BABYLONIAN LITURGIES
SUMERIAN TEXTS FROM THE EARLY PERIOD
AND FROM THE LIBRARY OF ASHURBANIPAL, FOR THE MOST PART
TRANSLITERATED AND TRANSLATED, WITH INTRODUCTION
AND INDEX

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WITH 75 PLATES

PARIS
LIBRAIRIE PAUL GEUTHNER
13, RUE JACOB, 13
1913
INTRODUCTION

Four years ago an attempt was made to translate and interpret the liturgies of the Babylonian religion\(^1\). Since that time the material at our disposal has been greatly augmented by the publication of hymns, liturgies and fragments of an epic from the ancient Sumerian library of Nippur\(^2\). We are now fortunate enough to possess a few liturgical texts from Lagash of the classical Sumerian period\(^3\). From the period of the first Babylonian dynasty, that is from the period following immediately upon the age from which the Nippur and Lagash material comes, we have a large collection of hymns and liturgies probably from Sippar and Babylon\(^4\). An important text of this period containing a liturgy of the waiting for Tammuz has also been added to that part of our religious literature\(^5\).

The volume which is here presented to the public contains for the most part fragments of Sumerian liturgies copied for the library of Asurbanipal, none of whose originals in their final form antedate the Cassite period. In this collection

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2. Radau, Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts in the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume (1909). The same, Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to God Ninib (1911), which were partly interpreted by Radau in his Ninib the Determiner of Fates (1910). Myhrman, Babylonian Hymns and Prayers (1910). Fragment of a Nippurian Liturgy, Babyloniana III 241-249 and a fragment ibid., 79-80, a duplicate of Radau, Miscel. No. 6.
3. François Thureau-Dangin, Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello, Chapter IV, AO 4327, 4328, 4329, 4330, 4331, 4334, 4336 and several small fragments, one with a library note, \(\ldots\) us-ri-sa ba-ba-sa-e-sa, 4316.
4. Zimmern, Sumerische Kultlieder; Fragments d' Hymnes à Šamas, Babyloniana III 74-78 (v. Zim. No. 73).
5. Scheil, Revue d'Assyriologie VIII 161-169, duplicate of Zim. 2 11-III21. Scheil's, text is of an earlier period than Zim. no. 2 and probably belonged originally to the collection sold to the British Museum from some collection pillaged from Nippur and published in Cuneiform Texts XV 7-30.
three texts probably come from the earlier excavations of Nippur. I venture to assign those texts, which have found their way to the Royal Scottish Museum, to the same source as those published by Professor Zimmer.

It is perhaps possible on the basis of the numerous texts and critical editions which we now possess to write a preliminary history of Babylonian public worship. In this department of their religious literature the Semites adhered, even more closely than in their services for private penance and magic rituals, to the ancient Sumerian literary forms and especially to the Sumerian language. In the whole range of Sumero-Babylonian public worship extending from the era of Sargon of Akkad, (2800 BC.) to the first century BC., we have no Semitic text which is known to have been chanted in the temples. Most of them have not even an interlinear Semitic translation. This custom of regularly supplying the temple liturgies with an interlinear version must have arisen after the period of the first Babylonian dynasty (2232-1929), for none of the texts before or during this period show much tendency in this direction. Sporadic attempts of this kind are found in Nippur texts from the age of the Isin dynasty, and we know from other sources that attempts were being made in that period to teach Sumerian by drawing up selections of standard texts supplied with a Semitic translation placed opposite on the right, not under the line as in connected religious texts. It is impossible to determine the exact period in which the scribes felt compelled to supply the liturgies with a version in the vernacular. Perhaps the Assyrian scribes who copied these texts in the Babylonian temples for use in Assyria, themselves took the initiative in this matter. We may not, however, be far from the truth in suggesting that the Babylonians of the Cassite period first began editing their long liturgies with a Semitic interlinear version, and

1. Nos. 195-7. Hymns to Nergal (195) and Innini (196) and a long liturgy to Nintud of Kes (197). The prism No. 197 has been kept in the possession of a Constantinople dealer for twenty years.

2. Nos. 1-8ter; with the exception of No. 8, a fragment from the Asurbanipal library.

3. This is the accepted date, but Nabonidus places Sargon at 3800 BC., and this date is by no means disproved. In my discussion I accept provisionally the low dates for the early history of Sumer and Accad, but I am by no means convinced of their accuracy before the dynasty of Ur-Engur (2475 BC.).

4. An unpublished text in Constantinople has a long section in which the Semitic translation is inserted between the Sumerian lines in a hand so minute that deciphering is difficult. No space is reserved for the translation as in the late Assyrian texts.

5. MYHRMANN, op. cit. No. 11. But AO. 4332, NFT. p. 212 appears to be a real interlinear bilingual, certainly older than MYHRMANN 11.
we shall find reason to assume that about this time the great public services achieved
their final form.

In tracing the evolution of their public worship I shall assume the following
approximate dates for the various periods: 1) Akkadian Sargonic Era 2900-2700.
2) Gudea 2650 followed by the dynasty of Gutium. 3) Dynasty of Ur 2475-2358.
4) Dynasty of Isin 2358-2133. 5) First Babylonian Dynasty 2232-1929. 6) Cassite
Period 1763-1180. 7) Middle Period 1180-625. 8) Neo-Babylonian Empire 625-
539.

Liturgical services originated among the Sumerians. Although we have no texts
of this kind from the pre-Sargonic period yet we meet here with the technical
name for the «psalmist», who always officiated at these services 1. A passage
in a royal inscription of the early period inclines us to infer that the psalmists
(gala) were employed to chant at funerals 2 where they played upon a balag
or lyre 3. The Sumerian word gala also denotes an ordinary attendant when

1. US-KU, Semitic kalù, v. SBP. VIII; DP. 132 VI 1, the grand kalù of Nina(ki);
TSA. 2 rev. I 9, of Girsu; DP. 87 II 6, the little kalù. According to a syllabar,
Haoný, ZA. 19,238 the Sumerian for this ideogram is gala in which case the word is
connected with the word kal, loan-word kallu, male attendant. Cf. gal-la-hu siru,
«thy mighty servant», VAB. IV 360,32. The pronunciation gala is confirmed by
K. 3228, cited by Bezold in ZA. 15, 423, US-KU-ma = gal-ma-hu. The
Semitic kalù translates this and a large number of other Sumerian words for
psalmist. The gala of Shirpula is distinguished from the gala dingira or «psalmist
of god», VAB.I 52, 27 and 30. See Genouillac TSA.LIX. But another fragment
published by King in ZA. 25,302 has [....]-ga-al; King suggests gaggal. In any
-case the Sumerian word gala represents an appcopated form. Cf. also ZA. 27,236.

2. VAB.I 50 X 22-30.

3. Gudea, St. B, V3. I am inclined to translate balag by «lyre», owing to the
shape of the ancient ideogram and the Amharic bagana, lyre with ten strings; the
Syriac pelaggā «drum», appears to be derived from this word (See Sum. Gram.
20). Heuzez in the Revue d’Assyriologie, 9, 85 ff. has shown that the drum and the
lyre are the two most important musical instruments of primitive music and he has
given several bas-reliefs showing the drum and the lyre carried in a procession by
psalmists. In some mysterious way the names became confused and balag then came
to mean drum or tambourine, the most popular of all instruments. I am unable to
determine the period in which this confusion arose; balag is proven to mean «lyre»
by the fact that its voice was said to be like a bull, SBH. 92 a 18, Gud. Cyl. 28,17,
and a bas-relief of a lyre has a bull upon its frame, RA. 9,89.
written with another ideogram so that we infer that these temple singers were not consecrated priests, at least not in the early period. But the ideogram first employed to designate "psalmist" probably describes him as a man in the temple service who chants songs to appease the gods. In fact we shall find that public temple services originated from the desire to pacify the gods whose anger manifests itself in causing all human woes. In the evolution of these services certain mournful refrains recur, among them especially the words addressed to the gods, "how long until thy heart is at rest?" A particularly mournful litany to Enlil has the line, "The psalmist speaks no more 'how long until thy heart?' " The psalmist is departed with sighings". And another passage describes in even more sad lines some national calamity: —

"Oh temple thy skilled singer is not present, thy fate who decrees?
The psalmist who knows the song is not present, thy fate on the drum he chants not.

He that knows to twang the lyre is not present, thy fate he sings not."  

Although the lyre balaggu, is the most prominent of the psalmist's instruments yet the drum and tambourine are equally ancient, and the flute, if not primitive, in any case is very ancient. A litany to the sun-god contains a passage most instructive in this regard: —

"Unto the temple of god upon a lyre let us bring a song of adoration.  
The liturgists a melody shall sing.

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1. It is also the opinion of GENOUILLAC that this word for "psalmist" is connected with the ordinary word for "menial". US-KU is probably to be read nitah-tég = zikru maniḫu, "the man who brings peace", i.e., appeases the gods with song. For Ṛ = nāhu or šalālu, repose, v. CT. 15, 10, 8 and BL. 111, 17. The sign varies with Ṛ in the same sense, v. CT. 15, 23 a 16 Ṭ (tu) = nāhu and tug-mal = nāhu always Ṛ-mal; e.g. Gud. Cyl. A 7, 5; 18, 2; Cyl. B 10, 6. Read passim tug or tīg (?). The value tug for these two signs must not be confused with tug = Ṛ subatu. [Note that I adopt tug = nāhu to distinguish it from tug = subatu].

2. SBP. 240, 31, 37.

3. mulu here translated by mūdû, "knower", but the word designates a kind of psalmist, v. p. xxiv.

4. BL. 32, 28-33. See also FRANK, Studien zur Babylonischen Religion, p. 95.

5. The name for the drum I suppose to be uppu. See p. xxxii.
The liturgists a melody of lordly praise shall sing.
The liturgists a melody to the lyre shall sing.
To the sacred drum and the sacred tambourine shall sing.
To the double flute and manzu (an holy chant) they shall sing.

These liturgists and musicians had exclusive control of the public temple services and their occupation became synonymous with sacred choral literature. An Assyrian scribe who copied these ancient Sumero-Babylonian temple services for the Ninevite library says of them that they are "The wisdom of Ea, the psalmist's art, the treasure of wisdom, which are designed to pacify the hearts of the great gods." 1

The psalmists were charged apparently with singing the official liturgies in whatever kind of service they were required. As far as our present evidence goes we are confirmed in the opinion that the temple liturgies and psalms could be sung only by the psalmists. Although they do not appear to have been consecrated priests nor like the asipu and sangu priests to have had any authority to exercise the mysteries and touch the sacramental objects, yet in matters connected with the sacred choral literature their authority must have been supreme. The Babylonians clearly regarded these public services as possessing sacramental purity, to be chanted only by those who were properly commissioned for this purpose. Confirmation of this opinion is found in the ritual for dedicating the foundation of a temple. The magic ritual of preparation and consecration performed by the consecrated priests is attended by the chanting of psalms and liturgies by the psalmists 2. The official liturgist (kalû) is accompanied by a professional singer (nāru). The ritual directs the psalmists to preface the magic ritual by a psalm 3. Later in the service he sings to the flute to the gods Ea, Shamash and Marduk. He is then required to chant one of the long temple series called "The sacred temple...... itself laments" 4. This passage proves that the long temple chants could be employed on occasions not connected with the daily or regular services, but it also shows that the same could not be utilised in the

1. An instrument, see p. xxxiii.
2. SBP. 68, 5-70, 13.
3. The great catalogue of first lines of temple litanies and hymns ends with the note, "Tablet of the first lines of series of psalmody", IVR. 53 IV 30.
4. SBP. 176, 27 f.
5. WEISSBACH, Miscellen 32 and pl. 12.
6. A-IGI here probably means an er-sag-tûg-mal or psalm of intercession.
7. e-zi-da......ni-bi-st er-inz-.sê-š, a title which occurs among the series to the lyre, IVR. 53 II 12.

Babylonian Liturgies.
consecration of buildings without the presence of the official liturgists. The ritual of dedication closes with the recitation of a section of an epic or heroic song, "When Anu created the heavens," a Semitic composition which formed no part of the Sumerian liturgical corpus. I venture the opinion that this secular and profane hymn was sung by everybody present. We shall find that the liturgies originated for the most part in ancient lamentations over the ruin of cities at the hands of foes. Since the ritual just discussed concerns the rebuilding of a ruined temple, it is wholly natural to expect that the rededication should include a liturgy which portrayed its ruin.

In the early period the psalmists must have occupied a menial position in society for a contract of the pre-Sargonic period concerns the sale of a poor man's son who was a temple psalmist. On the other hand we meet with members of this profession who were engaged in ordinary business. The same may be said of their status in the Sargonic period, as well as under the dynasty of Ur, where they engage in trade and even enter the legal profession. They are paid the same wages as an ordinary temple servant and are designated in the temple accounts as menials.

1. Schrank, Babylonische Sühnriten 90-92 and Frank, op. cit., 98, have also discussed this text. These authors do not properly distinguish between the consecrated priests asipu and the psalmists kalû. That the asipu priest alone conducted the magical rites at a dedication is clear from VAB.IV 62, 40 ina šihir asipatu, "By the art of the asipu priests . . . . (I cleansed that spot) ". See also 146, 47; 220, 32. Behrens, Assyrisch-Babylonische Briefe 11 and 51 also ranks the kalû among the consecrated priests of magic because he is mentioned with the mašmašu a priest of incantations; Harper, Letters IV 361 rev. 9 ana amel kalû sa annaka amel mas-mas issi-šu aptikid ténu assakansu muk 6 ūmē uhir (?) takpirtam dat (?) anné tušetaka, "I entrusted the matter to a psalmist who is here (there is a magician with him) and I advised him as follows, 'Six days wait (?) and the rites of atonement carry out in this way ' ". This text makes it all the more evident that the kalû could not perform the mysteries but needed one of the magicians to assist him. Unfortunately our text does not tell us what kind of service is intended.

2. RTC. 17 translated in ZA. 25, 212.
3. DP. 99 rev. I, Hensä an inferior kalû is one of the mule-herds of the temple estate; see also 100 rev. I.
4. RTC. 110 obv. 5, a pot of beer received from an inferior kalû.
5. A psalmist is a public notary or conveyancer (maškim) in a lawsuit, RTC. 292, reign of Bur-Sin.
6. Reisner, TU. 139 I 10.
Since in the Sumerian period we meet with at least three ranks of psalmists, viz. the superior, the ordinary and the inferior gala, we may surmise that the ordinary and inferior members of this profession helped with the temple liturgies only when they were needed, and drew so small a salary that they were forced to pursue the ordinary professions. On the other hand the superior or chief psalmist evidently held a permanent and superior position which entitled him to a considerable income. He is never mentioned among ordinary temple servants. On the contrary we find his salary entered among those of the highest officials of the city. In the period of the first dynasty a galmahu in charge of the temple services of the goddess Anunit of Sippar is mentioned as giving information concerning a priest of another rank (sangu) 5.

Female psalmists are also mentioned, whence we may suppose that the choral services were arranged for male and female voices which took those parts, base, tenor, alto and soprano, to which they were adapted, but we know too little of Babylonian music to speak with assurance on this point 6. Terracotta figurines of women singers have been found from the period of Gudea, where they are represented holding a tambourine upon the breast. In a bas-relief of this period which represents two musicians beating a huge drum at least one of the figures appears to be a woman. A fragment of an ivory bowl of the Assyrian period represents a procession of musicians, one playing a double flute, one a tambourine and a third a lyre or zither. The lyre or zither of a fourth person can still be discerned. The person who plays the tambourine is clearly a woman.

Were it not for the fact that the texts so often speak of the psalmists who sing 11.

1. See especially RTC. 425, twelve kal gala, menials, psalmists. For the early period RTC. 52 obv. III.
3. In DP. 132 VI Lugal-ga-és-e pays the support of the superior psalmist of the city Ninâ; ibid X Ninanda supports the superior psalmist of Girsu.
4. GENOUILLAC, TSA. 2 rev. I 9; 2 obv. II 11.
5. KING, Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi III 147, 5 and rev. 6.
7. Découvertes en Chaldée (de Sarzec and Heuze), pl. 39 figure 5 and page 234.
8. RA. 9 pl. III.
9. Only three figures are preserved.
10. Preserved in the British Museum; reproduced by Hunger in Altorientalische Kultur im Bilde, pl. 80, No. 159 after photograph by Mansel.
11. zamaru, SBP. 68, 8.
to the lyre, drum, etc., we might suppose that they confined their activity to playing the instruments, while the singing was reserved for another class of temple servants whose profession we shall presently discuss. But we have every reason to suppose that the psalmists not only played the instruments but assisted also in singing. It will be seen, however, that the instrumental music formed the primitive and essential part of their profession. It is, I believe, highly probable that in a full temple service the singing was done by a class who evidently occupied an inferior position.

The king had psalmists in his own employ, but since they sang only the accepted official words and music employed in the temple I suppose that the king's psalmists conducted the service in a royal chapel.

The guilds of psalmists became in the latter days of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires a learned community, a kind of college which studied and edited the official liturgical literature. They appear to have interested themselves in astronomy also, for an astrological report of the Assyrian period is signed by Bēl-šām-īškun the kalâ, BM. 83-1-18, 232, Thompson, *Astrological Reports* 235 A. The Royal Museum of Berlin possesses a considerable portion of a great liturgical library edited by a guild of psalmists at Babylon who wrote in the second and first centuries before our era. These learned liturgists, Bēlapaliddin, Ilīš-u-zer-ibni and the son of the former Ea-balṭṣu-ikbi, belong to a guild founded by their ancestor Sinibni whose date cannot be determined. They call themselves "inferior psalmists" of Marduk, whence we may suppose that all grades of this priesthood had long since been elevated to permanent positions in the temple. In each case the editor says that he copied and collated the tablets belonging to his father; the custom had apparently arisen of transmitting both office and sacred books from father to son in the priesthood.

An interesting text copied by an Assyrian scribe at Babylon describes a ritual by which a bull, symbol of the lyre, was consecrated in the college hall of the psalmists. We have already noted that the Sumerians of the classical age compared the sound of the lyre, the chief instrument of psalmody, to the bellowing of a bull. It seems, therefore, that this animal became symbolic of music and that an image of a bull was placed in the cloister where the liturgists lived. Our text has the library note, "When thou bringest the bull into the house of the college, this is the ritual

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2. See *Reisner*, TU. 287.
3. See *Reisner*, SBH. XIII f.
4. *gātu-tūr*, see e.g., SBP. 60, 20; SBH. 54, 14.
5. Page vii, n. 3.
to be performed for (or by) the psalmists”

1. This important tablet has been broken along the right edge and a piece is also broken from the top mutilating the beginning and the end of the inscription. I shall, however, attempt to give an account of its contents and translate the important sections.

The ritual begins by directing that figures of the seven sons of Enmešar an ancient deity of the underworld had been identified with the constellation Taurus, and for this reason he and his seven sons, the Pleiades, are invoked as protectors of the lyre and the college of musicians. Bronze figurines of twelve gods are put into a bronze tambourine. A priest then holds the tambourine containing these twelve bronze figures and recites the following hymn:

8. gud-gal gud-mah á ki-us azagga

9. gū-gal-lum gu-mah-bu ka-bi-is ri-te

10. sa-ga dib-dib-a be-gal dagal-la

8. “Great bull, mighty bull, that treads the shining pasture,

9. That roams in the meadows, bestowing plenty in mercy,

1. 1. IVR. 23 No. 1 rev. II 23 f.

2. These seven gods, sons of Enmešar a title of Enlil, are partially preserved in CT. 24,4,29-35. Enmešar is an under-world deity closely related to Nergal. He appears to have been identified with the sign of the zodiac Taurus at a time when the sun in mid-winter stood in that sign and in the powers of the lower world, consequently his seven sons were identified with the seven Pleiades which lie in the region of Taurus. Note that wailings in Tebet (December) are held for Enmešar, ZA.6,243, 36, in the Neo-Babylonian period when the sun no longer stood in Taurus in December. At least three of the sons of Enmešar, as well as this god himself, are patrons of foundations, since as gods of the underworld foundations would naturally be in their protection. Cf. Zimmer in ZA.29,363.

3. zid-dub-dub-bu a kind of meal.

4. I fail to understand the meaning of these twelve gods and their connection with the temple liturgies.

5. te-kil for tukil (?), on analogy of likil for lukil (?), cf. Landersdorfer, Altbabylonische Privatbriefe 128.

6. Nothing further is said about the seven figures of dough.

7. The Sumerian is not correct. Read u-azag ki-us.

8. sag = ‘flood’ and da, ‘flow’, ‘where the floods flow’, irrigated meadows; cf. sag-na mu-un-di-di, ‘its flood she causes to flow’, said of a canal, PSBA. 1911, 86,24. sag-tum-ma in Radu BE.29, No. 3, rev. 9 is obscure. Perhaps not this word. Note the Arabic جر، Jarib, river, field, etc. The original meaning is perhaps ‘irrigated land’.

9. ellitim

10. dagal-la
I1. ib-ta-' kir-bi-ti mu-rini he-gil-li
12. 'dú-sar-ra ʻuru-a a-ḫar dug-li-a  
12. That husbands the grain, that causes
the fields to rejoice,
13. e-ri-iš nisaba mu-šul- li-lu ekli
14. šu-nu láq-láq-ga ʻi-gi-zu bal-bal-a  
14. My clean hands make libations
before thee ".
15. ka-ta-a-a ellāti ik-ka-a ma-ḫar-ka

After this address to the image of a bull, which represents the god Enmešarra,
patron of husbandry and psalmody, the ritual directs the priest to put the ears of
a bull into a bowl of ablutions and to lean this bowl against the right side of the
bronze tambourine with the opening towards the instrument 2. The priest shall then
whisper to the accompaniment of a flute 3 the following hymn: —

18. alpu i-lit-ti ʻu-zi-i at-ta-ma
19. a-na pár-ši ki-du-di-e na-šu-ka
21. [parsē] rabūtī usurātī u-su-ri
22. si-im pár-ši ša šamē ū iršītim
23. [šu- (?)] ana (?) balaggi lip-pā-kid-
24. [nuh libbi?] a-na Ṭēlī li̇k-ta'-i-is 7

18. "Oh bull offspring of Zu 4 thou art.
19. For the laws of temple liturgies
they have set thee up.
20. Forever Ningishzida 6 has selected
thee.
21. Guard thou the great laws and the
institutions,
22. [Forever?] ṭūx the ordinances of
heaven and earth.
23. [May he be?] set to preside over
the lyre.
24. [Peace?] unto Bel may he give ".

1. Sic! read šal?, III 1 part. of ša.
2. pt apš ša libbi uznā alpi šakna imni ša lilissi siparri a-ra-mi (sic!, read ta-
ra-mi?).
3. inā ʻan sak-kut ʻanī ʻabī tulaẖaš, "Upon a sakkut-reed, the good reed thou
shall whisper ".
4. A bird-divinity, god of the storm. The bull, which represents the lyre, is in
this way connected with the sound of wind and thunder. The line conveys the
idea that the instruments of temple music produce a sound like the storm.
5. See p. 41, No. 63.
6. An ancient vegetation god, a type of Tammuz. I am not able to explain why
he should be mentioned as a patron of music. Tammuz was one of the principal
deities honored by the psalmists.
7. 1 of kāsu, cf. ittā'id, but PSBA. 1909,62,6, ak-šak-ka
The bull is thus supposed to hear that he presides over the sacred college of music in the temple of Bel-Marduk of Babylon. The bowl is now tilted against the left side of the tambourine and the following hymn whispered as before:

26. "He that sleeps, lord that sleeps how long shall he sleep?
27. Great mountain father Enlil, that sleeps, how long?
28. Shepherd that fixes the fates, he that sleeps, how long?

Col. II.

1. Oh Enlil, [thou whose city has been rejected, and consumed altogether.]
2. He that is clothed in robes of majesty has prostrated (the city) with cold.
3. He of the wide farm-lands with hunger has prostrated."

These lines are obviously a selection from an Enlil liturgy sung regularly in the temple, and I imagine that the motive for its recital here is to initiate the bull image.

1. Restore 1, 23 [pî apsi ša uzna] alpi šakna šumelša lilissi siparrī a-ra-mi.
2. Var. sug.
3. Lines 1-6 restored from SBH.78, 32-36; see SBP.22, 51-4.
into the mysteries over which he will preside, by the selection of a characteristic passage from the sacred literature. The ritual has here a note saying that these lines constitute a kisub which was the technical name for a section of the official litanies 1. The bull having been thus consecrated to preside over the sacred college, the ritual now proceeds to the consecration of the tambourine 2.

This is begun by whispering into the bronze tambourine the following selection from an Enlil litany:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>umun gù kalam-ma sib-zi-d-da</td>
<td>15. Lord of all the Land, faithful shepherd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>be-el nap-har ma-a-ti ri-ú [ki-nu]</td>
<td>16. Lord of all the Heaven Spirits, faithful shepherd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>umun gù d-i-gi-gi sib-zid-da</td>
<td>17. Lord of all the Heaven Spirits, faithful shepherd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>be-el nap-har itatiigi ri-ú ki-nu</td>
<td>18. Lord of all tarkullu, faithful shepherd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>umun gù dim-gul sib zid-da</td>
<td>19. Lord of all tarkullu, faithful shepherd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>be-lum mu-us-sir māti-šu [bēl māti-šu?]</td>
<td>22. Lord designer of his land, lord of his land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>be-lum mu-us-sir māti-šu</td>
<td>24. Lord designer of his land, lord of his land.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Read l. 9 perhaps, ki-šu-bi-im [pi-min gud-kam], "It is a kisub for the ears of the ox".
2. "ana lib lilissi siparri [tu-lah-ḥaš?]"
3. tarkullu originally means sail (?) or mast (?) of a ship, but the word took on some meaning like, "guardian, defender", whence a title of gods; Gula tarkul of the land, SBP. 160, 13; Ishtar tarkul of Babylon, 191, 65; Ninurta tarkul of heaven, II R. 57 c 36 and of the Land, ibid. 39. The passage above probably means "lord of all gods who are called tarkullu". See also Jensen's ingenious, but by SBP. 191, 65 discredited, explanation.
27. The hoarded treasures to the foe thou hast given.
29. The foe occupies the sacred abode.
31. The foe sits in the holy place.
33. In the sacred resting place a stranger sleeps.

Rev. 1.

1. The magnificent city [unto the foe thou hast given].
3. May the lord Ea, king of the deep(?) [appease thy heart].
7. May Adad [appease thy heart].
9. May the strong lord Shamash [appease thy heart].
11. May the lord Ninuras [appease thy heart].
13. May the mighty lord Shulsigea [appease thy heart].
15. šu si-sā-bi šu [si-sā-bi]
16. ka-ta šu-te-sir ka-[ta šu-te-sir]
17. šu si-sā-bi ki-ūs-mu [gūh-bi?]
18. ka-ta šu-te-sir kib-sa [kin]
19. dūg-ga-bi si-sā dūg-[ga-bi si-sā]
20. ki-bi-ta šu-a-tum šu-te-sir [kibita šatum šatēsir]
21. li-li-ēs zabar dūg-ga-bi [si-sā]
22. li-li-ēs ki-bit-su šu-[te-sir]

Thus the tambourine is also dedicated to the work of the sacred college. I imagine that the real object here consecrated is a bas-relief representing a tambourine and a bull, an artistic fancy in stone or metal to secure by mythological and consecrated symbols the protection of the gods who preside over "all such as handle the harp and organ". Since the Sumerians connected the bull (and Enmeqarra) with the lyre, and the ram with the drum, we should expect that the instrument accompanying the bull in this ritual would be a lyre or at least an instrument of that kind, but reasons exist for translating līlusu by tambourine, and we may suppose that in the late period from which our text comes the ancient mythology was no longer insisted upon and that the bull or Enmeqarra god of Taurus became symbolic of all instruments. The ritual adds here the following note, "This is a section of a litany for cleansing the mouth of the bronze tambourine".

The ritual, which here contains directions more intimately connected with magic, could be exercised only by the priests of magic (ašipu), and I suppose that one of this class was called in to perform this part:

"Before the God of Psalmody and the lyre thou shalt place a reed enclosure".

1. KUGLER, Sternkunde, I 217 has discussed a few lines of this section.
2. Gen. 4, 21.
3. mis pi, "washing of the mouth", a ceremony of consecrating statues of deities but later employed for consecrating objects not of anthropological form. See ZIMMERN in Orientalische Studien Th. NÖLDEKE gewidmet, 959-67.
5. gi-dū-a = tarbaṣu (?). The word designates a small enclosure in which the various objects of the ceremony were set out; these rituals were performed on roofs, in huts by the river, in the open field, etc., hence the priests appear to have carried about with them these cane screens so as to designate the ritual spot as holy.
and set out the ritual utensils. A mixture of honey, butter and fat thou shalt set forth; ṣašku-meal thou shalt pour out and sacrifice a lamb. The right shoulder, the loin and roasted bits thou shalt set forth.

Here the text breaks away for several lines and the end of the ritual is obscure. The ceremony ends with a bilingual litany addressed apparently to the priest (asipu) who had assisted the psalmists in the dedication. This passage is unfortunately so badly damaged that we can give only a partial translation:

"Wash thou thy hands, wash thou thy hands.

........................ high-priest of Enlil thou art, wash thy hands.

........................

[May the gods], all of them, rejoice for thee.
[May Marduk? upon thy king, "thou art delivered" bestow.
May Adad upon thy king, "thou art delivered" bestow."

The general tenor of this selection chanted by the school of liturgists resembles a prayer employed in private services to free the king from troubles. It has clearly no direct connection with the principal object of the ritual, namely to consecrate the bull and tambourine in the sacred college. The literary note at the end of this song says that it is a kišuh, that is, a chant to the lyre and other instruments.

We have, therefore, not only a considerable liturgical literature of the learned college attached to the temple of Bel in Babylon, but also some information about the college hall itself as it existed from the seventh century B.C. far into the Seleucid era. We may also suppose that great centres like the temple of Shamash in Sippar, of Enlil in Nippur, of Innini at Erech, each possessed its musical school. In fact the guild of Nippur must have been a distinguished body of liturgists as early as the Isin dynasty and the same should be said of Lagash, Erech, Ur and Eridu, certainly too of that famous but still unknown city of Sakkut and Gula, Isin.

Although gala designates in Sumerian the most important class of psalmists yet there are also several other words in Sumerian which the Semites translate by kalû, "psalmist". The fact that one Semitic word represents several Sumerian words

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2. Compare IV R. 13, No. 3.
3. This note is still a mystery to me. I would venture the suggestion that we are to read; — kišu-bi-im sa mar asipūti amelu migra iškūbbi-ma mar asipūti ina nāš ma-sīd-di tu-na-āh, "It is a lyrical passage for the priest of incantation, the man who commands what is favourable; the priest of incantation thou shalt appease by drawing the wagon".
leads us to assume that these are mere synonyms. Gala, as we have seen, means simply a temple servant whose music appeases the angry gods.

In all periods we meet with a word lagar, labar for "psalmist", which is transcribed into Semitic as lagaru. The ideogram employed for writing this name occurs at an early period and represents, perhaps, some kind of a musical instrument. I do not know of any passage in connected texts where this pictograph is employed for "psalmist", and we may infer that it went out of use at a very ancient period. The word is invariably spelled out la-gar, a form which became by phonetic change la-bar. But behind lagar lies the primitive form la-gal, which clearly contains the word gala. Lagal is probably composed of la-gala, i.e. the Sumerian determinative for a profession and the ordinary word for psalmist so that it is practically identical in meaning with gala, and like gala, also means servant as well as psalmist.

Gudea speaks of having installed the psalmist along with the high priest in the temple of Ningirsu at Lagash. and we have considerable liturgical literature from the musical guild of this temple in the early period. In fact the liturgical school of Lagash must have been one of the earliest and until the Hammurabi period most important. The epic of Gilgamish also mentions the high priest and the psalmist.

1. (la-ga-ar) in Sh, CT. XI 23,27 occurs in the archaic syllabar CT. V 8 obv. IV I. 6 after break. I doubt the connection of this sign with the second part of la-ga-ar, the earliest form of tur REC, Supplement 44, and in the Hoffman Tablet I. 3 (Ogden in JAOS. XXIII) does not support this. The sign occurs as the ideogram for a plant, and a wood, SAI 7275 f. and in CT. XXIII 36,61, perhaps a kind of meal zid-lagar-a(?). The sign is rare. Note its use for sukkallu, messenger, and la-bar = sukkallu, CT. 19,44 b 14 f.

2. Beside the two syllabars of the type Sh, see also the syllabar CT. 12,41 b 42. in the combination en-me X is possibly this sign since the whole means enu sa "Lašabu, "High priest of Lašab", Smith, Miscellaneous Texts 25, 20. In this passage the sign has the name lagab but in CT. 12,49,7 la-ka-ga.


4. Note that labar is also translated by ardu, servant, Br. 991; the word gala has practically the same meaning, v. p. viii.

5. la-gal, Cyl. A. 20,21. la-gal me-a-si-a, "The psalmist who plays the manzu(?)", B L. 86,33.


7. la-ga-ru.
together, and these were probably intimately associated in the conduct of the temple services. We have already noted how the psalmists in the ritual of consecrating the bull for their cloister associated the high-priest of Enlil with themselves. An inferior la-gar of the sacred college in Babylon is mentioned as the editor of a liturgy, copied in the year 117 BC; a learned index of Babylonian works on divination was edited by a psalmist of Marduk, showing that they interested themselves in many directions. A passage from a litany in which Innini weeps for her cities mentions the liturgists who have departed and no more stand in the temple to sing the intercessions. Psalmody was particulary connected with Innini, whom the Sumerians regarded as the mother who weeps for all human sorrows. She herself is called a psalmist of the temple. A musical refrain inserted into a litany of the moon-god after a passage describing the lamentations of Ningal, goddess of Ur, likewise mentions the psalmists who had forsaken the temple; "While her psalmist, psalmist no longer is". Since the psalmists belonged to the temple organisation they naturally came under the control of the high priests of the temple enu "the governor", and sangu "the controller". The functions of these priests was secular rather than sacerdotal, as least this may be said of them in the Sumerian period, but technically they occupied the supreme position of authority, being charged with management of temple finances, and direction of all sacerdotal affairs. As such they apparently stood over the liturgists and more or less controlled their activity. Since the priests of the mysteries of magic were not permitted to perform their ceremonies in the temples, except for the purification and consecration of the temple itself, the enu and sangu priests had no connection with this class; on the other hand the psalmists formed the important staff of active temple priests, and the liturgies often speak of the high-priest and the psalmists together. It is, therefore, natural that the high-priests should interest themselves in liturgical services, for these and possibly a few private penitential services were

1. REISNER, SBII. 33,36, a-me-la lagar sihru.
2. amelu la-gar ili hûr-gal, III R. 52,63. This text with duplicates has been transcribed by VIROLLEAUD in Bab. IV 109 ff. See HUNGER, Tieromina 21.
4. SBP. 288,6.
5. PERY, Sin 41,14. See p. XLIX. This composition was not clearly understood by PERY.
6. By origin the word sangu probably means "accountant". The ideogram employed to write sangu usually means manû "to count, reckon", for the Sumerian form of this ideogram, v. REC. 419.
the only ones permitted in the temple. Magic and common public worship are originally independent and mutually exclusive elements in Babylonian religion. But this religion was perpetually harried by the encroachment of magic upon the purer forms of worship. In the late period from the time of Nabu-apal-iddin (first half of the ninth century) onward, an ideogram for the temple executive sangu begins to appear which means, "enchanter of the temple", and proves that magic had found its way into certain of the temple services. The ideogram for sangu has not been found in any Assyrian document, hence we may conclude that in Assyria this dean of the temple persevered in maintaining his ancient office free from the prerogatives of the mysteries. But another ideogram also of the late period appears in the religious and grammatical texts of both Babylonia and Assyria, which designates the sangu as one in the service of the god Ea and certainly a priest of the mysteries. It is evident that certain mystic rites had won their way into the temple services, probably in connection with the prayers of private penance. The high-priests enu and sangu were compelled either to admit the magicians (asipu) into the temple or to take over this sacrimony themselves. The second alternative naturally commended itself to an ancient and unyielding priesthood, and they in some way secured ordination to the mysteries of the water cult and the god of wisdom.

Surrounded by a growing tendency to introduce sacramental ceremonies into the temple services the psalmists would be required to chant those sections of this service which required singing and music. As I can form an adequate opinion from our extensive material no rites of a sacramental character were permitted in ordinary public worship. The litanies and public psalms are free from all reference to magic. But other services such as those for the atonement of the temple, dedicating buildings, etc. were developed. We find, therefore, a special name for psalmist whose ideogram connects him with the ordained sangu.

In syllabars of the late period an ideogram is employed for psalmist which does not appear anywhere in liturgical or other texts. This ideogram was pronounced sur in Sumerian, an ordinary word for "prayer", but only as I can form an adequate opinion from our extensive material no rites of a sacramental character were permitted in ordinary public worship. The litanies and public psalms are free from all reference to magic. But other services such as those for the atonement of the temple, dedicating buildings, etc. were developed. We find, therefore, a special name for psalmist whose ideogram connects him with the ordained sangu.

1. Originally of which there are many abbreviated forms, v. Th.-Dangin, ZA. 15, 42. This ideogram probably means ila-as-sig-sig, "he that brings a yellow goat.
2. The word is employed only in the form sangammahu, "great sangu".
3. The paragraph on the sangu is not intended to be exhaustive.
4. Subhu, nubha.
in the sense of private intercession. This word was transliterated into Semitic as a loan-word surrû, but the ordinary word for public psalmist also translates the ideogram. Of these psalmists almost nothing is known. I do not believe that they were ordained in the mysteries of magic.

Less common words for psalmists occur among which we shall mention first the "wailer", Sumerian er, rendered in Semitic by the ordinary word kalû. The word does not designate a particular kind of psalmist but refers to the mournful character of the temple music. Both male and female wailers sing at the lamentations for Tammuz, and the public women wailers at Lagash are mentioned in the inscriptions of Gudea. A contract of the reign of Nabuna'id, last of the kings of Babylon, mentions a quantity of liquor given to the "wailers" of Esagila. Another ideogram for "psalmist", which apparently means "wailer", occurs only in a syllabar. The woman wailer is designated once by an ideogram mu-nun-u-za-pa(d) which should properly be rendered in Semitic by kalitu, but the syllabar where it occurs renders it by the masculine kalû. The "master of wailing", mu-lu er-ra-ge (bêl bihitî), and "the master of lamentation", mulu addu-ge (bêl bihitî) are other poetical terms which we meet with in the liturgies. Note especially the description of the liturgist who describes himself as one who intercedes with the god for afflicted humanity, p. 121, 15-20.

1. The ideogram is often abbreviated to CT. 12,41,38 A-I(rI(ir) = kalû. 2. CT. 41,48.
3. CT. 31 b 57.
4. St. B. 3.4.
5. Strassmaier, Nabuna'id 60,3, amelu ir pl. ir may of course be a confusion with the sign for "tanner", ašgab, v. OLZ. 1911,385, in which case this reference should not be given here. Cf. Nbn. 31,7.
6. galu tâl, in ZA. 25,302,7 pronounced ... ga-al, being the value which is also given to UŠ-KU in this syllabar; both = kalû according to King ibid 303. Compare Christain ZA. 27,257 who supposes that the variant DT. 105 had two Semitic translations. For tal = wailing, v. Sum. GR. 246. Note that I is also an ideogram for the god Ea, patron of psalmists, and (makas) = sisitû, lament, SAI. 7567.
7. CT. 12,41,48.
8. SBP 238,21-4.
For some obscure reason Sumerian employs a word which ordinarily means "master", "free-man", for psalmist. It is possible that this word *mulu*, is a dialectic form of *gala* or *gal*, the ordinary word for psalmist, but *mulu* is commonly regarded as dialectic for *gala*, the classical word for "free-man", and may have no connection with the word *gala*, *kal* which means "servant" as well as "psalmist". A decision in this matter is impossible. The title *mulu* occurs only in a syllabar and in a late passage, "Oh temple thy skilled (musician) is not present".

The word is probably connected with the longer phrase, *mulu sir-ra*, "the master of chanting", Zim, K. L. 12 II 17; 25 II 7.

A curious Sumerian word *t-un-ma* occurs in a syllabar which explains the same by the Semitic word *kalā*, "psalmist". Supposing the two signs to be read phonetically as above, the word is surely connected with *dunga* a word for "singer", and a class of priests who aided the psalmists. This view forces us to assume that the syllabar in question has confused the two classes. On the other hand the two signs may represent an abbreviation of the ideogram for *sangu* discussed above. The suggestive words for psalmist *su-dininni*, "Hand of Ishtar", and *su-din-nin-a-zu*, "Hand of Ninazu", refer certainly to the lamentations for Tammuz the dying god and his mother Ishtar who descends to Hades to seek for her lost son. Ishtar appears so often, both in the wailings for Tammuz and in the liturgies, as a sorrowful mother that she was said to be the "Lady of psalmody".

We have already had occasion to remark that Ea, god of wisdom and the sea, was the patron of music. Although in a late period Enmešarrā for special reasons became a patron of instruments, yet this is a myth easily explained and in no way conflicts with the ancient and accepted mythology, which regarded the god of Eridu, the Greek Oanes, as the patron of all skilled arts. In an early bas-

1. *mulu* = *kalā*, CT. 12, 41, 40.
2. Page 32, 28. The word is here rendered by *mudū*.
3. CT. 12, 41, 45.
4. Ninazu, most likely identical with *Umun-azu*, a title of Tammuz, SBP. 304, 13. Ninazu is a title of any god who dwells in the lower world; in II R. 39 d 34 both names = Nergal; but CT. 25, 8, 13 = 2.51 Ninazu = Ninurta. For these ideograms, v. CT. 19, 49, 19 f.
5. *bēlit kalātum*, Meek, BA. X p. 1 p. 124, 5. The ideogram *k* = *kalā*, in CT. 12, 41, 43 is obscure. We might transcribe *tig-dingira*, "He who appeases god", but we have little warrant for such transcription. The signs would be generally taken for, "wall of god", *bad-dingira* or, "high wall" *bad-ana*. With "wall of god", compare "hand of Ishtar".
relief he is represented standing upon the great drum which the psalmists beat to accompany a Sumerian liturgy. The grammarians, in their list of the arts over which he presided, called him god of the lyre and of the psalmists. The name lum-ḥa designated Ea in this capacity, a word whose meaning has not been explained.

The Semitic word which ordinarily translates the various Sumerian expressions for liturgist and psalmist, namely kalū like the greater number of cult-terms in Babylonian religion is itself of Sumerian origin, being a transcript of gala, ḥal. It has no satisfactory Semitic etymology although two other words have been derived from this root by analogy, since the Babylonians did not distinguish clearly between their own words and those derived from Sumerian. They, therefore, constructed an abstract noun kalūtu for psalmody, as well as a form kula'u which is rare. To this group of liturgists who devoted their attention chiefly to instrumental music we shall add the following names for psalmist.

A syllabar connects the munambū and the lallaru with kalū. The Sumerian words for these Semitic terms both contain the noun ilu an ordinary word for "chant, mournful music", i-lu-a-li, "He that chants mournfully", is rendered by lal-laru, which is also the name of some kind of a bird (or insect). It is reasonable to suppose that the instrument, upon which this musician played, gave forth a sound like that of the bird, which bore the Semitic name lallaru. The synonymous word munambū means "he who weeps loudly", the piel participle of a verb nābū, from which was derived a common word for lamentation nūbū, numbū. The Sumerian expression is i-lu-di a formation from the noun ilu, "chant of a mournful kind".

1. CT. 25,48,11; CT. 24, 43,120.
2. Or num-ḥa? Read also lum-ḥa = "balay-li, CT. 29, 45,12.
4. CT. 19,41 a 19.
5. For lallaru, v. MUS-Arnolt, 482 b after ZIMMERM and MEISSNER, and sāg-sur "Heart that sighs", in a list of chirping birds, SAI. 6001. Perhaps also, in UD (ha-ad)=ša zūr-had-had lal-lu-ru, so named because of its bright color, CT. 12,6 b 25. FRANK, Studien 68 n. 161 restores KB. VI 136,3 so as to find reason for assuming that the lallaru played upon the flute. I would suggest for lallaru the meaning "Honey creeper", a passerine bird which feeds upon honey, or the "Honey buzzard". For lallaru = honey, v. PSBA. 1901,120 rev. 1. In favour of a small bird is the fem. lalartu classified among "flies", CT. 14, 2 a 23.
6. Bu. 4027; SAI. 2684.

Babylonian Liturgies.
The same Sumerian word is rendered into Semitic by šariḫu. The verb šarāḫu, although having the general sense "cry out in sorrow," has the technical meaning, "chant to the lyre," and the participle šariḫu, "he that chants to the lyre." The word designates no separate religious order but is only a more special name for psalmist. The musēlû, a kind of necromancer who appears to have exercised power over the souls of the dead by means of a lyre, does not come into consideration here, although his name is once written with an ideogram employed also for a mythical spirit, patron of the lyre.

In Semitic the technical verb most often employed for singing to the musical instruments is zamēru. The idea of playing on instruments is essential to this verb as it is to the Sumerian equivalents, sir, ser, sur, nir, li-du, išu. The Semites derived from this verb a noun zamēru for "psalmist," a word which they rendered into Sumerian by i-lu-'du-'du, "he that utters lament," li-'du-'du, "he that utters a chant of joy," and e-la-'du. All these words contain in one form or another the root lil, "to shriek, play upon wind instruments." A text edited in this volume introduces zamēru as a gloss on kalû, "who knows to play the temple music." The female psalmist zamēru occurs in a grammatical text where it is rendered into Sumerian by ulili and udulla. The former word again contains the root lil; the second the root tul from tal, a word for liturgical wailing.

The temple liturgists discussed above were essentially those who sang to instruments. Another numerous body of musicians, whose origin can be traced to remotest antiquity, must be clearly distinguished from these. The Sumerian word for shriek, blow, play on wind instruments, is lil, not always kept distinct from the verb

1. Br. 1028.
2. Heb. יֶש, Arabic šaraḥa etc.
3. i-lu balag-di, CT. 12, 10 a 23. See ibid. 24-7 for ideograms compounded with išu for šariḫu.
4. Probably III part. of élû, with Delitzsch, not connected with ša'alu.
5. galu balag-gà, CT. 19, 24 b 24.
7. CT. 12, 10, 7-9.
9. Page 32, 32; zimmēru for zamēru is due to influence of the sibilant z.
12. The root is the base of ilu, iludi, li-du, etc., employed in the various words for psalmist discussed above. The word means also "howl," "blow," "shriek," v. Sum. Gr., 226. My interpretation of the verb as "play upon a wind instrument," ibid. is correct.
sir, "to sing to instruments". From this root Sumerian derived the word for "young man who sings", *lit* "a youth whose voice is changing from the shrill high pitch of youth to lower tones of puberty. The Hebrews also employed youths in the temple services, doubtless for singing before their voices broke. But Sumerian *lit* and Semitic *nāru* retained the original sense of "speak with shrill voice", whereas the Hebrew derivative generally lost this sense and took on the meaning, "lad, boy, youthful attendant".

Sumerian employed the noun *lit* "youth" in the special sense of "musician", and not only a singer but one who plays instruments. For some reason these musicians were employed for accompanying private penitential services, and especially prayers of the incantation services so that in due course of time the *lit* or *nāru* became disassociated with the public liturgists, and more closely associated with the priests of magic. It is difficult to accurately define the line of cleavage between the public psalmists and the private psalmists, but in general it is clear that the real occupation of the latter consisted in accompanying the songs of private devotion.


2. The original was probably a *pa'al* form, *na'ar* as in Hebrew. The word is rarely written phonetically, but in the salutation of three letters of the Cassite period addressed to the men and women singers and the household of a prince, we have, *na'-ri-e* and *na'-ra-a-ti*, RADAC, BE. 17 p. 36. The plural *na-a-ru* occurs in SBHI. 109,72, i.e., *nāru*. *Ea* is god of the *na-a-ri*, CT. 24, 43, 121; see *dunga* p. xxxii. The ideogram *lit* is rendered by *na-a-ru*, v. PSBA. 1896 PI. III. Col. I. Wholly uncertain is the meaning of *nab = nāri* in CT. 12, 4 b 20 and 19, 41 a 27. [MEISSNER, SAI p. 699 enters this word as *na1ru* singer.] We have here probably the word "river", in the sense of "milky way"; note *nab = tiamtu*, probably Serpens, CT. 12, 4 b 22. Uncertain is the Sumerian restoration of the name of a god of the singers *nde sa na-a-ri = 4lit-a?*, CT. 24, 17, 50.

3. Perhaps we may infer this from Exodus 33, 11; cf. 24, 5. The etymology was first explained by EVETTS, ZA. 3. 328; see also MEISSNER, BA. III 339. The root *na'aru > na'āru* "shriek, lament", must be assumed to explain the word *ni-i-ru* = *unninau*, "sighing", VR. 21 a 60, and *ni-ir-tu* "wailing", SBP. 98, 27. But other evidence for *na'aru*, "shriek, cry" is extremely doubtful. *labī nāri* in KB.VI 68, 11 may mean, "the slaying panther"; the description of the female demon Labartu in ZA. 15 180, 41 *nu'urat kina nēsî (?)*, is parallel to *ūstanātīši kina barbari (?)*, and *lahāpu* is connected with an Arabic root *ḫāy*; to smite. Senecherib carried away to Nineveh men and women singers, *nārē* and *nārāti*, KB. II 96, 38.

4. The *ersēmma*. 
In the magic services we frequently find the rubric that the nāru shall here say such and such prayers. Since the public liturgists (kalū) are never mentioned in these rubrics for singing private prayers we may assume that the psalmists who took the responses in the penitential psalms (er-sag-tīg-maḫ) who sang the prayers of the lifting of the hand for men in extremis, are none other than the familiar nāru.

These general lines of distinction are clear from the Isin period onward when the province of the private psalmists became fixed. But from the very beginning of Sumerian writing the kalū appears to have been a liturgist who acted in a private capacity. He is first mentioned upon a circular bas-relief of the prehistoric period where his figure is engraved with his name and title "the superior nāru." In this scene whose details have been obscured by the loss of the upper portion, this priest stands alone to the left of a small figure, who, with outstretched hands, implores a deity (?). We have here, probably, the nāru in the primitive sense of "singer".

I will not venture to affirm that the word kalū is first employed in the sense of flute player, but the ideogram employed to write this word probably represents a wind instrument, something in the nature of a bag-pipe, for which the reed flute (tigū) and the double flute (baẖallatu) were soon substituted. When we reach the classical period these psalmists were clearly associated with the reed flute, for Gudea placed the muse of the flute in the temple of Ningirsu and called him the kalū loved by the gods, and a liturgy mentions the nāru who plays in the temple of Ishtar upon the pagū, some kind of a wind (?) instrument. Great modification in the use of these terms grew up in the long history of the Sumero-Babylonian culture.

The public liturgists also employed the flute for the temple litanies from the earliest period and in this same passage the kalū plays the reed flute.

I shall employ the word "private psalmist" for this class of priests, but no single term can avoid ambiguity. By this translation I include the acts of singing

1. Zimmern, Rit., p. 176, 15, the nāru shall sing the prayer, "Oh exalted Ea", et passim; Neujahrfest 135, 20. Other references in Frank, Studien 70. Note also Weissbach, Miscel. 32, 5 where the nāru sings or plays a private psalm in-ha inniḫ, but the kalū a litany, takribtum ḫakkan.
2. See for example, SBP. 269 and IVR. 27 No. 3 (Zimmern, Busspalmen, no. 7).
3. RA. 5, 43.
4. ti-gī.
6. SBH. 109, 71. Note the ideogram employed in the late period for tigū, viz. balag-lul, i.e., "lyre of the flute player", Br. 7041.
7. Ibid., 1. 79.
and playing all instruments. The 𒀔-𒈗 a kind of tambourine or drum is played by the 
𒀔 in Gud. St. L. 4, 3. The ṭaḫaltum of the ᄛ, Sum. 𒄀-𒄀, is clearly a wind 
instrument, a kind of bag-pipe, CT. 18, 34 c 25. The bas-reliefs of processions 
represent the ᄛ priests playing harps, dulcimers and double flutes. I infer that 
from the first the flute was studied by the liturgists also. The ṭaḫiūt sings to the 
double flute in a ritual of founding a temple, WEISSBACH, Miscellen., 12, 12 ina 
ḫal-ḫal-ḫal-[ti]. But the ᄛ did not belong to the sacred college of liturgists 1. It is 
true that liturgists and private psalmists are mentioned together as they who “lead 
the congregation” in public worship 2, but the latter class played only a menial 
part in these services. They occupied themselves more and more with the liturgical 
elements of the magical services 3 and I dare say that the familiar figure on seals, 
who leads a penitent to his god, is none other than the private psalmist. 

That they served in a public capacity is evident from the fact that the Assyrian 
kings employed them in their triumphal processions. Returning from a victorious 
invasion of the Mediterranean sea-bord Ashur had entered the public square of 
Nineveh to the music of the private psalmists who played upon harps (?) 4. Asurban 
epal likewise entered Nineveh from the Elamite wars to the music of the “private 
psalmists who make a joyful noise” 5. Public festivities of this kind have of course 
no connection with sacred music. The ᄛ are mentioned among liturgical 
devotees of Ishtar; “The private psalmists of the harp (?) 4, the ṣerītu and ḫuṣaḫu” 6, 
they of the flute, the ṣinnitu and arka[tu?] 7. This passage does not afford any evidence 
concerning the kind of public services in which they were engaged, but it is not 
likely that the sacred liturgies are referred to. They must have been regarded as 
public servants from the earliest period. A tablet of the pre-Sargonic era mentions

1. Note the syllabar in PSBA. 1896, Dec. pl. III Col. I the ᄛ follows the 

ašipu. 

2. amēl kalē amēl ᄛ ša qimir ummanūtu ḫammu, BA.III 250; cf. SBP. 164, 
39 ff., “With her congregation she approaches the temple”, and BA. X pt. 1 
p. 21, 6. 

3. The ȗ is also rendered into Semitic by ṣattāmu a priest who belongs to the 
sphere of magic. Note the Sumerian me-na-ri ṣattāmu in Rim. 338,15: Whether the 
element ᄛ be Semitic or not, menari means, “singer of incantations”. See MESS-
ARNOLT, Lexicon 1133; STRECK, ZA. 18,164; FRANK, Studien 69. 

4. ḫuṣu ṣag-sal, I Rawr. 45 I 32. See also Thureau-Dangin, Sargon, I. 159. 

5. KB.II 256, 46. 

6. Wind instruments (?). 

a "private psalmist of god" among the public beneficiaries, and the same tablet states that a sacred woman lived at the house of the private psalmist. In the same period he is expressly mentioned as a musician of a temple. They participate in the festival of the goddess Bau and receive rations for their services. The innumerable temple records of the dynasty of Ur do not mention these musicians so often as we might expect. In a list of rations for public servants a menial, a maid-servant and a boy receive pay as private psalmists; another entry mentions two market gardeners, a confectioner, six menial workmen and a boy who are paid for the same service. A nāru of the goddess Ninā, and one in the service of the high-priest are mentioned with the chief liturgist as beneficiaries of the house of the high-priest of the goddess Ninā.

We frequently meet with women psalmists of this class. It is difficult to distinguish the this class from the female singers (zammērtu) of the sacred liturgies, unless in pursuance of our thesis we assume that the nartu sang only in private and profane music. Perhaps only in profane music, or in public festivities. A syllabar arranges the female nāru immediately after the female liturgists. Senecherib mentions the men and women private psalmists among the attendants of the court of of Merodachbaladan in Babylon, and these he took away captive to Nineveh. Since the conquerors never mention the temple liturgists among their captives it is evident that their connection with the sacred music rendered their position secure in the eyes of Assyrian kings. These at any rate respected the temples and their liturgists, and if they transported the flute psalmists this is proof that they had little connection with sacred music and no official standing in the sacred college.

By the nature of their office the kalā priests could not chant for burial ceremonies, since these did not pertain to temple liturgy. There are no clear instances of the

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2. Ibid., VI 3.
3. Nikolski, 32 obv. III 6; lut-é-bár-bár; cf. DP. 59 VII.
4. RTC. 61 rev. 1.
5. Reisser, TU. 146 II 19-22.
6. Ibid., III 22-27.
7. RTC. 401 obv. I 19 f.
8. See Ledbain, Le Temps des Bois d’Ur No. 41, ten women (?) singers return from singing (lut-ta yur-ra) at the festival of the new-moon.
9. ZK. II 300. VS.VI 61. 3 maratsu nārtum (sal-lul-tum) is given in marriage; same passage in 95,7 sal-lul-ti. Ungnad, OLZ. 1908. Beiheft II Nos. 2 and 3 reads sallatun, "third daughter". Also Delitzsch’s suggestion IIW. 191, to read batultu maiden, is possible, since nartu really means "maiden".
10. KB II 84, 30 nārē nārēti.
sacred liturgists' conducting the wailings at interment. This service naturally fell to the private psalmists and at least one text confirms this view. A letter concerning the interment of an Assyrian king states that the nāru and his daughters sang before the dignitaries at the time of the funeral wailings. Another letter describing an interment states that rites of magic were performed and private penitential psalms sung. Ceremonies of the latter kind belong exclusively to the office of the nāru.

Since these musicians had charge of the liturgical sections of the magic ceremonies they came into close relation with the mysteries and the priests of magic. Several rituals have been preserved which define the manner in which these private psalmists assisted the magicians. At certain points in the mysterious rites of the āšipū the nāru sings incantations, and in one instance he must wash his hands. The object of each of these ceremonies was to atone some person who had sinned or accomplish some rite of purification. Unimportant manual services are rendered by the nāru, such as placing jars of oil before the bed of an afflicted person. In certain private rites where the magician himself repeats the prayers these are not chanted (zamāru) but recited (manā, ḫabā). We can easily detect those rituals, at which the private psalmist assisted, by the term employed in the rubric. Thus if at a given point the rubric requires a prayer to be chanted (zamāru) we may infer that he is supposed to be present.

Ea, patron of mysteries and all arts, likewise presided over the guild of private psalmists and in this capacity he bore the title duamu. If we know the precise...
meaning of the words *lûmûk*; Ea as patron of liturgy ¹, and *dungâ*; Ea patron of penitential psalmody, we might obtain a clearer insight into the origins of Sumerian music. For *dungâ* one suggestion commends itself. The private players are on the whole separated from the liturgists by the fact that they employ wind instruments. One of their instruments, the *takaltu*, appears to have been the bag-pipe; the Sumerian word *fun* means *takaltu* a leather bag, and *ga* is an abbreviation for *gal*, "to use, possess"; *dungâ* or *fungâ* may perhaps mean "He that plays the bag-pipe".

For some reason difficult to explain, the stringed instruments and the drum were favoured for public liturgies. This was probably not true of the earliest period, but the principle was established in the age of Hammurabi. I shall not enter into a further discussion of the philological technicalities connected with the names of the instruments. The following names and their meanings are those which represent my own conclusions ².

1. *â-lâ* = *attâ*, kettle drum (?).
2. *balâq* = *balâqu*, *balangu*, lyre or harp ⁴.
3. *ub* = *uppu*, drum.
4. *ilîz*, *ilî-es* = *ilîsu*, tambourine.
5. *mâsi* = *manzu*; employed by the public liturgists; made of leather. SBH. 72 rev. 10; see BL. 79, 17. Perhaps in 86, 33 *lû-gal me-â-si-a, "the psalmist of the manzu (?)".
6. *sem*, to sigh (?), = *balâhallatu*, the double flute. Late ideogram *balâ-le*; i.e., "instrument of the flute psalmist ", *balâ* being employed in a general sense.
7. *ti-gî* = *tigu*, flute, ordinary reed-flute ⁵. Late ideogram *balâ-le*. Some kind of a reed-flute is mean by *gi-er-ra* = *ka-an bikîti*, "reed of weeping " ⁶.

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1. *dungâ* gloss on *lul* is one of the divine liturgists of Ea. Ibid., 99— (dungâ)
2. is also one of the divine liturgists. For reading *dungâ* as a gloss on *sag*, v. CT. 29, 45, 10.
4. For these words, v. Frank, Studien, 229-233.
5. See PSBA. 1911, 196, date of the contract No. 12; also p. 186 date formula b, *su-â-lâ*.
6. Played both by men and women; v. SAK. 166, e) 7, Lipuše, lyre-player of the god Sin, a woman.
7. See Th.-DANGIN, SAK. 130 X 9 ; 138, XVIII 22.
8. SBP. 238, 27; 120, 25 (read *gi-er-ra* = *ka-an bikîti*); see MEEK No. 11 and RADAČ, Miscel. 3, 24. *gi-er-ra-an-um-ma*, RADAČ. Miscel. 13 V 14.
8. gi-gid, "the long reed", māliša, flute, flageolet.
9. gi-di takallu, bag-pipe (?)
10. sa-li-ne-lu = pagû, bag-pipe (?); employed by the nāru.
11. balag-di = timbuttu, dulcimer. Balag-di has three meanings, 1) liturgical passage sîrhu, 2) liturgist, as in DP. 33 obv. I 3 and SAK. 166 e 7, and 3) a musical instrument, timbuttu.
12. giš-gâ=silim (or sir), a liturgical instrument. Probably the lyre.
13. giš-al-gar, lute (?)

The name of the cymbals, which we know from a bas-relief to have been employed in sacred music, is still unidentified.

The technical term employed for words sung to musical accompaniment is sîr, which the Semites render by sîrhu, a word having the ordinary meaning "cry, wail". This technical term for "melody", applies both to liturgical and private music and means, apparently, a passage sung to a given melody, characterized by certain refrains. Thus in a liturgy we have the passage:

"The chief melody in the temple let them take up for thee; Oh lord, the chief melody in the temple let them sing to thee."

The melody, here called the chief melody, continues for five lines and is separated from the succeeding melody by a line drawn across the tablet. Another reference from the Tammuz liturgies will serve to illustrate this term:

"Alas! wailing for the herbs there is; the chief melody is 'they are not produced'."

The passage then continues with twelve lines, each ending with the refrain nautud, "they are not produced". Liturgies from the period of the Isin dynasty

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1. Certainly a string instrument and to be separated from timbuttu, seal ring, with Frank, l. c. 232. Cf. ragâmû ša timbutti, Sm. 578, 4. The instrument is probably figured on the processional scene of Senecherib, Paterson pl. 65-6.
2. Radau, Miscel. 2, 59.
3. This phrase, which means "instrument of sweet tone", is probably a poetical term for balag. Note the poetical description of the balag-gâ in SBH. 92 n 18, gud gû-silim-sîl, "Bull that cries with a sweet tone", and Gud. Cyl. A. 28, 17 gud gû-sîl-silim.
4. Radau, Miscel. 2, 60.
5. sir-sag = širhi restû, hardly "first melody", as I rendered it, SBP. 96, 10.
6. SBP. 332, 9. sir-sag appears to be employed in some other technical sense in ZIM. K. L. 23 III 44. 16 and Radau, Miscel. 17, 13.

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onwards are made up of these passages, each of which is characterized by some melodious refrain, and each probably based upon a different musical movement.

This word for a musical passage is also applied to penitential psalms chanted for a worshipper by the flute psalmists. A psalm of a particularly liturgical character recited to Enlil has the line:

"The melody which is sung shall bring thee peace; be thy heart appeased."

The liturgists are those who "know the melodies," and are masters of the musical movements. Ishtar the personification of suffering humanity, patroness of litanies, is she "who understands the measures." More rare is the Semitic translation of sir by zamāru, employed in the same sense. A passage of great importance for the history of liturgy is the following melody of six lines taken from a liturgy to the sun god:

"Unto the temple to the accompaniment of the lyre a song of lament we will take. The liturgists the melody will sing. The liturgists a melody of lordly praise will sing. To the sacred drum and sacred tambourine they will sing. To the double flute and bag-pipe an holy chant they will sing."

The sources drawn upon for the fore-going discussion of the word for "melody, chant," belong to the standard compositions and show how the word was employed by the liturgists in the period when liturgy had been fully worked out. Here we have extremely long services composed of a succession of melodies characterized by changing refrains and musical motifs. But in the early Sumerian period the public services consisted of a single song, and in the case of the regular litanies these were probably done to the string instruments. A sir or melody in the

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1. So the Sumerian text of IV R. 21 * No. 2 rev. 5, sir-hi tuk-a ma-ra-tóg-e. For tuk in the sense of sing, v. SBH. XII and cf. dág = ḫabû with tuk = ḫabû SAI. 8625.
2. sir-zu, p. 32, 32.
4. SBP. 34, 36.
5. sir = zamari.
6. izammuru.
7. sir-ra balag-gâ = zamari balaggi.
8. balag = balagga.
10. As many as six hundred to a thousand lines.
11. Some liturgies have as many as twenty sirḫu.
most ancient services had the general meaning "song with musical accompaniment". But the first examples we have of these melodies, destined to form the basis of one of the most extensive systems of religious liturgy, are already marked by characteristic refrains. Thus a melody to the flute, commemorating the pillaging of Lagash, begins,

\[ \text{uru-a gilsa barmu bögam} \]

"Oh city alas the treasures, my soul doth sigh."¹

For eight lines the refrain bögam is preserved. After four lines of chant we meet the refrain namunbal repeated after four lines. Other refrains characterize this melody, as munibhalama and banibtôn. The liturgical note reads:

\[ \text{er-šem-ma ū-ba-ù-kam} \quad \text{Chant to the flute to Bau.} \]
\[ \text{sir dingir-ad-da-mu} \quad \text{Song of Dingiraddamu.} \]

A liturgy celebrating the victories of Dungi, deified king of Ur, has the following colophon,

\[ \text{ki-šù-bi-im sir nam-erim-ma}². \]

"It is a liturgy accompanied by prostrations; a song of hostilities."

A long composition sung at the mysteries of the dying and resurrected god, in which Idin-Dagan a deified king of Isin represents Tammuz, ends with the note:

\[ \text{sir nam-ur(??)-sag-gà ù-nin-si-an-na-ge}. \]

"A song of the majesty (?) of Ninsiaritu."

Similarly a hymn to the grain goddess has the rubric:

\[ \text{sir nam-su-hu ù-nisaba}. \]

"A song to the tune 'not wilt thou cast me down' to Nisaba."³

The interpretation of namšubu is doubtful. In a number of liturgies we meet with the refrain nam-mu-un-sub-bi-en, "not wilt thou cast me down"⁴; it may be that a certain tune was associated with all passages characterized by this refrain, hence the tune came to be known as the namšub melody, and was employed for

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¹. SBP. 284-287.
². RADAU, Miscel. No. 1.
³. Ibid. No. 2; v. Sum. Gr. 200.
⁴. K. L. 65.

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other passages not containing this refrain. A similar rubric is attached to a section of a liturgy to the moon god:

\[ ki-šub gû \text{3 kam-}\text{ma} : \text{sir nam-šub} \text{d} \text{sin-na-kam} \]

"A liturgy accompanied by prostrations, third section: a song, to the tune 'not wilt thou cast me down', of Sin".

The natural meaning of namšub is "incantation", especially the mysterious acts of magic connected with uttering curses. But public liturgy and the magic rituals were precisely the two forms of Babylonian religion which were kept apart; according to our present knowledge of the history of public worship a translation, "song of an incantation of Nisaba, or Sin", is impossible.

At first liturgies consisted of but one song, and to satisfy the growing desire for a longer service the liturgist simply wrote a longer song all in the same melody. The liturgical song to Ninsianna referred to above has seventy-six lines and a laudatory hymn to the god Galul was so long that the scribe adds the note sir gid-da galu-lal, "A long song to Galulal". More difficult is the interpretation of the rubric of a song to Enlil:

\[ ki-šû \text{(?)} \text{5 sir-gal} \text{d} \text{en-li-lå-\text{[ge]}} \]
\[ \text{sag-an-šû mi-}\text{ni-ib-[zag-sal?] 6} \]

"A liturgy accompanied by prostrations; a big song to Enlil.

On high [we have praised him]".

In none of the hymns to which sir is attached do we find any lines across the tablet to indicate sections as in the later liturgies. But the addition of gid "long" and gal "great" indicate a tendency to introduce musical modes.

Since the lyre and dulcimer were the principal instruments for temple music the words balag (lyre) and balag-dii (dulcimer) came to be employed for "melody" as well as for the names of instruments. For the former word the Semites employed the regular loan-word balaggu as well as sirhu, and for the latter sirhu only.

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1. The refrain does not occur in K. L. 65 and 68.
2. K. L. 68.
4. RADAU, Miscel. No. 5. This rubric appears here as the last line in the text.
5. RADAU, EBUR. The text frequently mentions Nisaba.
6. RADAU, mi-ni-[ib-il-e-ne], but v. MYHRMAN BP. I No. 7.
7. RADAU, Miscel. 16.
8. BL. No. 195 is divided into three sections, and if my reading of sir in line 47 be correct this would form an exception. Sections one and two of this hymn have each a note which contains some musical direction,
balaggu should mean “lyrical melody”, or passage to the lyre and this is probably the original meaning, but in the passage cited above (p. xxxiv l. 6) the chant to the flute and bag-pipe is called a balaggu, so that the word is an exact synonym of sirhu. So completely was the meaning of balag forgotten that we have the liturgical note [ki-su-]ub? balag ti-gi d-ninuraš, “It is a movement of prostrations, a musical series on the flute to Ninuraš”, where balag designates a liturgy to the flute. It is employed with its correct import perhaps in another liturgy: —

“Oh Anu, may the lamentation and the melody of weeping [appease thee]” 2.

Extremely rare also is the use of balag-di for melody, as in: —

“By lamentation and melodies may the soul of life of the lands [repose.]” 3

More common is the technical term balag-di as an exclamation, translated by ina sirlu 4. Two interpretations are possible here, a) to the accompaniment of the dulcimer, or b) alas!, i.e., a simple exclamation. Or the term may have some liturgical import which is unknown 5.

I do not believe that the word is a musical rubric indicating a particular movement or mode, for it forms part of the text and occurs in no regular position. If it be a simple exclamation it deserves no separate treatment here. The most reasonable interpretation of this recurring term is “alas!”, but there is clearly some technical meaning behind the word. Perhaps the original idea is that of a verb in the imperative, “sing to the lyre”:

“Once ruin befel me, and once I was glad.

Oh sing a melody, once ruin befel me and once I was glad.”

“Oh sing a melody, rage there is and glory there is.”

The Sumerians soon felt the need of more technical liturgical terms. The word sir conveyed the idea of a rhythmical passage sung to the accompaniment of instruments. But such a term served only to distinguish this literature from prose. Terms

1. BL. No. 97.
2. SBH, 128 rev. 21. an-na i-lu balag er-ra [de-en-šed-dé]

itu a-nu-um ku-bi-e sir-hi bi-ki-tum [libbaka linih].

3. Ibid, 25 f. The word is employed in this sense in K. L., 25 III 15. 17.
4. SBP. 132, 17; BL. 25, 1. Radau, Miscel. 382 l. 14 balag-a-ni, finds the word employed here in the sense of sirhu but I doubt his interpretation. The passage means rather “her instrument is the reed of weeping”.
5. Radau, Miscel. 383 n. 4, regards the word as a rubric, “sing in a wailing voice”.
6. balag-di. SBP. 2, 15. The word begins the second line of a sirhu.
were needed to designate these songs as passages intended for public worship, and the rubric first employed for these ancient single song liturgies was *er-sem-ma*, a phrase which probably means "wailing on the double flute". It is most feasible to suppose that, in this early period when the human mind was constructing literary forms for public worship, they had not yet succeeded in combining wind and string instruments in the musical accompaniment. The melodies were unvaried, monotonous and confined to a single instrument. Although we have not yet recovered from this ancient period any example of these single song liturgies which bears the rubric, "song to the lyre", i.e., *balag*, yet analogy forces us to suppose that this rubric existed contemporaneously with the flute rubric. These two technical terms *er-semma* and *balag* served to classify the first meagre corpus of public liturgy, on the basis of wind and string instruments, but both terms soon lost their original meaning. *er-semma* tended more and more to become a technical name for the liturgical intercession attached to the end of the complex liturgies. At least such is its use when it reappears in the late musical schools; for when the public service began to lengthen in the Isin period and instead of a single song to flute or lyre the litany was made to consist of several successive songs, the music seems to have been based upon a combination of flute, harp, drum, cymbals and various instruments. The old single songs gave way to a succession of shorter songs based on various melodies. Obviously the divisions based on the instruments no longer holds. In fact the term *er-semma* disappears entirely with the rise of the complex breviary in the pre-Babylonian period and reappears as a musical term in the Middle Period, a thousand years later and for a section of the prayer service which had been perfected in the later schools.

A catalogue of the first lines of such ancient flute hymns as could be found by some learned Assyrian scribe in a southern library has been preserved¹; forty of these primitive services are registered in his list. Eleven Sumerian *er-semma* services are known, almost complete, and of these only one appears in the catalogue². One of these is a joyous hymn to Enlil the earth god, sung at the offering of fruits of the harvest³:

"Oh lord that knowest the fate of Sumer, thou of thyself art glorious".

A hymn of martial strain to the same god contains no spiritual longings and belongs to that body of heroic literature which perished in the earliest stages⁴. An

¹. IV R. 53 IV. Duplicate of lines 1-5 in BL. 151.
². SBP. 292 in Col. IV 22.
³. SBP. 276.
⁴. SBP. 200.
èršēmma of real dramatic and epic power addressed to the thunder god Immer, in which Enlil his father sends him forth to war, is the only survival of this type of song. An ode to the moon god Nannar has no particular claim to being the expression of religious feelings, but it bears the rubric èršēmma or flute song, just as the other temple services.

Songs of a purely lyrical character may have been employed for public worship in the great days of Sumerian civilisation. But this people and the Semitic races of Babylonia and Assyria who succeeded to their heritage were too firmly obsessed with the tragedy of life to encourage tempestuous ballads in public worship. We may infer from these four hymns that the temple worship before the age of the dynasty of Ur included songs of a joyful nature as well as lamentations and lugubrious prayers. But the other nine temple litanies which we possess of this most ancient age are either dirges concerning the ruin of cities and national calamities or designed to give utterance to some more spiritual affection. A psalm on the flute to the goddess of Lagash in thirty lines lamenting the ruin of that city has no reference whatsoever to any spiritual longings:—

"Of my city her treasures are far dispersed.

Oh mother, thou queen humiliated, to the desolated when wilt thou return?

Oh shepherd the prayer may appease thee.

The master of song in my city and in my land sings no more."

The reader might suppose that a liturgy of this kind would be too local in its content to become a vehicle for expressing spiritual contrition. But it is such local dirges which really appealed to mankind and became their daily litanies. We can understand how an ancient dirge of Lagash would become a part of public worship in that city, but the political importance of Lagash did not long survive. Nevertheless her historic dirges passed into the common prayer books of all Mesopotamia, and the same may be said of the local dirges of other cities. It was a very simple matter for the musicians of a temple to introduce a popular lamentation from the breviary of another city, by introducing the name of their own city in the refrains. In this way the dirges of the most famous of all Sumerian liturgical schools at Nippur passed into the breviaries of other cities. We still possess a lament to the

1. SBP. 280. My most recent version in Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels* 147.
2. SBP. 296.
3. SBP. 284.
flute on the ruin of Nippur in the ancient days characterized by the refrain niginu urazu údedu. This melodious motif, repeated after eighteen lines became popular not only in the temples of Sumer, but it was adopted into the great liturgies of Babylonia and Assyria. niginu urazu údedu, "Repent, behold thy city", is a weird refrain which undoubtedly appealed to the deepest religious sentiments of millions of believers. Sung to some mournful tune with flute accompaniment the hymn must have produced a powerful effect. But here also in a passage which became a standard section of the daily breviary we have no mention of higher spiritual sentiments. The melody, the historic connections, the sympathy in human sorrows, these are the religious elements which made the dirges universal litanies.

More spiritual in their conception, more universal in their import, are old erēmmmas in which the mother goddess appears as a mater dolorosa, a divine wailer. The ideas introduced by this conception ramify in so many directions that we must omit here all but those doctrines which so effectively moulded the liturgies. Whether as the virgin mother Innini of Erech beloved of the dying god Tammuz, or as a married mother goddess Bau of Lagash and Gula of Isin, this goddess became, not only in the special liturgies of the Tammuz wailings, but also in most of the public liturgies, the representative of human sorrow. Unlike other deities, who are described as wreaking vengeance upon cities for their sins, she appears in the liturgies of all cities as weeping with her people. This would be of course specially true of Erech, Isin, Larsa and other centres where she was particularly worshipped. A flute litany so general in its conceptions that we can detect no local origins is that sung to the virgin mother under the name Girgilum.

The goddess is represented wandering far from her temple and the psalmists entreating her to return. Her misery and that of the people are attributed to the wrath of the earth god Enlil:

"Her hand to the holy one in prayer she raises, in tears of sorrow she goes".
"I to Enlil will betake myself, 'how long, oh my lord, shall I lament'?"

Already in the early period the theologians introduced into the mother goddess litanies the idea of the "word" of Enlil and of other gods as the cause of sorrows. These passages describing the goddess afflicted by the wrathful "word" are characteristic of early single song services, as of later complex litanies. The

1. SBP. 292. In the copy which we have Ur and Larsa are inserted. The melody is employed at the end of the second tablet of the muten-nu-nunuz-gim series, SBP. p. 138 and in a tablet of some unknown series, SBH. 122.
2. SBP. 288.
longest eršemma yet recovered (73 lines) after six lines of address to the virgin mother, "Begetting mother who knows lamentation, who abides among her people", has a dirge of sixteen lines to the wrathful word of Anu and Enlil which "From the land took away posterity, from the flock took away increase". And it returns in later passages to the "word"; "My holy places in the city it destroyed, its power who shall oppose"? The service is called an eršemma to Enlil, although this god appears only in his destructive word and the opening address is to Innini. This method of constructing litanies by representing the goddess weeping for cities and afflicted by the "word" is the most important religious idea in Samero-Babylonian public worship.

For reasons which we shall presently discuss flute litanies, like the lyre and harp litanies which must have been in use with them, were superseded by more complex services, made by combining several passages. These passages have neither the rubric "flute song" nor "lyre song", but are called kisub and the whole litany is also called a kisub. The breviaries retained this form until the late middle period when the liturgists revived the word eršemma by giving this name to an intercessional prayer at the end of the kisub service. But the form of these musical recessions differs greatly from the ancient hymns. They are now closely allied to another form of worship called eršag-tug-nal, or private penitential psalm. If the reader will compare for example the eršemma to Marduk attached to the Marduk liturgy enzu sammar on page 123 with any of the ancient eršemmās he will discover no similarity in content or literary structure. We have now a real religious passage adapted, of course, to the series which it ends. This rubric is never found in the late period in its ancient meaning but means, here, the flute song of intercession at the end of the complex kisub public services.

We may hazard the conjecture that in the early period the flute songs were attended by processional movements on the part of the singers and flute players; on the other hand the songs to the lyre were attended by bowings, prostrations and swaying. Some such distinction must have existed in these liturgies for we find flute hymns called kidūdu, that is, "walking or procession", and lyre hymns called ki-sub, that is, "bowing, falling". None of the rubrics on the ancient

1. SBP. 10-15.
2. Text restored, lines 7-16, in BL. p. 107. The section to the "word" is 7-22 in SBP. 10.
3. Obv. 32-rev. 5; rev. 11-13.
4. No example of a single song halag has been preserved.
5. See p. xxxvii and SBP. 174, 195,
texts mention the word "procession" after the term "flute song", but the
compiler of the titles of flute songs \(^1\) says that they are \textit{eršemma} \(\text{pl.}\), \textit{kidudu} \(\text{pl.}\). We
may, perhaps, conclude that the Sumerian choirs moved in procession while the
flute liturgies were being performed. The rubric of the catalogue must refer to ancient
times, for the list which it gives contains only primitive single-song flute services
which ceased to be employed as such before the first Babylonian dynasty. The flute
recessional at the end of litanies in the late period were also performed in choral
march since the rubric at the end of the flute song to Enlil of the series \textit{nam-ta-ê}
\textit{nam-ta-ê} says that there were eleven (?) \textit{kidudu}, that is steps or marches, each line,
I suppose, being marked by a degree or step \(^2\). Another series also ends with a flute
song which is done in choral march \(^3\). It may not in any case be venturesome to
suppose that after the long litanies of later times the flute song attached at the end
is a real recessional done in long slow marches or steps \(^4\).

When the primitive flute or lyre services were superseded by a breviary composed
of several sections the music also became more complex; wind and string instruments
were combined and for a time at least both terms \textit{eršemma} and \textit{balag} were dropped.
The most ancient examples of these sectional public services are from Lagash and
represent Bau as the virgin goddess Innini weeping for her city. In ordinary theology
the god of Lagash, Ningirsu, and the mother goddess Bau are married types but both
originated from the more ancient types Tammuz and Innini, or son and virgin mother.
Throughout Sumero-Babylonian public worship Innini of Erech and Bau of Lagash
are effectively identical, both are sorrowful mothers from the beginning. In these
litanies the sections are merely separated by double lines without rubrics. All of
these texts are so broken that we are unable even to gain an idea of the contents
of the different sections in order to understand the methods employed in originating
these forms \(^5\). One of these litanies contains a section describing the resistless power
of the "word" \(^6\). Another composed apparently of three songs has in its last melody
the following lines:

\begin{verbatim}
2. BL. 63.
3. BL. 17, \textit{er-šem-ma} \([\text{babbar}?] \text{ doppa 3 kamma er-šem-ma ki-du-[du . . . . . ]},
   \textit{Flute psalm to Shamash(?), third tablet; it is the flute psalm in marches (of the
   series . . . . . . )}.
4. The word \textit{kidudu} went over into Semitic as \textit{kidudû} with the meaning "public
   litany."
5. Published by F. Thureau-Dangin, \textit{Nouvelles fouilles de Tello}, after page 201.
6. See PSBA. 1912, 156 f.
\end{verbatim}
The virgin, queen of heaven, ' how long oh my temple? ' sighs.

Innina, queen of heaven,

' Oh my temple ', sighs; 'Oh my city', she sighs; ' how long, oh my temple?'

she sighs.

' Oh my husband ', she sighs; ' oh my son ', she sighs; ' how long oh my temple?'

she sighs.

' Who stands in my dwelling place '? she wails.

' Who dwells in my abode '? she weeps."

We possess several of these complex productions which the priests composed in the Isin period, and they have been constructed by building upon one of the old songs. The first section is always adapted from the opening lines of an eršemma or a balay. The succeeding sections appear to be based upon other songs, but here the first lines are rarely employed. They show no progression in thought and after the first melody one might as well sing the last and then the next to the last, or follow any order he wishes as far as the sense is concerned. I have endeavoured for many years to discover upon what principles the liturgists developed these successions of melodies which they call series but without result. That they began with some old song and developed its ideas in a succession of songs is evident. If we possessed their complete liturgical corpus we could find the ancient song with which each great series of public worship began. But the principle which was followed in the succeeding melodies must be musical, a development of some harmony which altogether escapes us. For example a liturgy to Enlil, written on one large tablet in eleven songs begins with an old song; —

\[ \text{ēlum gōdsun māzu kūrkuriš} \]

" Oh exalted one, devastating bull, thy name is on all lands ".

The tenth and eleventh songs only are preserved on the reverse, and so far as the sense is concerned one might have placed the tenth in the last place. Each of them sound like sections from old songs 2. In fact I am strengthened in the belief that in constructing the complex breviaries the Sumerians and Semites simply selected old songs and set them to new music, with the proviso that the contents of these selections should be in general harmony with the song employed for the first section. All liturgies simple or complex are named from their first lines. It was, therefore, an established rule in the composition of the long series to cite the beginnings of old songs in the first section only.

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1. AO. 4327 rev. Col. II.
2. Bab. III 244-8.
The scribes do not hesitate, however, to use the beginnings of older songs for melodies within their breviaries. For example a series upon a large three-column tablet of the Isin period forms its second melody by copying from the introduction of a song, ágalgal šélusu mûluta-zûmunzu, a song still retained as the second melody of this series in the breviary of Assyria and Babylonia. And we know from the catalogue that this same old Sumerian song was made the first melody of another series. The long series to the weeping mother Bau known as mûtenu nûnasdim has formed the last melody of its second tablet by introducing verbatim an ancient eršemmu to Enlil. In those litanies which represent the weeping mother it was of course possible to employ lamentations to any of the great gods, for these were regarded as angry deities whose wrath only the melodious songs of the sorrowful mother could appease.

The selections for the succeeding melodies would naturally be taken from songs addressed to the same god, but the extraordinary neglect of ideas in these matters may be seen from the fact that we possess an old flute song to Enlil called enzu samarmar which was developed into a Marduk litany. The psalmists of the Isin period were evidently aiming at liturgical effect. The creation of new songs was either beyond their ability or contrary to their tastes. If we possessed their scores and knew better the intricacies of the choral arrangements we might put some estimate upon the value of their work. In any case they formulated the canons for all succeeding generations. In the evolution of liturgy we shall find little that is new from the age of Isin to the last century before our era. This striving for musical and tonal effects is attended by almost childlike borrowing from older songs. Duplicates of passages recur with wearisome monotony.

In the earliest complex breviaries it was customary to draw a double line below each section, with no rubric. But we begin to find as early as the age of Dungi the

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2. SBP. 114,41.
3. IVR. 53 I 33.
5. CT.XV 11.

The following old flute songs are known to have been developed into series;—
1. lugal nam-ta-ê, IVR. 53 III 3 = BL. 63. 5. ni-tuk-ki nîginna, ibid. 22 = Col. II
2. é abzu-ta, ibid. 10 = BL. 103, 6. [23.38
3. d·babbar-gimê-ta, ibid. 16 = SBP.237.
4. u-mun-âm ma-âl-û, ibid. 28 = BL.103, 19.
rubric *kišub* after each section and at the end *kišubim*. The compiler of the catalogue of these long series calls them not *kišubim* but *balag*. But we know from late rubrics that the full rubric of these series was *kišubim balag*. This is clearly a survival from ancient times parallel to *eršemma kidudu*. I have already suggested that a body of songs to the lyre (*balag*) attended by bowings and swayings (*kišub*) must have existed in early worship. When the instruments were combined *balag* survived as a rubric and *eršemma* disappeared to be revived a millennium later. *Balag* means no longer "song on the lyre", but simply "song with instrumental accompaniment", and in later times came to mean "series of songs". If our interpretation of *kišub* be correct then the choral movements attached to old string music were those which survived in the complex litanies. And this word, which occurs after each song in the classical compositions, most likely means "a melody sung to the instruments attended by prostrations". Each section is numbered by the formula *gû-1-kam*, "first section", *gû-2-kam* second section, etc.

When these liturgical forms were first created in the period of the dynasty of Ur, the scribes exercised much care in placing the word *kišub*, or *kišu*, after each section. In any case they added the final rubric *ki-sû-bi-im*, "this is a series of melodies attended by prostrations", in those breviaries developed from lamentations over temples which had been pillaged we have ordinarily the double rubric:

\[
\text{sub-be } \text{še-ib } \text{é-X } \text{ki-dé-en-gi-gi} \\
\text{ki-sû-bi-im } \text{balag } \text{gû-de}.
\]

"A prayer for the brick walls of the temple X, may it be restored to its place. It is a series of melodies with prostrations, sung to instruments".

The second line of this formula has variants. For example on the only tablet of the Sumerian period where it occurs, a liturgy addressed to Enlil for some temple, the

2. SBP. 166, 66,
3. See page xxxvi.
4. Vide Zimmer, K. L. 64 II 16, *ki-sub gû-12-kam-ma*; 68 edge, *ki-sub gû 3-kam*; 30 rev. 15, *ki-sû*; further SBP. 328, 21; 332, 27. For *gû*, BL. No. 197, variant, has č, sic!, v. p. 88 note 3.
6. So in the late period, SBP. 70, 24 f.; 166, 65 f. (read *še-ib* for *mulu*); 192, 77 f.; *SBH.* 102, 46 f.
words balag gù-de do not appear, but are to be supplied. Occasionally the name
of the deity to whom the litany is addressed appears in the second line:—

[sub-be]d-kiš-sir-gal ki-dé-en-gi-gi

“A prayer that the temple Ekišširgal be restored to its place.
A liturgy of prostrations of the Moon God.”

[sub-be ́gal-mah?] ki-dé-en-gi-gi
[ki-šù-bi-im ₃] nin-din-dig-ya-ge

On the other hand a more spiritual litany not concerning a temple has:

[ki--su-ub?] balag tigi ₃ nin-urša-[ge]

“A litany in marches(?), to the lyre and reed-flute to Ninurta.”

As we have already noted, the ancients services ended with this rubric kišühim, or
in special cases with double rubric given above, but the liturgists of later times added to
these litanies a recessional in marches to the double flute.

Already in the age of the Isin dynasty we meet with a growing tendency to omit
all rubries after each melody, and to indicate the end of each by a double line or in
later times by a single line. This naturally sufficed, for the canons of temple service
direct all melodies to be accompanied by music based on both wind and string
instruments. These long breviares probably had only one rubric at the end which
sufficed for all the melodies. The scribes redacted these for the most part on large
single tablets. For example a series of two long sections constituting a litany to Enlil
will be found on a large double-column tablet in Professor Zimmer’s, Samtische Kultlieder No. 5. This breviary whose first song is all but destroyed, is based upon
the old flute melody,

ámunnam-zúkanag šeîrmal nitena.

But only thirteen lines of this hymn are used when the compilers begin to add
selections from other hymns ending in various refrains as bádagúrrí érramúndu and
nánšubbi dērabbi. For the second melody they employ a song of the city of Ur,

üriki gálaba érramu ni-insal

“For Ur destroyed I weep with plenteous tears.”

1. Myhrman, No 8. The formula has ki-na-an-gi-gi (sic!).
2. K. 3391 in Smith, Miscel. 12.
3. BL. No. 47.
4. BL. No. 97.
5. SBP. 276.
and into this melody references to the temples of Nippur, Sippar, Babylon and Barsippa are inserted. In this song we have a beautiful movement in four lines:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{isisi} & \quad \text{ämtalalâ} & \quad \text{idêri-dâ强者} \\
\text{sêh} & \quad \text{êzida-kâ} & \quad \text{sâga-hi áseir imâlalâ} \\
\text{nûmûni indibbi lâ} & \quad \text{hûllani nûmûni indibbi} \\
\text{se-ib-e zidaka lâ} & \quad \text{hûllani nûmûni indibbi}
\end{align*}
\]

"Wailing has bound me, before it wailing has bound me. 
As for the brick-walls of the holy temple, because of it wailing has bound me. 
He comes not, her lord of gladness comes not. 
To the walls of the holy temple her lord of gladness comes not." 1.

This excerpt of some old song will be found copied into the first song of the series, eturgim nifginam, sâgabi áseir,

"Like a sheep-fold harassed, her heart laments." 2.

and in the first song of the series,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{é_e_} & \quad \text{ämdu} \quad \text{ése} & \quad \text{am dâ_andu}
\end{align*}
\]

"For the temple I weep, even I weep." 3.

We have here a clear example of the literary methods adopted by the schoolmen who formulated the complex breviaries. This is a product of the cloister selected and arranged in Babylon or Sippar by Semitic priests. They have not the remotest idea of writing a dirge over fallen cities but of selecting and arranging old songs for liturgical effect. In this breviary the service is designed to address the ordinary woes of humanity unto Enlil.

Many other long series composed of several sections all on one huge tablet have been recovered from the schools of the Isin dynasty and the age of Hammurabi. 4. The best example of their methods is the breviary of the weeping mother, in not less than fifteen songs, and about five hundred lines published by Zimmer in as number twenty-five of his Kultlieder. The eminent Assyriologist of Leipzig has shown his usual brilliance and sound scholarship in producing this nearly complete Sumerian liturgy by joining several fragments. His text gives us a clear insight into the methods of this period and of all succeeding periods. As usual here, as in other breviaries the

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2. SBH. 35, 14-20; vide IV R. 53 14.
4. Note especially ZIMMERN, K. L. Nos. 11 (original of later ame harana series), 12, 25, 26 and 27; MYHRAH no. 1; Bab. 244.
first section is based upon an old song and represents Gula of Isin weeping for the temples of Nippur and Isin. Melody upon melody follows, several of them clearly old Isin songs arranged with popular refrains and selections which can be traced in other compositions. So far as the general sense is concerned any one of these songs is complete in itself and shows us the great mother goddess weeping because of the wrath of Enlil. The task of the liturgists appears to have consisted in selecting old songs with this idea. To us this succession of psalms becomes wearisome for each repeats the same general idea. But the rhythms vary greatly, and no doubt the musical motifs did also. Note for example the movements of the first lines of a few songs. Section two begins:

\[
\text{wai uru-mámú} \quad \text{wai uru mámú}
\]

\[
\text{wai uru-mámú mulá sirra wai uru-mámú}
\]

"Alas my city, as my city.
Alas my city, oh master of song, alas my city ".

Compare with this the opening strains of the third section:

\[
\text{édine ilúa} \quad \text{ümuni ibzale}
\]

\[
\text{ilúa édin[e] ilúa ümuni ibzale}
\]

"The plain with lament she fills,
With lament, yea the plain with lament she fills ".

Here follows a long section repeated again in the fifth and eighth sections, likewise after two lines of a new melody.

In a few long litanies we find between sections a single line ruled off from the preceding song and from the following by double lines (in the late period by a single line.) The meaning of these interludes has always been a mystery for they have no connection with what precedes or follows. The habit of taking up a pause between two melodies in this way originated in the cloisters of Sumer, for the liturgy we have just discussed contains at least two such interludes. Sections two and three are divided by a single line interlude, followed by a double line interlude, thus;

\[
nín-ri a-šag-ní a bár-ra-ní \text{1}. \quad \text{"The queen her field has forsaken"}.
\]

\[
šā-ab er-ri a-še-ir-ri al-kūš-ū-a-mu
\]

\[
ga-ša-an ì-si-in-na er ì-si-in-na-ge
\]

"Heart sighing and weeping weary her.
As for the queen of Isin, the weeping of Isin has wearied her ".

1. Cf. SBP. 312, 12.
The preceding section represents Gula lamenting for her people and the following section describes her in the third person. The interludes seem to be a comment on the situation by the choir. In the litanies we find frequently the following interlude:

\[
\text{ma-a-a-bi ud-me-na-gim ma-a-a di-di-in} \quad \text{"Now (?) as in the days of old where shall I go?"}
\]

This exclamation\(^1\) of the weeping mother comes between the first and second songs of the series, \(\text{\textit{uru hulage \& enu imme}}\). The first song represents her in the third person, the second in the first person.

In two cases it intervenes in the familiar passage on the "word". In one case the goddess is herself describing the devastation brought by the "word"\(^3\). The other passage is a psalm on the word of Nergal in which the mother goddess is not mentioned at all\(^4\). The line does not divide two songs here but interrupts a connected passage. A litany describing the wrath of Ninurta has the same interlude between two of its sections\(^5\). The reader will find the same interlude between two songs of an Innini liturgy on page 108 of this volume and it is employed in the same way on the tablet No 25 in Zimmer's collection\(^6\).

An interlude between two sections of the last tablet of a lament of the mother goddess for the temple of Ur has been alluded to above:

\[
\text{\textit{en-na la-bar-hi la-bar}} \quad \text{\textit{zn tuk-ha-ra-an-ga}} \quad \text{"While her psalmist a psalmist no longer is"}
\]

These curious notes are in prose and sound like comments on the singing, reminding one forcibly of the disinterested remarks of the choirs in a Greek play. They may be designed to give opportunity for changing the melody and adjusting the instruments.

Perhaps not so primitive, but certainly very ancient, is the custom of writing these long breviaries on several tablets. The scribes must have experienced difficulty in arranging so much material on a single tablet. In adjusting the material to a series of

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1. For variants and discussion, v. SBP. 185 note 10.
2. SBP. 184.
3. SBP. 46, 19.
4. Ibid. 76, 5.
5. Ibid. 230, 16.
tablets the scribes do not divide sections between tablets, and the custom of quoting the first line of the following tablet as a catch-line arose at the same time. An honorific litany to Dungi composed on two tablets has been found having the final rubric al-til im-gid-da 2-kam, "It is finished: the second long tablet." A catch-line will be found at the end of a tablet containing two songs from a Gula series; — ér-ba-zal á-babar-rá-ni, "She has plenteous tears; who is there beside her?" We know from another series that this is the first line of a melody. The Enlil litany, No. 5 of Zimmern's collection discussed above, on one tablet, has been redacted in the same period on three smaller tablets of which we possess the second and third.

Later forms

After a long interval towards the end of the middle period we can again take up the history of liturgy. The Assyrian scribes have already copied verbatim the great breviaries of Sumer and Accad. They added nothing new but insisted upon reducing the series to three large tablets ordinarily, whereas the Babylonians had adopted the six tablet size. But the ancient series have not been considerably changed.

We remark a tendency to introduce a liturgical form in which one line begins ursaggal and the next elim-ma, each followed by a title of the god to whom the litany is directed. I have been unable to discover this motif in ancient texts. The popular honorific liturgies to deified kings of Ur and Isin naturally disappeared. The first Semitic dynasty saw the end of that class of literature, for the deification of kings was opposed to Semitic religion. This one Sumerian principle they rejected although they borrowed literally everything else. Compared with the classical Sumerian liturgy Semitic liturgy lost rather than gained. Theirs is a repetition of Sumerian forms lengthened by dreary lists of deities and titles set to old refrains.

Only in the classical age do we find attempts in strophical arrangement attended no doubt by musical phrases. The long hymn to the moon god which introduces this volume has ten four-line strophes in which lines one and three are repeated in each strophe. Zimmer No. 1 contains a hymn to the moon god in twenty-six lines, arranged upon a complex system. The song has been written in four strophes, the second having eight lines; the others having six.

1. Radau, Miscel. no. 1, al-til, also on the large one tablet redaction, Bab. III 248, 30.
2. Myhrman, no. 5.
3. Radau, Miscel. 1 4 rev. 3. A catch-line also in Radau, Miscel. no. 13.
4. Ibid., nos. 10 and 7.
5. For example, SBP. 114, 226, etc.
If we represent these by A B C and D the strophical plan will be as follows; —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The strophe is divided into two sub-strophes of three lines each and the second triplet is exactly like the first with the exception that at the beginning of the second triplet an epithet of the god is added.</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<th>4</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The strophe has two sub-strophes of four lines each and the second sub-strophe repeats the first, adding an epithet of the god at the beginning of the first and second lines.</td>
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C and D have the same plan as A.

Less ambitious is the two line strophe of a hymn to Ninib published by Dr. Radau:

\[\text{Igalmu gän kibal-sū-ginkar siksikki ūngalmaḥ niginlal zāe_a-sūmmamen} \]
\[\text{ēnnin-ib gänkibal-sū_ginkar siksikki ūngalmaḥ niginlal zāe_a-sūmmamen.} \]

And so on for seven strophes this hymn repeats the lines varying \text{lugalmu} and \text{enninib}.

"My king, upon the plain of the hostile land the sharp axe thou hurlest. Oh lord great and mighty, all things thou seest (?), the strength begifted."

The next line is the same beginning with, "Oh lord Ninib".

The first lines of the majority of old songs are apparently intended to be written in dactyls. We cannot fail to detect an effort in the direction of metrical composition in Sumerian liturgy, but each line appears to be an element in itself. We can reduce the first lines of the songs to this measure, but the theory breaks down when we apply the measure to lines in the body of the composition. For example a section of a classical litany begins,

\[\text{āmunnu zāeud ūrumu ūrsagma mēn.} \]

1. BE. 29, no. 4. Translated by Radau, p. 75 and by Zimmern in Der Alte Orient III 1, 10.

2. The scansion favours the reading \text{nīnib} not \text{āninuras}. 

Metrical measures
But the next line,

\[\text{subbinum anum kalaga urdayma mën,}^1\]

cannot be made to conform to any such measure.

Babylonian music was probably founded upon the pentatonic scale according to those who have studied the drawings of their instruments. I am not capable of expressing any opinion in these matters, but I feel certain that beyond the occasional habit of dividing lines into hemistiches they attempted no regular system of prosody. These lines must have been arranged to music, which is another matter, and even if we possessed their scores we should be in no way aided in our search for metrical principles.

1. Bab. III 246, 17.

Note: In this volume all necessary abbreviations will be found in the list attached to my Sumerian Grammar, which is referred to in the notes by indicating the paragraphs (§) without naming the title. The transcription of both Sumerian and Semitic follows the table of transcribed signs at the end of the Grammar, and in general conforms to that adopted by F. Thureau-Dangin and Zimmer. The use of \( h \) for transcribing the Sumerian sonant spirant guttural is contrary to my views in regard to this sound (§ 38) but circumstances over which I had no control compelled me to admit this character into my transcription. Thureau-Dangin’s \( Sargon \) came into my hands too late to be utilised in the discussion of the instruments. Line 159 of that text gives the Assyrian equivalent for the Aramaic and Arabic word for \( \text{timbrel, tambourine, viz., tabalu,} \) a word which passed into Greek as \( \tau \omega \nu \lambda \alpha \), “drum”. Perhaps the Assyrians employed this word for “cymbals”.
BABYLONIAN LITURGIES

I.

A LITURGY AND PRAYER

TO THE MOON GOD FOR THE FLOCKS AND HARVESTS

The liturgical introduction lines 1-6 appeals to Sin as the watchman of the temple of Enlil. This temple was called Ekur or mountain house, symbolic of the earth which constitutes the dominion of Enlil. Under this poetic phrase the Moon God is really represented as the watchman of the earth and hence the people of Ur city of the chief cult of Sin appeal to him for the herds and fields. Lines 7-47 contain ten sections of four lines each. Lines one and three of each section constitute a recurring refrain; lines two and four describe some agricultural aspect of the Moon God. At line 48 began a short address of Enlil the Earth God to Sin. The text is completely illegible here for several lines. When the text becomes legible at line 57 we find Enlil bidding the Moon God to bless the fields and canals and to return to Ur. Interesting is the appeal for the life of the kings of Ur, proving that our text probably comes from the period of Dungi and Gimil-Sin. ¹

The section containing the commands of Enlil is balanced by a similar section 67-75 in which we learn that each of the commands were fulfilled. Because of the interesting parallel with our text I translate here a similar text from Nippur in which Ninib is appealed to in time of famine. These two texts one from Ur centre of the cult of Sin and the other from Nippur where Ninib as son of Enlil actually replaced his father as active agent of the universe, and from the same period, will bring into prominence the pantheistic conceptions which really underlie the Sumerian idea of divinity. In a given geographical sphere the chief god obtained a hedonistic position, being regarded as the lord of every aspect of life and nature.

¹. Radau, BE. XXIN no 1 has published a hymn to Ninib redacted at Nippur which mentions Gimil-Sin and his father Bur-Sin.

Babylonian Liturgies.
1. Or gáldib (?) ; cf. SBP. 286, 9.
2. For AN KAL-KAL, cf. beside SAI. 4433, CT.VIII 48 A1, 8; SBH. 85, 34.
3. Perhaps a variant of nig-é = haifs ; cf. PINCHES, Amh. 27 rev. 4.
4. Sin as patron of flocks also IV R. 9 rev. 3; cf. COMBE, Sin, p. 96. sag-lal = rému, full form sag-lal-sud > salasud, ASKT. 99, 53. Also in lugal-sag-lal “the king is merciful”, CT. I 9, II 19; V 22, VI 19.
5. Not in the text.
16. Oil and liquor that turn away sorrow thou causest to be poured out.
17. God of the new light art thou, for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
18. The... thou fillest.
19. Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
20. The marsh lands thou causest to have reeds and....
21. God of the new light art thou; for the house of Enlil watchman of the house.
22. Patron of the fuller's craft.
23. Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
24. Craftsman (?) of the long reservoirs.
25. God of the new light art thou;......
26. God of the light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
27. The fishermen thou sighest for.
28. Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
29. The..... thou......

1. REC, 220, completely confused with tur REC. 145 in the script of this period; cf. CT XV 24, 6.
2. gis nig-bar-sur, gis nig-bar-siq-sur = mazu, a fuller's club. sur = zaru, យ, press, squeeze clothes in washing, SAI. 1874 and str = kašar, press, bind, CT. XXIII 18, 46 and kašar = fuller, Meissner, MVAG. 1904, 232. Hence mazu certainly from zaru. The mazu is an emblem of Sin, Schult, Texts-el.-sem. II, 90, 11, and he appears here as the patron of the fuller's art.
3. For essad = makis, tax collector, v. Th.-Dangin, RA. VII 185. The original meaning, however, is 'fisherman', Gud. Cyl. B 14, 26-15, 1.
30. God of the new light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
31. To the ewes the lambs thou...... [givest].
32. Sheep of the pens therein thou......
33. Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
34. To the leading goats (?) the kids thou [givest].
35. With the kids and she-goats the oxen (thou makest to lie down) together.
36. God of the new light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
37. To the cows the calves thou [givest].
38. ......... cows and oxen among the sheep [thou pasturest (?)].
39. God of the new light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
40. Radiant watchman, radiant [lams-su].
41. Oh watchman radiant who openest the house......
42. ni-gab-e zí-la-da é-kid nam-mi-in
[......]
43. Oh guardian angel, radiant guard...
44. ni-gab-e zí-la-da é-kid nam-mi-in-
[......]
45. Oh radiant watchman who openest the house.......
46. Thou hast been made guard and...
47. Radiant watchman who openest the house.....

2. zilada from the root zil, sil, be bright;
48. "sin-ra "en-lil mu a zi........ na-
mu-ne
49. lu...mu...nig-gûg........ mu-na-
ab...
50. "nannar-mu [........ ken]-ag-gâ-
ra.....
nig............ mu-na-ab..
51. nig-ba à nig-muk-zu mu....ra-ë
mu-na-ab.....
52. zâg (?) ?? â-el-la-mu de-mu-na-ra-
ab-ad(?). .
53. nig gûg-gi giš-na-ta? el-mu-na-r
[v-]ab.....
54. nig (?) dûg-mu nag-a-zu iqi im-sî-in
55. ............ nag-a-zu iqi-im-sî-in
56. ..il-la-zu nam........ la-âm
57. ...ben-gâl-su gah....âm
58. sig-ab-da-ab la zu (?) sig-ab-da-ab
uri-(ki)-su ga-ra
59. id-da a-ga sig-zu-da-ab
60. a-sag-ga še-gu-nu sig-ab-da-ab
61. [id-da ba-dim-šar-nim(?)] sig-ab-da-
ab
62. [giš]-gi gi-sûn gi-ni sig ab-da-ab
63. [tul-tul...ne-bî] sig-ab-da-ab.
64. dingir ašnan-na........ sig-ab-da-
ab.
65. (?)-tud ?-né-né-bar sig-dim-da-ab
66. é-gal-la sig sû-ud-gâl sig-dim-da-ab
uri-ki .......
67. mu-na-an-sig a-en-lil mu-na-an-sig
uri-(ki)-šû ba-ara
68. id-da a-ga mu-na-an-sig
69. a-sag-ga še-gu-nu 2 mu-na-an-sig
70. id-da ha-dim-šar-nim (?) mu-na-an-
sig

48. Unto Sin Enlil............ [spoke].
49. Oh my............. misery........
50. My Nannar ....... beloved .......
51. ............
52. my........... for thee.......
53. Misery........ for thee.......
54. ............
55. ............
56. ............
57. ............ the bounty
58. Give. Thy riches give; to Ur come.
59. A canal of floods give.
60. A field of abundant grain give.
61. A canal of ...... fish give.
62. Marsh and swamp of reeds give.
63. Pools of ............ give.
64. Grain of ............ give.
65. ............ give.
66. Unto the (royal) palace life unto far
away days grant; into Ur I come.
67. He gave, Enlil gave; unto Ur he came.
68. A canal of floods he gave.
69. A field of abundant grain he gave.
70. A canal of ...... fish he gave.

1. The text has šēš "en-ki not šēš-unu-
ki, possibly an error! Ur was a city in the
vicinity of Eridu and we may possibly
have here a new ideogram for Ur.
2. Cf. gan-e še-gu-nu-a mi-ni-in-du, the
field with abundance of grain he has
adorned, RADAU, BE. XXIX 2, 28. Also
SBP. 334, 14.
71. *giš-gi* gi-sun gi-ni mu-na-an *sig*
72. *tul-tu*[l...............]*ne-bi* mu-na-an *sig*
73. *d'ašnan-na .... mu-na-an *sig*
74. ? ? né-né-bar mu-na-an *sig*
75. [é-gal-la] zig-šu-ud-gál mu-na-an *sig*
76. .... la-za *d'enn-lil*
77. [.....d']nannar *d'sin-e[?]za imin*
78. .... za-za .... *i*
79. *d'ás-im bár-e 15 ib*

71. Marsh and swamp of reeds he gave.
72. Pools of ........... he gave.
73. Grain ............. he gave.
74. ..................... he gave.
75. Unto (the royal) palace life unto far away days he gave.
76. ........ thy ..... oh Enlil.
77. ........ Nannar, god of wisdom, thy seven.
78. ........ thy ...........
79. God of the new light 15 ib....

It is a lamentation.

1. *giš-gi* in a catchline at the end of a tablet of omens concerning a river, K 116 (DA.70), denotes a kind of marsh; *summa kanu šalmu ina giš-gi ittanmar nēšu innadar*, if a black reed appear among the canebrake (?) a lion will rage.
HYMN TO NINIB
IN MEMORY OF HIS CREATING THE CANALS AND
SUPPLYING THE EARTH WITH IRRIGATION

Text published by Hugo Radau, BE. XXIX n° 2 and 3, variants.
For my text I have used BE XXIX n° 2 as the basis of lines 1-21 and from here to the end n° 3 rev. 3 ff. with the aid of n° 2 rev. and the duplicate VAT. 172 + 232 + 435 + 747 published by Reisner, SBH. n° 71. Radau who discovered the variant text of Berlin has transliterated and translated the original and the variant. BE. XXIX, 63-74.

Obv.
1. ud-bi-a a-silim ki-ta-du a-šar-ra nu-um (?).....
2. a šed dû-dû dû-û ud-zal-li-da-dim kûr-ra ri-a² ba-nî-ib-ilâ-a
3. dingir kalam-ma ba-lâh-gi-êš-a
4. gišal dusu-bi mu-un-lal-êš-a
5. šar-ra-âm êš-šar-bi nu-me-a
6. uku kud-bi-šû é-galu gû-ba-an-de
7. idîdigna nam-gu-la........šû šag-bi nu-me-e

1. Once upon a time healing waters which come from the earth [watered] the fields no more.
2. Cool waters causing abundance, which as the morning light are brought unto a barren land.
3. Which the gods of the land caused to flow.
4. (For which) men bore spade and labourer's basket.
5. And their pay was........
6. The people wailed in (their) habitations because they (the waters) were cut off.
7. Of the Tigris........ its floods are not.

2. For é-ri-a.
3. For êš-šar, salary, v. Luckenbill,

AJSL, 23, 314; Klausner, LSS. V3, 84; Hrotný, WZKM. XXV, 319 ff.
8. The cities (?) mourn (?) and men plant no more.
9. The hungry and the sorrowful plant no more.
10. The little canals where men perform hand-washings, give life to the soil no more.
11. The sacred plain water falls not upon; the making of canals is no more.
12. The lands bear verdure no more, weeds (?) they create (?)
13. The lord lent his great ear.
14. Ninib son of Enlil acted with majesty.
15. Heaps of stone of the mountain he heaped up.
16. In his own strength he strode as an onrushing storm cloud.
17. Before the land like a mighty city-wall he stood.

1. sub perhaps for sug, to water; v. Langdon, Sum. gram. § 41 g) and p. 242. 
2. Here begins SBH. 71 obv. 2 [še-] bir-ri, probably a kind of obnoxious plant.
3. Var. in-gub.
5. Var. ni.
7. Var. gar.
8. Var. im-bi.
9. Radau's text has gid-gid-e; cf. CT. XVI 43, 68; King, Magic, 12, 6; 30, 24.
10. For ir-pi-e-tu, cf. also B. M. 82-3-23, 151 in King, Creat. LIV.
11. Var. ni.
18. With the mace he smote the world.
19. The hero heaped (the stones) and built straightway a city.
20. With many waters the stones he satiated.
21. In those days waters from hell rose not to the earth-mountain forever.
22. But whom he scattered he gathered.
23. [The waters] which in field and highland he made to fill (the streams),
24. He conducted and into the Tigris poured.
25. The floods watered the fields.

1. Var mi.
2. The scribe has written AN-TI probably by distraction.
3. Suppress MEISSNER, SAI. 7409 and read kisarru.
4. ?, the variant appears to have im-da-di.
5. For šebû active in the kal, cf. asbaka, I satiated thee, CRAIG, RT. 6, 7. Ishe-Ea-bëli, ‘Ea my lord has satiated’; Isbierra, ‘He has satiated the city’, name of the first king of the dynasty of Isin.
6. This is the only passage where bad appears as a verb for ‘go up, be high’, elû. As adj. šakû, elû, CT. XII 12 a 29; II R. 30 g 9; CT. XVI 12, 24. This meaning for bâd may possibly go back to the notion of a high wall, bâd = dûru, a derivation advocated in my Sum. Gram. 205.
7. Var. ri-{a ?}
8. Var. sug-zag.
11. RADAU’S copy has here and in line 7 TIG-KAR not preceded by the sign MAŠ.
12. Var. šû.
26. And so now daily all the world,
27. Unto the lord of the land with joy
and gladness rejoices.
28. The plain with abundant grain he
created.
29. At harvest-time the gardens he
caused to bear fruit.
30. The granaries on the hills he stored.
31. The master in (our) land erected a
dike.
32. He made content the minds of the
gods.
33. Ninib his father................ [adored]
34. In those days woman was touched
by compassion.
35. Ninmah in the place of begetting he
embraced not.
36. Now (?) like a meteor beside her
[he lies].

1. Var. omits.
2. Var. no. 3 rev. 30 dû-ne. We have
here two dialectic variants for dul; on
the one hand dul > dur, § 44; dul >
dun, § 45.
   It would appear from this passage
that the original word for tilû is dul not
dû, cf. Bab. IV 27.
4. RADAU, gûr.
5. Sic! bi referring to persons in the
plural, § 160 and p. 108.
6. So RADAU, and cf. Sum. Gram. 238,
sig 5.
8. The variant has another version
"Unto the lord Ninib afar off they bowed
down ".


37. \(i-lu \ kûr \ gîr-nu-gâl-la-ba\) ............. 37. Wailing in the land where no foot was [has ceased].
38. \(à-mu-un \ à-mah-a-ni\) ................. 38. The lord his might......
39. \(ur-sa-gâl-an-dîm \ ib-ba-na\) ........... 39. The hero renowned like heaven...
40. \(àd(?) \ sur-di \ ara \ uh \ dûh-ba\) .... 40. .........................
41. \(en \ è-mu-ul-lil-lâ \ men \ saq-e \ dû\) 41. The lord Enlil adorned his head with a crown.

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III

AN INCANTATION IN THE "HOUSE OF LIGHT AGAINST THE EVIL EYE.

Edin. 09.405-33

1. \(i-gî \ âd-gîr\) \(i-gî \ ûù-gâl \ âd-gîr\) 1. The eye \(ad-gîr\), the eye a man has.
2. \(i-gî \ gâlu \ nig-ût-dim-ma \ âd-gîr\) 2. The eye afflicting man with evil, the \(ad-gîr\).
3. \(àn-e \ ba-teg \ im \ nu \ seg-seg \ ki-ba-teg \ â-ûl \ nu \ mà-di\) 3. Unto heaven it approached and the storms sent no rain; unto earth it approached and the fresh verdure sprang not forth.
4. \(gûd-dé \ ba-teg \ sah-bi \ im \ du\â\) 4. Unto the oxen it approached, and their herdsman was undone.
5. \(é-tûr-ri \ ba-teg \ ga-lab-ha-bi-im \ nu-tal\â\) 5. Unto the stalls it approached, and milk... was no longer plentiful.
6. \(àmas-su \ ba-teg \ grûn-bi \ im \ -lam\) 6. Unto the sheepfolds it approached and its production......
7. \(bûr-ra \ ba-teg \ â-kalag \ uku \ mu-[un]-an-sar\) 7. Unto the homes (ofmen) it approached and vigor of men it restrained.
8. \(ki-êl-ra \ ba-teg \ tûg \ mu-un-an-kar\) 8. Unto the maiden it approached and seized away her robes.
9. \(mes-rû \ (?î-?) \ mu-nu-sig \ kib-lal \ mu-un-sî\îl\) 9. Unto the strong man............... severed.
10. \(àsar-lû-dug-e \ igî-im-ma-an-sig\) 10. Marduk beheld it.
11. \(nig-nî-su-a-mu \ à za-e \ in-ga-zu-ba\) 11. What I know thou also knowest.

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1. So the text. Not ME.
12. imina-se ummar-ri egir giš-gaz-kam
13. imina-se ummar-ri egir dag HAR3-kam
14. jā-ta u-me-ni-sār
15. ka-ta u-me-ni-sir
16. nam-šub-ta
17. tīg galu-gig-ra ú-mu-ni-lā-[e]
18. d. nin-tin-dig-ga-gi ú-mu-ni-lāḫ
19. d?-mu-dub-ra tab-ba-ri mu-
20. d'gu-nu-ra giš-ma-ni nun-mu-ū
21. tù ēn ē-sir-ra

12. Seven vases of meal-water behind the...
13. Seven vases of meal-water behind the grinding stones.
14. With oil mix.
15. Upon (his) face apply.
16. As thou sayest the curse,
17. (Thy) neck toward the sick man raise.
18. May the queen who gives life to the dead purge him.
19. May Gunura her boat............
20. May Gunura her boat............

IV

INCANTATION IN THE "HOUSE OF LIGHT", AGAINST THE HARLOT OF INNINI

Edin 09.405-2.

This incantation in the "house of light" against the harlot of Innini (Ishtar) is extremely valuable as the earliest and most important description of the female incarnation of lasciviousness. Sumero-Babylonian religion represented the male and female principles of this aspect of human sin by the demons liš-la and ki-el liš-la (ASKT. 88, 30 f.), the former representing the temptation of woman and the latter, the servant of liš (ardat líš), the temptation of man. In the evolution of Babylonian magic it is the ardat líš, or the harlot who becomes most prominent. We see her in this early Sumerian text described as a beautiful woman (ardatu damkātu) haunting the streets and enticing her lover in his sleep. Both the liš-la (lišu) and the ki-el liš-la are represented in the original mythology as unmarried (ASKT. 88, 30)². In the later period there grew up beside the 'servant of liš' another vague female principle of lišu, called the lišitu, a Semitic feminine formation of lišu and translated into Sumerian by sal-líšu (Maklu I 138). The word rapidly displaced the earlier ardat líš and passed into the other Semitic languages as a female demon of darkness and lust. When the Sumerian for ki-el liš-la is employed for lišitu and the scribe wished to write both lišitu and ardat líš in the same line he employed for the

1. In Bab. IV 188, col. II 1, this harlot is called the 'hand of Ishtar'.
2. Bab. IV, 189.
latter the Sumerian word *ki-el ud-da-kâr-ra*, or maid of darkness\(^1\). The connection of *lilitu* with the idea of darkness was further promoted among the Semites by the popular erroneous derivation from *la'îl*, 'night'. The harlot's evil machinations were, however, conceived of as carried on after sunset from the earliest period and a man seduced by the vision of lust was purified in the 'house of light'. The text here published is closely allied with commentaries on an incantation against the harlot published by me in *Babyloniaca* IV 185 ff. See also no. 194.

**Obv.**

1. *ki-el šág-ga\(^2\) sil-a gub-ba*
   *ki-el kâr-lil a\(^3\) innina durun-bâd (?) gub-ba*
   *āb-sâr-ra-ām āb-sâr-ra-ām*
   *āb sal-la šâr a\(^3\) innina kam*
   4. *é-nun-mah\(^3\) enki-ga guku-eldûr-a-ni*
      *gišsar ab-a dü-gûr-ru-ām\(^3\)*
      *nad 4-ni .... dim uru-sâg-aga-ām\(^5\)*
      *sib edîn-na an-nûl-?âm*
      *dim mu-un-igi-lal dim šag-kenag-kam (?)*

5. *šû mu-un-igi-lal šu šag-kenag-kam*
6. *gîr mu-un-igi-lal gîr šag-kenag-kam*
7. *giši-lu azag-ga-gâm (?) gû-za-in-na*

1. The sacred maid stands in the street.
2. The maid harlot of Innina stands on the . . . . wall.
3. Fatted cow, fatted cow is she.
4. Fatted cow of Innina is she.
5. Maiden who in the house of the mighty prince of Eridu dwells,
6. Like the verdant garden bearing
   seemliness she is.
7. Her bed like . . . . is made in the holy city.
8. Shepherdess of the plain, protection of . . . . is she.
9. The limbs (of a man) she looked upon; limbs of one beloved are they.
10. The hand (of a man) she looked upon; hand of one beloved is it.
11. The foot (of a man) she looked upon; the foot of one beloved is it.
12. At the holy threshhold, . . . . of lazuli,

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\(^1\) *ud-da-kâr-ra* = 'Suppression of light'. In this connection, v. Smith, Miscel. Texts. 14 rev. c. 4-6; *én ki-el ud-da-kâr-ra-[ge] nu-gig ud-da-kâr-ra zu-ne*, curse of the 'maid of lilî', the harlot who 'knoweth' in darkness. For the demon of lust and chief female demon in Hebrew, Aramaic, late Hebrew and Mândeăn incantations, see the Jewish Encyclopedia VIII 87: Schwär in PSBA. 1890, 302 and Hyvernât, ZK. II 133

\(^2\) Cf. CT. XV 18 rev. 6; BA. V 680, 7.


\(^4\) For this sign v. CT. VIII 3 4 B 12.

\(^5\) Gula is mother of *uru-sâg-gâ*, SBH. 93, 4; cf. 12, 11.

\(^6\) For *šâr* in the sense of 'fat', cf. IV R 20, 26.
13. ......place of...... she has gone forth.
14. Her beloved lay in repose.
15. Her beloved...... was disposed^6.
16. Her beloved from above like......
17. ...... the strong man like a deluge she overwhelmed.
18. Marduk beheld it.
19. To his father Ea, into the house he entered, and wailed.
20. "Oh my father the sacred maid stood in the street."
21. Twice he spoke thus.
22. " What he has said I know not, how I shall restore him (I know not)."
23. Ea answered his son Marduk.
24. "Oh my son what know I, what shall I add to thee?"
25. Oh Marduk what know I, what shall I add to thee?
26. "Whatsoever I know thou also knowest."
27. Fat of the sacred steer, milk of the cow.
28. Fat of a steer, fat of a white steer, take.
29. With fat his limbs anoint.
30. The breast of the maiden...... (turn away).
31. Maid who opened the door mayest thou disperse ".
32. The son (of his god) who wept may sigh (?) no more.

1. DUL with value ub?
4. Cf. CT. XVII 12, 30, and strike the interrogation in SAI. 6652.
5. Cf. Br. 7020 and for the probable reading gen, den, V. SBP. 12 n. 2.
6. rig>ri = ramû.
HYMN TO THE MOON GOD

Edin. 09.405-32.

1. lugal gud igi.......... ha igi-mu-ûr
2. û- na- dûg
3. alan (?) azag-gi-pár-dug-ga tu-ud-da
4. en nir-gâl dingir-ri- ge.
5. û- na- ne- taô
6. áb-za-sa (~) amâš-agag-ga ...... gâ
7. šag-azag dingir-ri-ge pad-da.
8. za-e ...... ma-su dumu an-na me-en
9. dûg-ga-su dû dingir-ra- ta
10. ki nu- gi- gi- dam
11. enim-su nì an-ta ...... gà-dim
12. šangu nu-rû- rû- dam
13. giš ur-šig nitañ ban-na........ ta
14. lugal-mû bar-mû li-li ...... dim
15. dumu uri-(ki)-ma me- en
16. ...... gar dumu lal-? lugal-mû.....
17. šab ad-da galu-sid ma-an- da
18. ki-zi-ma ad-da- mû
19. galu nam-mû-dûg (?) ab ...... ri
20. lugal-mû ...... zu

1. Mighty king with eye of ...... eye of ......
2. Oh speak to us.
3. Bright ...... creator of the light of goodness,
4. Lord excellent among the gods,
5. Oh unto us add increase.
6. ...... ox of the sacred stall ......
7. Thou whom the pure heart of the gods didst name,
8. As for thee thou knowest ....;
   child of heaven art thou.
9. Thy command in the chamber of the gods,
10. Returns not to its place.
11. Thy word in heaven itself like ......
12. Priest cannot measure.
13. Vigorous one, hero beneficent ......
14. Oh my ruler at my side ......
15. Child of Ur art thou.
16. ...... my ruler ......
17. Shepherd, father, thou who life hast given (?),
18. ...... my father ......
19. Thou who creative power ......
20. Oh my king ...... thy.

1. For kás = lâsimu, a demon, v. CT
   XVI 34, 219.
2. An animal, in K.117,32 (Bab. II, pl. II) between immeru sheep and aribu raven.
VI

HYMN TO TAMMUZ AND INNINA

Edin. 09.405-27

Obv.

1. ur-sag kùr-ra ne 1-zu ši-ir-ri
2. su-pad-e kùr-ra ne-zu ši-ir-ri
3. an-na ur-bi-a ne-zu ši-ir-ri
4. ki-a ga-ba-bi-a ne-zu ši-ir-ri
5. me-gal-ga-al di-ne-ir pad-e-a
6. me-gal-ga-al di-ne-ir pad-e-a
7. me-e ara ū-na-an-su......
8. ne-ir-ma-al 3 ki-ba-al
9. dinguŠ mah mi-en SAL + KU-zu e-ri-da Ś su-ḥa
10. dinguŠ mah mi-en SAL + KU-zu e-ri-da su-ḥa
11. MAL-LIL-ki-gà da-zi me-en
12. di-ne- ri- ni
13. [za?] e an-ki-a ni-ir- mà-al

1. Hero! in the earth thy strength is surpassing.
2. Increase-named in the earth thy strength is surpassing.
3. In heaven straightway thy strength surpasses.
4. In earth.... thy strength surpasses.
5. ....... who announces the great decrees of the gods.
6. ....... who announces the great decrees of the gods.
7. ............
8. ......... eminent in the hostile land.
9. .... mighty god art thou; thy sister..... in begetting.
10. .... mighty god art thou; thy sister..... in begetting.
11. ........ thou art.
12. ....... his god.
13. Thou in heaven and earth art heroic.

1. Possibly a var. of nē = emuŠka.
2. For dinguŠ > dimir > dina, a case of assimilation of m to the dental n, § 55a).  
3. Var. of nir-gal = etillu.
5. ki-ba-al refers here unmistakably to the nether world. It is, therefore, extremely probable that the phrase ki-bal-a sud-sud = sàpin mat nukerti, “conqueror of the hostile land” (IV R. 26 n° 1, 1), refers to Nergal as the lord who triumphs over the powers of Hades, as Jastrzęw maintains. The same title may be applied to any solar deity, Ninib, Šamaš, Tammuz, Nergal. ki-bal or Hades must not be confused with kùr nu-seg = mat la magiri, “land of the enemy”, IV R. 24 n° 1, 57.
14. zu KU-ûr 1 igi-rid di-da 2 šar-di
15. zu KU-ûr 1 igi-rid di-da šar-di
16. bi-a zi-ga û-dib-ba-ra teg-a
17. kûr dim û-dib-ba-ra teg-a
18. [ê] ri-a dim û-dib-ba-ra teg-a
19. šab-dim jâ-ga šu-mu-un-â-te

20-22 me-en etc.

Rev.

1. ne-za-ra
2. an...zu
3. bi azag-ra ma-ra-sir
4. igi-û-di 3 tu-da a-su-ra-ba
5. su-mi pad-e a-ma-si en-da-û-la.
6. tu-ûr lû-gal-mu mu-su bi-pad-di

9. du-da ki bu- bu-a
10. in du-du-da ki-bal ûr-ru-ri
11. ka-ša-na ana-ka? dib-ba-zî
12. mu-gi-ib-e e-a i-gu-ub
13. û-dib-ba SAL-KU tu-ûr mu-gi-i-ba
14. mu-ud-na ka-ša-an-na-ka 4 KU nu-bi gig-ga
15. û-bi-a lû-li-el-da gu-na-ša-na mu-un-di-di

1. Cf. CT XV 9, 17, syn. of agu, turban.
2. Cf. SBP. 120, 1.
3. Cf. ansura-mu, no 7 IV, 17.
5. Cf. CT XV 9, 17, syn. of agu, turban.
6. Contracted from kasan ana-ka.
16. ku-da-ra-ab-mu ne-na ka-ši-ša-na
    mu-un-di-di
17. udu-še-da mu-na-ab-du e-di û-di
gu-a-me-en
18. dum-mu ga-ša-an-su mu-un-na-ab-
du e-di2 û-di gu-a-me-en

16............. she hastened.
[I am unable to interpret the remaining
lines.]

VII

Edin. 09.405-7. Fragment of a classical liturgy.

VIII

Edin. 09. 405-26.

This fragment of a Nana or Istar liturgy belongs to the series urû ōm-ma-ir-ra-bi,
"The city which has been plundered ", and is apparently the tenth tablet of that
series. Series of this kind ordinarily have only six tablets and I know of no other
series containing so many as ten tablets. Inasmuch as this text ends with a catch-
line, it cannot be the last tablet of the series. The series is entered in the catalogue
of liturgies, IV R 53 a 45, immediately before the series im-ma-al gu-de-de, likewise
an Istar liturgy, edited in SBP no. III. The liturgy edina û-sag-ga-ga, "In the plain
the priestess (wanders) ", apparently entirely devoted to the Tammuz cult, is regis-
tered in the same list at line 52. The series to which our tablet belongs is closely
related to REISNER, SBH. no. 43, an Istar liturgy of wailing for Erech, into which
the myth of the descent of Istar into Hades has been worked3. It is highly probable
that the references to Tammuz in this fragment are merely accidental and worked
into a longer, liturgy concerning the devastation of Erech and the wrath of
Istar.

Obv. Obv. VIII.
1. ............ mu-ti. ............ 1. ............ the maid of ............
2. .......... ša ar-da-tum ............ 3. .............
3. ...... maš na sal ............ 4. ...... strong, maid of ............
4. ...... kalag-ga mu-ti ............ 5. Queen, great scribe, ............
5. gašan dup-[šar maš] ............ 6. Queen, great scribe, princess
6. gašan dup-[šar maš] nin kalag-
    [ga. . . . ] heroic . . .

1. For še ga, § 50.
2. For egi = rabû.
3. See ZIMMERN, Tamûz Lieder 249.
7. Kullab I rule, maid of Ereh am I.
8. Kullab I rule, maid of Ereh am I.
10. E-dursabba I rule( .)
11. The... of Badgurgur I rule.
12. Of Ereh am I, maid of Ereh am I.
14. Of Ereh am I, maid of Ereh am I.
15. Of Ereh its bride am I, maid am I...
16. Of Kullab its begetting mother am I, maid am I........
17. My temple as a public square I have made unholy, maid am I, of Ereh am I.
18. The land of Kullab I have made unholy, maid am I.
19. ... who bore him... maid am I...
20. ... who bore him... maid am I...
21. ... who bore him... maid am I...
22. ... who bore him... maid am I...
23. ... who bore him... maid am I...

1. gi₃ dûr = bēlu, a weapon, must be considered as the same word as dûr = bēlu to rule.
2. Sinidinnam built the great wall of Badgurgur, SAK 208 a) 2, 9, and Tammuz is lord of Badgurgur, CT.XV 18, 8, and cf. ₄-lugal-bád-gurgur-ki, K. 11928 (CT XXV), possibly a title of Tammuz.
3. Cf. é-zi-kalam-ma, a temple at Kullab, KING, LIH. no. 61.
4. ul = “that”, §164, here employed in the sense of ditto.
5. For lal = haṭu, v. KNUTZON, Gebete II 34.
6. namen is apparently a strengthened form of men.
24. ..... ú (?) di-su ū ar-da-tum
    ana-ku
25. ..... tu-ud-da-ma mu-tin mēn
26. ..... ā-li-di-šu
27. ..... in-tu-ud-da
28. ..... mà-mà

Rev.
1. ..... li
2. ..... zi-da
3. d gibil-ga-mes umun ki-ga-[ge . . . . ]
4. be-el ir-ši-ti
5. u-mu-zi-da me-ir-si si-di-ta
6. ina li-mi-it gi-ir-si-e
7. d dumu-zi ki šes-a-na-ta mu-tin mēn
8. it-ti at-ši-e-šu
9. šes-mu mu-lu am-dim nad-a-ra mu-
    tin mēn ù-nu-mu-un-da-tag
10. ana a-ši-la ša ki-ma ri-mi ir-bi-
    ul a-šal-lal.
11. d dumu-zi mu-lu am-dim nad-a-ra
    mu-tin mēn ù
12. sag ṣangu-ṣangu na-sag4 zabar-ra
    mu-tin mēn nu-uš mu-un-da-ab
    sig . . . .
13. anšu-na5 tu dib-la-na mu-tin
    mēn nu

Rev.
5. Umuzida in the boundary of Girsu . . .
7. Tammuz with his (?) brother, a
maid am I . . . .
9. For my brother, who reclines like a
wild ox, I the maiden am restless.
11. For Tammuz, who reclines like a
wild ox, I the maiden am restless.
12. Unto the chiefest of the priests offer-
ing of incense I the maiden give.
13. Unto . . . . . I the maiden give.

14. a e-la-[lu si]-be ta an-agag kalag-e ta
    an-agag
15. ina lal-[la-ar]ti ri-é-um mi-na-a
    i-pa-uš id-lum mi-na-a a (sic) !

1. A title of Tammuz in SBP. 304,15;
300, 6.
2. For at-ha brother v. Knudtzon,
Amarna p. 64, 65 at-ša-nu, "we are
brothers" and the abstract formation
at-ha-ta "brotherhood", ibid 64. Other
references in Mvss-Arnolt 129 a.
3. For the niph'āt of radu in the sense
of lie down (of horses) v. CT.XV 50a 34
ina sibitti aibi irridda, in the prison of
the enemy they shall lie down.
4. Var. of ne-sag.
5. Confirms Meissner, SAI. 3394.
Forty are its lines. Tenth tablet
of the series urû-âm-ma-îr-ra-bi.

Copy of .......... Like the original
it is written and collated.

Tablet belonging to ....... iddin.

VIII bis.

The Edinburgh fragment of the Epic of creation belongs in tablet two and partly
supplies the break in Mr. King's edition page 32, line 85 ff. The text was first publish-
ed and translated by Sayce in PSBA. 1911 pp. 6 ff. Transcribed and translated
by Langdon in the Expository Times for March 1911 and again by Langdon in
Rogers' Babylonian and Assyrian Texts for the Use of Old Testament Students.

VIII ter.

Edin. 09.405-3. Hymn to Nisaba the grain goddess.

IX

THE SERIES "EXCELLENT ONE OF HIS PEOPLE"

The fragment of the series nir-gâl lû è-ne catalogued in the native lists in IV R.
54 a30 has been put together from K. 4956 and Reisner, SBH. no. 74. A third frag-
ment K. 9315, evidently of the same series, cannot belong to the same tablet since
after line 6 it appears to have a different text than SBH. 74. I have put K. 4956
with SBH. 74 since K. 4956 ends with a psalm eršem-ma, an ending characteristic of
the last tablets of series, cf. SBP. XII. SBH. no. 74 also ends with a psalm, and the
library note, "Its original is in the house of Belišunu. (.....) Tablet of Belapaliddin
son of Eabalatsuikbi son of Sinibni, Babylon month of Addar, tenth day ", which
would also indicate the end of the series. K. 9315 is closely allied to tablet one of
the series gâ-ud-nîm kûr-ra, SBP. 226, and probably belongs to the first tablet. K.
9315 1. 7 è-ninnû gives the correct reading for SBH. 36, 7, not NIR as Reisner
copied. Line 11 has the name of the temple é-me-ûr-[êr] thus not agreeing with
SBH. 36, 11 and it is probable that from here K. 9315 had an entirely
different text. This temple occurs also in Lenormant Choix de Textes 70 I 18 and

1. Cf. IV R. 53 a 45.
CT.XXV 39,9. The opening lines of this tablet have two important variants. lu is glossed lî in line one and another version of the heading occurs viz. nir-gál ū ō-ne, translated by etil-lum (hēlum) šakā šūpū. We have, therefore, of this Ninib series only the beginning of the first tablet (K. 9315) and the beginning and the end of the last (6th?) tablet.

Tab. VI. Obv.

1. nir-gál lu e-ne [uku-nî]1 mu-lu ta-
zu mu-un-zu2
2. e-ti-lam3 ūhâ-ič ni-si-šu kat-tuk
man-nu i-tam-mad
3. elim-ma nir-gâl mulu e-ne mu-lu...
4. elim-ma umun ur-sag-gal
5. ur-sag-gal [nmun siq 4mu-ul-
lil- li
6. elim-ma [da-na-
gâ4
7. ur-sag-gal [al-
ne5
8. elim-ma [...][gt-
gt
9. ur-sag-gal [. . . ] UŠ-BŪR6
10. elim-ma [ . . ।i

1. Excellent one controller of his people, who can comprehend thy form?
2. Honoured one, controller of his people, who can comprehend thy form?
3. Honoured one, lord, great champion!
4. Honoured one, lord, light of Enlil!
5. Great champion, lord, light of Enlil!
6. Honoured one, ... danaga!
7. Great champion, ...
8. Honoured one
9. 10 etc.

Rev.

1. hen-sed-de
2. li-ip-si-ihi
3. dé-ra-ab-
bi
4. lik-bi-ka
5. dé-mu-ra-ab-bi
6. nu-[u] lik-bi-ka
7. er-se-ma [nin-i]b-
ge
8. umun-e urû tud-tud dim-me-ir
ka-nag-gâ mu-un-hul-li-es7

1. (may thy soul) repose.
3. [That thy soul] repose may they say unto thee.
5. [That thy heart] repose may he say to thee.
7. A psalm to Ninib.
8. The lord creator of cities, god of Sumer they have made glad 8.

1. There is apparently room for this insertion on K. 4956.
2. Cf. SBP. 198, 1: 114, 41.
3. Var. lu
4. Var. has a Semitic translation i-mah-
ah-hu-u (sic) for imaḫḫ ā.
6. Var. Sem. gas-ga (sic) šu
7. This line does not appear on SBH. no. 74.
8. Evidently a liturgical note, not a catchline.
K. 9257 unilingual variant of SBP. VIII rev. 18-49, a liturgy to Nergal. Line 6 has the variant *gù* for *gud* SBP. VIII rev. 28 and, *a* for *á*. Line 10 gives the correct reading for the second sign of line 20 p. 23 of SBH. *viz. urugal*. The difficult sign at the beginning of 1. 14 does not help us to understand the sign in the Neo-Babylonian texts, SBH 23, 25 = 20, 44. MEISSNER, SAI. 6818 has read AMAR, yet the sign is clearly not AMAR. Line 14 has also *azag* instead of *gil*, i.e. *samê elûti*.

XI

K. 8644, fragment of an Istar liturgy

XII

K. 4215, fragment of a liturgy.

XIII

K. 5209. Beginning of a liturgy to Ramman, *unum ni-zu in-łu-la-ha*, "Oh lord fear of thee enthalls". In line 19 read *mu-ni-ši st-ši-ip samê u iršitum*.

XIV

K. 8603, fragment of a liturgy to Enlil. Lines 6 ff are a duplicate cf. SBH. 46, 1 ff.

XV

K. 9154. Fragment of a liturgy, closely allied to the liturgy on the devastation of Ur, SBP. no. V.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th>Rev.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>gašaṇ</em>...</td>
<td>1. ...<em>ki-ta</em>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>gašaṇ</em> ma-qi-a...</td>
<td>2. ...<em>kalag dirig-ga</em>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>a-nannar a-sin</em>...</td>
<td>3. ...<em>ki-ta ba-tu-ra a-ta</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <em>gašaṇ an-na</em>...</td>
<td>4. ...<em>za-e lugal</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. umun ḫar-šag-ā... 5. <em>TUL šu mà ad ta ba-tu-ra</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. <em>a-šu-zi-an-na</em>...</td>
<td>6. <em>[šag zu] (li-nu-uh)</em> bar-zu-ḫe-ta-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. <em>gašaṇ</em> din-di-b-ḥa...</td>
<td><em>(ka-bat-ta-ka lip-šah)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. <em>gašaṇ</em> i-sti-in-(ki)-na...</td>
<td>7. <em>ane dé-em-e-tug-e</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. <em>gašaṇ</em> i-sti-in-(ki)-na...</td>
<td>8. <em>[ša-mu-</em> ú li-ni-ih-ḫu-ka*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
K. 24 is a fragment of a large tablet, having originally two columns on the obverse and reverse, and is broken in such manner that about half of the tablet has been preserved. The columns originally contained about sixty lines. According to the library note this tablet is the second extract of the liturgy "ud-dañ gāš-tē-de-aš, "Like a storm he calls" and is entered in the official catalogue IV R. 53 I 27. A Neo-Babylonian copy of this series existed written upon smaller tablets. Reisner, SBH no. 41 is a duplicate of column one of K 24 and the first line preserved on that tablet is line 15 of K. 24 I. The catchline of SBH, 41 agrees with the opening line of K. 24 col. II. Evidently the Assyrian redaction contained on each tablet four tablets of the Babylonian; the same calculation being made for tablet one of the Assyrian copy, SBH, 41 is tablet five of the Babylonian copy. It is highly probable that K. 5029 (no. XIII) belongs to the first tablet of the Assyrian copy. For a duplicate of col. I 1-7 v. K. 8473, 19-23.

The series belongs to that class of temple services known as liturgies to the Word (amātu) or Spirit (āmu) of the gods. Here we have a series of lamentations to the Word of Adad in which his consort and daughter is represented as the suffering and persecuted divinity wailing for the temples and lands of Sumer and Akkad, as in the liturgies to the Word of Enlil, Bau generally appears as the divine sufferer. K. 2365 + K 2525 obv. col. I of a large tablet on which are preserved 14 lines, is a


1. Text not entirely certain.
duplicate of K 24 obv. I 7-20 1. The only variant is in line 9 where K. 2365 has e-ne-em-bi-su for na-ām-bi-su.

Obv.

1. balag di-ib-hi ù-na-nam ù-ma in-ga-na-nam.
2. ina šir-ḥi nu-ug-ga-tum-ma’ ir-nit-tum-ma’
3. e-ne-em ą-gu-la ib-ba ù-na-nam
4. e-ne-em ą-mu-ul-lil-là ib
5. e-ne-em ur-sag-gal ib
6. e-ne-em maḥ ą-immer-ra ib
7. e-ne-em ą-ud-gù-de i ib
8. e-ne-em ą-ud-gù-ra-ra 5 ib
9. na-ām-bi-sù an-na tūb 6 ki ba-sig
10. ane ba-tūb-tūb ki ba-sig-sig
11. ą-babbar an-ūr-ra ba-da-nad 7
12. ą-nannar ą-nusku sub-ba-an-da-ni-ib-ga
13. ud-gal an-ta u-ka ba-an-de-e
14. ud-ḥul-ma-al-la-e ka-nag-gà su-su-ng (?)
15. is-su kūr-kur-ra ās ba-ni-ib-dib

1. Alas, rage there is and glory there is!
2. For balag-di = ina širḥi as an exclamation, cf. SBP. 132, 17. širḥu probably has the technical sense of “song on a lyre” as šigū, “song on a flute”.
3. ma apparently translates the emphatic endings unanam and ingananam.
4. The word of Heaven truly is rage.
5. The word of Enlil truly is rage.
6. The mighty word of Immer truly is rage.
7. The word of the god of the crying storm truly is rage.
8. The word of the god of the wailing storm truly is rage.
9. Because of it the heavens tremble and the earth quakes.
10. The heavens are made to tremble, the earth to quake.
11. The sun-god at the horizon sets in darkness.
12. Nannar god of the new moon is extinguished.
13. The great storm on high speeds.
14. The evil storm overflows the land.
15. Devastation in the lands it has brought.

1. Published by Craig, RT. pls 19-21, where obverse and reverse are confused.
2. For balag-di = ina širḥi as an exclamation, cf. SBP. 132, 17. širḥu probably has the technical sense of “song on a lyre” as šigū, “song on a flute”.
3. ma apparently translates the emphatic endings unanam and ingananam.
4. ūmu šasū, “the crying storm”.
5. For gu-ра = šasū, v. SAI. 455 and for gu-ra-ra, SBP. 314, rev. 3.
6. Read tūb = rābu; Sum. Gram. 248, not tāb.
7. For nad = šalālu, to disappear, cf. babbar-nad-ām = bubbulu IVR. 23a 4.
16. gi-li bar\textsuperscript{1}-tul-bi-ta ba-da-an-\textsuperscript{2}-ra
17. UBUR PA-še-bi-ta ba-da-an-su\textsuperscript{3}
18. é gi-dim-bi-ta ba-da-an-sir\textsuperscript{4}
19. uru\textsuperscript{5} ken-ūr-bi-ta ba-da-an-nad
20. ka-nag ki-mar-ra\textsuperscript{6}-bi-ta ba-da-halam
21. é ī-tūr āb-bi-ta sig-gan ba-ab-dūg
22. amaš-a e-zi-bi-ta ba-da-an-gid
23. é-a gūd-ki-sig-ga\textsuperscript{8}-ta ba-da-an-ir

16. The marsh-lands in their full beauty it has dried up.
17. The harvest in its season it has flooded.
18. The temple in its court it has laid waste.
19. The city upon her foundation it has made to sleep (in silence).
20. The land in its habitations is brought to perdition.
21. The stall of its cows is despoiled.
22. The pen of its sheep it has plundered.
23. The house of its family it has pillaged.

1. This reading is certain and we have therefore to read bar-tul in SBH. 7, 26; 16, 20 etc. not an-tul. This reading apparently excludes the derivation andul, § 150 a).
2. ša-ra = ubbulu, to carry; cf. šar = šutabulu SAI. 6128. Correct my reading kār SBP. 260 and Bab. III 188.
3. Var. sūg.
4. Read sir also in SBH. 73, 7. The value sir = abātu "seize" is otherwise unknown.
6. Var. ki-gal. The Semitic for ki-mar is šubtu hence bīrātu = ki-gal is a synonym of šubtu. Bīrātu cannot mean "well", Del. HW. 164, cf. SBP. 261, n. 5. bīrātu has rather the meaning "plain" "habitable land".
7. Var. omits(?).
8. This passage restores the var. 1. 17 and shews that gūd-ki-sig-ga = kinnu "family" as well as "kinnu "nest. Note also in V R. 42 a 62 f, that gūd-ki-sig = kinnu is distinguished from ablat = kinnu ša ıssuri. I have shewn in the Briggs Memorial Volume that kisig = kisiku means the "funeral meal of a family for the souls of the dead", and gūd-ki-sig = "family" is probably connected with kisig = parentalia. For gūd-ki-sig = "nest" in the early period we have the title of the liturgy usum gūd-ki-sig-ga nād-a, "The dragon which lies in a cavern" IV R. 53 a 32, and cf. kinnu "nest" syn. of takkapu "cavern”, II R. 33 a 6. Perhaps the fundamental idea of kisig and gūd-ki-sig is, "cavern, abode of the souls", whence the idea "nest"; the offerings to the lower world are called simply kisig = kisiku. Inasmuch as the kisiku is a family meal with departed souls the words kisig and gūd-ki-sig appear to have obtained through this connection the meaning "family".
24. ù-ma-dûg ¹ a-ma-ru ba-an-ûr
25. ki-tul-lâ-ba an-dâ-gî ² e-sâ a-ge-e
   mu-un-na-da-du-ad ³
26. mu-lu ú û-mûš [. . . . . . ]
27. urû û-a-bi-ta [. . . . . . ]
   (Here insert after a break of about ten lines SBH, n° 44 rev. = SBP. 262.)

Col. II.

1. na-âm erim-mâ ⁴ ni-sû kûr-kûr-ra-na an-bûr-bûr
2. aš-sum i-sît-tî-ša i-na ma-ta-a-û i-sá-ba ⁵
3. NIN-RI na-am erim-mâ-ni-sû kûr-kûr-ra
4. ⁴ me-di-mâ-ša ⁷ dam-immer-ra-ga mën
5. ilâ-ša-la al-û lûdad anâ-ku.
6. gašân gu-la ⁴ muš-hûr-an-ki ⁸ ge
7. be-en-tum ra-bi-tum i-lâ muhâr-an-ki anâ-ku
8. ⁴ su-zâbar-azag gašân é-nun-na-ge
9. i-lâ-ša-la be-lît e-nû-un-î anâ-ku

Col. II.

1. na-âm erim-mâ ¹ ni-sû kûr-kûr-ra-na an-bûr-bûr
2. aš-sum i-sît-tî-ša i-na ma-ta-a-û i-sá-ba ⁵
3. NIN-RI na-am erim-mâ-ni-sû kûr-kûr-ra
4. ⁴ me-di-mâ-ša ⁷ dam-immer-ra-ga mën
5. ilâ-ša-la al-û lûdad anâ-ku.
6. gašân gu-la ⁴ muš-hûr-an-ki ⁸ ge
7. be-en-tum ra-bi-tum i-lâ muhâr-an-ki anâ-ku
8. ⁴ su-zâbar-azag gašân é-nun-na-ge
9. i-lâ-ša-la be-lît e-nû-un-î anâ-ku

4. So the text.
5. According to this spelling the verb should be written šâbu not šâpu, cf. SBP. 239 n. 7.
6. A title of Innini, SBH. 81, 5; 82, 31. Here the title refers to Shala.
8. Var. of ⁴ gis-hûr-an-ki, consort of ⁴ gis-sûr, CT, XXIV 26, 111, and, since gis-sûr appears to be a name of Ninib (III R. 67 c 28), a name of Gula. But gis-sûr-sûr = Adad, CT XXV 16, 23, hence we may assume an identification on the one hand of Ninib and Adad, on the other of Gula and Shala.
10. *dumu é-a*  
   *dsuba-nun-na-ge*  

11. *mar-ti bi-ti*  
   *ultu-ha-nu-na*  
   *ana-ku*  

12. *nu-nunuz si-sa*  
   *dme-nun-e-si-ge*  

13. *išar-tum*  
   *ilmununesi*  
   *ana-ku*  

14. *gal*  
   *ad gi-gi*  

15. *ma-lik*  

16. *ri-im-mu-un...*  

---

**Rev. Col. III.**

1. *é...*  
   *sukkal TE (?)...*  

2. *é...*  
   *dug-ás-bar...*  

3. *é-da-a*  
   *nig-bu sub-bu...*  

4. *é mu-uš-su...*  
   *é sugbar...*  

5. *bit muš... lu*  
   *bit kak-ki...*  

6. *é...*  
   *dim-me-[ir...]*  

7. *é-zid*  
   *nun-dim an [.....]*  

8. *bit zid*  
   *gas-ri ša šami-e [.....]*  

9. *unuš še-ir-ma-al-la...*  

10. *be-š*  
    *e-til-[lu...]*  

11. *é...*  
    *ka...*  
    *si-ig-ga-bi ba...*  

12. *bar...*  
    *mu-šar-bi ba...*  
    *ri...*  

13. *páršu-su...*  
    *páršu-ú ū-su-ra-[šišu...]*  

14. *ezen...*  
    *bi šu nu-ra [.....]*  

15. *išin-nu...*  
    *rab-bu-tum ul ti [.....]*  

16. *garza KAL...*  
    *la-bi...*  
    *en si-sa [.....]*  

17. *nešu...*  
    *šu-ba gab-ru...*  

---

**Rev. Col. IV.**

1. *gašan e-ne...*  

2. *[dam?] šag-ga...*  

3. *aš-[ša?] tum (?) [dammakatu?...]*  

4. *še-ib é-ba-[ra...]*  

5. *i-na li-bit [ēharrā...]*  

6. *na-ām zš-ib-ba...*  

7. *šim-ta ta-ab-[ta...]*

---

10. Daughter of the temple,  
    *Shubanu am I.*

12. The upright  
    *Menunesi am I.*

---

Rev. Col. III.  

Only a few signs toward the end of the column preserved.

Rev. Col. IV.  

The end of this column contains a list of temples mostly those of Adad for whom Shala wails.
8. uru dû-du-a.....
9. alu e-pi-sa...........
10. nibru-(ki) dû-du-a uru...
11. é-kûr dû-du-a uru...
12. é-[ken-ur] dû-du-a uru...
13. é-nam-ti-la dû-du-a uru...
14. zimbir-(ki) dû-du-a uru...
15. é-[bâr-ra] dû-du-a uru...
16. tin-tir-(ki) dû-du-a uru...
17. é-sag-ila dû-du-a uru...
18. hâd si-ba-(ki) dû-du-a uru...
19. é-zî-da dû-du-a uru...
20. é-mah-tila dû-du-a uru...
21. é-temen-an-ki dû-du-a uru...
22. é-dâr-an-na dû-du-a uru...
23. še-ib é-ud-gal-gal-la dû-du-a uru...
24. éš é-nam-tar dû-du-a uru...
25. éš é-pad-da dû-du-a uru...
26. éš é-bâr-ta-âš dû-du-a uru...
27. éš é-hen-dun-na dû-du-a uru...

28. nu-nunuz si-sâ dumu immer-
ra-ge
29. šanu-â nis-hâ ud-dam gû-de-de-
âš nu al-tîl
30. ki-ma la-bi-ri-šu šâ-tar-ma bara-a-
[am]
31. mat ilu-asur-bani-aplu šar kiš-
sâti šar mat aššûr-(ki).

XVII

Bu. 79-7-8, 166. End of the third (and last ?) tablet of an ersëmma or dirge on the flute for the dead (?). ersëmma ki-gub (?) (= šigû kibiri) 1. 4, may be compared with the headline of a list of ersëmma's IV R. 53 col. III 1. ki-gub not only means ' grave ', but is often employed for interring the dead. The colophon of ersëmma's IV R. 53 col. III 1. ki-gub not only means ' grave ', but is often employed for interring the dead. The colophon of

1. Cf. SBP. 53 n. 2.
2. For lines 27-9, cf. K. 5309 obv.
7-11.
3. In col. II 4 Shala appears as the consort of Adad and as nu-nunuz si-sâ in II 12. It would seem that she is regarded both as consort and daughter of Adad.
Asurbanipal is the one employed at the end of liturgical compositions and has been translated from a complete copy in SBP. 179. Line 14 has *mahazi* instead of *mahari*; *mahazu* 'reception, acceptance', from *ahazu*, occurs on K. 4383 obv. II (CT. XI 40) in the sense of 'understanding', Sum. bar.

**XVIII**

K. 9308. Fragment of the second tablet of the series *muten nu nunuz-dim-ma* and corresponds to SBH. n° 46 obv. 37-rev. 1.

1. [...] ab [...] lib-ba-[an mar-]ra
2. [...] e-lum-e na-ām] hul-a- ] [sū]
4. [bēlu itu enil] ana za-ki-ki [u-tir-ra]
6. sag-gig-ga-na ba-ana-da]-ka-sal-la[il-lā-[da]
7. ba-an-tar- tar NAM ŠAB-(mušen) mu-ba-an-dal
8. [uru-ma âm-gly]-ga ba- ni- in- [sig ?]
9. [umun-e unu maḫ-a śu-pi-el-lā ba-[ab-dug]
10. [ē-ma im-ta-e-]a bar-ta-ni-sū... 
11. [u-mu-ul-lil-lā] uru-mu uru zi-da aše-ir ma-al ¹
12. [...] dagal-la ba-dū-a aše-ir-ra
13. [ē-kūr kūr... ra... a-] mu aše-ir-ra.

**XIX**

Sm. 794 VAT. 425 (SBH. n° 57). The fragment of the obverse of Sm. 794 completes the first lines of VAT. 425. The reverse of both Assyrian and Babylonian copies is badly damaged. Sm. 794 rev. 3 contains the end of the name of the series possibly to be restored to [zu-ab pi-e]la-ām, 'The apsu defiled', IV R. 53 I 1. Of the catchline for the next tablet only *ud... za-e* is preserved. Partly translated by Jastrow, *Religion* pt. 8, p. 54 ².

2. · [i-sit-]tim i-sit-tum i-sit-tum bitu ki-e-nu
3. erim-ma erim-ma uku-zu ma-a-a ni-lāḫ-eš 3. Oh sanctuary, sanctuary, thy peo- ple where have they taken them?

1. K. 9308 omits line 49 of the variant.
2. The text appears to have been glossed and uncertain in many lines. The Semitic does not always follow the Sumerian. I have in all cases translated directly from the Sumerian.
3. Sic!
4. [išittim] i-šil-tum ni-šu-ka e-ka-a
is-sal-la
5. Oh faithful temple, temple of the
Wild-ox of Heaven and Earth
6. Oh faithful temple, temple of the
far famed spouse of the prince.
7. Oh faithful temple, temple of Asar-
ladug.
8. Oh faithful temple, temple of Zar-
panit.
9. Oh faithful temple, temple of the
great messenger.
10. Oh faithful temple, temple of him
proclaimed of blessed name.
11. Oh faithful temple, temple of the
river goddess.
12. Oh faithful temple, temple of Nina.
14. Thy people the little ones, thy
people the great ones,
15. ni-šu-ka ši-ḫi-ru-tu di-šu-ka
ra-bu-ti
16. Thy little ones....
17. Thy great ones [have gone] the way
of the mountain
18. .... mu : a-me-lu ? ? ą-zu it-
gur-ra....
19. .aš-su-ki ... lā k-su-2-lat: ??
20. ....
21. .sù (?)?šu-ka ? zi-ši-ni za-aḫ-
uu
22. Š[U + KAR (?) [zu] ŠU (?) + KAR-
tar lil-li.....
23. u-ni-(?)-ḫi-ka lil-la aš(?)...

2. So read and see CT. XIX 26, 13.
3. Ea.
4. Damkina.
5. Nebo.
24. õnu-za múš¹ sal-dug- ga- ge
25. šu-bat-ka ša el-li-iš ku-ün-na-a-
at
26. su-ba zegin-na ām-sár-sár-ra-ge
27. : ina šu-be-i u uk-ni-i ra-ak-ka-
at
28. é-e mu-la-zu [bi]² la-ba-gub li-zu
    a-ba ib-[tar]
29. bitum mu-du-ka ul iz-za-as ar-
kat-ka [man-nu iparras]
30. [bi-tum] mu-du-su [ul-iz-za-as] ar-
kat-su [man-nu iparras]
31. lagar-e sir-za-bi la-ha-gub li-zu
    balag-di sir-[nu-dûg ?] ³
32. : ka-tu-a mu-di-e šir-hi-ka :
    zi-im-me-ri-ka : ša šir-ši mu-di-
e šir-ši-šu ⁴
33. balag-e šu(?)-gi-gi-zu la-ba-gub li-zu :
    ba-bal-gu ?-li-?-ka
34. é gi(n)-gi(n)-zu me [la-ba-gub] ir-ra
    [la ba-gub] li-zu : bitu a-mat-ka
    ai-iš ⁵ it-tas-[lal]
35. uku-zu ma-a-a ni-lâh-eš me [la-ba-
gub] ir-ra [la-ha-gub] li-zu
36. ni-sù-ka e-ka-a is-sal-la ai-iš
    it-tas-lal-la
37. : ni-sù-ka ša is-sal-la ai-iš it-tas-lal
39. ki-i-ra ām-nigin-e-en ām-nigin-e-
en
40. Thy vast abode which has been
adorned in splendour.
41. Which has been beautified with
onyx and lapis lazuli.
42. Oh temple, thy lord is not present,
thy fate who decrees?
43. The psalmist who knows the song
is not present; thy fate upon the lyre
[he sings not ?].
44. He that knoweth to twang (?) the
lyre (?) is not present. Thy fate,
[who shall decree ?]
45. Thy people whither have they taken?
Where is she taken as plunder?
Thy fate [etc.]
46. There, where she is taken I would
turn, yea I would turn.

¹. For múš = ellig, cf. múš, Sum. Gram. 230 and múš = ellig 228. The
Sum. line has a Semitic gloss sukutta-ki "thy (fem.) chamber ".
². The scribe has also a version for the
second and third persons in the Semitic
version.
4. The Semitic line apparently depends
upon another version.
5. ai-iš corresponds to me (so also
Meiss. SAI. 7905) and for ma-a-a = ai-
iš v. SAI 4878; cf. ki-a = aiak ASKT.
127, 29 [§ 242]. la-ba-gub is a refrain
and not noticed in Semitic.
40. a-šar iš-šal-la a-sa-ḫu-ur a-sa-ḫu-ur
41. ām-nigīn-e-en (ki)
42. a-sa-ḫu-ur a-šar iš-šal-la a-sahur ana-ku ? ?

Reverse.

1. [eg...,]e..... 4. I would turn, there where she is
2. ša e-ki ina i-ki it-ta-ad-di
3. pā-ra-mu 2 pā-ra ba-šub
da
4. ša pal-gi ina pal-gi it-ta-an-[di]
5. ā-šū gin-na-mu ba-tūm
6. ša ana i-ši-ja ka-li-ku it-ta-āš-lal
7. a-šū gin-na-mu ba-tūm
8. ša ana me-e ka-li-ku it-ta-āš-lal
9. ū ila-ila-mu.... ila ba-tūm
10. za-bil i-ši..... iš-ta-lal
11. za-bil i-ši..... it-taš-lal
12. a ila-ila-mu.... ila ba-tūm
13. za-bil me-e [.... iš]ta-lal
14. ur šu zu (?).... ba-an.....
15. ka-la-bi ša ud.....
16. : kal-bi ša ut-ni...di....
17. ur šu.....
18. ka-[la-bi ša....] ana nak-ra

The catch-line is ud...za-e.

littum issima ašriš irtabiš

XX

Rm. 2,572. Fragment of a liturgy. Mentions the temple Ide-illa Anu and the house of the parentalia (kisigga).

XXI

Rm. 2,292. Fragment of a liturgy. Contains the phrase ki-a mȗ-un-sig, “the earth it causes to quake”, characteristic of the liturgies to the “Word”.

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1. Omitted by the scribe.
2. Sic! The force of ra-mu escapes me.

Babylonian Liturgies.
XXII

Rm. 2 II 421. Fragment of a liturgy (?)

XXIII

Bu. 83, 1-18, 486. Possibly an incantation. The reverse contains the end of a colophon similar to that of IV R. 20 no. 2.

XXIV

Bu. 89, 4-26, 66. Variant of SBP. 38, 15-24. Note the text of line 6 BAR not AN, and na for bi in the same line. Fragment of a liturgy to the "Word".

XXV

Bu. 79, 7-8, 82. End of obverse and beginning of reverse. Possibly a ritual for healing the sick.

XXVI


XXVII

Bu. 79, 7-8. 301. Fragment of a liturgy mentioning temples in Ur, Sippar, Babylon, and Barsippa. For the temple of the moon god at Ur, é-ni-te-en-duig (so read in SBP. 62,7) see UNGNAD in BA.VI pt. 3 p. 25, date of the 30th year of Ammizaduga. For é-mud-kūr-ra-ri, v. SMITH, Miscel. Texts. 11, rev. 1.

XXVIII


XXIX

Sm. 116 Obv. Duplicate of SBP. 38, 11-26, Liturgy to the "Word" of Enlil.
Sm. 227. Probably fragment of an eršemma; note line 6 [dé]-ra-ab-[bi], “May he speak to thee”.

Sm. 223. Fragment of a liturgy.

Sm. 498. Duplicate of no. 73 obv. 27-34.

Sm. 355. Fragment of a liturgy to Enlil.

Sm. 537. Fragment of a liturgy mentioning Ninlil, Enlil, Nisaba-gal (cf. SBP. 156, 40) and [gašan] ma-gi-a (cf. no. 13 obv. 2 and SBH. 12, 7).

Sm. 560. Beginnings of 12 lines similar to SBH. 110, 5-15.


Sm. 1662. Fragment containing the names of the gods Enlil, Marduk and Nebo.

K. 11906. Fragment of doubtful content.

K. 11045. Possibly fragment of a hymn. A few phrases are legible: kûr-ru-da, the foe; nu-ša-ga the disobedient; ūr-di-men dé-in-aga-a, thus may he do; na-ab-ta-bal-e, may he not transgress.
**XL**

K. 10465. Fragment of a prayer.

**XLI**

K. 3345. Restores the reverse of Reisner no. 6, see SBP. p. 74. Line six of K. 3345 corresponds to the first line of the fragment in Reisner, p. 14.

1. ...gin-na-ta al-gu-ul gu-ulal-ma-ma¹
2. [mu-]lu gin-na-ta al-gu-ul gu-ul al-ma-ma
3. [mu-] lu gin-na-ta al-gu-ul gu-ul al-ma-ma
4. [al-šû-šû-de] du-mu-mu nu-uš ma-an-zi-em-mâ²
5. [dagal gan] al-šû-šû-de du-mu-mu nu-uš ma-an-zi-em-mâ
[um-ma a-li-it-ta tasluš-šu māri luman inamdina]
7. nu-uš ma3-an-zi-em-e nu-uš ma-an-zi-em-e du-mu-mu nu
8. dagal-ni na-an-tur-tur na-an-di-dí du-mu-mu nu
[ana maštaki-sa idál i-te-ni-li(k?) māri luman]
9. dumu urudšin-gam azag-ga tû-a-mu du-mu-mu nu
[mar ša ina šenn i lumi irmware māri luman]
10. dumu bur-ta gar kur-a-mu du-mu-mu nu
[maru ša ina bûru akalu ikulu māri luman]

1. . . . in his going he is mighty, he is powerful.
2. The lord in his going is mighty, is powerful.
3. The lord in his going, etc. .
4. She baptized him (saying), “Oh my son, truly he will give (to thee)”.
5. The mother who begot (him) baptized him (saying), “Oh my son, truly he will give (to thee) ”.
6. The mother great spouse of the prince baptized him (saying), “Oh my son, truly, etc. ”.
7. “Truly he will give (to thee).
Truly he will give (to thee) ”.
8. Unto her chamber she entered, she came. “Oh my son truly, etc. ”.
9. “Oh son, whom in the holy basin I sprinkled, my son truly, etc. ”.
10. “Oh son, who from the stone bowl bread hast eaten, my son truly he will give (to thee) ”.

1. For ma = šarāḥu, v. PSBA. 1910, p. 166.
2. Cf. CT. XVI 11, 65 ; 13, 60.
3. Var. ba.
4. Var. mà.
11. ne-ku-\textcircled{e}mi-ba \textit{dim-ma-mu} du-mu-\textit{mu nu}  
\[\text{[\textit{sa ikulu ina ramani-\textit{s}u irbu m\textit{ari} luman]}\]
12. ne-\textcircled{s}e\textcircled{s}e\textcircled{s}e im-ba g\textcircled{u}d-d\textcircled{a-mu} du-ma-mu nu  
\[\text{[\textit{sa ippassusu ina ramani-\textit{s}u is\textit{hu m\textit{ari} luman]}}\]
13. gi gub-gub-ba i-d\textcircled{e} bar-bar-ri-mu du-mu-mu nu  
\[\text{[\textit{sa ina kan mand\textit{ati umand\textit{id}u m\textit{ari} luman]}}\]

11. "He who ate and of himself grew great, oh my son, truly he will give (to thee)".

12. "He who was anointed and himself grew tall, oh my son, truly he will give (to thee)".

13. "He whom with the reed-measure I measured, oh my son, truly he will give (to thee)".

\textbf{XLII}

K. 9373. Fragment of a liturgy to the "Word."

\textbf{XLIII}

K. 10130. Fragment of doubtful content; mentions Kullab and has the phrase \textit{ki namtagga duh-a}, "free from sin".

\textbf{XLIV}

K. 10378. Fragment of a litany to Enlil, duplicate of Zimmern, {\textit{K"uhner}} Nos. 8 and 9, and of Myhram, B.P. No. 8. Line 1 = Zim. 8 I 15, 9 I 14; MYHMAN 8 I 14. The preceding lines have been restored by combining the variants. Zimmern No 8 continues the text.

\textbf{Obv. I.}

1. \[\text{[\textit{\textordmasculine{d}en-lil?}} \textit{zi-bu-\textordmasculine{u}} ^2 \textit{s\textordmasculine{u}-du-\textordmasculine{am}} ^3 \textit{zi-bu-\textordmasculine{u}}\]

1. Oh Enlil be propitious, thou of unsearchable (heart), be propitious.

1. The passage apparently refers to the education and consecration of Marduk by his mother Damkina, and his instruction in the mysteries of magic by his father Ea.

2. This series corresponds to IV R. 53 I 16 [Zimmern]. The verb form \textit{zi-bu-\textordmasculine{u}}, is probably imperative of the verb \textit{zib = t\textordmasculine{ibu}}. For \textordmasculine{u} suffixed v. § 216, also \textit{ma-al-\textordmasculine{u}}, "open", SBH. 75, 17.

2. of morning light.
3. be propitious.
4. Enlil of unsearchable heart, lord of justice.
5. Mighty one, when thou settest thy neck thou hastenest forward.
6. A crouching wild-ox art thou, bull that institutes destruction.
7. Enlil herdsman of the vast earth.
8. Lord that clotheth his people, recorder of the earth.
9. Lord that maketh abound oil for his people, milk for the newly begotten.
10. Lord whose abode is the vast city of weeping.
11. In whose chamber oracles are interpreted.
12. Father Enlil in (thy) city, in Nippur,
13. In Ekur the temple of (thy) heart's choice,

3. Here begins MYHRMAN 815; CT. XV 0, 9.
4. Cf. RADAU, BE. XXIX No. 1 III 17.
5. The vars. CT XV 10, 10 and Zim. 816 have also ra. For dagala > dagara, v. § 44.
8. CT XV 10, 12 rin-na.
9. Zim. No 818 ka-ra-ām. CT XV 10,
12 ga-NUNUZ-ām. So then the phonetic value of NUNUZ = pīr'ū is probably eri, "offspring", and garam is for ga-eri-am.
10. MYHRMAN 818 has an addition after damala beginning KU-...  
11. Zim. 8 I 9 er.
12. For uru employed for the abode of the dead, v. CT. XV 30 rev. 10. For my previous translations v. SBP. 277, 13 and Bab. III 250.
13. So Zim. No. 8 I 10, which makes better sense than gal-la, SBP. 276, 14. For gal-zu = pāšaru, v. CT XVIII, 30, 13.
14. For gīgunā, part of the temple, v. VAB. IV 239 Anm.
15. In the... 
16. In the... house of vision.
17. In the house kan urulli, where eye sees not.
18. In the... house which sunlight knows not.
19. In the great... bestowing prosperity.
20. In the... place of purity.
21. In the... gate of the lifting of the eyes.
22. In the... silim....
23. In the... silim....
24. In the great court of riches

XLV
K. 10165. Fragment of doubtful content.

XLVI
K. 10155. Duplicate of REISNER p. 132, 34-43 and CRAIG, RT. pl. 19 f., lines 18-27 Line 10 of this fragment appears to be an insertion.

XLVII
K. 10170. Fragment of a liturgy.

XLVIII
K. 10163. Fragment of a penitential psalm and partly a variant of Sm. 2054 = BA. V 667. With line 6 cf. Sm. 2054, 11; 1. 7 = 1. 13; 1. 8 f. restore:—

1. MYHRMAN 81 17 [e] gi-dim-dim è i-dé [nu-bar-ri]. Since bit kan urulli is here defined as the "house unseen", or "dark, mysterious house" (cf. SBP. 218, 5), it would be natural to connect urullu with aralu. For the spelling urulu v. SCHEIL, ZA X 209, in a list kamarru, sètu, "net".

2. In MYHRMAN, No 8, lines 17 and 18 are inverted, and dingir is omitted before babbar.


4. Zim. 8 I 19 omits sag-ga. MYHRMAN No. 8 omits lines 20 f.

5. So Zim. 8 I 22.

17. \([\text{nu-ub nu-šed}]-\text{de balag nu te-en te-en}
[\text{la upассah-ši uppu la}] \text{unāh-ši bataggu.}\)

XLIX

K. 10897. Fragment containing only three signs.

L

K. 10284. Neo-Babylonian fragment, contents doubtful.

LI

K. 10375. Fragment of doubtful content. Possibly a hymn. Note the phrases, 
\textit{manga irra}, "he who carried (away?) the property"; \textit{gi-sa-a il-ila}, "he who bore reed-bundles".

LII

K. 10835. Mythological (?) fragment.

LIII

K. 10564. Fragment of doubtful content.

LIV

K. 10439. Fragment of a lamentation. Lines 3-5 probably to be restored from SBH. no. 27, obv. 18-22.

LV

K. 11162. A lamentation. Line 5, \textit{na-ām urā-na nā-ām é-a-na nu-mu-un-šī-tūg}, "Because of his city, because of his temple, he rests not". In lines 10-12 the foot, the eye, and the hand of the god are mentioned.

LVI

K. 193 + 9295. Lamentation to Enil similar to VAT 246 in \textit{Reissner, SBH}. 130 ff. The liturgical refrain \textit{arazu dérabbi}, reverse ll. 12 ff. corresponds to SBH. p. 132, 28 ff. The Adad liturgy in \textit{Craig, RT}. 19 ll. 12 ff. corresponds with our text word for word and agrees with it against the Neo-Babylonian text on several

1. So read, Macmillan's text is not accurate.
points. Note line 27 ki is omitted before ām. In line 31, K. 193 and K. 2365 (CRAIG, p. 20) agree in reading sukal-maḥ sā-gal ukkin d-nusku-ge which text must be read in SBH. 132, 46. Line 32 agrees with K. 2365 and the whole is to be read umun gir u-bar šangamaḥ abzu-ge. SBH. 132, 47 has falsely īgi for u-bar, cf. 86, 63, and for ILA-BALAG-MAH, GA-RI-BALAG-MAH.

LVII

K. 9325. Fragment of an intercession arasu derabbi.

LVIII


LIX

K. 9407. Fragment of a psalm.

LX

K. 9265. Fragment of doubtful content.

LXI

K. 9257. Fragment, containing the beginning of 16 lines, variant of the Nergal litany SBP. 84, 18-49. Repeated by error, see no. X.

LXII

K. 10666. Fragment of an Innini liturgy. Lines 2 and 3 are restored from SBH. 439, 128-30. Duplicate of no. 71 obv. 4 ff.

LXIII

K. 9309. A psalm to Enlil, [er še]-ja nam-ta-ē lugal nam-ta-ē, a title entered in the official list IV R. 53 d3. The colophon has the note 14 ki-du-du which enables us to restore IV R. 53d1, er-šem-ma₂₃ ki-du-du, and proves that the word kidudā (a loan-word) means, "song, psalm, liturgy". The word has been erroneously translated "temple, shrine", etc. The correct meaning is seen in namburbū lumun parṣī arni kidudē u šulūḥhi, "A ritual to free from evil incurred by breaking the regulations, by sin in the matter of the temple liturgies and hand-washings", HARPER, Letters, no. 448. See also VAB.IV Nab. 4,6. 

Babylonian Liturgies.
LXIV

LXV
K. 11229. Fragment of a lamentation.

LXVI
Sm. 264. Fragment of a lamentation.

LXVII
Sm. 323. Fragment of a liturgy similar to IV R. 28* no. 4 containing the phrase *a-du-ga a-ta [ma-rā-za], "[The city] submerged, which thou hast hurled into the water."

LXVIII
Sm. 260. Fragment of a liturgy.

LXIX
K. 9275. Fragment of a liturgy.

LXX
R. 9298. List of gods from a litany. Obv. 9 has ma-gi-a for the ordinary e-gi-a, originally ga(l)-gi-a — gagui > nmagi, convent of the temple. ma-gi-a occurs also in SBH. 12, 7; K 9154 obv. 2 etc.

LXXI
K. 2485 + 3898 is probably the first tablet of the series ni-mal gu-de-de entered in the catalogue IV R. 53 I 46. Tablet two and part of tablet three have been edited in SBP. no. III. Obv. 11 — 48 is a duplicate of the classical and ancient text SBP. I Obv. 14. — Rev. 29 and the duplicate K. 41. For a new critical edition of SBP no. I, see RA. IX 5-11.

The section which ends at 1. 56 is identical with the end of the reverse of SBH. no. 27, which is the second tablet of the series aše-ir gig-ta. K. 10666 (no. 62) ll. 2-7 forms a duplicate to ll. 59-64.

We might perhaps assign this tablet to the series ašer gig-ta, but the difficulty is that it actually has the title inmal gu-de-de translated into Semitic. The two series nimal gu-de-de and ašer gig-ta are both Ištar liturgies and both contain the long
section lines 14-58. Perhaps they agreed even farther for the duplicate SBP. I
ceases entirely at line 50. (See no. 177.)

K. 6881 (no. 148) is a duplicate of lines 48-55. Lines 1-2 on K. 6881 do not agree
with the lines which precede line 48 on K. 2185.

1. ni-ma-al-la₄ gù-dé-dug ki-bi ba-
da-nad
2. gù-dé-de ni-ma-al-la gù-de-de ki-bi
3. ág á-me-ta-gim [......ki]-bi

4. mu-gig an-na na-ge
5. kūr-sun-sun [gašan é-an-na]-ge
6. an al-dūb-ba [gašan é ge-par-r]a-
ge
7. ki sig-ga [gašan é-an-ki]-a-ge
8. d·lil-lá en-na² [gašan tür-dág liliz]
9. ama é-a [d·da-da-nu-nunuz] ság-ga
10. d·na-na-a [KAK-sag-é-a]-ge³
11. ud e-ne-em[an-na ma-ra i-ir-a-]
   mu
12. e-ne-em [d·mu-ul-lil-lá ma-ra i-ir-
a- mu]
13. e-ne-em [d·.....ma-ra i-ir-a- mu]
14. e-ne-em [d·.....ma-ra i-ir-a-] mu
15. e-ne-em [d·.....ma-ra i-ir-a-] mu

1. The cow wailed and in her place
lay down.
2. She wailed, the cow wailed and in
her place she lay down.
3. Like a woman in child birth (?)
wailing] in her place she lay
down.
4. Virgin of heaven [queen of...].
5. She that smites the mountains
queen of Eanna.
6. The heavens she shakes queen of
giparu.
7. The earth she causes to quake, queen
of Eanki.
8. Lillanna queen of sheep-folds(?).
9. Mother of temples Dada the holy
woman child bearing.
10. Nana
11. The spirit, the word of heaven
was brought to me,
12. The spirit, the word of Enlil
was brought to me,
13. The spirit the word of...........
was brought to me,
14. The spirit, the word of...........
was brought to me,
15. The spirit, the word of..........
was brought to me,

1. This phrase was taken by me in
SBP. 28 n. 5 for ni-mal = rihamun,
storm. It appears, however, from this
text that ni-mal means "cow", as in
Gud. Cyl. B 4, 8. The Sumerian sign is
properly ni-mal and šalam,
CT.XII 24b 64 f. with which compare
BM. 93041b and SBH. 19, 16. šalam =
šilam, also written
\[\text{\textcircled{1}}\] Sb 134
so that there can be little doubt about the
sign.
2. Variant of lil-lá-an-na, SBH. 132,
33.
3. Lines 5-10 restored from K. 10666
and 11857.
16. He came to my temple.
17. By the mountain road he entered.
18. In ships he came to me.
19. In ships he embarked.
20. The entered.
21. ..................
22. His unwashed hands upon me he put.
23. He with sandals entered.
24. The swift horseman (?) came?
25. The possessions upon the prow of the ship [he put].
26. I the queen upon the ship's stern rode.
27. The foe, he with sandals, entered my court.
28. The foe put his unwashed hands upon me.
29. He put his hands upon me, he filled me with fear.
30. The foe put his hands upon me, with fear oppressed me.
31. I with fear was filled, but he did not dread.
32. My garments he tore away, and clothed his wife therein.
33. The foe stripped off my jewels of lazuli and put them on his son.
34. I tread now his courts.
35. So for me myself he sought in the shrines.

1. Var. mu-a.
2. Var. ba.
3. Compare Radaei, Miscel. no 3, 5-7.
4. Var. omits.
5. Var. omits, l. 21.
6. On the variant line 22 follows 23.
8. Var. ga-sa-an-men (so read).
9. Here var. has a line omitted both by K. 41 and K. 2485.
10. Var. ni.
11. For variants see SBP. p. 4.
13. mu is omitted (!)
14. Var. sû. The text of K. 41 obv. III, 21 is evidently in disorder. The Semitic has apparently ki-a-am ana ramani-ja.
36. ud-ba-a  imi-ba-teg  su 1-ë-ta  
[na-e]

37. é-mà ba-an-ùl-e-en ingar-mà [ba-ab- 
  hulub-ha]  

38. tu-(hu) imi-teg-a-gim núš-ùr-ra ud- 
  ba-ir  

39. su-din-(hu) dal-la-gim  [di-dé [al- 
  gir-gir-ri-e]]n  

40. é-mà mušen-gim  im-ma-r[a-an-
  dal-e-en]  

41. [urú-]mà mušen-gim  im-ma-r[a-an-
  dal-e-en]  

42. [é]-mà egir-mà  gù-mu-un-[de-de-e]  

43. [gašan-]mén urú-mà egir-mà  gù  

44. [me-e] é-mà é-mu  nu-mèn  a-gim  
in-na-a de  

45. [me-e] urú-ma  urú-mu  nu-mèn-a-gim 
  me-e E+SAL maE+SAL mu nu-
  mèn a-gim  

46. [na-an-tur dé-en-im-mi(?)-in-dág-a 
  la-bi mu-un-kur-e  

47. na-an-da-ra-ma-ma 4 da-im-mi-in- 
  dág i-si-iš-bima-ma-un-da-ra  
  gi  

48. a-gim  ni-gul a-gim  ni-gul-gul  ni-zu 
  a-gim mu-un-pi-el  

36. Then I was filled with fear. "Cause 
her to go forth " (he said ?) Not 
should I go forth (?)  

37. In my temple he pursued me, in my 
halls he terrified me.  

38. Like a frightened dove upon a 
beam, I passed the night.  

39. Like a sudin-bird that flees from a 
cranny I hastened by night.  

40. From my temple like a bird he caused 
me to fly.  

41. From my city, etc.  

42. " My temple is behind me ", I cry.  

43. " A queen am I, and my city is 
behind me ", I cry.  

44. To my temple, " My temple thou 
art not ", thus I cry.  

45. To my city, " My city thou art not ", 
thus (I cry). To my habitation, 
" My habitation thou art not ", 
thus (I cry).  

46. If I say I will not enter into it, its 
beauty consumes me.  

47. If I say I will not count unto it (?), 
longing for it causes me to 
tremble ".  

48. Even as he destroyed it, destroy thou 
him likewise. Do thou thyself even 
so make him ashamed.  

---

1. King's copy of CT. XV 25, 13 and 
my collation have ba, but su is apparently 
the true reading.  

2. K. 41 gim is evidently an error of 
the scribe.  

3. This text agrees with K. 41 in omit-
ting four lines concerning Isin and Larak, 
thus proving that the classical text in CT. 
XV 24-5 is an Isin and Larak redaction.  

4. This gives the reading for K. 41, 

5. ra on BM. 23117 appears probable 
and is here certain. The Semitic of K. 41 
has ušanāš-anni, III of nāsu, to shake, 
tremble. K. 41 has clearly zi-gi which is 
a preferable reading for sig, "to crush". 
For gi = nā-su cf. CT.XII 29 obv. 22b, 
rev. 14 b, gi = na[-a-su ?]. Cf. SAI. 
10289(?).
49. Oh lady as in thy chamber thou didst perish, do thou even so make him ashamed.

50. Thou thyself the foe even so wilt requite.

51. Oh queen the foe even so thou wilt requite.

52. "I myself didst not cause the shame; my father caused the shame.

53. The lord great god caused the shame; my father caused the shame.

54. The lord of the lands caused the shame; my father, etc.

55. The lord of unerring word caused the shame; my father, etc.

56. Where once I hastened not, I sorrowed not, now I shall be glad.

57. How long before her, how long before her shall my heart be cast in gloom?

59. Oh virgin of heaven queen of heaven.

60. ThetittAt shaftereAthe mountains, queen of Eanna.

61. That makest heaven to tremble, queen of the dark chamber.

62. That makest the earth to quake, queen of Eanki.

63. Lillanna queen of Eturdagga.

64. That lovest the temple, Oh Dada sacred woman child-begetting.

---

1. K. 6881 has for lines 49-51 mu-lu ....mu-un-na-zi-em: lù ....
2. Cf. CT. XV 24, 14 ud-ba me li-e-a.
SBH. 54 rev. 5 has a Sem. translation; [ašar ?] úme-su sa idilu balu innahu anakù úmu sa inim-[mir].
3. ur' = dimtù, derivative of √er = bakû.
4. Semitic in SBH. 54 rev. 7; aḥulap libbi-ša aḥulap libbi-ša aḥulap panu-ša ina dimtim dulluḫu, which corresponds to line 57 of our text. The Sumerian has, however, quite a different text.
Rev.

1. d'na-[na-a?]........... ū-a-ge
2. šag (?).............ra-mu
3. d*.. . . ........... mu

LXXII

K. 8473. A duplicate of the hymn to Shamash, SBH. no. 23 obv. 6-24. At this point the hymn to the sun-god evidently ends, for K. 8473 has a line here and then begins with liturgy to Adad K. 24 (no. 16), of which it is a duplicate so far as preserved. For this hymn see SBP no. V. Line 5 of K. 8473 is not in the variants SBH. 23 and 24.

Line 13 has ud-da for ud-du. 17 giš a-am for da-ri in SBH no. 23 obv. 23.

LXXIII

BM. 81-2-4, 207, a large tablet containing the end of a litany to Enlil and the psalm to the flute with which these litanies generally end.

Obv.

13. e..............
14. e..............
15. e-[(?]............]
16. e-ne-[.........]
17. mu-šu ū kalama-ta dingir ba-ē
18. gil-sa-a-biššu ki-bi-šu la-ba-ab-gi
19. ta me-a-bi nu me-a-bi²
20. uku tür-tür na-am-tag-ga nu-ma-al
21. ud ma-al-la-aga³ ud ma-al-la-aga
   ud me-te-a nu-ma-al

17. The lord the mighty one, from the land the divine one has gone forth.
18. To his treasure-house, to his place he returns not.
19. That which was should not have been.
20. The little ones of the people have no sin.
21. A day of desolation, a day of desolation; a day of seemliness it is not.

4. mu-šu ū, lit. = amelu le'u "the mighty man".
3. A var. of gilliema = šabluktu.
22. ......ūḥ-ḥa-a ḫubbin μušēn 
eri-in-na
eri-in-na t
...... .sa-tur-ra mu-lu-ra an-zi-
em
23. ......šā-tūr-ra mu-lu-ra ḫubbin se-ba an-
zi-
24. ......... mu-lu-ra nu è-ne
25. ......... è-
26. ......... ra-ge me-
27. ......... ge me-
[a]
28. i-de te-en-bi-ta ḫa nu-ē-n[e?] e-zinu-bal-
e
29. ḫub ḫub-ba mu-lu ṣu-ti- a
30. ḫub ḫub-ba mu-lu ṣu-ti- a
31. udu-zib-ba mu-lu ṣu-ti- a
32. kalag-ga gud āb-ba ṣu-ti-a
33. a-kalag ḫul-ma-al-la e-zinu-bal-
34. ki-a ḫul-ma-al-la e-zi a-nag
gl-a
35. e-ne-em-mà-ni na-ām-tag-ga
nu-ma-al mu-lu ta-zu mu-un-zu
36. elim-ma mu-lu
37. ḫu-l la mu-lu
38. ḫu-l ul-lil-là
e-zu mu-lu
39. ḫu-l ul-lil-là
e-zu mu-lu
40. ḫu-l ul-lil-là
e-zu mu-lu
41. ḫu-l ul-lil-là
e-zu mu-lu
42. ḫu-l ul-lil-là
e-zu mu-lu
43. ḫu-l ul-lil-là
e-zu mu-lu
44. ḫu-l ul-lil-là
e-zu mu-lu
45. ḫu-l ul-lil-là
e-zu mu-lu
46. ḫu-l ul-lil-là
e-zu mu-lu
Reverse.
1. e-ne-em-zu mu-lu ta-zu mu-
nu-zi-ib-ba-sa-a
36. ḫu-l ul-lil-là
e-zu mu-lu
37. Oh Anu who?
38. Oh Enlil who?
39. Oh Ram of heaven and earth who?
40. Oh Marduk who?
41. Oh Enbilulu who?
42. Oh great messenger who?
43. Oh thou named of good name who?
44. Oh lord great judge who?
45. Thy word who comprehends?
46. Thy name who comprehends?
1. As for thy word who comprehends thy form?
Reverse.

---

1. The same bird in Gud. Cyl. A 25, 6; B 5, 4.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>elim-ma nir-gál galu è-ne mu-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>¼. He who knows the heart of Anu, oh lord (intercession) may he speak unto thee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>¼. He who knows the heart of Anu, intercession may he speak unto thee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>He who knows the heart of the exalted, intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>He who knows the heart of Anu, intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>He who knows the heart of the great mountain, father Enlil, intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>He who knows the heart of the Ram of heaven and earth, intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>He who knows the heart of Marduk, intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>He who knows the heart of Enbi-lulu, intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>He who knows the heart of Nebo, intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>He who knows the heart of the great judge, intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>He who knows the heart of the great judge, intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>He who knows the heart of the great judge, intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>[He of] the wailing lyre that sends forth the storm, intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>intercession, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. [........] na-ge a-ra-zu
21. [........] ra (?) a-ra-zu
22. [........] si a-ra-zu
23. dagal é-urú-sag-ga ¹ gašan din-dib-ba-ge a-ra-zu.

24. sag-.fun⁰ an-na gašan i-si-in-(ki-)ge a-ra-zu
25. da-nusku á-maḫ utug é-kûr-ra a-ra-zu
26. da-kal-kalaga ni-dû gal é-kûr-ra-ge a-ra-zu
27. nubanda maḫ da-mu-ul-lil-lâ zid ge a-ra-zu
28. da-ur³ da-sin-na ligir ab-bar-ra-ge a-ra-zu
29. ...zu-na an šub-bi-en dé-ra-ab-bi a-ra-zu
30. [še-ib nip]pur-(ki) é-kûr-na a-ra-zu
31. [ki-]ûr é-nam-ti-la-na a-ra-zu
32. [še-ib sim]bir-ki é-bár-na a-ra-zu
33. [še]-ib din-tir-(ki)-na a-ra-zu
34. [é-sag-]ila bád-si-ab-ba-(ki)-na a-ra-zu
35. [é-zî]-da é-maḫ-ti-la-na a-ra-zu
36. [é-te-me]-an-ki- na a-ra-zu
37. [é-dâr]-an-na na a-ra-zu
38. [é-nam-bi]-é-zi-da na a-ra-zu
39. [é-ur-me-imin]-an-ki-na a-ra-uz

20. ................ intercession, etc.
21. ................ intercession, etc.
22. ................ intercession, etc.
23. Mother of Eurusagga, queen that gives life to the dead, intercession, etc.
24. sagτun of he aven, queen of Isin intercession, etc.
25. Nusku of mighty oracles, shade of Ekur, intercession, etc.
26. Kalkalaga, great watchman of Ekur, intercession, etc.
27. Great herald of Enlil the faithful, intercession, etc.
28. The divine servant of Sin, prince of prophecy, intercession, etc.
29. .... of heaven may petition speak, intercession speak to thee.
30. In the walls of Nippur, in his Ekur, intercession, etc.
31. In Kenur, in his house of life, intercession, etc.
32. In the walls of Sippar, in his Ebarra, intercession, etc.
33. In his walls of Babylon, intercession, etc.
34. In Esagila, in his Barsippa, intercession, etc.
35. In Ezida, in his great house of life, intercession, etc.
36. In his Etemenanki, intercession, etc.
37. In his Edaranna, intercession, etc.
38. In Enambi, in his faithful house, intercession, etc.
39. In his E-urme-imin-anki, intercession, etc.

2. For the ancient sign, see REC. 447 and SAI. 3752.
3. Var. uru, SBH. 26, 10.
40. [e-sir-sa]g-us-sa na a-ra-zu 40. In his Esirsagussa, intercession, etc.
41. [kiš-(ki) é-kišib-ba-] na a-ra-zu 41. In Kiš, in his "House of the seal", intercession, etc.
42. [é-me-ten-] ur-sag- na a-ra-zu 42. In his Emetenursag, intercessio, etc.
43. [gû-dû-a-[ki]] é-mes-lam, na a-ra-zu 43. In Cutha, in his Emeslam, intercession, etc.
44. [é]-i-dé-3. a-nu-un- na a-ra-zu 44. In his E-ide-Anu, intercession, etc.
45. /// [du dé-ra-ab-bi] a-ra-zu 45. [Compassion?] may he speak to thee, intercession, etc.
46. dib-bi-ne-du dé-ra-ab-bi a-ra-zu 46. Mercy (?) may he speak to thee, intercession, etc.
47. gi-gi dé-ra-ab-bi a-ra-zu 47. "Repent", may he speak to thee, intercession, etc.

|-------------|----------------|---------------------------------|

LXXIV
K. 9323. Fragment of a penitential psalm to Adad.

LXXV
K. 9378. Lines 2-3 duplicate of no. 73 rev. 41-4.

LXXVI
K. 9410. Fragment of a liturgy (?).

LXXVII
K. 9848. Fragment of a liturgy.

LXXVIII
Rm. 2 II 366. Fragment of a liturgy.

LXXIX
Rm. 2 II 420. Probably a litany. Only the ends of the left half of the column preserved.

LXXX
Bm. 79, 7-8, 70. A duplicate of IV R. 28* no. 4 rev. 24-35. Here a-dûg-ga is translated by šanātim, submerged. a-dûg means "to pour or sprinkle" in IV R. 25 a 34, šu asag-ga-ne-ne a sal-sid mu-ni-in-dûg-ga, "Their pure hands with water carefully he washed". In IV R. 28* no. 4 rev. 34 two translations of a-dug-ga are
given *sa nakrum u šanâ¹*, [The city] which was demolished and submerged. For
šanâ "be submerged", see ZIMMERN in GGA. 1898, 826; BOISSIER, Choix II 47, 6
*šubatsu ištanâ*, "its abode is submerged". Perhaps in CT. IV 29 C 3 *ši-ni-am(?).*

LXXXI
K. 9381. Fragment of a litany.

LXXXII
Rm. 2 II 426. Fragment of a litany.

LXXXIII
K. 13489. Fragment obv. and rev. of an Enlil liturgy.

LXXXIV
K. 11689. Beginning of an Ištar liturgy *urû-a ur-ri ma-ni-in-ma-al* = ålu ana
*nakri iššakkan*, "The city is given over to the foe".

LXXXV
Sm. 902. Fragment of an Enlil (?) liturgy.

LXXXVI
Rm. 911. Fragment of a ritual and incantation.

LXXXVII
K. 10195. Beginning of an Ištar liturgy called *dagal mu-gig*.

LXXXVIII
Rm. 540. Left edge (obverse) of an Ištar (?) liturgy.

LXXXIX
Rm. 2 II 424. Fragment from the middle of a litany.

XC
Rm. 539. Possibly an incantation.

1. Cf. SBH. 54 obv. 23.
K. 6564. Fragment of doubtful content.

K. 9298. Fragment of a hymn.

K. 5273. Fragment of a litany including the seven heroic names of Enlil.

K. 3801. Fragment of a lamentation.

K. 6110. A fragment of a hymn to Nintud, i.e. Ninlil.

Obv.
1. kûr-gal d-en-lil-da šu-di-a
2. durun-azag ka-zal-la ki-dûr-a nig-du³-du³-a
3. bara d-nin-tud bara dûr-a-ni
4. ı̇ści̇-maḥ azag-gi ga-ām-me-te kalag dib-a
5. nam-en nam-lugal d-en-lil-šû [gâl-]² [l]a
6. d-nin-tud ka-zal-la-ki..... a
7. ......d-nin-tud..... ni

Rev.
1. ...... šî-tu-da
2. ...... ka-sîl gar-ra
3. [kûr-gal] d-en-lil-da šu-di-a
4. [âb am]ar-bi-ta ka-sîl mu-na-ab-bi

Obv.
1. By the great mountain Enlil she was taken by the hand (?)
2. In the sacred abode of festivity, in the resting place luxuriant, ...
3. In the shrine of Nintud, in the shrine where she sits, ...
4. I, the great enchanter, the holy (enchanter), will do what is seemly ........ (?)
5. By the priestly power, by the royal power of Enlil .......... 
6. Nintud in festivity ............... 
7. ... Nintud ............... 

Rev.
1. ............... (she) bore.
2. ............... creating festivity.
3. By the great mountain Enlil she was taken by the hand (?)
4. Because of the cows and their calves of joy she spoke.

1. Restored from K. 7787.
5. ... ṅin-tud-ri i-lu-bi-ta mu-un-na-an-du (?)-a
6. ... ṅin-tud nin-mah keš- (ki)-a
7. kūr-gal ṅ-en-lil-da šu- di-a
8. ṅin-tud ṅa-mar-li-ta ka-sil mu-na-ab-bi
9. dagal ṅin-tud nin-mah keš-(ki)-a

5. ... Nintud with their cry they hailed (?)
6. ... Nintud great lady of Keš,
7. By the great mountain Enlil was taken by the hand.
8. Nintud because of the cows and their calves of joy spoke.

XCVI

K. 4427. Fragment of a hymn to Sin, nearly identical with SBH no. 38.

XCVII

K. 7787. Hymn to Ninib, closely allied to no. 95. Line 4 has gi-am-me-ten for ga-am-me-ten on no. 95.

XCVIII

K. 6637. Fragment of a liturgy.

XCIX

K. 7227. Fragment of a liturgy.

C

K. 7863. Portion of the obverse of a large tablet. A litany arranged in hemistiches.

CI

Sm. 65. Duplicate of tablet five of the Ištar liturgy muten nu nunaz-gim, SBP. 154, 33-45. The duplicate restores line 33 ṇ-kūr-me not mar as in my edition, and 1. 34 ni-du gal "great watchman", not umun-mu gal.

CII

K. 2489. Fragment of a hymn to Aruru, i. e. trs. Ninlil. With line one compare the title of an ersemma psalm, nin-mah ṅa-ru-ru, IV R. 53 III 40.

CIII


--- 54 ---

1. For ri demonstrative v. § 163.

K. 9120. Fragment of an Istar litany.

K. 8213. Fragment of a litany containing the seven heroic names of Enlil.

K. 6036. Fragment from the right edge of obverse. A pentenital psalm.


K. 3335. Fragment of a myth concerning the mythical birds Zu and Arabu.

K. 5036. Fragment of a myth concerning Ninib. Notice lines 3 and 4:
3. gi4KI-GU a-saq ur-bi ni-kur-kur-[e-ne?], "In the mixing bowl . . . together they (?) ate."
4. ur-sag-ra uru-mah sag-ga er-su, "Unto the heroic one the great city . . . with wailing [cries?]

K. 9040. Fragment of a hymn.

K. 5830. Neo-Babylonian fragment of a liturgy to Gula. The tablet has two small triangular holes evidently made with the stylus.


K. 9359. Fragment of doubtful content. Incantation?
CXV
K. 9618. Part of a penitential psalm, *er-sag tūg-mal*.

CXVI
K. 9399. Only traces of four lines. Mentions Ur.

CXVII
K. 9722. Fragment of a myth concerning a goddess.

CXVIII
K. 9368. Fragment of a litany.

CXIX
K. 13518. Fragment of a litany.

CXX

CXXI
K. 13412. Fragment from the middle of obverse. A litany.

CXXII
K. 11857. Lines 1-4 are a duplicate of K. 10666, 5-8, and see no. 71 obv. 7-10.

CXXIII
K. 10178. Fragment of a litany.

CXXIV
K. 13326. Fragment of a litany.

CXXV
K. 13334. Lower edge of obverse. Six fragmentary lines containing names of temples.

CXXVI
K. 10168. Left edge, beginnings of eleven lines of names of temples and cities.
K. 13557. Six fragmentary lines of a hymn to Nintud. With line four, cf. no. 95 obv. 1.

K. 13555. Nine fragmentary lines of a psalm. Among the deities mentioned is Belit-šéri 1.5 and Zarpanit 1.8.

K. 13549. Fragment of a litany.

K. 13544. Beginnings of eleven lines, probably a hymn to Sin.

K. 13546. Fourteen fragmentary lines of a litany.

K. 13542. Beginnings of seventeen lines of a hymn to Istar.

K. 9550. Ends of eleven lines of a liturgy to Istar.

K. 9316. Ends of twelve lines of upper right corner of the obverse of a liturgy to the "Word".


K. 3414. End of obverse and thirty-four fragmentary lines of reverse. The obverse ends with an intercession. The reverse contains a litany to Zarpanit.

K. 3390. End of obverse and beginning of the reverse of a litany of intercession.

Babylonian Liturgies.
4. The strong man weeps, the maiden weeps.
5. Women weep and children weep.
6. May he that knows the heart of Anu (intercede).
7. May he that knows the heart of Anu (intercede).
8. The heart of the mighty one is full of woe.
9. He that knows the heart of the great god (intercede).
10. The heart of Enlil is full of woe.
11. He that knows the heart of the Great Mountain, father Enlil (intercede), etc., etc.

CXXXVIII

K. 3482. Duplicate of CXXXIX.

CXXXIX

K. 3141. Obv. A penitential psalm. K. 3482 (no. 138) is a duplicate, the variants of which are given below. On the reverse of K. 3482 the beginnings of eight lines.

1. [.....]er-
 sa-
 gu-
 la 
 2. [me-] sa-
 ku-
 da 
 3. ma-
 ra 
 4. me-
 e 
 5. me-
 e 
 6. [er-
 sa-
 gu-
 la 
 7. me-
 e 
 8. me-
 e 
 9. me-
 e 
 10. [.....]er-
 sa-
 gu-
 la 
 11. [me-] sa-
 ku-
 da 
 12. ma-
 ra 
 13. me-
 e 
 14. me-
 e 
 15. me-
 e 
 16-18? 
 19. [.....]er-
 sa-
 gu-
 la 
 20. [me-] sa-
 ku-
 da 
 21. ma-
 ra 
 22. me-
 e 
 23. me-
 e 
 24. me-
 e 
 25. me-
 e 
 26. [er-
 sa-
 gu-
 la 
 27. me-
 e 
 28. me-
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 29. me-
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 30. me-
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 31. me-
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 76. me-
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 77. me-
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 78. me-
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 79. me-
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 80. me-
 e 

1. Only a figure missing, giving the number of lines in the psalm.
8. The god heroic whose soul is not evil-minded.
9. Bearing a torch, the far-away land...
10. In the abode where the blazing sun arises in the heavens, sorrow of heart....
11. Unto the lord, my god, who dwells in the bright chamber, tears [I bring].
12. I unto thee, my god, with fear will speak.
13. I unto thee, my god, with mournful song will speak.
14. I unto thee, my god, prayers of intercession will say.
15. I unto thee, my god, tears will bring.
16. I unto my god, unto judgment enter.
17. I unto my god, do come; my garments I remove.
18. Upon me prostrate, earth is scattered.
19. Unto the lord, my god, him that sits in the bright chamber, tears and sighing I bring.
20. May the heart of my god return to its place.
21. . . . . my god how long his soul....
22. . . . .
23. . . . .

This psalm of penance is particularly important for its references to removing the garments (17) and putting earth upon the head (18). Note also the bearing of torches in line nine. From the reference in line ten, we infer that the psalm was said to Shamash the god of judgment. References to judgment in lines two and sixteen support this interpretation.
K. 3643. Obv. destroyed. Rev. has 25 fragmentary lines. The fragment contains several passages which vitally affect our knowledge and understanding of the cult of Tammuz. The liturgy represents the people rehearsing the sorrows of Innini wailing for the life of the earth and seeking the lost Tammuz. The song then turns to gladness and enlarges upon the glory of the risen Tammuz. He is identified with both Shamash and Nannar. The close relation between Tammuz and the sun-god is one of the clearest traits of Sumerian mythology. In the legend of the kiske nú tree of Eridu, whose abode is the hidden chamber of the river-god in the nether sea, Shamash and Tammuz are the gods who watch the sacred "tree of life", in that subterranean sea. In Myhman, No 6, 1. 2 Tammuz has the title baba sar, thus clearly identified with Shamash. Shamash and Tammuz are named as the gods of Durguru, and Tammuz is lord of Durguru. Zimmer has already pointed out that, in a list of gods so constructed as to give a résumé of the great lists of gods, Tammuz follows the Shamash section. Another text which, as I have repeatedly pointed out, gives a theological analysis

1. Daqal-usumgal-anna-ge.
2. CT. XVI 46, 195.
4. CT. XV 18, 8.
5. Gott Tamãz, p. 13. In the great list of gods the Adad group breaks in between the Shamash and Tammuz group, v. Zimmer, An = Anu, p. 116, but this is due to late theological speculation, for in SBP. 160 Adad (l. 14) follows upon the Shamash and Tammuz groups.
of the Babylonian pantheon, is of special importance in this respect. This list begins
with the Shamash-Nergal-Ninib group, after which follows Damu. The order here is
as follows 2.
6. Ninšubur (i.e. Ninib) and Gula. 7. Ninšubur of Larak and Gula of Larak.
8. Tammuz (Damu).

The Adapa legend represents Tammuz and Gišzida 3 as gods who had vanished
from earth (ina matiši ilu šina ṭalkuma) to guard the gates of heaven. The litany
translated on page 20 speaks of Tammuz as u-mu-zi-da, and he is often addressed
as tu-mu umun-mu-zi-da, “Child, lord of Justice”, SBP. 304, 15; 312, 5; 
etc. Evidently in these Tammuz hymns not two gods “Tammuz child of
Ningišzida (= Umungišzida)” are intended, but the liturgy simply addresses
Tammuz under another title 4. Tammuz belongs to the group of deities connected
with the sun in so far as he is a god of vegetation, and with the Ea group in so far
as he descends into the nether sea and dwells in the abyss (Dumuzi-abzu). Shamash
is par excellence the god of justice, and Nergal, the aspect of the sun in the lower
world, appears to have passed judgment upon the souls of the dead. In Zim Kult-
lieder, No 26, obv. I. 16 Tammuz is called ummuna tarri, “lord of judgment. Probably
this power of inquisition attributed to the gods of light is derived from the revealing
power of light which searches into the secrets of all things. The name dumu-zi-da
itself means, “just child”, whence we infer that in his original character he repre-
sents an aspect of the god of justice, possibly the spring sun, or possibly the original
conception of this name is taken from the judgment of the souls of the dead, a
function performed by the vanished lord of life.

Our text indicates clearly that the unwilling for Tammuz ended with a celebration
of his resurrection. I had already pointed this out in connection with another
liturgy 5, also Zimmer on the basis of a new text 6 has come to the same conclusion.

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1. SBP. 168-9.
2. SBP. 158-160.
(see above, p. 20, l. 5), means probably “faithfulness”, kittu. giš-zi-da is a noun-
Also cf. giš-lal = takumtu, “binding, battle,” from lal = kamū. This derivation
strengthens the accepted derivation of dumu-zi-da, “faithful child”. Both are
therefore aspects of Shamash as lord of justice, or attendants of his court as Nig-
zi-da (= kittu), Nig-sīs ( = mēšaru), Nig-gīna (= kittu), etc., all of whom appear as
inferior deities in the household of Shamash.
5. SBP. 339, n. 13.
6. VAT. 617, v. Zimmer, Gott Tamûz, 33, n. 1. This Neo-Babylonian text is
shortly to be published by Zimmer as No2. in Vol. II of Vorderasiatische Schrift-
The author has generously allowed me to study this text, and I cite here two lines to show the close connection with lines 12 ff. of K. 3643.

10. ṭur-tūr dagal-muḫ-na dagal-E+ SAL-a-ge E+ SAL mu-un-na-ab-bi
   "In the bosom of his mother creator, in his childhood, she gave him rest.
   In his childhood, the mother creator, mother merciful, compassion spoke ".

Noteworthy is line 11; "ū-ta-ām ki ṭu-ta-ām, ""The god of light upon earth shines," another passage in which Tammuz is identified with the spring sun. The identification of Tammuz with the moon-god in line 16 of K. 3643 introduces a new element into the Tammuz theology, The connecting element here is not clear, unless it be that Tammuz like the moon disappears for a time in the infernal regions. The text represents an advanced and abstract theology in which the personality of the various gods becomes faint and confused. Nannar was regarded as the father of Shamash, and Tammuz being identified with Shamash thus became Nannar himself. The passage shows how completely Babylonian religion outgrew the pagan character of its gods, evolved them into mere principles, and used their names as convertible terms for natural elements.

1. ki nu bir-bir-ra-mu 1
2. šurim-ma nu ki-šub 1-na-mu
3. im da-an-ag-gu-la šu-nu-gur-ra-mu
4. ne-im-mar 2 i-si-š ud mu-un-zal 3
5. akkil di-e dumu-sal kullab-(ki)
6. ṭu (?) maš an-na nin šubur-ra 4

1. Not is scattered (?) 1
2. the ewes not. 2
3. the great, which is not purged. 3
4. She that lightens, she that lightens, with lament by day is overfull. 4
5. With sighing she goes, the daughter of Kullab. 5
6. Wailing for the heavenly brother, lord of the earth. 6

denkmäler. A duplicate from the classical period is published by Scheil in the Revue d'Assyriologie, VIII, 161-9. Professor Zimmern has generously placed his copy at my disposal, and will himself edit the text in a future number of the Leipziger Semitische Studien.

1. Cf. ki-šub = nīdātu, desert land, POEBEL, BE VI 2, 12.
2. ne-im-mar I take for ne-gar = nūru, an epithet of Ištar as the divinity of Venus.
4. This title usually written nin-šubur is an ordinary title of Ninib and means bēl irtītim, "lord of (in) the earth ", referring to the annual descent of the sun-god Ninib. The passage proves the close parentage of Tammuz with the sun-god Ninib, for which see ZIMMERN, Gott Tamāz 713.
7. Wailing(?) for the holy brother, my radiant šuḫub.

8. ..................my sacred one

9. Messenger, the word, my faithful one.

10. Messenger, my shepherd, lord of lament.

11. Oh my exalted one, when thou risest, when thou risest.

12. Oh my exalted one, when to the bosom of my mother creator thou risest.

13. When to the bosom of thy mother, to the bosom of thy beloved thou risest.

14. When to thy mother, the queen of heaven thou risest.

15. Oh my exalted one, who is Shamash? thou art Shamash.

16. Oh my exalted one, who is Nannar? thou art Nannar.

17. Thou in the palace.

18. In the abode of Eanna, in the city.


20. Lord in the lower world.

21. To heaven, lifted up.

22. Holy Innini with abundance.

23. Lord in the lower world.

24. Lord in the lower world.

K. 6084. Variant of SPB. p. 292 and IV R. 28* no. 4 b 5 ff.

K. 8610. Fragment of an intercession arazu derabbi.

1. For ūr = bakû, v. No. 139, 19.

2. The transcription contains a few corrections of the text discovered by collation.
CXXXVI
K. 3026. Fragment containing thirtynine ends of lines. A hymn.

CXXXVII
K. 8462. Fragment of a psalm mentioning the musical instruments uppu and manzu (l. 5).

CXXXVIII
K. 6881. Duplicate of K. 2383, see no. 71.

CXXXIX
Rm. 514. Neo-Babylonian fragment of a penitential psalm, eri-zu-šá ha-ma-šed-de « Unto thy servant (may thy heart) repose ».

CL
BM. 79-7-8-46. Hymn to the god Ea.

CLI
BM. 82-3-23, 5220. Fragment of doubtful content.

CLII
K. 11831. Fragment of a penitential psalm.

CLIII
K. 13522. Fragment of a litany.

CLIV
79-7-8, 79. Hymn to Shamash.

CLV
Rm. 13. Fragment of a hymn to Sin?

CLVI
Rm. 2, 219. A liturgy concerning Ur. In the first line is given the temple ge-par-imin, written ge-par in SBP. 6, 24, "the seven dark chambers". The same temple in SBH. 100, 34.

CLVII
K. 5503. Fragment of four mutilated lines. A myth mentioning the throwing of the sa-hut, "the wicked net".
K. 3238. Third tablet of the series ukkin-ta eš-bar-ra til-la, “From the assembly wisdom is departed”, catalogued in the native list at IV R 53a 31. The obverse is a duplicate of REISNER, SBH. no. 12 as far as line nineteen. The few lines preserved on the reverse are a duplicate of SBH. no. 12 rev. 5-9.

Obv.

1. al-ū šā-ba-mal [.....kūr al-]gul-
gul[......] a.....šu
2. ša-du ri-tu-ša ša [ina...]šad-i [a-
[-ab-bit]
3. e-ne-em [d. gu-la] kūr
4. e-ne-em [d. mu-ul-lil] kūr
5. e-ne-em [d. mu-zî-ib-ba-sā a]
6. e-ne-em [d. šid-rū-ki-sār-ra a]
7. e-ne-em an-šū an-imā-dāb-ba-ni,
8. a-ma-tum ša e-liš ša-me-e ū-rah-
bn
9. e-ne-em ki-šū ki al- sīg-ga- ni
10. e-ne-em ā-ma-ni-ša mu-un-da-an-
dāg-ga-ni

1. The lofty one, furious (?), who in his
..... shattered the mountain.
2. sa-dlu ri-tiu-sl sa [ina...]sadi-i [u-
[-a-ab-bit]
3. The word [of Anu] shattered the
mountain.
4. The word [of Enlil] shattered the
mountain.
5. The word of him named with good
name, the lofty one, furious, who
in his ... shattered the mountain.
6. The word of the Recorder of the
Universe, the lofty one, furious,
who in his .... shattered the
mountain.
7. The word which stills the heavens
on high.
8. a-ma-tum ša e-liš ša-me-e ū-rah-
bn
9. The word which causes the earth
beneath to shudder,
10. The word which in his glory he
spoke,

1. Correct U to A in my text, lines
1.3.11.
2. This line is omitted in SBH. No.12.
3. Lines 3.4 are clearly a late inser-
tion since, they do not appear on K.
3238.
4. a is apparently an abbreviation for
a-ū šā-ba-mal, etc., and shows that Nebo
is the god first mentioned after the open-
ing liturgical melody on the original.
5. Var.al.

Babylonian Liturgies.
11. a-ma-tum ša ina ir-nit-ti-šu ik-bu-ū
12. a d-pap- nun-an-ki-ge mu-un-da-an-dah-a-ni
13. [iš ?]-ratša īlu zar-pa-ni-tum uš-ši-pu
14. e-ne-em ū-ma-ni-ta mu-un-da-an-dag-ga-ni]
15. d mu-zi-ib-ba-sa mu-un-da-an-dah-a-na
16. ma-da da-ma-al-la a mu-un-[dag]
17. ma-a-tum ra-pa-aš-tum me-e ušša-ne-e³
18. mé-a na-am-lù-gal-lat šu'-ba-an-mar kùr al-gul-gul
19. ina ta-ba-zi um-ma-na-a-ti ana ga-ti ū-ma-al šadi-[u-]ab-bit
20. edin-na gub-ša edin šag-sù-ga-mu
21. ši-ra-am ina a-la-ki-šu ši-rim pu-[šu-]um-nā
22. edin-na ki-gub-su gin sal- sal- la
23. ši-ra-am a-sar ā-luk-ti-šu ar-da-ti uš-[ša-at?]³
24. kaskal-dubbin-na ā-ne-kur ā-ne-sig-ya
25. ina ṣar-ra-ni ip-rik-ma is-pu-un
26. ama-ḥen-na en-nun-mā-bi [e-mu ?]
27. um-ma a-lit-ti ana ma-aš-šar-ti ā-še-[ši ?]

The form which Zarpanit magnified,

[The word which he in his glory spoke]³,
And which he, named with a good name, magnified.
Waters have flooded the wide land.

18. He who in battle-disposes of hosts, has shattered the mountain.

When he walked in the fields, the fields became pale (with hoarfrost).

22. In the fields where he walks, the maiden who gives birth,

24. On the highway he oppressed, he smote.

26. The begetting mother from her shelter he caused to go up.

1. This is the most probable restoration.
2. Not in K. 3238.
3. Cf. IV R. 28 * No. 4 rev. 35.
4. K. 3238 šu-ša, which is evidently original.
5. šu omitted. Cf. JENSEN KB.VI 284, 47. For the adjective pušu, white, v. VAB.IV 134,32 ; 158 VII 5.
The oxen which repose he lets not rise.

The begetting mother from her shelter he caused to go up.

The lofty one... shattered the mountain.

The word of him, named with good name, shattered the mountain.

The word of the Recorder of the Universe shattered the mountain.

The lofty one,—when he bellowed, he shattered the mountain.

He named of good name,—when he bellowed, he shattered the mountain.

The Recorder of the Universe,—when he bellowed, he shattered the mountain.

The Recorder of the Universe,—when he bellowed, he shattered the mountain.

Rev.

2. ..........................BAD tin-tir-[ki .....................]
3. ..........................ri šā-ab-ba-na é-say-[ila . . .]
4. [e-ne-]em šā-ab-mā-ge ù-li-[li? mu-
un-dūg?]
5. e-ne-em é-i-ut-lu-mā [ù (?)]
6. šā-ab-mā mu-un-nā-a šā-ab-mā mu-
un[.....]

1. Cf. SAI. 3176.
7. ina lib-bi-la a-na-lu ina lib-bi-ja...
8. mu-lu šá-ab-mà nu-me-a mu-lu ur nu è-a-[mu]
9. išten i-lu¹ ba-lum lib-bi-ja man-ma-an ul [uši]
10. kalag-kalag-ga šu-du-mà ki-bal-a gur-gur-[mu]
11. id-lu ša da-na-na šuk-lu-lu mu-ab-bit mat nu-kur-ti
12. [ur-saq d²-mu-zl-ib-ba-nà kalag-
kalag-ga : umun d·en-zag...²
13. [d²ag] dumu nun-na kalag-kalag-ga :
dumu-nitaḫ ṣa-sag-ila kalag-kalag-
ga
14. [umun d·en-]bad ṣi-da kalag-kalag-
ga : dumu šu-mar-qi a-a-[ni-ge]
15. dšid-rū-kār-ra kalag-kalag-ga : din-
gir sag tin-tir-(ki) kalag-kalag-ga :
16. dšab-ū umun gu-la kalag-kalag-ga : šu-maḫ am-
ga
17. igi-gál-bād-si-ab-ba-[ki] kalag-kalag-
ga : iškim-til d₃-kūr-gat kalag-kalag-
ga
18. dumu-nitaḫ āš-du d₃-marduk-kam kalag-kalag-ga :
dumu-sid sir-a kalag-kalag-ga

8. Any god without my knowledge goes not forth; no, not one.
10. The hero, perfect in might, shattering the hostile land,
The strong god named of good name, hero perfect in strength: The lord Nebo of Dilmun............
13. Nebo son of the prince³, hero perfect in strength.
15. Recorder of the Universe, hero perfect in strength.
Chieftest god of Babylon, hero perfect in strength.
17. Wise one of Barsippa, hero, etc.
Prophet of life (?) ⁶, god of the great mountain, hero, etc.
Only heir of Marduk, hero, etc.
True son, wailer ⁷, hero, etc.

1. The text has ni-ku. Interpretation uncertain.
2. Cf. BA. V 672,4.
3. i.e., Marduk. The line = BA. V 672,2.
5. An ordinary title of Tammuz.
6. Or 'perfect prophet' (?)
7. The epithet describes more accurately the god Tammuz, see above, note 5.
19. Abundance of the land, great (son) of Zarpanit, hero, etc.
   Great psalmist, hero, etc.
20. Lord of the word of Shamash, hero, etc.
   Whose speech brings gladness, hero, etc.
21. of the house of the sea, hero, etc.
   Lord, whose hand wards off (the foe), hero, etc.
22. Like heaven he is made surpassing,
   Like the earth he is established,
   hero, etc.
23. who sends a deluge, hero, etc.
24. He whose limbs are sound, hero, etc.
25. He whose knees hasten, hero, etc.
26. He that attains unto the glory of his
   father, hero, etc.
27. by a word which is not revealed,
   hero, etc.

CLIX

K. 8384. Fragment of a liturgy to Marduk.

1. amelu UD-DU often in colophons as variant of amelu US-KU, SBH.
102,51, and see REISNER, ibid. p. xni. With è-maḥ cf. UŠ-KU-maḥ, 'the great psalmist', passim.
CLX

K. 3445. Fragment of a Tammuz liturgy. The text contains a lamentation for Tammuz by his sister. "Food perishes, the shepherd is taken away.

Drinking — water perishes, the shepherd is taken away. My son is not, the shepherd is taken away. My brother is not, the shepherd is taken away". Then follow references to going forth from the city, which constitute a refrain.

CLXI

K. 8641. Fragment of doubtful content, possibly a liturgy.

CLXII

K. 8608. Fragment of a liturgy.

CLXIII


CLXIV

K. 3288. Beginning of a section of a Sin liturgy, é-tūr ki āb-udu, "The fold, place for cattle." Here āb-udu is translated by la-a-tum cows, with which cf. SBP. 338, 23.

CLXV

K. 3462. An incantation and ritual.

CLXVI

K. 3313. Fragment of a litany containing the refrain, "Unto thy city".

CLXVII

K. 3895. Fragment of a litany and lamentation for the temple of Babylon and Barsippa.
CLXVIII

BM. 91-5-9, 101. Beginning and end of a text forming one tablet of a litany to Ninib. The catchline begins me-e umun-mu-ra, "I to my lord". The following tablet is n° 176.

CLXIX

BM. 82-5-22, 534. A Semitic composition arranged in strophes of three lines on the obverse (??).

CLXX

Rm. 2 II 373. Fragment of a litany containing the refrain, urū-ni-a, "in his city".

CLXXI

Sm. 719. Fragment of a litany.

CLXXII

Rm. 492. Fragment containing only the refrain, er-ra, repeated nine times.

CLXXIII

DT. 312. Ends of eight lines of the beginning of the obverse. Probably a liturgy.

CLXXIV

K. 11639. Ends of four lines of the obverse and three lines of reverse. Contains the word emesallim > ummisallim, psalm.

CLXXV

K. 3001. Duplicate of K. 2004 and part of the liturgy, ni-mal gu-de-de, "The cow lowed". Line one of this fragment is line five of tablet two of the restored text in SBP. p. 26. See BA. V 619, 16.
1. dim-me-[ir maḫ adab] KU-ra  
2. é ki-[ṣig-ga-ge (e ki-ṣig-ga) ba-ḫul]  
3. ṣu-kur-[ru tūr nun zu-ab (ma-rat rubī) KU-ra]  
4. še-ib i-si-in-(ki) ba-ḫul  
5. gašan sag tu-mu an-na KU-ra  
6. še-ib i-an-na ba-ḫul  
7. mu-gi-ib gašan an-na KU-ra  
8. gašan an-na-ām urū-na-sū  
9. nin gašan an-na KU-ra  
10. akkil ki-azag-ga  
11. nin gašan ṣubur-ra KU-ra  
12. é tuq-kas-kūr-ra ba-ḫul  
13. nin-tud-ūr-ra KU-ra  
14. kes-(ki) ur-sāb-ba ba-ḫul  
15. gašan an-na ĥallab-(ki) KU-ra  
16. urū-ni ĥir-su-ki-a ba-ḫul  
17. ba-dām umūn-na KU-ra  
18. núgin urū-azag-ga KU-ra  
19. dul-ur ba-dā KU-ra  
20. e-sil šir-sir-ra KU-ra  
21. etsē-? e-sil-sir-ra KU-ra  
22. edin-bar sir-bur-la-(ki)-a ba-ḫul  
23. ab-ba šulib zi-ib KU-ra  
24. še-ib sirar-(ki) ba-ḫul  
25. K. 2004 and 3001 have dūr-ra, but SBH. 118 obv. gu-de-in-ra = ina šašē-su, "When he (she) cries out ".
2. Glossed illsu-bar-(ki) aš-sum âša.  
3. The sign is clearly ⬡| ⬢ ⫭| ⫮| ⫯| ⫺|, so that we have to do with a simple variant of ⬡| ⫭| ⫮| ⫯| ⫺|.
4. Glossed asši ellim.
6. Glossed illsu-de-ū-ḫu.
7. Glossed ana ki-ša ur-šë-ba.
8. Glossed ša ha (?)  
9. Bau is queen of uru-azag-ga, SBP.  
12. be-el-tum rabītum.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>nin-maḥ d-nilā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>dumu-zid UZ-da-gā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>dim-u-lu IS...igi-duḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>é-ib-gal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>d-ašnan d-azag-sud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>é(?)-gi-pad-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>gašan é-zī-da-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>...é-mar-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rev.

[Several lines are broken away.]

1. ...mā......
2. SAL + KU d-dumu-zi zu-ab... KU-ra
3. ma ki-nad ur-sā-ba1 | ba-ḥul
4. šagan laš luš kar-kar | KU-ra
5. éš é-dād-ga | ba-ḥul
6. alad mu-lu urū | KU-ra
7. é bara-si-ga | ba-ḥul
8. nin-dar-ra-na | KU-ra
9. éš-é-kar-ra | ba-ḥul
10. gašan-mu gašan banda2 | KU-ra
11. āb-ki....ār | ba-ḥul
12. ú-gūl AD(?)-AD(?)-ib dumu an-na3 | KU-ra
13. éš é-ḥaš-ḥaš-la | ba-ḥul
14. é-da-zu za-ab-ba | KU-ra
15. é-bar-a=sir-ra | ba-ḥul
16. ama d-dam-gal-nun-na | KU-ra
17. éš gū-ab-ba4 | ba-ḥul
18. azag gašan mar-(ki)5 | KU-ra
19. é (?)...?-ra | ba-ḥul
20. ....gašan-an-an | KU-ra
21. tūr-saq ub-ba5 | ba-ḥul
22. ama-mu din ?-an-na | KU-ra
23. ....nu-gal | ba-ḥul
24. gašan.....nu PA-bi | KU-ra
24. éš é-UD-KIB-NUN-(ki)8 | ba-ḥul

---

2. Glossed nin banda.
3. Line 12 = 36 in SBP. 26, which has
5. var. SBH. 118, 40 has na.
7. Cf. SBP. 28, 41.

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*Babylonian Liturgies*
K. 5040. Fragment of an intercession.

K. 6173. A liturgy to . . . . and Marduk. The catchline has . . . . har-ra-an kûr-kûr-ra asîtal si-sa . . . . . . . . . . . . in the way of the mountain in joy he directed . . .


K. 8642. Fragment of doubtful content.

K. 9333. End of a penitential psalm.

K. 5831. Fragment of a psalm of intercession.


K. 2881. Fragment of a litany. The obv. 4-15 consists of a refrain, "Thy temple or city which thou hast made an object of admiration, behold ". The reverse 11-13 is a duplicate of SBP. 98, 38-43.

K. 11839. Fragment of a litany with the refrain, a-ba-i-dib.

K. 10728. Fragment of a liturgy, with Semitic glosses.

K. 9767. End of the second tablet of the series, a urû-mu im-me, "How long, oh my city, she cries ". Cf. SBH. no. 51, obv. 1.
Sm. 2170. Fragment of doubtful content, possibly an incantation.

K. 10377. Portion of the right edge of an incantation against the seven evil spirits.

K. 4630. Beginning and end of the last tablet of the series, en-zu sá-mar-mar. The fourth tablet is preserved in fragmentary condition in SBH. no. 28. With the opening line of K. 4630, umun nammunsubben, "Oh lord thou wilt not reject me", compare the title of a series IV R. 53b, 35.

K. 14205. The reverse is the end of an er-sem-ma, or song on a flute, concluding a liturgical series, cf. SBP. p. XII. The psalm is similar to no. 181 and SBP. p. 258, which is ordinarily termed er-sag-tag-mal. The obverse 12-17 is a duplicate of SBH. no. 30, obv. 42-47.

K. 5188 + 8481. A fragment of a large tablet belonging to a series concerning the harlot or the female principle of lasciviousness. The obverse line one agrees with DT. 67 rev. 6, and the two texts are duplicates from this point. It is probable that both texts form part of the same series. I edit first DT. 67, restoring the reverse from the obverse of K. 5188. The reverse of K. 5188 + 8481 is badly broken and otherwise damaged.

It is interesting to find Ishtar appearing as the goddess of purity in the family life. According to the ancient liturgy SBP. 12, 29, Ishtar protects women in childbirth, a phase of her activity compatible with her hatred of sexual immorality.


1. ......... mu nin ........
4. [ra-gab utul] gu mu-lu akkil-ge 4-5. The messenger of my counsel, he
5. [ra-ak-bu]-ù ša te-e-mi̱ of sorrow.

1. fému here translates utul. For restorations see No. 143.
6. [ki-el-]e gi-in ‘e ag-gig ne-ag-a-a
7. [ar-da-tum (?)] am-tum ik-ki-ba e-ta-kal
8. [ki-el-]e ama-na-ām-tag-ga ag-gig ne-ag-a-a
9. [ar-da]-tum amanamtagga ik-ki-ba i-te-pu-ūs
10. [ama-]na-ām-tag-ga na-ām-tar gig-ga-ge
11. amanamtagga si-ma-tu ša mar-ša
12. na-ām-tar gig-ga-ge i-đe a ĝa-lū
13. si-ma-tu ša mar-ša pa-nu ša dim-tam dul-lu-ḫu 2
14. gīgu-za asag-ga dūr-mar-ām
15. ina ku-us-si i el-li-tim u-šib
16. muš-nad asag-ga ki-nad ba- nad
17. ina ir-śi el-li-tim it-ta- zīš
18. muš-ba-ab-dūg-ga 3 in-ga-an-zu
19. i-ša-ri ri-ḫa-a il-ta-mad
20. muš su-ub-dūg-ga in-ga-an- zu
21. na-ša-kam il-ta-mad
22. ga-nu ga-ni-lah-en ga-ni-lat-ten
23. al-kam i ni-il-lak-šu i ni-il-lak-šu
24. me-en-ne urū-šu ga-ni-lah-en
25. ni-nu ana āli-šu i ni-il-lak-šu
26. urū-šu ū-dī ša ga
27. ana āli ana tab-ra-a-ti
28. urū-šu gullab-(ki)-šu ga
29. šē-ib unū-ki-šu ga
30. šē-ib hallab-(ki)-šu ga
31. har-sag-kalam-ma’su ga
32. ē-tūr-kalam-ma’su ga

6-7. The maid, the servant has disgraced.
8-9. The maid, Mother of Sin, has disgraced.
12-13. Fate of disease (who) darkens the face with tears,
16-17. In the clean bed lay.
18-19. Man she taught the desire of intercourse.
20-21. Man she taught to kiss.
22-23. Oh come let us go to it, let us go to it.
24-25. We to the city, let us go.
26-27. To the city for beholding, let us go.
28. Unto Kullab let us go.
29. Unto walled Erech let us go.
30. Unto walled Hallab let us go.
31. Unto Harsagkalamma let us go.
32. Unto Eturkalamma let us go.

1. Read in not lugal.
2. Cf. SBH. no. 27 rev. 6.
3. The finite form ba-ab-dūg is here employed as an infinitive object of the verb ingan-zu, with which compare ba-
1. **úru-sù úru-sù** še-ih tin-tir-(ki)-šu
2. **ana ali ali ali** ana li-bit-tim
   **ba-bi-šu**
3. **e-ne-em gašan an-na-ge** di-da-ra
4. **ana a-wa-at il-tu Ištar iš-bu-šu**
5. **ki-el ama na-ām-tag-ša saḫar-hub-ba-ba-zid**
6. **ar-da-tum amanamtagga ina e-pi-ri it-ta-bal-kit**
7. **i-dé mu-un-ši-in-har** i-dé dig-ge-ge
8. **ip-pa-li-is-si-ma nap-tu-us mu-tim-ma**
9. **gašan-e gù-ba-an-de-e gù na-ām
tag-ša** sù-ga²-šu
10. **be-el-tum is-si-ma sa-si-e ar-ni-im-ma**
11. **sāb-ba šišir-ra-a-na dé-mu-un-gi-gi**
12. **ri-e-šu ina šišir ri-si lü-dü-si**
13. **labar-e me-zi-a-na dé**
14. **kā-lā-šu ina me-ši-e-si**
15. **duk-ša-bu-šu** dukša-bišu
16. **? , lā-ra me-rî² ha-da-ra-na dé**
17. **lā-ra-u ina pa-ti-u haš-ṭa-ra-rî³**

1-2. Unto the city, unto the city, unto walled Babylon (let us go).
3-4. Against the command of the queen of heaven, which she spoke,
5-6. The maid, Mother of Sin, covered with dust, has transgressed.
7-8. She beheld her with a look of death.
9-10. The queen wailed with a loud wail of revenge for sin.
11-12. By the forelock of her hair she seized her.
13-14. The maid, Mother of Sin, at the wall's foundations was hurled.
15-16. May the shepherd with his staff slay her.
17-18. May the psalmist with his mesā slay her.
19-20. May the pašar with his vessel the zarbabu slay her.
21-22. May the ... with sword and knife (?) slay her.

---

1. So the Semitic (ittabalkit) has read KU, from sig, to rush.
2. sù-ga is not translated in Semitic.
3. Var. zarbabu. The Sumerian ideogram on K. 5188 is kisi, the ordinary sign for the insect zarbabu. Apparently the words zarbahu and zarbabu are connected.
4. Var. meš-rî-šu.
5. Or pašarri (?)
6. The accepted translation of pašaru is « potter », but this is uncertain.
23. [mu-na-d]úg ta-me-a-bi ́ á e-la-la
24. [mí]-na-a1 i̲k-bi-ši-im-ma ina
dim-ti ú lal-la-ra-a-ti
25. sal-egi-ri šáh-ba-a-ni ̲ šé-du nu-
ush-gul-e-en
26. ša ru-ha-tum li̲b-ba-sa da-ma-
ma ú̲l i̲k-al-la2
27. šá-ab gäšan an-na-ge ta-me-a-bi 3
28. sal-egi-ri šáh-ba-a-ni ̲ šé-du
29. ta me-a-bi nu me-a-bi
30. ša ib-sa-a ú̲l ib-sa-a
31. ud-de... mu-un-na-ab-ir-ra-sù
32. [āmi ša... ]nam uh-la-aš-si
33. gig-e... mu-un-na-ab-zaš-la-
a-sù
34. ...[mùši ša... ] uš-ta-ba-ra-sì
35. šáh-ba-ni...
36. mu-uš-túg-pi (?).....

23-24. What said she to her with tears
and wailing?
25-26. The heart of the lady restrains
not moaning.
27. The heart of the queen of heaven
what (said it unto her, etc.)
28. The heart of the lady restrains not
moaning.
29-30. That which was should not
have been.
31-32. On the day when..... they
brought to her,
33-34. On the night when with......
she was satiated,
35. Her heart........
36. Her ear...........

K. 5188 + 8481 Rev.

4. à...
5. in-nin....
6. ḫe-im....
7. d-innini....
8. dín-gir ni-du in....
9. a ù... ma
10. ...UD NI mu...
11. a... ge TAR azag-ga......
12. na...ŠAB pár-ra ir... 
13. ...su ib-ba bur-ra.....
14. túg nam-nin-ni na-ām...
15. te-di-ik be-lu-tim... .
16. šu... na-ni zu-zu... .
17. i-dé-ni dūb-bi zi......
18. i-ni-sa e-ki-a....

1. Cf. no 73, obv. 19.
2. Cf. SBH. no. 36, obv. 15-16.
3. Var. has lines 27. 28 as one line.
This tablet, together with the one published as no. 196, was purchased from a London dealer, who claims to have received them from an Arab of Bagdad. Both belong to the same class of literature and to the same period as those published by Mr. King in Cuneiform Texts, vol. XV, and by Dr. Radau in BE. XXXIX, and in the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume. Both texts have been tampered with by some thievish person who attempted to mend them with clay and to complete the lines with cuneiform signs. When the tablets arrived at the Ashmolean Museum, they had the appearance of being in a perfect state of preservation. I have of course removed the modern restorations. The tablet published under this number (195) apparently contains two hymns to Nergal (lines 1-13) and (15-18). The introductory hymn to Nergal I take to mark the occasion of the coronation of a king and a prayer for the prosperity of the land. The second hymn to Nergal I take to mark the occasion of the end of a drought or famine caused by the god of summer heat.

2. Here called Ninsubur.
3. If the text contains the name of an ancient king, I have been unable to discover it. dagal-4ninsubur in line two would be a good personal name, but I know of no king by this name.
1. My lord, breath of life of the land, messenger of Anu,
2. In wide E-anna, oh Ninsubur, cause me to seize a sceptre of lapis lazuli.
4. [This] shall Anu in heaven's centre grant.
5. [This] shall Enlil decree as fate.
6. The faithful ewe nourish her lamb, the faithful goat nourish her kid.
7. The faithful mother nourish her child.
8. Let the folds be built, the stalls be erected.
9. Thy... the stalls....
10. Splendour....
11. Thy terrible name of itself the soul (?)....
12. Like a mighty man thou crushest disobedience.
13. The foreign lands thou subduest; of the regions their bar thou art.
14. Heron, oxlike, restoring the banquets, who like a cow [is compassionate]
15. In the house of Meslam when thou sittest,
16. There is rejoicing, gladness of heart, fulness of joy.
17. The land altogether bows at thy feet (?)
22. bar SUD-a SUD-ma-ām
23. nam-kal-gal-zu an ab-ba-ta-e-a
24. e nigin igi-im-mi-nigin
25. ["né-unu"]-gal nam-kal-gal-zu sa-l bal-e
26. ki-gal-bi igi-im-na-an-āg
27. nam-ur-sag-zu uku-e im-mi-zu-me
28. a-a-su 4en-lil-li ki-gal-bi igi im-ma-an-āg
29. nam-ur-sag-zu uku-e im-mi-zu
30. ur-sag uku-e sil-sil dingir-kūr-ra nigin
31. ki-bal-e ... PEŠ ba-ni-aš ...
32. "né-unu-gal uku-e sil-sil dingir kūr-ra nigin ...
33. šag (?) dib-ha-ba tú-ur-bi-sā (?) bul ...
34. an-gub-na sā-bal-da nu-um ...
35. "né-unu-gal šag (?)-dib-ba tú-ur-bi ...

---

36. dū sir
37. ur-sag nigin šār (?)-ra maš ...
38. AL igi im-ši ...
39. BAD ...
40. UD ...
41. unum-e da-gub-bi-mèn an-gub me-e ...
42. ki-el ga-ša-an an-na ...
43. ga-ša-an-mèn nigin tug (?) mu-mèn dé-im dug-e

1. kigal refers here to the under-world.
2. The text in 1. 35 has clearly KI (?).
3. an-gub-na, perhaps for angubbana and for an-gub as a title of gods, v. CT. XXIV 24, 67; XXV 6, 15.
44. "Let the heart repose", let the soul repose.
45. May the gods, the Anunnaki, the messengers (?) repose.
46. The lord the water of the earth has restored.

47. A song
48. Of Nergal.

CLXXXVI

The tablet published here is a psalm (ki-sub) to Innina, daughter of Sin. ki-sуб is a term applied to a psalm or to sections of a long liturgy (as in Bab. III, pl. XVI), to designate them as songs attended by prostrations. It is evident from the contents of a section of an ancient liturgy called the ninth ki-sub of the composition (Sum. Gram., p. 197, 21) that ki-sub refers to adoration rather than to wailing. The obverse has been almost completely defaced, only a few phrases being intelligible towards the end of a section which ends at the bottom of the obverse. The reverse, although in a fair state of preservation, offers great epigraphical difficulty, so that I have not attempted to translate it. Here again, as in No. 195, Nergal is prominent, and we may perhaps conclude that these two tablets come from CutTit, an unknown site. Here Nergal is called high priest (en), as in OBI 128, and great lord of the world, and it would seem from line 16 that he was patron of flocks. In line 20 we have a reference to the religious supremacy of Nippur. "In the mountain of Nippur they bow down", and in line 21 to the "Mountain where the sun sets". Line 21 mentions Sumer, whose needs are restored. In line 24 we have an interesting reference to the aged among the dark-headed people. Line 31 is intelligible:
"Divinity of begetting, divinity of procreation (?) thou art.
For ever thou exercisest love."

1. This is the first instance in Sumerian where we have the intermediate step between dingir (diňir) and dimmer, i.e., digir> diňir> diworm> dimmer. Here the sign PI clearly stands for a sonant w, and tends to invalidate my argument, Sum. Gram., p. 38, that PI represents the surd w.
2. Cf. RADAUS, BE. XXIX, no 1, II 7.
4. Cf. CT. XV, 32 end, and SBP. 286.
5. The sign is clearly sū (not tūg ?) employed in the phrase "ŠU-mal.
6. nin masculine, as in line 1.
Obverse.

1. iZa d'g. ........
2. e.....
3. nam-ursag 4-
4. a'gu-la gi. ....
5. a'en-lil a'nin-lil-bi mu-na....
6. nig-su stil-la (?)-bi igi........
7. mu-ta-an 2 ab-es sag-li. ....
8. gal-su 'ui-bi-ba du gub-bi. ........
9. ... 'u-pi-el 'u-ma-h. ........
10. a'en-lil a'nin-lil-bi a'nin-si-in-[na 3. ....
11. ..... ki. mu-na

Reverse.

12. en a'né-unu-gal-ra ta-da é-da. ....
13. a'en-lil a'nin-lil-bi mu-na-an-sum-mu....
14. en-gal kür-ra-ka mi-ni-in-tu-ri. ........
15. giš-ma siliš 'ga sag-bi-gim sù-ùr sù-šub-bé....
16. šurim PA dugud ana gukkal hu-ul-ud hu-um-ga-ni
17. û-mu-un kalam-ma ? ? ? BE?
18. mà-a gig a-rā giš-ig giš ? -ga-ba-ka ? mà mà
19. â-mu-tu 3 uṯ-ûr ? ? me-gim igi... ra....
20. kûr nibru-(ki)-sû nu-um-si-ni-ib-gâl-la-iš
21. kûr ki utu-sûš udu nu-gâl-ba an-bi-li ti-ir šu-ni. ....
22. ki-7-en-gi laš-bi ni-gur-gûr....
23. uku saq-gig-ga ãg-ga....
24. zî-ba nigin si-sî nam-ab-ba
25. gir-bi šu-silim dingir-ra-ni giš-de-a zî šu.... silim
26. garza giš-sa-a da-e-rî kûr-šû šu. ........
27. a'né 7-unu-gal luqal utu-suš...
28. a'en-lil a'nin-lil-bi saq-surim mu-ni....

1. Written saq-ur.
4. Note the form of the sign.
5. See SAK. 82, note d.
6. So the sign gir has been transcribed. The value né, according to the syllabars belongs to the sign PIRK, later confused with GIR. The reading né must be considered extremely doubtful, and has been introduced to explain the late form nergal.
A LITURGY TO NINTUD, GODDESS OF CREATION

Ashmolean Prism.

The object published under this number, although in bad condition, is nevertheless of great value in the history of liturgical composition. The prism is four-sided, eight inches high, and each of the four faces four inches wide. A small hole, a half inch in diameter, pierces the prism from top to bottom at the centre, so that the object could be turned upon a spindle as it was read. As will be seen from the text, the edges are all worn away, and it is not unlikely that the object has served some more practical purpose than as a prayer-book in the ancient temple. The prism contains about 145 lines, divided into eight sections called kištum, precisely as the ancient Enlil liturgy of Nippur published by me in Babyloniaca, vol. III, 241 ff. Each section of this liturgy ends with the same refrain, which, according to my interpretation, refers to the creation of man and woman, the Biblical Adam and Eve.

The occasion which gave rise to the composition appears to have been the coronation of a patesi king of Keš. The goddess of Keš being Nintud (a form of Ninlil), the goddess of childbirth, it is natural that the liturgy of a patesi of Keš should be formed upon the mythological and theological concepts which had attached themselves to this divinity. Its fragmentary remains lead us to infer that the liturgy would have given valuable information concerning the Sumerian ideas of the creation of animate nature. From the few lines preserved on an Assyrian copy of a hymn to Nintud of Keš (no. 95), we gain a faint idea of the poetry which characterized this cult.

1. For this title see DE GENOUILLAC, TSA., p. xxviii.
2. Probably for ki-aga = rāmu.
3. Sic! without dingir.
4. Cf. also nos. 102 and 107.
Kes, like Dir, appears to have been a locality either near to Kiš or a part of Kiš, east of Babylon, the site of modern Al'imer. Kes and Kiš occur side by side in the Stele of Maništusu and the Code of Hammurabi, and are never confused. According to a passage in my Sum.-Bab. Psalms, p. 21, 74, the temple in Kes was called Ekisigga. Kes was the centre of the cult of Nintud, and Kiš of Zamama, whose temple bears the name Ekisibba. Nintud is a form of Ninlil of Nippur; in other words she is the Ninlil of Kiš, where her character as goddess of begetting was emphasized. Hammurabi appeals to her as the begetting mother, Code 44, 42. As the goddess who created mankind she appears as Aruru, King, Creation I 134, 21. According to a tablet published by Dr. Pinches in PSBA., 1911, pl. XI, Ninlil or Belit šili had seven names for seven different localities. Here Nintud is connected with di-el-li, and Ninhursag with Kes. di-el-li may be an error for ki-en-gi-ra in this Prism. Ketti would be for Kešti, in which case Kes and Keštu would be possibly differentiated forms of the same word. Ninmah, another epithet of Ninlil as the goddess of the temple Emah in Babylon, has the title ha'isat halaṭi, "she who bestows life ", R.A., 8, 60, 1, 32.

Thus we see that Sumerian theology attributed the creation of mankind and living things to the earth-god and his consort Enlil and Ninlil, in this capacity called Nintud, "lady of begetting ". It is, therefore, extremely unfortunate that this prism secured for the University of Oxford by a generous patron has not been more perfectly preserved. Not only is it important for its bearing upon Sumerian religion, but this fine specimen of the manner of arranging classical liturgies is as yet our only important religious text from Kes. The variants and restorations are taken from a tablet in Constantinople, belonging to the Nippur Collection, numbered 1992, and copied by me with the permission of Dr. Hilprecht.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. I</th>
<th>Col. I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. [. . . nam]ta-ab-ê</td>
<td>1. [Nintud from . . .] has sent forth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. [. . . na]m-ta-ab-ê</td>
<td>2. [Mother Nintud from . . .] has sent forth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. . . ?-la-ê-dug ib(?)-ta-ab-ê</td>
<td>3. [. . . . . . . . .] has sent forth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. . . umun kür-ra igi mi-ni- ib-il-il</td>
<td>4. [Unto Nintud (?)] the lord of the world lifted his eyes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. . . umun ni-ha mu-na-gûr- gûr</td>
<td>5. . . . . the lord exalted in glory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. . . il-la-gim šar-gim mu-na ?</td>
<td>6-9?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. . . . mu- na- ni- ib ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The only argument for the identification of Kiš and Kes is the fact that K. 13672, a variant of CT. XXV 26, 116 has Kiš for Kes.
8. \( \text{maš} \) \( \text{bi} \)
9. \( \text{ab- bi} \)
10. \( \text{gub- bi} \)
11. \( \text{bi-ta? da im-ma- an-sur} \)
12. \( \text{mà-mà? UD al-mà- mà} \)
13. \( \text{kalam-mà-bi anšu-kùr šurub-bak} \)
14. \( \text{tal kalam-mà-bi anšu-kùr šurubbak} \)
15. \( \text{da mà-a an-da gù-là-a} \)
16. \( \text{da mà-a kùr-ra sàg-ila- bi} \)
17. \( \text{a harsag-gim sìg-ga} \)
18. \( \text{én-\textit{HAR-}ki-gim rib-ba galu si-in-ga an- tòm-mu} \)
19. \( \text{ur-sag-ki ñìššir-gi-gim rib-ba} \)
20. \( \text{ama si-in-ga an-û-tud} \)
21. \( \text{nin-bi} \)\( ñìntud-gim rib-ba-a^{2} \) \( \text{ra} \)
22. \( \text{a-ba er-mu-ni} \) \( \text{in-} \) \( \text{du š}^{3} \)
23. \( \text{[ki-\textit{sub}]}^{4} \) \( \text{gù- ñìsh- a-kam}^{5} \)
24. \( \text{[... keš-]-(ki) dug-ga-dù-a} \)
25. \( \text{én-\textit{HAR-}ki dug-ki dug-ga-dù-a} \)
26. \( \text{nun-gim an-na dirig-ga} \)
27. \( \text{azag-gim-[rib]-si-ri-[ge?]^{6}} \)
28. \( \text{na-gim tal-kùr-ra} \)

10. \( \text{stood.} \)
11. \( \text{from its... with... he poured out.} \)
12. \( \text{builded... builded.} \)
13. \( \text{their land the horse of Shurruppak.} \)
14. \( \text{the dark-headed people their land the horse of Shurruppak.} \)
15. \( \text{[In... ] grew up, with heaven it rivalled.} \)
16. \( \text{[In... ] grew up, in the mountain lifted its head.} \)
17. \( \text{as the mountains gleaming.} \)
18. \( \text{As \textit{EN-HAR} a form let man bear.} \)
19. \( \text{Their strong one like Ninib in form.} \)
20. \( \text{a mother may beget.} \)
21. \( \text{Their lady like Nintud in form} \)
22. \( \text{Who the wailing shall begin?} \)

---

23. \( \text{A prayer Section one.} \)
24. \( \text{in Keš well builded.} \)
25. \( \text{in \textit{En-HAR-ki dug-ki} well builded.} \)
26. \( \text{like... in heaven passing.} \)
27. \( \text{like the holy in form beautiful.} \)
28. \( \text{like... lighting humanity.} \)

---

1. Cf. \textit{Radau, Miscel., no. 17, 10.}
2. Var. omits.
3. Lines 21–22 form one line on Var.
4. Var. has for \( \text{ki-\textit{sub}} \) passim. For \( e = \text{kabù} \) v. \textit{Sum Gr. 212.} Const.
5. Var. \( \text{e' kam-ma, ‘first prayer’}. \)
6. \( a \) is last sign on Var.

---

1575 has a liturgical note \textit{e’dinannar}, ‘prayer to Nannar’. 

---
29. gim ki-a-ta sur-ra
30. gimmur-du ninda-ib-gim gün-nun-na
31. bi-ta libiš kalām-ma
32. bi-ta zid ki-en-gi-ra
33. ligir-gal an-e us-sa
34. da-gal an-e us-sa
35. -gal an-e us-sa
36. lāl us-[sā]

Col. II
1. bad an-ki...
2. abzu
3. dingir kiš-(ki)
4. ṣen-il-li... zarg
5. ama ṣin-tud es-bar (?)...
6. ē kes-(ki)... na...
7. én-HAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu ši-[in-ga-an-tum-mu]
8. ur-sag-bi ḫās-sīr-[gi-gim rib-ba]
9. ama ši-in- ga-an-ū-tud
10. nin-bi ṣin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra[ab- ba] er [mu-ni-in-duš]

Col. II
1. heaven and earth...
2. the nether-sea...
3. god of Kiš...
4. Enlil...
5. Mother Nintud decision...
6. Temple of Keš...
7. Like EN—HAR a form may man bear.
8. Their strong one like Ninib in form.
9. ... a mother nī-šē-heget.
10. Their lady like Nintud in form (shall be). Who the wailing shall begin?

11. gū- min-kam
12. ē an-šū gām-du ki-šū...
13. ē an-šū gasan... ki-šū ninna...
14. ē an-šū... ki-šū lu...
15. ē an-šū... ki-šū gir (?)....

Section two.
12. The temple above a vase (?) is, beneath... is.
13. The temple above, the queen... beneath fifty....
14. The temple above... is, beneath... is.
15. The temple above... is, beneath... is.

1. So Var. clearly.
2. Cf. RADAU, Miscel., no. 16, 4.
3. Var. an-ni.
4. Here ends Col. I of Var.

Babylonian Liturgies.
16. The gates above like..... are fixed, beneath..... are.
17. The temple above like a dragon blazes, beneath like the Sun.....
18. The temple above like the Sun arises, beneath like the Moon....
19. The temple above like a mountain is, beneath a cavern is.
20. The temple above in heaven and earth thrice..... is.
21. Like EN-HAR may man a form bear.
22. Their strong one like Ninib in form, 23. May..... a mother beget.
24. Their lady like Nintud in form shall be. Who the wailing shall begin?

Section third.
Behold the city, the habitations too behold! Who therein shall dwell?

The temple of Keš (and) the city see! Who therein shall [dwell?]

Therein their heroic ones it will direct aright (?) 

To herald decision it will...

The temple the oxen and sheep... like one ox...

The cedars..... messengers divine.

The temple the oxen, all of them, shall...

The temple the sheep, all of them, shall....

With...wood the boat of the god [he made?]

With uškarina-wood the... of god...
Col. III.

1. giš A-TUD-GAB-LIŠ... dingir...
2. ḫar-sag-da an-da šīg,..............
3. én-ḪAR-(kī)-gim rib-ba [galu ši-in-
  ga-an-tūm-mu].
4. ur-sag-bi ḫāš-sir-[gi-]gim rib-ba [galu ši-in-
  ga-an-tūm-mu].
5. [ama ši-in-]gim rib-ba-ra ra a-ba er-mu-ni-in-dub].


7. gis A-TUD-GAB-LIŠ... dingir...
8. ḫar-sag-da an-da šīg,..............
9. é................
10. é................
11. ḫar-sag-da an-da šīg,..............
12. é................
13. ḫar-sag-da an-da šīg,..............
14. é................
15. é................
16. é................
17. é................
18. é................
19. é................
20. é................
21. [ki-sub gù-lam-kam-ma]
22. [ki-sub gù-lam-kam-ma]

A prayer. Fifth section.

1. Var. la.
2. Var. omits na-an.
3. Var. lúlim-e.
4. Var. gá.
5. Var. gi.
6. Ama is the first sign on the variant in this line.
7. Var. é.
23. Like a furious wild-ox on the high lands, it has been placed.

24-29. Only traces of lines.

30. [En-AR-ki] may man bear the form.

31. [Their strong one like Ninib in form,]

32. [May a mother beget].

Col IV

1. Their lady like Nintud in form (may be). Who the wailing shall begin?

Col IV

2. Section sixth.

The seventh section is too badly damaged to yield a connected sense.

The refrain at the end agrees with that of the preceding sections.

1. The lines on Col. III were incorrectly numbered on plate LXVII. I estimated the illegible sections too high, but was able to number the lines correctly from the variant.
23. \( g\bar{u} \) \( \text{imin-kam-ma} \)

Of the eighth and last section only a few traces of lines remain.

**CLXXXVIII**

K. 2759. Fragment from the end of the reverse of the third tablet of the series \( d\bar{u}g-\bar{a}m \) \ldots \ldots ., not otherwise known.

1. \( \ldots \ldots \text{ga-an-}d\bar{u}g \text{ mu-lu} \ldots \ldots \)

2. \( \ldots \ldots \text{bi (?)} \text{ga-an-}d\bar{u}g \text{ mu-lu} \ldots \ldots \)

3. \( [\bar{a}-qim] \text{ga-an-}d\bar{u}g \text{ a-ba ba-ra-}\bar{e}-\bar{e} \text{ } a[\bar{s}u-\bar{b}-\bar{b}i] \)

4. \( \text{a-ki-ni-lul-si} \text{ man-nu us-sa a-}h\bar{u}-\text{lap sa na-du-u} \)

5. \( \text{ur}\bar{u}-\text{zi-mu ga-an-}d\bar{u}g \text{ a} \)

6. \( \bar{e}-\text{an-na ub} \text{ imin ga-an-}d\bar{u}g \text{ a} \)

7. \( \text{har-sag} \text{ kalam-ma} \text{ ub imin ga-an-}d\bar{u}g \text{ a} \)

8. \( \text{etur-kalam-ma} \text{ ub imin ga-an-}d\bar{u}g-\text{a} \)

1. \( \text{ub} \) in these passages refers apparently to the seven stages of the temple tower, but the term \( \text{ub} \), "direction, region", does not seem to describe the meaning of a stage of a tower. Moreover all the names in lines 6-8 are those of temples, not ziggurats, or towers. The seven \( \text{ub} \) occur also after the name of the temple \( \text{e-PA} \), temple of Ningirsu at Lagash, v. SAK. 250. An \( \text{e-PA} \) at Umma on the inscription of Lugalannatum, published by \( \text{Sch} \) in the Comptes Rendus of the French Academy (Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres), 1911, after page 318. In the latter case \( \text{ub} \) does not follow \( \text{e-PA} \). Unless we infer that in each of these cases the name of the temple includes the tower for which no separate name existed, the reference cannot be made to apply to the stages of the tower. The precise cosmological and architectural implication of the seven \( \text{ub} \) remains unknown. Note that in the earliest reference to \( \text{e-PA} \) at Lagash, SAK, p. 2 AIV 2, the seven \( \text{ub} \) do not yet appear, so that they probably represent some later addition. For \( \text{ub} = \text{gepar} \), 'stage' of a tower, see No. 207 II 14.

his maid now stands not forth.
10. ša am-tu iz-si-su-šu a-mat-su-ul iz-
[za-az-su]  11. He whose psalmist 2 stood forth for him, his psalmist now stands
11. la-bar-bi gub la-bar-bi nu-gub a-ha not forth. Who shall escape? How
ba-ra-[ê-ê a šub-bi] long! he that is cast down.

12. me-e ur-ri gin3  12. I am become a foe
šal-šu nis-ḫu dug-âm

CLXXXIX

LAMENT OF INNINI FOR TAMMUZ

Sm. 1368 (HAUPT ASKT. 418) + K. 6849 = BA. V 681. The beginning of the
text has been restored from ZIMMERN, Kultlieder No. 26 Obv. III 3 to III 9, where
the text ceases to be a variant of Sm. 1368. The text is especially interesting
because of the clear reference to the drowning of Tammu-in the Euphrates,
and the descent of Innini to the gate of hell, guarded by the demon who car-
ried Tammuz away to the lower world. In VAT 611 + 612 + 1371 Obv. II 15 (ZIM-
MERN 26) begins a section of a Tammuz liturgy, which after line 17 is interrupted by
a considerable break. When the text of Col. III begins to be legible, the third line
is identical with line 6 of K. 6849, but line 2 of VAT. 611, etc., does not agree with
K. 6849, 3.

Obv.
2. ma7................
3........................
4. ama kala-a-ka (?)........................  4. The mother of the hero

1. Amtu is here a religious title, prob-
ably a priestess or devotee of Ishtar.
The same function of the amtu appears
in a Sumerian text of the Nippur Collec-
tion in Constantinople.
2. This passage is important, since it
proves that psalmists assisted at the ser-
vices of private penance.
3. The same catch-line occurs in SBH.
50,32 but the section preceding this line
in SBH. 50 does not agree with K. 2739.
Compare CT. XV 24, 9 urû-ma ur-ri
gin “To my city I am become hostile.”
5. The cattle (?) ........................................
6. "A mother thou art. The cow for the
calf moans not; oh give heed.
7. The cow for the calf [lowed not.]
[Oh give heed.]
8. Thy child [the gallu demon will not
give up to thee].
10. The lord of destruction [will not
yield him to thee].
12. The slaying lord [will not yield him up to thee].
14. The mother of the hero in the plain
[unto the lord came?]
16. In Arallu, in the plain [unto the lord
she came?]
18. "He of the loud cry, the gallu
demon, me why has he robbed?"

1. VAT. 611 omits.
2. K. 6849, mar.
3. So ASKT. 118 rev. 4 and K. 6849,9. Haüpl's text has here, \[i.e.,
nig-[si-ga ?]. VAT. 611, si-ge.
4. K. 6849, omits ll. 13 f. VAT. 611,
dag-ge. For the däiku who slew Tam-
muz, v. SBH. 68,12.
5. Cf. BA. V 674, 1 (?).
6. VAT. 611 omits lines 15-17. Cf. AO. 4331 Obv. II in Thureau-Dangin's
Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello.
7. Cf. SBH. 68,12.
8. In the Tammuz liturgies two kinds of gallu are mentioned.
In this text the gallu appears as the
3. In the flood of the bank of the Euphrates [why hast thou destroyed] him from me?

5. My womb he opened, he my husband.

7. My lap he opened, he my son.

slayer of Tammuz, who in SBP. 314, 26f. conducts Bêlît-séri to Hades, and guards the gates of hell, 312, 12.

In Scheil [+ Zimmern], Tammuz, Obs. II, Tammuz has seven gallâ as his attendants, who wail for him, and Const. 2266 rev. 20 mentions seven ligir-si = susapinu, who bring Innini to Tammuz. It is probable that the seven ligir-si of Innini are identical with the seven gallâ of Tammuz, or his attendants at his marriage. susapinu means, "attendant of a bridegroom".

1. girsi, loan-word from an original gir-sig. Tammuz is referred to as 6-da-mu sâg-ga umun me-ir-si(g) = [ûl] Tam-muz] dumka bel gir-su-[u], SBH. 86 rev. 14 + 134 b 28 f. = SBP. 160, 14. In line 3 page 20 of this volume we have the same god referred to as Umun-mu-zi-da, i.e., Ningišzida ina lînit gi-ir-si-e (≡ me-ir-si), "on the borders of the flood". The meaning "inundation, flood of fresh water, waters of the undersea", I infer from mir-sig = urpatu, "stormcloud", Br. 8414, and duḫḫadu sa mirsi following duḫḫadu ša šanni, "to make oil abundant", in K. 4339 rev. 16 [CT. 12, 50]. Here mirsu evidently refers to some beneficent element in nature. Further, perhaps here mir-sig = šarīllu (rain-storm?) following mir-mir-ra = mehû, II, R. 31 c 8, and Gula (= Ninkaraka) has the title e-mir-si-ga, i.e., bêlît girse (?), perhaps "lady of fresh water", referring to this goddess (mother of Tammuz) as goddess of healing, CT. 25, 3, 51. It is tempting to connect the element gir-su, in the name of the well-known god Ningir-su, with the word me-ir-si; the name would then be practically identical with the title of Tammuz bêl-girsê "lord of the flood", referring in any case to a deity of vegetation who sends fresh waters, and in this aspect connected with the Ea group. For Ningirsu placed in the Eridu pantheon, v. CT. 25, 16, 43 = 29, 93. References to Tammuz who perishes in the floods are, SBP. 312, 10 and 334, 1 ff. The latter passage justifies the supposition that in the ceremony an image of Tammuz was cast upon the river in a little boat.

2. Cf. Zimmern, K.-L., no. 1, rev. I, a-me3-dumu-si-diab-dib-dib, "The flood has seized away Tammuz".
K. 3356, published by Macmillan in BA. V 679, and collated by me. The transliteration is taken from my own copy. The tablet belongs to the beginning of a long Tammuz liturgy, and represents both Tammuz and Innini as departed from the earth. It is possible that K. 3356 belongs to the same series as no. 143, which is to be placed somewhere near the end of a liturgy.

6. . . . . . ka-naq-gâ-ge ta
7. mu-mu mu-ud-na-su tu
8. nin-ri dam sîb-ba ta
9. dam-ma-ra6 qiî-ga-ba ta
10. diingir dumu si-îr-tûr-qa-ge'îta
11. à?si-ib-ba-ge ga si-ib-ba-[ge]
12. sâb-ba à si-ib-ba-ge ga kû-kû-da-
13. u-me-a-am dumu-zi ne-šu8 dîg-ga
lûg-lûg-ga . . . . .

CC

LAMENT TO TAMMUZ AND INNINI

9. ù li-bi-irl-ra ma-da te mu-[un- 
10. u gal-lu-à qa-ti mi-n[am 
11. kâ li-bi-ir-ra-ha ga-an-gub a mu .
12. ina ba-ab gal-li-e lu-uš'-siz . . . .

6. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
7. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
8. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
9. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
10. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
11. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
12. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
13. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

2. Or us (?)
3. Read ta-[šû].
4. Cf. CT. 15, 18, 14 f.
5. So the text. [For ra emphatic vide § 163].
6. The mother of Tammuz is mention-
ed also in RA. 8, 164, obv. II 19, dumu 
dû-si-îr-tûr-ra-ge, for which the variant
VAT. 617 has dumu si-îr-tûr-ra.

Babylonian Liturgies.
14. Šaḇ-ša ne-taš ni-gūr2-šu mu-ta in-kūr(?)
14. Oh shepherd that sleepest, thou that liftest thyself up, how long? thou that art estranged.

15. a-dumu-zi-ta ni-gūr-a ta-šū
15. Tammuz, thou that liftest thyself up, how long?

16. a-gūr-ru-a ā la-ba-da kūm3 ta-šū]
16. He that carried food, now eats not food with (his brothers). How long?

17. ga-gūr-ru-a ga la-ba-da-ūm ta-šū
17. He that carried milk, drinks not milk with (his brothers). Why art thou fallen?

---

### Rev.

1. ni-gūr-ru-a ni-gūr-[ru-a]............. 1. Thou that liftest thyself up, thou that liftest thyself up...
3. e-si gīm kīn............................... 3. For kūn in the sense of eat, v. Boissier, DA. 21,12; — summa ina mursi-su ipallāh itebbi uššaš akāla ikkal mē isatti kusapa ikassap buri-šu ilki imāt, “If in his illness he fears, gets up and sits down, eats food, drinks water, breaks bread and takes his bowl, he will die”. [The line was transliterated by Virolepaul in Bab. 114,23]. Here kusapa ikassap is written PADM-KUM. The text has KUM + ŠE, i.e., gāz. These signs interchange, v. IV R.29 * C rev.a 20, kūm-mā, var. kum-mā. A parallel passage is Scheil, Tammuz rev.II 10 f. = Zimmer, Kultlieder p. 4 b 19 f.
5. elim-ma........................................ 5. For .kūmīn the sense of eat, v. Boissier, DA. 21,12; — summa ina mursi-su ipallāh itebbi uššaš akāla ikkal mē isatti kusapa ikassap buri-šu ilki imāt, “If in his illness he fears, gets up and sits down, eats food, drinks water, breaks bread and takes his bowl, he will die”. [The line was transliterated by Virolepaul in Bab. 114,23]. Here kusapa ikassap is written PADM-KUM. The text has KUM + ŠE, i.e., gāz. These signs interchange, v. IV R.29 * C rev.a 20, kūm-mā, var. kum-mā. A parallel passage is Scheil, Tammuz rev.II 10 f. = Zimmer, Kultlieder p. 4 b 19 f.

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### CCI

This dialogue between Tammuz and Ininni is published by Dr. David W. Myrman, Babylonian Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. 1, no. 6. In this liturgical dialogue it will be noted that Tammuz invariably addresses Istar as his sister, precisely as in the Manchester Text, IV 23, V 5, etc. Note, however, a trace of the figure Bēlit-šēri4, sister of Tammuz, I 7 mu-ti-na, where the name apparently no longer applies to her, but to Innini5. For my text I have made use of a more correct copy by Dr. Radou.

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1. nēta = nēda = nad, v. SBP. 337 n.15.
3. For kūn in the sense of eat, v. Boissier, DA. 21,12; — summa ina mursi-su ipallāh itebbi uššaš akāla ikkal mē isatti kusapa ikassap buri-šu ilki imāt, “If in his illness he fears, gets up and sits down, eats food, drinks water, breaks bread and takes his bowl, he will die”. [The line was transliterated by Virolepaul in Bab. 114,23]. Here kusapa ikassap is written PADM-KUM. The text has KUM + ŠE, i.e., gāz. These signs interchange, v. IV R.29 * C rev.a 20, kūm-mā, var. kum-mā. A parallel passage is Scheil, Tammuz rev.II 10 f. = Zimmer, Kultlieder p. 4 b 19 f.
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1. Uttering a discourse his sister was.
2. To the god of sunlight, her consort, she was (speaking),
3. The heavenly queen who brings the verdure in abundance,
4. Innina who brings the verdure in abundance.
5. « The sprouting things (?) abundance where ............... 
6. [His] consort .......... who abundance [bestows ?]
7. Innina .......... who abundance [bestows ?]
8. .............. to my [consort ?] ......................
9. « Oh heavenly queen, the verdure I will restore for thee.
10. Oh Innina, the verdure I will restore to thee.
11. « Oh brother, the verdure, where is it taken ?
12. Who has taken, who has taken ?

2. So radau. na-mu-e for na-me an emphatic particle.
3. Here Tammuz appears as the solar deity, apparently identified with Shamash; cf. Zimmern, Der Bab. Gott Tamûz, p. 17. His argument based upon K. 171 is, however, vitiated by the fact that K 171 is an extract from the great « God List », in which ( at any rate in its late form) the Adad group separates Shamash from Tammuz, see Zimmern, Zur Herstellung der grossen Götterliste, p. 116. See page 61 above.
7. in-nin = nin-ana, a synonym of gasan anna. Zimmern, Der Babyl. Gott Tamûz, p. 16, on the basis of SBP. 84,22 gasan a-na-a = îtu ɪštar şakât, interprets “the lofty goddess”. But for ana = šamû (a noun) cf. Sum. Gram., 89, n. 4, ininna-ka-ge, a form which proves innina to be a construct compound.
13. gu-bi ma-a-ra a-ba-a ma-i-ra-ta
14. SAL+KU-mu ri-a-bi [ga-mu-ra-gin]
15. d-ininni ri-a-bi [ga-mu-ra-gin]
16. šeš ri-a-bi-a ma-i-ra-ta
17. a-ba-a ma-ab-til-til a-ba-a ma-ab-til-til
18. gu-bi ma-a-ra a-ba-a [ma-ab-til-til]
19. SAL+KU-mu til-a-bi ga-mu-ra-gin
20. d-ininni til-a-bi ga-mu-ra-gin
21. šeš til-a-bi-a ma-i-ra-ta
22. a-ba-[a ma-]ab-tab-bi₁ a-ba-a ma-ab-tab-bi
23. gu-[bi ma-a-ra] a-ba-a ma-ab-bi-bi
24. SAL+KU-mu tab-ba-bi ga-mu-ra-gin
25. d-ininni tab-ba-bi ga-mu-ra-gin
26. šeš tab-ba-bi-a ma-i-ra-ta
27. a-ba-[a ma-ab-zi-]zi₁ a-ba-a ma-ab-zi-zi
28. gu-bi ma-a-ra a-ba-a ma-ab-zi-zi²
29. SAL+KU-mu zi-a-bi ga-mu-ra-gin
30. d-ininni zi-a-bi ga-mu-ra-gin

13. The plants from me who has taken? »
14. « My sister, that which is taken, I restore to thee.
15. Oh Innini, that which is taken, I restore to thee. »
16. « Oh brother, that which is taken, where is it transported?
17. Who has made an end thereof, who has made an end thereof?
18. The plants for me who has caused to perish? »
19. « My sister, that which perished, I will restore to thee.
20. Innina, that which perished, I will restore to thee. »
21. « Oh brother, that which perished, where is it gone?»
22. Who has taken, who has taken?
23. The plants from me who has sundered? »
24. « My sister, that which is taken, I will restore to thee.
25. Innini, that which is sundered, I will restore to thee. »
26. Oh brother, that which is taken, where is it transported?
27. Who has felled, who has felled?
28. The plants for me who has felled?
29. « My sister, that which is fallen, I will restore to thee.
30. Innini, that which is fallen, I will restore to thee. »

1. For tab, see Sum. Gr. 245.
2. Below this sign the scribe adds en.
   It is probable that this gloss indicates that zi is for zi-en < zi-em < sig = sa-


m > n would be a case of partial assimilation of m to the dental sibilant z (or s), v. §55 a.
31. šeš zi-a-bi-a ma i-ra-ta
32. a-ba-a ma-ab-tag-tag-a-ha-a ma-tag-
tag
33. gu-bi ma-a-ra a-ba-a ma-tag-tag
34. SAL–KU-mu tag-a-bi ga-mu-ra-gin
35. d’innini tag-a-bi ga-mu-ra-gin
36. šeš tag-a-bi-a ma i-ra-ta
37. a-ba-a ma gurún-gurún a-ba-a
38. gu-bi ma-a-ra a-ba-a ma-
gurún-gurún
39. SAL–KU-mu gurún-na-bi ga-
mu-ra-gin
40. d’innini gurún-na-bi ga-mu-ra-gin
41. šeš gurún-na-bi-a ma i-ra-ta
42. a-ba-a mu-da-an-nad a-ba-a mu-
da-an-nad
43. za-ra ḫen-da-an-nad ḫen-da-
an-nad
44. za-ra nitahlam 3 [mu] ḫen-da-
an-nad

1. The phonetic value of the sign IL ending in n (see 1. 39) is most likely gurun; gatun-na K. 4174 III 20 scarcely comes into consideration, since the sign is only apparently made up of ga + tun. The form of the ancient sign bears no resemblance to ga + tun, cf. REC. 105 with 447. My reading is conjectural.
2. ga appears as the preceptive of the first person when the writer wishes to express determination, vehement assertion of purpose. ḫen, ḫe, is employed with the first person in the expression of wish, desire. Cf. Sum. Gram. § 219.
3. For this reading v. King, ZA. XXV 302,10 US–SAL–DAM = gitlam, nitahlam < gitlam represents a hitherto undocumented phonetic change n > g or the reverse process of g > n § 51. The change was probably produced by partial assimilation n to ḫ.
45. dagal-usumgal 1-an-na  hen-da-an-nad  
46. ku-li 2 en-lil-[li-ge]  hen-da-an-nad  
47. šag-zi-ta-ê-a  hen-da-an-nad  
48. a bara-ga ri-a 3  hen-da-an-nad  
49. ni-gi-en mu-luša-ab mal-kam 4 mu-lu ša-ab mal-kam 4

1. ušum is written with the hieratic form of " מ" (so photograph) as in CT. XV 20.3.
2. So apparently the photograph. Cf. Bab. III 240,13. An unpublished seal bears the name of the owner ku-ku-ba-ni. It would appear then, that ku-ku > gulu (= ibru, friend) was a title of Tammuz, and that the name ku-ku-ba-ni really means "Tammuz-bani", ku-li also in Myhrman, 10 V 2.
3. ri-a < a-ri-a ; cf. na-izi kûr-ta ri-a "incense created in the mountain", Surpu IX 92.
5. This reference to the rising of Tammuz from the flood must be brought into connection with the difficult passage SBP. 308,10-15 (= Zimmern, Tamûzlieder 208, and cf. p. 214; see also Baudissin, Adonis und Esman, p. 106), "In his infancy in a sunken boat he lay, In his manhood in the submerged grain he lay". Here follows a reference to the storm-flood in which the god lay, and again (312,10) reference is made to the raging flood which brought him low [cf. Scheil II 47]. For the disappearance of Tammuz beneath the floods even more direct is the statement, 335 VI 23 ff., "He who upon the river was cast out". The descent of Tammuz into the flood, and his sleeping in the submerged grain, is naturally connected with the casting, of confined images of Adonis and Osiris upon the waters, and the throwing of the Adonis gardens into the sea (v. Baudissin, op. cit., 188). Note also that Istar, in her descent to Arallu in quest of Tammuz crosses the shining river, Bab. IV 21, 30. These references to the descent of Tammuz beneath the waters and his resurrection from the flood may refer to him as the sungod (see 1. 2) in his aspect of quickener of vegetation, whose descent into Hades at the summer solstice was represented as that of any ordinary mortal who journeyed to the lower-world beyond the western sea, where the sun himself passed into the nether-sea. His ascent from the flood would be at the winter solstice.
50. *mu-lu ša-ab-mu* sig rq-im-in-
dug-qā-ām

50. Oh lord my heart thou wilt
   rejoice.

51. *al nu-ag-ām* gūr dub-dub-ba-ān

51. The spade labors not, the granaries shall be heaped.

52. *še-gā nun-e sā-dūg* dug-qā-ām

52. Oh gracious prince, the regular offerings command.

53. *mu-an-kār še-ir* gūr sār-ra-ām

53. Possessions multiply (?), the granaries enrich.

54. *sab-e ab (?) sūg-sūg³ -ga-ām*

54. Oh shepherd, the *springing verdure* (? ) irrigate ».

55. *bal-bal-e d-ininna-ham*

55. A discourse of Innina.

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Fraser, *Adonis Attis and Osiris*, p. 195, regards the drowning of Tammuz and his rescue from the flood, as an act of sympathetic magic.

1. The sign is a peculiarly gunified form of *q* , i.e. *q* .
2. Uncertain.
3. So photograph.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

No. 10. Line 7 read zi for nam. Although the duplicates, SBH. 17 rev. 4; 20, 30; 23, 14, have bur-NAM-sar, yet bur-zi-sar is clearly the correct reading. K. 4638 (No. 185) is an interlinear duplicate of lines 6-8 = SBP. 86, 27-32, and this text has also zi, bur-zi-g) is translated by naptanu šakūtu in K. 4638, and by naptanu šakti in SBP. 86, 31. For zig = šakū, tall, high, v. Sum. Gr., p. 258. With the help of K. 9257 + 4638 we interpret SBP. 86, 30 f. as follows:—

bur-zi sar-ra 4-gibil ab-gal-la-ra

naptan šakū1 ana šalmutu išgibil abgalla

"In heating the lofty bowl, Gibil the all-wise one (magnifies thee) ".

Line 11 the sign is u-sar, cf. Thureau-Dangin Rec. 490. The Semitic translation is i-ši-tum; cf. usar = šettum, Br. 10139: šit-tum, Sm. 1086.

No. 11. The line drawn at the left edge is to be suppressed. Only the right hemistiches are preserved.

No. 12. K. 4215. Traces of a line at top of col. II, which is the upper edge; the lower edge is a broken surface.

No. 15. K. 9154 rev. is a duplicate of SBP. 124, 24–10. K. 3315 (no. 163) is a duplicate of SBP. 124, 19–24. K. 9154 rev. 3 has su-tu-ra-ta, after which correct the doubtful signs in SBH. 45, 26 = SBP. 124, 26 at-tir to su-tu. Lines 1-5 read (1) at-ta ši-ri-{ta...} (2) za-e diriq-ga (3) at-ta šu-tu-ra-a-ta (4) za-e lugal (5)...tim ba-su-u at-ta-ma šar-ra. Correct SBH. 45, 28 doubtful signs to ba-su-ū. SBP. 124, 28 read ba-su-ū. Line 6 probably hen-šed-de. Line 10. ša-du-u ra-bu-u iš enlil. Line 12, before é-kur read ana (?) or bit (?) ; cf. SBP. 126, 35. (13)...ra-g e. (15)...ša-du-u rabu-u, etc.


No. 47. On ki-du-[du ?], cf. no. 63 and VAB. IV 331. Line 4 is probably to be translated, "Third tablet of a song on the flute, a liturgy to..."

No. 41. The sign dim, SBH. 14, 13, appears to be confused with ba. K. 3343, 12 has a sign followed by -ri which I am unable to identify.

No. 43. Line 1 read 4-dumu-zi.

1. Var. ina naptan šakūti, where naptanu is regarded as feminine, naptanu apparently means "bowl, dish", originally.
No. 47. Line 11 is probably the end of the name of a series.... a'-gu-la-din-dig-ga.

On this tablet all the legible signs are the last on the right edge.

No. 51. Read mu-un-ga-sa-ra.

No. 55. In line 5 the sign bar before ū is to be suppressed. ū is a gloss on nu giving a variant reading ū-mu-un-zi-ṭūg, "may he repose".

No. 70. K. 9298. For correct copy see no. 92.

No. 71. Line 8 read tur-dāg-amas = No. 122,2 [v. under Corrigenda]. L. 10 read dumu-sag é-a-ge. For Nanā as daughter of Ea., v. Gudea, Cyl. A 2,16, "sister of Ningirsu and child begotten of Eridu". Lines 57-59 = SBH. No. 54 obv. 1-3. Rev. 1-3 = SBH. No. 54 obv. 4, 5, 7, hence SBH. No. 54 followed directly upon No. 27.

80. In line 10 read a-lum ša na-ah-ru u-ša-[nu-u], the city which the enemy submerged.

83. With rev. 5-8, é-ge-a... , dumu é-a... , nin-zi-da... , [nin]-gu-la... , compare SBH. 59,43-47.


101. Line 1 for kūr-me read aš (Br. 7373).


110. Obv. 3 read gis-ki gū-gū-ru. The interpretation p. 55 is uncertain.

117. Line 6 is a catch-line, and is separated from the preceding section by a cross line. The name of the series is to be read am-e amas-[a-na] = IV R. 53 a 7. ASKT. p. 125 has the same series indicated in the colophon. SBH. 130 begins with the name of this series, "the fold of the lord".

137. Line 5 for sal-la read dam.

139. Line 6 for bar read dingir. Line 16 for tur read dāg. The interpretation of

1. Nanā is probably a case of vowel harmony for Ninā. [SAYCE was the first to discover the identity of Ninā and Nanā]. Cf. SBP. 162,23 nin-zi-da a'-gašan ni-nā-a-(ki), with 210,11, nin-zi-da gašan-mu a'-na-na-a. So read also 114,31 and 258,20. See also 106, 13, nin-zi-da; [rubātum Kittum] : gašan [d'na-na-a] : bel-el-tu i-[u]-a. Also, nin-gu-la gašan-mu a'-na-na, SBH. 59,47 : K. 5157 rev. 13. Ninā is the virgin goddess, consort of Tammuz in the pantheon of Eridu, SBP. 162,23-25, corresponding to Innini and Tammuz in the Nippur pantheon, SBP. 152,19 f. Throughout Babylonian religion the goddess Nanā and Innini are usually kept apart, though both represent the same theological aspect. Nanā constantly follows Nebo and Tašmetum, who belong to the Eridu pantheon; v. SBP. 210,11 ; 258,20; 114,31 ; 106,13.

Babylonian Liturgies.
this line is doubtful. Line 21 at end read *ür-gim ba-idim-en*; at the beginning perhaps *halag-di* (? ?). «Alas, oh my god! how long thus shall there be wailing?».

146. K. 3026 obv. 10-20 can be restored from ZIMMERN., K.-L., 60 II 7-13.

10. [ub-ê..... bi]-sag1 *ub-e ba-da-ab-gam*²
11. [da-e..... bi]-sag1 *da-e ba-da-ab-gam*²
12. [si-dûq-ga gû-bi-de] *ûr-na³ ba-e si-sî⁴
13. [PA-sig-gû-bi-de] *mûr-gû ⁵ bar⁵ ra*
14. [sig-gû-gar-ra ur-bi [gû-mi-nî-înh mar ⁷]
15. [dam-ta nu-ar] *i-dê-mu-un-ma-mar*⁸
16. [dumu-ta nu-ar] *i-dê-mu-un-kar-mar⁹*
17. ............ i-lu mu-un-na-ab-bi
18. ............ i-lu mu-un-na-ab-bi⁹
19. [ê-sag-di tûb-ba] *ni-ib¹⁰ dar-
20. [uru-ba kashal-a-sû (?) mu-un-] *mar

131. Duplicate of IV R. 53 r. III 1-5.
137. Read K. 6503.
138. In line one ZIMMERN would supply before *kûr, a-ma-rû na-nâm*, and in line two before *sadi-i, a-bu-um-ma*. The idea would then be, ‘Lofty one, furious (?) who a deluge is; he has shattered the mountain’.

BA. V 630 forms a variant to lines 34 ff. [ZIMMERN].

5. Var. *gû*.
6. Var. *bar* (so read? Zim. sur!).
8. Var. *kûr*.
10. Var. *mi-ni-ib*. 

163. See Corrigenda to No. 15.


167. P. 70 read temples.

177. K. 2786 belongs to the same tablet as K. 2881, and I have given the complete text on plate LXIX. On page 74 l. 6 read ù-ta-ma-pad an tu-ra-na... L. 7, ù-ta-ma-pad. P. 75 l. 3, read amar not gu. Suppress note 1; also RA. 9,6 n. 81.

Translate, “Of the stalls, the young cattle I give to drink”; see RA. 9,6 n. 9.

The whole of tablet 186 belongs after line 10 p. 74.

Rev. 16-26 is a duplicate of CT. XV 7,7-17 (SBP. p. 10). Since CT. XV 7,22-27 = rev. 34-36, it follows that rev. 16-36 = SBP. 10,7-27, and SBP. 2, 18-21 fills in the gap between K. 2881 rev., and 2786 reverse. It is probable that SBP. 2 should be restored at the beginning from SBP. 10,7-20. Zimmern, K.-L. 25 VIII 35-53 is a duplicate of SBP. 10,7-27 and of SBP. 2 as far as line 11. Here called variant A. Zimmern, K.-L. 61 obv. is a duplicate of SBP. 10,7-14, called here variant B.

CT. XV 7,7-16 (= SBP. p. 10) is here restored from rev. 16-26.

16 (7). ud-dé e-ne-em an-na e-ne-em 7. The spirit is the word of Anu, and 
d-mu-ul-lil-lá-ri the word of Enlil.

8. The spirit of the angry heart of

Anu,

8. The spirit of the angry heart of

9. The spirit of the evilly-disposed heart

of Enlil,

9. The spirit of the evilly-disposed heart

of Enlil,

10. All of my consecrated temples has

destroyed;

10. All of my consecrated temples has

destroyed;

11. All of my consecrated cities has

afflicted.

11. All of my consecrated cities has

afflicted.

12. Fate has afflicted all my temples

with calamity.

12. Fate has afflicted all my temples

with calamity.

13. On high it raged and was not re-

strained (?)

13. On high it raged and was not re-

strained (?)

1. Page 74 note 1 refers to obv. 8-10.
2. This duplicate escaped me and was discovered by Zimmern.
3. Var. ri. Note that ri and ra mark the direct and indirect construct in the same manner as ge and ka; v. § 163.
4. mimma sumšu.
5. Var. gu-la-a-ri.
6. Var. omits.
7. Var. A VIII 41 agrees with this text. Var. B has sig im-me-[en-dūg-γa-ri].
ki-su-ni-zig nu-mu-un 1-da-si-zi

na-dizig-ga-bi-tu-ra mu-

called (?)

24 (15). Beneath it raged and was not with-

25 (16). bi lu-sa-a mu-ub-rig

In Rev. 6 read perhaps [nin-gu-] Gašan-mu4-na-na-a.

BEZOLD, Catalogue under K. 2786, indicated the connection of K. 2786 and 2881.

Read l. 8 asit-lá si-sá.

Page 76 read K. 9475.

See Corrigenda to No. 10.

See Corrigenda to No. 177.


Rev. 7 read a-[ba ta-] zu mu-un-zu, "Who comprehends thy form?"

On page 77 mention should be made of BEZOLD's note, Catalogue, p. 697.

Page 78, 17 read it-ta-ti (ZIMMERN). Page 79, 5 for zid read durun and line 6 it-ta-pal-sa. "In the dust she sat." [ZIMMERN].

Page 80 below, l. 12 SAB is uncertain. L. 13 read ši-ib-ba.

Fragment of a psalm. Rm. 2, 421.

Fragment of a Semitic hymn to Tammuz. K. 10742.

Fragment of an Ishtar liturgy. Note lines 3-6, mãš-sub-ha-su, dumu-sub-ba-
šu, mu-ud-našu-ba-su è-hul-a-su, "Because of the rejected kid, the rejected son, the rejected husband, the desolated house". K. 5653.

Fragment of an Ishtar liturgy. K. 11977.

Fragment of a litany. Note 1. 4 da-[mu ?]. K. 9338.

Fragment of a large litany of the alt of Ishtar. Three columns on each side. Col. I of observe entirely gone. Of the reverse only a few lines at the beginning of Col. V are preserved. K. 11130.

Obv. II

1. [sub-be še-ib-ê ... ki dé-en-]gi-gi 1.

2. [ma-a-bi ud-me-na-gim ma-] a-a di-di-in 3.

3. [nam è-hul-]è-la-bi er-ra? gi-gu mu-

ni-ib-zal-e 7

1. A prayer for the temple... that it

be restored.

2. Now (?) as in the days of old, where

shall I go?

3. For the desolated temple with tears

night (?) and day I am surfeited.

1. Var. omits.

2. Var. tar-a (!).

3. Var. A... ni-gar-nu-mu.....

Var. B... i-gál nu-mu-da-zi-zi.


b in these prefixes is purely euphonic, and interchanges with n before the root.

2. Eanna, temple of Erech, is here described as having seven dark chambers, as in No. 156.1 and SBH. 100, 34. The term describes the section of the temple known as the ziggurat or stage tower; v. II R. 30 a 20 $é-gé-par-imin = ziggurratum uruk$. [For DAK = bar, v. Br. 5222].

The name of the stage tower of Erech occurs as $gé-par-imin an-[na-ge?]$, SBH. 100, 34 $é-gé-par-[imin]$, No. 62.4; $é-gé-par-imin-bi$, No. 156.1. $é-gé-par$ at Sippar, SBH. 120, 12, is probably an epithet of some temple. Note that Eanna, Harsagkalama and Eturkalama, all temples of Innini in Erech, are described as having "seven regions" $(ub)$, p. 93. $ub$ and $gepar$ appear to be employed interchangeably for 'stage' of a tower. $gé-par = giparu$ certainly means, 'dark chamber', whence it follows that each stage of the tower contained a secret chamber. See finally Zimmern, K.-L. 39 obv. 4 f., $é-an-na ūs-ab-ba-sù$, 'for Eanna prostrated'; $gé-par-imin ūs-a-ba-sù$, 'for Geparimin prostrated'. On the general use of the word v. SBP. 240. Tammuz is said to depart from the $é-gé-par$, by which the ziggurat in Erech is certainly meant, SBP. 306, 41; $gé-par-ta ba-ra-ē-a$, 'From the secret chamber he has gone', Zim, K.-L. 35 r. I 10. See also K.-L. 26 II 15. It is possible that the word occurs in Messerschmidt, *Keilschrift-text aus Assur*, pl. 27, 4 $ki-pər$ of Nunamnir. The reading $ki-kisal$, by Luckenbill, *ASJL*. 28, 195, is difficult. For the value $par$ for Br. 5479, v. RA. 7,110 (Thubeau-Dangin).
Lines 20-28 are identical with no. 71,1-8 p. 43.

1. $\dot{e} = a$, water, also Zim. K.-L. p. 2 a 10. 22. Cf. $e-ga-a$, flood, CT. 19, 41 b 13.
3. Cf. Gudea, St. E 9,3 ; Cyl. A 19,7.
208. K. 5137, a single column tablet, broken across the middle; upper part of
the obverse and lower part of reverse preserved. A psalm [er-sag tug-mal] to
Enlil of the same kind as the lament to Ninlil, SBP. 256-9. The obverse begins with
the seven mighty names of Enlil, which are all translated into Semitic 1. Extracts of
the text were given by HAUP. ASKT. 181. See also BEZOLD, Catalogue, 693.

Obv.

1. [ni-tuk ma-ra šu-] gi-ba-an-si-ib
2. [ašaridu ısi] ga-ti ša-bat
3. [elīm-na ni-tuk me-] na-su
4. [kahtu ašaridu a-] di ma-tim
5. [u-mu-un kūr-kūr-ra-ge me-] na-su
6. [bēl mātāti] a- di ma-tim
7. [u-mu-un dūg-ga zi-dā] me-na-su
8. [bēlumāa kibīti kīttī] a-di ma-tim
9. [a-a ka-nag-ga] me-na-su
10. [bēl ma-tim] a-di ma-tim
11. [sīb sag-gig-ga] me-na-su
12. [re'ušal-maṭ kā-ša-di a-di ma-tim]
13. [i- dém ni-[ ] te-na me-na-su]
14. [ša-barīna] ra-ma-ni-su a-di ma-tim
15. [am] [erin-na sā-su] me-na-su
16. [kardu mušēsir um-na-ni-su a-di ma-tim]
17. [u-[šul-la] dūr-dūr me-na-su]
18. [ša a-laš si-r-ra-a-ti ṣal-lu a-di ma-tim]
19. [umun nibru-(kī)-a me-na-su]
20. [be-el ni-ip-pāt-ri a-di ma-tim]

1. See especially SBP. 292.
3. sirratu also in BOISSIER, DA. 7,16, mar sipri ša si-r-ra-a-ti itteruba, “A mes-
senger of rebellion shall enter”.
4. See! where we expect usalilu or ušasilu, after IVR. 21 * h k, v. Bab. II
183. The verb must be active. Read perhaps i-lu, “he who binds”, for i’ilu.
21. umun me-na-šu ur-ri kala-qa ma-da-zu il-lē

22. be-lum a-di ma-tim nak-ru dan-nu ıq-da-mar ma-ta-ka

23. ka-nag-zu ha-lam-ma-ge

24. ri (?) ı-ḫal-laḫ ma-at-ka

25. sud ụku ma-da-zu bir-

26. ma-]tim ruk-ti ni-śi ma-ti-ka ụ-sap-pi-ib

27. ki ū-su- mu-an-še-še

28. ma-ḫa-zu ụ-sad-me-im

29. bir- bir

30. ụ-sap-pi-ib

---

Rev.

1. [ila marduk bēl bēbīti] ik- ri- bi

2. [a-pap- nun-an-] ki-ge a-ra-zu

3. [ ila zar-pa-] ni-tum teš-li-ti

4. [mū-ši-]ib-ba-ša a zūr-zūr¹

5. [ ila na- ] bi-um ik-ri bi

6. [dumu-sag] uraš-a a-ra-zu

7. [mar-tum tesi-ti-tum ila uraš-a tes- li-ti

8. nin-zidé gasan gu-ur-a-sig-ga-ge zūr zūr?

9. ru-ḫa-tum kit-tum ila tаš-me-tum ik-ri- bi

10. nin-gu-ša gasan-mu na-na- a a-ra-zu

11. ru-ḫa-tum rabī-tum be-el-tum ila na-na- a tes-li-ti

---

2. Vide SBP. 258 n. 6.
12. May the father, thy begetter, lord and mistress of the earth, intercession (utter).

14. May thy beloved spouse, the great mother Ninlil, a prayer (utter).

16. May thy great messenger, the herald Nusku, intercession (speak).

18. "Behold me faithfully", may he say to thee.

20. "Turn thy neck unto me faithfully", etc.

22. "Thy heart repose", etc.

24. "Thy soulbeat rest", etc.

26. Thy heart like the heart of a begetting mother, return to its place.

1. For the reading of MUH as ugu = alidu, v. PSBA. 1911, p. 85, l. 25, u-gu-a-ni = alitta-sa.

2. Enlil is here regarded as an emanation of "Father-Mother-Earth", an incarnation of the male and female productive principles. These form the first two father-mother names of Enlil in CT. 24, 3, 29-4, 27 and 24, 21, 62-83, an anterior and theological form, from whom Enlil, the father, is clearly distinguished (24, 5, 37 ff).

3. Read kingal, Sb 127. The variant texts have DI for ZU, i.e., sa-gal-ukkin, SBH. 132, 46; K. 193 rev. 31; CRAIG, RT. 20, 30.

4. The ordinary 1st form of ṯēt is mutta'ir (KING, Magic, 6, 20) for muṣṭa'ir.

5. No. 193, 5 has risu, 'head'.

*Babylonian Liturgies.*
28. [ama tu-ud-da a-a tu-ud-da-gim]ki
     ha-ma-gi-gi
29. [kima ummi ālitti ahi ālidi āsūrišu
     litûr] 1

209. K. 6024. Fragment of doubtful content, probably an incantation.

CCX

FRAGMENTS OF THE SERIES

en-zi sâ-mar-mar, "Oh wise lord, giver of counsel".

The liturgical series en-zi sâ-mar-mar is catalogued in the fragment No. 103, obv. No. 28 forms the fourth tablet of a late Babylonian copy on long single-column tablets. No. 192 is a fragment of an Assyrian copy, also on long single-column tablets, and represents the sixth and last tablet of that redaction. This fragment joins No. 193, so that a considerable portion of the tablet can be put together.

K. 5160, published by MEERK in BA.X pt. 1 No. 4, is a large Neo-Babylonian fragment of this series redacted on double-column tablets. The fragment now contains a good part of obv. II and rev. I. Since rev. I is a duplicate of 192 + 193 obv., it is obvious that rev. II was a duplicate of 192 + 193 reverse. In other words K. 5160 rev. I + II contain the last tablet of the series, and K. 5160 obv. I + II contain tablet five. K. 5160 obv. II, which is partially preserved, represents tablet five reverse. We have therefore tablet 4 partially preserved (beginning of obv. and end of reverse); tablet 5 upper part of reverse; tablet 6 upper half of obv. and end of reverse.

The series rose out of an ancient Sumerian public psalm of wailing over a national calamity, and addressed to Enlil, CT.XV 11 = SBP. 198-203, of which ZIMMERN K. L. No. 2 rev. 123-II 8 is a duplicate. The same public psalm has been almost entirely copied into a Ninurâš liturgy of which SBP. 206-208 forms part of the last tablet. The eršem-ma which closed that series, rev. 27 ff., has not been preserved. Tablet one of this Marduk series probably began with an extract from the ancient en-zi sâ-mar-mar psalm to Enlil, and hence was given that name. It is curious that the Ninurâš series employed the same psalm in its last tablet. The refrains mention only Eridu, Babylon and Barsippa. It is just possible that SBH. No. 20 followed on after the singing of the en-zi sâ-mar-mar liturgy, for contrary to all rules we have a catch-line at the end of tablet VI, and this agrees with SBH. 41, 1. Moreover, the

1. For the restorations of the reverse, see SBP. p. 258; also numbers 181, 183, 193, etc.
refrains in SBH. No. 20 agree closely with those of our series. Note also that SBH. No. 20 does not belong to a series. With the long liturgical psalm occupying all of tablet six compare No. 208, which is also an ersenna from an Enlil series.

**Tablet IV (SBH. 28). Obv.**

1. **am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig-ga bame**
   1. The great wild ox, who stands [aloft ?], pondered thereon in sorrow.

2. **[ri-i-mu ra]-bu-u ša[ša-kiš? i-]za-a-zu mar-ši-š id-bu(?)-bu-us (?)**
   3. Upon the Beneficent city the great wild ox, who stands [aloft ?], pondered in sorrow.

3. **urù-ši-ib-[ba] am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig**

4. **ēs-maḫ¹ am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig**
   4. Upon Ešmah the great wild ox, etc.

5. **ēs-stir am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig**
   5. Upon the chamber of psalmody, etc.

6. **ḥabar-(ki)² am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig**
   6. Upon Shubaru the great wild ox, etc.

7. **[tin-]tir-(ki) am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig**
   7. Upon Babylon, etc.

8. **[ē-sag-ila] am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig**
   8. Upon Esagila, etc.

---

1. Damgalnuna is mother of ēs-maḫ, IVR. 21* b rev. 13; ASKT. 117, 14; SBH. 52, 7. In these passages and in the passage above, ēs-maḫ denotes a shrine in Eridu and connected with the water-cult. Hence the ritual hûtu in which the incantations of Eridu were performed are called ēs-maḫ = bit šeri, “house of the field”, CT. 17, 4, 19 and ASKT. 104, 9 (ušurat bit šeri ana šutēšur). Since the god Shamash, as a god of purification held an important position in these magic rituals, he has the title ēs-maḫ, “god of the house in the field”, CT. 24, 31, 65; 25, 27, 4; 25, 25, 26. ē ēs-maḫ in ZIMMERN, Neujahrfest 140, 2 probably means “ritual house in the plain”. ZIMMERN identifies ē-ēs-maḫ with ē-maḫ, temple of Ninmaḫ in Babylon, which is not likely.

2. This appears to be the original pronunciation of A-ḪA-ki, ḪA-A-ki = subaru, apparently a quarter of Eridu and has no connection with the land Subartu. ḫabar > šabar > subar (cf. Sum. Gr. § 40 b and ki-gab = sa-ba, CT.XV 11, 18 = Zm. K. L. No. 2 rev. I 39) may of course not be possible, but the reading ḫa-bur for the signs ḪA-A is legitimate. Eridu, and ḪA-A-ki, mentioned together, LANGDON, Drehem p. 23. A priest consecrated and educated in the cult of Eridu and A-ḪA-ki, CT. 46, 6, 239. Also in BA.V 675, 25 A-ḪA-ki = Šu’ara, we have to do either with an Eridu ḫabar or a mythological ḫabar (Šabar) in the lower world. The word may be connected with ḫabar, the stream of salt (?) water which surrounds the world. On the other hand the river ḫabar in Northern Mesopotamia has probably no connection with the ḫabar > Šubaru > Šu’ara of Eridu. Against ZIMMERN and my previous conclusion in Drehem ibid., I now regard any connection between Šubaru of Eridu and Subartu (never Šubaru, only gentilic šubarû, v. UNGNAD, BA.VI pt. 5 p. 19) of the Mitanni as wholly excluded.
9. Upon Barsippa, etc.
10. Upon Ezida, etc.
11. Upon Emahtila, etc.
12. Upon Etemenanki, etc.
13. Upon Edaranna, etc.
14. The brick-walls of the Beneficent City have been demolished and Tintir is not.
15. The temple of Ea has been demolished and the house of psalmody is not.
16. The temple of Marduk has been humiliated, Esagila is not.
17. The Beneficent City of the four regions.

Rev.

1. ana ri-........................
2. kùr-gal........................
3. ki-bal [gùr?]....................
5. ur-sag a-mah d'en-ki-ge sag-nu-mu-ni-ib-[gi-a?]
6. a-a-zu d'en-ki-ge ù-si-in-gu 3 ả-bi ù-mu-un-da-an-gùr
7. a-bu-ka /logger: Ea i-šap-pár-ka ù-má-'ir-ka-ma
8. dág-ga d'en-ki-ge kal-kalag ù-mu-un-si-in-du

4. Since Eridu is mentioned in the first part of the line and a temple of Eridu in the next line, we should naturally refer tîn-tîr-(ki) not to Babylon but to some part of Eridu. Note that tîn-tîr-(ki) = Babylon (?) occurs in l. 18.
2. i. e., the Igigi.
9. ina ki-bit inu Ea na'-diš tal-lak
10. bar-bi in-ag-tuk-a a-ba e-ne-giš :
    bād-bine-in-gi nam-tag-gā nam-mi-
    e-duḫ
11. sig-bi ni-ba im-ḫul-ḫul-e : li-bit-ta-
    šu ina ra-ma-ni-šu uš-ta-sab-bit
12. enim abzu im-dir-ām in-šēš : ina
    a-matap-si-ṣa kima ū-pi-e ša-pa-at
13. giš-mes-giš (?) in-sir-ri muš +-a-na-
    giš-i-dim-me-sil-e-ne
14. ki-ma me-e-su ina-sa-aḫ šur-šu
    uš ma-rītu
15. la-da nu-me-ām a-mi mu-ša-ul-ul :
    ina ba-lu na-a-ri a-gū-aš-ta-ki-pa
16. a-ūḫ-ki nu-me-a ki-a ba-an-gul-la
17. ina ba-lu la-a-ri-a-ну kib-ri
    ū-tab-ba-bi-bit (sic!) 8

Her suburbs are possessed, who
inhabits them 2? Her city wall
they demolished 3, and the sin is
not absolved.
11. Her brick walls of themselves go to
ruin.
12. By the word of the sea, which like a
rain-cloud is obscure5,
13. Like a mēsu-tree she is plucked
away, like a root she is extirpa-
ted6.
15. Since the canal is gone the flood
overflows.
16. Since the clay is gone the shore is
destroyed.

1. REISNER's copy na- BAR ta-lak-UD (sic!).
2. Transcription and translation wholly uncertain.
3. Uncertain, gi < gil (?).
4. The text has ām-im-dir (!).
5. Jensen first suggested the meaning "dark, obscure" for the verb šapū (KB.VI
355), rendered by "thick" in DEITZSCH, HW.678 and MUSS-ARNOlt 1079. This
meaning is evident from the fact that the Sumerian verb šās, related to šēš, also
means "be dark, shrouded in darkness"; cf. e-ne-em-ma-ni gakkul-ām-ma al-šaš =
amatsu kakkulu katimtu, "his word is shrouded in mystery like a flask", SBP.42,
60. See especially BOISSIER, Choix 171,9, šumu ma-nuš ša ina gizilli nāša ša-pu, "If
a light which one carries upon a torch goes out (?) (or smokes and becomes dark?)
6. The transcription and translation are conjectural. One may read uš-ma-rītu (lak,
šid). The subject I take to be ālu "city". For marātu, rub, polish, see ZIM. Rt.
p. 150,15. maršaš, I am become bald, HARPER, Lett. 348,9; muttatu am-ma-rītu, "I
am made bald on the forehead", VR. 47 b 32. Here KÜCHLER, Med. 10,61, ina uban-
ka tumarrat, "with thy finger thou shalt rub (him)". Probably connected with
marāku, rub, polish, BA. II,636,12.27,31; KÜCHLER, Med. 10,55; K.203,13 (in Bab.
III 220).
7. lašānu, a derivative of šīru, spit, slime, Heb. Syr. Arab. ܢ. See on this
passage, HOMMEL Grundriss 254, and HOLMA, Körperteile 8.
8. Cf. utataabbit, SBH. 6,8; II 2/3 of abātu.
18. umun-e urū-ni-a na-ām-ši-ib-ba-an-
tar-ri
19. be-šu ša āli-šu šim-tu ša-ab-bi
(sic!) i-še-mu

18. The lord who decreed a good fate for his city.

20. Bel-apil-iddin : ḫatā
21. Ea-balat-su-ikbi [māri-šu kalū šīḫru] ili-šu 1 Bābili arāḥ atar addar ānu 10

Fourth extract of “The knowing lord, the giver of counsel”, not finished. To
be chanted. Long-tablet belongs Belapiliddin, son of Eabalatsuikbi, son of
Nannaribni. Written by the hands of Eabalatsuikbi his son, the inferior psalmist of
his god. At Babylon on the tenth of intercalary Adar, in the 200 + ? year (of the
era of Seleucus); Antiochus was king.

Tablet V (K. 8160 Obv. = BA.X pt. 1 p. 73).

Rev.

2. ....mus(?) azag bar-ra dā-a...... 2. of pure appearance whose
body seemly......

3. ........du(?4) zi-mu el-šu-tum5 ša su-
muš-šu, as (?)-[miš...]

4. gis-tir gis-sim-erin-nadág-e-ne KA-

4. He who in the forest of odorous
cedars shouts with joyful song.

5. ša ina kiš-ti ri-ki e-ri-ni im-me-
el-šu 6 ina ūha-[hi-bi]`

1. dingir-šu-kam a mixture of Semitic and Sumerian.
2. Reînsner gives 200 +. In this case we must assume a simple date of the Seleu-
cidian era, and the name of a king whose reign falls between 106–85 B. C., for the
scribe Eabalatsuikbi appears on other tablets only in this period. I have supplied
Antiochus Cyzicenus 116–95.
3. i. e., Marduk.
5. The word zi-mu is often construed as a mas. plural.
6. malala is given the meaning, "enjoy oneself," by Delitzsch, HW. 413 b. Also
Zimmer, Neujahrfest 133, translates CT.15,44,28, "The eunuchs who upon the
threshold i-ma-li-lu, sport." The root is connected with Hebrew מַלַל, Arabic malila,
6. He who to make clean the ordinances of the sea, stands, to make holy the hand-washings, stands.

7. He who is worthy to look upon the true ordinances, stands, protection of Babylon.

9. Heroic one, mighty leader, who in Babylon stands as object of admi-

11. The honored, full of luxuriant strength, who at the clean sea of Esagila, stands.

13. Strong one (?) who is huge in strength, who is bearded with a bright beard.

skeleton, dance; the Heb. and Syr. mallet, speak, is probably ultimately the same root, v. Nöldeke ZDMG.57,413. The meaning "speak, sing," is seen in the word malilu, "flute", Heb. and Arabic preterite in a but Bab. i see in Meissner, fragment of Gilgamesh Epic II 9, sur im-me-li-il(imperative), "dance and play", CT. 16,44,101, the evil spirits on the mountain of sunrise im-ma-di-ès = immalillu: since di means both "speak", and "go", one can be in doubt here, but line 99 has îltanas-

7. For the restoration, cf. Craig RT.56,17, Marduk ha-bi-bi, "the shouting", prs. part.

1. âš̄ employed as a plural of nouns is irregular, v. § 129.
2. See Sum. Gr. 238.
4. So the Sumerian line.
Lord, son of the prince of the sea, who understands the digging of water-sources.

[About half of this column, ending tablet 5, is lost]

1. Oh lord, not shalt thou cast me down; oh lord, not shalt thou cast me down.
2. Oh lord, Divine Ram of Heaven and Earth, not shalt thou cast me down.
3. Oh lord Marduk, not etc.
4. Champion, Named with Good Name, not etc.
5. Oh lord of Babylon, not etc.
6. Oh lord of Esagila, not etc.
7. Oh lord of Barsippa, not etc.

1. This description applies also to Shamash, SBP.64,28, and Sin IV R. 9 a 10.
2. A more correct translation of zagin is uknu.
3. The complement na indicates that the original value of šita was šitan.
4. Obv. = MEEK pl. 76 restored from K.4630 + 10205.
6. ilusakudmaham is ordinarily a title of Ninuras of Isin, a solar deity, consort of Gula of Isin, SBP.174,44; 228,23, and not to be confused with Shamash of Sippar, as I have done in my previous editions. The title sakud-mah = dajunu stru is also employed of Shamash of Sippar, as in VAB.IV 164,1, since both are solar
11. umun é-zi-da nam  
12. umun é-mah-ti-la nam  
13. umun é-te-me-an-ki nam  
14. umun é-dár-an-na nam  

11. Oh lord of Ezida, not, etc.
12. Oh lord of Emahtila, not, etc.
13. Oh lord of Etemeanki, not, etc.
14. Oh lord of Edaranna, not, etc.

Priest

15. mu-ru er-mar-ra gin nam  
16. ša-kin tak¹-ri-bi ana-ku²  
17. mu-ru ūr-ūr-ra gin nam  
18. ša ik-ri-bi ana-ku  
19. mu-ru a-ra-zu gin nam  
20. ša te-es-li-ti⁴ ana-ku

15. He that renders petition am I³.  
16. Thou wilt not cast me down.
17. One of prayer I am. Thou, etc.
19. One of intercession I am. Thou, etc.

Penitent.

21. a-a tu-ud-da gin nam  
22. a-bi a-li-di⁶ ana-ku  
23. li tukundi⁷ tūg-mal nam  
24. a-di sur-ri nu-ḥa

21. A father who has begotten I am⁵.  
22. Thou wilt not cast me down.
23. Soon repose! Thou wilt not, etc.

deities, and as gods of light they become patrons of justice. Evidently a close connection existed between this deity and Marduk, for the tablet SBH. N0. 30 contains two penitential hymns, one to Sakud and one to Marduk. That ṣa-Sakud and ṣa-Sakudmaḥ are identical is proven by SBH.57,1 sa-kud and 57,3 sa-kud-maḥ. Titles of this solar Ninuraš of Isin as Sakud in CT.25,16 ff. and 24,38. In the passage above [as in SBH.41,11] he is probably identified with Marduk. His temple at Isin is Erab-riri, where he also held the title En-nu-gi, PSBA.1900,362,9. sa-kud is the original of the form Sakkut, a title of Ninuraš which appears in Hebrew, Amos 5,26, as sikkath, i.e. Mars, along with Kijjun = Bab. kajamānu, the name of Saturn, star of Nergal.

1. Var. ṭāk.
2. K. 5160 gives an alternative ša tāk-ri-bi ša-kin-ti ana-ku. The passive particle šakinu is otherwise unknown; cf. SBH. 58,43.
3. Var. “I am one of homage rendered.”
5. It is unusual to find individual circumstances of this kind appearing in the public litanies. The “I” of these services usually stands for the whole congregation.
7. Var. adds -bi.

Babylonian Liturgies.
25. me-na\(^1\) á-mu-un bi\(^2\)-gi-en nam
26. a-di ma-ti be-el ki-na-a-ti\(^3\)
27. ib-si me-na-sǜ nam
   ma-si a-di ma-ti
28. nam-mu-un-sub-bi-en e-ne-ra ga-
    an-[na-ab-dūg]
29. la ta-na-da-an-ni ana ša-a-šu lu-
    [uk-bi
30. sir-ri nu-ti-li ba-ni-[ib gaz?]
31. ši-ri-ib la ka-te-e ur-[ri-da-an-ni?]
32. er sig-gan nu-di ba-ni-[ib . . .]
33. bi-ki-ti la ku-us-su-pi (?)

25. How long\(^4\) oh lord of righteousness(?) Thou wilt not, etc.
26. It is enough; how long? Thou, etc.
27. "Thou wilt not reject me", unto him I will say.
30. Sighing without end has [brought me low.]
32. Weeping without diminishing . . . .

---

1. [i-] dé- [zid bar-mu-un-ši-ib dé-ra-
   ab-]bi
2. ki-niš [nap-lis-an-ni lu-uk-bi]ka
3. gâ-su [zid gur-mu-un-ši-ib dé]
4. ri-ši-[ka ki-niš suhbir-šu lu-uk-
   bi-[ka
5. šag-su dé-[en-na-tūg-e dé]
6. bar-su dé-[en-na-tūg-e dé]

Rev.
1. "Behold me faithfully ", I will say
to thee.
2. "May thy heart repose ", I will say
to thee.
3. "Turn thy neck unto him in faith-
   fulness ", I will say to thee.
4. "May thy mind repose ", I will say
to thee.

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2. Var. bi.
3. Cf. No. 194 rev. 25. The abstract prefix bi is known to me only in this pas-
   sage; we expect nig-gi-en, cf. § 149. kinati a plural with abstract force, from kittu,
   v. BROCKELMANN, Vergleichende Grammatik, § 228 a. See also Ham. Code IV 53;
   perhaps also VAB. IV 172,40.
4. K. 3160 has a gloss ia-ti for adi mati, probably formed as a fem. to the inter-
   rogative adverb iau where? Br. 10367; SBH. 106,68 (wrongly interpreted in Sum.
   Gr. p. 111).
7. ṣag-zu ṣag ama-[tu-ud-da-gim ki-]
   bi-ṣū ḫa-[ma-gi-gi]
7. Thy heart like the heart of a beget-
   ting-mother may return to its
   place.

8. ama tu-ud-da a-[a tu-ud-da-gim ki-
   bi-ṣū ḫa]
8. As a begetting-mother, as a beget-
   ting-father, to its place may it
   return.

9. er-šem-[ma [ṭi-]l-dug-ge

10. er-šem-[ma [en-su] sā-mar-mar
10. Psalm on the flute for the series,
    "Knowing lord, giver of counsel.

11. umun še-ir-[ma-al-la an-ki a-[ba ta-]
    zu mu-un-zu
11. Oh lord, glorified in heaven and
    earth, who comprehends thy
    form?

12. šīssu nis-[hu en-su sā-mar-mar al-tīl
12. Sixth extract of, "The knowing
    lord, giver of counsel". It is the
    end.

13. kima labiri-[šu sā-ṭir-ma ba-a-ri
13. Like the original it has been writ-
    ten and collated.

14. é-gal ṣa-[šur-bani-apli šar kiššati]
    šar mat aššur-(ki)
14. Palace of Asurbanipal, king of domi-
    nions, king of Assyria,

15. mar ṣa-[šur-ahī-id[da šar kiššati]
    šar mat aššur-(ki)
15. son of Ashshaddān, king of domi-
    nions, king of Assyria,

16. lipli[pi ṣu Sin-aḥē-erib šar kiššati šar]
    mat aššur-(ki)
16. grandson of Sennacherib, king of
    dominions, king of Assyria,

17. [ša] a-na ṣa-[Marduk ṣatZar-pa-ni-]
    tum tak-lu
17. who puts his trust in Marduk and
    Zarpanit,

18. [nir-]gal-zu na-ri ṣa-[nabu sa dup-]
    šarrātī
18. the wise, light of Nebo of letters.

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The eršemma of this series (which is unusually long, occupying all of the sixth
tablet) is so clearly the expression of the religious feelings of an individual, that it
should really be called an er-ṣag-tūg-ma alt, or private penitential psalm. No doubt this
psalm was employed as a private psalm to Marduk and later as the public inter-
cession for the end of this Marduk series. Two penitential psalms, one to Sakud and
one to Marduk, have been transcribed on a single tablet SBH. No. 30, and are so
closely related to the liturgical psalm of this series that I have added them to this
volume as No. 211.

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1. For restorations see SBP. 258 and SBH. 39.
CCXI
PENITENTIAL PSALMS TO SAKKUT
AND MARDUK
(SBH. No. 30.)

Obv.

1. me-e så-kud-ta me-e så-kud-ta
2. ana-ku ana da-jä-ni ana-ku ana da-jä-ni
3. me-e sâ-kud-maḫ me-e
4. ana-ku ana be-lum da-jä-ni ši-ri
5. me-e umun é-rab-ri-ri me-e
6. ana-ku ana be-lum é-rab-ri-ri
7. me-e umun é-gal-maḫ me-e
8. ana-ku ana be-lum é-galmah
9. me-e umun tin-tir-(ki) me-e
10. ana-ku ana be-lum bāb-ilānī
11. me-e umun é-sag-il-la me-e
12. ana-ku ana be-lum e-sagila
13. me-e umun kiš-(ki) me-e
14. ana-ku ana be-lum ki-ši
15. me-e umun é-kišib-ba me-e
16. ana-ku ana é-kišiba
17. me-e umun é-me-te-ur-sag me-e
18. ana-ku ana be-lum é-me-te-ursag

1. I to the Judge, I to the Judge (will pray).
2. Probably the chapel of Sakud and Gula in the temple Egalmah at Isin.

1. Translated by Jastrow, Religion II 84 f., who correctly identified Sakud with the god of Isin.
19. me-e umun é-ú-nir-ki-dûr-mah
20. ana-ku ana be-lum é-unir-kidur-
21. me-e umun é-ka-azag-ga me-e
22. ana-ku ana be-lum é-ka-azag
23. me-e umun é-gû-dû-(ki) me-e
24. ana-ku ana be-lum é-gû-dû-(ki)
25. me-e umun é-mes-lam me-e
26. ana-ku ana be-lum é-meslam
27. me-e umun à-[dil-bad-] (ki) me-e
28. ana-ku ana be-lum [dil]-bad- (ki)
29. me-e umun é-i-bé-[a-nu-um me-e
30. ana-ku ana be-lum é-ibe-Anu
31. 3-sâ-kud e-ne-em še-ga-ge me-e
32. ana da-jâ-ni ša ma-ag-rat a-mat-
33. 3-sâ-kud kûr-kûr nigin-na me-e
34. ana da-jâ-ni ša nap-šar mâtâti
35. er-im-sës-sës i-šî 3 nu-gâ-gâ
36. i-bak-ki it-šu-sa 4 ul i-kal-la

19. I unto the lord of Eunirkidurmah, etc.
21. I unto the lord of Ekazagga, etc.
23. I unto the lord of the temple of Cutha, etc.
25. I unto the lord of E-meslam, etc.
27. I unto the lord of Dilbat 2, etc.
29. I unto the lord of E-ibe-Anu, etc.
33. Unto the Judge of all lands I (will pray).

Priest.

35. He weeps and ceases not to begin again.

1. Ziggurat of Kish, Bu. 9388. The sign nir is replaced by ūr in SBH. 40, 13 and 36, 17, but nir is correct, see the date formula of the 22nd year of Samsuiluna "Ziggurat of the mighty abode ".
2. i.e., Uraša a form of Nin-uraša at Dilbat.
3. So traces by Reisner.
4. 12 of abazu. The form is omitted in the lexicons; cf. IV R. 27 a 38. The Sem. translation is not literal.
37. My eyes fill with tears.
39. In repose at the darkest hour of night, sighing fills me.
41. Weeping and sighing have brought me to silence.

Priest.
42. He that renders petition am I; turn thy neck unto him.
44. He that renders prayer am I: faithfully behold him.
46. He that renders intercession am I; turn thy neck unto him.
48. May my god, lord of prayer, prayer to thee speak.
50. May mother Innini, lady of intercession, to thee intercession speak.

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2. Šat múši. Note ú-na a noun from ana with ú prefix: “height, hour of greatest darkness.” Material reasons also favour this interpretation of Šat, v. VAB. IV, 56.
3. Sic! read si?
4. Sic! The scribe has read tām for gin and renders, “As for him who brings thee petition submitted”. Here the official psalmist begins the intercession.
5. Cf. ASKT. 123, 7; 121, 3 and SBP. 258, 9.
52. \[^4\text{en}-\text{il zur-zur dé:}\quad \text{ik-ri-bi lik-bi-ka}\] Enlil may prayer to thee speak.

Rev.

1. \[\text{a-ra-zu dé-ra-ab-bi}\] intercession may speak to thee.

2. \[\text{tes-lit-tam lik-bi-ka}\] of the temple.

3. \[\text{sa é-...: zár-zár dé}\] prayer may speak to thee.

4. \[\text{pap-sukal: a-ra-zu dé}\] of Papsukal may speak intercession to thee.

5. \[\text{[ṣag-zu dé-im-tāg-mal : lib-ba-ka]}\]
May thy heart repose, thy mind be at rest.

6. \[\text{[ṣag-zu sag ama-tu-] da-gim ki-bi-štū ḫa-ma-gi-gi}\]
May thy heart like the heart of a begetting-mother return to its place.

7. \[\text{[libbaka kima lib um-] mua-lit-tu}\]
\[\text{ana aš-ri-šu li-tūr}\]
Like a begetting-mother and a begetting-father may it return to its place.

8. \[\text{[ama tu-da a-a tu-da-gim ki-bi-štū ḫa-ma-gi-gi]}\]

9. \[\text{[kima ummi-a-] lit-tu u a-bi a-li-du}\]
\[\text{ana aš-ri-šu li-tūr}\]

A penitential prayer to Sakkut.

13. \[\text{[a-ra-zu] zár-zár-ra-ta sag-bi dé-in-sed-ḍe}\]
With intercession and prayer I will appease his heart.

14. \[\text{[ina tak-rib-]ṭum u te-is-li-tum lib-ba-šu a-na-aḥ}\]

15. \[\text{[ur-sag]}\quad \text{[āsar-lū-duq umun dim-me-ir-e-ne gin}\]
Heroic (?) Marduk, lord of the gods art thou.

16. \[\text{[kar-ra-] du ṭu Marduk be-lu ilāni at-ta}\]

1. So restored by Reisner.
17. Without thee who renders decision?
18. Oh my lord (?) turn thy neck unto him, faithfully behold him.
19. May thy heart be at rest; have mercy upon him.
20. Him in ...... faithfully behold.
21. As for him whom devsatation has overthrown, whom uncanny powers have laid low,
22. Whom thy hater with ...... afflicted, who from thy (protecting) hand has wandered,
23. The hater, evil and hostile, pluck out.
24. Him ...... among his people make prosperous.

1. See MEISSNER, Assyrische Grammatik § 28 b 2. UNGNAD, Babyl.-Assyr. Grammatik § 36. balu is generally construed with the possessive pronouns.
2. The imperative form should be gi-mu-un-ši-in, cf. ASKT. 122,18.
3. Uncertain? cf. IV R. 54 a 38. See also JASTROW II 97.
4. Text zu !
5. Cf. ASKT. 75,4 a-di-\(\nu\) (e-ki-me) \(\ (=\) ki-i), so, in this way. The Sumerian in this passage possibly to be pronounced ešim = ešimmu, syn. of dimetu.
6. Restorations are doubtful.
7. Cf. CT. 17, 29,22.
33. [lù erim zi-ir-] zu kùr-ra-ta mu-'un-gi
34. [amelu raggu mussi-] 2 iš-ka ina māti 3 te-ir
35. [nam-nir-]ri-za kùr-kùr-ra ḫen-i-i
37. [dim-me-ir-mu] mu-lu zûr-zûr-ra-ge zûr-zûr-ra dē-ra-a-bi
38. [ama d'innini-mu] mu-lu a-ra-su a-ra-su
39. [d'amurre]mu-lu ḫar-sag-gâ-ge zûr-zûr-ra
40. d'gū-bar-ra gašan gū-edin-na-ge a-ra-su
41. d'am 6-an-ki am urû-ṣi-ib-ba-ge zûr-zûr-ra
42. ama ęs-maḥ 6-dam-gal-nun-na-ge a-ra-su
43. sal-dumu dam kenag-zu d'pap-nun-an-ki-ge a-ra-su
44. sukkal-zid d'-mu-ṣi-ib-ba-sâ-a a-ra-zû

33. The wicked man who brings thee trouble from the land turn away.
35. And I will extol thy lordship among the lands.
37. See obv. 48.
38. See obv. 50.
39. May Adad lord of the mountains, a prayer to thee speak.
40. May Gubarru 5 lady of the hills, intercession to thee speak.
41. May the Ram of Heaven and Earth, ram of the Beneficent City 7, a prayer to thee speak.
42. May the mother of the vast abode, Far-famed spouse of the Prince 8, intercession to thee speak.
43. May the daughter, thy beloved spouse Zarpanit, a prayer to thee speak.
44. May the faithful messenger, Named with a good name, intercession speak.

1. Sic! Read gi-mu-un.
2. Restorations very uncertain.
3. šadi-i (?)
5. A western goddess of the highlands, Semitic Ašratu, consort of Adad, and identified by the Babylonians with Gestinanna, a goddess of the vine, because both were connected with the cult of the dying god, Ašrat with Adonis and Gestinanna with Tammuz.
6. Text am-a-an sic!
7. Ea of Eridu.

*Babylonian Liturgies.*
45. May the bride, the first daughter of Uraša, a prayer speak.

46. May the faithful lady, queen Tashmetum, intercession speak.

47. May the great princess, my queen Nana, a prayer speak.

48. May Sakkut the mighty, the.... of the Prince, intercession speak.

49. “May thine eyes look upon him”, I will say to thee.

50. Turn thy neck unto him; may thy heart be at rest, etc.

51. May thy mind be at peace, etc.

52. Thy heart like the heart of a begetting-mother return to its place.

53. Like a begetting-mother, like a begetting-father, return to its place.

54. Penitential psalm to Marduk.

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1. See p. 112, 8.

2. If nun-na here refers to Ea, as is probable, then Sakkut, like Marduk, belongs to the Ea pantheon.
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Temple, Gods and their Titles.

a-a kanagga, father of the Land, 111; 9.
ab-ba, title of Sibib, 72, 23.
âb-sal-la-sâr, title of the Harlot, 13, 4.
âb-sâr-ra, idem, 13,3.
Adab, city, 72, 1.
ad-gir, in the incantation against the evil eye, 11, 1 f.
Alâd-â-Kalag, a protecting genius, inferior god. Apparently not essentially different from d-Kalag, q. v. The sign alâd [Br. 6230] does not appear before the Assyrian Sargonids, and has the meaning sêdu, as has also AN-KAL; in this compound, AN-KAL (phonetic lamma) is an epithet of alâd, so that some difference in meaning must be assumed. dalâd-lamma, means a protecting god in 89, a divine courtier who stands before Ishtar, Craig RT. I 54, 29, and is used apparently for a bull image, VR. 4, 70. Ordinarily alâd-lamma, without dingir, is employed for bull images, Del. H. W. 646 b. In King, Magic 8, 12 the dalâd and lamma are female attendants of Istar and clearly indicate two similar types. Since Ishtar was herself originally a patroness of flocks and was called the "horned" goddess, it seems probable that alâd and lamma were at least by origin bovine spirits, satyrs who survived from the primitive pastoral deities, and especially connected with the Ishtar of flocks.
ama-é-a, mother of the temple, 88, 4, title of Visaba-gal; 43,9, Dada; SBP. 152,9 Sadarnunna.
ama-erin-na, host; mulu R, queen of hosts (Ningal), 101 12; v. SBP. 156,44.
amâ-urusagga, title of Gula of Isin, 50, 23; 92 r. 5; 45, 7.
amâ-gal, great mother, Ninil, 113, 14.
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amâ-mah, title of Nusku, 50, 23; 92 r. 7; 45 9. Marduk, 116,5.
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amâ-namtagga, mother of sin, 78,8 ff.; 79,5, 13.
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amâ-gal, great wild ox, Marduk, 113,1 ff.
amâ-gub, title of Nergal, 83,34.
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d. **Anunnaki**, 105,6; **a-nun-na** 98 4; 84,45; “great gods”, 190 2; 116,4.


arabā, mythical bird, 109 7.

arału, lower world, 19,10; 95,17.

d. **Aruru**, goddess of birth, 88 3; hymn to A., 102.

d. **Asar-gir-nun-na**, 121 3.

d. **Asarludag**, Marduk, 31,7; 49 1; 190 3; 92 r. 3. Title of Tammuz, 99,2.

**Babilu**, 50,33; 79,2; bab-iiani, 119, 8.

**Barsippa**, 50,31; 82 10; 109,10; 117,3; 120; 125; 29,18; 27 15; 68,17; 167,2 186 12; r. 8; 193 7; 116,9.

d. **Bau**, 101 5; r. 2; 8 8; 123 2; 72,17. 19.

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d. **Da-da**, 43,9; 46,64.

d. **Damgalunna-(ge)**, consort of Ea, 46 7; 56 r. 23; 36,6; 31,6; 73,16; 129,42.

d. **Da-mu**, Innini, 206 4.

Deltu-(ki), Nintud, goddess of di-el-ti-ki p. 87: cf. II R. 60 a 24 = b 23.

Dilbat, 125,27.

d. **Dimme**, 91, 15.

d. **Dim-muk- nun-na (tarkul nunna)**, 68 3.

Dim-ñu[lu], 73,33.

dul-ur, title of Bau, 72, 19.

**dumu-an-na**, ‘daughter of Anu’, (Ininni), 7 r. 8; 206; 72,25.

**dumu-é-a**, ‘daughter of the temple’, Shala, 28,10. **dumu-é-a** also a title of Gunura, SBH. 93,6; 94,6; Zim. K. L. 25 II 10 **dumu é-e**.
dumu-nmah, Shamash, 72 10. SBP. 64,35.
dumu-mu, ‘my son’, Marduk, 36,4. 5. 10.
dumu-nun-gal, title of Sin, 92 r. 1; 15,4.
dumu-sag d'E-a, ‘first daughter of Ea’, Nanu, 43,10.
dumu-sag d'Uras-(ra), ‘first daughter of Ninib’ (Tashmetum), 112,6; 56 12; SBH. 65 r. 13.
dunm-zid, ‘faithful son’, Nebo 68,18. Tammuz (?) 93,32.
dupsar-mah, ‘great scribe’, Innini, 18,6. This title ordinarily applies to the sister of Tammuz, Gestinanna, Bélit-séri.
Dür-é-a-duq (su-pa-at i-ni-a-at) ‘the abode in ruins’, 72,28.
Ea, d'en-ki-ga-gu, 13,5; d'en-ki-ra 14, 19 (to Ea); hymn to E-a, 150; 116,6 f.
E-anana, temple of Innini at Erech, 43,5; 46,60; 63,18; 82,2; 93,6; 72,6; 56 r. 145.
E-barasirra 73,19.
E-barra, temple of Shamash at Sippar, 28,4; 50,32; šarrum 486,10, r. 5.
E-dár-an-na, ‘temple of the ram of heaven’, in Babylon, 29, 22. Probably a chapel to Ea in Esagila. The name refers to Ea in his astral connection. He is essentially a water deity and represented by a goat with fish body. The Babylonians assigned sections of the ecliptic to Enlil, Anu and Ea, called harran Enlil, harran Anu and harran Ea. According to Weidner, BA. VIII 4,22, the section assigned to Ea corresponded to the region from the Archer to the Fish, thus including the signs of the Ram and Waterman. 186 15; r. 10; 193 11; 109,12; 207 r. 2; 99 5; 50, 37; 82 14; 167 5; 176 1; 126. ga-šan š-dár-an-na, 56 18. At Nippur (?) SBP. 210, 14; 116,13.
E-da-sa-za(?)-ab-ba, title of a deity, 73,14.
E-dûr-sa-ba, ‘temple of the abode of the shepherd’, a temple of Innini, 19,11.
E-engur-ra, 123,5; 69,21, temple of Nebo.
E-es-ta-gi, 100 5 f.
E-galmah, temple at Isin, 124,7.
E-gepar-imin, ‘temple of the seven dark chambers’, stage tower in Erech, 109, 14; 207 r. 5.
é-gi-a, bride, probably to be read ĝā-gi-a, title of various married goddesses, BA.
V 586,5 Ninlil. SBH. 129,6, īlat Nāru; 129,14, Zarpanit; V R 62,60 Aja. KING LII,
66,2 title of Šarratum, i. e., Antu. 83, r. 5, Zarpanit(?); 56 r. 29, Tashmet; 130,43.
E-gi-δ-[a], ‘temple of the fold’, in Kullab, 156 3.
E-hal-hal-la, 73,13.
E-haššabba, temple of the mother of Negun, 101 7. At Keš. See Uṣabba.
E-i-bé īta-nu, temple of Anu and Ninib at Dilbat, 20 2; 51,44; 56 14; 125,29.
Erroneously read E-i-dē-ilu-Anu by me here and in all my previous publications.
The correct reading was established by GAUTIER, Archives d’une Famille de Dilbat,
No.11, é-i-bi-a-nu-um and é-i-bi-ilu-um, KING. LIH. 101,3. Var. E-im-bi-ilu-
Animn KB. IV 214,9. The name means ‘Temple-proclaim Anu’. The late form
imbi is probably for an imperative form i⑰bi <ibē.
E-ka-azag, 125,21.
E-karra, 73,9.
E-kennur, chapel of Ninlil in Ekur, 29,12. See kenu.
é-kid, ‘he that opens the gate’, 4,43. 47.
E-kisib-ba, ‘temple of the seal’, at Kiš, 51,41; 124, 15.
E-kisigga, ‘temple of the parentalia’, 72,2.
E-kūr, ‘mountain house’, at Nippur, 50,30; 109, 40; 3813:J186 8; r. 3.
elimma, ‘strong’, title of various gods; Ninib, 22,3. 4. 6; Enlil, 49,2; Marduk, 119,11.
ē-mah, ‘great psalmist’, 69,19, title of Nebo.
E-maštīla, ‘great house of life’, chapel of Ezida, 167,4; 26, 1; 29,30; 99 3. 56 15.
186;13; r. 9; 193 9; 109,11; 82 12; 69 11; 116,11.
E-meslam, temple of Nergal at Cutha, 51,43; 82,19; 125,25.
E-meten ursag, ‘house of the glory of the hero’, temple of Zamama in Kiš, 51,42;
124,17.
E-me-ūr-ūr, ‘temple of the execution of decrees’, 9,11. Cf. SAK. 220,14, here a
temple of Innini.
E-mudkurrari, 27 9.
en, lord. Title of various gods. Sin, 15,4; Ea, 110,11; Nergal, 85,12. en-gal 85,14.
E-nam-bi, 50,38.
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Temple of Ninā.
E-nam-bē, temple of Lamma in Babylon, 13 8.
Enlil, SBP. 212,7; MEER No. 11,24.
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E-ninnu, 97.
E-nt-te-en-dug, 'house of awe', temple in Ur, 27 6; 156 5; 164 8; CRAIG RT.
58,20. Ammiditana placed his statue in E. in his 30th. year; v. BA. VI 3,25.
En-ki-ge, 86, 4; En-ki-ga-ge, 13, 5. See En-ki, father-name of Enlil, 113,12.
Enlil, 'lord of wind-storms', originally a god of mountains. A psalm to Enlil, 73;
a litany, 85. His seven names, 56 r. 1-7; 93; 38; 111; 106. Other references, 53.
E-nunna, temple of Shala, 27,8; cf. SBP. 96,20.
Ens, Sin, 2,11, 15; 15 3. Written Zu-en, Zim. K. 4, 113, 6, 10; Zu-in, Bab.
II p. 5.
E-rabriri, chapel in Egalmah, at Isin, 12 n. 2.
Erech, city, 78,29; 19,14; 6,20; 132 6; 204 10; 205; 207 r. 3; 109,13; 110,4.
Eridu, 159 4.
Erie, Zarpant, 69,18.
erin, a bird, 48,22.
E-sagila, 'house of the lifting of the head', temple of Marduk in Babylon, 105 14; 126; 136 4; 186 r. 7; 193 6; 50,34; 82 9; 167 1; 29,17; 124,11; 69 9; 113, 8; sea of, 119,11.
E-sakud-kalama, 'house of judgment of the Land', temple of Shamash in Babylon,
36 7; 186 r. 5; 109,7; 27 12; 89 2; 92 4.
E-samah, 'house of the great womb', a temple of Innini where Ninib also was wor-
E-sarra, 9, 8.
es-bar, outer temple, 50,28; SBP. 152,9.
E-silsirsirra, temple of Bau, 72,20.
E-sirsaggussa, a temple in Barsippa, 51,40; 26 5. E-sirusa, 56 22. See also SBP.
164,50; BA. V 663,14.
es-mah, great chamber: Damkina mother of, 56 r. 23; 115, n. 1; 129, 42. Ea lord of, 150.
es-sir, chamber of psalmody, 115,5.
E-su-me-ra, temple of Ninura at Nippur. The pronunciation of the last syllabe as rá
E-temenanki, 'house of the temenu of heaven and earth', stage tower of Babylon,
56,18; 26 2; 125; 126; 186 14; r. 10; 193 10; 207 r. 1; 99 4; 50,36; 82 13;
29,21; 116, 12.
E-tur-dag-amash-a-ge, 'house of the fold, shelter of the sheep', of Innini, 46,63.
E-turkalama, 'house of the fold of the Land', temple of Innini in Kullab 78,32; 56
r. 14; 186 r. 7; in Babylon, 109,9. E. of the seven regions, 93,8, a stage tower.
E-u-nir, 'house of observation', stage tower of Eridu, 150, 156 2; 11 R. 50 a 21
E-unir-kidurmah, stage tower of Kiš, 125,19.
Euphrates, river, 96,3.
E-urme-imin-anki, stage tower at Barsippa, 50,39; 56,21 E-ur-me-an-ki, 26 4.
E-urusagga, 'house of the chief city', of Gula at Isin, 50,23; SBH. 26,5.
E-ut-ta-a, temple of Ramman, 29,26; 13,10.
ê-zid, 'holy temple', 109,4; 6,8; 10,13; 31,5ff.; 35.
E-zi-da, 'faithful temple', of Nebo in Barsippa, 125; 126; 186,13; r. 9; 193,8; 50,35; 82,11; 167,3; 29,19; 116,10.
E-zid-kanag-ga-ga, temple at Kullab, 19,13.
gâ-gi-a, bride; title of Innini, 19,16. See ë-gi-a.
galla, a demon, 93,19; ibid. r. 2; 97,9; ibid. 11.
galu-ë-ne, 'guide of the people', 49,2; title of Enlil. ene for un=-nisu.
galu-gis-ê, guard (amelu ša namzaki), title of Sin, 4,44. 46.
gal-ukkin > kingal, messenger; title of Nusku, 113,16.

gasan-anna, 'heavenly queen', gasan-anna-ge, 'queen of heaven', title of Innini as mother-earth descended from father Anu, 92 r. 2; 49,19; 83,42.
gasan-azag, 'holy queen', 92,9; 49,18; 88,5; SBH. 132,27; title of Nisaba.
gasan-banda, nin-banda, title of a goddess, 73,10.
gasan-bâr, 92 r. 5; 50,20; title of Suzianna. So restore 15,6.
gasan ë-zî-da, title of a goddess, 73,37.
gasan ma-dig-ga, Gula, 101,10.
gasan ma-gi-a, Nisaba, 45,2; 34,4.
gasan Nibrî-ki, queen of Nippur, 92,8; 49,17.
gasân-šar, Ninsar, sword-bearer of Ekur, 101,3; CT. 24,11,37.
gasan tin-dib-ba, 'she who gives life to the dying', 92 r. 5; 15,7; 50,23.
gasan-urû-azag-(ki), queen of the holy city, Bau, 101,5.
gê-par-imin, seven dark chambers, 156,1.
gigunna, giguna, 38,14.
Gîlgamish, 20,3.
gipadda, reed hut, 73,36.
Gîrsu-ki-a, called city of Innini, 72,16.
gû-û-bal, 'shore of the sea', es-kuabba, a title of a temple of Damgalnunna, 73,17.
gud-ânu-a, 'the lofty', title of Lugal-aba, 101,10; SBP. 156,41.
gû-de-de, the loud crying. Title of Ninlil, 92,8.

gubarrā, Ašrat, 129,40.
gû-ûâla, 'the great god', title of Anu, 94,7; 25,3; 48,37; 58,9; 85,4; 186 r. 12.
gûnûrâ, originally a title of the mother-goddess Ninâ as patroness of healing, an aspect later developed into the special goddess of healing Gula. She appears with Tammuz, who under the name Damu is a patron of healing, in SBP. 160,13, there called tarkullu of the land. With Damu she is entreated to smite the demon of disease with her great tarkullu, CT. 17,33 r. 36. In ZIMMERN K.L, 26 II 13 she is called sister of Tammuz, and Ninâ is the sister of Ningirsu, a special form of Tammuz. But the tendency to regard her as a form of Gula is seen in the liturgies where she appears among the forms of Gula under the title dunmu ê-a, 'daughter of the temple', SBH. 93,6; 94,6; ZIM. K.L. 26 II 10 and in this volume 12,20.
gl-ur-a-sig-ga, 'she that hears', title of Tashmet, 56 16; 112,9; SBH. 59,46.
Habur, section of Eridu, 115 n. 2.
Hallab, a quarter of Erech. 72,13; 78,30; 204 11; 205. Usually written ZA-SUM-UNU-ki, i.e., ZA-SUUM of Erech. Written also ZA-
Ψ-UNU-ki, Code of Hammurabi, III 52. See Meissner SAI. 9022 : 9029.
Hani, see Nisaba.
Halasakalama, 'Mountain of the Land'. Possibly the name of a part of Erech and of a temple erected there. The name, therefore, designates both a temple and a place. Never with determinative è. 1) Enlil of Halasakalama-(ki), PSBA. 1941 Plate XI 3. Innini of various cities, Erech, Agade, etc., among them harsagkalama-(ki)-i-tum, 'she of H.', SBP.264,5. It is difficult to determine whether the place or the temple is intended. Here all references without the post-determinative ki are regarded as referring to a temple; è-zi-mu harsag-kala-(ki), 'my sacred temple in (?) H.', SBH.100,36.
2) Temple in Halasakalama (ki), 78,31 ; 204 12. Of the seven regions, 93,7. See also ASKT.120,31; SBP.166,57; Innini gašan harsagkalama, SBH.104,16; IIR. 59 r. 14; Zim. K.L., 29.4.
Igi-gàl, wise, (Nebo), 68,17.
Im-Karu-ra, sunrise and sunset (?), 72 8 ; cf. SBP.64,33.
Immer-ra ud-da ú-a, 'Ramman the bull that rides the storm', 46 4 ; 56 r.18; SBP.280,8.
In-nin, title of the mother-goddess, 99,3.9.
Innina, (nin-anna), 'heavenly queen', most ancient Sumerian earth-goddess. This title is employed to transliterate the sign REC.294. The sign is probably the picture of a serpent twining on a staff, which symbolises this deity as a serpent-goddess. ìnинina-ge, 63,22 ; 99,4.7; 100,30; 103,55; 126,50. Daughter of the moon-god, 86,32.
Isartu, ilat isartu, 'the righteous goddess', title of Shala, 28,13 ; 74,3.
Isin, city where the cult of Gula was established. gašan ì-si-in-(ki)-ge, 92 r. 6 ; 50, 24. ì-si-in-(ki)-na-gà, 45 8. ì-si-in-(ki), 72,8; between Erech and Kullab in the geographical list, IVR 36 No. 1,8.
iskim, prophet, Nebo, 68,17.
Kalag, èKal. Ordinarily AN-KAL is read alad(šedu) or la(m)ma (lamassu), but the reading ka-al is also assured by variants, v. Th.-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats, 63.
Of the two words šedu and lamassu, the former is Semitic and the latter possibly a loan-word from lamas. Both in Sumerian and Semitic è-kal, lama, alad, śedu, lamassu, do not designate a particular god but a protecting angel, perhaps originally a bull deity. Note the title of Ramman, ila-la-ma-az-su, 'the divine guardian', CT.25,16,6. The śedu and lamassu (AN-KAL) appear as special but vague titles among eighteen messengers (?), anelu ki[n-gi?], CT.24,33,28 f., but the title may be applied to any god or mean simply 'divine guard', often of a man's personal

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protecting deity (IV R 59 a 18) and of bull statues which guard temples, palaces, city gates. The title occurs in Gud. Cyl. B 12,5 for the name of a patron of fishermen. In the date of the 29th year of Ammiditana, lamazati, where the word designates golden rams put in the temple of Innini. Frequently a title of the goddess Bau, SBP.110, 1 f., SAK.194 X. Title of Innini lamazati, 'the propitious guardian', Code 43,96. The fem. lamazati applies only to images which were regarded as feminine objects although they represented male animals. Cf. ekallti, pl. ekallati; Semitic regards objects made by craftsmen as feminine. When the statue represents a woman or female animal the ideogram is preceded by SAL, as Asarh V 52, but v. King, Annals 164, 25 AN-KAL-at, i.e., lamazat'latIstar. d'-kalag mulu uru, divine guard, lord of the city', 73,6. See 'alad.

d'-kalag, title of Sin, 2,2,5, etc. ; 4,44 ;
d'-kalag s'ag-ga, 101 2 = SBP.154.
34. Here a title of a watchman of Ekur and follows Nusku, god of the new moon; 50,26; 45 10; 92 r. 8. See also CT.24,9,16. kal-kalag-ga, Nebo, 68,17.
kär-kär, là kär-kär, 'lord of Karkar', Hamman (?). 73,4. Compare the "region of Karkar", in SAK.40,22. If this interpretation be correct it follows that the city of Ramman IM-ki is to be read Karkar. Cf. 51 k.

d-Kazalsurra, a title of Lilenna, and the-name of the mother-goddess as the mater dolorosa, "she who is adored with lamentation," kazar=dalatu and sur=sisitu. 56 r. 17. Craig RT.58,9; called bélit kassapati, queen of the witches (sic!), Maktu I 60; worshipped in Ekallati, II R. 60 a 11; ìlat Nanà and ìlat Kazalsurra bélítija, Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats 19,11. Invariably mentioned with Nanà.

kenur, ki-úr, chapel of Ninlil in Ekur, 186 t3, 30,31, 83 t5; kenur and é-kenur designate the same structure. Ninlil sarrat é-ki-úr, Shurpu II 145 and rubat é-ki-úr-ra SBP. 220, 9. é-ki-úr-ra temple of Ninlil, SBP. 212, 5; MEEK, No. 11,23. é-ki-úr-ra, in a Cassite inscription, mentioned with Ekur (without Emahita) OBI. 68 I 13, as in SBP. 208, 9 where Ekenur is called bit-su elli, "his pure house"; here of Ninuras son of Ninlil. A divine attendant of Ninlil is called rábiš é-ki-úr-ge, CT.24, 24, 62.
The name of this Ninlil chapel first appears in ancient texts as ki-úr ki-gal, i.e., "Kenur the vast abyss", a cosmological reference to Ekur as the symbol of the outer world, see SBP.292,12; 24,72; 52,5. An unpublished text calls ki-úr the palace of the queen of Hades. The word itself means dururšu, "building", and has been explained by niriš iršitum, "place where men enter into the lower world", II R. 48 e 9. More often é-ki-úr and é-nam-ti-la chapels of Ninlil and Enlil are written together in one line ki-úr é-nam-ti-la as SBP. 108, 2; Bab. II 135,23; SBP.238,5; SBH.95,10; 133,57. ki-úr-ra is employed for the chapel without any further additions in PSBA. 1911, 87,5.

Kes, Kes and Upi (Opis), twin city on the Tigris opposite Sippar. Kes is generally written EN-SÁR=GAD-ki, Br. 10857 and Opis ÙH-ki, Br. 8122. But Kes is also written ÙH-ki, CT.16,36,3, ki-e-si, Var. ki-e-si SBH.81,3, and ki-sa BA.V 619,29 (v. p. 72). 54,6,9; 89,6; 90,27. Its goddess is Ninharsag, Nintud, Aruru. Kes to
be distinguished from Kiš. In VAB. IV 167,60-64, a canal starts below Sippar on the Euphrates and runs south-east to Kiš. Weissbach's contention that Kiš lay on the Tigris south of Opis is erroneous, see his Wadi Brisa 42. The temple of Nintud mother of Negun at Kēš is Ursabba, q.v.

ki-asag, holy place, 72,10; 86,5.

ki-el, maid. ki-el-la ù-tu-da, Aruru, 102,2,4; ki-el šág-ga, title of the harlot, 13,1. 14.20. ki-el kár-lil, whore, 13,2.

ki-kiš-gi, craftsman (?), Sin, 3,24.

Kiš, city east of Babylon, modern Ahimer, 89,3; 51,4; 124,13.

I-kisag, a type of mother-goddess, consort of the river-god ID-lù-RU-TIG, 56 r. 25; 46 9; CT. 24,16,27.

Kullab, a quarter of Erech, 19,8.18.22; 43 4; 62,5; 156 3; 78,30.

kùr-gal, 'great mountain', Enlil, 127; 85 2; 49,7; 58,11; 53,1 and rev. 3.


kùr-gul-gul, 'she that shatters the mountains', title of Innini, 43,5; 207 25; 56 r. 15; 62 3; 43,5; 46,60; 84 5.

ligir, commandant. ligir ás-bar-ra-ge, 92 r. 10.


liltá, a demon of the winds, 17,13.

lugal-ab-a, 101 9.

lugal-gud, mighty king, Sin, 13,1.

ma-gal-e-ne, 209 6.

ma-gi-a, perhaps identical with ga-gi-a > gağu, convent. Compare the title of Gula, d-nin-gâ-gi-a > d-nin-ma-gi-a, 'queen of the convent', II. R. 59 r. 29. [§ 41 c].

gasân-ma-gi-a, title of a goddess, SBP. 60,7; SBH.132,27 gasan asag gaşan ma-gi-a; also 92 9; 15 2; 49,18. Ca. RT.19,8; here it follows Nisaba, as in 88 5 + 34.4.


ma-ki-nad, 'house of the couch', 73,3.

Mar-(ki), city, 112 5; 73,18.

Marduk(šu), Consecration of, p. 36; 112,1; 14,10; 68,18. Liturgy 159; 210; 127,15. Psalm to, 130,54.

MAR-TU-e 46 4; 56 r. 21. mar-ur (abubu), title of Ramman, 13 12; 129,39.

Me-dim-sá, Shala, 27,4.

Me-nunesige, Shala, 28,12.

me-ri-lal, sword-bearer, Ninsar, 101 3.

Meslam-ta-ê-a, Nergal, 46 2; 56 r. 19.

mu-gi-an-na, 'heavenly virgin', Innini, 84 3; 92 r. 2; 15 4; 50,20; 207 24. mu-gig, 132 5; 136 29. mu-gi-in gašan anna, 72,7.

Mu-šar-an-ki, Shala, 27,6.
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4. Mullil 43; 48, 38; 49, 7; 92, 1; 58, 10 f.; 74, 5; 107, 16; 94, 8; 34, 2; 37; 105, 2; 110, 7.9; 21, 14; 23, 4; 38, 4. Heroic names, p. 38. Derived from mālu-lil < gala-lil, 'lord of storm-winds'. The title interchanges with en-lil, q. v.

mu-la šar-sag-ga, 'lord of mountains', Ramman. 46 4; mu-la ā, 'lord of might', Enlil, 47, 17; 129, 39.

5. Mušibasā, 'he who is named with a good name', Nebo, 190, 6; 31, 10; 207; 37, 6; 112, 4; 65, 5; 67, 32; 104, 2; 119, 7; 121, 7; 135, 5; 56, r. 28; 46, 11; 48, 13; 49, 11.

mu-šin, maid, Innini, 19, 14, 16; 20, 11, 13.

6. Mūtinnu, for mūtu-nu-an-zu, 'thy spouse', 56, r. 27.

119, 7; 65, 5; 67, 32; 104, 2; 119, 7; 121, 7; 135, 5; 56, r. 28; 46, 11; 48, 13; 49, 11.

Her temple Enambi-ezida, 56, 20.

namtar, fate, 110, 12; 67, 13.

7. Na-na, dialectic for Ninl, a type of virgin sister-goddess, often confused with the virgin consort Innini. 112, 10; 56, r. 16; 182, 7; 186, r. 1; 135, 8; 20, 4; 74, 1; 77, 5. Her temple Enambi-ezida, 56, 20.

8. Nānā, dialectic for Ninl, a type of virgin sister-goddess, often confused with the virgin consort Innini. 112, 10; 56, r. 16; 182, 7; 186, r. 1; 135, 8; 20, 4; 74, 1; 77, 5. Her temple Enambi-ezida, 56, 20.

9. Nannar, the moon god, generally derived from Semitic namārū; nannar > na-nā, v. COMBE, Cult de Sin, p. 15. Written in Sumerian a-urā-ki, and glossed nanna. It is probable that the Sumerian nānā is abbreviated from the Semitic nannar, "rising light, new light." Frequently called 'watchman', (ni-dū) of the temple of Enlil, 3, 19, etc. This title really designates the god of the new moon as watchman of the earth. Note also the n. pr. a-Nannar-ni-du, COMBE ibid. XVII. The Sumerian name uru-ki also means perhaps, 'guardian of the earth', so COMBE, an interpretation which agrees admirably with the description on pp. 2-6 where he is a god of agriculture. The Babylonians evidently regarded the moon and its phases as having much influence upon nature. 15, 3; 25, 12; 56, r. 12; 164, 7; 130, 5; 63, 16; 78, 4; 92, r. 1; 66, 4.

10. Nāru. 96, 10; 31, 11. Probably a male deity in a-nāru-lū-RU-Tig sakud kalama, judge of the Land, 46, 8; 56, r. 24; CT. 24, 16, 26.

11. Nebo, liturgy to, 28; litany to, 65.

12. Negun, son of Mah, i.e., Ninlil, CT. 24, 26, 112; SBP. 156, 39 = 104, 7. The variants Nin-gu-nu-na, Nin-gu-ne, Ne-gu-ne occur, VR. 43, a 11; II R. 59, c 40; NIK. 187; RTC. 53, etc. A form of Ninurta.

13. Nergal, a-nē-unu-gal, see 85, n. 6; 83, 25. 32, 35; 84, 48; 85, 12. Liturgy to, 10.

14. Ni-gab (dū), watchman (attū), 50, 26; 92, r. 8; 15, 10. No. 1 passim; 101, 1.

15. Ni-mar-ra, 'god of whirlwinds', 88, 11. In SBP. 198, 7 ni-mar is a title of Enlil, and ZIM. K. L. 2, r. 29 has var. a-ma-ru. Cf. ni-maīl = asamāštu, Br. 8433.
Ningalnunna, ‘Queen of the prince’, title of the wife of Ea, generally Damgal nunna, VR. 51 b 24 = K. 5248 r. 13; 124 2; 128 7.

Ningiszida, 20,5.

nin-gu-la, ‘great lady’, title of Nana, 112,10; SBH.39,47; Zim. K. L. 64 II 4; 83 8; 142,10; 143,47.

Ninharsag, queen of mountains, title of Ninlil, worshipped at Keš, 97,11.

Nini, virgin sister-goddess, same type as Gestinanna; originally patroness of canals; daughter of Ea. See Nana. 31,12.

Nin-IB, title of Ningirsu, appearing about the age of Dungi; 8,14; 10,33; 468 3; 110,11; hymn to, No. 97. Liturgy to, 22. See Urša.

Ninki, mother-name of Enlil, 113,12.

Ninlil, ‘queen of storm-winds’, 34 1; 85,5,10,13,28; 113,14; 140 10.


nin-ri, ‘the lady’, 83 r. 4. Innini, 97,8; 132 4.

Gula, SBH. 81 r. 5; 82, 13.

Nin-si-in-na, title of Innini as an astral deity, 85, 10.

Ninsubur, ‘lord of earth’, generally title of Ningirsu, 82,2; 56 r. 30. Tammuz, 62,6.

Nintud, patroness of child-birth, goddess of Keš, liturgy to, No. 197. Hymn to Nos. 95, 102, 127.

nin-tud-ur-ra, 72,3.

nin-zi-da, ‘faithful queen’, generally Nana, SBP. 210,11; 162,23 (Ninä); 106,13; 56 r. 16; 97,8; 204 9.

Innini, SBP.160,19; Tašmet, 112,8; SBH.39,46; 83 7; 130,46.

Kisag, wife of the river-god, SBH.132,41; 46 9; 56 r. 25.

Nippur (en-lil-ki), 29,10; 38,12; 85,20; 86,30; 137 3; 186 7; r. 2; 111,19; 50,30; 83 4.

Nisaba, the majestic; Enlil, 49,2. nir-gál-an-ki, 90 2. Sin, 15,4. Ninib 22,1.

Nisaba, originally Nidaba, goddess of reeds, later a grain deity. A sister-type like Gestinanna and Nini. Sister of Ninä and Ningirsu, Gud. Cyl. A 5,25. Became patroness of writing since the reed was employed as a stylus, a capacity especially attributed to Gestinanna, a vine-goddess probably by confusion of sister-types. By still further confusion of sister and wife (of Tammuz) Innina also becomes a patroness of writing, see dupšarmaḫ.

The official pantheon regards Nisaba as wife of Ḥani, a patron of writing, but this is a late theological fancy, CT. 24. 23,15 = 9,31 = II. R. 39 obv. 24.

The god Ḥani is called belum kunuk ‘lord of the seal’, SBP. 137,45. Ḥani is a mere title of Lugal-ki-sá-a; called ha-ni-ni-dub-ba, II R. 59 obv. 22, but Ḥani-[?] CT. 24,23,13. The former title probably means, “Scribe of the granaries”, and

1. See THUREAU-DANGIN, RA.7,110.
the second, ‘Scribe and prophet’. Both Ḥani the scribe and Nisaba are placed among the inferior gods of the court of Enlil. Nisaba appears to have been worshipped at Umma, (GIS-HÚ-ki), SAK. 58 IV 1; 154, 8. 12; 101 8. Hymn to, N. VIII ter.
d-Nisaba-gal, daughter of Ennugi, CT. 24,10,10; guzalitu of Nin[il], II R. 59 obv. 25.
da-ğasān nisaba-gal, distinguished from Nisaba, SBP. 156,40. ama-ē-a d-nisaba-gal,
“Mother of the temple-goddess N.,” 88 4 + 34,3; 101 8.
i-tuk, honoured, Enlil, 111,1. 3.
nubanda-maḥ, 50,27; 92 r. 9; SBP. 152; 14; nu-banda ā-maḥ, SBII. 26,9.
d'-Nudimmud, 140,14; 67 12.
nun-maḥ, majestic prince, Ea, 13,5.
NU-NUNUZ-sāg-ga (ziuništu damiktu), title of Kišag, 46 9; 56 r. 25; 124 4.
Bau, 123 2. Title of of 32 7.
d-Nusku, in the pantheon placed among the inferior gods of the court of Enlil, II R. 59 obv. 13-15; SBP. 150, 8. In these passages, which represent the opinions of the schools, he is designated as a god who carries a sceptre and is mighty in oracles, i.e., in conveying oracles, ā-maḥ utuk é-kûr-ra, (ša terištu širu ṣubri Ekurri) 92 r. 7. The ideogram for Nusku PA + DUR contains the ideogram for hattu, sceptre and rubâ prince, and probably means ‘prince of the wand’, a sort of Hermes. By some unknown connection he is god of the new moon, “child of the thirtieth day”, IV R. 23 a 4, where he has also the title, “he who walks in Ebara”, house of Shamash, hence connected also with the sun. In practice he is a fire-god represented by the lamp (gibillu) on engraved stones, and a theological text says that in magic ceremonies the torch or lamp stands for Nusku, ZA. VI 242,24. The three qualities, messenger and adviser, new moon and fire are prominent in all hymns to Nusku (especially Craig RT. 35), but in most hymns he is a fire-god and messenger, (Maklu II 1-17; IV R. 26 No. 3). He is earlier than Gibil a special fire-god, but does not belong to the primitive pantheon, appearing first in the age of Dungi (de Clercq, Cat. 86, Langdon, Drehen 51). 50,23, 56 r. 31. See p. 113 n. 3; 25,12.
d-Papnunanki, Zarpanit, 56 r. 27; 105 5; 128 8; 136 5; 31,8; 66,12; 46 10; 129,43.
d-Papsukkal, 127, 4.
Ps-Pasagga (Išum), a title of the god of the lower world, 104 11 = SBP. 156,43 q.v.
Not yet found in a theological list. The title is ancient, DP. 53 V; Hussay, 41 IV.
im-Ramman (i’immur), liturgy to, 13; 25,6; 27 4.
sā-gal-akkîn, ‘messenger of wisdom’, Nusku, 56 r. 31.
sagan-lal, secretary, 73,4.
sag-su-du, unsearchable heart, Enlil, 38,4.
sag-tu-mu, first daughter; Innini, 72,5.
Sakkut, (god), 124,1; 123,31; 127,10.
sakudmaham, Ninurash of Isin, 48,44; 49,12; 104, 3; 110 6; 123, 1; 120,7; 124,3; 130,48.
šanga-mah, great priest, s. of the apsu, 56 r. 32.
šenirda, a title of the goddess Aja, wife of Shamash, še-[nir-da] CT. 24, 31, 67b +25, 25, 31, but usually še-nir-da 23, 9, 27; SBH. 137,79; ZIM. K.L. No. 11 rev. III 3. The original was clearly ša-nir-da as the variant ša-nir-da, SAL. 5196 shows. The most ancient writing has šu, TSA. 70 obv. 1; Nk. 3 obv. IV, etc. She is explained as umun šu-mi-a, SBP. 137,79; en-šul-mé-ra, ZIM. 11 r. III 3. This title means bēlīt kuradat taḥaṣi, queen-heroine of battle. Aja is a personification of light, perhaps of the sun's light and as such a special form of Innini who, as a goddess of light, developed into a war-goddess. šul-mi-a is also a title of Innini, SBH. 97,46. The word ša-nir-da is probably an augmented form of šu-nir, as si-im and si-im-da a musical instrument. This word passed into Semitic by metathesis as surinu, surina a word which has given rise to much discussion. The word is designated as a kakku 'weapon' (of Nebo) IV R. 23 No. 3,15. It is difficult to understand why ša-nir-da should mean 'goddess of battle' unless šunir be the name of a weapon, although the general meaning 'emblem, seems preferable in most cases. 77 2.
šes-mul-la, 39,15; 43 3.
šala, consort of Ramman, 27,5,9; 28,10.12.
šalušamash, hymn to, 53 f. †
sib-zi-da, title of a god of sheep, 401 4; SBP. 154,36.
šid-rú-ki-sár-ra (paḫid kiššati) 'overseer of the universe', Nebo; 65,6; 67,33; 67,37. Written also šid-rú-sár 68,15; SBH. 28,15.
šid-rú-umün-ki-šar-ra, overseer, lord of the universe, SBH. 7,10.
šug-su-duš, 'adorned with splendour', Nusku, 401, 1; SBP. 154,33.
sin, here for the ideogram en-zu, 'lord of wisdom', the moon-god. Note that

1. See SBP. 158,3 and Sum. Gr. § 153 2. Muss. Arnolt, 1116, "pošt, pillar", so also Delitzsch HW. 691, and Schörr, Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden 172. Thureau-Dangin, "emblem", so also Ungnad (Panier) Hammurabi's Gesetz, Nos. 715, 1066, etc. See also Babylonica II 117.
2. See also II R. 20 a 28 kakku šurinu = maṣraḥu, 'instrument which causes wailing?', or 'place of wailing?'. The passage may refer to the chapel of a temple where the šurinu of the god was placed.
Nusku, also a phase of the moon, is originally, a god of wisdom, and that both are attendants of Enlil the earth-god. Passim as watchman of the temple of Enlil, No. 1; 92 r. 1; hymn to, No. 5.

Si-la-da, radiant, 4,42 f.

Sippar, 73,24; 186 r. 4; 27,11; 29,14; 117 3; 120; 50,32; 83 6; 36 6; 109, 6.

Sirara, city, centre of the cult of Ninâ. UD-MÁ-NINA-(ki), 72,30. Ordinarily, UD-MÁ-NINA-SIR-(ki), SBH. 22,59; Br. 7832. The temple in Sirara is E-UD-MÁ-NINA-(ki)-TAG dedicated to Ninâ, SAK. 86,1 III 1. Note also the phrase d'nina SAL+KU dingir UD-MÁ-NINA-ki-TAG-ta-mu, “My Ninâ, the sister who is goddess in Sirara”, SAK. 90 H 2; 92 III 27. Beside these forms we have UD-MÁ-NINA-TAG-(ki), SBP. 284,6, for which Zimm. K.L. 2 r. II 18 has si-ra-ra. The ‘lord of Sirara’, SBP. 84,1 is probably Ningirsu. Probably a section of Lagash.

a-Šir-tār, mother of Tammuz, 97,10. A prehistoric serpent deity.

a-Suba-nun-na-ge, Šabananunna, ‘Pure princess’(?), Shala, 28,10.

a-Subur-ra, an earth-goddess, 72,11.

šu-dû-mâ (šukulu), the perfect, Nebo, 68,10.

sukkal-anna, messenger of Anu (Nergal), 82,1; Ninsubur, 56 r. 30.

sukkal-mâḥ, Nebo, 68 2; 31,9; 48,42, Nusku, 56 r. 31; 113,16.

sukkal-šīd, Nebo, 56 r. 28; 129,44.

šul, strong; title of Marduk, 85 6; Shamash, 56 r. 13; 92 r. 3; 45 5.


šu-mâ, bearded, Shamash, 72. šu-zagin, bright beard, (of Marduk), 119,13.

Šumer, 89,32.

su-pad-e, title of Tammuz, 16,2.

a-Šuruppak, 72,3; 88, 13,14.

a-Šu-za-bar-azag, Shala, 27,8.

a-Šu-zi-an-na-ge, ‘faithful strength of heaven’(?), a form of Ninlil and nurse of the moon-god, CT. 24, 5, 13. In a list of ships of various gods three are assigned to Š., which follow those of Enil and Ninlil. If we may draw conclusions from the names of her sacred ships she is kazar-nunna, ‘joy of the prince’, i.e., of Sin (?), šag-ul-la, ‘she who rejoices the heart’, Del. AL. 88 V 25-7 1. Her cult was at Nippur, v. POEBEL BE. VI 2, No. 8, 2. 45 6; 92 r. 4; 50,20.

Tammuz, a-dumuzi(de), liturgy to, 160; 60 ff. 94 ff. 97 ff. 17 f. 20,7,11.

Tigris, river T., 7,7; 9,24.

tin-an-na, for šeššín anna(?), sister of Tammuz, 73,22.

Tintir-ki, 109,8; 147 3; 120; 124 5; 125; 132 8; 136 r. 3; 29,16; 27 13; 68,15; 79,1; 186 11; r. 6; 193 5; 115,7; 124,9.

tā-mâḥ, ‘great magician’, Marduk, 85,5; CT. 23, 40,14; 24,37,98.

1. The name of the third ship id-da-nir-gâl (ship of) the majestic river, is obscure.
fu-mu-mun, my son, Tammuz, 160 5.
tur-sag, first daughter, 73, 21.
ub-lil, chamber, shrine, 101 10.
ud-gu-de,‘raging storm’, Ramman, 13 5; 25, 7.
ud-gu-ra,‘crying storm’, Ramman, 25, 8.
ud-ka-ra-ah, shrieking storm’, Ramman, 13, 6.

u-maš, or u-bar, reading uncertain, 56 r. 32; SBH. 86, 63; 132, 47; CA. RT. 20, 31.

um-me-da, nurse, Innini, 19, 18.

umun; umun, ā-mu-an, u-mu; possessor, owner, lord.

umun dag-ga zi-da,‘lord of faithful word’, Enlil, 111 7.

umun kûr-kûr-ra,‘lord of lands’, Enlil, 111, 5.

umun harsagga,‘lord of mountains’, Shamash, 92 r. 3; Ninlil, 45 5.

umun-kalag-a-ge, 92 7; 49, 16; SBH. 132, 26.


umun-ug: 56 r. 32; SBH. 132, 17; 86, 63. CA. RT. 20, 31 has uq.

umun sa-a,‘lord of light’, 72 8; SBP. 158, 1; 64, 33. Shamash.

Umun-amas-azag,‘Lord of the holy sheepfolds’, 101 4; SBP. 154, 36.

umun-si-gal, 92 7; 49, 16; SBH. 132, 26.

umun ā-urâs-a-ra, Lord Uraša, frequent title of Ninib, SBP. 226, 6; 136, 19; 46 4; 56 r. 20; 9 6; 168, 4. First son of Enlil, 56 r. 11. SBH. 40, 6; 133, 54; IV R. 28* No. 4, 34, 17 4. ā-urâs-a-di-bad-(kî)-a, SBP. 142, 5.


Unugal, 101 11.

Ur, city. SES-UNU-ki, 15, 15; 164 6; 146; 156 4.

SES–EN–KI, 5, 66.

Uraša, transcription of IB, god of Dilbat, confused with Ninuraša and Anu. The two titles IB and NIN–IB clearly contain the same element. The commentary CT. 24, 40, 60 f. explains nin-ib, i.e., nin-uraš,‘lord of uraš’, as a god of counsel, (pirštu) and uraš as god of strength (allu). uraš is explained by udassalû, ‘morning light’, CT. 25, 11, 25, and NinIB is known to have been a god of the rising sun. From the connection with light he became god of war, hence it may well be that the original meaning of uraš is ‘dawning light’, an idea which developed in two directions, a) warlike, strong, b) wise. Note that nin-uraš is explained by ṅaNabû, the god of wisdom, CT. 25, 11, 12. uraš then takes on the meaning ‘prophecy’, barû, CT. 18, 49, 36. It is clear from the preceding citations that ā-nin–uraš and ā-uraš both represent the well-known god of war, son of Enlil. Historically Ninuraša appears as a title of this god in the reign of Dungi and at Nippur 3, and rapidly

1. Also 25, 11, 11.

2. GENOUILLAC, Trouvaille de Drehem Nos. 3 and 15. GAUTIER’s statement, Archives Babylonian Liturgies.

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1. Also 25, 11, 11.

2. GENOUILLAC, Trouvaille de Drehem Nos. 3 and 15. GAUTIER’s statement, Archives Babylonian Liturgies.
becomes a foremost figure in mythology, replacing his father Enlil in many aspects. Not until the period of the first Babylonian dynasty do we meet with a god d'uraša at Dilbat a city which was probably founded in this period. At that time Nin-uraša of Nippur and Uraša of Dilbat are distinct deities. At Dilbat Uraša retains an ancient connection with Anu. In fact uraš and nin-uraš are father-mother names of Anu; they represent an emanation from the first principle 'heaven', and if the meaning assigned to uraš above be correct, these two gods are theological deifications of light, more especially of the 'sun-light'. We should have expected these personifications of an emanation to have remained abstract male and female figures of no practical importance in the pantheon. But like many mother (nin) principles, such as Ningirsu, Ningiššida, etc., Nin-uraš developed into a male deity at Nippur and becomes the son of the earth-god. Natural religion precedes theology, and the incarnation of light was a concept, which arrived long after Enlil had become the most powerful god in the pantheon.

But at the newly-founded city Dilbat, father-heaven and mother-earth his daughter were installed by the theologians. Here the new god Uraša was enthroned by the theologians and here he maintained his close relation with Anu, from whom he was the first emanation. The god Anu must have been established there in the Semitic period, for the temple of Dilbat has the Semitic name, “Oh temple, proclaim Anu”. Anu himself is confused with his son Uraša, and one theological list calls Anu, u-ra-as who is anum șa is-sîk ikribi, ‘Anu of the possession of reverence’, ‘Anu to whom reverence belongs’, an explanation which has apparently nothing to do with the fundamental idea of uraš. From references made to Uraša of Dilbat it is clear that he is distinct from Anu, and I doubt whether in texts other than theological, we have any right to translate d-IB by Anu. In the theological texts Uraša is regarded as a title of Nin-uraša, but in other texts Uraš is not always confused with Nin-uraša (Ninib) of Nippur. One is an Enlil type, the other an Anu

d'une famille de Dilbat, p. 4, that Ninib belongs to the most ancient pantheon is erroneous.

1. CT. 24,1,4 f.

2. All the other father-mother concepts representing intermediate emanations between Anu and Enlil, i. e., between heaven and earth, as Ensar and Ninšar, etc., remained abstract conceptions.

3. CT. 24,19,2.

4. The southern gate of Babylon looking toward Dilbat was called the gate of iš U-ra-as, VAB. IV 180,20, otherwise written “gate of iš IB”, 186,22 ; 162,28. It is, therefore, certain that iš IB in these inscriptions is to be read Uraš not Anu, as I have done, 74,31 ; 92,46, etc. See Gautier l. c., 3.
type, and in the liturgies Uraš is often the god of Dilbat who usurped his father Anu
in the possession of the temple Ibe-Anu. The word is most often written uraša and urašara, and we have one example of nin-uraša-ra, SBP. 208,17. It is highly probable that the title was originally urašara.

Tashmet is constantly called ‘the bride, first-born daughter of Uraš’; d. uraš-a-ra, 56,12; d. uraš-a, SBP. 60,9; 56 r. 29; 168,3; 112,6; SBH. 65 r. 13; Here Uraš of Dilbat is probably intended.

Hymn to Uraša gašra baḫur itaEnlil, ZIM. Rt. 26 III 19.

d. uraš-a ki-še-gu, SBP. 70,21; ki-še-gu-nu-ra, 90,20; SBH. 29,20.

d. Ur. d. en-zu-na, 92 r. 10; 50,28, prince of the outer temple, see SBP. 152,15: uru. d. en-zu-na, SBP. 26,10. Read Ur-Sin-na.

Urašba, the sleeping-chamber ur-sā-ba, a chapel where the sister of Tammuz was worshipped, 3,3. Temple of Nintud in Keš, 72,14; é-ūr-sā-ba, SBP. 156,39. Usually read Ḥar-sāba but see p. 72 n. 7. The words ħar-sā-ba, with gloss ħar on the first sign, are explained by kābiṭti liḥbi, ‘thoughts of the heart’, SBH. 9,116. ħar, hur > ur, all mean kābiṭṭu. ‘Temple of meditation’.

ur-sag, hero, title of Ramman, 176 3; 13 3; Marduk, 69 7; 119,9; Zamama, 92 3.

ur-sag-gal, Nin-uraša, 22,4.5.7; 56 r. 20. Enlil, 49,13, ur-sag-gal-e-ne, 85 4.

urū-sag-ga, holy city; Bau, queen of uru-ag-ga, SAK. 274; SBP. 154,37; 170,11. 72,18.

urū-sag-ga, Isin, passim.

urū-ša-ga, lord of uru sagga, Nergal, SBP. 82,37; K. 69 Obv. 21.

urū-ši-ib-ba, the good city, Eridu, 150 3; 154 2; 123 124 4; 128 6; 136 6; 116,14.

usumgal, python, title of Ninharsag, 91,11. usumgal maḫ, 86 3.

Ur. Utu, Ud-ān, title of Tammuz, 63,15.

utuk, rabišu, minor deity, utuk-ē-kūr-ra, Nusku, 92 r. 7; 45 9; 50,25.

uz-da-ga (title, of Tammuz ?), 73,32.

uz-sag an-ki-a, leading goat of heaven and earth, Shamash, 154 3.

Zamama, god of Kiš, 92 3.

Zarpanit, 112 2; 66,13; 69,19.

1. I shall not oppose the popular reading Ninib, which is too well established to be easily banished. Nin-uraša is clearly the original reading. In the late period the Aramaic peoples reproduced this name by Enurašat, ʾnarušāt (CLAY reads š for š in the Aramaic transcript), which shows that the sign Nin was really pronounced en; the masculine character of the god thus being recognised, although the ancient writing persisted. The addition of the feminine ending at is a mystery, but there can be little doubt about what the Aramaic letters mean.
LITURGICAL SERIES MENTIONED IN THE TEXTS OR DISCUSSED IN THIS VOLUME.

abzu pi-el-la-âm, 30 19.
ama-mu-gig, 87.
am-e amaš-a-na, p. 105 sub 447.
a-še-ir gig-ta, p. 42, 71; see also 105, 71.
a urû-mu im-me, 189.
ē abzu-ta, 103 6.
en-zu sā-mar-mar, 210; 103 4; 192; CT. 15, 11; Zam. K.L. 2 r. 23.
é-tûr ki āb-udu, 164 1.
gakkul-âm ma-al-šu, 103 18; IV R. 53 I 57. See also SBP. 42, 60.
gû-ud-nim kûr-ra, 21 9.
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muten nu-nunuz-dim-ma, 18.
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nin-maâ Aruru, 54 102.
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ud-dam gû-de-de-âs, 24 16.
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usûm ū-ki-sîg-ga nà-a, 103 3 and p. 105.
.... bara azag-ga, 103 5.
.... er i-sî-is 103 7.
.... é-kûr-ra, 103 8; IV R. 53 I 25.
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.... i gud-gul elum gud-gul, 103.
.... ma-al-šu, 103 14.
.... cu-lîl-lâ-ge, 103 16.
.... mā-a, 103, 17.

CATCH-LINES.

e-lum urû-zu-ta ra-ab-dûg...., 117.
me-e umun-mu-ra, 168.
nu-nunuz-si-sa dumu inmer-ra-ge, 29, 28.
.... ūhar-ra-an kûr-kûr-ra asilal-la si-sà, 180.
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PL. VI

Edin. 08. 405 - 27.

09. \[\text{..} \]

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Edin 09. 408 - 26.

10. [Text written in Latin]

15. [Text written in Latin]

Edin. Fragment of Creation
* Sm. 116 has here ////////////// This is apparently a line not in any of the parallel passages
Top of col. I is broken away and about eight lines at the top of the fragment are not legible. Altogether about ten lines are missing.

About eight lines broken from the end of this column.
LANGDON, LITURGIES.

K. 9325 Obv

K. 9325 Rev

K. 10533

K. 9407

K. 9265

K. 9257

K. 10666

K. 9309 Rev

K. II474
The remainder of the reverse is entirely destroyed.
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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K. 5323

K. 5378

K. 5410

K. 5448

K. 216 366
LANGDON, ILITURGIES. PL. XXXVII

K. 6657

Illegible

Traces of six more lines
LANGDON, LITURGIES.

K. 8763

K. 9358

K. 9618

K. 9722

K. 9363

Line 5 belongs before line 7.
**Ashmolean Pism.**

**Col. I.**
Col. IV has traces of three lines at top before the line numbered one in the text.
K. 2881 + 2786 Obverse.

About ten lines missing

Reverse.
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PHOTOGRAPHS OF OBV. AND REV. OF No. 1.
TWO PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE ASHMOLEAN PRISM.