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SUMERIAN LITURGIES AND PSALMS

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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 An unpublished hymn to Enlil, Ni. 9862, ends *a-a 'En-lil zag-sal*, "O praise father Enlil."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 Kullieder*, 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-gal³ 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 Sumero-Babylonian religion will not fail to comment upon one remarkable lacuna in the religious literature of every Sumerian city which has been excavated. Prayers of the private cults are almost entirely nonexistent. Later Babylonian religion is rich in penitential psalms written in Sumerian for use in private devotions. These are known by the rubric *eršagġunga*, 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 Ninâ, both types of the mother goddess who was always intimately connected with the god-men as their divine mother.

² For a list of the abbreviations employed in this volume, see page 98 of Part I.

SUMERIAN LITURGIES AND PSALMS

13856 (No. 1)

LAMENTATION OF ISHME-DAGAN OVER NIPPUR

The liturgical character of this tablet is unique among all the numerous choral compositions of the Isin period. It is a large two column tablet containing six long *kišub* melodies. Liturgies of such kind, compiled by joining a series of *kišubs*, or melodies, attended by prostrations, represent an advanced stage in the evolution of these compositions in that the sections are not mechanically joined together by selecting older melodies without much regard for their connection, but as a whole they are apparently original compositions so arranged that they develop a motif from the beginning to the end of the liturgy. Choral services composed of *kišubs* in the cults of deified kings have been found¹ wherein the deeds and personality of the king are sung, his divine claims are emphasized and his Messianic promises rehearsed. But the liturgy here published resembles in literary style the classical lamentations which always formed the chief temple services of Sumer and Babylonia. It more especially resembles the weeping mother liturgies, but here Ishme-Dagan appears in the lines of the service in a rôle similar to that of the sorrowful mother goddess of the ordinary liturgies, as he weeps for Nippur.

"Her population like cattle of the fields within her have perished. Helas my land I sigh."

So reads a line from the second melody.

¹ The twelfth *kišub* of a liturgy to Ishme-Dagan is published in ZIMMERN's *Kultlieder*, No. 200. A somewhat similar song service of the cult of this king has been published in the writer's *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, 178-187. A portion of a series to Dungi was published by RADAU in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, No. 1. The liturgy to Libit-Ishtar in ZIMMERN, K L. 199 I—Rev. I 7, is composed of a series of *sa-(bar)-gid-da*.

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-ru-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-láḡ-bi im-šub-ba aga-bi im-ri-a</i>
7. <i>ki-lugal du-aṣag¹ kin-siḡ² 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 ni-im-ši-ib-te-en-na</i>
11. <i>ki-dúr-ba gú-ni a-gim⁵ ba-ra-an-šub</i>
12. <i>ab siḡ-gan-dúg-ga-gim e-ne siḡ-gan-ba-ra-an-dúg</i>
13. <i>uru šag-bi er-giḡ siḡ-bi</i>
14. <i>en-na⁶ dam⁷ dingir ga-ša-an-bi li-bi nu-tar-ri⁸</i>
15. <i>é-gu-la ṣa-ṣa-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-gal-e-ne šu-im-ma-an-ḤA⁹-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 *gunufed*. 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, *Šin* in LSS. page 41, 16.

⁷ The sign is imperfectly made on the tablet

⁸ Cf. SBP. 328, 11.

⁹ *ḤA* is probably identical in usage with *PEŠ*, and the idea common to both is "be many, extensive, abundant." Note ZIMMERN, *Kultlieder* 19 Rev. has *ḤA* where SBP. 12, 2 has *PEŠ*. *šu-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. *uku sag-gig gú-sa-ġi-a¹ udu-gim*
be-ib-²-a
20. *e(?) -en-šú KAK-RU³ er a-nir*
šag PA-ĤI-BAD-a
21. *en-šú bar⁴ be-ib- ul*
22. *šag nu-ub-ši-túg-e*
23. *^{su}ub ^{su}á-lá mu-un-tuk-a-ri⁵*
24. *gíg-ga a-a na*
25. *síg ne ba-dúr-ru-ne-eš*
26. *gar-ra-bi er-šú ba-ab-bi-ne*
27. *šub-ba tūr-ru-ba-ne*
28. *šir-ri-eš ba-ab-bi-ne*
29. *ki-dúr-bi kar-ra*
30. *im-ši-sir-sir-e-ne-eš⁶*
31. *ne-ne-túg*
32. *ga(?) nu-ru-gim*
33. *sūġ⁷*
19. The people, the dark headed,
 all of them like sheep.
20. How long shall loud crying(?),
 weeping and wailing *distress*
 (?) the heart?
21. How long shall the soul be terri-
 fied?
22. And the heart repose not?
23. To the drum and cymbals I sing.
24. sorrowfully(?)
25. *brick* they dwell.
26. in tears they speak.
27. are made small.
28. in misery they speak.
29. whose habitations are
 desolated.
30. Unto they have hastened.
31. ?
32. like one that knows not
33. is in confusion.

(END OF COL. I.)

COL. II

(About fifteen lines broken away.)⁸

- | | |
|--|---------|
| 1. <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*, GÉNOUILLAC, *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 = nap̄har-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. *gûl-nu-zu-ne nig-dug
be-ib-tar-ru-uš-âm*
5. *i-lu-gig im-me*
6. *nam-lù-gâl-bi mās-anšu-gim šag-
ba mi-ni-ib-tîl-la-aš*
7. *a ka-na-ām-mu im-me*
8. *ki-el kalag tul-tul-lā-bi-ne sūr²-ri-
-eš mi-ni-ib- sal-la-āš*
9. *iš-a-bi im-me*
10. *šeš-bi imi-dugud šeg-gà-gim di-e-
be-ib-sud-ām³*
11. *er-šû nu- gul⁴ e*
12. *é-e āb amar-bi kud-du gim nî-
bi-šû ūr-gig-ga⁵ im-gub*
13. *sîg-sîg⁶ ni- mal- mal*
14. *balag-di⁷ lû-ad-dug-ga-ge⁸-ne um-
me-da-û-a-di-gim*
15. *mu-bi er-ra mi-ni-ib-bal-bal-e-ne*
16. *uru ù-mu-un-bi sag-ib-ta-an-dîm-
ma*
17. *igi-ni sâ kûr-ra ib-ta-an-gar-ra
ad-e-eš ba-an-ara-āš*
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 *āš* is written for *AN*. Read *a-dāš* 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 SAL. 6507 = *uḫḫu*, dumb, grief stricken.

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

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

⁸ Var. of *ad-du-ge* = *bêl nissâti*, IV R. 11a 23: *ad-da-ge*, ZIM. K.L. 12 II 3. See for discussion, LANG. PBS. X 137 n. 7.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>18. <i>é-ziḍ kur-kur-ra igi-šú ba-an-gín-na</i></p> <p>19. <i>uku sag-gig-gi uš-zi¹ 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-ta-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> |
| <hr/> | |
| <p>23. <i>me-gal šag-bi⁴ ba-ra-an-è-a-áš ḡu-ḡig-ga nu-mal⁵-aš</i></p> <p>24. <i>ḡiṣ-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> |
| <hr/> | |
| <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>síg-bi a-na-šú ḡir-ib-ta-an-gar</i></p> <p>28. <i>tu(ḡu) za-pa-ág mà-mà-bi ab-ta ib-ta- an-dal</i></p> <p>29. <i>é ? zu síg nar-balag ág-zi-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? GENOUILLAC, *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-ziḫ*.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 30. <i>be-in-gi</i> | 30. |
| 31. Entirely destroyed. | 31. |
| 32. <i>é dū- na</i> ¹ | 32. The temple violently |
| 33. <i>é ní-nu-tuk-gim si-ga</i> | 33. The temple like one without reverence |
| 34. <i>ág-me-bi nu-aṣag-aṣag-ga</i> | 34. Its regulations unholy ones |
| 35. <i>šu-luḡ-bi kur-kur-ra nu-ub-da-suḡ²-a-gim</i> | 35. Its cult of ablutions like those which had not been chosen above those of all lands |
| 36. <i>šu-be-in-kaḷ tuḡ-ni ib-ta-an-ṣig</i> | 36. He has demolished, its wealth he seized away. |
| 37. <i>ág-gíg-ūr-ra a a-še-ra mu-un-di</i> | 37. In misery of soul how long shall I utter lament? |
| 38. <i>ta-še³ egir na-ām-ga-lim⁴ dū-a la-ba-an-kalag</i> | 38. Why after the destruction has been done is it not respected? |
| 39. <i>ág-el-dū-a-gim ḡur-ri⁵ ṣag-be-in-bi</i> | 39. As one who accomplishes pure things this one has uttered a curse:— |
| 40. <i>siḡ-bi pā-e a-na-aš ib-ta-an-è</i> | 40. "Why rise her brick-walls in effulgent glory?" |

REVERSE, COL. I

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>gig-an-bil⁶-ba ṣag-ba er be-in-[ṣi-em]</i> | 1. Night and day within her wailing is made. |
| 2. <i>á-še kúr ág-gíg be-ib-aga-a</i> | 2. Now the stranger has wrought insult. |
| 3. <i>ù-mu-un-bi im-ḡul-ám šu-bi be-in-ḡi-ám⁷</i> | 3. Its lord like a storm wind <i>their hands have removed</i> (?) |
| 4. <i>uru-bi é-bi in-gul-gul-ám</i> | 4. Their city, their temple, he has destroyed. |
| 5. <i>ūr-bi in-sir-ra-ám šitim⁸-e-ne in-ra-ám</i> | 5. Its foundation he laid waste, the skilled workmen he transported. |

¹ For *dū-na* = *šaltīš*, see RA. 11, 146, 33.² Written Br. 3046 = *nasāku*.³ For *ta-šu*. Cf. BA. V 679, 14.⁴ Probably a variant of *namḡalam*, *namḡilim* = *šahluḡtu*.⁵ The demonstrative pronoun *ḡur*, *ūr*.⁶ *māši* *ù urra*, IV R. 5a 65; CT. 16, 20, 68.⁷ Text *A-Š*.⁸ Sign *AL*. *šitim*, *šidim* = *idinnu* is usually written with the sign *GIM*, POEBEL, PBS. V 117, 14 f. *amelu* *GIM* = *idinnu*, passim in Neo-Babylonian contracts.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 6. <i>dam dumu-bi šag-ba mi-ni-in-
dīg-ga-ám</i>
7. <i>uru-bi uru-šub-ba im-ma-ni-in-
tu-ra-ám</i>
8. <i>mu-un-ga-bi ní-e be-in-ne-ra-ám</i> ²
9. <i>uru-gál-la-bi nu-gál-la mi-ni-in-
tu-ra-ám</i> ³
10. <i>dim-ma-bi ġir ib-ta-an-kúr-ra-ám</i>
11. <i>túg-bi in-sūġ⁴-ám lil-e be-in-sīg-
ám</i>
12. <i>ú-kaš-a-bi ib-ta-an-ḫar-ra-ám</i>
13. <i>ga-ḫu-bi mi-ni-ib-til-la-ám</i>
14. <i>é-e kúr ág-rig⁵ be-ib-aga-a</i>
15. <i>a-še-ir-gig im-me er be-ib-lu-lu</i>
16. <i>balag-di galu i-lu ba-ab-bi-ám</i>
17. <i>šag nu-ḫi-ba-bi mu-un-na-ni-ib-
gi-gi</i>
18. <i>ù-mu-un-bi me-bi ba-ra-an-è-a-
áš⁷</i>
19. <i>á-bi nu-mu-un-tag-ga-ám li-bi
nu-tar-ra-ám</i> | 6. Wife and children within her he
slew.
7. Their city a subjected city he
caused to become. ¹
8. Its property he himself took as
plunder.
9. Their city which was he has
caused to become a city which
is not.
10. Its works of art he placed a
hostile foot upon.
11. Its garments ⁵ he seized away,
the winds tore them in shreds.
12. Its food and drink he pilfered.
13. Their infants(?) he caused
to perish.
14. The temple a stranger plundered.
15. Bitter sighing I utter, tears I
pour out.
16. Oh sing to the lyre, he that
speaks the songs of wailing.
17. Their hearts which are not glad
it will pacify.
18. The decrees of their lord they
have glorified.
19. He ⁸ concerns himself not with
their oracles; he cares not
for their future. |
|--|--|

¹ Literally, "caused to enter."

² *munga* with *ra*, to carry away property as booty, see SBH. No. 32 Rev. 21 and BL. No. 51. The comparison with line 11 suggests, however, another interpretation, *immer-e be-in-ne-ra-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* = *šalálu*.

⁷ See Obv. II 23.

⁸ Enlil.

⁷ *libbu rûku*; see ZIMMERN, KL. No. 8 I 3 and IV 28.

36. <i>galu erim-eka na-ām-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-ām</i>	37. They beseech
38. <i>šag ág-gíg-gá ib-síg-mu ad-bi-šú</i> <i>PI-gà²-bi dé-ib-šed-dé-ne-ām</i>	38. My heart which is filled with misery by their wailing . . . may they calm.
39. <i>ér-bi ugú³-mà mu-un-mà-mà-dam</i>	39. Their weeping is made unto me.
40. <i>E+SAL⁴ šag-iṣi-du ma-ar ma-</i> <i>[an-tuk-tuk-e-ne-ām]⁵</i>	40. In the mother goddess' sanctuary prayer to me they offer.
41. <i>d.Mu-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>šg-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</i> <i>ra]</i> - <i>la</i>	9.
10. <i>ib-dū-e KA-mu-na- ab</i>	10.
11. <i>gar-ra-ge-eš šag-iṣi-du</i>	11.
12. <i>arruš⁸ 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) = muḥḥu*.

⁴ Br. 5515. For this sign with value *maštaku*, see DELITZSCH, H. W., *sub voce* and BA., V 620, 20. The Sumerian value is *ama*, Chicago Syllabar, 241 in AJS. 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 AJS. 33, 182, 240.

⁹ See BL. 128, 21.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>13. <i>šag-ṣu šag-sig ib-ta-ba-e šag-laḡ
ma-ra-an-gar-ra-me</i>(sic!)¹</p> <p>14. <i>sag-ṣu ṣi-ṣi- i²giš-šub-ba-ṣa ul-šú³
ma-ra-an-mā-mā</i></p> <p>15. <i>ág-kúr-ri ṣa-ar⁴ i-ri-ib-aga-e šu-bi
dé-ib-gi-gi⁵</i></p> <p>16. <i>uru-ki-a šu-bar-ri nu-ṣu-a mur-
ri⁶ dé-ib-sig-gi</i></p> <p>17. <i>ki-šub gú 5-kam-ma-ám</i></p> | <p>13. Thy heart whose portion has been affliction become for me a glad heart.</p> <p>14. Thy head which is held aloof turn unto me to glorify thy portion.</p> <p>15. The hostile deeds which he did unto thee be returned unto his hand.</p> <p>16. In the city which knew not forgiveness let there be given <i>the cry of multitudes</i>.</p> <p>17. A melody of prostrations. Fifth section.</p> |
|--|---|
-
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>18. <i>à-še ù-mu-un-ṣu gú-šub-ba kúr
me-e-ši-in-ra-ám</i></p> <p>19. <i>arruš⁷ ma-ra-an-tuk-ám na-ám-ṣu
in-tar-ra-ám</i></p> <p>20. <i>sig-ṣu a-še-ir ib-ta-an-è-a ib-si
be-in-dúg-ga-ám</i></p> <p>21. <i>gar-šág-gi-ṣu-ra⁸ ma-ra-ni-in-tu-
ra-ám</i></p> <p>22. <i>^dNin-urašā maškim kalag-ga
sag-ṣu be-in-tuk-ám⁹</i></p> <p>23. <i>dun-ú-a-ni giš-ib-ši-in-gub-ba-
ám¹¹</i></p> <p>24. <i>é-kur kalag-kalag dū-dū-ù-dam á-
mu-un¹² ba-an-ag-ám</i></p> | <p>18. Now thy lord <i>anger upon the foe</i> will direct.</p> <p>19. He will have mercy and will decree thy fate.</p> <p>20. Unto thy brick walls where lamentation arose he will command "it is enough."</p> <p>21. Thy happy soul he will cause to return for me.</p> <p>22. Ninurash the valiant guardsman will sustain thy head.</p> <p>23. His pastor¹⁰ he will establish over (the city).</p> <p>24. Ekur like (a temple) which has been tenderly built he will make</p> |
|---|--|

¹ Read *A-AN*, i. e., *ám*.

² Cf. *sag-bi ṣi-ṣi*, ZIMMERN, K.L. 199 l 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-gí-gí-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>su³-ba-la-túm-túm-mu in-na-an-dúg-ga-ám</i> | 28. Unceasingly he commands. |
| 29. <i>garza kúr-ri ib-sū⁴-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-luḡ erím⁶-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>aḡag-gi el-e bi</i> | 32. To cause to be holy and pure |
| 33. <i>uru-aḡag 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^d-Da-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>aḡag 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 *gigunna*, 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* = *šuḡammumu*, see SBP. 66, 20.

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

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 ġa-ma-an-sġg | 4. In the South and North ¹ may give lordship over them unto me. |
| 5. dġg-dġg-ga ^d Nu-nam-nir-ra-ta | 5. By the commands of Nunamnir, |
| 6. ka-ta-ġ-a ^d En-lil-lā-ta | 6. By the utterance of Enlil, |
| 7. An-nienim-ġid-dġmā-a-ar ġa-ma-an-de | 7. May Anu speak for me an order of confidence. |
| 8. šibir-šibir šu-mu ġe-ma-sġg | 8. Scepters may he give unto my hand. |
| 9. ^d Uraša-e dġ-aġag-ga ² -ni-a sal-ġid ġa-ma-ni-dġg | 9. May Uraša bestow upon me faithful care in his holy throne room. |
| 10. ^d Nin-lil-li šag lġg-lġg-ga-ni ³ | 10. Ninlil whose heart is pure, |
| 11. bara-maġ ud-sud-du ġš-KU-MAL ⁴ | 11. She that in the far-famed chapel assures length of days, |
| 12. ġiš-šub-ba-mā bal-bi šġg-ġi-da | 12. She that renders good my portion exceedingly, |
| 13. kuš ⁵ ^d En-lil-lā-ka-dug-ġi-mā | 13. She who unto Enlil spoke assuringly for me good words, |
| 14. ġ-kur-ri ud-šu-uš sag-uš-mā | 14. She who daily protects Ekur for me, ⁶ |

¹ Literally, "Below and above."² Probably a variant of dġ-aġag. As the phrase is written *dug-aġag-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 dġ, dġ, rendered into Semitic by the loan-word dġ, with the sense "high altar, pedestal of a statue, altar or throne room" see AJS. 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 ġš ġa-ra ma-ra-ġun-ġā-e, "will speak to thee words of peace."⁵ kuš, preposition = *eli*, is derived from kuš = *ġumru*, "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 *mukinu* or *mukil rġš*) it seems necessary to render *ġ-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> | 15. May render me my fate in
Kenur the vast place. |
| 16. <i>^dEn-ki en-gal erida-(ki)-ga-ge</i> | 16. May Enki the great lord of
Eridu |
| 17. <i>ganun řid-mağ sag-mà ġa-ma-ni-in-uš(?)</i> | 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> | 5. Of the great Kenur its care |
| 6. <i>^dEn-lil-li á-bi ġu-mu-da-na-ág</i> | 6. Of Enlil his oracle be proclaimed. |
| 7. <i>dúg-dúg-ga a-a ^dEn-lil-lá-šú</i> | 7. Unto the words of father Enlil— |
| 8. <i>^dIš-me-^dDa-gan me-en ġu-mu-
 ġe-in-ši-ri</i> | 8. Ishme-Dagan am I—verily my
neck I will turn. |
| 9. <i>ka-ta-è-a lugal-mà-šú ġiř-túg-ni²
 ġe-im-ši-ag</i> | 9. To the utterance of my king
may I lend my ³ ears. |
| 10. <i>ki-en-gi-ra nig-si-sá ġe-ni-in-gar</i> | 10. In Sumer justice may I institute. |
| 11. <i>Nibru-(ki) an-gim ġu ġe-im-mi-
 uř</i> | 11. Nippur may I exalt like heaven. |
| 12. <i>é-kur-ra me-bi ġu-mu-un-ūr-ūr</i> | 12. Of Ekur its decrees I will deliver. |
| 13. <i>ġiř(?)-ğar(?) ù-a-ba li-be-[in-tar]</i> | 13. Of the plans(?) unto their care
may I give heed. |
| 14. <i>garza⁴ ki-ta řub-ba-bi ki-bi ġe-
 [mu-un-ġi]</i> | 14. The sacred relics which have
fallen from their places may
I restore to their places. |
| 15. <i>^dEn-lil-lá me ġal-ğalag-[ni]</i> | 15. Of Enlil his precious decrees— |
| 16. <i>^dIř-me-^dDa-gan me-en</i> | 16. I am Ishme-Dagan—I will |
| 17. <i>^dNin-lil-lá</i> | 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 *billudû* 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-ziid me-lam gùr-ru kenag^d Uraša-a</i> | 2. Faithful woman, bearing a sheen
of terrible splendor, beloved
of Urashâ, |
| 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-dê 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-imin-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-ru-šú mu-e-
lal</i> | 7. The decrees thou bearest; the
decrees thou holdest in thy
hand. |
| 8. <i>me-mu⁴-kin me gab-ru 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 subdueth
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* = *bêlu*, *bellu*, 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-gà² 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. zu a-ba mu- un- zu</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-zu-šú kur ni-gam-gam-e</i> | 20. My lady, at thy cry the lands quake. |
| 21. <i>ní-me-lam-ra⁴-zu-da nam-lù-gál-lu</i> | 21. At the fear of thy splendor let mankind |
| 22. <i>nig-me-gar ġir-bi ù-mu-ri-gub</i> | 22. With shouting await thee. |
| 23. <i>me-te me-ġuš⁵-bi šu-ba-e-ri-ti</i> | 23. Fittingly they have received their terrible decrees from thee. |
| 24. <i>i-lu er-ra-zu 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 <i>fury</i> 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. *ní*. Sic!² Var. *ma*.³ *ḫāmimat kiššati*.⁴ Sic! Prepositions *ra* and *da* in the same phrase!⁵ Text *ġir*!⁶ Cf. *mar-zen*, *gar-zen* = *ḫāšu*, SBP. 116, 33; K.L., 15 II 12.⁷ In liturgies usually translated by "the Word."

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|--|--|
| 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-gul-im-gul-da im-da-kuš-ù-ne</i> | 31. By the storm winds they were brought to woe. |
| 32. <i>gír-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</i> ^d <i>A-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne</i> | 34. Oh my lady, the Anunnaki, the great gods, |
| 35. <i>su-din-(gu)-dal-a-gim¹ dul-dé mu-e-ši-ba-ra-aš</i> | 35. Like a flying <i>sudin</i> -bird from the crannies hasten unto thee. |
| 36. <i>igi-gír-a-za-la² ba-lāg-gi-eš-a³</i> | 36. When before thy feet they run, |
| 37. <i>sag-ki gír-a-za sag-nu-mu-un-ne-gà-gà⁴</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-gul-la-za te-[en-te-en-na-ām]</i> | 39. Thine evilly disposed heart let become calm. |
| 40. <i>nin gār-ni šāg nin [. . . -ni . . .]</i> | 40. Oh lady, whose soul is magnanimous; oh lady [whose . . . is] |
| 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>gār⁵-sag ki-za ba</i> | 43. The mountains (?) thy place (?) |
| 44. <i>kā-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 *bé-in-da-ra-dú-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-gà-gà=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>
<i>ab-mú-[mú]</i> | 6. Their workmen in
supplicate thee. |
| 7. <i>uru-zağin-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-ağag-zu de-in-dúg-dúg gír-za</i>
<i>ge-ib-gí</i> | 9. May thy holy mouth speak the
command and thy feet return. |
| 10. <i>ša-ab-bi-la guš ge-ib-ta-an-zi-ni</i> | 10. From her midst mayest thou
cast the cruel one. |
| 11. <i>sal-bi dam-a-ni-ta šag-ga-na-áš</i>
<i>an⁶-da- ab- bi</i> * | 11. Let a woman with her husband
speak kindly. |
| 12. <i>gíg-ù-na-la⁷ na-an-ba-ni-ib-gí-gí</i> | 12. During the nights forever let her
return unto him. |
| 13. <i>nig-ağag šag-ga-na nam-mu-da</i>
<i>an-bur-ri</i> | 13. That which is pure in her heart
may she disclose. |
| 14. <i>ù-gul-zi-zi-i dumu-gal -^dZu-en</i>
<i>na-áš</i> | 14. <i>Fervid</i> intercession unto the
great son, Sin, |
| 15. <i>nin dingir-ra dirig-ga⁸ a-ba ki-za</i>
<i>ba-an-tum</i> | 15. Oh lady surpassing the gods
who beside thee brings? |
| 16. <i>me-zi-de nin-gal nin-e-ne</i> | 16. Establisher of decrees, oh great
lady, their lady, |
| 17. <i>uru-ağag-ta è-a ama-uku-ni-ir</i>
<i>dirig-ga⁸</i> | 17. Thou that risest from the holy
city, thou that surpassest 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* = *šarāḫu*.⁵ *a-a* = *è-a* = *ašá*. CT. 15, 11, 7; K. L. 3b 28. Cf. also the N. Pr. ^d*Gišbar-a* = ^d*Gišbar-è*.

The fire-god causes to come forth."

⁶ So the text for *šag-ga-áš na-an-da-ab-bi*.⁷ See above, line 36.⁸ For the construction *dirig* with *ra*, see *lù-uc-ir dirig* = *eli annim rabi*, POEBEL, PBS V 152 32⁹ Refers to Sin.

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| 18. <i>gal-ṣu igi-gál nin kur-kur-ra</i> | 18. Intelligent and wise, oh queen of the lands, |
| 19. <i>ṣi-gál kalama-ṣu-a ṣir-aṣag-ṣu
ga-a-an-dúg</i> | 19. Oh breath of life of thy Land,
I will recite thy holy songs. |
| 20. <i>dingir ṣi-me-a tum-ma ki-bi dúg-
-ga-bi</i> | 20. Divinity who has been made agreeable unto the fury of battle, whose words unto their place |
| 21. <i>ṣag-sud-du sal-ṣid lág-lág-ga me-
ṣu ga-mu-ra-ab-dúg(?)</i> | 21. Thou of the unsearchable heart, who purgest faithfully, I will relate thy decrees. |
| 22. <i>mi-ib-aṣag-gà ḡu-mu-e-ṣi-in-tu-ri</i> | 22. The holy <i>mi-ib</i> weapon verily thou causest to enter upon (the foe). |
| 23. <i>en me-en en- -ul-an-na me-en</i> | 23. "A ruler am I, a ruler of heaven am I." ¹ |
| 24. <i>gi-ma-sá-ab ni-ḡur-ru kešda-bi-
dúg</i> | 24. The reed censer I bear and I arrange the ritual(?). |
| 25. <i>ki-ṣág-ga be-in-gar mà-e nu-mu-
un-ne-ti-li</i> | 25. At the parentalia I place it; and these things I cease not to do. |
| 26. <i>ud-de ba-nim ud-eš da(?) -bíl</i> | 26. By day I and daily renew |
| 27. <i>giš-gig ud-de ba-nim ? -da im-mi-
dù</i> | 27. By night and day I and in . . . am clothed(?) ² |
| 28. <i>KA-lál-mu ṣu-? a-ba-ab-tum</i> | 28. My of honey I bring. |
| 29. <i>ninda-mur-ṣág-ṣág-mu da-ta ba-
e-de-ḡi</i> | 29. By my pious offerings of baked cakes thou wilt be pacified. |
| 30. <i>nam-mu ^aEn-lil lugal an-ki</i> | 30. Something Enlil lord of heaven and earth |
| 31. <i>an-ra enim-mu-na-ab an-e ḡa-ba-
duḡ-e</i> | 31. To Anu spoke as a command and verily Heaven is opened. |
| 32. <i>a-da-lam an-ra enim-mu-na-ab
an-e mu-e-tūb</i> | 32. Now unto Anu he has spoken the command and thou causest Heaven to shudder. |
| 33. <i>nam-lugal-an-ni sal-e ba-ab-kár-
ri-en</i> | 33. The royal power of Anu thou a woman hast seized. |
| | |

¹ Here begins abruptly a passage spoken by the goddess herself. This is not unusual in liturgical texts.

² The sign is *dù*, not *dul*.

15204 (No. 5)

PSALM TO ENLIL CONTAINING A LONG INTERCESSION
BY THE MOTHER GODDESS

This liturgical psalm in one melody adds one more document of this kind to the classical Sumerian corpus of old short musical services on which the later complex liturgies were based.¹ The title, *árabu-(gu) árabu-(gu) múzu kúrra munmállášu záe 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-</i>
 <i>la-šú</i></p> <p>10. <i>tag-a-ṣu kur-ra ám-da-ma-al-la-</i>
 <i>šú</i></p> <p>11. <i>uru-me-a⁴ an ní-bi nam-dúb ki</i>
 <i>ní-bi nam-sīg</i></p> <p>12. <i>nibru-(ki)-a an ní-bi nam-dúb</i>
 <i>ki ní-bi nam- sīg</i></p> <p>13. <i>ama mu-ġig-gi 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-</i>
 <i>ra-ra⁶</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 pro-
 claimed in the world.</p> <p>8. At thy name which is pro-
 claimed in the world,</p> <p>9. At thy discourse which is pro-
 claimed 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.⁵</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 = *kaḏādu 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 ¹ -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.
<hr/>	
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-ur 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. [ū-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 ū 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-ur 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 = *našû*, variant of *ga* (ILA) = *našû*. 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.

⁴ The sign for *enru* certainly has a phonetic value ending in *d*; note NIKOLSKI No. 262, where the sign is followed by *da* and ZIMMERN, *Kultlieder*, 123 III 9, where it is followed by *dē*.

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 Kultlieder*. 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-(kì)-ra-ge gú []	9. Ninmar.....
10. aṣag 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 ṣag 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.

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-zi-ir-
zi-ri-³e-ne -e-ne 30. Of the . . . its holy . . . they
shattered and
31. [a uru-gul-]la é-gul-la-mu gi-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 šu-
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-āš 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.

consists in the pillage of the city and its holy places by a foreign invader, who is repeatedly compared to an ox. Like the ordinary psalms of public service the singers abruptly introduce the goddess speaking in the first person as in lines 16; 18-20; 33-4. But the lamentation does not have refrains and at the end the style approaches nearly that of a prayer. The tablet also bears no liturgical note at the end. For these reasons and because of the general impression which the lines leave with the present interpreter, he classifies this text as the product of a scholastic liturgist of the Ur or Isin period whose work was not incorporated into the corpus of the official breviary.

OBVERSE

1. *ṣabar aga-[ṣuʔ] im-gūr-gūr-ri*
2. *til-igi-da¹-ṣu im-bi-bi-ri*
3. *ṣid²-gu-šig suḡur-sū-lal (ḡa)-da-kūr*
4. *eg ḡa šig eg-eg ḡa sū-lum-ma-gim im-bul-[]*
5. *gud-dam ra e-sir unug-(ki)-ga-ge šār-ām mu-na-ab (ʔ)-uš*
6. *šār-ra giš-KU-A⁴ mu-na-an-dūr-ru-ne-eš*

¹ *igi-da* occurs also in the title of Sin, *igi-da-gál*, ZIMMERN, KL., No. 1 Obv. 13 and 6. The most natural interpretation is to regard *da* as a variant of *du*, hence "to go before."

² Written *túg*. *gu-šig* is a kind of plant, on a tablet of the Tello Collection in Constantinople, MIO. 7086. For the meal of the *gu-šig* see also CT. X 20, II 33 and REISNER, *Templeurkunden*, 128 Col. III.

³ Restored from line 14. Here begins the rehearsal of the woes of Erech.

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

7. *šattam-a-ni lugal gab-gál¹ ki-gub-
bu-ne ba-ra-è* 7. Her precentor,² the defender
king, whither they go, went
up.
8. *ugnim-e igi-im- ma- an- šig* 8. The hosts of peoples she beholds.
9. *nar-e li-du-a šu-i-ni-in-gi ūb³
šu-na be-in-šub* 9. The singer refuses to chant and
from his hand has thrown the
drum.
10. *ni⁴-nag-a-žu ni-nag-a-žu* 10. Thou drinkest not; thou drink-
est not.
11. *a⁵ nu-e-nag amaš-žu um-mi-ni-
nag* 11. Water thou drinkest not, but
thy sheepfolds drink.
12. *ni-nag-a-žu ni-nag-a-žu* 12. Thou drinkest not; thou drinkest
not.
13. *kaš nu-e-nag ūš⁶-žu um-mu-ni-
nag* 13. Beer thou drinkest not, but thy
protégés drink.
14. *gud-dam e⁷ e-sir unug-(ki)-ga-ge
šár-ám ma-ra-mi-ù-uš* 14. Like an ox going forth in the
streets of Erech like a multi-
tude(?) he pursues thee.
15. *šar-ra-ám giš-KU-A ma-ra-dúr-
ru-ne-eš* 15. In multitudes they have taken
up their abodes in the habita-
tions.
16. *mèn⁸ a-na-ag-en sal-e mà-a ma-
an-dug-ga sal-un-ne⁹ mèn-ne-
en* 16. As for me what shall I do? I
who have bestowed care.
A sacred devotee I am.
17. *gud-dam e ib-tag-ra be-in-ra ni-
žu¹⁰ e-ne-ib-uš* 17. Coming forth like an ox, *hasten-
ing in destructive fury* he came;
even thee thyself he pursued.
18. *šar-úr á nam-ur-sag-gà-mu šu-
nu-um-ma-ti* 18. The *šar-ur* 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-ù*=*nu-kuš-ù*; 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 gállab-mà a-gil-ṣu¹-bi dal-la mi-ni-gi²*
 20. *giš-dal é-an-na pa-ba mi-ni-in-kud*
 21. *gud-dam sil-šú im-ma-na-ra-è*
 22. *gud-dam e e-sir unu-(ki)-ga-ge šár-ra mu-ni-in-gaṣ*
 23. *šár-ra giš-KU-A-a-na mu-ni-in-diḡ*
 24. *giš-ig ká-gal-la im-ma-an-gūr-gūr*
 25. *a-tuḡ⁴-na-ka im-ma-an-è*
 26. *šu-PEŠ⁵ dumu šu-PEŠ⁵ d.Innini-ge*
 27. *šen-urudu mu-na-an-bar-ri-ia-dúḡ⁶*
 28. *gud-dam ra im-ma-an-ra-aḡ*
 29. *gud-dam e er-im-ma-an-šub⁷ sīg-sīg-ni-mā-mal⁸*
19. Of my temple in Hallab its treasures he has hidden far away.
 20. Of the *tallu*³ of Eanna its *PA* he broke off.
 21. Like an ox he came up against thee on the highways.
 22. Like an ox going forth in the streets of Erech he slaughtered multitudes(?).
 23. Multitudes in their habitations he caused to die.
 24. The doors of the city gate he shattered.
 25. Her defender he caused to go forth,
 26. The fisherman, the son fisherman of Innini.
 27. The copper vessels he scattered.
 28. Hastening like an ox he has wrought demolition.
 29. Coming forth like an ox tears he has caused to fall and misery he caused to be.

¹ Phonetic variant of *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 = piḥḥ*, confine, RA. 9, 77 I, 10; note also *é-a-ám gi = ina bīti piḥḥ*, K. 41 Col. II 12.

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

⁴ Variant of *á-laḡ = rēṣu*. 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, *dDumu-ṣi šu-PEŠ*. POEBEL interpreted this as a variant of *šu-ḡa = 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-ḡe-ni-ib-ila-ia-dúḡ*, RADAU, *Miscellaneous Texts*, No. 4, 5. See also *Sum. Gr.* § 38, 2. The form above arose from *bar-ri-a-a-dúḡ*. The prefixed element *dúḡ* 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 = ittanabak*, SBH. No. 62, 15, and forms cited by MEISSNER, SAI. 8345. See also *šu < 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 zig ¹ -mu sum-ma-ab | 30. Oh Innini, grant me favor. |
| 31. gud kur-ra ga-mu-ra-ab-sum tür-
zu ga-mu-ra-ab-lu ² | 31. Oxen of the mountains I will
give thee; thy stables I will
enrich for thee. |
| 32. udu kur-ra ga-mu-ra-ab-sum
amaš-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-lu | 32. Sheep of the mountains I will
give thee; thy sheepfolds I
will enrich for thee. |
| 33. ašag ^d Innini-ge mu-na-ni-ib-gí-
gí ³ | 33. Holy Innini replied:— |
| 34. a-šag gállab-(kí)-a dúr-gar be-e-
gar-ra e-ku ⁴ ni-nad-ba | 34. "In the plains of Hallab thou
shalt make thy abode where
the people repose." |
| 35. ama-ba ⁵ gír(?) ga-ra-ab-túg-e
balag-al ⁶ gu-mu-ra-ab-bi | 35. May their hosts attend(?) thee
and proclaim to thee on lyre
and harp(?) |
| 36. ^d Innini nam-ur-sag-[zu] ⁷ ga-ám-
dúg | 36. Oh Innini, I will rehearse thy
valor. |
| 37. zag-sal-zu dug-ga-ám | 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*, *dīšû*, passim.

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

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

⁵ For ama = *ummatu*, *ummanātu*, see *Sum. Gr.* 202, ama² 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. ^dZu-en-e kidur¹ ba-ni-in-gar
8. uri-ki uru šag-gi-pad-da-na
9. è gud-gim ub-im-me
10. lugal-mu sá-rin-na-ni⁴
11. ki-maḡ ki-kal-kal ḡe-en-na-nam-
ma-ám
12. ^dZu-en-e uru kenag-gà-ni
13. ēš uri-(ki) me-aḡag-aḡag-ga
14. lugal-mu bara
15. []-e nin [] gar-ra
16. sa- [gar-] ra- ám⁵
17. e⁶ ^dNannar [āb -] zu me-a
mu-'u-lu en ^dAš-īm-ūr
19. uru igi-ila ēš šag [-gál ul-] ti⁷-a-
ni-mà
20. šuruppak-gim [nam-ḡar-]-gud-e⁸
gál-la-bi
21. . . . -e āb-mu-ba-ši-in-dib
22. [e dumu] ^cEn-lil-lá kalama me-a
mu-'u-lu en ^dAš-īm-ūr
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 Ašimur.
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 Ašimur.

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

² Enlil.

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

⁴ Cf. TSA. 31 Obv. II.

⁵ See PBS. Vol. XII 12.

⁶ 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.* 1. 12. The hymn to Sin, SBP. 296, contains in line 14 the same phrase.

⁸ Text not entirely certain. If correctly read the signs *HAR-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 24. Into my city of the lifting of the
eyes, the home of his own
abode, which is his fulness of
luxury,
25. [šuruppak]-gim nam-šar-gud-[e]
gál-la-bi 25. Whose design is like Šuruppak,

REVERSE

1. [áb-mu-ba-] ši-in-dib 1. [.] I have caused him
to be a shepherd(?)
2. [dumu-sag ^dEn-lil-lá kalama 2. [First son of Enlil, in the Land
me-a] mu-'u-lu en ^dAš-im-ür he is] ruler, lord Ašimur,
4. [ud-]-dug-ga [ki-gar-ra mu-šú ga] 4. ["He that institutes battle"]
-sá-a as a name I name.
5. ^dAš-im-ür [šag]-gi-pad-da-mu 5. Ašimur thewhom my
heart has chosen,
6. é-mud-[kur-ra-mu]¹áb-mu-ba-ši- 6. In Emudkurramu I caused to be
in-dib a shepherd(?).
7. dumu-sag ^dEn-lil-lá kalama me-a 7. First son of Enlil, in the Land
mu-'u-lu he is ruler.
8. ud-dug-ga²-ki-gar-ra mu-[šú] ga- 8. "He that institutes battle" as
sá-a a name I name.
9. ^dAš-im-ür me-en ki [šag]-gi-pad- 9. Ašimur thou art; where my
da-mu heart has chosen,
10. é-mud-kur-ra-muáb-[mu-ba]-ši- 10. In Emudkurramu I have caused
in- dib thee to be a shepherd(?).
11-12. lugal tūr-aṣag-gaáb-ṣu me-a 11-12. Lord of the clean sheepfolds,
mu-'u-lu šul-ṣa munsub-nun-na ruler of the flocks is he, the
glorious(?) hero, far famed
shepherd.
13. šag-túm-ma bara ša mu-un-dū 13. In the meadow a sanctuary I
eš-e uri-(ki)-mu-[šú] 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* = *ṣaltu*.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 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* = *tigû*, 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-ri*, 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 ni⁴-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*.

4. [-]su-ud arad-na sag ki-
ba-da-ab-gál-la 4.
5. [-]nae-ne-em-súr-ragur-
da-bi 5. [] the angry word be
prevented.
6. [] ba-da-an-dúr-ru-
eš-a 6.
7. úr-ge-im-ma-gid-gid-da ge-im-
ma-lal-lá 7. The foundations it has anni-
hilated, and reduced to the
misery of silence.
8. an-ra a-i-ne-mà me-e ge-im-ma-
na-dúg 8. Unto Anu I will cry my "how
long?"
9. ^dMu-ul-lil-ra ní-mu šag-ne-du
ge-im-ma-ag 9. Unto Enlil I myself will pray.
10. uru-mu nam-ma-gul-lu ge-im-me-
ne-dúg 10. "My city has been destroyed"
will I tell them.
11. Uri-(ki) nam-ma-gul-lu ge-im-
me-ne-dúg 11. "Ur has been destroyed" will
I tell them.
12. uku-bi nam-ma-bir(?) -e ge-im-
me-ne-dúg¹ 12. "Its people have been scattered"
will I tell them.
13. an-ni e-ne-em-bi ba-ra-mu-un-
gur 13. May Anu prevent his word.
14. ^dMu-ul-lil-e ni-šág ge-ám- bi 14. May Enlil order kindness.
15. šag-mu ba-ra-be-in-šed-di 15. And may my heart be at peace
from sorrow.
16. uru-mu gul-gul-lu-ba-da-bi ge-im-
ma-an-?-eš 16. My city which has been de-
stroyed may they
17. Uri-(ki) gul-gul-lu-ba-da-bi ge-
im-ma-an-?-eš 17. Ur which has been destroyed
may they
18. uku-bi díg gi-bil-šu ág-bi ga-ba-
an-tar-ri-eš 18. Of its slain people may they
decree a new dispensation.²
19. me-e nig-dúg-mu mu-ne-sum-ma-
gim³ 19. I will offer my meditations unto
them.
20. me-e uru-mu-da ge-en-bi mu-un-
da-lal-eš 20. I (will say to them): "In my
city they have despised the
splendor."
21. Uri-(ki) mu-durun-da ge-en-bi
mu-(un)-da-lal-e-eš 21. "In Ur the city of homes they
have despised the splendor."
22. an-ni [dúg-ga-ni gur] nu-kúr-ru-
dam 22. Anu whose words in this man-
ner change not.

¹ Lines 50-54 on Col. III may be restored from lines 8-12.² Literally, "decree again their oracle."³ gim, emphatic suffix.

23. ^dMu-ul-lil-e enim-bi è-a-ni . . .
...e-dam

24. ki-sub-gú 4-kam-ma-am
25. uru-ni ba-da-gul-am me-ni ba-
da-kúr-am

26. giš-gí gál-bi im

27. ^dEn-lil-li ud-de gu-ba-an-de
28. uku-e še-am-ša
29. ud ge-gál-la kalama-da ba-da-an-
kar
30. uku-e še-am-ša
31. ud dug Ki-en-gi-da ba-da-an-kar
uku-e še-am-ša

32. ud gul-gál-e á-ba-da-an-ag uku-e
še-am-ša
33. kin-gal-ud-da ud-da-gub-ba šu-na
im-ma-an-sig
34. ud kalam-tíl-tíl-e gu-ba-an-de
uku-e še-am-ša

35. ^dEn-lil-li ^d.Gi-bil á-tag-a ki-mu-
na-ni-in-[]
36. ud-gal an-na-ge gu-ba-an-de uku-
e še-am-ša
37. ud-gal-e² an-ta gu-ni-ib-im-me
uku-e še-am-ša

23. Enlil the going forth of whose
word

24. It is the fourth song.
25. Her city has been destroyed,
her ordinances have been
changed.
26. This is its antiphon.

27. Enlil utters the spirit of wrath
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 has sent 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.

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 *šêdu* 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 = *ûmu 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.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 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> | 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> (?) |
|--|--|

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-[zu</i> ¹	]	3. Thy weary foot []

¹ Cf. RA. 12, 37, 1.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 4. <i>á-lirum-šú¹-[kuš-ù-žu]</i> | 4. <i>Thy weary</i> arms—breast—hands
[.] |
| 5. <i>a-žu²-guruš a-žu [.]</i> | 5. Oh strong healer, ohhealer
[.] |
| 6. <i>kalag ^aDa-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-žu a damni-kuš-ù-a-žu</i> | 8. Oh healer, how long husband
. wilt thou be weary? |
| 9. <i>a-žu a tu-muni-kuš-ù-
a-žu</i> | 9. Oh healer, how long son
wilt thou be weary? |
| 10. <i>i-dé (?)tu-ru ? [na?] žu-dé</i> | 10. When beforethou
sittest, |
| 11. <i>kalag da-ga-ám-ma³-nižu-dé</i> | 11. Oh strong one, when <i>into</i> his
<i>assembly</i> thou |
| 12. <i>a-rib⁴ šu-si me-ria-bal-mà
na-nam</i> | 12. Alas he whose fingers and feet
[are bound], my irrigator ⁵ is
he. |
| 13. <i>šag-žu-šú la-ağ-[la-ağ-]ğú-a-žu</i> | 13. Because of thee she wanders far
for thee. |
| 14. <i>kalag ^aDa-mu-mu a-bal-mà na-
nam</i> | 14. My sturdy Damu, my irrigator
is he. |
| 15. <i>ama-žu 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-ža ù-zi-ga-ža sîr-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-ža ù(?) a-tar-ra-ža
sîr-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*=*puḫru*, RA. 11, 144, 8. See also *dakan*, divine abode, DELITZSCH, *Glossar*, 132.

⁴ Cf. SBP. 304, 13.

⁵ Title of Tammuz as spirit of the waters, see *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.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <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 lamenter(?) 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 Ī-si-in-(ki)-na mèn</i></p> <p>5. <i>tu-mu é-a ga-ša-an-mu⁸ d. Gu-nu-ra</i></p> <p>6. <i>tum-lu-aṣag 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* = *nagû*.

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.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 7. ^d .En-á-nun ¹ ama gù-an-ni-si mèn | 7. Enanun mother of lamentation
am I. |
| 8. ga-ša-an nigín-mar-ra ki-aṣag-ga
mèn | 8. Queen of Niginmarra, ² the holy
place, am I. |
| 9. ga-ša-an áš-te ³ . . . ga-ša-an La-ra-
ak-(ki) mèn | 9. Queen of Ašte, ⁴ queen of Larak. |
| 10. ama é-a ^d .Ašnan ^d .Aṣag-sud mèn | 10. Mother of the temple, Ašnan
the divine lustrator ⁵ am I. |
| 11. šā-ab-er-ri a-še-ir-ri ma-a kuš-ù-
mu | 11. Weeping and sighing where shall
I find rest? |
| 12. er é-kur-ra-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu | 12. Weeping for Ekur, where shall I
repose? |
| 13. er kenur-ra-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu | 13. Weeping for Kenur, where shall
I repose? |
| 14. er dù-aṣag-ga-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu | 14. Weeping for Duazagga, where
shall I repose? |
| 15. er é-dīm-ma ⁶ -ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu | 15. Weeping for the "House of the
King," where shall I repose? |
| 16. er uru-sag-gà-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu | 16. Weeping for the chief city,
where shall I repose? |
| 17. er tir-aṣag-ga ⁷ -ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu | 17. Weeping for the sacred forest,
where shall I repose? |
| 18. er ĩ-si-in-(ki)-na-ge ma-a kuš-ù-
mu | 18. Weeping for Isin, where shall I
repose? |
| 19. er é-gal-maḡ-a-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu | 19. Weeping for Egalmah, where
shall I repose? |
| 20. er La-ra-ak-(ki)-a-ge ma-a kuš-
ù-[mu ma-a na]-d-da-bi | 20. Weeping for Larak, where shall
I repose, where shall he rest? |
| 21. šā-ab dam-e-mu ša-ab [tu-mu-] ⁸
mu | 21. The ravished one my husband,
the ravished one, my son, |
| 22. [.] ki-el-la šāb mu-ud-na-
mu | 22. [In] the clean place, the
ravished one my spouse, |

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 *bit 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. 312, 12 and KL. 25 II 41.

³ Concerning the *titular litanies*, see PBS. X 156, 173, etc.

god until they are finished." The rubric is in Semitic which shows that the redaction was done by Semitic scholars.

The series as it finally issued from the hands of the liturgists in the Isin period was written upon a huge five(?) column tablet, the lower half of which has been published by ZIMMERN, *Alt-sumerische 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-šá</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-gíg-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
 ní-bi nam-dúb
10. ki ní-bi nam-sīg
11. ^dMu-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. daḡ-a-zu kur-ra-ám ma-ma-al-la-
 šú
14. an ní dúb sīg⁴ ki ní-bi nam-sīg
15. ama [nu]^b-gíg-gi ama nu-bar-ra
 dumu-ni mi-ni-in-gí-gi
16. ga-ša-an uru bar-ra-ra
 dumu-ni mi-ni-in-gí-gi
17. dumu-ni mi-ni-in-gí-gi
18. e-lum e-ne-em-zu-šú . . .
 kur-ri ni-in-gí-gi
19. ^dMu-ul-lil mu-lu ? A
20. kur-ri ni-in-gí-[gi]
21. e-lum za-e e-ne-em-zu an-e um-
 ma-[dúg]
22. an-e ib-[]
23. ^dMu-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-
 dule mother slays her son,
16. queen of the city, outside
 the city slays her son.
17. slays her son.
18. Oh exalted at thy word . .
 the foreign land thou *reducest*
 to the misery of silence.
19. 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*.

⁵ Omitted by the scribe. Line restored from Ni. 15204, 11.

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

- | | |
|---|--|
| 37. <i>te-e-ám ama-gan-ra ga-ša-an
sun-na-ra¹ dumu-ni ʒi-em-mà-
na-ad-du</i> | 37. How long shall the child-bearing
mother, the wild-cow queen,
reject her son? |
| 38. <i>a urú-a mu-lu im-me-a-ra² dumu-
ni ʒi-em-mà-na-ad-du</i> | 38. How long in the city shall he of
wailing reject his son? |
| 39. <i>a ki-dagar-ra-ám Nippur-ám ib
éš-ga-a-ra³</i> | 39. How long in the wide land, in
Nippur, in the region of the
vast abode? |
-
- | | |
|--|---|
| 40. <i>a-gal-gal šel-su-su mulu ta-ʒu
mu-un-ʒu⁴</i> | 40. Flood that drowns the harvests,
who comprehends thy form? |
| 41. <i>e-lum a-gal-gal šel-su-su mulu ta-
ʒu mu-un-ʒu</i> | 41. Exalted, flood that drowns the
harvests who comprehends
thy form? |
| 42. <i>^dmu-ul-lil ù-mu-un kur-kar-ra</i> | 42. Enlil lord of the lands, who etc. |

OBVERSE II

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

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. II 7.

² *mu-lu imme* also BE. 30, 9 l 2 = *bél kâli*(?), "Man of wailing." The late version replaces this line by [*te-e-ám*] *da-ga-a-ta dumu-ni*, "How long shall the wife of the strong man reject her son?", SBP. 114, 37. *dagāta* = *dam-guṭu*, SBH. 131, 60.

³ Probably a title of Ekur. *éšgalla* title of the temple in Kullab, KL. 3 II 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 *ursagga*—*climma* 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 dūr-dūr</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>zid al-ma-al</i> ² [<i>li-</i>] ³
<i>naṣ-tan-na aš-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 zid al-ma-al</i> | 13. Kneaded bread for the feast I set, |
| 14. [<i>kur-gal</i> ^d <i>en-lil-</i>] <i>da šu-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>šu-en-ne ba-túg</i> | 15. By Father Enlil it has been blessed. |
| 16. [<i>kur-gal</i> ^d <i>en-lil-</i>] <i>šu-en-ne ba-túg</i> | 16. The Great Mountain Enlil has blessed. |
| 17. [<i>a-a</i> ^d <i>mu-ul-lil</i>] <i>šu-en-ne ba-túg</i> | 17. The Father Enlil has blessed. ⁴ |
| 18. <i>ù-mu-un am urú-zi-ib-(ki) šu-en-ne-ba-túg</i> | 18. Lord, hero of the sacred city, has shown grace. |
| 19. <i>ama-é-maḡ</i> ⁵ - <i>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-zi-ib-(ki)</i> | 20. Asarludug, son of the sacred city, has shown grace. |
| 21. <i>mu-ud-na-an-ni</i> ^d <i>apin</i> ⁶ - <i>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 *pā=ekū*, canal, is used in this title of Zarpanit. She is originally a patroness of irrigation and ultimately identical with Ninā.

22. ^d.id ama urú zi-ib-(ki) 22. River goddess, mother of the sacred city, has shown grace.
23. ^d.a-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. ní-ma-al-e zi-ib ní-ma-al-la-ta 25. The kneaded bread which has been well made,
26. zi-ib ní-ma-al-la-ta ní-ma-al-e
zi-ib-bi dé-kùr-e² 26. Which has been well made, the kneaded bread may he eat graciously,
27. ^d.mu-ul-lil-li zi-ib-bi-kùr zi-ib-
bi dé-kùr-e 27. May Enlil graciously eat; yea graciously eat.
-
28. ki an-dúr-ru-na-šú uku³-e gar-
ma-an-zi-en 28. Where Anu sits may the people hasten.
29. [^d.A-nun-na⁴]-[ki an-dúr-ru-na-šú
uku-e gar ma-an-zi-en 29. [The Anunnaki.] Where Anu sits let the people hasten.
30. é-e ám-ba-al ne-sag-maš⁵ 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
ma-mu 31. A libation he offers, the priest of hand washing a libation offers.
32. é-e ud-ša-ab-šú e-dam ud-šúš-šú
e-dam 32. To the temple at mid-day go up! 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 dim-me-ir mu-zu an-ni
zu-zu-dam 35. Daily Anu merciful god⁶ on high proclaim.
36. ^d.am-an-ki am urú-zi-ib-(ki) an-
ni zu-zu-dam 36. The hero of heaven and earth, hero of the sacred city on high proclaim.
-
37. ^d.en-lil mà-gùn⁷ ^d.en-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-zu, sea? Cf. ab-zu-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 ^d.A-nun-na [gar-ma-an-zi-en], where Anu sits let the Anunnaki hasten.⁵ Cf. SBH. 44, 37.⁶ ilu ra'imu.⁷ napḫar 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 canopy 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-zi-ib-(ki) ám-</i>
<i>ma-ab-túg-e¹</i> | 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-áš²-ta [</i> | 13. |
| 14. <i>é-bi-tūr-ta^d [</i> | 14. |
| 15. <i>éš é-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 11 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 ní-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 ní 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-zi-da di	11. The lord of faithful word, who etc.
12. ^d mu-ul-lil a-a ka-nag-gà di	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 dūr-dūr di</i>	16. He that sleeps the sleep of perversity, who etc.
17. <i>me-e bur-maġ-a kaš ga-an-na-ab 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. 94¹ 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 *ġú-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 hobbled."

- | | |
|---|---|
| 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-dár-nun-na] | [15. Mother of the temple, Sadar-nunná.] |
| [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-ğal-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=^dbēlit.

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 *zir*=*zirru*, 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, *Drehem*, 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 èš-
nun-na] | 27. Lugalbanda lord of Ešnunak. |
| 28. é-rib an-na mu-lin-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 za-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., Gilgamish.

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-gira*, 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 *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-Semitiques*, 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 Ir ¹ -ra-gal kú-a-nu-si-ra ² | 7. Great Girra, hero unopposable. |
| 8. lamma-šág-ga sil-gig edin-na | 8. The good genius of the dark ways of the plain. ³ |
| 9. ^d Nin-sîg-ge ^d Guškin-banda-ra | 9. Ninsig Guškinbanda, |
| 10. ù-mu-un nig-nam-ma-ge HU ⁴
kur-kur ⁵ | 10. Lord of whatsoever is, the sculptured form. |
| 11. sal-si ⁶ -a ^d Ba-ú ⁷ -šág-ga | 11. The earth woman, beneficent Bau. |
| 12. ù-mu-un né me en ⁸ ga-ša-an
abzu | 12. Lord of might, lord of decrees, priest of the deep. ⁹ |
| 13. ^d Ašnan ^d Azag-sug ¹⁰ mun-galu ¹¹ -
sal-sal | 13. Ašnan the divine cleanser, the loud crying. |
| 14. [ù-mu-un] sa-a ¹² ki-sá ¹³ dumu
nun-ra | 14. Lord of light, director of the earth, and the daughter of the prince. ¹⁴ |
| 15. [gidim uru-]ma ur sag-imin | 15. The demon of my city the dog of seven heads. |
| 16. [^d Gi-bil mu- ? ?]-na ¹⁵ mu-ten ur-
sag | 16. Gibil warlike man. |
| 17. [^d Ut-ta-ed-dé mu-lu] ki-azag-ga | 17. Uttaedde lord of the holy place. |
| 18. [umun ma-da sub-be an-na] | 18. [Lord of the land, light of heaven.] ¹⁶ |

¹ Sign NITAĤ. 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* = *bêl 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*, *Dur-ru-si-ga*, see *Sum. Lit. Texts* 174, 9.

¹¹ Sic! Perhaps error for *ga-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-qu umun e ¹ -gid-da] | 19. [Lord Nergal, him of the seizing hand.] |
| 20. [ga-ša-an-né-da umun mu-zi-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. 1. c. 1. 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-laḡ-en-ne-en]*
To the temple with prayer, with prayer let us go.¹
2. *balag² é-e dirig sub-da [mu-un-laḡ-en-ne-en]*
To the lyre unto the temple which surpasses all let us go.
3. *balag nigin-na-e sub-da ^dMu-[ul-lil-ra mu-un]*
To the lyre unto the merciful one with prayer, [unto Enlil,]
4. *balag dīm-me-ir mu-lu sub-da ^dMu-ul-[lil-ra mu-un]*
To the lyre unto god, the lord, with prayer, unto Enlil [let us go].
5. *dīm-me-ir lu-gāl-lu-ne-en sub-da mu-un-laḡ-en-[ne-en]*
Unto him who is god of his people with prayer let us go.
6. *me-en-ne é-e tūb a-ra-ṣu-a mu-un-laḡ-en-ne-[en]*
We "Oh temple repose" in prayer come.
7. *me-en-ne ki-e tūb a-ra-ṣu-a mu-un-laḡ-(en)-ne-en ^dMu-[ul-lil-ra]*
We "Oh earth repose" in prayer come, unto Enlil (come).
8. *ù-mu-un šā-ab tūb-e-da in-gā³-laḡ-(en)-ne-en ^dMu-[ul-lil-ra]*
To pacify the heart of the lord behold we come unto Enlil.
9. *šā-ab ḡun-gā bar ḡun-gā-da in-gā-laḡ-ne-en ^dMu-[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-tūb-(en)-ne-en ^dMu-[ul-lil]*
We will pacify the heart of the lord, yea of Enlil.
11. *šā-ab an-na šā-ab ^dMu-ul-lil-lá mu-un-tūb-(en)-ne-en*
The heart of Anu and the heart of Enlil we will pacify.
12. *^dMu-ul-lil-lá dam-a-ni ^dNin-lil-lá*
[The heart of] Enlil and his wife Ninlil [we will pacify.]
13. *^dEn-ki ^dNin-ki ^dEn-mul ^dNin-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-gù 10-kam-ma*¹

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-zi-[em]*
My lord thy word on man has fallen.
21. *enem-žu galu ki⁷-kal-ra na-an-na-ab-zi-[em]*
Thy word on him of the foreign land has fallen.
22. *enem-žu galu en-na nu-šeg-ra na-an-na-ab-zi-[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 gí-gí-ra.*
A prayer for the brick walls of Ekur, that it return to its place.

ki-šù-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*

OBVERSE I

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

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-zu]</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 [^{giš}erin-na-
ta</i> | 13. In the great dark chamber of
odorous forest and cedar. |
| 14. []Šeš-dū-a-ka šeš-mul [. . . .
ta] | 14. In , |
| 15. []si-ra é-š-[di- ta] | 15. In the house of vision, |
| 16. []lu é babbar nu-[zu-ta] | 16. In house which knows the
sunlight not, |
| 17. [é]-gi-dim-dim-ma i-dé [nu-bar-
ri-ta] | 17. In the house of the "reed of
<i>sorrow</i> ," which eye beholds
not, |
| 18. []mağ dug-li duğ-[duğ-ta] | 18. In the great causing pros-
perity to abound, |
| 19. [é(?)]-ku-a ^{giš} ik-[ku-igi-lal-a-ta] | 19. In <i>Ekua</i> gate of the lifting of
the eyes, |
| 20. []-silim-ma mu-mar-
[mar-ra-ta] | 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. |
| <hr/> <i>ki-šù-bi-im</i> <hr/> | 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 (Ὀπίς) 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 Negin, also a title of Ninurta in Elam.⁴ The close connection between the goddess of Keš and Ninlil is again revealed, for Negin 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 Negin.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 Negin. 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, Kêši, Lagaš and Šuruppak are invoked in an incantation, CT. 16, 36, 1-9. The first melody of the Ashmolean Prism contains a reference to the horse of Šuruppak.

The textual history of this liturgy is interesting. The major text is written upon a four-sided prism now in the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford. The object is eight inches high, four inches wide on each surface and is pierced from top to bottom at the center by a small hole, so that the liturgy could be turned on a spindle. The writer published a copy of this prism or prayer wheel in his *Babylonian Liturgies*. The elucidation of this exceedingly difficult text was lightened somewhat by the discovery of a four column tablet in Constantinople, which originally contained the entire text. It was afterwards published as No. 23 of my *Historical and Religious Texts*. Since the edition of these two sources, the Nippur Collection in Philadelphia has been found to contain several fragments of the same liturgy. A portion of the redaction on several single column tablets had been already published by RADAU in his *Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts*, No. 8 (=Ni. 11876), last tablet of the series containing melodies six, seven, and eight. I failed to detect the connection of RADAU's tablet at the time of the first edition but referred to it with a rendering in my *Epic of Paradise*, p. 19.

¹ A temple *é-an-za-kar* 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 Negin.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.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 4. ^d <i>En-lil-li</i> <i>zag-šu</i> | 4. Enlil above all |
| 5. <i>ama</i> ^d <i>Nin-tud eš-[bar-kin]</i> | 5. The mother, Nintud oracles |
| 6. <i>é Keš-ki</i> <i>na</i> | 6. Temple in Keš |
| 7. <i>ÉN-HAR-(ki)</i> ¹ <i>-gim rib-ba</i> ² <i>galu</i>
<i>ši-in-[ga-an-túm-mu]</i> | 7. Like <i>EN-HAR</i> it has been made
surpassing; verily man has
brought solicitude for it. ³ |
| 8. <i>ur-sag-bi</i> ^d <i>Áš-šir-gi-gim rib-ba</i> | 8. Its hero like Ašširgi has been |
| 9. <i>ama ši-in-ga-an</i> ⁴ <i>-ù-tud</i> | 9. made surpassing; the mother ⁵
verily has borne him. |
| 10. <i>nin-bi</i> ^d <i>Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra</i>
<i>a-ba</i> ⁶ <i>er-mu-ni-in-duḡ</i> | 10. Its lady like Nintud has been
made surpassing. And then
wailing began. |
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|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 11. <i>gú</i> 2 <i>kam-[ma-ám]</i> | 11. It is the second song. |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
-
- | | |
|---|--|
| 12. <i>é an-šu ḡud-da ki-šu</i> ⁷ | 12. Temple, in heaven resplendent,
in earth |
| 13. <i>é an-šu</i> <i>ki-šu</i> | 13. Temple, in heaven, in
earth |
| 14. <i>é an-šu siḡḡa</i> ⁸ <i>ki-šu udu-[gim]</i> . .
. | 14. Temple, in heaven (<i>like</i>) a wild
goat, on earth like a sheep . .
. |
| 15. <i>é an-šu</i> <i>ki-šu dár-[bar-gim]</i>
. | 15. Temple, in heaven (<i>like</i>), in
earth like a roe |
| 16. <i>é an-šu</i> <i>gim</i> <i>ki-šu dár-</i>
<i>bar-gim</i> | 16. Temple, in heaven like,
in earth like a roe |
| 17. <i>é an-šu muš-gim siḡ-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 šātuḡat*, DELITZSCH, AL³ 134, 5. *KAL (ri-ib)* = *šātuḡu*, Chicago Syllabar 287; *rib* = *šutukku*, CT. 19, 11, 12; *nam-kalag-ga-ni rib-ba* = *dannussu šātuḡat*, IV Raw. 24a 48; *ana-gim ki-gim rib-ba-ru-ne* = *ša kima šamē u iršitim šātugata*, SBP. 250, 6. See also EBELING, KTA. 32, 5, *rib-ba* = *šu-tu-ku*.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.

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|--|---|
| <p>18. <i>é an-šú babbar-gim è-a ki-šú</i>
 ^d<i>Nannar-gim</i></p> <p>19. <i>é an-šú kur-ra ki-šu idim-ma</i></p> <p>20. <i>é an-ki 3 gu-ma-bi na-nam</i></p> <p>21. <i>ÉN-HAR-(ki) gim rib-ba galu</i>
 ^{ši-in-ga-an-túm-mu}</p> <p>22. <i>ur-sag-bi</i> ^d<i>Áš-šir-gi-gim rib-ba-</i>
 [ra]</p> <p>23. [ama] ^{ši-in-ga-an-ù-tud}</p> <p>24. [nin-bi] ^d<i>Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra</i>
 <i>a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duḡ</i></p> | <p>18. Temple, in heaven like the sun
 arising, in earth like the new
 moon</p> <p>19. Temple, in heaven shining,¹ on
 earth loud crying.²</p> <p>20. Of the temple of heaven and
 earth three are its attendants.</p> <p>21. Like <i>ÉN-HAR</i> it has been made
 surpassing; verily man has
 brought solicitude for it.</p> <p>22. Its hero like <i>Ašširgi</i> has been
 made surpassing; the mother
 verily has borne him.</p> <p>24. Its lady like <i>Nintud</i> has been
 made surpassing. And then
 wailing began.</p> |
|--|---|
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- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <p>25. [gú] 3-kam-ma-[ám]</p> | <p>25. It is the third section.</p> |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|

8384.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. [é-] <i>ní-gal-ar an-ni mu-</i>
 <i>maḡ sá</i></p> <p>2. [è-]-gal ^d<i>En-lil-li nam-</i>
 <i>ma-ni gal tar-ri</i></p> <p>3. [é] <i>á-nun-gál</i> ^d<i>A-nun-ge-ne kalam</i>
 <i>sigi(?)</i>³ <i>lám(?)</i>-mu</p> <p>4. <i>é ki-dúr im-dúb-bu</i>⁴ <i>dingir gal-</i>
 <i>gal-e-ne</i></p> <p>5. <i>é an-ki-bi-da giš-ḡar-bi ni-ḡar me</i>
 <i>el šu-ba-e-tag</i></p> <p>6. <i>é kalam ki-gar-ra ṣag-gar-ra uš-</i>
 <i>sa</i></p> | <p>1. [Temple] in splendor
 blazing, which Anu with a
 far-famed name has named.</p> <p>2. [Temple] great, whose fate
 Enlil has grandly decreed.</p> <p>3. [Temple] of the Anunnaki,
 in the Land <i>starlike gleaming</i>.</p> <p>4. Temple, peaceful dwelling place
 of the great gods.</p> <p>5. Oh temple whose design in
 heaven and earth has been
 planned, thou art possessed
 of pure decrees.</p> <p>6. Temple erected in the Land,
 where stand the chapels of the
 gods.</p> |
|---|---|

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

² *idim* = *šegû*, *nadāru* (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*) = *kaḫḫabu*, CT. 18, 49, 4.

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

- | | |
|---|---|
| 7. <i>é-kur ġe-gál ka-ṣal ud-ṣal-ṣal-li</i> | 7. Mountain house, radiant with abundance and festivity. |
| 8. <i>é ^dNin-ġar-sag-gà ṣi-kalam-ma ki-bi-šú gar</i> | 8. Temple in whose place Ninhar-sag has instituted the breath of life of Sumer. |
| 9. <i>é-ġar-sag-gal 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-gà-gà</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 galu ši-in-ga-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 ^dÁš-šir-ġi-ġim rib-ba ama ši-in-ga-ám-ù-tud</i> | 16. Its hero like Ášširgi has been made surpassing; the mother verily has borne him. |
| 17. <i>nin-bi ^dNin-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
šag-bi a-ba a-mu-un-žu ² | 26. It is a city, it is a city! Its
secrets who shall understand? |
| 27. é Keš-ki uru-in-ga-ám šag-bi a-
ba a-mu-un-žu | 27. The temple of Keš is a city!
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-
istrate. |
| 29. eš-bar-kin-dug-ga šu-gal mu-un-
dú-dú ³ | 29. The oracles proclaimed grandly
it executes. |
| 30. é-e gud-udu ⁴ -dam gud-ám-ma-
gur-ri(?) -en | 30. |
| 31. ?-e tum-ma-ám luĝ-luĝ- | 31. |
| 32. é-e gud-šár-ra-ám ⁵ al-dúg-[ga?] | 32. |
| 33. è-e udu-šár-ra-ám al-dúg-[ga?] | 33. |
| 34. giš-KU-LIL(?) -ne ⁶ gú-LIL-ma-
ám gál-li | 34. |
| 35. giš-KU-da ⁷ gùr | 35. |

COL. III

- | | |
|---|---|
| 2. ^{siš} A-TU-GAB-LIŠ-dam an-da-
PI-PI-SAL(?) | 2. |
| 3. ġar-sag-da mā-a ⁸ an-da-siĝ-siĝ-
[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 ^d 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 *žu* strengthened by augment *a*; cf. *a-ru*, *a-sil* in *Babyloniaca* II 96.³ Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A 10, 18.⁴ Semitic *šēnu*? Cf. EBELING, KTA. No. 4 Rev. 13.⁵ Var. Cstple. *an*.⁶ 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-ḡar-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 II 5.⁶ Var. Ni. 8384 *gal-e*; Var. Cstple. *gal-la*. According to CT. 24, 10, 8 the throne bearer of Enlil, but in 24, 26, 124 a *ligir-gal* in the attendance of the mother goddess.⁷ Ni. 8384 *edin-na*; Var. Cstple. *edin*.⁸ Both variants add *e*.⁹ Var. of *gú-gar* = *puḫḫuru*. See BL. 10, 30.¹⁰ Vars. omit *gim*.

21. <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-túm-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-gi-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 tūg-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>lāl a-šag-ga ki-aṣag-ga-ám mi-
.⁵</i> | 13. |
| 14. <i>en isimu-e⁶ abkal ubar-e-ne tū 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 *lāl-e ki-aṣag-ga nam-mi-in-KU?*⁶ Ni. 11876 omits *e*. This text proves that in the ideogram Br. 1202 the gloss *isimu* belongs properly to the first two signs only and that the original reading was *isimu-abkal*. See especially CT. 12, 16, 34 (*i-si-mu*) = *PAP-sig* = *usmū*. In the later period *abkal* was apparently not pronounced and the whole ideogram was rendered by *isimu*.⁷ This line is not on the prism.⁸ Ni. 11876 *ga-a-an*. Cstple. Var. *gig* simply.

18. [	<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 [?]- bi ám-mu-un-KU(?)</i>	21.
22.	<i>ÉN-HAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu 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 ^d.Áš-šir-gi-gim rib-ba 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 ^d.Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ṛa a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duḡ</i>	24. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then wailing began.
<hr/>		
25. [é(?)] 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 MEER, 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-nunuz-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.

<i>ru-ba-tum (rubatum) ši-si-it âli i-šes-si ina lal-la-ra-ti</i>	The princess, the princess, in misery shouts the wailing of the city. ¹
1. <i>nin-ri nin-ri gû-âm-me, úru in-ga-âm-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 Uraš-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-šíg ud-lal-a-gè 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 nî-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 ṣa ṣa-me-e e-til ra-ma-ni-šu ina šu-tu-ru-ti-ka al-lam</i>	15.

¹ The first line, together with its Semitic translation, is identical with the first line of the third tablet of the series *muten 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-gúr*, the crescent boat. Undoubtedly *mā-gúr* should be rendered by *nannaru* in this passage.

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| <p>16. <i>a-a</i> ^d<i>Nannar si-mă azag an-na</i>
 <i>še-ir-ma-al-'a ni-te-na</i></p> <p>17. <i>a-a</i> ^d<i>Nannar umun-e an-šár</i></p> <p>18. <i>umun</i> ^d<i>Nannar umun</i> ^d<i>Aš-ì-m-</i>
 <i>ùr-ra</i>¹</p> <p>19. <i>umun gu-la galu</i> ^{nin-ğul-ma-al-}
 <i>uru-çu ni-te-en-na</i> <i>še-ir-ma-</i>
 <i>al-la ni-te-en-na</i></p> <p>20. <i>uru-çu Nippur-(ki)</i> <i>galu nin-ğul-</i>
 <i>ma-al-la uru-çu</i></p> <p>21. <i>nigin kalam-ma-çu á-si</i> <i>ma-ni-</i>
 <i>ib-bi</i></p> <p>22. [<i>uru?</i>] <i>kalam-ma-da-çu gig-ga-an-</i>
 <i>na-ag-eš</i></p> <p>23. [] <i>çu-gà³ (galu) a-ba an-</i>
 <i>lăğ⁴-eš</i></p> <p>24. [] <i>çu-gà pag-da⁵ ma-an-</i>
 <i>lă-lal-la-ağ(?)⁶-eš</i></p> <p>25. <i>çu ba-ni-ib-gul</i></p> <p>26. <i>çu</i> <i>ba-ni-ib-sīg-sīg</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. Thy city and land are afflicted
 with woe.</p> <p>23. In thy . . . and thy . . . the
 scribes are driven away.</p> <p>24. In 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>.....</p> <hr/> <p>1. [<i>gū-ud nim</i>] <i>kur-ra</i> [<i>mu-lu ta-çu</i>
 <i>mu-un-çu</i>]</p> | <p>.....</p> <hr/> <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 = mādū, kapdu*. Probably a kind of augurer.⁶ Probably tautological writing for *lallağ = 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
kat-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. dúg-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 Nigingar, 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 *bil gi-mir par-ši ḥammu*, Temple which executes the totality of decrees. Note, however, the epithet é i-dé-ila = *bil niš inē*, House of the lifting of the eyes, SBP. 208, 11.

³ In any case an epithet of the temple of Urtā in Dilbat, *Ibe-^{4u}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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| 17. <i>nin gašan I-si-in-na-(ki) edin-na</i>
18. <i>nin ama é-dūr¹-aṣag-ga edin-na</i>
19. <i>nin ama ŠU-ḪAL-BI² edin-na</i>
20. <i>^dBa-ú nu-númuṣ ṣág-ga edin-na</i>
21. <i>éš é-rab-ri-ri umun ^dSá-kut-
mağ-a edin-a</i> | 17. The queen, lady of Isin, on the plain wails.
18. The queen, mother of the holy city, on the plain wails.
19. The queen, the mother, on the plain wails.
20. Bau, the pious woman, on the plain wails.
21. The abode, Erabriri, of the lord Sakutmah on the plain wails. |
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| 22. <i>e-lum-e la-lu u-u-a u-u-a</i>
23. <i>96-ám mu-šid-bi-im duppu 3-kam
e-lum di-da-ra nu al-líl</i>
24. <i>gab-ri Bár-sip-(ki) kima labiri-šu
ša-ṭir-ma barim duppu ^dBêl-
iḳ-šur mārī-šu ša ^dBêl-iškun-
ni</i>
25. <i>mar Iddin-^dPapsukkal pa-liḥ
^dNabu ina šar-tum la uštešir
ù ina me-riš-tum la u-ša-bi³</i> | 22. Oh honored one, the exuberant, alas, alas.
23. Ninety-six is the number of its lines. Third tablet of <i>Elum didara</i> , unfinished.
24. Copy from Barsippa, according to its original, written and collated. Tablet of Bêlikšur son of Belishkunni,
25. son of Iddin-Papsukkal worshipper of Nebo. In fraud he has not translated it and with wilful readings has he not published it. |
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¹ Probably variant of *é-dūr* = *adurû*, *kaṣru*, 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 šar-tu la uštešir-šu u ina me-riš-tum la i-ka-li*, "By fraud he has not translated it and with wilful readings has he not published it." For *šutešuru*, "to translate or edit a tablet," see LEHMANN, *Šamasb-šum-ukin*, 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 *ušaḫbi* = *ušaḫpi*.

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 *šaraḫitum*.

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 iršilim*, 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 *uut* ^š*Sarrat*.

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 Nīnūrta.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 *ḫisurrâ 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 Neujahrsfest*, 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 Ninhabursildu 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 Urashâ 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; *Shurpu* VIII 10.

Below will be found such interpretations of these mysteries as the condition of the tablet and the limits of our knowledge permit. Most difficult of all are the metal symbols which begin with Obv. I 10. Here silver is heaven, but it can hardly be explained after the manner of the same connection of Zeus Dolichaíos 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 Sabeans, 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 Sabeans, 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</i> <i>nin</i> (?) [<i>tù-tù-ge</i>] ³ | 2. is Ninhabursildu, ² queen of incantations. |
| 3. ^{duk} <i>gan-nu-tūr</i> ⁴ ^d [] <i>MES-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-gi-šimmar</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 *aḫal* ^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 *egubbā* 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*)."³ The Semitic scribe of CT. 25, 49, 6 renders the name in a loose way by *bēlit tēlilti bēlit alikat sulē* [*rapšāti*], Queen of lustration, queen that walks the [wide] streets (of the lower world). For the title *bēlit tēlilti*, see CT. 26, 42 I 14. For a parallel to the description of her walking the streets of inferno, cf. ^d*Kal-šag-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-šekḫa* (i. e. = *šig* = *gišimmaru*) *an ū-tud-da*. This plant appears frequently in magic rituals, IV R. 59b 4 ⁴*ḫu-bi-ni* (Semitic), IV R. 16b 31, *Šurpu* IX 1-8, and also in medical texts. *bīnu* has been identified with Syriac *bīnā*, 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 *uḫūru*, 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 *mašlakal*, 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-šig-el-šar* = *šāmu*, onion.

⁹ For the correct reading *nī-nā-a*, see AJSL. XXXIII 194, 159.

9. <i>gišburru</i> ¹	<i>d.Gir-ra</i> ²	9. The gišbur wood is the Fire God Girra.
10. <i>dga₂kubabbar</i>	<i>d.GAL</i> ³	10. Silver is the great god (the moon).
11. <i>dga₂ku-gi</i>	<i>d.En-me-šar-ra</i> ⁴	11. Gold is Enmešarra (the sun).
12. <i>dga₂urudu</i>	<i>d.É-a</i>	12. Copper is Ea.
13. <i>dga₂an-na</i>	<i>d.Nin-maĝ</i>	13. Lead is Ninmah. ⁵
14. [] ⁶	<i>d.Ninurta</i>	14. [] is Ninurta.
15. []	<i>d.Ninlil</i> ⁷	15. [] is Ninlil.
16. []	<i>d.Dilbat</i>	16. [] is Ishtar-Venus.
17. []	<i>d.AMAR-RA-ĜE-UD-DU-A-LU-TU</i> ⁸	17. [] is Marduk-Jupiter.
18. []	<i>d.Lugal-giš-a-tu-gab-liš-a</i> ⁹	18. [] is Nergal-Mars.
19. []	<i>d.Sak-kud</i>	19. [] is Ninurta-Saturn. ¹⁰
20. []	<i>d.Nusku</i> ¹¹	20. [] is Nusku.
21. []	<i>d.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.gir* = 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 *bēlil 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 *Šurpu* 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 Waggon 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 *Bēl-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. [	-]šág ^d Sak-kut ¹	22. [	] is Sakkut.
23. [	-]ŠID ^{il} Ram-ma-nu	23. [	] is Ramman.
24. [	] ^{ilat} Ishtar Uruk-(ki)	24. [	] is Ishtar of Erech. ²
25. [	] ^{ilat} Ishtar A-ga-de-(ki)	25. [	] is Ishtar of Agade. ³
26. [	-]TAR ^{ilat} Be-lit-šêri	26. [	] is Bêlit-šeri. ⁴
27. [	] ^d Nin-lil	27. [	] is Ninlil.
28. [	ri-]kis-su-nu ^d Ninurta	28. [	] their band(?) is Ninurta.
29. [	] ilāni sibitti ⁵	29. [	] is the seven gods.
30. [	] ^d En-me-šár-ra	30. [	] is Enmesharra. ⁶

OBVERSE II

2. giš [	] ^d [	2. []
3. giš [	] ^d [	3. []
4. ^{giš} 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 Ištar] 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, *Shurpu* 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, šág, 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 ^dUDU-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 SAI. 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.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 7. <i>šim-li</i> | ^d [Immer ¹] | 7. Cypress is Adad. |
| 8. <i>šīpāti burrumti²</i> | ^{ilu} Labartu(?) ³
^{mar} [^{at} ^{ilu} Anim] | 8. Wool of variegated color is
Labartu daughter of Anu. |
| 9. <i>šim-ZU⁴</i> | ^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-la-ri ibbāti⁷</i> | ^d [Ne-gun] | 12. The clean incense is Negun. ⁸ |
| 13. <i>mul-lil-lum</i> | ^d Ig[i-BALAG ⁹ lū
nu-giš-sar ^d En-lil-lá] | 13. The amphora(?) is Igi-BALAG,
gardener of Enlil. |
| 14. <i>urudā nig-kalag-ga¹⁰</i> | ^d Nin-[sar
^d Nergal] | 14. The copper kettledrum is
Ninsar, ¹¹ that is Nergal. |
| 15. <i>kuš-gū-gal¹²</i> | ^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-dúb-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. SAI. 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 *niknakku ša ku-la-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-sūn*; 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 *kušgugalū*.

¹¹ Sword bearer (*nāš 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 *MAŠ*.

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.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 19. <i>udu-ti-la</i> ¹ | ^d [<i>Gira</i>] | 19. "The living lamb" is <i>Gira</i> . ² |
| 20. <i>máš-gi-bil-la</i> | ^d [<i>Mu-ub</i>]- <i>ra</i> | 20. The goat of the torch ³ is <i>Muḫru</i> . |
| 21. <i>še-bir-bir-ri u-pu-un-tum</i> | | 21. "Scattered grain(?)," chick pea (?) |
| 22. <i>zērê</i> | <i>ma-ka-lu-ú</i> | 22. seed-corn, eating table and |
| 23. ^{duk} <i>ka-gaṣ</i> ^{pl.} | ^d <i>Nun-ūr-ra</i> ^d <i>Ea</i> ⁴ | 23. the <i>ka-gaṣ</i> -pots are <i>Ninurra-Ea</i> . |
| 24. ^{giš} <i>ku-ma-nu</i> 7 <i>ú-mu</i> ⁵ <i>ku</i> | ^d <i>Mar-duk</i> | 24. The seven (headed) weapon of laurel wood, the storm, the weapon of <i>Marduk</i> . |
| 25. <i>kù-gi-siḡ</i> ^{pl.} | ^d <i>A-nun-na-ki</i> | 25. Red sun-disks(?) are the <i>Anun-naki</i> . |
| 26. <i>kù-gi nig-máš-ṣid</i> ⁶ | ^d <i>Máš-tab-ba-gal-ga</i> | 26. The golden sacred kid(?) is the Great Twins. ⁷ |
| 27. <i>máš-dū</i> | ^d <i>Un-gal Nibru</i> ^{ki8} | 27. The kid is <i>Ungal</i> ⁸ of <i>Nippur</i> . |
| 28. <i>kur-gi-(ḡu)</i> | ^d <i>Nin-siḡ</i> | 28. The crane is <i>Ninsig</i> . ⁹ |
| 29. <i>sún</i> ¹⁰ ^{giš} <i>erin</i> <i>šita</i> ¹¹ | ^d <i>Zi-i</i> | 29. The sun of cedar, weapon of <i>Zu</i> . ¹² |
| 30. <i>lál</i> | ^d [. . .] | 30. Honey . . . is the god |
| 31. <i>li</i> | ^d [<i>li</i>] | 31. Oil oil |
| 32. | ^d <i>id</i> ^d [. . .] | 32. River-god, god |

¹ Cf. *dEn-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 rabû* of *Anu*, MEEK BA. X pt. 1 p. 42, 14. Note CT. 24, 14, 41, *dNun-ūr-ra(duk) ka-[gaṣ]*.

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* = *léniséti*, 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*, GÉNOUILLAC, *Drehem*, 5505 Obv. 11 l. 15.

¹¹ Sign a confusion of *NI* + *giš* and *KAK* + *giš*, see RA. 13, 3.

¹² *Zû*, the eagle, bird of the blazing sun, *Ninurta*, *Ningirsu*, is the only emblematic animal that figures as a deity. The myth of his conflict with the serpent in the story of *Etana* dramatizes the old legend of the conflict between sun and clouds: He appears in magic here for the first time.

REVERSE I

1. <i>karanu ellu kaḫḫul-ti enā-šu</i>	1. White wine and bottle are his eyes.
2. <i>tittu piṣṣitu¹ tulê-šu²</i>	2. The white fig is her breasts.
3. <i>^{isu}nurmû 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.
<hr/>	
6. <i>^dKu-ši ṣêr ki-i-ṣi⁴</i>	6. The god Kushu over the chamber.
7. <i>^dMu-uḫ-ra ina pan abulli</i>	7. Muḫru before the city gate.
8. <i>^dSak-kut ina ḳabal appari</i>	8. Sakkut in the midst of the pool.
9. <i>^dSi-lak-ki⁵ ina ma-na-ḫa-ti</i>	9. Silakki in the ruins.
10. <i>^dE-ku-rum⁶ ina libbi ṣêr iṣḫi</i>	10. Ekurum in the leg.
11. <i>^dAb-ba-gu-la⁷ ina igari</i>	11. Abbagula in the wall.
12. <i>^d ? ? ina nasikati</i>	12. [] in the fortress.
13-17.	13-17.
18. <i>12 ilāni []</i>	18. Twelve gods.

REVERSE II

1. <i>[SAG-GĪR]-ME ṣa ina pani-šu namru⁸</i>	1. The battle which before him gleams.
2. <i>[KU]-ŠÚ la⁹ maḫ-ru</i>	2. . . . not are received.
3. <i>[-]u:NU: la-a</i>	3. [] NU = not.
4. <i>[BT:]ṣu-u¹⁰:ILA:ma-ḫa-ri</i>	4. [] BI = that: ILA = to present.

¹ See Vab. IV 154, 44 and note.² *šu* here for *ša*, 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 *kišu*, compensation for *kiššu*. See also STRASSMAIER, *Nabonidus* 699, 24, *ki-šu*. Note that the *ḫulduppu* (probably an image of a scapegoat) symbol of Kuš 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.⁶ Otherwise unknown. A Cassite deity(?).⁷ Probably same as *Abagal*, DEIMEL, *Pantheon*, p. 43.⁸ Cf. ZIMMERN, 27 R. 14-17⁹ Written NU. Cf. ZIMMERN, 27 Rev. I 19.¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.* 21.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 5. [^d Ne-gun] erim-bi nu-tuk-a ai-bi
ina ka-tê-šu la ušûni | 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-û i-ša-tam | 7. Negun is he that burns with fire. |
| 8. HU-gunu ¹ :gu-nu-u:SI:ka-lu-u | 8. The gunu of HU has the syllabic value gunû:si(g) = 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-û: ga-lu | 10. ninmuš = blaze, burn. |
| 11. SI:ba-nu-û:NE ga-lu | 11. si(g) = blaze: bil = burn. |
-
- | | |
|---|---|
| 12. mûdû mûdû li-kal-lim | 12. Let the knowing inform the knowing. |
| 13. la mûdû ul immar | 13. He that knows not may not read. |
| ki-ma labiri-šu ^{ilu} Ninurta-našir
mar Ilu-iķiša ^{amelu} ašipu ištur
bûši E-šu-me-rá | According to its original Ninurta-našir son of Ilu-iķiša, 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 SAI. 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 = banû cf. SAI. 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, mûdû mûdû likallim la mûdû ul immar an pî duppi gabri Barsip-ki šašir-ma UB-TU à ba-ri. For an pî (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* ^{il}*A-nu* *hurašu* ^{il}*Enlil erû* ^{il}*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. $4\frac{1}{4}$; W. $2\frac{1}{4}$; 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. $1\frac{3}{4}$. Probably a <i>zag-sal</i> hymn.

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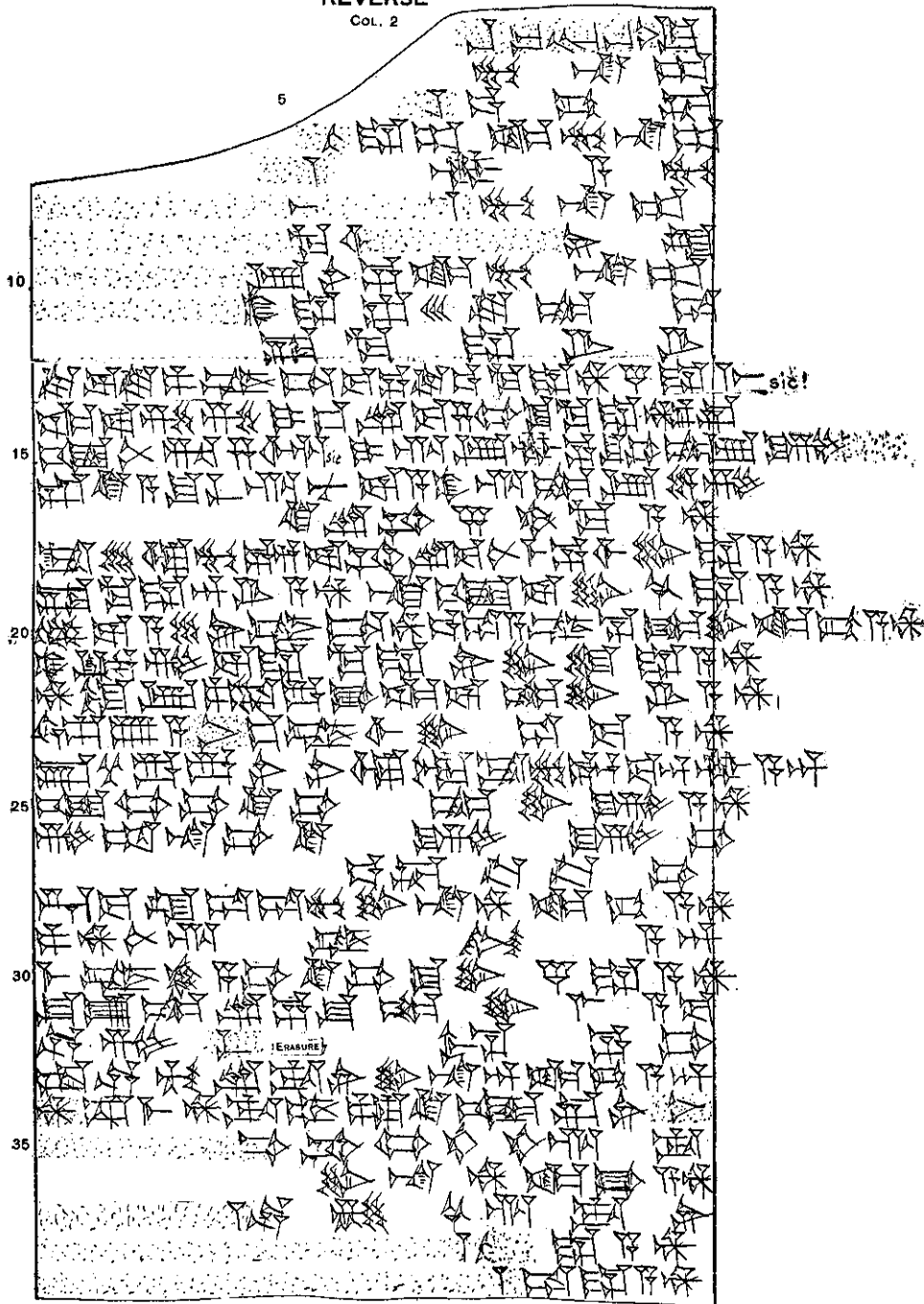
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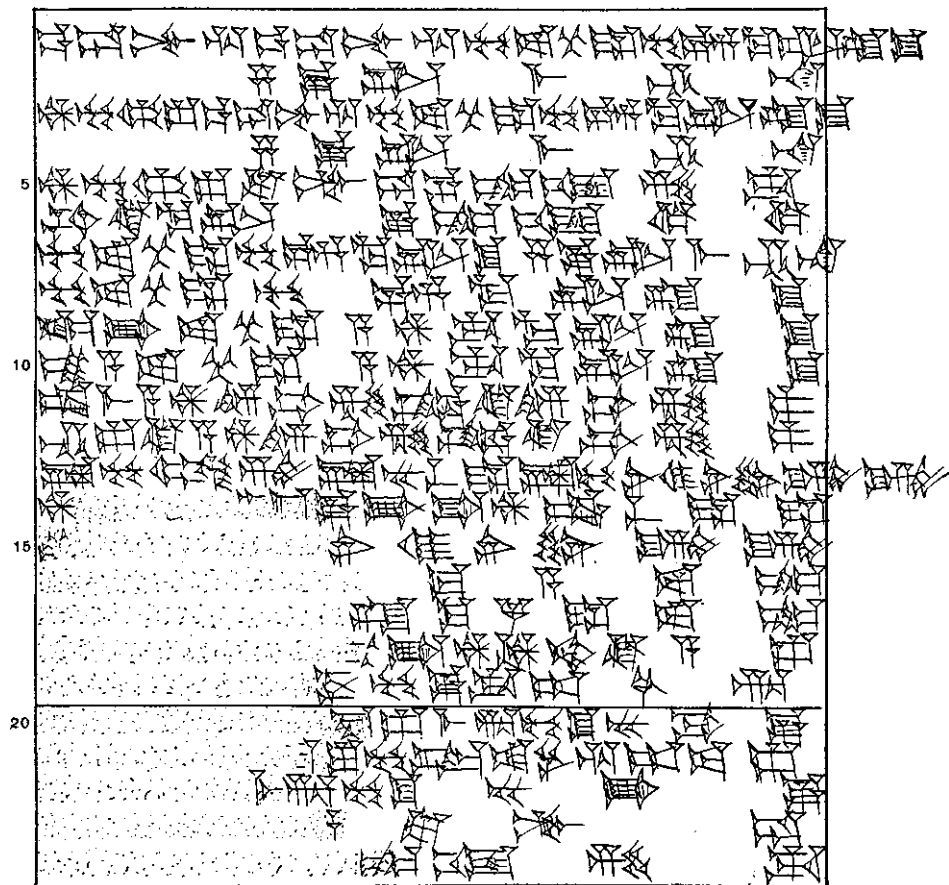
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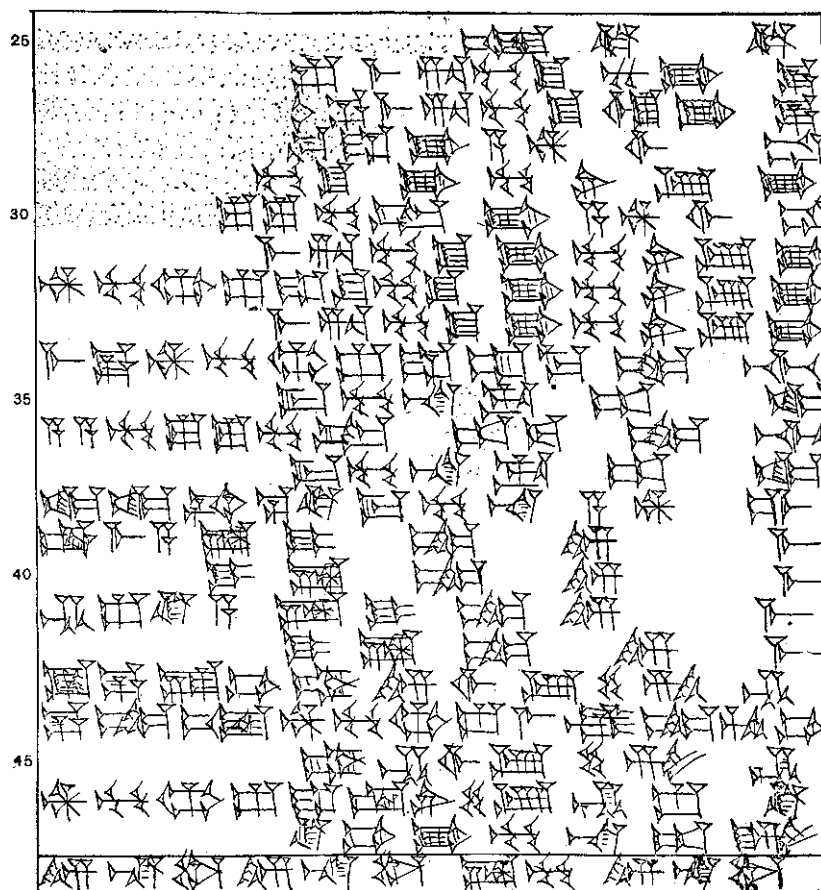
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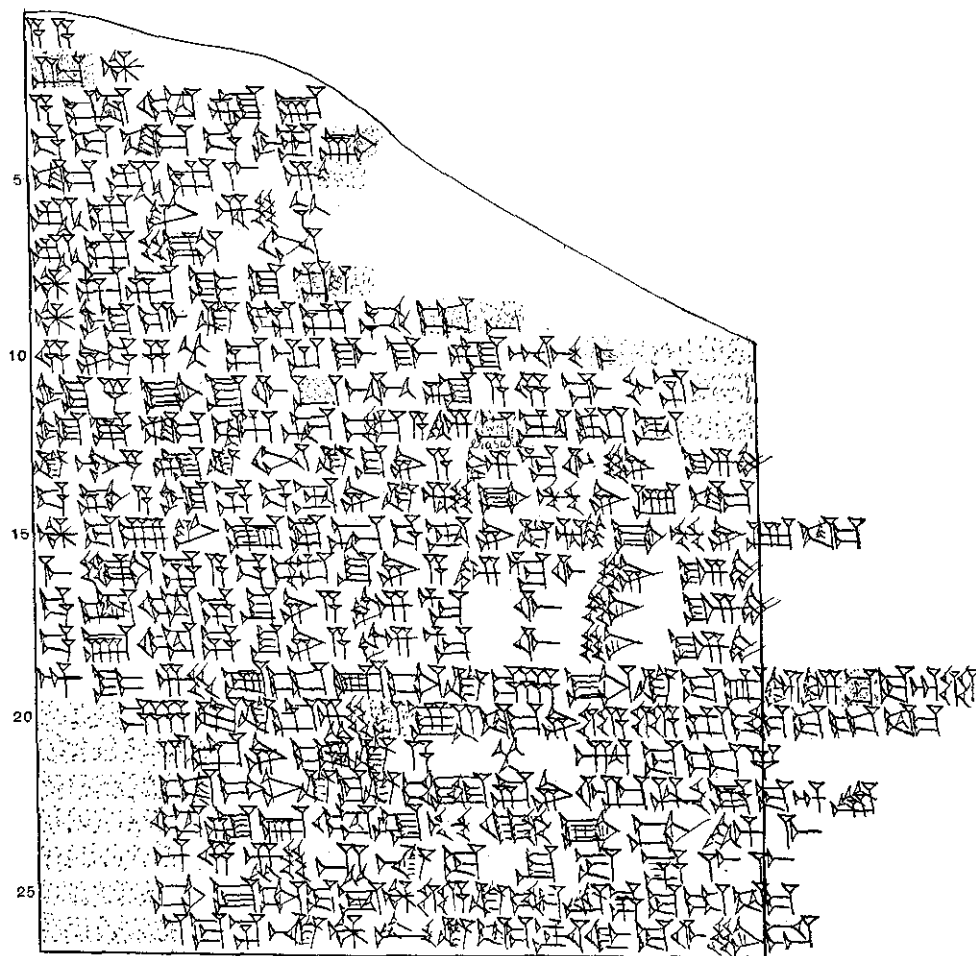
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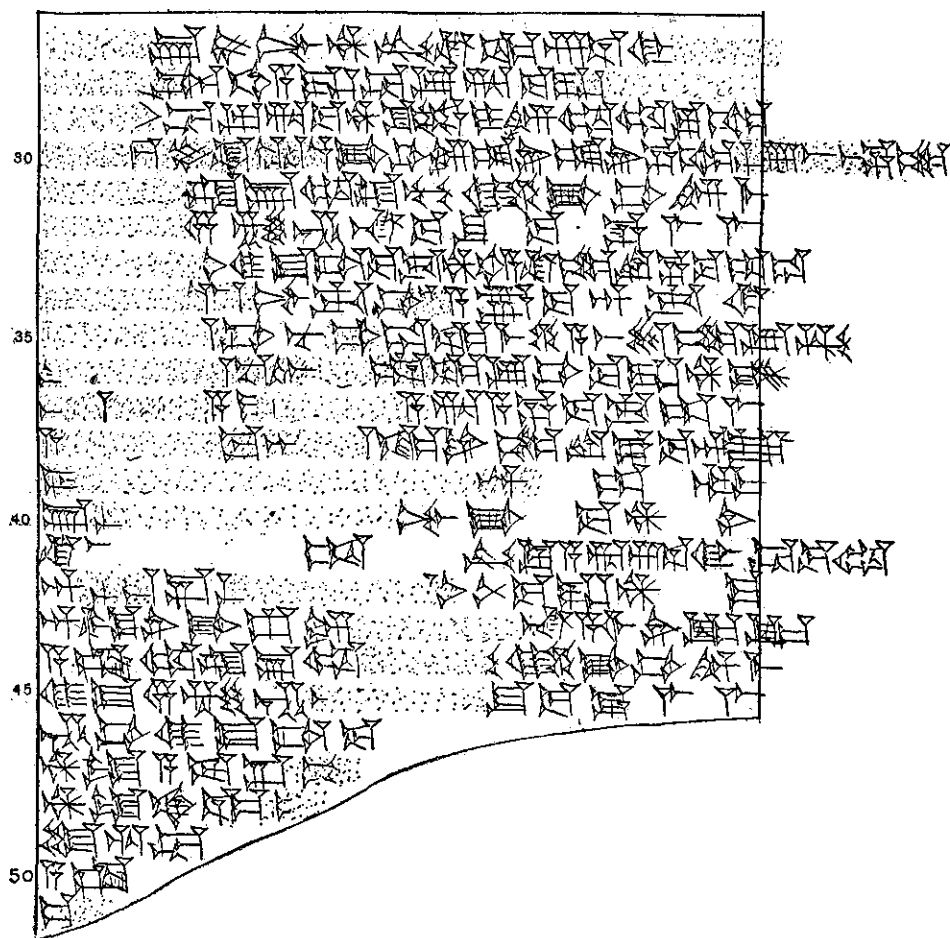
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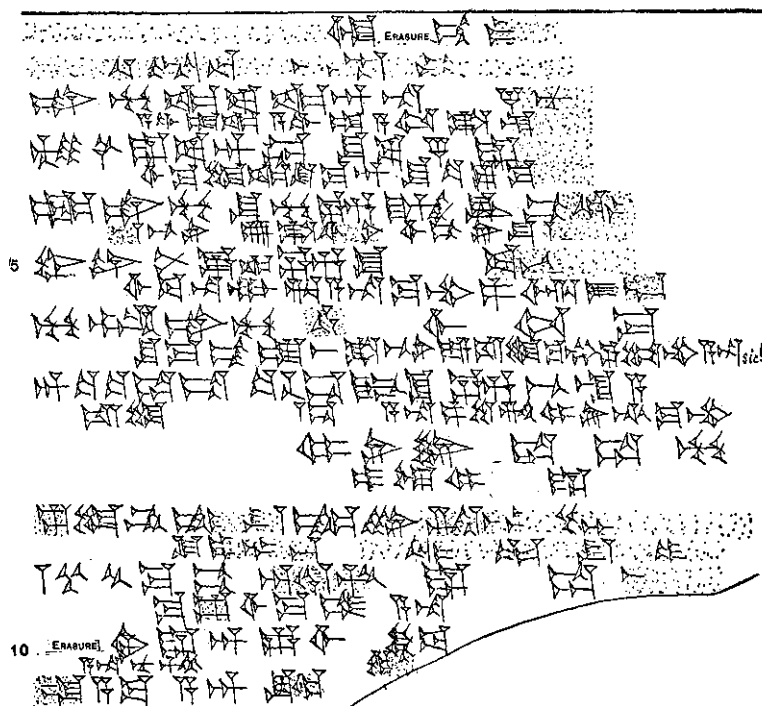
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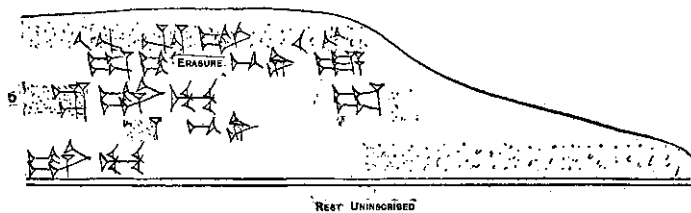
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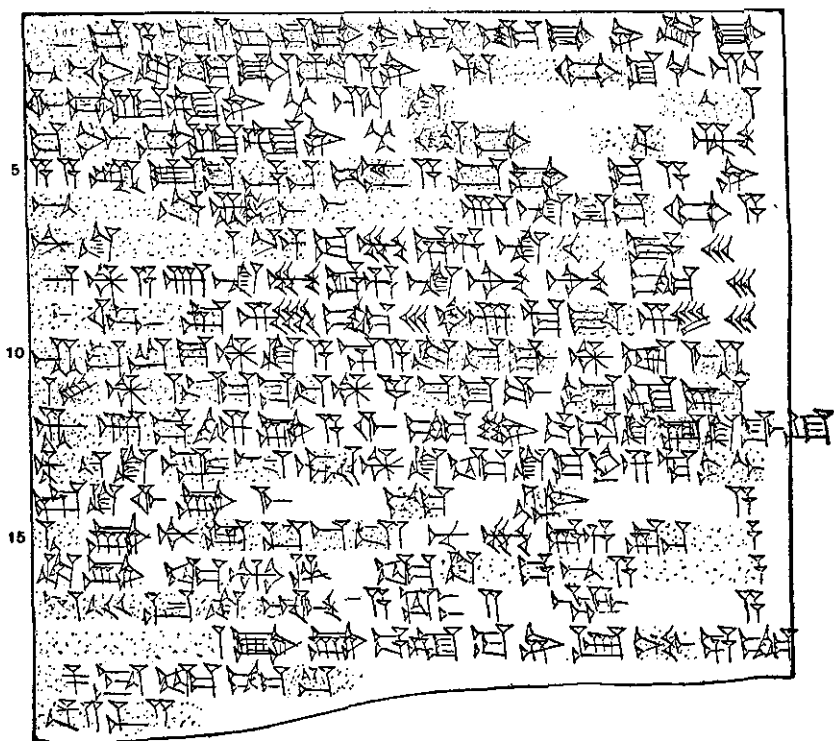
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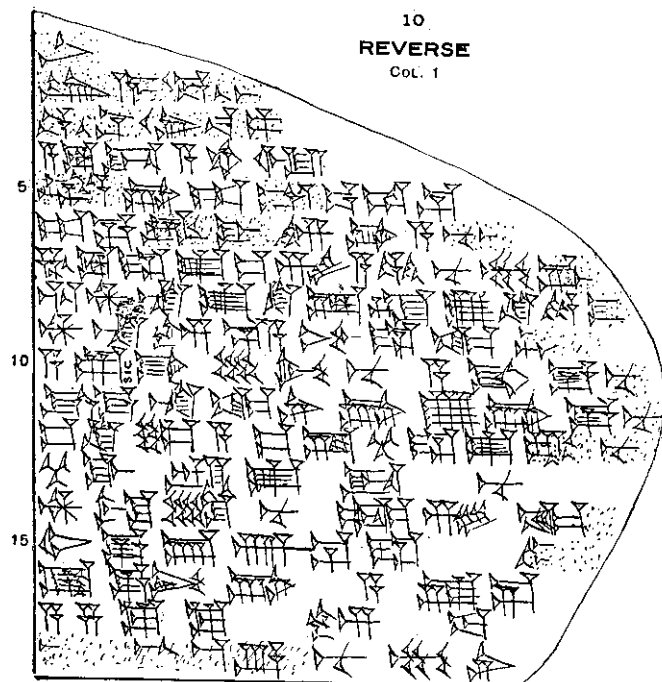
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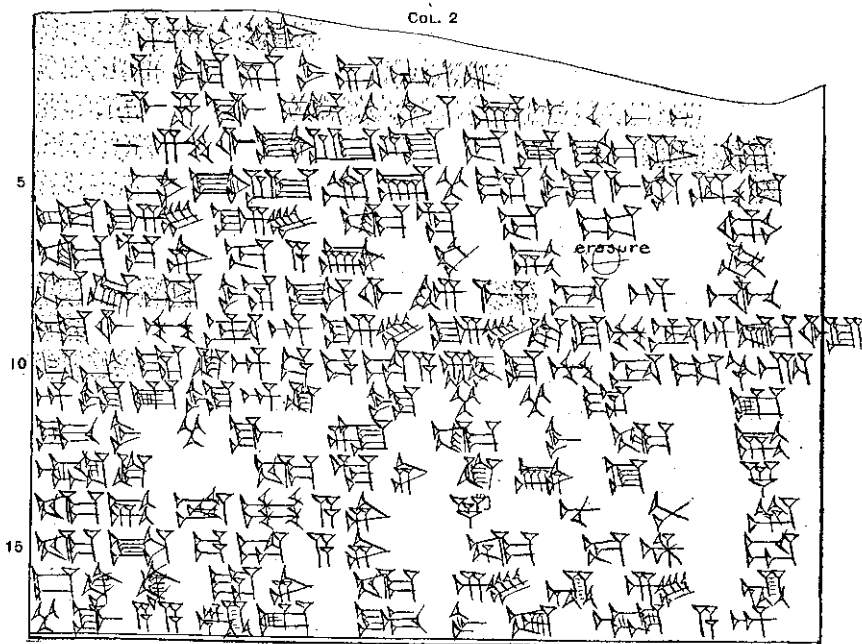


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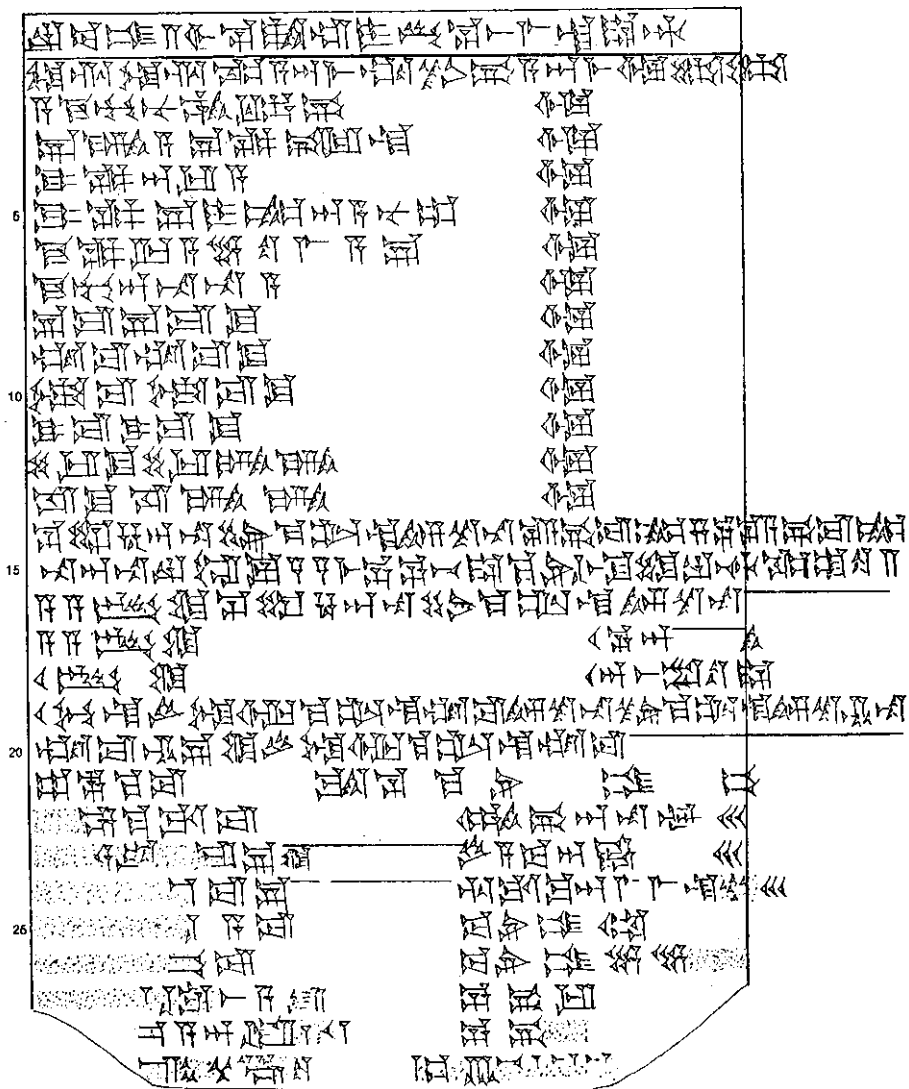
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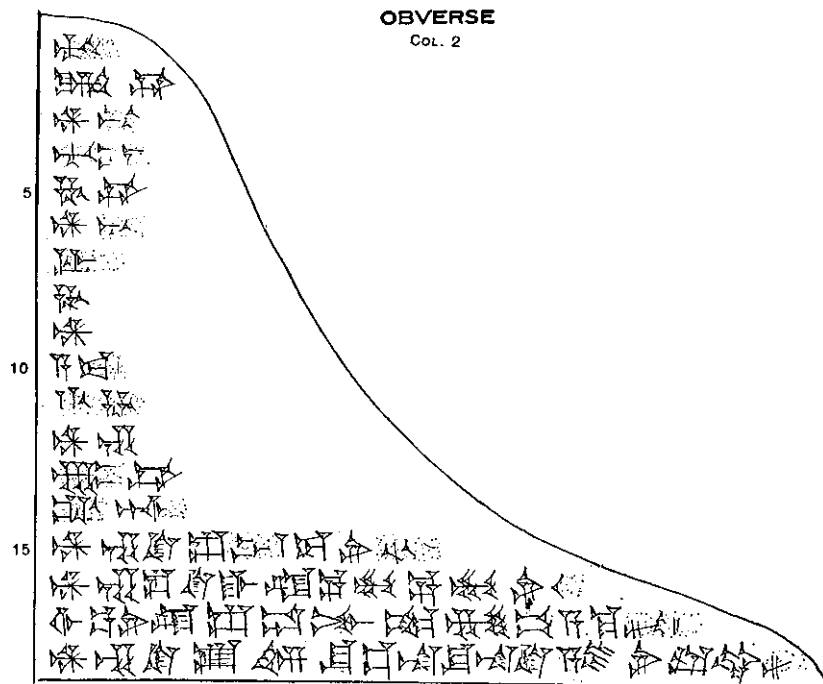
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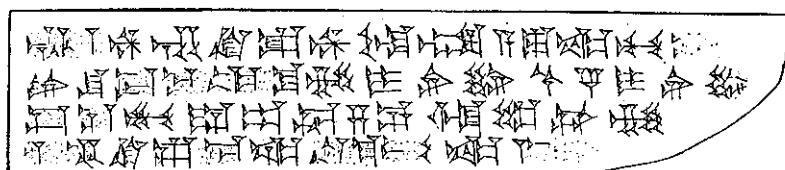
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