zu mu-lu er-ri nu-kuš-ù</i> | 15. Thy mother she of lamentation
rests not. |
| 16. <i>ama ga-ša-an tin-dib-ba túb-bi-
šú nu-durun</i> | 16. The mother, queen who gives
life to the afflicted, tarries
not to repose. |
| 17. <i>ù-šub-ba-za ù-zi-ga-za sù-ri-šú
na-ri-bi</i> | 17. In thy perdition, in thy seizure,
in melodious sighing she
speaks of thee. |
| 18. <i>kalag a-rin-na-za ù(?) a-tar-ra-za
sù-ri-šú na-ri-bi</i> | 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 *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 34.

³ Probably for *dagan* = *pušru*, 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 *Tammuz and Ishtar*, pp. 6 and 44. *a-bal* = *tābik mē*, pourer of water, irrigator, is the original idea of this ideogram. For the title *galu-a-bal* in this sense, see CT. 13, 42, 7 ff. *Ak-ki galu abal*, the gardener who cared for Sargon. See also THUREAU-DANGIN, *Lettres et Contrats*, No. 174, 6-8, *galu a-bal*, a kind of laborer. The later usage of the word as libator of water for the souls of the dead, Semitic *nāḫ mē* is a strictly conventional development, see *Babyloniaca*, VI 208.

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|--|--|
| <p>19. <i>ama-ugu-mu GAR-LUL-LUL-
na-mu sir-ri-šú nu-uš ma-gub-
bi</i></p> <p>20. <i>kalag idim-[ma me-]en galu-kur-al</i></p> <p>21. <i>en me-en galu-kur-dim²</i></p> <p>22. <i>unu-[dagal-mu] kur-idim-ma-mu</i></p> <p>23. <i>en me-en a-ra-li ki-sag kirud-da-
mu</i></p> <p>24. <i>kalag me-en kur-ri-sud-du-šú im-
ma-ab-du me-en</i></p> <p>25. <i>ud-me-e-na³ ni- ? ?</i></p> | <p>19. My child-bearing mother, my
lamerter(?) with melodious
sighing behold she stands</p> <p>20. Oh sturdy one, prostrate thou
art, a man of the land of
wailing(?)¹</p> <p>21. Oh lord, thou art, a
man of the land of lament.</p> <p>22. In my vast chamber, in my land
of misery,</p> <p>23. A lord am I. In Aralu, place
where I am cast away,</p> <p>24. A laborer am I. Unto the
faraway land I go.</p> <p>25. Daily(?) he [sorrows?]⁴</p> |
|--|--|

REVERSE

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>šā-ab-er-ri⁵ kuš-ù-a-mu ma-a-a
nad-da-[mu]</i></p> <p>2. <i>balag-di šā-ab-er-ri kuš-ù-a-mu
ma-a-a nad-da-[mu]</i></p> <p>3. <i>ama uru-sag ga-ša-an tin-dib-ba
mèn</i></p> <p>4. <i>sag-tu-an-na ga-ša-an l-si-in-
(ki)-na mèn</i></p> <p>5. <i>tu-mu é-a ga-ša-an-mu⁶ d. Gu-nu-
ra</i></p> <p>6. <i>tum-lu-aqag ama é-šāb-ba mèn</i></p> | <p>1. I weary with heart woe, where
shall I rest?</p> <p>2. Oh sing to the lyre; I weary
with heart woe, where shall I
rest?</p> <p>3. Mother of the chief city,⁶ queen
who gives life to the dead am
I.</p> <p>4. First born daughter of heaven,⁷
queen of Isin am I.</p> <p>5. Daughter of the temple, Queen
Gunura.</p> <p>6. Holy <i>tumlu</i> mother of Ešabba
am I.</p> |
|---|---|

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 II 42.

⁶ I. e. Isin.

⁷ On this title see BL. 143.

⁸ Probably an error. Omitted in translation.

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| <p>7. ^d. <i>En-á-nun¹ ama gù-an-ni-si-mèn</i></p> <p>8. <i>ga-ša-an nigín-mar-ra ki-aṣag-ga</i>
<i>mèn</i></p> <p>9. <i>ga-ša-an áš-te³ . . . ga-ša-an La-ra-</i>
<i>ak-(ki) mèn</i></p> <p>10. <i>ama é-a^d. Ašnan^d. Aṣag-sud mèn</i></p> <p>11. <i>šā-ab-er-ri a-še-ir-ri ma-a kuš-ù-</i>
<i>mu</i></p> <p>12. <i>er é-kur-ra-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu</i></p> <p>13. <i>er kenur-ra-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu</i></p> <p>14. <i>er dù-aṣag-ga-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu</i></p> <p>15. <i>er é-dīm-ma⁶-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu</i></p> <p>16. <i>er uru-sag-gà-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu</i></p> <p>17. <i>er tir-aṣag-ga⁷-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu</i></p> <p>18. <i>er ḷ-si-in-(ki)-na-ge ma-a kuš-ù-</i>
<i>mu</i></p> <p>19. <i>er é-gal-maḡ-a-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu</i></p> <p>20. <i>er La-ra-ak-(ki)-a-ge ma-a kuš-</i>
<i>ù-[mu ma-a na]-d-da-bi</i></p> <p>21. <i>šā-ab dam-e-mu ša-ab [tu-mu-]⁸</i>
<i>mu</i></p> <p>22. [.] <i>ki-el-la šāb mu-ud-na-</i>
<i>mu</i></p> | <p>7. Enanun mother of lamentation
am I.</p> <p>8. Queen of Niginmarra,² the holy
place, am I.</p> <p>9. Queen of Ašte,⁴ queen of Larak.</p> <p>10. Mother of the temple, Ašnan
the divine lustrator⁵ am I.</p> <p>11. Weeping and sighing where shall
I find rest?</p> <p>12. Weeping for Ekur, where shall I
repose?</p> <p>13. Weeping for Kenur, where shall
I repose?</p> <p>14. Weeping for Duazagga, where
shall I repose?</p> <p>15. Weeping for the "House of the
King," where shall I repose?</p> <p>16. Weeping for the chief city,
where shall I repose?</p> <p>17. Weeping for the sacred forest,
where shall I repose?</p> <p>18. Weeping for Isin, where shall I
repose?</p> <p>19. Weeping for Egalmah, where
shall I repose?</p> <p>20. Weeping for Larak, where shall
I repose, where shall he rest?</p> <p>21. The ravished one my husband,
the ravished one, my son,</p> <p>22. [In] the clean place, the
ravished one my spouse,</p> |
|---|--|

¹ On this line, see the commentary in *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* 173 note 3.

² Temple in Isin-Šuruppak. Šuruppak must have been a quarter of the later and more famous Isin. Note that this temple is assigned to Šuruppak in POEBEL, PBS. V 157, 7. The liturgies, however, constantly place Niginmar at Isin.

³ I see traces of a sign after *te*.

⁴ Temple in Larak, a quarter of Isin. See SBP. 160 n. 7.

⁵ *aṣag-sug* title of the deities of lustration Ašnan, Nidaba and Gibil.

⁶ Rendered *biṭ šarru*, V Raw. 16, 52, probably a royal chapel or room in Ekur especially provided for the king. See also SBP. 292, 14; KL. 25 I 11.

⁷ Probably name of a sacred park at Isin. It contained a chapel, *é-tir-aṣag-ga*, KL. 25 I 12.

⁸ For the restoration, cf. RA. 12, 34, 9.

23. <i>tu-mu-tūr tu-[mu</i>	]	23. The little son, the... . . . .son
		[]
24. <i>ga-ša-an</i>	[]	24.
25. <i>ša-ab</i>	[]	25.
26. <i>AN-NE</i>	[]	26.
27. <i>sukkal</i>	[]	27. ¹
L. E. <i>a-šab-ba-ni a-ba-bar-ra-ni</i>		L. E. How long his ravishing? how long his absence? ²

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-gú* after each strophe. The titular litany³ 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

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. 3 12, 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 ZIMMERN, *Altsumerische Kultlieder*, 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 MEEK 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 MEEK 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 gù-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-mèn me-e kàs-mèn* 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-lum 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. <i>e-lum gud-sun mu-ru kur-kur-šú</i> ¹ | 1. Exalted one, bull that overwhelms, thy name is on the lands. |
| 2. <i>ù-mu-un-e² kur-kur-ra gud-sun</i> | 2. Lord of the lands, bull that overwhelms, thy name, etc. ³ |
| 3. <i>ù-mu-un dúg-ga-zi-da gud-sun</i> | 3. Lord of the faithful word, bull that overwhelms, etc. |
| 4. ⁴ <i>Mu-ul-lil a-a ka-na-ág⁴-gà gud-sun</i> | 4. Enlil, father of the Land, bull that overwhelms, etc. |
| 5. <i>sib sag-gig-ga gud-sun</i> | 5. Shepherd of the dark-headed people, bull that overwhelms, etc. |
| 6. <i>i-dé-duḡ ni-te-na gud-sun</i> | 6. Thou of self-created vision, bull that overwhelms, etc. |

¹ The text of lines 1-25 is taken from *Tablet Virolleaud*, now *Collection Nies*, No. 1315

² SBP. 112 and 126 have *umun*, et passim.

³ SBH. 42 has an inserted line between ll. 1-2. See SBP. 112

⁴ Vars. *nag*.

7. am GĪR¹-na sá-sá gud-sun
8. ù-lul-la ku-ku² gud-sun mu-zu
 kur-kur-šú
9. mu-zu kur-ra mu-ma-al-la-šú an
 ni-bi nam-dúb
10. ki ni-bi nam-sig
11. ^d. Mu-ul-lil e-ne-em-zu kur-ra
 ám ma-ma-al-la-šú
12. dúg-ga-zu kur-ra-ám ma-ma-al-
 la-šú
13. dag-a-zu kur-ra-ám ma-ma-al-la-
 šú
14. an ni dúb sig⁴ ki ni-bi nam-sig
15. ama [nu]^b-gíg-gi ama nu-bar-ra
 dumu-ni mi-ni-in-gí-gí
16. ga-ša-an uru bar-ra-ra
 dumu-ni mi-ni-in-gí-gí
17. dumu-ni mi-ni-in-gí-gí
18. e-lum e-ne-em-zu-šú . . .
 kur-ri ni-in-gí-gí
19. ^d. Mu-ul-lil mu-lu ? A
20. kur-ri ni-in-gí-[gí]
21. e-lum za-e e-ne-em-zu an-e um-
 ma-[dúg]
22. an-e ib-[]
23. ^d. Mu-ul-lil za-e e-ne-em-zu ki-e
 um-[ma-dúg]
7. Wild bull who directs his hosts,
 bull that overwhelms, 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 Enlil, when thy word is laid
 upon the lands,
12. When thy command is laid upon
 the lands,
13. When thy *command*³ is laid upon
 the lands,
14. The heavens tremble of them-
 selves, the earth of itself
 quakes,
15. The harlot mother, the hiero-
 dole 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. Enlil lord of⁶
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. Enlil, as for thee, thy word on
 earth speak

¹ Uncertain. Apparently REC. 225. Elsewhere in this passage always *ṢAB* which has been read *erin-na = ummāni-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 *ní-bi-dúb*.

^b Omitted by the scribe. Line restored from Ni. 15204, 11.

⁶ With line 19 the variant SBH. 42 lower fragment begins.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>37. <i>te-e-ám ama-gan-ra ga-ša-an</i>
 <i>sun-na-ra¹ dumu-ni zi-em-mà-</i>
 <i>na-ad-du</i></p> <p>38. <i>a urú-a mu-lu im-me-a-ra² dumu-</i>
 <i>ni zi-em-mà-na-ad-du</i></p> <p>39. <i>a ki-dagar-ra-ám Nippur-ám ib</i>
 <i>éš-ga-a-ra³</i></p> | <p>37. How long shall the child-bearing
 mother, the wild-cow queen,
 reject her son?</p> <p>38. How long in the city shall he of
 wailing reject his son?</p> <p>39. How long in the wide land, in
 Nippur, in the region of the
 vast abode?</p> |
|---|--|
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- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>40. <i>a-gal-gal šel-su-su mulu ta-žu</i>
 <i>mu-un-žu⁴</i></p> <p>41. <i>e-lum a-gal-gal šel-su-su mulu ta-</i>
 <i>žu mu-un-žu</i></p> <p>42. <i>^dmu-ul-lil ù-mu-un kur-kir-ra</i></p> | <p>40. Flood that drowns the harvests,
 who comprehends thy form?</p> <p>41. Exalted, flood that drowns the
 harvests who comprehends
 thy form?</p> <p>42. Enlil lord of the lands, who etc.</p> |
|---|---|

OBVERSE II

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>ù-mu-un dúg-ga-zi-da⁵</i></p> <p>2. <i>^dmu-ul-lil a-a ka-nag-ga</i></p> <p>3. <i>sib sag-gíg-ga</i></p> <p>4. <i>i-dé-duğ ní-te-na</i></p> | <p>1. Lord of the faithful word, who
 etc.</p> <p>2. Enlil father of the Land, who
 etc.</p> <p>3. Shepherd of the dark-headed
 people, who etc.</p> <p>4. Thou of self-created vision, who
 etc.</p> |
|---|---|

¹ This title *gašan-sun* or *nin-sun*, really means *belu 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-mat*, 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 = *bél kûli*(?), "Man of wailing." The late version replaces this line by [*te-e-ám*] *da-ga-a-la dumu-ni*, "How long shall the wife of the strong man reject her son?", SBP. 114, 37. *dagāla* = *dam-guṭu*, SBH. 131, 60.

³ Probably a title of Ekur. *éšgalla* 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 *ursaggal—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. <i>am erin-na sá-sá</i> | 5. Hero who directs his hosts, who etc. |
| 6. <i>ù-lul-a dúr-dúr</i> | 6. Thou that sleepest the sleep of perversity, who etc. |
| 7. <i>šag gi-ū gi-ū šā-ab túg-e túg-e</i> | 7. Oh heart be reconciled, be reconciled, oh heart repose, repose. |
| 8. <i>šag an-na gi-ū</i> <i>gi-ū</i> | 8. Oh heart of Anu be reconciled, be reconciled. |
| 9. <i>šag</i> ^d <i>mu-ul-lil gi-ū gi-ū</i> | 9. Oh heart of Enlil be reconciled, etc. |
| 10. <i>šag ur-sag-gal gi-ū gi-ū</i> ¹ | 10. Oh heart of the great hero, be reconciled, etc. |
-
- | | |
|---|--|
| 11. <i>ní-ma-al-e</i> <i>řid al-ma-al</i> ² [<i>li-</i>] ³
<i>nař-tan-na ař-ša-ka-nu</i> | 11. Kneaded bread for the feast I set, |
| 12. <i>ní-ma-al-e ní-ma-al-e</i> | 12. Kneaded bread, kneaded bread, |
| 13. <i>ní-ma-al-e řid al-ma-al</i> | 13. Kneaded bread for the feast I set, |
| 14. [<i>kur-gal</i> ^d <i>en-lil-</i>] <i>da řu-en-ne ba-túg</i> | 14. By the Great Mountain, Enlil, it has been blessed. |
| 15. [<i>a-a</i> ^d <i>mu-ul-lil</i>] <i>řu-en-ne ba-túg</i> | 15. By Father Enlil it has been blessed. |
| 16. [<i>kur-gal</i> ^d <i>en-lil-</i>] <i>řu-en-ne ba-túg</i> | 16. The Great Mountain Enlil has blessed. |
| 17. [<i>a-a</i> ^d <i>mu-ul-lil</i>] <i>řu-en-ne ba-túg</i> | 17. The Father Enlil has blessed. ⁴ |
| 18. <i>ù-mu-un am urú-ří-ib-(ki)</i> <i>řu-en-ne-ba-túg</i> | 18. Lord, hero of the sacred city, has shown grace. |
| 19. <i>ama-é-mař⁵-a</i> ^d <i>dam-gal-nun-na</i> | 19. Mother of the house of the famous one, Damgalnunna, has shown grace. |
| 20. ^d <i>asar-lù-dug dumu urú ří-ib-(ki)</i> | 20. Asarludug, son of the sacred city, has shown grace. |
| 21. <i>mu-ud-na-an-ni</i> ^d <i>ařin⁶-nun-na-an-ki</i> | 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 *pà=ekú*, canal, is used in this title of Zarpanit. She is originally a patroness of irrigation and ultimately identical with Ninā.

22. ^did ama urú zi-ib-(ki) 22. River goddess, mother of the
sacred city, has shown grace.
23. ^da-ri-e ga-ša-an ab-su-di¹ 23. Zarpanit queen of, etc.
24. sukkal-ziid mu-dug-ga-sá-a šu-ba-
e-en 24. Faithful messenger, called by a
good name, has shown grace.
25. ni-ma-al-e zi-ib ni-ma-al-la-ta 25. The kneaded bread which has
been well made,
26. zi-ib ni-ma-al-la-ta ni-ma-al-e 26. Which has been well made, the
zi-ib-bi dé-kùr-e² kneaded bread may he eat
graciously,
27. ^dmu-ul-lil-li zi-ib-bi-kùr zi-ib-
bi dé-kùr-e 27. May Enlil graciously eat; yea
graciously eat.
-
28. ki an dūr-ru-na-šú uku³-e gar-
ma-an-zi-en 28. Where Anu sits may the people
hasten.
29. [^dA-nun-na¹]-ki an dūr-ru-na-šú 29. [*The Anunnaki*.] Where Anu
uku-e gar ma-an-zi-en sits let the people hasten.
30. é-e ám-ba-al ne-sag-mag⁵ é-e am-
ba-al 30. To the temple he enters, the
mighty priest of sacrifices to
the temple enters.
31. a-tú-tú ma-mu šu-luḡ-ge a-tú-tú 31. A libation he offers, the priest of
ma-mu hand washing a libation offers.
32. é-e ud-šá-ab-šú e-dam ud-šúš-šú 32. To the temple at mid-day go up!
e-dam at sun-set go up.
33. ud-da ne-sag-e šu-si-sá e-dam 33. Daily to direct the sacrifices go
up!
34. ud-da ù-gul-ma-ma šu-si-sá e-dam 34. Daily to direct the prayers go
up!
35. ud-da an dīm-me-ir mu-ṣu an-ni 35. Daily Anu merciful god⁴ on high
ṣu-ṣu-dam proclaim.
36. ^dam-an-ki am urú-zi-ib-(ki) an-
ni ṣu-ṣu-dam 36. The hero of heaven and earth,
hero of the sacred city on
high proclaim.
-
37. ^den-lil mà-gùn⁷ ^den-lil gùn-uku-
e gar-ma-an-zi-en 37. To Enlil let all the land, to
Enlil let all the people hasten.

¹ ab-su = ab-ṣu. sea? Cf. ab-ṣu-bil-la, the shining ocean, KL. 1 Rev. 1 19 f.² SBP. 116, 27 dé-en-kùr-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 dūr-ru-na-šú ^dA-nun-na [gar-ma-an-zi-en], where Anu sits let the Anunnaki hasten.⁵ Cf. SBH. 44, 37.⁶ ilu ra'imu.⁷ napḥar māti, cf. IV R. 23b 15.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 38. <i>an-ni a-ma-an-tú an-gù (?) an-ni</i>
<i>a-ma-an-tú šā-ab ám-ma-ab</i>
<i>-túg-e</i> | 38. Unto heaven verily I will libate
water, unto the <i>canopy</i> of
heaven, unto heaven verily I
will libate water. The heart
I will appease. |
| 39. <i>im-ma-an-a-tú a ám-ma-ab-túg-e</i> | 39. I will pour out a libation, the
father I will appease. |
| 40. ^d <i>am-an-ki am urú-ši-ib-(ki) ám-</i>
<i>ma-ab-túg-e</i> ¹ | 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. <i>é- . . . [ta (= KL. 11 Obv. III 1)]</i> | 11. |
| 12. <i>unugal(?) -da . . . [ta</i> | 12. |
| 13. <i>dù-sag-āš²-ta [</i> | 13. |
| 14. <i>é-bi-tūr-ta^d [</i> | 14. |
| 15. <i>éš è-bār-ta [</i> | 15. |
| 16. <i>éš é-an-na-[ta</i> | 16. |
| 17. <i>še-ib [</i> | 17. |
| 18-22 | 18-22 |
| 23. <i>é [</i> | 23. |
| 24. <i>dù (?) [</i> | 24. |
| 25. | 25. |
| 26. <i>[mu-un-]túg-gà-ta [</i> | 26. He has been pacified [|
| 27. <i>mu-un-túg-gà-ta [</i> | 27. He has been pacified [|
| 28. <i>mu-un-túg-gà-ta [</i> | 28. He has been pacified [|
| 29. <i>mu-un-túg-gà-ta šag^d [</i> | 29. He has been pacified, the heart
of [has been pacified] |
| 30. <i>mu-un-túg-gà-ta kur-gal^d m[u-</i>
<i>ul-lil mu-un-túg-gà-ta]</i> | 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-túg-e*. At any rate the traces of a last line on SBH. 44 are those of the last line of this melody. There is not space enough on SBH. 44 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 SBH. 44.

² *šubat pirišti*. This sanctuary at Nippur is mentioned in BE. 29 No. 5 Obv. 11; *dù-sag* in KL. 64 II 4 and III 6.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 31. <i>edin-na ? -a erida (ki)-ta</i> | 31. In the plain of Eridu ¹ |
| 32. <i>a-ma-ru na-nam kur al-gul-gul</i> | 32. A tempest it is shattering the mountain. |
| 33. <i>ù-mu-un-e e-ne-em-mà-ni a-ma-
[ru na-nam]</i> | 33. The word of the lord is a tempest. |
| 34. <i>šāb-bi e-lum-e a-ma-ru na-[nam]</i> | 34. The heart ² of the exalted is a tempest. ³ |
| 35. <i>šāb-bi ^dmu-ul-lil a-ma-ru na-
nam</i> | 35. The heart of Enlil is a tempest. |
| 36. <i>ù-mu-un-na šag an-šú an nī-ne
ba-ni-ib-gam-ma-[ne]</i> | 36. The heart of the lord is in heaven and the heavens waver of themselves. ⁴ |
| 37. <i>^dmu-ul-lil e-ne-em ki-šú ki nī
sīg-ga-ni</i> | 37. The word of Enlil is on earth and the earth trembles of itself. |
| 38. <i>e-ne-em-mà ^da-nun-na gil-li-em-
eš-[a-ni]⁵</i> | 38. The word which brings woe to the spirits of earth. |
| 39. <i>e-ne-em-mà-ni a-zu nu-tuk šim-
šar nu-[un- tuk]</i> | 39. His word a prophet has not; a magician it has not. |
| 40. <i>e-ne-em-mà-ni a-ma-ru zi-ga gab-
šū-gar nu-un-tuk⁶</i> | 40. His word is an onrushing tempest, an adversary to oppose it has not. |

(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 III⁷

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>sukkal-ziid mu-dug-ga-sà-a []</i> | 1. The faithful messenger, he called by a good name. |
| 2. <i>dingir ga-še-dé a-be-in-si sag []</i> | 2. The god who satiates with milk and grain, <i>sag</i> ⁸ |

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. III. 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. I 21-31, etc.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 3. <i>an-ki-bi-da im-mi-ib-ġun-gà</i> | 3. Heaven and earth it has pacified. |
| 4. <i>ki-an-bi-da im-mi-ib-ġun-gà</i> | 4. Earth and heaven it pacified. |
| 5. <i>ud é-kùr-ta kùr-gal ^dmu-ul-lil</i>
[<i>im-mi-ib-ġun-gà</i>] | 5. When in Ekur the great mountain Enlil it pacified, |
| 6. <i>é-lam-ma¹-ta ama-gal ^dnin-lil im</i>
[<i>-mi-ib-ġun-gà</i>] | 6. [When] in Elamma the great mother Ninlil it pacified, |
| 7. <i>an-ni-gar-ra²-ta ereš³ ^dmu-ul-</i>
[<i>-lil im-mi-ib-ġun-gà</i>] | 7. In Annigarra the consort (sister) of Enlil it pacified. |
| 8. <i>e-lum di-da-ra dé-en⁴ ga-ám-dúr</i> | 8. The exalted who walketh forth, where tarries he? ⁵ |
| 9. <i>di-da-ra e-lum di-da-ra dé-en ga-ám-dúr</i> | 9. Who walketh forth, the exalted who walketh forth, where tarries he? |
| 10. <i>ù-mu-un-e kur-kur-[ra-ge di-da-ra]</i> | 10. The lord of the lands, who walketh forth, where tarries he? |
| 11. [<i>ù-mu-</i>]un-e dúg-ga-ġi-da <i>di</i> | 11. The lord of faithful word, who etc. |
| 12. <i>^dmu-ul-lil a-a ka-nag-gà di</i> | 12. Enlil, father of the Land, who etc. |
| 13. <i>sib sag-ġig-ga di</i> | 13. Shepherd of the dark-headed people, who etc. |
| 14. <i>i-dé-duġ ní-te-na di</i> | 14. He of self-created vision, who etc. |
| 15. <i>am erin-na sá-sá di</i> | 15. Hero that directs his hosts, who etc. |
| 16. <i>ù-lul-la dúr-dúr di</i> | 16. He that sleeps the sleep of perversity, who etc. |
| 17. <i>me-e bur-maġ-a kaš ga-an-na-ab</i>
<i>nisak-ka</i> | 17. I in a great bowl will pour out wine to him. |
| 18. <i>ama-gim dugud⁶-da da-mu-un-lal</i> | 18. I like a wild ox will bow down to the mighty one. ⁷ |

¹ Cf. SBP. 82, 47.

² A title of Egalmah in Isin, SBH. 94, 29 = SBP. 186, 29.

³ Either DAM or SAL+KU (sister) must be expected, since we have obviously a reference to Aruru here.

⁴ Sic! An error for *en-ne*? See SBP. 120, 1. Perhaps *dé=te*, "where?" strengthened by *en=adi*.

⁵ The following melody has been restored from the late variant SBP. p. 120.

⁶ Glossed *ġu-da*.

⁷ Semitic *lu-uk-mi-is-su*, glossed *kamû*. *kamû*, "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 hopped."

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- | | |
|---|---|
| 9. ^d Šul-pa-è ¹ en ^{si} banšur-ra | 9. Šulpae, lord of the sacrificial board. |
| 10. ama še-en-tūr ² dim-me-ir imin | 10. Mother Šentur, (mother) of the seven gods. ³ |
| 11. ù-mu-un si ⁴ Nipru-(ki) ù-mu-un kalag-a | 11. The lord <i>light</i> of Nippur, mighty lord. |
| 12. gù-de-de ⁵ ga-ša-an Nipru-(ki) | 12. The loud crying, queen of Nippur. |
| 13. dingir dumu-sag ⁶ ^d ga-ša-an mu-un-ga-ra | 13. Divine first born daughter, divine queen of treasures. |
| 14. ^d Nusku [á-]mağ dingir-gidim [é-kur-ra] | 14. Nusku of mighty message, divine spirit of Ekur. |
| [15. ama é-a-ge ^d Sa-lár-nun-na] | [15. Mother of the temple, Sadar-nunna.] |
| [16. ^d Še-ra-ağ gidim é-šar-ra] | [16. Šerah spirit of Ešarra.] |
| [17. lamma-šág-ga me-lam-an-na] | [17. The propitious spirit whose splendor is supreme.] |
| 18. dumu [sukkal-gal ^d Nannar ^d Zuen-na] | 18. The son, [great messenger, Nannar-Sin.] |
| 19. ^d En-[nu-NUNUZ-zi ^d Nannar ⁷ dam ^d Nannar-ge] | 19. Zir [spouse of Nannar]. |
| 20. nu-banda-[mağ ^d Mu-ul-lil-la-zi-ge] | 20. [The august] prefect, [divine Enlilzi] ⁸ |
| 21. ^d [En]-bu-[ul-e dumu é-šab-ba] | 21. [Enbul son of Ešabba.] |
| 22. šul-a[n-na umun ġar-sag-ġal-ge] | 22. Hero of [heaven, lord of the great mountain.] |
| 23. ^d ga-ša-[an-gal-e ama-an-na-ge] | 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; ^dŠe-en-tūr, SBP. 150 n. 5, l. 11 and ^dŠe-en-tur, KING, *Supplement to BEZOLD'S Catalogue*, p. 10, No. 51, 8 where she is identified with Nintud=^dbilit.

³ In ZA. VI 242, 21 their mother is Išhara, 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 ġir=ġirru, 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. III 1. The variant SBP. 152, 15 inserts another deified king Ur-Sin. See also GÉNOUILLAC, *Dreben*, 5501 II 21; *Babylonian Liturgies*, 92 Rev. 10; CT. 24, 6, 21.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 24. ^d .ga-ša-[an an-na áš-ni-gi-ge ¹] | 24. The queen of heaven [who alone is strong.] |
| 25. mu-ud-[na-ni ^d .Ama-ušum-gal-an-na] | 25. Her husband [Tammuz.] |
| 26. ama ù-[mu-un-na gašan sun-]na | 26. The mother of the lord, ² Ninsun. |
| 27. ù-[mu-un banda ù-mu-un áš-]nun-na | 27. Lugalbanda lord of Ešnunak. |
| 28. é-rib an-na mu-tin-an-na | 28. The heavenly sister-in-law, Geštinanna. ³ |

(Here supply twenty-eight lines = SBP 154, 24-156, 51.)

REVERSE V(?)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. ^d .En-á-nun ama gù-an-ni-si | 1. Enanun mother of loud weeping. ⁴ |
| 2. ^d .NINDA+GUD ⁵ amar zag-gi-ra ⁶ | 2. Ninda-Gud, the radiant son. |
| 3. ^d .Sú-nir-da ⁷ en šul-mé-ra | 3. Šunirda, queen, heroine of battle. |
| 4. dumu-šág-ga ga-ša-an kár ⁸ -nun-na-ra | 4. The pious daughter, Ninkar-nunna. ⁹ |
| 5. ga-ša-an dig-ga dingir-lum-ma ¹⁰ ur-sag | 5. Queen(?) of the dead, Lumma the heroic. |
| 6. ù-mu-un uru ¹¹ -gal ù-mu-un é ¹² -gid-da | 6. Lord of the grave, lord of the seizing hand. |

¹ Or *gi-ur-sag*. The Semitic is *ša ediš-ši-ša karradat*. On Innini queen of heaven, see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 88.

² I. e., Gilgamesh.

³ See *Tammuz 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* > *zag-gi-ra*, see *Sumerian Grammar*, § 47.

⁷ Aja goddess of light and battle, *Babylonian Liturgies* 143.

⁸ ZIMMERN, *AZAG* an error?

⁹ Cf. K. 7145, 7 in CT. 29, 47.

¹⁰ ^d.Lum-ma or ^d.Humma, CT. 24, 6, 18 one of two *utukku* of Ekur. Duplicate 24, 22, 117. Often in names of the early period, SCHEIL, *Textes Elamites-Semitiqes*, p. 4 and in name of ancient patesi of Umma, *Ur-lum-ma*, see THUREAU-DANGIN, SAK. 273. SCHEIL, l. c. 4, says that *Lum*, *Hum* 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 *á* = *idu*.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 7. ^d <i>Ir¹-ra-gal kú-a-nu-si-ra²</i> | 7. Great Girra, hero unopposable. |
| 8. <i>lamma-šág-ga sil-gig edin-na</i> | 8. The good genius of the dark ways of the plain. ³ |
| 9. ^d <i>Nin-ság-ge</i> ^d <i>Guškin-banda-ra</i> | 9. Ninsig Guškinbanda, |
| 10. <i>ù-mu-un nig-nam-ma-ge HU⁴</i>
<i>kur-kur⁵</i> | 10. Lord of whatsoever is, the sculptured form. |
| 11. <i>sal-si⁶-a</i> ^d <i>Ba-ú⁷-šág-ga</i> | 11. The earth woman, beneficent Bau. |
| 12. <i>ù-mu-un né me en⁸ ga-ša-an</i>
<i>abzu</i> | 12. Lord of might, lord of decrees, priest of the deep. ⁹ |
| 13. ^d <i>Ašnan</i> ^d <i>Azag-sug¹⁰ mun-galu¹¹-</i>
<i>sal-sal</i> | 13. Ašnan the divine cleanser, the loud crying. |
| 14. [<i>ù-mu-un</i>] <i>sa-a¹² ki-sá¹³ dumu</i>
<i>nun-ra</i> | 14. Lord of light, director of the earth, and the daughter of the prince. ¹⁴ |
| 15. [<i>gidim uru-</i>] <i>ma ur sag-imin</i> | 15. The demon of my city the dog of seven heads. |
| 16. [^d <i>Gi-bil mu- ? ?</i>]- <i>na¹⁵ mu-ten ur-</i>
<i>sag</i> | 16. Gibil warlike man. |
| 17. [^d <i>Ut-ta-ed-dē mu-lu</i>] <i>ki-azag-ga</i> | 17. Uttaedde lord of the holy place. |
| 18. [<i>umun ma-da sub-be an-na</i>] | 18. [Lord of the land, light of heaven.] ¹⁶ |

¹ Sign NITAḪ. See Var. *ir-ra*, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, p. 174, 7.

² For *gud-á-nu-gi-a*, ox that turns not back his might. See l. c. 173 n. 3. For *g>s* see *Sum. Gr.* § 40 b.

³ Spirit of the lower world, CT. 24, 8, 13.

⁴ Vars. *šun*, or *šen* SBP. 158, 61; CT. 24, 23, 24. Hence *HU* (*mušen*) has also the value *šen* or *šun*. See on lines 9 f. *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* 174 n. 5.

⁵ For *kul*.

⁶ Gunu of *HU*. Var. *NU-NUNUZ-ki-a*, see SBP. 158, 62 = CT. 24, 10, 2.

⁷ Var. *A-mà-mà*. *Ma-ma*, *Ma-mi*, *Mà-mà*, *A-mà* = Bau, Nintud.

⁸ For *en-me* = *bēl parši*. Var. *umun me*. Here certainly a male deity as ^d*Nin-né* = *Almu*, form of Nergal in V Raw. 21, 25. For *Nin-né* in the early period see ALLOTTE DE LA FUYE, DP. 128 II 3. But *Nin-né* = *Nin-né-mal* = *Alamu*, form of Allat sister Ninlil, CT. 24, 10, 3, cf. V R. 21, 26.

⁹ Variant SBP. 158, 63 = SBH. 86, 63 reads *šanga-maḡ abzu-ge*. For the writing of *šanga*, see *Babylonian Liturgies*, p. XXII n. 2.

¹⁰ On variants *Duru-sug*, *Dúr-ru-si-ga*, see *Sum. Lit. Texts* 174, 9.

¹¹ Sic! Perhaps error for *ša-mun*. See also CT. 24, 9, 40 ^d*Ha-mun-sal*(?)*-sal*?. SBP. 158, 64.

¹² Title of Shamash, CT. 25, 25, 11.

¹³ Title of Shamash here. Variant ^d*Su-ud-ām* = *Aja*, CT. 25, 9, 25.

¹⁴ I. e. *Aja*.

¹⁵ So! Var. *mu-galam*, "of skilful name."

¹⁶ See Var. *Sum. Lit. Texts* 175, 10.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 19. [umun á- <i>zu</i> umun e ¹ -gid-da] | 19. [Lord Nergal, him of the seizing hand.] |
| 20. [ga-ša-an-né-da umun mu- <i>zi</i> -da] | 20. [Allat and Ningišzida] ² |
| 21. [] dū-a | 21. [] |
| 22. []-ga | 22. [] ³ |
| 23. [^d Ir-ri-eš ur-sag ga-ša]-an-subur | 23. [Irriš, the heroic] lord of the soil. |
| 24. [dingir ama é-uru-sag-gà gašan tin-dib-ba] | 24. [The divine mother of the temple of the chief city ⁴ queen who gives life to the dead.] |
| 25. [sag-gà an-na gašan] Í-si-in-na | 25. The lofty browed queen of Isin. |
| 26. [^d Pa-bil-sag ù-mu-]un La-ra-ag-ga | 26. Pabil-sag ⁵ lord of Larak. |
| 27. [^d Gu-nu-ra dim-gal] kalam-ma | 27. Gunura bar of the Land. |
| 28. [^d Da-mu šág-ga ù-]mu-un gir-su-a | 28. The pious Damu lord of the flood. ⁶ |
| 29. [^d Immer ù-mu-un] ní-dū-an-na | 29. Immer lord of terror. ⁷ |
| 30. [] id-da-ra | 30. the river. ⁸ |
| 31. [ù-mu-un ši ka-nag-]gà ši kur-kur-ra | 31. Lord of the souls of Sumer, of the souls of the lands. |
| 32. [^d Sú-ud-da-am du-mu nun-na ama é-]šab-ba | 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 Virolleaud was retained as the final melody of this later redaction.

¹ So Var. I. c. I. 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-né-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. *é-e sub-da sub-da [mu-un-lağ-en-ne-en]*
To the temple with prayer, with prayer let us go.¹
2. *balag² é-e dirig sub-da [mu-un-lağ-en-ne-en]*
To the lyre unto the temple which surpasses all let us go.
3. *balag nigin-na-e sub-da^d Mu-[ul-lil-ra mu-un]*
To the lyre unto the merciful one with prayer, [unto Enlil,]
4. *balag d̄im-me-ir mu-lu sub-da^d Mu-ul-[lil-ra mu-un]*
To the lyre unto god, the lord, with prayer, unto Enlil [let us go].
5. *d̄im-me-ir lu-gāl-lu-ne-en sub-da mu-un-lağ-en-[ne-en]*
Unto him who is god of his people with prayer let us go.
6. *me-en-ne é-e tùb a-ra-ru-a mu-un-lağ-en-ne-[en]*
We "Oh temple repose" in prayer come
7. *me-en-ne ki-e tùb a-ra-ru-a mu-un-lağ-(en)-ne-en^d Mu-[ul-lil-ra]*
We "Oh earth repose" in prayer come, unto Enlil (come).
8. *ù-mu-un šā-ab tùb-e-da in-gà³-lağ-(en)-ne-en^d Mu-[ul-lil-ra]*
To pacify the heart of the lord behold we come unto Enlil.
9. *šā-ab gun-gà bar gun-gà-da in-gà-lağ-ne-en^d Mu-[ul-lil-ra]*
To pacify the heart, to pacify the soul, behold we come to Enlil.
10. *me-en-ne šā-ab ù-mu-un-na mu-un-tùb-(en)-ne-en^d Mu-[ul-lil]*
We will pacify the heart of the lord, yea of Enlil.
11. *šā-ab an-na šā-ab^d Mu-ul-lil-lá mu-un-tùb-(en)-ne-en*
The heart of Anu and the heart of Enlil we will pacify.
12. *^d Mu-ul-lil-lá dam-a-ni^d Nin-lil-lá*
[The heart of] Enlil and his wife Ninlil [we will pacify.]
13. *^d En-ki^d Nin-ki^d En-mul^d Nin-mul⁴*
The heart of Enki, Ninki, Enmul and Ninmul [we will pacify.]
14. *i-lu a-di ig-ga-am-ma-ru*
A god until they are finished.⁵

¹ Cf. SBP. 74, 19 and 68, 5.

² For this sign = REC. 46, see now K.L., 25 III 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. 15, 167; Chicago Syllabary 208 f., and PBS. 12 No. 11 Obv. Col. II 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-gú 10-kam-ma¹

The tenth strophe.

(The Recessional)

15. *ù-mu-un-mu za-e babbar² uru-mà ur-sag-gà me-en*
My lord thou art, light of my city, a hero thou art.
16. *šùb-bi-mu ù-mu-un kalag-a ur-sag-gà me-en*
My illumination, oh valiant lord, a hero thou art.
17. *ù-mu-un kalag-a ur-sag-gà me-en kalag-ga-na me-en*
Oh valiant lord, a hero thou art, its³ defender thou art.
18. *^dBabbar-gim za-e ? en-na an-ni tur-tur-ne-[en]*
Like Shamash thou art into heaven enters.
19. *^dNannar-gim ki dumu-žu an-na(?)⁴ na-an-gir-ri-[ne-en]*
Like Nannar where thy son⁵ in heaven hastens.
20. *ù-mu-un-mu enem-žu galu-ra⁶ na-an-na-ab-ži-[em]*
My lord thy word on man has fallen.
21. *enem-žu galu ki⁷-kal-ra na-an-na-ab-ži-[em]*
Thy word on him of the foreign land has fallen.
22. *enem-žu galu en-na nu-šeg-ra na-an-na-ab-ži-[em]*
Thy word on men as many as are not obedient has fallen.
23. *ù-mu-un-mu uru-žu-a è-ni a-sar-sar-ra⁸*
My lord *beneficent* waters in thy city cause to spring forth.
24. *a-a ^dMu-ul-lil ki-bur-ta-bur-ta uru-žu-a è-ni*
Father Enlil in thy city cause to come forth.

ki-šub-gù 11-kam-ma

The eleventh strophe.

25. *sub-bi še-ib è-kur-ra-ta 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-til e-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.

EARLY FORM OF THE SERIES ^d.*Babbar-gim-è-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 *ki-šub* 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 *e-lum gud-sun* series, Tablet Virolleaud, is related to its completed canonical form in ZIMMERN, KL. 11. 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 ^d*Babbar-gim-è-ta* after line four agrees with the first melody of the Enlil series *zi-bu-ù sud-du-ám* 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.

<p>1. ^a.<i>Babbar-gim è-ta []</i></p> <p>2. <i>ù-mu-un gan</i></p> <p>3. <i>a-a ^a.Mu-ul-lil ù-[mu-un kur- kur-ra</i></p> <p>4. ^a.<i>Mu-ul-lil ù-mu-[un dúg-ga-zi- da]</i></p> <p>5. <i>am-ná-a gud-dé sīg-gan-nu-di</i></p> <p>6. ^a.<i>Mu-ul-lil dam-kar-[ra ki-dagar- ra]</i></p>	<p>1. Like the sun-god arise.</p> <p>2. Oh lord.</p> <p>3. Father Enlil, lord of the lands.</p> <p>4. Enlil lord of faithful word.</p> <p>5. Crouching wild ox, bull that rests not.¹</p> <p>6. Enlil herdsman of the wide earth.</p>
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¹ For the interpretation, see RA. 12, 27 n. 5.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 7. <i>ù-mu-un mu erin-na-[ni sag-ma-
al ki]</i> | 7. Lord who <i>summons</i> his toilers,
recorder of the earth. |
| 8. <i>ù-mu-un iá erin-a-[ni ga-eri-ám
da-}ma-[la]</i> | 8. Lord who causes to abound oil
for his toilers, milk for the
newly born. ¹ |
| 9. <i>ù-mu-un ki-dúr-a-ni [uru ir-ir]</i> | 9. Lord whose abode is the city
of weeping. |
| 10. <i>ki-ná-a-ni á-ág-[gà-e gal-}u]</i> | 10. In whose chamber oracles are
interpreted. |
| 11. <i>a-a ^dMu-ul-lil uru-[ta Nibru-ki]</i> | 11. Father Enlil in (thy) city Nip-
pur. |
| 12. <i>é-kur é-šag-gi-}pad-da-ta</i> | 12. In Ekur temple of (thy) heart's
choice. |
| 13. <i>gi-gun-na giš-tir-šim [^{siš}erin-na-
ta</i> | 13. In the great dark chamber of
odorous forest and cedar. |
| 14. [<i>]Šeš-dū-a-ka šeš-mul [.
ta]</i> | 14. In ; |
| 15. [<i>]si-ra é-ū-[di- ta]</i> | 15. In the house of vision, |
| 16. [<i>]lu é babbar nu-[}u-ta]</i> | 16. In house which knows the
sunlight not, |
| 17. [<i>]é-gi-dim-dim-ma i-dé [nu-bar-
ri-ta]</i> | 17. In the house of the "reed of
sorrow," which eye beholds
not, |
| 18. [<i>]mağ dug-li dug-[dug-ta]</i> | 18. In the great causing pros-
perity to abound, |
| 19. [<i>]é(?)]-ku-a ^{siš}ik-[ku-igi-lal-a-ta]</i> | 19. In <i>Ekua</i> gate of the lifting of
the eyes, |
| 20. [<i>]silim-ma mu-mar-
[mar-ra-ta]</i> | 20. |
| | |

REVERSE II

- | | |
|--|---|
|
<i>sub-bi še-ib é-[kur-ra-ta?] ki-na-
an-gi-gi-ra²</i> | 21. Prayer for the brick walls of
<i>Ekur</i> that it be restored to
its place. |
|
<i>ki-šù-bi-im</i> | 22. 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.¹ 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,² 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-ia* or Opis, VS. VI. 213, 21.³ 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 (*ωπις*) 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-ši*, 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.¹ 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,² 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.³ The queen of the temple Uršabba is called the mother of Negun, also a title of Ninurta in Elam.⁴ 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 Ninharsag, and Igidu or Negun.⁵

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, ^a*Igi-du* = ^a*Nin-urta*. According to CT. 25, 12, 17 it is one of the titles of Ninurta in Elam. But in CT. 24, 36, 52 ^a*Igi-du* is a form of Nergal, and in the omen text, BOISSIER, DA. 238, 10 he is explained as ^a*Meslamtaëa*, 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).¹ The various mother goddesses of Eridu, Kullab, Kēši, 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 *é-an-za-har* is assigned to Opis in POEBEL, PBS. V 157, 8 and ZIMMERN, KL. 199 Rev. I 37 (here without *é*). 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 catch-line 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. [é <i>ke</i>]š-(<i>ki</i>)- <i>dug-ga</i> <i>dū-a</i> | 23. [Temple] in holy Keš builded. |
| 24. [é(?)] ÉN-ĤAR-(<i>ki</i>)- <i>dug-gu</i> <i>dū-a</i> | 24. [Temple(?)] in holy EN-ĤAR builded. |
| 25. [é] <i>nun-gim an-na dirig-ga</i> | 25. [Temple] like <i>nun</i> , like heaven exceeding all. ¹ |
| 26. [é] <i>aṣag-gim ? -si ri-a</i> | 26. [Temple] like the pure clothed in |
| 27. [é] <i>an-na-gim mūš kur-kur-ra</i> | 27. [Temple] like heaven the illumination of the lands. |
| 28. [é] <i>tūr-gim ki-a-ta sur-sur-ra</i> | 28. [Temple] like <i>tur</i> in the earth founded. |
| 29. [é]- <i>gim mur-du ninda²-gim</i>
<i>gū-nun-dī³</i> | 29. [Temple] like roaring, like a young bull bellowing. |
| 30. [é] <i>bi-ta lipiš kalam-ma</i> | 30. [Temple] in whose the hearts of the creatures of the Land ⁴ |
| 31. [é] <i>bi-ta ṣid Ki-en-gi-ra</i> | 31. [Temple] in whose the soul of life of Sumer |
| 32. [é] <i>ib-gal an-e-ri⁵ uš-sa</i> | 32. [Temple], great IB, attaining unto heaven. |
| 33. [é]- <i>da-gal an-e⁶ uš-sa</i> | 33. [Temple], great da, attaining unto heaven. |
| 34. [é] <i>gal an-e uš-sa</i> | 34. [Temple], great , attaining unto heaven. |
| 35. [é] <i>-na [an-e] uš-sa</i> | 35. [Temple], attaining unto heaven. |

COL. II

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>an-ki</i> | 1. heaven and earth |
| 2. <i>abṣu</i> | 2. of the nether-sea |
| 3. <i>é an-ni(?) šu-</i> [.] | 3. Temple which Anu |

¹ Cf. BA. V 707, 7.² Probably for *gud-NINDA* = *bīru*, *mīru*.³ Var. *na*.⁴ Some verb seems to be missing here. The construction is obscure⁵ So the prism.⁶ Var. *ni*.

4. ^d*En-lil-li zag-šú* 4. Enlil above all
 5. *ama* ^d*Nin-tud eš-[bar-kin*] 5. The mother, Nintud oracles
 6. *é Keš-ki* *na* 6. Temple in Keš
 7. *ÉN-HAR-(ki)*¹-*gim rib-ba*² *galu*
 ši-in-[ga-an-túm-mu] 7. Like *EN-HAR* it has been made
 surpassing; verily man has
 brought solicitude for it.³
 8. *ur-sag-bi* ^d*Aš-šir-gi-gim rib-ba* 8. Its hero like Ašširgi has been
 9. *ama ši-in-ga-an*⁴-*ù-tud* 9. made surpassing; the mother⁵
 verily has borne him.
 10. *nin-bi* ^d*Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra* 10. Its lady like Nintud has been
 *a-ba*⁶ *er-mu-ni-in-duḡ* made surpassing. And then
 wailing began.

11. <i>gú</i> 2 <i>kam-[ma-ám]</i>	11. It is the second song.
12. <i>é an-šú ḡud-da ki-šú</i> ⁷	12. Temple, in heaven resplendent, in earth
13. <i>é an-šú</i> <i>ki-šú</i>	13. Temple, in heaven, in earth
14. <i>é an-šú siḫḫa</i> ⁸ <i>ki-šú udu-[gim</i>]	14. Temple, in heaven (<i>like</i>) a wild goat, on earth like a sheep
15. <i>é an-šú</i> <i>ki-šú dár-[bar-gim</i>]	15. Temple, in heaven (<i>like</i>), in earth like a roe
16. <i>é an-šú</i> <i>gim</i> <i>ki-šú dár-</i> <i>bar-gim</i>	16. Temple, in heaven like, in earth like a roe
17. <i>é an-šú muš-gim sḡg-ga ki-šu</i> <i>babbar-gim za-e laḡ-[laḡ?]</i>	17. Temple, in heaven like a dragon gleaming, on earth like the sunlight thou shinest.

¹ Variant Constple. omits *ki*.

² Cf. *ki-gim rib-ba* = *kima iršitim šátukāt*, DELITZSCH, AL³ 134, 5. *KAL (ri-ib)* = *šátukū*, Chicago Syllabar 287; *rib* = *šutukū*, CT. 19, 11, 12; *nam-kalag-ga-ni rib-ba* = *dannussu šátukāt*, IV Raw. 24a 48; *ana-gim ki-gim rib-ba-ḡu-ne* = *ša kima šamē u iršitim šátugala*, SBP. 250, 6. See also EBELING, KTA. 32, 5, *rib-ba* = *šu-tu-ḫu*.

³ The meaning is obscure. For the suggested rendering cf. *en me-a túm-ma*, the lord who cares for the decrees, SAK. 204, 6.

⁴ For this emphatic verbal prefix cf. DELITZSCH, AL³ 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 Ngun, 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(ḡ)* probably variant of *er-du* = *damāmu*.

⁷ Ni. 14031 in PBS. X No. 22 has as the verb the sign *duḡ* written five times, as also the prism.

⁸ Restored from the variant Cstple. Rev. I 10.

- 8384.

- ¹ So? *kur* = *napāhu*, better than my former rendering of this passage.

³ *idim* = ʕgû, *nadâru* (cf. THOMPSON, *Reports* 82, 6 with 108, 5), refers to the rumbling of the great gates of the temple.

³ Br. 2729? Cf. R (si-gi) = *kakkabu*, CT. 18, 49, 4.

⁴ Same phrase in CLAY, *Miscel.* 31, 33.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 7. <i>é-kur ée-gál ka-za! ud-za!-za!-li</i> | 7. Mountain house, radiant with abundance and festivity. |
| 8. <i>é^d Nin-ġar-sag-ġa ġi-kalam-ma ki-bi-šú ġar</i> | 8. Temple in whose place Ninhar-sag has instituted the breath of life of Sumer. |
| 9. <i>é-ġar-sag-ġal šu-luġ-ġa túm-ma nig-nam-ma-ni ni¹-kúr</i> | 9. Great mountain house, made worthy of the rituals of purification, of its possessions nought changes. |
| 10. <i>é da-nu ka-áš-bar nu-ġa-ġa</i> | 10. Temple ceases not to render decision. |
| 11. <i>é kalam-dagal-šú lá-a</i> | 11. Temple unto the wide Land bearing. |
| 12. <i>[é] kalam šár ù-tud numun ġiš-isimu tuk-tuk</i> | 12. [Temple] causing the multitudes of the Land to produce offspring, causing the seed to send forth sprouts. |
| 13. <i>[é] lugal ù-tud nam kalam-ma tar-ri</i> | 13. Temple that gives birth to king, decreeing the fate of the Land. |
| 14. <i>[é] bár-bár kar su-kin-dúr-bi ag-dé</i> | 14. |
| 15. <i>ÉN-HAR-(ki)-ġim rib-ba ġalu ši-in-ġa-an-túm-mu</i> | 15. Like ÉN-HAR it has been made surpassing; verily man has wrought solicitude for it. |
| 16. <i>ur-sag-bi^d Áš-šir-ġi-ġim rib-ba ama ši-in-ġa-ám-ù-tud</i> | 16. Its hero like Ašširgi has been made surpassing; the mother verily has borne him. |
| 17. <i>nin-bi^d Nin-tud-ġim rib-ba-ra a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duġ</i> | 17. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then wailing began. |
| <hr/> | |
| 18. <i>[ġú 4]-kam-ma-ám</i> | 18. It is the fourth section. |

¹ *ni=nu*; cf. SBP. 138, 22, *ni-kuš-ù*; POEBEL, PBS. V 26, 10.

ASHMOLEAN PRISM, COL. II

- | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 26. [uru] ¹ -in-ga-ám | uru-in-ga-ám | 26. It is a city, it is a city! Its |
| | šag-bi a-ba a-mu-un-žu ² | secrets who shall understand? |
| 27. é Keš-ki uru-in-ga-ám | šag-bi a- | 27. The temple of Keš is a city! |
| | ba a-mu-un-žu | Its secrets who shall under- |
| | | stand? |
| 28. šag-bi-a ur-sag ur-sag-e-ne si- | mu-un-si-di-e-ne | 28. Within it the heroic ones admin- |
| 29. eš-bar-kin-dùg-ga šu-gal mu-un- | dú-dú ³ | istrate. |
| 30. é-e gud-udu ⁴ -dam gud-ám-ma- | gur-ri(?) -en | 29. The oracles proclaimed grandly |
| | | it executes. |
| 31. ?-e tum-ma-ám luḡ-luḡ- | | 30. |
| 32. é-e gud-šár-ra-ám ⁵ al-dúg-[ga?] | | 31. |
| 33. è-e udu-šár-ra-ám al-dúg-[ga?] | | 32. |
| 34. giš-KU-LIL(?) -ne ⁶ gú-LIL-ma- | | 33. |
| | ám gál-li | 34. |
| 35. giš-KU-da ⁷ gùr | | 35. |

COL. III

- | | |
|---|---|
| 2. ^{ei} A-TU-GAB-LIŠ-dam an-da-
PI-PI-SAL(?) | 2. |
| 3. ġar-sag-da mǎ-a ⁸ an-da-sġg-sġg-
[ga-ám?] | 3. |
| 4. EN-HAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu
ši-in-ga-túm-mu | 4. Like EN-HAR it has been made
surpassing; verily man has
wrought solicitude for it. |
| 5. ur-sag-bi ^a Aš-šir-gi-gim rib-ba
ama ši-in-ga-an-ù-tud | 5. Its hero like Ašširgi has been
made surpassing; the mother
verily has borne him. |

¹ So on Var. Cstple. II 6.

² First example of the verb *zu* strengthened by augment *a*; cf. *a-ru*, *a-sil* in *Babyloniaca* II 96.

³ Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A 10, 18.

⁴ Semitic *šnu*? Cf. EBELING, KTA. No. 4 Rev. 13.

^b Var. Cstple. *an.*

* Read *ge-ne?* Ni. 8384 *ge(?)*-*e-ne*.

⁷ Ni. 8384 *dam.*

⁸ So on 8384.

6. <i>nin-bi</i> ^d <i>Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba er mu-ni-in-duḡ</i>	6. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then wailing began.
7. [<i>gú</i> ¹ 4- <i>kam-ma-ám</i>	7. Section four ² it is.
8.	8.
9. <i>é</i> []	9.
10. <i>é</i> []- <i>la né</i> [] <i>tu</i> ³ [] <i>ur</i> []	10.
11. <i>šag-bi-a ur-sag ur-sag-e-ne si-mu-un-si-di-e-ne</i>	11. Within it the heroic ones administer.
12. ^d <i>Nin-gar-sag-gà ušumgal-ám šag-ki im</i> -[]	12. Ninḡarsag placed it in the bosom of the earth like a python.
13. ^d <i>Nin-tud ama-gal-la tud-tud mu-un</i> -[]	13. Nintud the great mother.....
14. ^d <i>Šul-pa-è-a pa-te-si-ge nam-en-na mu</i> []	14. Šulpae the priest king lordship.....
15. ^d <i>Áš-šir-gi</i> ⁴ <i>ur-sag-gà AB</i> ⁵ - <i>mu</i> -[.....]	15. Ašširgi, the champion,.....
16. ^d <i>Urumaš ligir-gal-ám</i> ⁶ <i>edin-na-an</i> ⁷ <i>mu-da-an</i> -[.....]	16. Urumaš great prince in the (heavenly) plain has.....
17. <i>é-e siḡḡa lu-lim</i> ⁸ <i>gú-ám-ma-gur-ri</i> ⁹	17. The temple assembles the rams and bucks.
18. <i>ÉN-HAR</i> -(<i>ki</i>)- <i>gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-an-túm-mu</i>	18. Like EN-HAR it has been made surpassing; verily man has wrought solicitude for it.
19. <i>ur-sag-bi</i> ^d <i>Áš-šir-gi</i> ¹⁰ - <i>gim rib-ba</i>	19. Its hero like Ašširgi has been made surpassing; the mother
20. <i>ama ši-in-ga-a-an-ù-tud</i>	20. verily has borne him.

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 ll 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* = *puḡḡuru*. See BL. 10, 30.¹⁰ Vars. omit *gim*.

21. <i>nin-bi</i> ^d <i>Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra</i> ¹ <i>a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duĝ</i>	21. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then wailing began.
22. <i>é</i> 5- <i>kam-ma-ám</i>	22. It is the fifth ² section.
23. <i>é ud-gim ki-gal-la gub-ba</i>	23. The temple like the sun on the vast foundation stands.
24. <i>am-laĝ-laĝ-gim edin-na sūg-sūg-</i> <i>[gi]</i>	24. Like a white bull on the land- scape it reposes.
25. [] <i>e gar-ra é</i> []	25.
26. [] <i>-bi-ta</i> []	26.
27. [] <i>-ta</i> []	27.
28-30.	(28-30 illegible or lost on all the variants. ³)
31. [] <i>ra</i> []	31.
32. [] <i>gar nu</i> []	32.
33. [] <i>an-šár ki-šar</i>	33.
34. [] <i>bi la-ĝa-ma ki-uš-sa</i>	34.
35. [] <i>na-ra-ab Uri-(ki)-ka</i> <i>keš-du</i>	35.
36. <i>ÉN-HAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba⁴ galu</i> <i>ši-in-ga-an-lúm-mu</i>	36. Like ÉN-HAR it has been made surpassing; verily man has brought solicitude for it.

COL. IV

1. <i>ur-sag-bi</i> ^d <i>Aš-šir-ĝi-gim rib-ba-</i> <i>ra</i>	1. Its hero like Ašširgi has been made surpassing; the mother
2. <i>ama-a⁵ ši-in-ga-an-ù-tud</i>	2. verily has borne him.
3. <i>nin-bi</i> ^d <i>Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra a-</i> <i>ba er-mu-ni-in-duĝ</i>	3. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then wailing began.
4. <i>é⁶ 6-kam-ma ám</i>	4. It is the sixth section.

¹ Ni. 8384 omits *ra*.² Sixth on Ni. 8384.³ Lines 29-IV 4 are partially restored from Ni. 14031.⁴ First signs on RADAU, *Miscel.* No. 8 = Ni. 11876.⁵ So Ni. 11876.⁶ So apparently Ni. 11876.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 5. <i>é-aṣag LU-bi é¹</i> | 5. The sacred temple whose (?) is
..... |
| 6. <i>é-Keš-(ki)-aṣag LU-bi é¹</i> | 6. The sacred temple of Keš whose
? is..... |
| 7. <i>é-a en-bi^d A-nun-na-me-eš</i> | 7. In the temple whose high priests
are the Anunnaki, |
| 8. <i>nu-éš-bi dim-é-an-na-me-eš²</i> | 8. Whose sacrificial priests are the
<i>dim</i> of Eanna, |
| 9. <i>kisal-e lugal-bur-ra-ám mu-un-
gub</i> | 9. The aisletreads. |
| 10. <i>en-dug šag túg-lal nam-mi-in-lal</i> | 10. (The temple) unto which a be-
neficent lord has shown
solicitude..... |
| 11. <i>a-tu-e umun^d En-ki NE-GAB
in-[]</i> | 11. The libator(?), lord Enki |
| 12. <i>tu-e a-ūr(?)³-a⁴ mu- e- gub</i> | 12. The baptizertreads thee. |
| 13. <i>lál a-šag-ga ki-aṣag-ga-ám mi-
.....⁵</i> | 13. |
| 14. <i>en isimu-e⁶ abkal ubar-e-ne tù ki-
ám-ma-gál-li-eš
[] šeš-a-ni SU-mu-un-
sīg-gi-ne⁷</i> | 14. The lord Isimu, the councilor
..... |
| 15. <i>[] RU URU RU mu-ni-
ib-bi-ne</i> | 15. |
| 16. <i>[]-ma-ge gig-ga⁸ mi-ni-
ib-za
[] á-lal-e gù-gu mi-ni-ib-
bi</i> | 16.in sorrow abounds.
.....the bound cry like birds
(?) ⁷ |
| 17. <i>[]?-ra-ge sūg-sūg mi-ni-
ib-za
[] dug-gi si-ga-ba-ni-ib
di</i> | 17.in desolation abounds.
.....may direct aright. ⁷ |

¹ Text certain. Not *NUN*.² Var. Cstple. *en*.³ Radau's copy has *KIN*.⁴ Var. *a-an*.⁵ Ni. 11876 has *lál-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-sīg* = *usmá*. 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. [	] <i>ka-ṣal-bi al-dug</i>	18. Of its joy was sweet.
19. [	]-<i>dug ka-ṣal-bi al-dug</i>	19. Of its joy was sweet.
20. [	]-<i>ṣal-bi a-mu-un-KU</i>	20.
21. [	]-<i>ḡar-sag-gà nin-bi</i> [ʔ-] <i>bi ám-mu-un-KU</i> (ʔ)	21.
22.	<i>ÉN-HAR</i> -(<i>ki</i>)- <i>gim rib-ba galu</i> <i>ši-in-ga-an-túm-mu</i>	22. Like EN-HAR it has been made surpassing; verily man has brought solicitude for it.
23.	<i>ur-sag-bi</i> ^d . <i>Áš-šir-gi-gim rib-ba</i> <i>ama ši-in-ga-an-ù-tud</i>	23. Its hero like Ašširgi has been made surpassing; verily the mother has borne him.
24.	<i>nin-bi</i> ^d . <i>Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra</i> <i>a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duḡ</i>	24. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then wailing began.
<hr/>		
25.	[<i>é</i> (ʔ)] ¹ <i>7-kam-ma-ám</i>	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 REISNER, SBH. No. 25.² 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, 203.³ The catch line of tablet two is lost on SBH. 25 and no part of tablet two has been identified. In 1914

¹ Or *gú*.

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 melodies 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 aṣag 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-nunuṣ-gim* begins its first melody¹ *nin-ri nin-ri gù-ám*, etc., otherwise both melodies differ completely. This is the first known 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 gù-ám-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-il āli i-šes-si ina lal-la-ra-ti

The princess, the princess, in misery shouts the wailing of the city.¹

1. <i>nin-ri nin-ri gú-ám-me úru in-ga-ám-me ù-li-li</i>	1.
2. <i>a gašan-mu nu-nunuṣ-šág-ga ù</i>	2. How long my queen, the pious woman, in misery? ²
3. <i>é-gí-a é-sag-il-la³ ù</i>	3. The bride of Esagila in misery?
4. <i>dumu-sag^d Uraša-a ù</i>	4. First born daughter of Urasha in misery?
5. <i>dumu-sag é-i-be-^d A-nu-um ù</i>	5. First born daughter of the temple Ibe-Anum in misery?
6. <i>gašan gù-ur-a-sīg ud-lal-a-ge ù</i>	6. The obedient queen, she the, in misery?
7. <i>gašan-mu^d Na-na-a ù</i>	7. My queen Nana in misery?
8. <i>é-ṣu é-ṣu-šú ù</i>	8. (How long) shall thy temple for thy temple in misery be?
9. <i>uru-ṣu uru-ṣu-šú ù</i>	9. Thy city for thy city in misery be?
10. <i>dam-ṣu dam-ṣu-šú ù</i>	10. Thy wives for thy wives in misery be?
11. <i>dumu-ṣu dumu-ṣu-šú ù</i>	11. Thy sons for thy sons in misery be?
12. <i>še-ib-šú še-ib-gí-gí ù</i>	12. (How long) for the brick walls shall the brick walls restored wail?
13. <i>saḡar-šú saḡar-gí-gí⁴ ù</i>	13. For the dust shall the restored dust wail?
14. <i>si-mā⁵ aṣag an-na še-ir-ma-al-la ní-te-na dirig-ga-ṣu-dé ṣa-e dirig-ga-ṣu-dé</i>	14. Bright horned light of heaven mighty of itself, in thy excellence, yea thou in thy excellence,
15. <i>na-an-na-ru el-lu ša ša-me-e e-ṭil ra-ma-ni-šu ina šu-tu-ru-ti-ka at-tam</i>	15.

¹ The first line, together with its Semitic translation, is identical with the first line of the third tablet of the series *mulen nu-nunuṣ-gim*, see SBP. 140. Otherwise the melodies differ.

² The refrain *ù-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. 122.

⁵ *si-mā*, literally *ḫarnānu*, the horned, referring to the new-moon. The variant SBP. 296, 1 has *mā-gūr*, the crescent boat. Undoubtedly *mā-gūr* should be rendered by *nannaru* in this passage.

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| <p>16. <i>a-a</i> ^d<i>Nannar si-mā aṣag an-na</i>
 ^{še}<i>ir-ma-al-a ni-te-na</i></p> <p>17. <i>a-a</i> ^d<i>Nannar umun-e an-šār</i></p> <p>18. <i>umun</i> ^d<i>Nannar umun</i> ^d<i>Aš-īm-</i>
 ^{ūr}<i>-ra</i>¹</p> <p>19. <i>umun gu-la galu nin-ḡul-ma-al-</i>
 <i>la uru-ṣu ni-te-en-na še-ir-ma-</i>
 <i>al-la ni-te-en-na</i></p> <p>20. <i>uru-ṣu Nippur-(ki) galu nin-ḡul-</i>
 <i>ma-al-la uru-ṣu</i></p> <p>21. <i>nigin kalam-ma-ṣu á-si ma-ni-</i>
 <i>ib-bi</i></p> <p>22. [<i>uru?</i>] <i>kalam-ma-da-ṣu gig-ga-an-</i>
 <i>na-ag-eš</i></p> <p>23. [] <i>ṣu-gà³ (galu) a-ba an-</i>
 <i>lāḡ⁴-eš</i></p> <p>24. [] <i>ṣu-gà pag-da⁵ ma-an-</i>
 <i>lā-lal-la-aḡ(?)⁶-eš</i></p> <p>25. <i>ṣu ba-ni-ib-gul</i></p> <p>26. <i>ṣu ba-ni-ib-siḡ-siḡ</i></p> <p>27. <i>HUL-AŠ-A</i> (gloss) <i>e-ga</i>
 <i>ib</i></p> <p>28. . . . <i>A-AN HUL . . . e-ga ib . . .</i></p> <p>29.</p> | <p>16. O father Nannar bright horned
 light of heaven, mighty of
 itself, (in thy excellence, yea
 thou in thy excellence),</p> <p>17. Father Nannar, lord of all the
 heavens,</p> <p>18. Lord Nannar, lord of the rising
 light,</p> <p>19. Great lord, who himself has
 wrought evil to thy city,²
 mighty of himself,</p> <p>20. As for thy city Nippur, he who
 has wrought evil to thy city,</p> <p>21. All thy Land</p> <p>22. <i>Thy city</i> and land are afflicted
 with woe.</p> <p>23. <i>In</i> thy . . . and thy . . . the
 scribes are driven away.</p> <p>24. <i>In</i> thy . . . and thy . . . the
 augurers are exiled.</p> <p>25. Thy is destroyed.</p> <p>26.</p> <p>27.</p> <p>28.</p> <p>29.</p> |
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REVERSE

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| <p>1. [<i>gū-ud nim</i>] <i>kur-ra</i> [<i>mu-lu ta-ṣu</i>
 <i>mu-un-ṣu</i>]</p> | <p>1. Exalted hero of the world, doth
 any one comprehend thy
 form?⁷</p> |
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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 *LAH*; transcription and interpretation uncertain.⁵ Hereby is established the reading *pa(g)-dā = mādu, kapdu*. Probably a kind of augurer.⁶ Probably tautological writing for *lallaḡ = itabbulu*, Voc. Hittite 7509.⁷ Cf. the first melody of the Ninurta series *gū-ud nim kur-ra*; see SBP. 226; BL. No. 9 and SBH. 40.

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| 2. [kar-ra-]du ša-ku-u ša ma-a-tim
kal-tuk [man-nu i-lam-mad] | 2. |
| 3. alim-ma umun ur-sag-gal | 3. Honored one, lord, great champion. |
| 4. ur-sag-gal umun si ^d .Mu-ul-lil-lá-ge | 4. Great champion, lord, light of Enlil. |
| 5. alim-ma abil é-kur-ra | 5. Honored one, son of Ekur. ¹ |
| 6. ur-sag-gal umun é-šu-me-DU ² | 6. Great champion, lord of Ešume-du. |
| 7. umun é-šag-maḡ-a umun-e é-i-be-šu-gúd | 7. Lord of Ešamaḡ, lord of E-ibe-šugud. ³ |
| 8. umun sukkal-maḡ-di ⁴ gal-ukkin ^d Nusku-ge | 8. Lord, great messenger, the herald Nusku. |
| 9. ^d .Maš-tab-ba ^d .Lugal-gir-ra | 9. The twin god, Lugalgirra. |
| 10. dūg-ga-ṣu mu-lu ta-ṣu mu-un-ṣu | 10. As to thy commands, who comprehends thy form? |
| 11. taḡ-a-ṣu mu-lu | 11. As to thy succor, who comprehends thy form? |
| 12. e-ne-em-ṣu mu-lu | 12. As to thy word, who comprehends thy form? |
| 13. edin-na di-di edin-na še-ám-du | 13. She wanders on the plain, on the plain she wails. |
| 14. ama gašan tin-dib-ba edin-na | 14. The mother, queen who gives life to the dead, on the plain wails. |
| 15. nin gašan nigín-gar-ra edin-na | 15. The queen, lady Ningingar, on the plain wails. |
| 16. nin gašan Lara-ak-(ki)-ge ⁵ edin-na | 16. The queen, lady of Larak, on the plain wails. |

¹ Similar passages have é-šár-ra (SBP. 226, 8; SBH. 40, 8) chapel of Ninlil in Ekur (SBP. 221 n. 7).

² Temple of Ninurta in Nippur. A syllabary recently published by SCHEIL (RA. 14, 174 l. 7) explains the name by *bił gi-mir par-ši ḡammu*, Temple which executes the totality of decrees. Note, however, the epithet *é i-dé-ila = bił niš iné*, House of the lifting of the eyes, SBP. 208, 11.

³ In any case an epithet of the temple of *Urta* in Dilbat, *Ibe-^u Anum*. For this reading *I-be* see vars. *I-bi*, *Im-bi*, BL. p. 134. The word *ibi* is probably Sumerian for *igi*, and shows that the phonetic rendering *i-de* is erroneous. The dialectic pronunciation of *igi* was *ibe* and despite the Semitic variant *imbi* the name is apparently Sumerian *Ibe-Anu*, Temple of the eye of Anu. Here *šu-gúd* is an epithet for Anu, i. e. the lofty.

⁴ See also SBH. 132, 46; BL. No. 56 Rev. 31; CRAIG, RT. 20, 30. This text has a variant *a* for *di*.

⁵ Probably part of the great city Isin, see SBP. 160 n. 7.

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| <p>17. <i>nin gašan I-si-in-na-(ki) edin-na</i></p> <p>18. <i>nin ama é-dúr¹-aṣag-ga edin-na</i></p> <p>19. <i>nin ama ŠU-ḪAL-BI² edin-na</i></p> <p>20. <i>^dBa-ú nu-numuṣ ṣág-ga edin-na</i></p> <p>21. <i>éš é-rab-ri-ri umun ^dSá-kut-
maḡ-a edin-a</i></p> | <p>17. The queen, lady of Isin, on the plain wails.</p> <p>18. The queen, mother of the holy city, on the plain wails.</p> <p>19. The queen, the mother, on the plain wails.</p> <p>20. Bau, the pious woman, on the plain wails.</p> <p>21. The abode, Erabriri, of the lord Sakutmah on the plain wails.</p> |
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| <p>22. <i>e-lum-e la-lu u-'u-a u-'u-a</i></p> <p>23. <i>96-ám mu-ṣid-bi-im duppu 3-kam
e-lum di-da-ra nu al-tíl</i></p> <p>24. <i>gab-ri Bár-sip-(ki) kima labiri-šu
ša-ṭir-ma barim duppu ^dBêl-
iḡ-ṣur māri-šu ša ^dBêl-iškun-
ni</i></p> <p>25. <i>mar Iddin-^dPapsukkal pa-liḡ
^dNabu ina ṣar-tum la uštešir
ù ina me-riš-tum la u-ša-bi³</i></p> | <p>22. Oh honored one, the exuberant, alas, alas.</p> <p>23. Ninety-six is the number of its lines. Third tablet of <i>Elum didara</i>, unfinished.</p> <p>24. Copy from Barsippa, according to its original, written and collated. Tablet of Bêlikṣur son of Belishkunni,</p> <p>25. son of Iddin-Papsukkal worshipper of Nebo. In fraud he has not translated it and with wilful readings has he not published it.</p> |
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¹ Probably variant of *é-dúr* = *adurû*, *kapru*, 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-aṣag-ga* in SAK. 274; BL. 147. Here the title refers to Isin not Lagash.

² Cf. CRAIG, RT. II 16, 18 *^dAma-ŠU-ḪAL-BI-ta*.

³ Cf. CT. 12, 3a 29; *ina ṣar-tu la uštešir-šu u ina me-riš-tum la i-kal-li*, "By fraud he has not translated it and with wilful readings has he not published it." For *šutešuru*, "to translate or edit a tablet," see LEHMANN, *Šamasb-sbum-uktn*, Taf. XXXIV 17 *akkadû ana šutešuri*, "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 *uṣābi* = *uṣāpi*.

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 Barsippa.

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.¹ But Ašrat of Esagila is full of light and mighty.² Some mystic connection between Ašrat or Geštinanna, mistress of letters and astrology,³ 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.⁴ For some reason Ašrat, here called the queen,⁵ 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-dū* = *muškēnitu*.

² *šarabūtu*.

³ See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 151. Ašrat or the western Ashtoreth usually had the title *bēlit šēri*, "Lady of the plains" and was identified with the Babylonian Geštinanna and Nidaba. Hence [*Bēlit*]-*šēri* is *dupšarrat iršitim*, 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 *dat 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 *zisurrâ 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 overwhelms 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 Dolichaïos 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 ZIMMERN in his *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrfest*, p. 129.

² *MAŠ*. See below Col. II 15, gypsum is Ninurta, the god of war, primarily a god of light. Gypsum, Sum. *im-bar*, "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, ZIMMERN, 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. 21* C III 26. The two are placed at the right and left of a door to forbid the devils to enter. Maḫlu 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.¹ 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, 4.² 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 *Azag-sug*. She is frequently associated with Ninḡabursildu 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.

¹ See the Chicago Syllabar 230 where she is identified with Nidaba.

² Cf. ZA. 16, 178, 27; BA. V 649, 3; *Sburpu* 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 Dolichaïos 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 Erech. 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 I 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—bronze (Mercury); Selene—crystal (Moon).

Our tablet preserves only the names of the deities at this

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 reposes upon a more subtle idea. [For the explanation of silver=Anu and gold=Enlil, see p. 342.]

² The Sabæans, 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 Sabæans, see BOUSSET in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 1901, article on "Die Himmelfahrt 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 Beteigeuze, 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. Muḫru, 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. ^{duk} <i>a-gub-ba</i> [] ¹ | 1. The vessel of holy water
[of the gods] |
| 2. ^d <i>Nin-ḥabur-sil-du nin</i> (?) [<i>tù-tù-ge</i>] ² | 2. is Ninhabursildu, ² queen of incantations. |
| 3. ^{duk} <i>gan-nu-tūr</i> ³ ^d ·[] <i>MEŠ-GAR</i> | 3. The little <i>kannu</i> -vessel is the deity |
| 4. ^{giš} <i>šinig</i> ^d · <i>A-nim</i> | 4. The tamarisk is Anu. ⁵ |
| 5. ^{giš} <i>šag-gišimmar</i> ⁶ ^d · <i>Dumu-zi</i> | 5. The date palm-head is Tammuz. |
| 6. ^d <i>in-nu-uš</i> ⁷ ^d · <i>É-a</i> | 6. The <i>mashtakal</i> -plant is Ea. |
| 7. ^{giš} <i>šul-gi</i> ^d · <i>Nin-urta</i> | 7. The <i>šalalu</i> -reed is Ninurta. |
| 8. ^d <i>el</i> ⁸ ^d · <i>Ninā</i> ⁹ | 8. The <i>El</i> -plant is Ninā. |

¹ Restoration from Zim. Rt. 27.

² This deity appears in incantations as the queen of the holy waters *bēlit egubbē*, IV R. 28^b 16; *Bab.* III 28, Sm. 491, 3. Although placed in the court of Enlil the earth god as sister of Enlil by the theologians, CT. 24, 11, 40=24, 52, where she is associated with a special deity of holy water, ^d*A-gub-ba*, yet by function and character she belongs to the water cult of Eridu. Her symbol is the holy water jar (*duk*) *agubba* and the deity ^d*Agubba* is *šu-luḡ lāg-lāg-ga Erida-ge*, Purifying handwasher of Eridu, CT. 24, 11, 41=24, 53. The river goddess ^d*Id* is also *bēlit agubbē*, CT. 16, 7, 255 where in l. 254 *Ninhabursildu* is *aḫat* ^d*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 *ḥabur* for *A-ḪA* is most probable, and the cognate or dialectic form *ḥubur* 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 *egubbū* is spring water, CT. 17, 5 III 1. The name, then, really means "Queen of the lower world river, she that walks (*du*) the streets (*sil*)." The Semitic scribe of CT. 25, 49, 6 renders the name in a loose way by *bēlit ilīlīti bēlit alīkat sulḫ* [*rapšāti*], Queen of lustration, queen that walks the [wide] streets (of the lower world). For the title *bēlit ilīlīti*, see CT. 26, 42 I 14. For a parallel to the description of her walking the streets of inferno, cf. ^d*Kal-šāg-ga sil-dagal-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 III 8 has *sil-gig-edin-na*, the dark street, etc.

³ Conjectural restoration from ASKT. 96, 21. ZIMMERN, Rt. 27 I 3-4 has a longer description of [*Ninhabursildu a-ḫa*]-*at* [^d*A-gub-ba bēlit*] *mē*(?) *ša nāri*(?).

⁴ Variant of *kān-tūr*, V Raw. 42, 39.

⁵ In K. 165 Rev. 8 f. the tamarisk and date palm are said to be created in heaven (*giš an-na ū-tū*) and the same is said of them in Gudea, Cyl. B 4, 10, *giš-šinig giš-šeḫḫa* (i. e. = *šig = gišimmaru*) *an ū-tud-da*. This plant appears frequently in magic rituals, IV R. 59b 4 ^{giš}*bi-ni* (Semitic), IV R. 16b 31, *Šurpu* IX 1-8, and also in medical texts. *btinu* has been identified with Syriac *btndā*, tamarisk. 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.

⁶ Semitic *ukuru*, Aramaic *ḫērā*, see MEISSNER, MVAG. 1913, 2 p. 40 and BE. 31, 69 n. 2. Used both in medicine and magic.

⁷ Passim in rituals and medicine. See BE. 31, 69, 27; 72, 29; KING, *Magic* 11, 44; MEISSNER, SAI. 2805.

⁸ In *Šurpu* VIII 70 mentioned with *šalālu*. A magic ointment made of the *El* and *maštakal*, CT. 34, 9, 41. See also EBELING, KTA. 90 rev. 17; KING, *Magic* 30, 25. Perhaps identical in name with the stone *arḫallu*, SAI. 8545. On a Dublin tablet often *giš EL*. Cf. *ū-sīg-el-šar = šāmu*, onion.

⁹ For the correct reading *ni-nā-a*, see AJSL. XXXIII 194, 159.

9. <i>gišburru</i> ¹	^d <i>Gir-ra</i> ²	9. The <i>gišbur</i> wood is the Fire God Girra.
10. ^d <i>ku-babbar</i>	^d <i>GAL</i> ³	10. Silver is the great god (the moon).
11. ^d <i>ku-gi</i>	^d <i>En-me-šár-ra</i> ⁴	11. Gold is Enmešarra (the sun).
12. ^d <i>urudu</i>	^d <i>É-a</i>	12. Copper is Ea.
13. ^d <i>an-na</i>	^d <i>Nin-maĝ</i>	13. Lead is Ninmah. ⁵
14. [] ⁶	^d <i>Ninurta</i>	14. [] is Ninurta.
15. []	^d <i>Ninlil</i> ⁷	15. [] is Ninlil.
16. []	^d <i>Dilbat</i>	16. [] is Ishtar-Venus.
17. []	^d <i>AMAR-RA-ĜE-UD-DU-A-LU-TU</i> ⁸	17. [] is Marduk-Jupiter.
18. []	^d <i>Lugal-giš-a-tu-gab-liš-a</i> ⁹	18. [] is Nergal-Mars.
19. []	^d <i>Sak-kud</i>	19. [] is Ninurta-Saturn. ¹⁰
20. []	^d <i>Nusku</i> ¹¹	20. [] is Nusku.
21. []	^d <i>Pap-sukkal</i> ¹²	21. [] is Papsukal.

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.

² *NITA-DU*, fire god, title of Nergal as fire god and identical with ^d*gīr* = Nergal.

³ Here certainly *Anu*, heaven god, followed by Earth and Sea gods. Note also ^d*Gu-la* in liturgies *passim* as title of Anu, BL. 136. Anu = Sin, see p. 342.

⁴ Title of Enlil, lord of the totality of decrees. Enlil = Šamaš.

⁵ Originally title of the great unmarried mother goddess *bēlit ilāni*, but often a title of the virgin types Innini 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 *Sburpu* IV 42, where Nin-maĝ has the Var. Nin-tud, EBELING, 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 ^d*MAŠ*, a star in Orion (Kaksidi = Beteigeuze), CT. 33, 2, 6; KING, *Magic* 50, 29.

⁷ Possibly the constellation Ursa 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*.

⁹ Or *Bil-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 II 10 supply *Gibil* after ZIMMERN RT. 27, 5. As fire god he is messenger of Enlil.

¹² *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 ša še-ir-ti*, Papsukal of the morning light, CT. 24, 40, 53. Since Ninurta is identified with Alpha of Orion, Pap-sukal is

22. [	-]šāg. ^{d.} Sak-ku ¹	22. [	] is Sakkut.
23. [	-]ŠID ^{il*} Ram-ma-nu	23. [	] is Ramman.
24. [	] ^{ila'} Ishtar Uruk-(ki)	24. [	] is Ishtar of Erech. ²
25. [	] ^{ila'} Ishtar A-ga-de-(ki)	25. [	] is Ishtar of Agade. ³
26. [	-]TAR ^{ila'} Be-lit-šeri	26. [	] is Bêlit-šeri. ⁴
27. [	] ^{d.} Nin-lil	27. [	] is Ninlil.
28. [	ri-]kis-su-nu ^{d.} Ninurta	28. [	] their band(?) is Nin-urta.
29. [	] ilāni sibitti ⁵	29. [	] is the seven gods.
30. [	] ^{d.} En-me-šār-ra	30. [	] is Enmesharra. ⁶

OBVERSE II

2. giš [	] ^{d.}	2. []
3. giš [	] ^{d.}	3. []
4. ^{siš} šim [	] ^{d.}	4. []
5. šim-šal ⁷	] ^{d.}	5. Box-wood is the god	
6. gi-dug-ga ⁸	] ^{d.}	6. The good reed is the god	

identified with one of the stars in Orion, CT. 33, 2 II 2; ^{mul}sib-zi-an-na ^{d.}Pap-sukal (sukal ^{d.}Anim [štar] restored from VIROLLEAUD, *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 Pap-sukal often occur together in magic texts, *Sburpu* 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, šāg, gišimmar. This deity is unknown in magic texts except in ZIMMERN, Rt. 70, 8.

² Ishtar of Erech is Venus as evening star, the effeminate Venus of Erech, see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 54 and 180 n. 4.

³ 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* II 198.

⁴ Western title of Geštinanna, sister of Ishtar. Here perhaps the constellation Virgo.

⁵ The seven gods are the Pleiades, CT. 33, 2, 44. Since they are followed by Enmesharra perhaps here to be identified with the seven sons of Enmesharra (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 Išhara. But traces of the last sign are not those of MEŠ 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. 46a 21, his star UDU-LIM and II R. 48, 52 the same star is ^{d.}UDU-BAD-sag-uš = kaimānu, Saturn. See also BE. 31, 35 n. 4 line 12, kaimānu title of Enmesharra.

⁷ šimeššalā employed in medical texts, see SAL. 3574 and JASTROW, *Medical Text* Rev. 5. Here also without giš. HOLMA, *Beiträge zum assyrischen Lexicon*, p. 85, identified it with Syr. šamšārā, Persian and Arabic šimšar.

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.

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|--|---|
| 7. <i>šim-li</i> ^d [Immer ¹] | 7. Cypress is Adad. |
| 8. <i>šipāti burrumti</i> ² ^{is} Labartu(?) ³
mar[at ^{is} Anim] | 8. Wool of variegated color is
Labartu daughter of Anu. |
| 9. <i>šim-ZU</i> ⁴ ^d [Nin-urta] | 9. The aromat-ZU is Ninurta. |
| 10. <i>nig-na</i> ^d Urašā | 10. The censer is Urasha. ⁵ |
| 11. <i>gi-bil-lá</i> ^d [Gi-bil] | 11. The torch is Gibil. ⁶ |
| 12. <i>ku-ta-ri ibbāti</i> ⁷ ^d [Ne-gun] | 12. The clean incense is Negun. ⁸ |
| 13. <i>mul-lil-lum</i> ^d Igi-BALAG ⁹ ^{lu}
nu-giš-šar ^d En-lil-lá] | 13. The amphora(?) is Igi-BALAG,
gardener of Enlil. |
| 14. ^{urda} <i>nig-kalag-ga</i> ¹⁰ ^d Nin-[sar
^d Nergal] | 14. The copper kettledrum is
Ninsar, ¹¹ that is Nergal. |
| 15. <i>kuš-gū-gal</i> ¹² ^d [NINDA+GUD] | 15. The hide of a great bull is
NINDA+GUD ¹³ |
| 16. <i>im-bar</i> ^d [Utu-gāl-lu] | 16. Gypsum is the storm god (Nin-
urta) ¹⁴ |
| 17. <i>esir</i> ^d id | 17. Bitumen is the river god. ¹⁵ |
| 18. <i>māš-gul-dūb-ba-a</i> ^d [Ku-šu] | 18. The scapegoat is Kushu. ¹⁶ |

¹ Here variant ZIM. Rt. 27 Obv. II begins.

² Written *sig 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 *šeššig* and *gunu* of *Galū*, that is REC. 100 later RAB+GAN, (v. SAL. p. 155 note 1). After this sign ZIMMERN and I have seen a sign KU or ŠU. Labartu is usually written 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. SU.

⁵ But in ZA. VI 242, 23 symbol of Azagsud.

⁶ But ZA. VI 242, 24 Nusku, fire god in Nippur pantheon.

⁷ See MUSS-ARNOLT, p. 940. Also note *niknaku ša ku-ta-ri*, censer of incense, CT. 29, 50, 9; *kutari ša šipti*, incense pertaining to the ritual of the incantation, *ibid.* 20. *kutari* is a plural form employed to denote several acts of fumigation.

⁸ Reading established by Rev. II 8. But see MEEK, AJSL. 31, 287, *li-si < ne-su(n)* gloss on the star *Ne-sun*; son of Ninlil, hence a star in Ninlil's constellation Ursa Major, VIROLLEAUD, *Sin* XIII 22.

⁹ Perhaps *igi-sig-sig*; cf. CT. 24, 3, 25.

¹⁰ In ZA. VI 242, 19, symbol of Enlil. But CT. 16, 24, 25 hero of Anu. In rituals generally with *kušgugalā*.

¹¹ Sword bearer (*māš patri*) of Enlil, CT. 24, 10, 16.

¹² Symbol of Anu in ZA. VI 242, 19.

¹³ Priest of Enlil, CT. 24, 10, 13. Cf. GUD-NINDA = *mīru*, young ox, SBG. 19, 14.

¹⁴ ZA. VI 242, 15 gypsum is ^dMĀŠ.

¹⁵ But ZA. VI 242, 15 bitumen is the *asakku* 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 Ninamašazag who supplies the goat. When sin is transferred to the goat it falls under the protection of Kushu. See Rev. I 6.

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|--|---|--|
| 19. <i>udu-ti-la</i> ¹ | ^d [<i>Gira</i>] | 19. "The living lamb" is Gira. ² |
| 20. <i>máš-gi-bil-la</i> | ^d [<i>Mu-ub</i>]- <i>ra</i> | 20. The goat of the torch ³ is Muḫru. |
| 21. <i>še-bir-bir-ri u-pu-un-tum</i> | | 21. "Scattered grain(?)," chick pea (?) |
| 22. <i>zērē</i> | <i>ma-ka-lu-ú</i> | 22. seed-corn, eating table and |
| 23. ^{duk} <i>ka-ga</i> ^{pl.} | ^d <i>Nun-ūr-ra</i> ^d <i>Ea</i> ⁴ | 23. the <i>ka-ga</i> -pots are Ninurra-Ea. |
| 24. ^{si} <i>ku-ma-nu</i> 7 <i>u-mu</i> ⁵ <i>ku</i> | ^d <i>Mar-duk</i> | 24. The seven (headed) weapon of laurel wood, the storm, the weapon of Marduk. |
| 25. <i>kù-gi-si</i> ^{pl.} | ^d <i>A-nun-na-ki</i> | 25. Red sun-disks(?) are the Anun-naki. |
| 26. <i>kù-gi nig-máš-zi</i> ⁶ | ^d <i>Máš-tab-ba-gal-ga</i> | 26. <i>The golden sacred kid</i> (?) is the Great Twins. ⁷ |
| 27. <i>máš-dū</i> | ^d <i>Un-gal Nibru</i> ^{kis} | 27. The kid is Ungal ⁸ of Nippur. |
| 28. <i>kur-gi-(gu)</i> | ^d <i>Nin-sig</i> | 28. The crane is Ninsig. ⁹ |
| 29. <i>sún</i> ¹⁰ ^{si} <i>er</i> ⁱⁿ <i>šita</i> ¹¹ | ^d <i>Zi-i</i> | 29. The <i>sun</i> of cedar, weapon of Zu. ¹² |
| 30. <i>lāl</i> | ^d [. . .] | 30. Honey is the god |
| 31. <i>lī</i> | ^d [<i>li</i> . . .] | 31. Oil oil |
| 32. | ^d <i>id</i> ^d [. . .] | 32. River-god, god |

¹ Cf. *En-udu-ti-la*, SBP. 150 n. 5 l. 8.

² Patron of flocks and fire god.

³ That is burnt offering.

⁴ I. e. Ea as the god of potters. Nunurra is *paḫaru rabū* of Anu, MEEK BA. X pt. 1 p. 42, 14. Note CT. 24, 14, 41, *Nun-ūr-ra(duk) ka-[ga]*.

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 = lēnisēti*, population. God of the people of Nippur.

⁹ A form of Enki as patron of metallurgy. See RA. 12, 83 n. 5.

¹⁰ *sun* probable reading for *BAD* in this sense. Offerings to the *giš-sun*, GENOUILLAC, *Drehem*, 5505 Obv. II 15.

¹¹ Sign a confusion of *NI+giš* and *KAK+giš*, see RA. 13, 3.

¹² *Zū*, 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 1

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>karanu ellu kaḫḫul-ti enā-šu</i> | 1. White wine and bottle are his eyes. |
| 2. <i>tittu piṣittu¹ tulū-šu²</i> | 2. The white fig is her breasts. |
| 3. <i>is^u nurmā bir-ka-a-šu</i> | 3. The <i>nur</i> -fig is his (her) knees. |
| 4. <i>tittu³ ki-sal-la-a-šu</i> | 4. The fig is his (her) loins. |
| 5. <i>mirsu pit puridi-šu</i> | 5. Must is his (her) crotch. |
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- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 6. <i>d⁴-Ku-ši šēr ki-i-ši⁴</i> | 6. The god Kushu over the chamber. |
| 7. <i>d⁴-Mu-ub-ra ina pan abulli</i> | 7. Muḫru before the city gate. |
| 8. <i>d⁴-Sak-kut ina ḳabal appari</i> | 8. Sakkut in the midst of the pool. |
| 9. <i>d⁴-Si-lak-ki⁵ ina ma-na-ḫa-ti</i> | 9. Silakki in the ruins. |
| 10. <i>d⁴-E-ḫu-rum⁶ ina libbi šēr išdi</i> | 10. Ekurum in the leg. |
| 11. <i>d⁴-Ab-ba-gu-la⁷ ina igari</i> | 11. Abbagula in the wall. |
| 12. <i>d⁴ ? ? ina nasikati</i> | 12. [] in the fortress. |
| 13-17. | 13-17. |
| 18. <i>12 ilāni []</i> | 18. Twelve gods. |

REVERSE II

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. [SAG-GĬR]-ME ša ina pa ⁿ i-šu
namru ⁸
2. [KU]-ŠÚ la ^a maḥ-ru
3. [-u]:NU: la-a
4. [BT:]šu-u ¹⁰ :ILA:ma-
ḫa-ri | 1. The battle which before him
gleams.
2. . . .not are received.
3. [] NU = not.
4. [] BI = that : ILA = to
present. |
|---|---|

¹ See Vab. IV 154, 44 and note.

² ξ_a here for ξ_a , feminine. The form should be dual.

³ Gunu of *MA=tittu*; Sumerian *peš*, value also assigned to *MA=tittu* in the Chicago Syllabar, 115 f.

⁴ *kišsu*, compensation for *kiššu*. See also STRASSMAIER, *Nabonidus* 699, 24, *ki-šu*. Note that the *bulduppu* (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-ku-ku*(?). In any case a Cassite deity not mentioned in Babylonian lists and texts.

^a 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.

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|--|--|
| 5. [^d Ne-gun] erim-bi nu-tuk-a ai-bi
ina kašš-šu la ušūni | 5. Negun who foes has not. The wicked from his hand escape not. |
| 6. NE-RU:ai-bi:ID:ka-ti:TUK-A
SAL-ŠEŠ? | 6. NE-RU = wicked: ID = hand: ? ? |
| 7. ^d Ne-gun ¹ ka-lu-ú i-ša-lam | 7. Negun is he that burns with fire. |
| 8. HU-gunu ¹ :gu-nu-u:SI:ka-lu-u | 8. The <i>gunu</i> of HU has the syllabic value <i>gunū:si(g)</i> = to burn. |
| 9. NE:i-ša-tu:sa-niš ka-lu ni-ka | 9. NE = fire: Or = to consume offerings in fire. |
| 10. SAL-ŠEŠ ² :ba-nu-ú: ga-lu | 10. <i>ninmuš</i> = blaze, burn. |
| 11. SI:ba-nu-ú:NE ga-lu | 11. <i>si(g)</i> = blaze: <i>bil</i> = burn. |
-
- | | |
|--|---|
| 12. mūdū mūdā li-kal-lim | 12. Let the knowing inform the knowing. |
| 13. la mūdū ul immar | 13. He that knows not may not read. |
| ki-ma labiri-šu ^{il} Ninurta-našir
mar Ilu-ikīša ^{amelu} ašīpu iššur
bāši E-šu-me-rá | According to its original Ninurta-našir son of Ilu-ikīša, the priest of magic wrote. It is the property of the temple Ešumera. ³ |

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* = *banū* 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, *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres XXXIX*, Rev. 7, *mūdū mūdā likallim la mūdā ul immar an pī duppi gabri Barsip-ki šašir-ma UB-TU ū ba-ri*. For *an pī* (KA), see RA. 13, 92.

ADDENDUM ON OBV. I 10 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, *kašpu* "A-nu burašū "Enlil erū "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.

DESCRIPTION OF TABLETS

NUMBER IN THIS VOLUME	MUSEUM NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
1	13856	Large two column tablet. Unbaked; light brown with dark spots. Top broken away and left lower corner damaged. H. $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; W. $4\frac{1}{4}$; T. $1\frac{3}{4}$ – $\frac{3}{4}$. Liturgy of the cult of Ishme-Dagan. See pages 245–257.
2	11005	Upper part of a large two column tablet. Unbaked; light brown. Top and left edge of the fragment damaged. H. $3\frac{3}{4}$; W. $3\frac{3}{4}$; T. $1\frac{1}{2}$ – $\frac{3}{4}$. Liturgy of Ishme-Dagan. See pages 258–259.
3	7847	Dark brown unbaked tablet. Right upper corner slightly damaged. Right lower corner broken away. Two columns. H. 8; W. $5\frac{1}{4}$; T. 1 – $\frac{1}{2}$. 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 <i>Lugal-ge-a</i> son of <i>E-a-i-lu(?)</i>
4	7878	Light brown fragment from the left upper corner of a large unbaked tablet. H. $3\frac{1}{2}$; W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ –1; T. $1\frac{1}{2}$ –1. Duplicate of 7847. This tablet omits the liturgical note, "Oh praise Innini." It has the colophon, "Written by the hand of <i>Ninurash-mu</i>, in the presence of <i>Nidaba-igi-pa(?)</i> –. . . . <i>ge-en</i> ."
5	15204	Single column, dark brown tablet. Partly baked. Left lower corner broken away. H. $4\frac{1}{2}$; W. $2\frac{1}{2}$; T. $1\frac{1}{4}$ – $\frac{1}{2}$. Psalm to Enlil. See pages 265–268.

NUMBER IN THIS VOLUME	MUSEUM NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
6	2154	Single column, light brown tablet. Top and left lower corner broken. H. $4\frac{1}{2}$; W. $2\frac{1}{2}$; T. $1\frac{1}{4}$ — $\frac{1}{2}$. Lamentation for Lagash. See pages 268–272.
7	8097	Single column, light brown tablet. Lower edge damaged. H. $4\frac{1}{2}$; W. $2\frac{1}{2}$; T. $\frac{3}{4}$ — $\frac{1}{2}$. Liturgical hymn to Sin. See pages 276–279.
8	346	Single column, dark unbaked tablet. Damaged at top and bottom. H. 4; W. $2\frac{1}{2}$; T. $1-\frac{1}{2}$. Bilingual hymn. See plate 86.
9	8334	Single column, light brown tablet, unbaked. Left upper corner and top of reverse damaged. H. $4\frac{3}{4}$; W. $2\frac{1}{2}$; T. $1\frac{1}{4}$ — $\frac{1}{2}$. Hymn to Innini.
10	8533	Upper part of a large two column tablet. Light brown, soft and crumbling. Purchased by the Expedition in 1895, from Abu Hatab. H. $3\frac{3}{4}$; W. $5\frac{1}{2}$; T. $1\frac{1}{4}$ — $\frac{1}{2}$. Hymn to Enlil.
11	7080	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.
12	6060	Nearly complete tablet; baked. Temple Library (IV). Second Exp. Two column tablet; Cassite period. H. 4; W. $3\frac{1}{2}$; T. $1\frac{1}{2}$. Cult symbols. See pages 320–342.
13	BM. 78239	Upper half of large single column tablet. Light brown, partially baked. H. 7; W. 6; T. 2. Acquired by the British Museum in 1888. Late Babylonian edition of the third tablet of the liturgy <i>elum didara</i> to Enlil. See pages 323–329.
14	11327	Lower part of a large unbaked tablet, two columns. Right half almost wholly broken away. Myth of the water god Enki. H. 6; W. $6\frac{1}{2}$; T. $1\frac{1}{4}$. Probably a <i>zag-sal</i> hymn.

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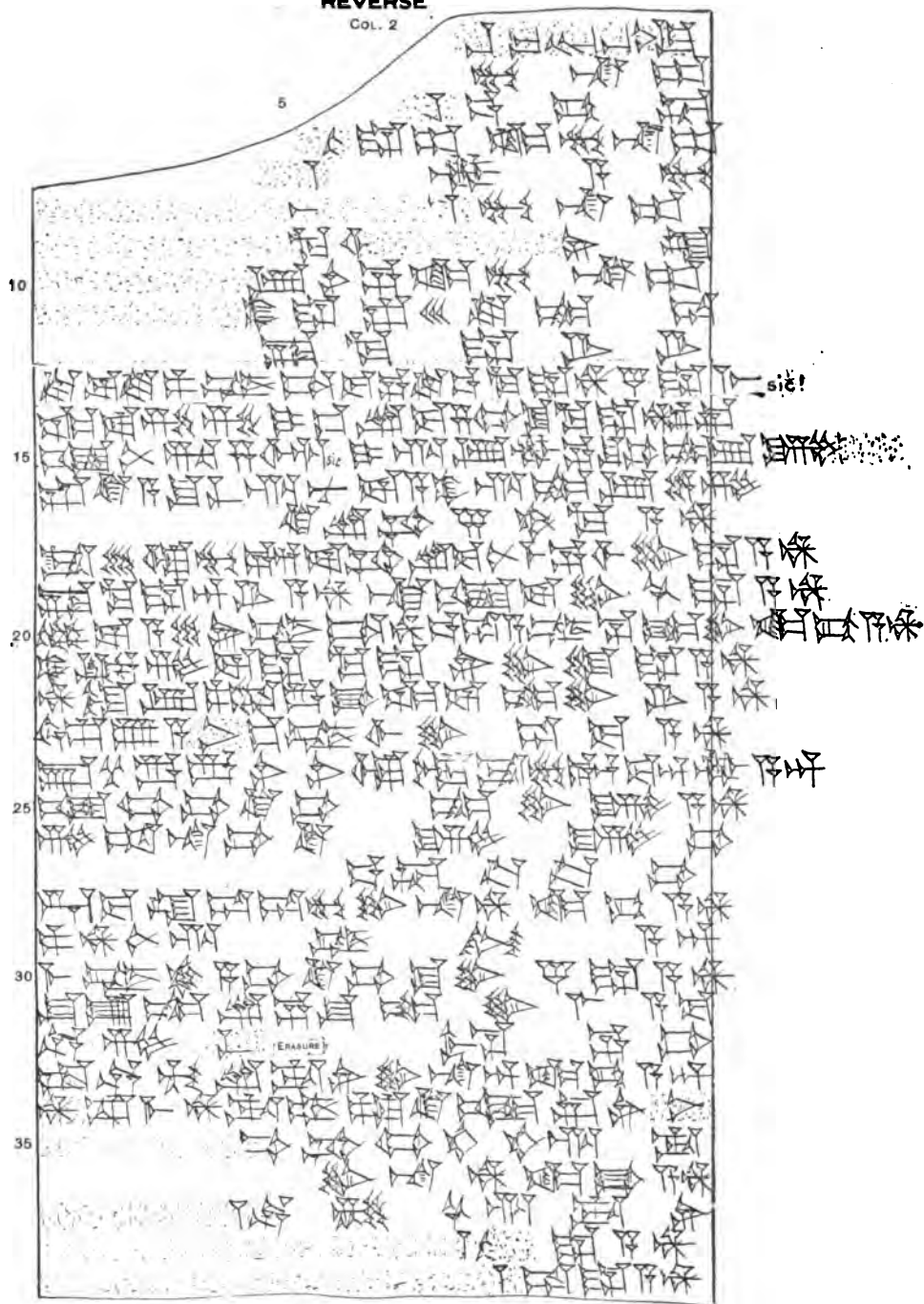
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COL. 24 CONTINUED

REVERSE

COL. 1[illegible]

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REVERSE

COL. 1 - CONTINUED[illegible]

REVERSE

COL. 2[illegible]

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REVERSE

COL. 2- CONTINUED

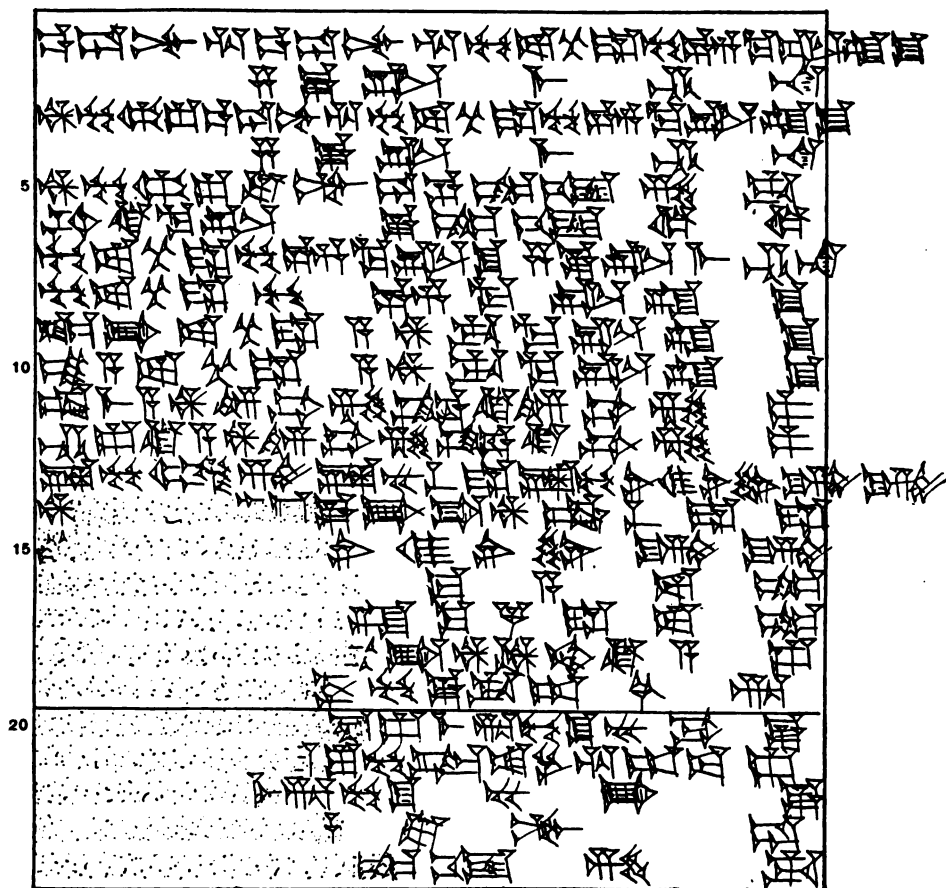
[illegible]**OBVERSE**

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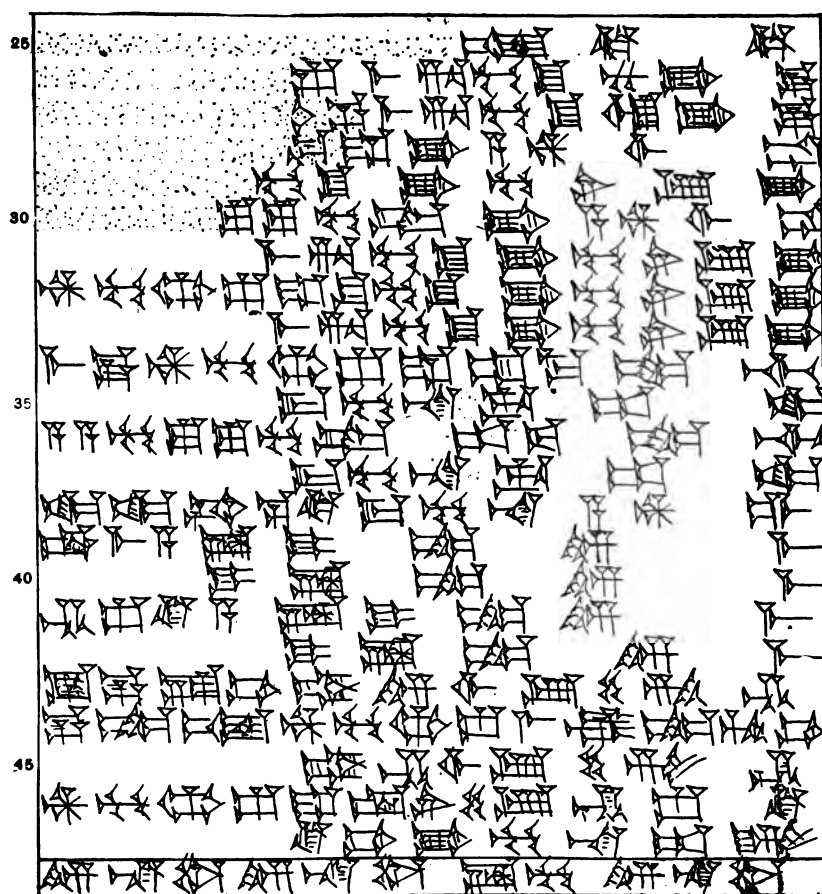
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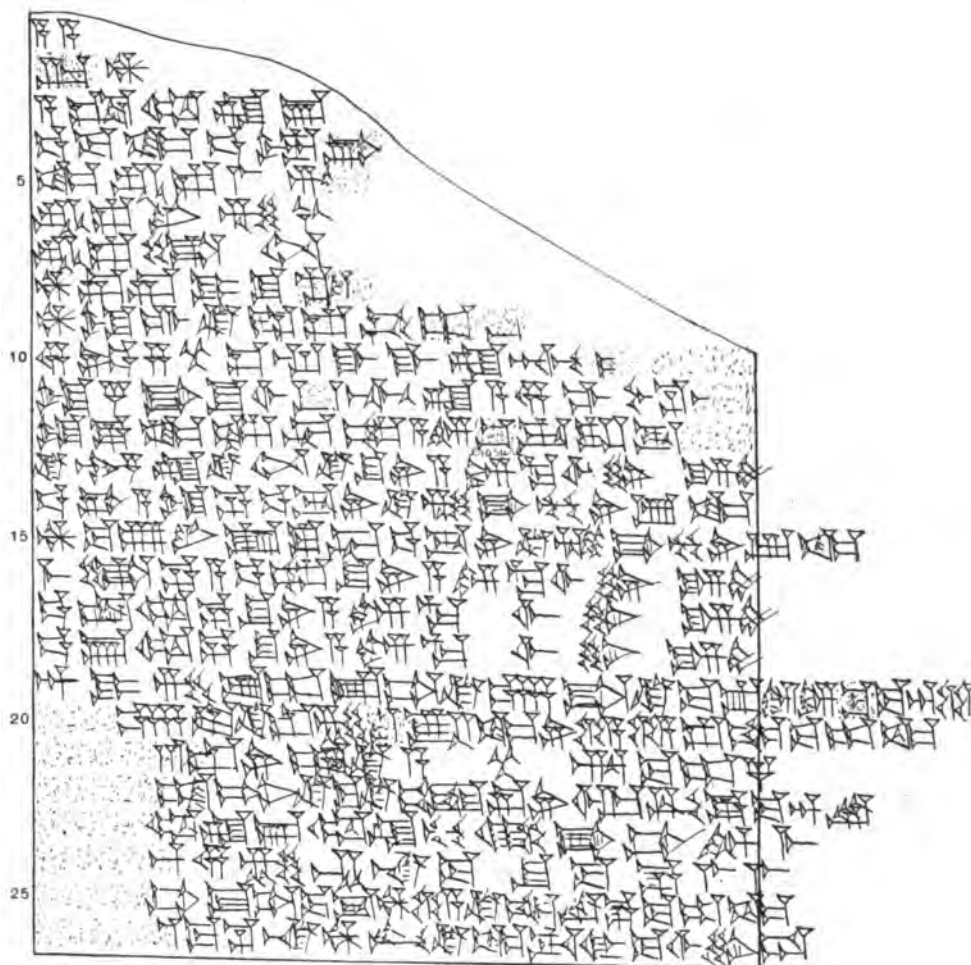


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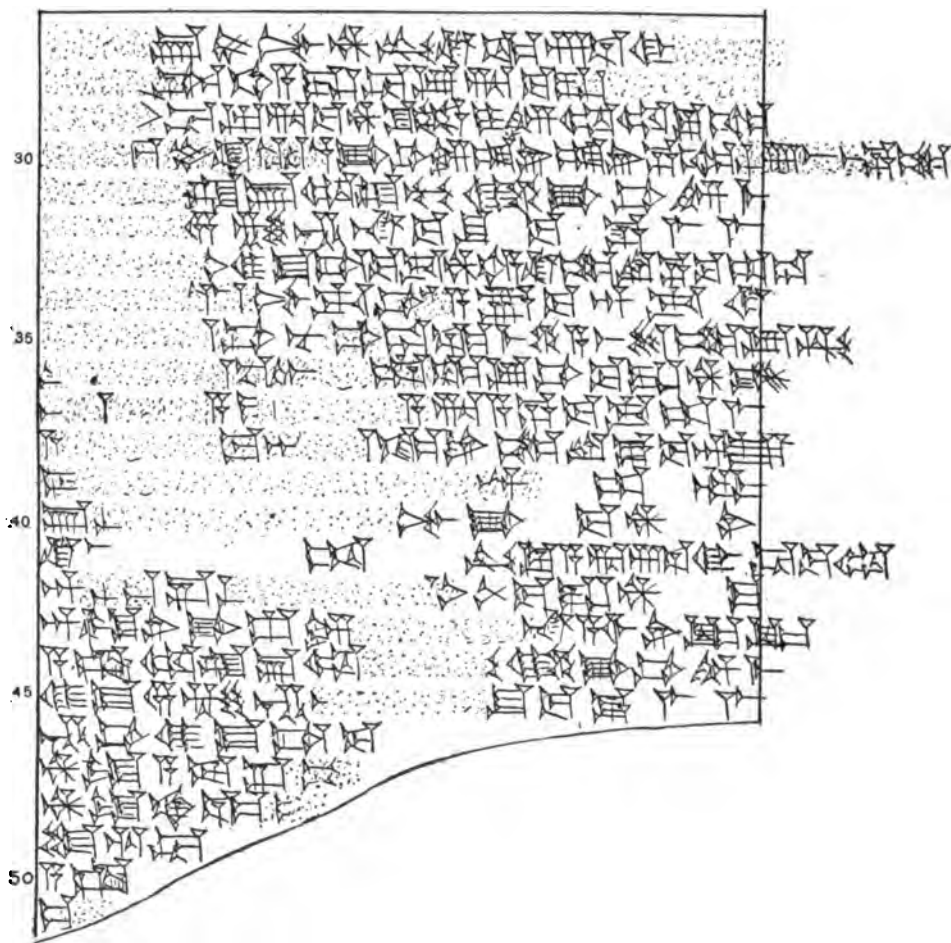
6

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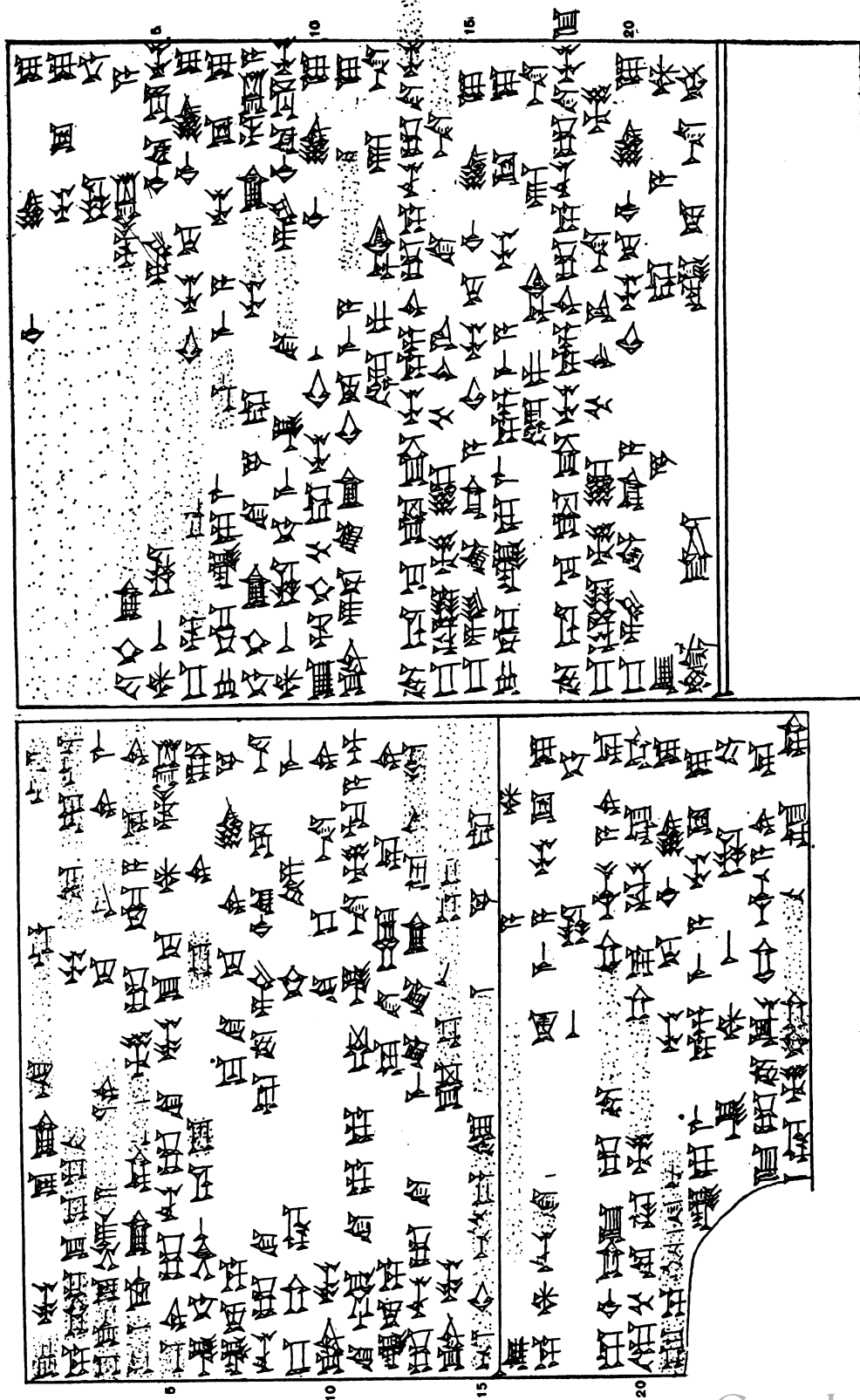
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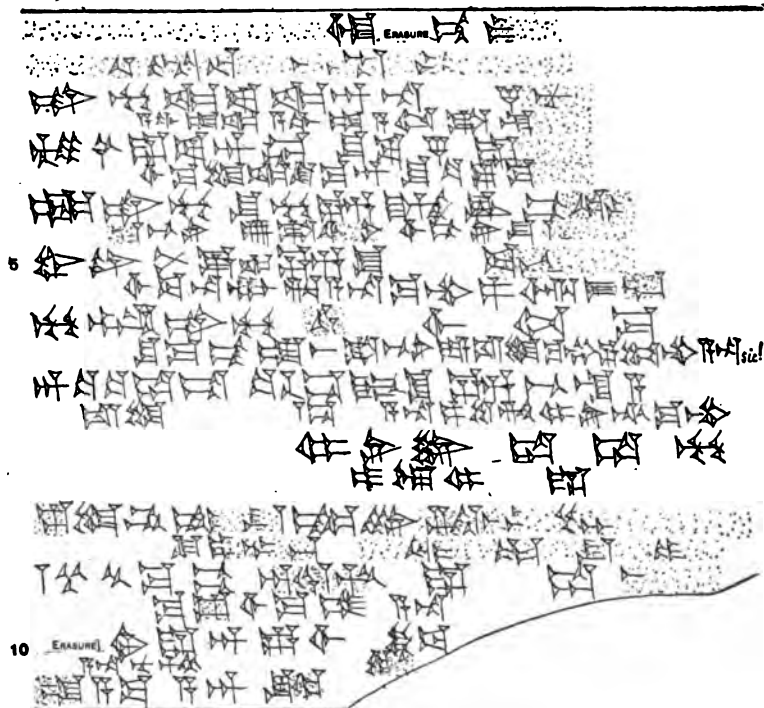


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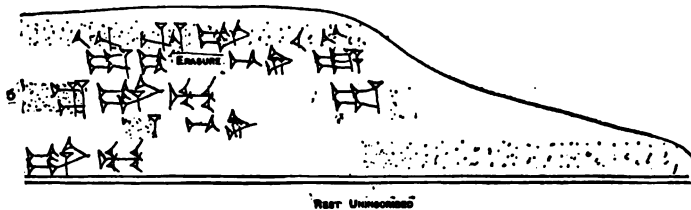
OBSERVE



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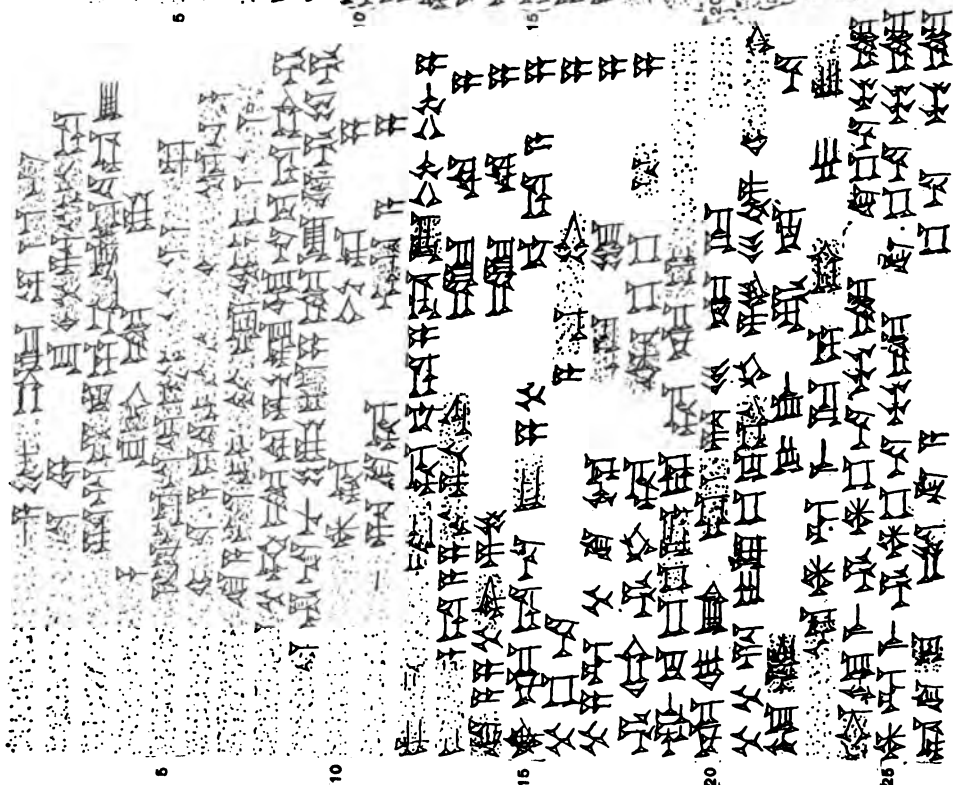


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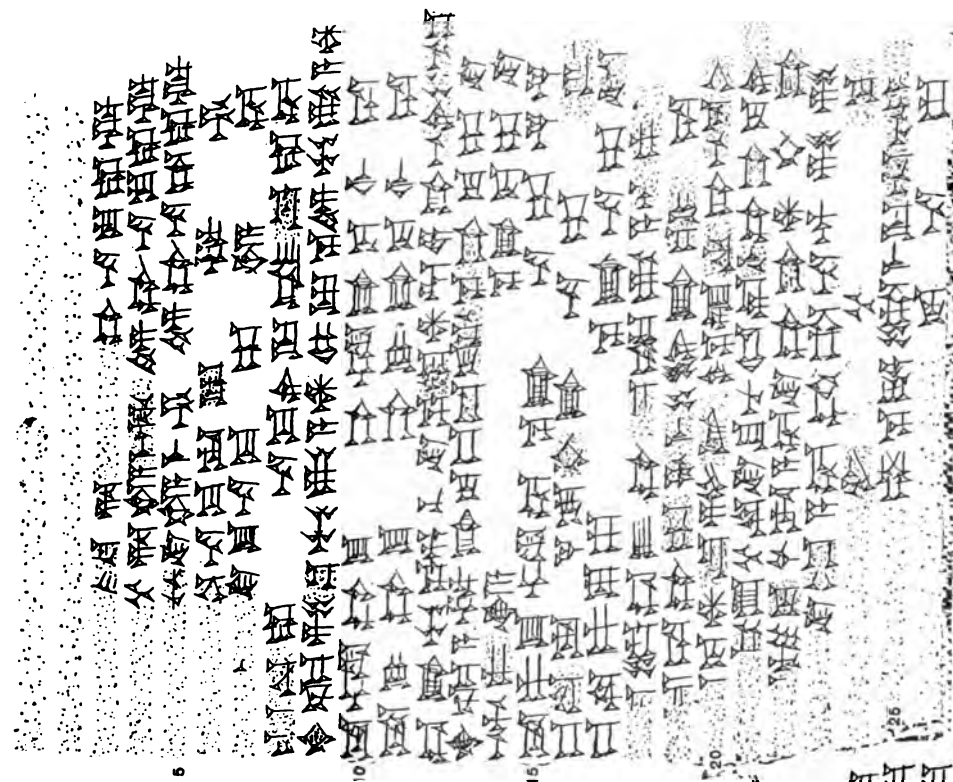


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OBVERSE



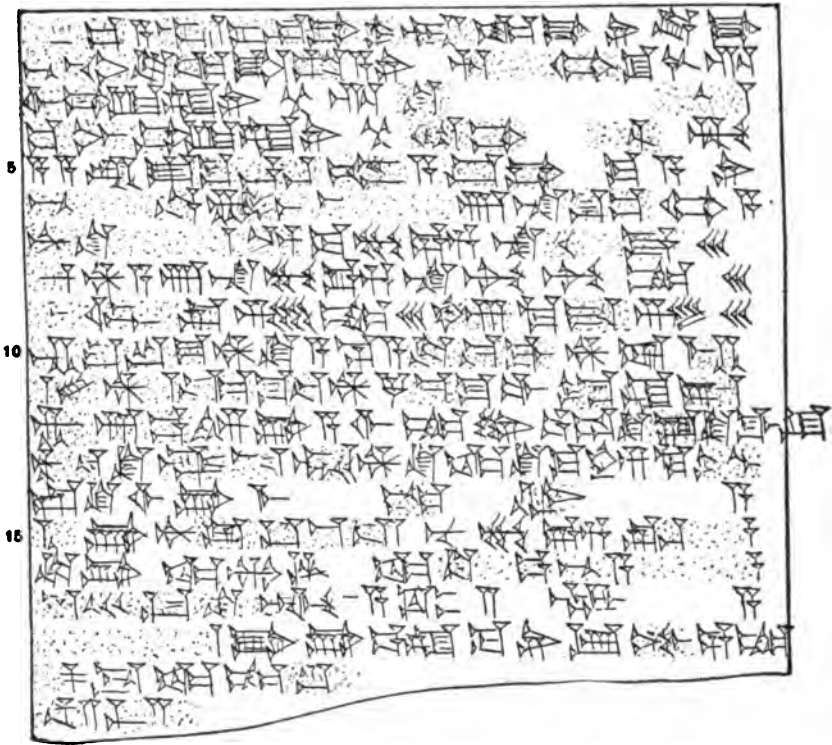
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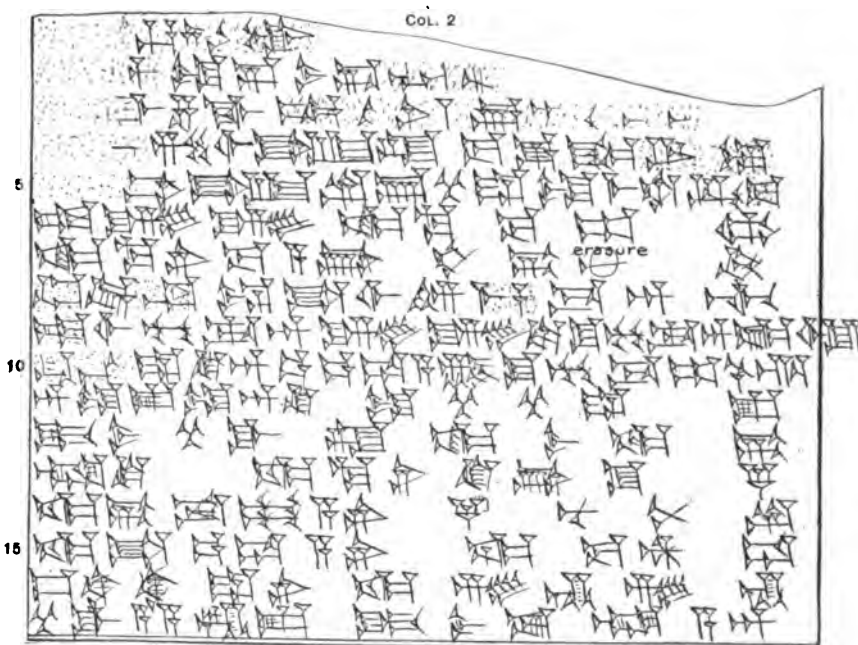
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OBVERSE

Col. 1



Col. 2 : DESTROYED



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11
OBVERSE
COL. 5 - CONTINUED

[illegible]

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REVERSE

COL. 2-CONTINUED

COL. 2 - CONTINUED

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REVERSE

COL. 3

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REVERSE
COL. 3 CONTINUED

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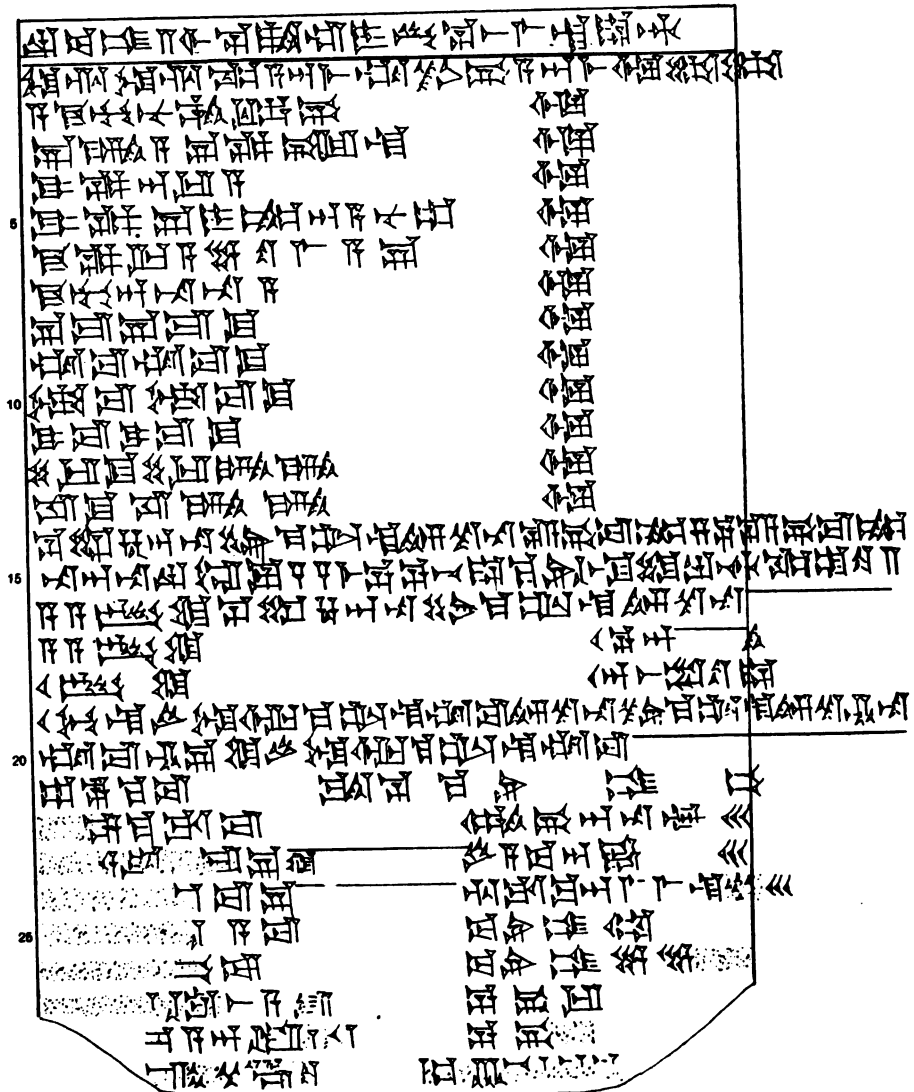
REVERSE

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OBVERSE



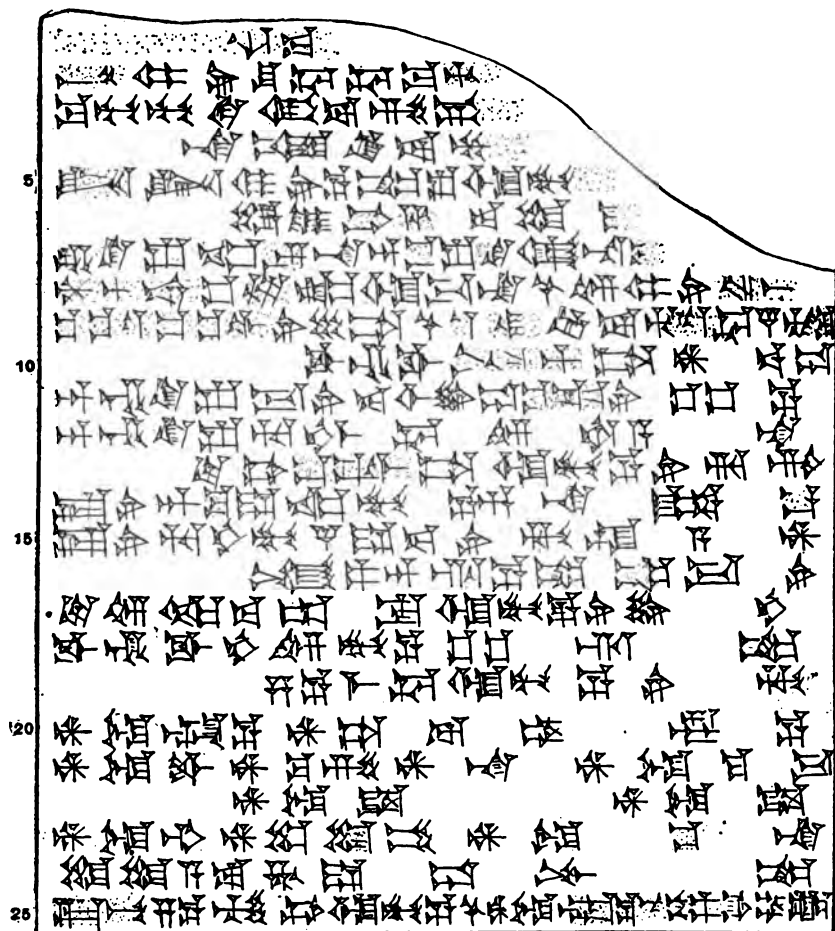
REVERSE

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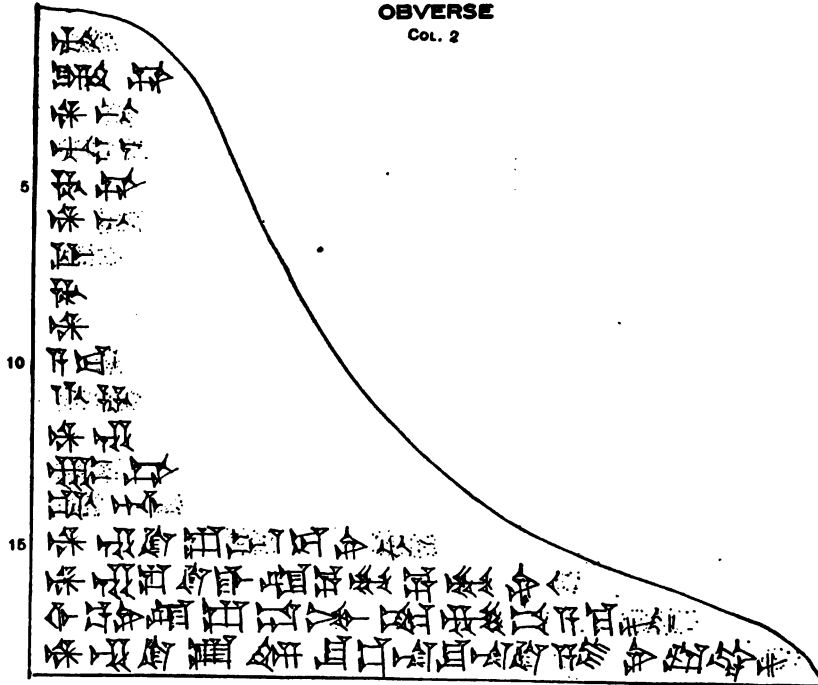
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OBVERSE

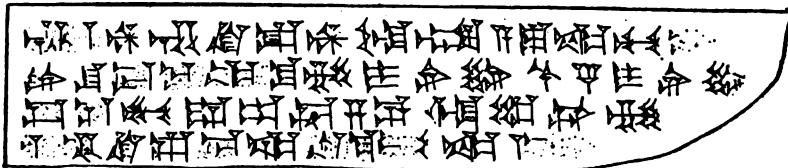
Col. 1



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OBVERSE
Col. 2



REVERSE
Col. 1



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REVERSE

Col. 2

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BY

STEPHEN LANGDON

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AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY

PHILADELPHIA
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