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by Stephen Langdon

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Title: Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms

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Release Date: April 10, 2010 [Ebook 31935]

Language: English

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SUMERIAN LITURGIES AND PSALMS***

Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms

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Published by The University Museum

1919

Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| Introduction. | 2 |
| Lamentation of Ishme-Dagan Over Nippur. 13856 (No. 1) | 13 |
| Liturgy of Ishme-Dagan. 11005 (No. 2) | 35 |
| Liturgical Hymn to Innini. 7847 (No. 3 and duplicate No. 4) | 39 |
| Psalm to Enlil Containing a Long Intercession by the Mother Goddess. 15204 (No. 5) | 48 |
| Lamentation on the Pillage of Lagash by the Elamites. 2154 (No. 6) | 54 |
| Lamentation to Innini on the Sorrows of Erech. 13859 (Poebel No. 26) | 61 |
| Liturgical Hymn to Sin. 8097 (No. 7) | 67 |
| Lamentation on the Destruction of Ur. 7080 (No. 11) | 72 |
| Liturgical Hymns of the Tammuz Cult. 3656 (Myhrman No. 5) | 80 |
| A Liturgy to Enlil, Series <i>e-lum gud-sun</i> (Zimmern KL. No. 11) | 87 |
| Reverse of Tablet Virolleaud (The titular litany) | 114 |
| Early Form of the Series ^d <i>Babbar-gim-è-ta</i> 11359 (Myhrman No. 8) | 118 |
| Liturgy of the Cult of Kes (Nippur Fragments and Ash- molean Prism.) | 121 |
| Ashmolean Prism, Col. II | 132 |
| Third Tablet of the Series "The Exalted One Who Walketh" (<i>e-lum didara</i>) (No. 13) | 140 |
| Babylonian Cult Symbols. 6060 (No. 12) | 149 |
| Addendum On Obv. I 10 F. | 169 |
| Description Of Tablets | 170 |
| Index Of Tablets | 174 |
| Index To Vol. X | 176 |

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Autographed Texts | 189 |
| Footnotes | 221 |

Introduction.

[Transcriber's Note: This e-book is Number 4 of Volume X of a series, which had a single page numbering system throughout the Volume. Thus, although this e-book is pages 233 through 351, it contains references to pages outside of this range in the same Volume.]

With the publication of the texts included in this the last part of volume X, *Sumerian Liturgical and Epical Texts*, the writer arrives at a definite stage in the interpretation of the religious material in the Nippur collection. Having been privileged to examine the collection in Philadelphia as well as that in Constantinople, I write with a sense of responsibility in giving to the public a brief statement concerning what the temple library of ancient Nippur really contained. Omitting the branches pertaining to history, law, grammar and mathematics, the following *résumé* is limited to those tablets which, because of their bearing upon the history of religion, especially upon the origins of Hebrew religion, have attracted the attention of the public on two continents to the collections of the University Museum.

Undoubtedly the group of texts which have the most human interest and greatest literary value is the epical group, designated in Sumerian by the rubric *zag-sal*.¹ This literary term was employed by the Sumerian scribes to designate a composition as didactic and theological. Religious texts of such kind are generally composed in an easy and graceful style and, although

¹ In addition to the examples of epical poems and hymns cited on pages 103-5 of this volume note the long mythological hymn to Innini, No. 3 and the hymn to Enlil, No. 10 of this part. An unpublished hymn to Enlil, Ni. 9862, ends *a-a* ^d*En-lil zag-sal*, "O praise father Enlil." For Ni. 13859, cited above p. 104, see POEBEL{FNS, PBS. V No. 26.

somewhat influenced by liturgical mannerisms, may be readily distinguished from the hymns and psalms sung in the temples to musical accompaniment. The *zagsal* compositions² are mythological and theological treatises concerning the deeds and characters of the great gods. The most important didactic hymns of the Nippur collection and in fact the most important religious texts in early Sumerian literature are two six column tablets, one (very incomplete) on the Creation and the Flood published by DR. POEBEL, and one (all but complete) on Paradise and the Fall of Man. Next in importance is a large six column tablet containing a mythological and didactic hymn on the characteristics of the virgin mother goddess.³ No. 25 in MYHRMAN'S *Babylonian Hymns and Prayers*, No. 1. Here also the principal actors are Enki, his messenger Isimu, and "Holy Innini" as in the better preserved epic. Both are poems on the exaltation of Innini.

A long mythological hymn in four columns⁴ in JRAS. 1919. on the cohabitation of the earth god Enlil and the mother goddess Ninlil and an equally long but more literary hymn to the virgin goddess Innini⁵ are good examples of this group of tablets in the Nippur collection.⁶ One of the most interesting examples of didactic composition is a hymn to the deified king Dungi of

² So far as the term is properly applied. Being of didactic import it was finally attached to grammatical texts in the phrase ^d*Nidaba zag-sal*, "O praise Nidaba," i. e., praise the patroness of writing.

³ POEBEL {FNS, PBS. V No. 25; translated in the writer's *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, 220-257. Note also a similar epical poem to Innini partial duplicate of POEBEL {FNS

⁴ Ni. 9205 published by BARTON {FNS, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 4. This text is restored by a tablet of the late period published by PINCHES {FNS

⁵ Ni. 7847, published in this part, No. 3 and partially translated on pages 260-264.

⁶ Undoubtedly Ni. 11327, a mythological hymn to Enki in four columns, belongs to this class. It is published as No. 14 of this part. A similar *zagsal* to Enki belongs to the Constantinople collection, see p. 45 of my *Historical and Religious Texts*.

[235]

Ur. By accident both the Philadelphia and the Constantinople collections possess copies of this remarkable poem and the entire text has been reconstructed by the writer in a previous publication.⁷ I have already signaled the unique importance of this extraordinary hymn to the god-man Dungi in which he is described as the divinely born king who was sent by the gods to restore the lost paradise.⁸ The poem mentions the flood which, according to the Epic of Paradise, terminated by divine punishment the Utopian age. The same mythological belief underlies the hymn to Dungi. Paradise had been lost and this god-man was sent to restore the golden age. There is a direct connection between this messianic hymn to Dungi and the remarkable Epic of Paradise. All other known hymns to deified kings are liturgical compositions and have the rubrics which characterize them as songs sung in public services. But the didactic hymn to Dungi has the rubric [^dDungi] *zag-sal*, "O praise Dungi." It would be difficult to claim more conclusive evidence than this for the correctness of our interpretation of the group of *zagsal* literature and of the entire mythological and theological exegesis propounded in the edition of the Epic of Paradise, edited in part one of this volume.⁹ *Miscel.* No. 4; hymn to Ninurta as creator of canals, RADAU{FNS, BE. 29, No. 2, translated in BL., 7-11; hymn to Nidaba, RADAU{FNS, *Miscel.* No. 6.

When our studies shall have reached the stage which renders

⁷ *Historical and Religious Texts*, pp. 14-18.

⁸ See PSBA. 1919, 34.

⁹ One of the most remarkable tablets in the Museum is Ni. 14005, a didactic poem in 61 lines on the period of pre-culture and institution of Paradise by the earth god and the water god in Dilmun. Published by BARTON{FNS, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 8. The writer's exegesis of this tablet will be found in *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, 135-146. It is not called a *zag-sal* probably because the writer considered the tablet too small to be dignified by that rubric. Similar short mythological poems which really belong to the *zag-sal* group are the following: hymn to Shamash, RADAU{FNS

appropriate the collection of these texts into a special corpus they will receive their due valuation in the history of religion. That they are of prime importance is universally accepted.

From the point of view of the history of religion I would assign the liturgical texts to the second group in order of importance. Surprisingly few fragments from the long canonical daily prayer services have been found. In fact, about all of the perfected liturgies such as we know the Sumerian temples to have possessed belong to the cults of deified kings. In the entire religious literature of Nippur, not one approximately complete canonical prayer service has survived. Only fragments bear witness to their existence in the public song services of the great temples in Nippur. A small tablet¹⁰ published in part two of this volume carries a few lines of the titular or theological litany of a canonical or musically completed prayer book as they finally emerged from the liturgical schools throughout Sumer. Long liturgical services were evolved in the temples at Nippur as we know from a few fragments of large five column tablets.¹¹ *Miscel.* No. 13; both canonical prayer books of the weeping mother class. For a liturgy of the completed composite type in the Tammuz cult, see RADAU{FNS, BE. 30, Nos. 1, 5, 6, 8, 9. [236]

The completed composite liturgies or canonical breviaries as they finally received form throughout Sumer in the Isin period were made by selecting old songs of lament and praise and re-editing them so as to develop theological ideas. Characteristic of these final song services is the titular litany as the penultimate song and a final song as an intercession. A considerable number of such perfected services exist in the Berlin collection. These were obtained apparently from Sippar.¹² The writer has made special efforts to reconstruct the Sumerian canonical series as they existed in the age of Isin and the first Babylonian dynasty. On

¹⁰ Ni. 112; see pp. 172-178.

¹¹ For example, MYHRMAN{FNS, No. 3; RADAU{FNS

¹² See ZIMMERN{FNS, *Sumerische Kultlieder*, p. V, note 2.

the basis of tablets not excavated at Nippur but belonging partly to the University Museum and partly to the Berlin collection the writer restored the greater part of an Enlil liturgy in part 2, pp. 155-167.¹³ In the present and final part of this volume another Enlil liturgy has been largely reconstructed on pages 290-306.¹⁴ From these two partially reconstructed song services the reader will obtain an approximate idea of the elaborate liturgical worship of the late Sumerian period. These were adopted by the Babylonians and Assyrians as canonical and were employed in interlinear editions by these Semitic peoples. Naturally the liturgical remains of the Babylonian and Assyrian breviaries are much more numerous and on the basis of these the writer was able in previous volumes to identify and reconstruct a large number of the Sumerian canonical musical services. But a large measure of success has not yet attended his efforts to reconstruct the original unilingual liturgies commonly written on one huge tablet of ten columns. Obviously the priestly schools of the great religious center at Nippur possessed these perfected prayer books but their great size was fatal to their preservation. It must be admitted that the Nippur collection has contributed almost nothing from the great canonical Sumerian liturgies which surely existed there.

Much better is the state of preservation of the precanonical liturgies, or long song services constructed by simply joining a series of *kišubs* or songs of prostration. These *kišub* liturgies are the basis of the more intricate canonical liturgies and in this aspect the Nippur collection surpasses in value all others. Canonical and perfected breviaries may be termed liturgical compositions and the precanonical breviaries may be described as liturgical compilations, if we employ "composition" and "compilation" in their exact Latin sense. Since Sumerian song services of the earlier type, that is liturgical compilations, are more extensively represented in the Nippur temple library than in any other, this

¹³ The base text here is ZIMMERN{FNS, KL. No. 12.

¹⁴ The base of this text is ZIMMERN{FNS, KL. No. 11.

is an appropriate place to give an exact description of this form of prayer service which preceded and prepared the way to the greatest system of musical ritual in any ancient religion. If we may judge from the literary remains of Nippur now in the University Museum, the priestly schools of temple music in that famous city were extremely conservative about abandoning the ancient liturgical compilations. These daily song services, all of sorrowful sentiment and invariably emphasizing humility and human suffering, are constructed by simply compiling into one breviary a number of ancient songs, selected in such manner that all are addressed to one deity. In this manner arose intricate choral compilations of length suitable to a daily prayer, each addressed to a great god. Hence we have in the temple libraries throughout Sumer and Babylonia liturgies to each of the great gods. Even in the less elaborate *kišub* compilations there is in many cases revealed a tendency to recast and arrange the collection of songs upon deeper principles. A tendency to include in all services a song to the wrathful word of the gods and a song to the sorrowful earth mother is seen even in the Nippurian breviaries of the precanonical type. I need not dilate here upon the great influence which these principles exercised upon the beliefs and formal worship of Assyria and Babylonia, upon the late Jewish Church and upon Christianity. The personified word of god and the worship of the great *mater dolorosa*, or the virgin goddess, are ancient Sumerian creations whose influence has been effective in all lands. [238]

As examples of the liturgical compilation texts the reader is referred especially to the following tablets. On pages 290-292 the writer has described the important compiled liturgy found by CHARLES VIROLLEAUD.¹⁵ It is an excellent example of a Nippurian musical prayer service. It contained eleven *kišubs*, or prayers, and they are recast in such manner that the whole set forth one

¹⁵ Now in the Nies Collection, Brooklyn, New York.

[239]

idea which progresses to the end. The liturgy has in fact almost reached the stage of a composition. And in these same pages the reader will see how this service finally resulted in a canonical liturgy, for the completed product has been recovered. On pages 309-310 will be found a fragment, part of an ancient liturgy to Enlil of the compiled type. Here again we are able to produce at least half of the great liturgy into which the old service issued. In the preceding part of this volume, pages 184-187, is given the first song of a similar liturgy addressed to the mother goddess.

Undoubtedly the most important liturgical tablet which pertains to the ordinary cults in the Nippur collection is discussed on pages 279-285. The breviary, which probably belongs to the cult of the moon-god, derives importance from its great length, its theological ideas, especially the mention of the messengers which attend the Logos or Word of Enlil, and its musical principles. Here each song has an antiphon which is unusual in precanonical prayer books of the ordinary cults.¹⁶ Students of the history of liturgies will be also particularly interested in the unique breviary compiled from eight songs of prostration, a lamentation for the ancient city of Keš with theological references. This song service was popular at Nippur, for remains of at least two copies have been found in the collection. A translation is given on pages 311-323.

[240]

The oldest public prayer services consisted of only one psalm or song. A good number of these ancient psalms are known from other collections, especially from those of the British Museum. In view of the conservative attitude of the liturgists at Nippur it is indeed surprising that so few of the old temple songs have survived as they were originally employed; ancient single song liturgies in this collection are rare. The following list contains all the notable psalms of this kind. RADAU, *Miscellaneous Sumerian*

¹⁶ A similar liturgy is Ni. 19751, published by BARTON{FNS, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 6.

Texts No. 3¹⁷ is a lamentation of the mother goddess and her appeal to Enlil on behalf of various cities which had been visited by wars and other afflictions. RADAU, *ibid.*, No. 16 has the rubric *ki-šu*¹⁸ *sir-gal* ^d*Enlil*, “A prayer of prostration, a great song unto Enlil.” A psalm of the weeping mother goddess similar in construction to RADAU No. 3 is edited on pages 260-264 of this volume.¹⁹ No. 7 of this part, edited on pages 276-279, is an excellent illustration of the methods employed in developing the old single song psalms into compiled liturgies. Here we have a short song service to the moon god constructed by putting together two ancient psalms. The rubrics designate them as *sagar* melodies,²⁰ or choral songs, and adds that it is sung to the lyre.²¹ An especially fine psalm of a liturgical character was translated on pages 115-117. It is likewise a lament to the sorrowful mother goddess.

The student of Sumero-Babylonian religion will not fail to comment upon one remarkable lacuna in the religious literature of every Sumerian city which has been excavated. Prayers of the private cults are almost entirely nonexistent. Later Babylonian religion is rich in penitential psalms written in Sumerian for use in private devotions. These are known by the rubric *eršagğunga*, or prayers to appease the heart. Only one has been found in the Nippur collection,²² and none at all have been recovered elsewhere. Seals of Sumerians showing them in the act of saying their private prayers abound from the earliest period. Most of these seals represent the worshipper saluting a deity with a kiss thrown with the hand. The attitude was described as *šu-illa*,

[241]

¹⁷ Translated by RADAU {FNS on pages 436-440.

¹⁸ Abbreviation for *ki-šub-gú-da* = *šêru*, strophe, song of prostration.

¹⁹ No. 3 of the texts in part 4.

²⁰ *sa-gar* = *pitnu šaknu*, choral music, v. ZIMMERN {FNS, ZA. 31, 112. See also the writer's PBS. Vol. XII, p. 12.

²¹ *nar-balag*. The liturgists classified the old songs according to the instrument employed in the accompaniment. See SBP. p. ix.

²² See page 118 in part 2.

or “Lifting of the Hand.” Semitic prayers of the lifting of the hand abound in the religion of Babylonia and Assyria. Here they are prayers employed in the incantation ritual. We know from the great catalogue of Sumerian liturgical literature compiled by the Assyrians that the Sumerians had a large number of prayers of the lifting of the hand.²³ In Sumerian religion these were apparently purely private prayers unconnected with the rituals of atonement. At any rate the Nippur collections in Constantinople and Philadelphia contain a large number of incantation services for the atonement of sinners and the afflicted. These resemble and are the originals of the Assyrian incantation texts of the type *utukku limnuti*, and contain no prayers either by priest (*kišub* in later terminology is the rubric of priest's prayers in incantations) or by penitent (*šu-il-la's*). The absence of prayers of private devotion in the temple library of Nippur is absolutely inexplicable. Does it mean that the Sumerians were so deficient in providing for the religious cure of the individual? Their emphasis of the social solidarity of religion is truly in remarkable contrast to the religious individualism of the Semite. But the Sumerian historical inscriptions often contain remarkable prayers of individuals. The seals emphasize the act of private devotion. The catalogue of their prayers states that they possessed a good literature for private devotions. When one considers the evidence which induces to assume that they possessed such a literature, its total absence in every Sumerian collection is an enigma which the writer fails to explain.

[242]

In the introduction to part two of this volume²⁴ the writer has emphasized the peculiarly rich collection of tablets in this collection pertaining to the cults of deified kings. In the present part is published a most important tablet of that class. This liturgy of the compiled type in six *kišubs* sung in the cult of

²³ See IV Raw. 53, III 44-IV 28 restored from BL. 103 Reverse, a list of 47 *šu-il-lá* prayers to various deities.

²⁴ Pages 106-109.

the god-man Ishme-Dagan, fourth king of the Isin dynasty, is unique in the published literature of Sumer. Its musical intricacy and theological importance have been duly defined on pages 245-247. With the publication of these texts the important song services of the cults of deified kings are exhausted. In addition to the texts of this class translated or noted in part two, I call attention to the very long text concerning Dungi, king of Ur, published by BARTON, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions* No. 3. In that extremely long poem in six columns of about 360 lines²⁵ there are no rubrics, which shows at once that it is not a cult song service. Moreover, Dungi had not been deified when the poem was written. It is really an historical poem to this king whose deification had at any rate not yet been recognized at Nippur. It belongs in reality to the same class of literature as the historical poem on his father Ur-Engur, translated on pages 126-136.

The only Sumerian cult songs to deified kings not in the Nippur collection have now been translated by the writer and made accessible for wider study. One hymn to Ur-Engur which proves that he had been canonized at his capitol in Ur will be found in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Literature*, 1918, 45-50. The twelfth song of a liturgy to Ishme-Dagan published by ZIMMERN from the Berlin collection is translated on pages 52-56 of the same article. Finally a long liturgy to Libit-Ishtar, son of Ishme-Dagan, likewise in Berlin, has been translated there on pages 69-79.²⁶ Since the Berlin texts probably came from Sippar their existence in that cult is important. For they prove not only the practice of cult worship of deified kings in that city, but the domination of Isin over this north Semitic city is thus documented for a period as late as Libit-Ishtar. [243]

²⁵ Less than half the tablet is preserved.

²⁶ Note that this breviary of the cult of Libit-Ishtar terminates with two ancient songs, one to Innini and one to Ninâ, both types of the mother goddess who was always intimately connected with the god-men as their divine mother.

Nearly all the existing prayer services in the cults of the deified kings of Ur and Isin are now published and translated. The student will observe that they are all of the compiled type but that there is in most cases much musical arrangement and striving for combined effect. A few, and especially the Ishme-Dagan liturgy published as No. 1 of this part, reveal theological speculation and an effort to give the institution of god-man worship its proper place in their religion. The hymns of these cults comparatively so richly represented in this volume will be among the most interesting groups of religious texts supplied by the excavations at Nippur.²⁷

OXFORD, July 9, 1919.

[245]

²⁷ For a list of the abbreviations employed in this volume, see page 98 of Part I.

Lamentation of Ishme-Dagan Over Nippur. 13856 (No. 1)

The liturgical character of this tablet is unique among all the numerous choral compositions of the Isin period. It is a large two column tablet containing six long *kišub* melodies. Liturgies of such kind, compiled by joining a series of *kišubs*, or melodies, attended by prostrations, represent an advanced stage in the evolution of these compositions in that the sections are not mechanically joined together by selecting older melodies without much regard for their connection, but as a whole they are apparently original compositions so arranged that they develop a motif from the beginning to the end of the liturgy. Choral services composed of *kišubs* in the cults of deified kings have been found²⁸ in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, No. 1. The liturgy to Libit-Ishtar in ZIMMERN'S {FNS, K L. 199 I—Rev. I 7, is composed of a series of *sa-(bar)-gid-da*.

wherein the deeds and personality of the king are sung, his divine claims are emphasized and his Messianic promises rehearsed. But the liturgy here published resembles in literary style the classical lamentations which always formed the chief temple services of Sumer and Babylonia. It more especially resembles the weeping mother liturgies, but here Ishme-Dagan appears in the lines of the service in a rôle similar to that of the sorrowful mother goddess of the ordinary liturgies, as he weeps for Nippur.

²⁸ The twelfth *kišub* of a liturgy to Ishme-Dagan is published in ZIMMERN'S {FNS *Kultlieder*, No. 200. A somewhat similar song service of the cult of this king has been published in the writer's *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, 178-187. A portion of a series to Dungi was published by RADAU {FNS

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

[246]

So reads a line from the second melody.

Lines of similar character occur repeatedly in the laments of the mother goddess as she weeps for her people in the standard liturgies. In other words, the cult of the deified kings issues here into its logical result. The god man created to live and die for his people usurps the sphere of the earth mother herself. And like her he is intimately associated with the fortunes of mankind, of nature and all living creatures. The great gods and the hosts of their attendants rule over man and the various phases of the universe from afar. But the mother goddess is the incarnation of fruitful nature, the mother of man whose joys and sorrows she feels. So also in this remarkable liturgy the deified son of the great gods lives among men, becomes their patron and divine companion.

The tablet contained originally about fifty lines in each column, or 200 in all. About one-third of the first column is gone. The first melody contained at least fifty lines and ended somewhere shortly after the first line of Col. II of the obverse. It began by relating how Enlil had ordered the glory of Nippur, and then had become angered against his city, sending upon it desolation at the hands of an invader. When we take up the first lines of Obv. II we are well into the second melody which represents Ishme-Dagan mourning for fathers and mothers who had been separated from their children; for brothers who had been scattered afar; for the cruel reign of the savage conqueror who now rules where the dark-headed people had formerly dwelled in peace.

At about the middle of Obv. II begins the third melody which consists of 38 lines extending to Rev. I 19. In this section the psalmist ponders upon the injustice of his city's fate, and looks for the time when her woes will cease, and Enlil will be reconciled.

[247]

The fourth section begins at line 24 of Rev. I and ended near the bottom of this column which is now broken away. Here

Ishme-Dagan joins with the psalmists weeping for Nippur.

Section 5 began near the end of Rev. I, and ends at line 16 of Rev. II. Here begins the phase of intercession to Enlil to repent and revenge Nippur upon the foe. Section 6, beginning at Rev. II 17, probably continued to the end of the column and the tablet. Here the liturgy promises the end of Nippur's sorrow. Enlil has ordered the restoration of his city and has sent Ishme-Dagan, his beloved shepherd, to bring joy unto the people.

After sections 2 and 3 follows the antiphon of one or two lines. The ends of sections 1 and 4 are lost but we may suppose that antiphons stood here also. Section 5 does not have an antiphon. Since section 6 ended the liturgy it is not likely that an antiphon stood there.

[Transcriber's Note: In the original book, throughout the book, all of the transcriptions and translations were done in two columns. The left column showed the transcription, and the right the English translation; each line had the line number. In this e-book, the transcription and translation of each line will be shown in succeeding lines.]

OBVERSE. COL. I

(About eighteen lines broken away.)

1. ... *túg ba-ra-pad-da*

1.

2. *^dA-nun-na-ge-ne na-ba-an-ri-gi-eš-ám*

2. The Anunnaki he caused to take their seats.²⁹

3. *ub-šu-ukkin-na³⁰ ki di-gal tar-ru*

3. In the Assembly Hall, place where the great judgments are decided,

²⁹ *na-ba-* is for *nam-ba*, emphatic prefix. See PBS. X pt. 1 p. 76 n. 4. Cf. *na-ri-bi*, verily she utters for thee, BE. 30, No. 2, 20.

³⁰ On the philological meaning of this name, see VAB. IV 126, 55.

4. *eš-bar-e si-di ba-ra-an-zu-uš³¹-ám*

4. Decisions to arrange he caused them to know.

5. *dingir-bi-ne ki-dúr ba-ab- gar-ra³²*

5. These gods he caused to take up there their abode.

[248]

6. *šug-láġ-bi im-šub-ba aga-bi im-ri-a*

6. Their clean sacrificial food he gave, their crowns he clothed upon them.

7. *ki-lugal du-azag³³ ĩin-sġg³⁴ unù³⁵-gal-ba*

7. In the king's place, the throne room, the *ĩinsig* of the vast abode,

8. *tin³⁶ lál bal-bal-e mu-šú be-ib-tar-ra*

8. The libation of wine and honey yearly he decreed.

9. *Nibru-(ki) uru giš-gig-dagal-la-bi-šú*

9. For Nippur the city whose shadow extends afar

10. *uku-sag-gig-ga ní-im-ši-ib-te-en-na*

10. The people, the dark headed, he caused to have reverence.

11. *ki-dúr-ba gú-ni a-gim³⁷ ba-ra-an-šub*

11. But its habitations he cursed ...

³¹ For the suffixes *eš*, *uš*, denoting plural of the object, see *Sum. Gr.* p. 168.

³² On *ki-dúr-gar* cf. Gudea, Cyl. B 12, 19.

³³ Usually written *dù-azag*, throne room. On the meaning of *du* in this word, see AJSL. 33, 107. Written also *dù-azag*, in Ni. 11005 II 9.

³⁴ Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A 25, 14, the *kin-gi* of the *unu-gal*.

³⁵ Br. 7720. The sign *TE* is here *gunufied*. Cf. OBI. 127, Obv. 5.

³⁶ *Tin* alone may mean "wine," as in Gudea, Cyl. B, 5, 21; 6, 1. See also NIKOLSKI{FNS, No. 264, *duk-tin*, a jar of wine.

³⁷ *a-gim* = *dimētu*, ban, SBH. 59, 25. *a-gim ġe-im-bal-e*, The ban may he elude, Ni. 11065 Rev. II 25. Unpublished. The line is not entirely clear; cf. BRÜNNOW{FNS, No. 3275.

12. *ab sīg-gan-dúg-ga-gim e-ne sīg-gan-ba-ra-an-dúg*

12. Like scattered cows he scattered them.

13. *uru šag-bi er-gíg sīg- bi*

13. The city's interior is filled with weeping,

14. *en-na³⁸ dam³⁹ dingir ga-ša-an-bi li-bi nu-tar-ri⁴⁰*

14. While the consort, its divine queen, is not solicitous for her.

15. *é-gu-la za-pa-ag ib-zu-a-bi*

15. The great house which knew the cry of multitudes,

16. *é-ri-a-súd-gim galu nu-un-tur-tur*

16. Like a vast building in ruins men enter not.

17. *Nibru-(ki) uru ki ligir-ligir-gal-gal-e-ne šu-im-ma-an-ḪA⁴¹-
eš-ám*

17. In Nippur, the city where great princes were prosperous,

18. *a-na-aš ú-gu i-ni-in-de-eš⁴²*, *Inventaire* 944; CLAY{FNS
Miscellen 28 V 71: *má ú-gu-ba-an-de*, “If a boat
float away,” *ibid.* IV 14. See also GRANT{FNS
AJSL. 33, 200-2.

18. Why have they fled?

19. *uku sag-gig gú-sa-ġi-a*⁴³ *udu-gim be-ib-?*⁴⁴-*a*

19. The people, the dark headed, all of them like sheep....

20. *e(?)-en-šú KAK-RU*⁴⁵ *er a-nir šag PA-ĤI-BAD-a*

20. How long shall loud crying(?), weeping and wailing *distress*
(?) the heart?

21. *en-šú bar*⁴⁶ *be-ib- ... ùl*

21. How long shall the soul be terrified?

22. *šag nu-ub-ši-túg-e*

22. And the heart repose not?

23. *^{su}ùb ^{su}á-lá mu-un-tuk-a-ri*⁴⁷

23. To the drum and cymbals I sing.

³⁸ For *en-na* in the sense of “while,” see PERY{FNS, *Sin* in LSS. page 41, 16.

³⁹ The sign is imperfectly made on the tablet.

⁴⁰ Cf. SBP. 328, 11.

⁴¹ *ĤA* is probably identical in usage with *PEŠ*, and the idea common to both is “be many, extensive, abundant.” Note ZIMMERN{FNS, *Kultlieder* 19 Rev. has *ĤA* where SBP. 12, 2 has *PEŠ*. *šū-peš* occurs in Gudea, Cyl. A 16, 23; 11, 9; 19, 9 and CT. 15, 7, 27.

⁴² On *ugu-de* = *ḫalāku, na'butu*, to run away, see DELITZSCH{FNS, *Glossar* p. 43. Also *ugu-bi-an-de-e*, V R. 25a 17; *ù-gù-dé*, RA. 10, 78, 14; *ú-gu ba-an-dé*, if he run away, VS. 13, 72 9 and 84, 11, with variant 73, 11 *u-da-pa-ar = udtappar*, if he take himself away. *ú-gu-ba-an-de-zu*, when thou fleest, BE. 31, 28, 23. *ú-gu-ba-de*, GENOUILLAC{FNS

⁴³ Sic! *gú-sa-bi* is expected; cf. RA. 11, 145, 31 *gú-sa-bi = napḫar-šū-nu*.

⁴⁴ Sign obliterated; the traces resemble *SU*.

⁴⁵ Read perhaps *dū-šub* = *nadû ša rigmi*, to shout loudly. Cf. *dúg sir-ra šub-ba-a-zu = rigme zarbiš addiki*, ASKT. 122, 12. Passim in astrological texts.

⁴⁶ The tablet has *MAŠ*. The Semitic would be *adi mati kabattu iparrad*.

⁴⁷ *ri* is apparently an emphatic element identical in meaning with *ám*; cf. SBP. 10, 7-12. Note *ri*, variant of *nam*, SBH. 95, 23 = ZIMMERN{FNS, KL. 12 I 8.

24. ... *gíg-ga a-a na...*

24. ... sorrowfully(?)....

25. ... *síg ... ne ba-dúr-ru-ne-eš*

25. ... *brick ... they dwell.*

26. ... *gar-ra-bi er-šú ba-ab-bi-ne*

26. ... in tears they speak.

27. ... *šub-ba tūr-ru-ba-ne*

27. ... are made small.

28. ... *sìr-ri-eš ba-ab-bi-ne*

28. ... in misery they speak.

29. ... *ki-dúr-bi ḳar-ra*

29. ... whose habitations are desolated.

30. ... *im-ši-sìr-sìr-e-ne-eš*⁴⁸

30. Unto ... they have hastened.

31. ... *ne-ne-túg*

31. ...?

32. ... *ga(?)nu-zu-gim*

32. ... like one that knows not.

33. ... *sūg*⁴⁹

33. ... is in confusion.

⁴⁸ Sic! Double plural. *eš* probably denotes the past tense, see *Sum. Gr.* § 224.

⁴⁹ Sign BRÜNNOW{FNS, No. 11208.

(END OF COL. I.)

COL. II

(About fifteen lines broken away.)⁵⁰

1. ... *gál*

1.

2. ... *-e ba-ab-dúg-ám*⁵¹

2.

3. ... *ma-lal im-mé*

3.

[250]

4. ... *ġul-nu-zu-ne nig-dug be-ib-tar-ru-uš-ám*

4. ... evil they know not, good they have decreed.

5. *i-lu-gíg im-me*

5. Bitter lament I⁵² utter.

6. *nam-lù-gál-bi máš-anšu-gim šag-ba mi-ni-ib-tíl-la-aš*

6. Her population like cattle of the fields within her have
perished.

7. *a ka-na-ám-mu im-me*

7. Helas! my Land! I sigh.

8. *ki-el kalag tul-tul-lá-bi-ne sùr*⁵³, KL. 12 Rev. 17.

-ri- -eš mi-ni-ib- sal-la-áš

8. Maid and young man and their children cruelly have been
scattered far and wide.

⁵⁰ The first melody or liturgical section probably ended somewhere in this lost passage at the top of Col. II.

⁵¹ Text A-ÁŠ!

⁵² The subject is Ishme-Dagan.

⁵³ The sign is a clearly made BR.{FNS No. 10275 but probably an error for 10234. For *sùr-ri-eš* see BA. V 633, 22; SBH. 56 Rev. 27; ZIMMERN{FNS

9. *iš-a-bi im-me*

9. Tearfully I sigh.

10. *šeš-bi imi-dugud šèg-gà-gim di-e-be-ib-sud-ám*⁵⁴

10. Their brothers like a rain storm have fled afar.

11. *er-šú nu- gul*⁵⁵ *e*

11. I cease not to weep.

12. *é-e áb amar-bi kud-du gim ní-bi-šù ūr-gíg-ga*⁵⁶ *im-gub*

12. The household like a cow, whose calf has been separated
from her, stand by themselves with sorrowful
souls.

13. *sîg-sîg*⁵⁷ *ni- mal- mal*

13. They have lapsed into the misery of silence.

14. *balag-di*⁵⁸ *lù-ad-dug-ga-ge*⁵⁹ PBS. X 137 n. 7.

-ne um-me-da-ū-a-di-gim

14. Oh sing to the lyre! The wailers like a child nursing mother
who cries in woe

15. *mu-bi er-ra mi-ni-ib-bal-bal-e-ne*

15. because of them devised lamentation.

⁵⁴ This compound verb *di-e-sud* here for the first time. *di-e* is probably connected with *de* to flee. At the end *Aš* is written for *AN*. Read *a-áš* and construe *šeš* as a plural?

⁵⁵ *gul* = *kalû*, restrain, is ordinarily construed with the infinitive alone; *še-du nu-uš-gul-e-en* = *damāma ul ikalla*, Lang. B.L. 80, 25; SBH. 133, 65; 66, 15, etc.

⁵⁶ Confirms SAI. 6507 = *uḳḳu*, dumb, grief stricken.

⁵⁷ Variant of *sîg-sîg*, etc. See *Sum. Gr.* p. 237 sig. 3. Also POEBEL{FNS, PBS. V 26, 29.

⁵⁸ On the liturgical use of *balag-di*, see BL. p. XXXVII.

⁵⁹ Var. of *ad-du-ge* = *bêl nissâti*, IV R. 11a 23: *ad-da-ge*, ZIM.{FNS K.L. 12 II 3. See for discussion, LANG.{FNS

16. *uru ù-mu-un-bi sag-ib-ta-an-dīm-ma*

16. The city whose lord had been magnified,

17. *igi-ni sá kûr-ra ib-ta-an-gar-ra ad-e-eš ba-an-ara-áš*

17. In whose presence a hostile rule has been established, with
sighing they have caused to walk.

[251]

18. *é-zid kur-kur-ra igi-šú ba-an-gín-na*

18. As for the faithful temple, which in the lands excelled all,

19. *uku sag-gig-gi uš-zi⁶⁰ be-íb-tùb-ba*

19. (Where) the people, the dark headed, reposed *in security*;

20. *a-na ib-ag a-na im-ġa-lam-ma-bi⁶¹*

20. What has done it, what has destroyed it?

21. *ù-mu-un-bi ib-ta-kàš sag-ki-a mu-un-du*

21. Its lord is a fugitive, he *hastens in flight*.

22. *ki-šub⁶²- gú- 2 kam*

22. A melody with prostrations. Second section.

23. *me-gal šag-bi⁶³ ba-ra-an-è-a-áš gù-gíg-ga nu-mal⁶⁴-aš*

23. The meaning of the great decrees they have glorified.
Sorrowful words they restrain not.

⁶⁰ A new ideogram. Perhaps *uššu kînu*, “sure foundation.”

⁶¹ For suffixed *ni*, *bi*, *ba* in interrogative sentences note also *a-na an-na-ab-duġ-ni*, What can I add to thee? GENOUILLAC{FNS, *Drehem*, No. 1, 12, *a-ba ku-ul-la-ba*, Who shall restrain? Ni. 4610 Rev. 1.

⁶² See BL. p. XLV, and PBS. X 151 note 1.

⁶³ On the anticipative construct, see § 138 of the grammar.

⁶⁴ *nu-mal* are uncertain. The tablet is worn at this point.

24. *giš-gí-gál-bi-im*⁶⁵

24. This is its antiphon.

25. *uru ù-mu-un-bi šag ba-da-an-dib-ba*

25. The city whose lord is distressed,⁶⁶

26. *en-šú la-ba-ši-gur-ru suġ*⁶⁷, ASKT. 122, 12. DELITZSCH{FNS, H. W. 44a. *aḫulap* has the derived meaning of mercy, the answer to the “How long” refrain as in this passage. See also SBP. 241 note 27 and SCHRANK{FNS, LSS. III 1, 53.

-ám-bi nu- um- im me

26. Until when shall it not return (to its rest)? Until when shall its “How long” not be spoken?

27. *síg-bi a-na-šú ġir-ib-ta-an-gar*

27. Why are its brick walls trodden underfoot?

28. *tu(ġu) za-pa-ág mà-mà-bi ab-ta ib-ta- an-dal*

28. The doves screaming flew from their nests.

29. *é ? zu síg nar-balag ág-zí-ba*⁶⁸

29. The temple ... the sweet voiced flute,

[252]

30. ... *be-in-gí*

30.

⁶⁵ On the use of this term, see PBS. X 151 n. 1 and 182, 33.

⁶⁶ Cf. BL. 110, 11.

⁶⁷ Written Br. 3046, but the usual form is the *gunu*, Br. 3009. *suġ-ám-bi* = *aḫulap-šu*. POEBEL{FNS, PBS. V 152 IX 8: cf. also lines 9 and 10 *ibid*. In later texts *suġ-a* = *aḫulap*, HAUPT{FNS

⁶⁸ Cf. *nar-balag nig-dug-ga*, POEBEL{FNS, PBS. V 25 IV 48. Our text has the *emesal* form *ag-zib*.

31. Entirely destroyed.

31.

32. *é dū- na*⁶⁹

32. The temple violently....

33. *é ní-nu-tuk-gim si-ga*....

33. The temple like one without reverence....

34. *ág-me-bi nu-azag-azag-ga*

34. Its regulations unholy ones....

35. *šu-luġ-bi kur-kur-ra nu-ub-da-suġ*⁷⁰-a-gim

35. Its cult of ablutions like those which had not been chosen
above those of all lands

36. *šu-be-in-kał tuġ-ni ib-ta-an-zig*

36. He has demolished, its wealth he seized away.

37. *ág-gíg-ūr-ra a a-še-ra mu-un-di*

37. In misery of soul how long shall I utter lament?

38. *ta-še*⁷¹ *egir na-ām-ga-lim*⁷² *dū-a la-ba-an-kalag*

38. Why after the destruction has been done is it not respected?

39. *ág-el-dū-a-gim ġur-ri*⁷³ *zag-be-in-bi*

39. As one who accomplishes pure things this one has uttered a
curse:—

40. *síg-bi pā-e a-na-aš ib-ta-an-è*

40. “Why rise her brick-walls in effulgent glory?”

⁶⁹ For *dū-na* = *šaltiš*, see RA. 11, 146, 33.

⁷⁰ Written Br. 3046 = *nasāku*.

⁷¹ For *ta-šú*. Cf. BA. V 679, 14.

⁷² Probably a variant of *namġalam*, *namġilim* = *šahluġtu*.

⁷³ The demonstrative pronoun *ġur*, *ūr*

REVERSE, COL. I

1. *gig-an-bil*⁷⁴-*ba šag-ba er be-in-[zí-em]*

1. Night and day within her wailing is made.

2. *á-še kúr ág-gíg be-ib-aga-a*

2. Now the stranger has wrought insult.

3. *ù-mu-un-bi im-ġul-ám šu-bi be-in-gí-ám*⁷⁵

3. Its lord like a storm wind *their hands have removed*(?)

4. *uru-bi é-bi in-gul-gul-ám*

4. Their city, their temple, he has destroyed.

5. *ùr-bi in-sir-ra-ám šitim*⁷⁶-*e-ne in-ra-ám*

5. Its foundation he laid waste, the skilled workmen he transported.

[253]

6. *dam dumu-bi šag-ba mi-ni-in-dig-ga-ám*

6. Wife and children within her he slew.

7. *uru-bi uru-šub-ba im-ma-ni-in-tu-ra-ám*

7. Their city a subjected city he caused to become.⁷⁷

8. *mu-un-ga-bi ní-e be-in-ne-ra-ám*⁷⁸

8. Its property he himself took as plunder.

⁷⁴ *māši ù urra*, IV R. 5a 65; CT. 16, 20, 68.

⁷⁵ Text A-AŠ.

⁷⁶ Sign *AL*. *šitim*, *šidim* = *idinnu* is usually written with the sign *GIM*, POEBEL{FNS, PBS. V 117, 14 f. *amelu ĞIM* = *idinnu*, passim in Neo-Babylonian contracts.

⁷⁷ Literally, “caused to enter.”

⁷⁸ *munga* with *ra*, to carry away property as booty, see SBH. No. 32 Rev. 21 and BL. No. 51. The comparison with line 11 suggests, however, another interpretation, *immer-e be-in-ne-ra-ám*, “the storm-wind carried away.”

9. *uru-gál-la-bi nu-gál-la mi-ni-in-tu-ra-ám*⁷⁹

9. Their city which was he has caused to become a city which is not.

10. *dim-ma-bi ġr ib-ta-an-kúr-ra-ám*

10. Its works of art he placed a hostile foot upon.

11. *túg-bi in-sūġ*⁸⁰*-ám lil-e be-in-sġ-ám*

11. Its garments⁸¹ he seized away, the winds tore them in shreds.

12. *ú-kaš-a-bi ib-ta-an-kar-ra-ám*

12. Its food and drink he pilfered.

13. *ga-zu-bi ... mi-ni-ib-tíl-la-ám*

13. Their infants(?) ... he caused to perish.

14. *é-e kúr ág-rig*⁸²*... be-ib-aga-a*

14. The temple a stranger plundered.

15. *a-še-ir-ġġ im-me er be-ib-lu-lu*

15. Bitter sighing I utter, tears I pour out.

16. *balag-di galu i-lu ba-ab-bi-ám*

16. Oh sing to the lyre, he that speaks the songs of wailing.

17. *šag nu-zí-ba-bi mu-un-na-ni-ib-ġí-ġí*

17. Their hearts which are not glad it will pacify.

18. *ù-mu-un-bi me-bi ba-ra-an-è-a-ás*⁸³

18. The decrees of their lord they have glorified.

⁷⁹ In lines 7 and 9 the verb *tur* is employed in the sense of “to cause an event to enter,” to bring about the entrance of a condition or state of affairs.

⁸⁰ Br. 11208.

⁸¹ The passage refers to the priests' robes and garments of the temple service. See also SBP. 4, 9.

⁸² Variant of *nam-rig-aga* = *šalālu*.

⁸³ See Obv. II 23.

19. *á-bi nu-mu-un-tag-ga-ám li-bi nu-tar-ra-ám*

19. He⁸⁴ concerns himself not with their oracles; he cares not for their future.

[254]

20. ... *ki-šub-gú 3-kam-ma-ám*

20. A melody with prostrations. Third section.

21. *me-gal-gal-la-ni a-gim ba-ra-an-ēš*

21. His great decrees thus he has ordered.

22. *á-bi la-ba-an-tag-ga-ám li-bi nu-tar-ra-ám*

22. He has concerned himself not with their oracles; he cared not for their future.

23. ... *giš-gí-gál-bi-im*

23. This is its antiphon.

24. *mu-lu sîr-ra⁸⁵ na-ām-tar-gíg-ga-mu-uš⁸⁶*

24. He of melodious song the sorrowful fate weeps for.

25. *me ib-ši-en⁸⁷ -ne-en er im-ši-šeš-šéš-en*

25. Sound of mourning he causes to arise; lamentation he utters.

26. *á-še balag-di sîr-zu-ne*

26. Now oh sing to the lyre! They that know the melodies

⁸⁴ Enlil.

⁸⁵ Rendered *ša širĥi*, BL. 95, 19. On this title for a psalmist, see BL. XXIV.

⁸⁶ *uš* has evidently some meaning similar to the one given in the translation but it has not yet been found in this sense in any other passage. We have here the variant of *iš*, *eš* = *bakû* with vowel *u*. See *Sum. Gr.* 213 and 222.

⁸⁷ *DUL-DU*. The sign *DUL* is erroneously written REC. 236. In the text change *si* to *ši*.

27. *ḪAR-dúr-ra-mu ma-ar ba-bi-ne-ám*

27. My ... shall speak for me.

28. *ì-dé-šú kuš-a im-ma-sîg⁸⁸-ga-mu*

28. Now I am filled with sighing.

29. *galu⁸⁹-bi er-ra ma-an-mà-mà-ne-àm*

29. Her population offer prayers to me.

30. *á-še šag-zu⁹⁰-mu né-táb-táb-ba-mu*

30. Now my intercession, my pleading(?),

31. *á-še dúr-ra-bi ma-ar galu mu-da-an-zu-ám*

31. Now mightily the population unite with me in making
known.

32. *a-rá gig-ga šag-sir-ra-mu*

32. Upon ways of pain my mercy⁹¹

33. *ū-a tūr-ra-mu er-ra ma-an-tuk-ám*

33. Oh woe! my children weep for.

34. *éš é-dū-a ki-dúr-a-ne-ne*

34. In the house, the well builded temple, in their dwelling,

35. *nar-e-eš ba-ab-gar-ra ní-tuk ba-ab-tur-ra-ám*

35. Sound like one chanting is raised and praise is diminished.

[255]

36. *galu erím-eka na-ām-mu ib-tíl-la*

36. The foe has caused my land to perish.

⁸⁸ Br. 3739.

⁸⁹ Here treated as plural.

⁹⁰ The tablet has *SU*. For *šag-zu* synonym of *tešlitu*, see IV R. 21b Rev. 5.

⁹¹ *libbu rîku*; see ZIMMERN {FNS, KL. No. 8 I 3 and IV 28.

37. *er-ra ma-pad*⁹²(?)*ma-an-mà-mà-ne-ám*

37. They beseech....

38. *šag ág-gíg-ga ib-sîg-mu ad-bi-šú PI-gà*⁹³-*bi*
dé-ib-šed-dé-ne-ám

38. My heart which is filled with misery by their wailing ... may
they calm.

39. *er-bi ugû*⁹⁴-*mà mu-un-mà-mà-dam*

39. Their weeping is made unto me.

40. *E+SAL*⁹⁵ *šag-izi-du ma-ar ma-[an-tuk-tuk-e-ne-ám]*⁹⁶

40. In the mother goddess' sanctuary prayer to me they offer.

41. ^d*Mu-ul-lil*....

41. Enlil....

(About twelve lines broken away.)⁹⁷

REVERSE II

1.

1.

2.

2.

3.

3.

⁹² The sign like many others on this tablet is imperfectly made. *ma-pad*? or *ma-šig*? The meaning is obscure.

⁹³ Text uncertain. Perhaps *PI-SI-gà-bi*.

⁹⁴ Written *A-KA*. An unpublished Berlin syllabar gives *A-KA* (*uga*) = *muḫhu*.

⁹⁵ Br. 5515. For this sign with value *maštaku*, see DELITZSCH{FNS, H. W., *sub voce* and BA., V 620, 20. The Sumerian value is *ama*, Chicago Syllabar, 241 in AJSL. 33, 182.

⁹⁶ Restored from an unpublished text in Constantinople, Ni. 721.

⁹⁷ Section 4 ended somewhere in this break.

4. [... *mu-ra-ab-*] *dúg mu- na-ab*

4.

5. ... *űg-ga-gim*

5.

6. [... *m*] *u-ra-ab-dúg mu-na-ab*⁹⁸

6.

7. ... *aga- ... a- ... mu*

7.

8. ... *mu- ... na- ... ab*

8.

9. [...] *ma-a[r ... za]l-la*

9.

10. ... *ib-dū-e KA-mu-na- ab*

10.

11. ... *ğar-ra-ge-eš ... šag-izi-du*

11.

12. ... *arruš*⁹⁹ *ma-ra-tuk-tuk*¹⁰⁰

12. Have mercy upon me.

[256]

13. *šag-zu šag-sīg ib-ta-ba-e šag-lağ ma-ra-an-gar-ra-me*
(sic!)¹⁰¹

13. Thy heart whose portion has been affliction become for me a
glad heart.

⁹⁸ Probably a refrain.

⁹⁹ For the reading, see AJSL. 33, 182, 240.

¹⁰⁰ See BL. 128, 21.

¹⁰¹ Read A-AN, i. e., *ám*.

14. *sag-zuzi-zi-i*¹⁰² *giš-šub-ba-za ul-šú*¹⁰³ *ma-ra-an-mà-mà*

14. Thy head which is held aloof turn unto me to glorify thy portion.

15. *ág-kúr-ri za-ar*¹⁰⁴ *i-ri-ib-aga-e šu-bi dé-ib-gí-gí*¹⁰⁵

15. The hostile deeds which he did unto thee be returned unto his hand.

16. *uru-ki-a šu-bar-ri nu-zu-a mur-ri*¹⁰⁶ *dé-ib-sġ-gi*

16. In the city which knew not forgiveness let there be given *the cry of multitudes*.

17. ... *ki-šub gú 5-kam-ma-ám*

17. A melody of prostrations. Fifth section.

18. *à-še ù-mu-un-zu gú-šub-ba kúr me-e-ši-in-ra-ám*

18. Now thy lord *anger upon the foe* will direct.

19. *arruš*¹⁰⁷ *ma-ra-an-tuk-ám na-ám-zu in-tar-ra-ám*

19. He will have mercy and will decree thy fate.

20. *sġ-gu a-še-ir ib-ta-an-è-a ib-si be-in-dúg-ga-ám*

20. Unto thy brick walls where lamentation arose he will command “it is enough.”

¹⁰² Cf. *sag-bi zi-zi*, ZIMMERN{FNS, K.L. 199 I 36.

¹⁰³ Cf. LANG.{FNS *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* 154, 16.

¹⁰⁴ AR is written ŠI+ĤU!

¹⁰⁵ The second sign *gí* is only partially made by the scribe.

¹⁰⁶ The analysis of the text and the meaning are difficult. Perhaps *a* should be taken with the following sign *a-ĤAR-ri*, an unknown ideogram. *mur-ri* is here taken for *rigmu*.

¹⁰⁷ See line 12 above.

21. *ġar-šág-gi-zu-ra*¹⁰⁸ *ma-ra-ni-in-tu-ra-ám*

21. Thy happy soul he will cause to return for me.

22. *^dNin-urašā maškim kalag-ga sag-zu be-in-tuk-ám*¹⁰⁹

22. Ninurash the valiant guardsman will sustain thy head.

23. *dun-ú-a-ni ... ġiš-ib-ši-in-gub-ba-ám*¹¹⁰

23. His pastor¹¹¹ he will establish over (the city).

24. *é-kur kalag-kaḷag dū-dū-ù-dam á-mu-un*¹¹² *ba-an-ag-ám*

24. Ekur like (a temple) which has been tenderly built he will
make....

[257]

25. *ág-dú-bi ki-bi be-in-ġí-ám*

25. Its beauty he will restore to its place.

26, 27. *ġi-ġūn-na-bi*¹¹³ *ki-ġí-ġí-bi ud-ġim kar-kar-bi*¹¹⁴

26, 27. That its great dark chamber be restored to its place, that
it shine like day

28. *suġ*¹¹⁵ *-ba-la-túm-túm-mu in-na-an-dúg-ga-ám*

28. Unceasingly he commands.

29. *ġarza kúr-ri ib- sūġ*¹¹⁶ *-ám*

29. The ordinances the stranger has placed in confusion.

¹⁰⁸ Sic! Demonstrative pronoun. See *Sum. Gr.* § 163.

¹⁰⁹ Here we have the first occurrence of the original expression for *kullu ša rēši*; cf. BR.{FNS 11244.

¹¹⁰ Cf. SBP. 330, 10.

¹¹¹ The epithet refers to Išme-Dagan.

¹¹² This word is obscure and unknown.

¹¹³ On *ġigunna*, part of the stage tower, see VAB. IV 237 n. 2; BL. 38, 14.

¹¹⁴ Cf. SBP. 328, 5.

¹¹⁵ Written Br. 3046. See Br. 3035.

¹¹⁶ Br. 11208.

30. *me*¹¹⁷ *ib-bir-a-bi ki-bi-šú in-gar-ra-ám*

30. The ritual utensils which have been scattered he will restore to their place.

31. *šu-luḡ erím*¹¹⁸-*e šu-be-in-lá-a-ba*

31. The rituals of hand-washing which the wicked caused to lapse into disuse,¹¹⁹

32. *azag-gi ... el-e- ... bi*

32. To cause to be holy and pure

33. *uru-azag nam-šub-da-ni in-na-an-dúg-ga-ám*

33. In the holy city which has been consecrated he commands.

34. [^d] *Iš-me-dDa-gan sib kenag-gà-ni-ir*¹²⁰

34. For Ishme-Dagan his beloved shepherd

35. ... *bi(?) gú ul-šár-šár-ri-da*

35. ... to cause rejoicing

36. *in-na-an-dúg-ga-ám*

36. ... he commands.

37. ... *azag nam-tar-ri-da-ni*

37. The holy ... whose fate has been decreed,

38. ... *-ra-ám*

38. ...

¹¹⁷ *me* = *paršu*, refers primarily to the rubrics of the rituals, the ritualistic directions, but here the reference is clearly to the utensils employed in the rituals.

¹¹⁸ *NE-RU*.

¹¹⁹ *lal, lá-a* = *šuḫammumu*, see SBP. 66, 20.

¹²⁰ *ir* is uncertain. The sign may be either *dū* or *ni*.

39. ... *DU-ra-ám*

39. ...

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

Liturgy of Ishme-Dagan. 11005 (No. 2)

COL. II.

...
...

3. *d.En-lil lugal dingir-ri-e-ne-ge*

3. Enlil king of the gods

4. *sig igi-nim-ma nam-en-bi ġa-ma-an-sġg*

4. In the South and North¹²¹ may give lordship over them unto me.

5. *dúg-dúg-ga^d Nu-nam-nir-ra-ta*

5. By the commands of Nunamnir,

6. *ka-ta-è-a^d En-lil-lá-ta*

6. By the utterance of Enlil,

7. *An-ni enim-zid-démà-a-ar ġa-ma-an-de*

7. May Anu speak for me an order of confidence.

8. *šibir-šibir šu-mu ġe-ma-sġg*

8. Scepters may he give unto my hand.

¹²¹ Literally, "Below and above."

9. ^d. *Urašā-e dū-azag-ga*¹²²-*ni-a sal-zid ġa-ma-ni-dúg*
 9. May Urašā bestow upon me faithful care in his holy throne
 room.
10. ^d. *Nin-lil-li šag lăg-lăg-ga-ni*¹²³
 10. Ninlil whose heart is pure,
11. *bara-maġ ud-sud-du gú-KU-MAL*¹²⁴
 11. She that in the far-famed chapel *assures* length of days,
12. *giš-šub-ba-mà bal-bi šág-gi-da*
 12. She that renders good my portion exceedingly,
13. *kuš*¹²⁵ - ^d. *En-lil-lá ka-dug-gi-mà*
 13. She who unto Enlil spoke assuringly for me good words,
14. *é-kur-ri ud-šu-uš sag-uš-mà*
 14. She who daily protects Ekur for me,¹²⁶
- [259]
15. *ki-úr ki-gal-e*¹²⁷ *nam šu-ġa-ma-ni-tar*
 15. May render me my fate in Kenur the vast place.

¹²² Probably a variant of *dū-azag*. As the phrase is written *dug-azag-ga* might mean “holy knees,” *birku ellitu*, but that is not probable. A parallel passage occurs in the liturgy to Dungi, BE. 31, 12, 8, where my interpretation is to be corrected. For *dū*, *dū*, rendered into Semitic by the loan-word *dū*, with the sense “high altar, pedestal of a statue, altar or throne room” see AJSL. 32, 107.

¹²³ Cf. Gudea, Cyl. B 13, 4.

¹²⁴ This phrase should have a meaning similar to “speak words of peace,” “assure, comfort.” The expression occurs also in Gudea, Cyl. A 7, 5, Ningirsu, son of Enlil *gú za-ra ma-ra-ġun-gà-e*, “will speak to thee words of peace.”

¹²⁵ *kuš*, preposition = *eli*, is derived from *kuš* = *zumru*, “body,” literally “at the body.”

¹²⁶ In view of the parallel passages where kings are called the *sag-uš* of temples and cities (i. e. the *mukīnu* or *mukīl rēš*) it seems necessary to render *é-kur-ri* as the object of *sag-uš*. See SAK. 197 below c 5; BE. 29 No. 1 IV 6; PBS. V No. 73. A rendering, “She who raiseth me up daily in Ekur” is possible.

¹²⁷ Cf. SBP. 52, 5; BL. p. 138.

16. ^d*En-ki en-gal erida-(ki)-ga-ge*

16. May Enki the great lord of Eridu

17. *ganun zid-maḡ sag-mà ḡa-ma-ni-in-uš(?)*

17. Sustain(?) my head in the ritual chamber, the faithful, the far-famed.

REVERSE I

5. *ki-úr gal-la li-bi tar-ri-ge*

5. Of the great Kenur its care....

6. ^d*En-lil-li á-bi ḡu-mu-da-na-ág*

6. Of Enlil his oracle be proclaimed.

7. *dúg-dúg-ga a-a* ^d*En-lil-lá-šú*

7. Unto the words of father Enlil—

8. ^d*Iš-me-* ^d*Da-gan me-en gú-mu ḡe-in-ši-ri*

8. Ishme-Dagan am I—verily my neck I will turn.

9. *ka-ta-è-a lugal-mà-šú giš-túg-ni*¹²⁸ *ḡe-im-ši-ag*

9. To the utterance of my king may I lend my¹²⁹ ears.

10. *ki-en-gi-ra nig-si-sá ḡe-ni-in-gar*

10. In Sumer justice may I institute.

11. *Nibru-(ki) an-gim gú ḡe-im-mi-uš*

11. Nippur may I exalt like heaven.

12. *é-kur-ra me-bi ḡu-mu-un-ūr-ūr*

12. Of Ekur its decrees I will deliver.

13. *giš(?) -ḡar(?) ù-a-ba li-be-[in-tar]*

13. Of the plans(?) unto their care may I give heed.

¹²⁸ Sic! third person.

¹²⁹ Text “his.”

14. *garza*¹³⁰ *ki-ta šub-ba-bi ki-bi ġe-[mu-un-ġí]*

14. The sacred relics which have fallen from their places may I
restore to their places.

15. *^dEn-lil-lá me kal-kaḷag-[ni]*

15. Of Enlil his precious decrees—

16. *^dIš-me-^dDa-gan me-en....*

16. I am Ishme-Dagan—I will....

17. *^dNin-lil-lá....*

17. Of Ninlil her ... I will....

[260]

¹³⁰ Or read *billudu*. This passage proves that *garza* and *billudu* really do have a meaning, sanctuary, cult object or something synonymous. See *billudû* in VAB. IV Index. The meaning, sanctuary, has been suggested for the Semitic *paršu* and this must be taken into consideration.

Liturgical Hymn to Innini. 7847 (No. 3 and duplicate No. 4)

COL. I

1. *nin me-dug-ga*¹³¹ *babbar dalla-è-a*

1. Oh lady of the good decrees, that risest splendidly like the
sun.

2. *sai-zid me-lam gùr-ru kenag*^d *Uraš-a-a*

2. Faithful woman, bearing a sheen of terrible splendor, beloved
of Urashâ,

3. *nu-gig an-na nin(?) sîr-gal-gal-la*

3. Heavenly virgin, queen(?)¹³² of the great songs,

4. *aga-zi-dé ... nam-en-na tum-ma*

4. Who *puttest on* a faithful crown, who hast been created fit for
rulership,

5. *me-imin-bi šu-sá-dúg-ga*

5. Whose hand attaineth the seven decrees,

6. *nin-mu me-gal-gal-la sag-sîr-bi za-e me-en*

6. My queen, of the great decrees their directress¹³³ art thou.

¹³¹ Var. *šar-ra*.

¹³² Var. is certainly not *nin*.

¹³³ For *sag-sîr*, see also ASKT. 96, 25; K. L., 199, 15; 199 Col. III 51; CT. 24, 15, 79.

7. *me-mu*¹³⁴-*ila me šu-zu-šú mu-e-lal*

7. The decrees thou bearest; the decrees thou holdest in thy hand.

8. *me-mu*¹³⁵-*kin me gab-zu be-tab*

8. The decrees thou directest; the decrees thou claspest to thy breast(?)

9. *ušumgal-gim kur-ra sub ba-e-sīg*

9. Like a champion thou subduest the foreign lands.

10. *dImmer-gim ki tū-gí-a*¹³⁶ *d.Ašnan la-ba-ši-gál*

10. Like the storm-god in the place of the ... curse the grain-goddess thou leavest not.

11. *a-ma-ru kur-bi-ta è-de*

11. A whirlwind upon their lands thou sendest.

12. *sag-kal-an-ki-a dingir-ri-bi*¹³⁷ *me-en*

12. Oh leader of heaven and earth their divinity thou art.

13. *ne-ne-ne-ra kalam-ma a-an-mal*

13. For them thou didst create the Land (of Sumer).

14. *dingiri-ir*¹³⁸ *me-sīg-gà*¹³⁹ *nin-ur-ra-ū-a*¹⁴⁰

14. That givest orders unto the gods(?), queen that guidest the universe.

¹³⁴ Var. *mu-e*.

¹³⁵ Same as previous footnote.

¹³⁶ Cf. Ni. 4581 Obv. 8 in PBS. X pt. 2, where it is connected with *d.Immer*.
Var. *KA-gí-a!*

¹³⁷ Read *ĤU* for *RI*(?). *mušen* = *bêlu*, *beltu*, cf. PBS. V 15 Rev. 14. Render "Their divine queen thou art"?

¹³⁸ Var. *ni*. Sic!

¹³⁹ Var. *ma*.

¹⁴⁰ *hāmimat kiššati*.

15. *enim-azag-an-na-ta enim dúg-dúg*

15. That utterest command by the holy order of Anu.

16. *garza-gal-gal-la gar zu a-ba mu- ... un- ... zu*

16. The great decisions who (but thee) knoweth to teach?

17. *kur-gul-gul ud-de-da ba-e-sġ*

17. Thou that shatterest the mountains, by a spirit of wrath thou art filled.

18. *kenag^dEn-lil-lá kalam-ma im-mi-ni-ri*

18. Beloved of Enlil, thou hast founded the Land.

19. *á-aga^dNin-lil ba-gub-bi me-en*

19. Thou art she that hast effected the mandate of Ninlil.

20. *nin-mu za-pa-ág-zu-šú kur ni-gam-gam-e*

20. My lady, at thy cry the lands quake.

21. *ní-me-lam-ra¹⁴¹-zu-da nam-lù-gäl-lu*

21. At the fear of thy splendor let mankind

22. *nig-me-gar gġr-bi ù-mu-ri-gub*

22. With shouting await thee.

23. *me-te me-ġuš¹⁴²-bi šu-ba-e-ri-ti*

23. Fittingly they have received their terrible decrees from thee.

24. *i-lu er-ra-zu gál-la-ra-ab-šġš(?)*

24. Thy lamentations and mournings let them wail for thee.

25. *é-a nir-gal-gal-la sil-ba mu-ri-du*

25. Unto the temple the chief singers shall walk the streets for thee(?).

¹⁴¹ Sic! Prepositions *ra* and *da* in the same phrase!

¹⁴² Text *gġr*!

26. *igi-mé-ta gar ma-ra-ta-si-ig*¹⁴³

26. From before the face of battle they hasten unto thee.

27. *nin-mu á-ní-za enim-enim-ni-dúg-e*

27. My lady, of thy *fury* they speak.

28. *ud-ul-ul-gim ni-dú-dú-ne*

28. The spirit¹⁴⁴ like an onrushing storm rushed over them.

[262]

29. *ud ka-ra-ta uku im-da-ab-ra-ra*

29. The spirit with a loud cry annihilated the people.

30. *d.Immer-da tù-mu-da-an-gí-gí-in*

30. By the storm god they were ... accursed.

31. *im-ġul-im-ġul-da im-da-kuš-ù-ne*

31. By the storm winds they were brought to woe.

32. *gřr-za sil kuš-ù i-ni-si*

32. Thy foot hastens restless in the street.

33. *balag a-nir-da i-lu mu-un-da-ab-bi*

33. Upon the lyre of weeping they utter lamentation.

34. *nin-mu d.A-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne*

34. Oh my lady, the Anunnaki, the great gods,

35. *su-din-(ġu)-dal-a-gim*¹⁴⁵ *dul-dé mu-e-ši-ba-ra-aš*

35. Like a flying *sudin*-bird from the crannies hasten unto thee.

¹⁴³ Cf. *mar-zen, gar-zen* = *hâšu*, SBP. 116, 33; K.L., 15 II 12.

¹⁴⁴ In liturgies usually translated by "the Word."

¹⁴⁵ Cf. SBP. 6, 16.

36. *igi-gīr-a-za-la*¹⁴⁶-*ba-lag-gi-eš-a*¹⁴⁷

36. When before thy feet they run,

37. *sag-ki gīr-a-za sag-nu-mu-un-ne-gà-gà*¹⁴⁸

37. Unto the presence of thy feet they attain not.

38. *šag-ūb-ba-za ba-a ni-te-en-[te-en]*

38. Thine angry heart who shall pacify?

39. *šag-ġul-la-za te-[en-te-en-na-ám]*

39. Thine evilly disposed heart let become calm.

40. *nin ġar-ni šág nin[... -ni- ...]*

40. Oh lady, whose soul is magnanimous; oh lady [whose ... is
...]

41. *ib-ba nu-te-en-[te-en....]*

41. Whose wrath is unpacified....

42. *nin-kur-ra-dirig-ga....*

42. Lady that stormeth over the mountains....

43. *ġar*¹⁴⁹-*sag ki-za ba....*

43. The mountains (?) thy place (?)....

44. *ká-gal-a*

44. The great gate....

COL. II

1. *ḡalba*¹⁵⁰-*ba nu*....

1. Its frost....

2. *ki*^{kuš}*lu-úb*....

2.

3. *ka-sir-la(?)*¹⁵¹....

3.

4. *nir-da-ni-bi*¹⁵²....

4. Their afflictions....

5. *uru tuš dinig-di-bi mer-i-in-si-[si]*

5. Their city, an arid habitation, the whirlwinds have filled.

6. *ḡal-šag-gan-bi ... -šú ma-ra-ab-mú-[mú]*

6. Their ... workmen in ... supplicate thee.

7. *uru-zagin-ra li-be-in-dúg-ga*¹⁵³

7. For the brilliant city they mourn in song.

¹⁴⁶ For *ra*. Read *za-la* for *lal-la*?

¹⁴⁷ Note the overhanging vowel *a* denoting a dependent phrase without a relative introductory adverb, and see also *Sum. Gr.* page 163, examples cited *bé-in-da-ra-dú-a*, etc.

¹⁴⁸ The plural of this verb has been indicated by doubling the root, a case of analogy, being influenced by the similar plural formation of nouns. See *Sum. Gr.* § 124. An example of the same kind is *sag-nu-mu-un-da-ab-gà-gà = ul i-ir-ru-šu*, “they approached it not,” K. 8531, 6 in HROZNY {FNS, *Ninrag*, p. 8.

¹⁴⁹ Text *ub!* Read *ub sag-ki-za = tupki pani-ki(??)*.

¹⁵⁰ For the form, see PBS. V 102 IV 3.

¹⁵¹ If *la* be correct, then the reading is *ka-sil-la*.

¹⁵² Cf. *nir-da-an*, K. 45, 6, and *nir-da*, Gudea, Cyl. A 12, 26 with 18, 3 where *nig-erim = nir-da*.

¹⁵³ For *i-lu-dúg = šarāḫu*.

8. *a-a uku-za li-be-in-eš-a-a*

8. The father thy creator sends forth cries of distress for it.¹⁵⁴

9. *ka-azag-zu dé-in-dúg-dúg gïr-za ĵe-ib-gí*

9. May thy holy mouth speak the command and thy feet return.

10. *šã-ab-bi-ta ĵuš ĵe-ib-ta-an-zí-ni*

10. From her midst mayest thou cast the cruel one.

11. *sal-bi dam-a-ni-ta šág-ga-na-áš an¹⁵⁵-da- ab- bi*

11. Let a woman with her husband speak kindly.

12. *gíg-ù-na-la¹⁵⁶ na-an-ba-ni-ib-gí-gí*

12. During the nights forever let her return unto him.

13. *nig-azag šag-ga-na nam-mu-da-an-bur-ri*

13. That which is pure in her heart may she disclose.

14. *ù-gul-zi-zi-i dumu-gal^d.Zu-en-na-áš*

14. *Fervid* intercession unto the great son, Sin,

15. *nin dingir-ra dirig-ga¹⁵⁷ a-ba ki-za ba-an-tum*

15. Oh lady surpassing the gods who beside thee brings?

16. *me-zi-de nin-gal nin-e-ne*

16. Establisher of decrees, oh great lady, their lady,

17. *uru-azag-ta è-a ama-uku-ni-ir dirig-ga¹⁵⁸*

17. Thou that risest from the holy city, thou that surpasses
his¹⁵⁹ child-bearing mother,

18. *gal-zu igi-gál nin kur-kur-ra*

18. Intelligent and wise, oh queen of the lands,

19. *zi-gál kalama-zu-a sir-azag-zu ga-a-an-dúg*

19. Oh breath of life of thy Land, I will recite thy holy songs.

20. *dingir zi-me-a tum-ma ki-bi dúg- -ga-bi....*

20. Divinity who has been made agreeable unto the fury of
battle, whose words unto their place....

21. *šag-sud-du sal-zid lăg-lăg-ga me-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-dúg(?)*

21. Thou of the unsearchable heart, who purgest faithfully, I
will relate thy decrees.

22. *mi-ib-azag-gà ġu-mu-e-ši-in-tu-ri*

22. The holy *mi-ib* weapon verily thou causest to enter upon (the
foe).

23. *en me-en en- ... -ul-an-na me-en*

23. “A ruler am I, a ruler ... of heaven am I.”¹⁶⁰

24. *gi-ma-sá-ab ni-gùr-ru kešda-bi-dúg*

24. The reed censer I bear and I arrange the ritual(?).

¹⁵⁴ *a-a = è-a = ašû*. CT. 15, 11, 7; K. L. 3b 28. Cf. also the N. Pr. ^d. *Gišbar-a = d.Gišbar-è*. “The fire-god causes to come forth.”

¹⁵⁵ So the text for *šág-ga-áš na-an-da-ab-bi*.

¹⁵⁶ See above, line 36.

¹⁵⁷ For the construction *dirig* with *ra*, see *lù-ne-ir dirig = eli annim rabi*, POEBEL{FNS, PBS V 152 32.

¹⁵⁸ See previous footnote.

¹⁵⁹ Refers to Sin.

¹⁶⁰ Here begins abruptly a passage spoken by the goddess herself. This is not unusual in liturgical texts.

25. *ki-sīg-ga be-in-gar mà-e nu-mu-un-ne -ti-li*

25. At the parentalia I place it; and these things I cease not to do.

26. *ud-de ba-nim ud-eš da(?) -bíl*

26. By day I ... and daily renew

27. *giš-gig ud-de ba-nim? -da im-mi-dù*

27. By night and day I ... and in ... am clothed(?)¹⁶¹

28. *KA-lál-mu šu-? a-ba-ab-tum*

28. My ... of honey ... I bring.

29. *ninda-mur-šág-šág-mu da-ta ba-e-de-gí*

29. By my pious offerings of baked cakes thou wilt be pacified.

30. *nam-mu ^dEn-lil lugal an-ki*

30. Something Enlil lord of heaven and earth

31. *an-ra enim-mu-na-ab an-e ġa-ba-duġ-e*

31. To Anu spoke as a command and verily Heaven is opened.

32. *a-da-lam an-ra enim-mu-na-ab an-e mu-e-tūb*

32. Now unto Anu he has spoken the command and thou causest
Heaven to shudder.

33. *nam-lugal-an-ni sal-e ba-ab-kár-ri-en*

33. The royal power of Anu thou a woman hast seized.

....

....

[265]

¹⁶¹ The sign is *dù*, not *dul*.

Psalm to Enlil Containing a Long Intercession by the Mother Goddess. 15204 (No. 5)

This liturgical psalm in one melody adds one more document of this kind to the classical Sumerian corpus of old short musical services on which the later complex liturgies were based.¹⁶² The title, *árabu-(ĝu) árabu-(ĝu) múzu kúrra munmállasu záu alménna*, arranged in seven dactyls, does not appear in the catalogue of old songs given in the Assyrian list, IV Raw. 53 Col. III. Since the greater part of the psalm consists in an address of the mother goddess to Enlil on behalf of Nippur, the composition is defined as an adoration of “my mother,”¹⁶³ an epithet applied to Innini by the singers in most liturgies. The psalm begins with twelve lines sung by the choir and addressed to Enlil. They then in lines 13-15 introduce Innini whom they represent in discourse before Enlil in lines 16-47. This part of the song service contains refrains characteristic of public worship. Theologically the text illustrates one of the most profound principles of Sumerian religion, the sympathy and concern of the virgin mother for mankind.¹⁶⁴ The great daily services of the standard prayer books represent her as a *mater dolorosa* and she with Tammuz shares the vicissitudes of mortal life. Our text is unique and noteworthy for one salient fact. It illustrates the scenes so common on Babylonian seals, where the

¹⁶² For a discussion of these early Sumerian single song services, see the writer's *Babylonian Liturgies*, pp. XXXVII ff.

¹⁶³ See also line 13.

¹⁶⁴ See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 111.

mother goddess stands in intercession before the god, with one or both hands raised in supplication and the left foot advanced as though about to set it on the paved approach to the throne of the deity.

[266]

1. *arâ-bu-(ġu) arâ-bu-(ġu) mu-zu kur-ra mu-un-ma-al-la-šú*

1. Oh bird *arabu*, *arabu*,¹⁶⁵, SBH. 104, 35.

thou art he whose name is proclaimed in the world.

2. *za-e al-me-en-na*

3. ^{d.} *Mu-ul-lil arâ-bu-(ġu) mu-zu kur-ra mu-un-ma-al-la-šú*

3. Oh Enlil, *arabu*-bird, thou art he whose name is proclaimed in the world.

4. *za-e al-me-en-na*

5. ^{d.} *Mu-ul-lil šag-sud-du e-ne-em zid- da*

5. Enlil of unsearchable heart, of faithful word.

6. *gú ki-ma-al*¹⁶⁶ *e-ne-em di- di*¹⁶⁷

6. He that bends the neck, that speaks the word.

7. *mu-zu kur-ra mu-un-ma-al-la-šú za-e al-me-en- na*

7. Thou art he whose name is proclaimed in the world.

8. *mu-zu kur-ra mu-un-ma-al-la-šú*

8. At thy name which is proclaimed in the world,

¹⁶⁵ The Sumerian *arâ-bu* (*UD-DU-BU*) is rendered into Semitic by the loanword *arabû*, called *iššur mēhu*, bird of the storm, ZA. VI 244, 48. In CT. XII 7a 2 *UD-DU* (*ara*) = *namru*, fierce, raging, where the entry is followed by *UD-DU* (*ara*) = *ša UD-DU-bu* (*ġu*), hence in any case a bird of prey. Were it not for the reference to this bird in the omen text, BOISSIER{FNS, DA 67, 18, one might conclude that the bird is mythical. For the reading *arabû*, see also REISNER{FNS

¹⁶⁶ = *kađādu ša kišadi*, see SBP. 110, 22, "bend the neck," i. e., "grant favor."

¹⁶⁷ Cf. V Raw. 39a 33.

9. *dúg-ga-zu kur-ra ám-da-ma-al-la-šú*

9. At thy discourse which is proclaimed in the world,

10. *taġ-a-zu kur-ra ám-da-ma-al-la-šú*

10. At thy aid which is wrought in the world,

11. *uru-me-a*¹⁶⁸ *an ní-bi nam-dúb ki ní-bi nam- sīg*

11. In my city heaven trembles of itself, earth quakes of itself.¹⁶⁹

12. *nibru-(ki)-a an ní-bi nam-dúb ki ní-bi nam- sīg*

12. In Nippur the heaven trembles of itself, earth quakes of itself.

13. *ama mu-gíg-gi ama nu-bar-ra ama-mu ni-mi-ni-in-gí-gí*

13. The mother virgin, the mother courtesan, my mother began discourse.

14. *d.[...]e ga-ša-an urú-bar-ra-ra*¹⁷⁰

14. She the divine ..., queen of the villages,

[267]

15. ... *ni-mi-ni-in-gí- ... gí*

15. ... discoursed.

16. ... *ku-a-zu- ... dé*

16. When in ... thou dwellest,

17. ... *-la ku-gar-ra*¹⁷¹ *-zu-dé*

17. When in ... thou makest thy abode,

¹⁶⁸ Cf. *dagan-me-a = ina puĥri-ni*, RA. XI 144, 8.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. SBP. 45, 13; 79, 13; 98, 44, etc.

¹⁷⁰ For this method of forming the plural see *Sumerian Grammar*, § 124. For *uru-bar = kapru*, see MEISSNER{FNS, SAI. 543. Note also *umun urú-bar*, SBH. 22, 57 = 19, 56 and K. 69 Obv. 20. title of Nergal as lord of the city of the dead.

¹⁷¹ Cf. *Historical and Religious Texts*, p. 34, 6.

18. [^d*Nin-lil-da?*]¹⁷² *ga-ša-an keš-(ki)-a-ge*

18. With Ninlil (?) queen of Keš

19. ... *ġen mu-e-da-ab-tar-ri*

19. ... thou decreest.

...¹⁷³

20. ... *ge me-ri-mu-šú*¹⁷⁴ *nu-GÁ-e*

20. [As I was ...] my foot I lifted not.¹⁷⁵

21. [*a-a-mu lu-]lu-mu-ùr*¹⁷⁶ *su-din-ġu ab-ba-ge*

21. To my father, my benefactor, as a *sudin*-bird of the sea,¹⁷⁷

22. *me-ri-mu-šú nu-GA-e*

22. My foot I lifted not.

23. ^d*Mu-ul-lil-]-e šag-sud-da*

23. [To Enlil of] unsearchable heart,

24. [*ù-mu-un e-ne]-em zi-da*

24. [Lord] of faithful word,

25. [*gú ki-ma-al e-]ne-em di-di*

25. That bends the neck, that speaks the word,

¹⁷² For Ninlil as queen of Keš, see also ZIMMERN{FNS, KL. 23 3; SBP. 23 note 17. At Keš she was identified with the unmarried and earlier deity Ninharsag.

¹⁷³ The line drawn across the tablet intersects the address of Innini and, if not for some unknown musical purpose, must be regarded as an error.

¹⁷⁴ For the construction, see *Sumerian Grammar*, § 91.

¹⁷⁵ *GA* = *našû*, variant of *ga* (*ILA*) = *našû*. The figure of lifting the foot and raising the hand (line 30) to Enlil refers to the attitude of adoration assumed by the mother goddess as she stands before one of the gods and intercedes for mankind. She is frequently depicted on seals in this attitude; see for example WARD{FNS, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 303a, 304, 308, etc.

¹⁷⁶ The suffixed pronoun *mu* with affixed preposition *ra*.

¹⁷⁷ Innini is compared to the *sudin*-bird in SBP. 6, 16 also.

26. ... *ge me-ri-mu-šú nu-GA-e*

26. [As I was ...] my foot I lifted not.

27. [^d*Mu-ul-lil ?*]-*e me-ri-mu-šú ù¹⁷⁸-GA-e*

27. [But unto Enlil] I would lift my foot.

28. ... *-ra ga-ám-ši-rá*

28. Unto ... verily I will go;

29. [*me-ri*]-*mu-šú ga-mu-ni-ib-GA*

29. My foot I will lift.

30. [*a-a-mu*]*lu-lu-mu-ùr ga-ám-ši-rá*

30. To my father, my benefactor, verily I will go;

31. *me-ri-mu-šú ga-mu-ni-ib-GA*

31. My foot I will lift.

32. ^d*Mu-ul-lil-ra šu-mu-šú ga-mu-ni-ib-GA*

32. Unto Enlil my hand I will raise;

33. *me-ri-mu-šú ga-mu-ni-ib-GA*

33. my foot I will lift.

[268]

34. *me-e^d Mu-ul-lil-ra um-ma dé-til*

35. ... *tu¹⁷⁹-mu-na-da-ab- dúg*

34. I unto Enlil will say, "May the mother live."

36. *a-a-mu lu-lu-mu-ùr ab-ba dé-til*

37. ... *tu-mu-na-da-ab- dúg*

36. Unto my father, my benefactor, I will say, "May the father live."

¹⁷⁸ For the optative use of this vowel, see *Sumerian Grammar*, § 217.

¹⁷⁹ Dialectic for *du* = *da* = *ga* (by vowel harmony). Note the form *ga-mu-ra-ab-šid* with variant *da-mu-ra-ab-šid*, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, 155, 30 (variant unpublished). See also *Sumerian Grammar*, § 50.

38. *gù-gù gù-si-di ʔu-mu-na-ám-mar*

38. Words which set aright all things I will say.

39. *urú-me-a ama dumu dé-im-me*

40. ... *dumu ama dé-im-me*

39. In my city may the mother hail her son, may the son hail his mother.¹⁸⁰

41. *nibru-(ki)-a ama dumu-dé-im-me*

41. In Nippur may the mother hail her son,

42. ... *dumu ama dé-im-me*

42. may the son hail his mother.

43. *ùz¹⁸¹-e síl-bi ʔe-im-ši-ib-še-gi-en*

43. To ewe and her lamb may he be propitious.

44. *e-ne-em^d Mu-ul-lil-lá UZ-dé¹⁸²*, *Kultlieder*, 123 III 9, where it is followed by *dé*.

máš-bi

45. ... *ʔe-en-ši-ib-še-gi-en*

44. May the word of Enlil be propitious to the she-goat and her kid.

46. *^dMu-ul-lil-ra uru-ni še-ib nibru-(ki)*

46. For Enlil, his city, brick-walled

47. *ki-bi ga-mu-na-ab-gí*

47. Nippur, unto its place I will restore.”

¹⁸⁰ For the idea, see also SBP. 292, 25-29.

¹⁸¹ For *ŠURIM* with value *uz=labru*, see THOMPSON{FNS, *Reports* 103, 11 and supply *u-uz* in CT. 12, 26a 22.

¹⁸² The sign for *enzu* certainly has a phonetic value ending in *d*; note NIKOLSKI NO. 262{FNS, where the sign is followed by *da* and ZIMMERN{FNS

48. *ní-na-teg ní-na-teg ama-mu ní-na teg*

48. She offers devotion, she offers devotion, my mother offers devotion.

Lamentation on the Pillage of Lagash by the Elamites. 2154 (No. 6)

This neatly written but seriously damaged single column tablet carried when complete about fifty-five lines. In style the liturgical lamentation has a striking resemblance to the lamentation on the invasion of Sumer by the people of Gutium, published in the author's *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, 120-124. The same refrain, "How long? oh my destroyed city and my destroyed temple, sadly I wail," distinguishes both compositions.¹⁸³ Other lines are common to both threnodies. The contents are similar to the lamentation on Lagash published in *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum*, Vol. XV 22, of which ZIMMERN has published a variant VAT. 617 Rev. II 10-42, in his *Sumerische Kulteider*. A translation of the British Museum text will be found in the author's *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, p. 284, an edition which can now be improved.

1. *a-a*[...]

1. Father [

¹⁸³ See lines 3, 23, 31 and 44 below and lines 5, 14, 21, 27 and 34 of the parallel text in the volume cited above.

2. ? *dingir*[...]

2. ...

3. *a uru-gul-la é-[gul-la-mu gíg-ga-bi im-mi]*

3. How long? oh my destroyed city, my destroyed temple, sadly
I wail.¹⁸⁴

4. *ud-ba enim ud-dam bi-[...]*

4. At that time the word like a storm ...

5. *enim*^{d.} *En-lil-lá* [...]

5. The word of Enlil ...

6. *d.* *En-lil galu nam-tar* [...]

6. Enlil who the fate of ... *determined*.

7. *d.* *En-lil-li nim-[...]*

7. Enlil ...

8. *d.* *Mà-mà*¹⁸⁵ *dumugu* [...]

8. Mama the princely son ...

9. *d.* *Nin-mar-(ki)-ra-ge gú*[...]

9. Ninmar ...

10. *azag dāg-zagin*^{gīš} *má-gal-gal-la bal-[...]*

10. The holy one who lapis lazuli in great ships ...

11. *nin nig-ga-šù igi-[...]-ti-la a azag pi-el* ...

11. The queen ... humiliates ...

12. *nin-e KA. ? gim NE-a im-da-ra?*

12. The queen ...

13. *ki lagaš-(ki) nim-ki šu-ni-a im-ma-ši-in-gí*

13. The land of Lagash he abandoned unto the hand of Elam.

14. *ud-bi-a nin-e ... ud-da-ni sá-nam-ga¹⁸⁶-mu-ni-ib-dúg*

14. At that time his wrathful word verily attained the queen.

15. *^dBa-ú galu-sukal-lu-gim ud-da-ni sá- nam-ga-mu-ni-ib-dúg*

15. His wrathful word attained unto the divine Bau even as a messenger.

16. *me-li-e-a ud-dé šu-ni-a im-ma-ši-in-gí*

16. Woe is me, the spirit of wrath into her hand he entrusted.

17. *ud uru gul-gul-e šu-ni-a im-ma-ši-in-gí*

17. The spirit of wrath that destroys the city into her hand he entrusted.

18. *ud é gul-gul-e šu-ni-a im-ma-ši-in-gí*

18. The spirit of wrath that destroys the temple into her hand he entrusted.

¹⁸⁴ This refrain occurs also in *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, 121, 5; 122, 14, 17; 123, 21, 27, 34, where it characterizes a lamentation for various cities of Sumer destroyed by an invasion from Gutium. The translation given above is preferable to the interpretation accepted in my previous volume.

¹⁸⁵ Title of Sin in CT. 25, 42, 5. Note also that *dumugu* is a title of Sin, II Raw. 48, 33, and CT. 24, 30, 5.

¹⁸⁶ For *namga* as an emphatic adverb, see *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, I 20, Metropolitan Syllabar, Obv. I 12-15. Variant *nanga*, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, 188, 1, 4 and 5.

19. [uru?] ^d. *Dumu-zi-abzu-ge-ta ki nir-ša-ki-ba-ge im*¹⁸⁷-*ma*
*ba-an-teg*¹⁸⁸

19. In the city(?) of Tammuz of the sea, the place of *wailing* ...
terror it caused.

20. ... *nir-šag-(ki) uru nam-šibir-ka ni-ḫar-ḫar-ge izi-ba-ab-dúg*

20. The city ... *nirsag*, city of ... with fire it consumed.

21. ... *uru(?) -ni Ninā-(ki) -a kur-ri ba-ab-gar*¹⁸⁹

21. ... of her city Ninā it seized away to the mountains.

22. [Si]rar¹⁹⁰-(ki) *ki-dúr kenag-gà-ni ḡul-gál-e ba-ab-šub*

22. Sirar her beloved habitation an evil one has overthrown.

23. [a uru]-*gul-la é-gul-la-mu gíg-ga-bi*¹⁹¹ *im-me*

23. How long? my destroyed city, my destroyed temple, sadly I
wail.

24. [gè-pàr]¹⁹² *azag nam-en-na-ba šu-ba-e-lá-lal*

24. Of the holy “Dark Chamber” the priestly rites are suspended.

[271]

25. [en]-*bi gè-pàr-ta ba-da-an-ḫar ki-erim-e ba-ab-KA(du)*¹⁹³

25. Its high priest from the “Dark Chamber” has been taken and
unto the land of the foe has gone.

¹⁸⁷ The scribe has written *im* twice.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. SBP. 4, 6.

¹⁸⁹ *gar* is employed as a variant of *kar*, see *Sum. Gr.* 223. For *gar* in this sense, note *gar* = *šahātu, nasāhu* in the syllabars. See also SBP. 198, 14 and note 15. The same sense of *gar* will be found in Gudea, Cyl. A 6, 16; 7, 14; St. B 9, 16; Cyl. A 12, 25.

¹⁹⁰ The third sign of this ideogram is clearly *UNU* not *NINA* on the tablet. For the ideogram see SBP. 284, 6.

¹⁹¹ For the adverbial force of *bi* see *Sum. Gr.* § 72.

¹⁹² Restored from *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, 123 31, and below line 45.

¹⁹³ *KA* with value *du* = *alāku* occurs here for the first time. Variant has *du* (line 33). This text supplies two more signs and makes possible a better translation.

26. ... *KU-si-na* ^d*Nannar-ka da-dugud ba-ši-in-du*
26.

27. ... *gan kaskal-gid* ^d*Nannar-ka tūr-dugud ...*
27.

28. ... *ḫar-ra-gim íb-ri ba-ra- ...*
28.

29. ... *gim íb-ri ba-an-de i-im-gul-gul-lu-ne*¹⁹⁴
29. ... they destroyed.

30. ... *azag-ga-bi im-zí-ir-zí-ri*¹⁹⁵*-e-ne ... -e-ne*
30. Of the ... its holy ... they shattered and ...

31. [*a uru-gul*]-*la é-gul-la-mu gíg-ga-bi im-me*
31. How long? oh my destroyed city and my destroyed temple,
sadly I wail.

32. [*gè-pàr*] *azag nam-en-na-ba šu-ba-e-lá-lal*
32. Of the holy “Dark Chamber” the priestly rites are suspended.

33. [*en*]-*bi gè-pàr-ta ba-da-an-ḫar ki-erim-e ba-ab-du*
33. Its high priest from the “Dark Chamber” has been taken and
unto the land of the foe has gone.

34. ... *gid-da-bi[...]*a-nir ba-an-da-di**
34.

35. ... *-bi nu gud-du sag me-te-a-áš li-be-íb-gál*
35.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. *Babylonian Liturgies*, No. 78, 3.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. PBS. XII No. 6 Obv. 11.

36. ... *KA íb-bi ba-ra-an-kád*¹⁹⁶
36.

37. ... *a ... a-ri-a-e ba-da-ab-lal*
37. ... has bound with him(?)

38. ... *ka lù-erím-e ba-an-?*
38. The ... of the ... the foe has ...

39. ... *-da(?) -ab-ag*
39.

40. *é ... -sug-ga ba-an-dū*
40.

[272]

41. *ki ... LU a-ri tūr-dugud-gim ba-gul*
41. ... like a ruined cattle stall has been destroyed.

42. *dingir Nin [...] mà [...] gūr kūr ba-ra-an-ku*
42. As for the goddess Nin ... her ... the foe has set his foot.¹⁹⁷

43. *^dNin-lí-ga-ge im ... na er-ni-šěš-šěš*
43. Ninlīga ... weeps bitterly.

44. *a uru-gul-la é-gul-la-mu gíg-ga-bi im-me*
44. How long? oh my destroyed city and my destroyed temple,
sadly I wail.

45. *gè-pàr-azag nam-en-na-ba*¹⁹⁸ *šu-ba-e-lá-[lal]*
45. Of the holy “Dark Chamber” the priestly rites are suspended.

¹⁹⁶ Identification uncertain.

¹⁹⁷ The line is parallel to PBS. X 122, 13.

¹⁹⁸ *nam-en-na* = *enūtu*, priesthood.

46. *en-bi gè-pàr-ta ba-[da-an-ḫar ki-erim-e ba-ab-KA(du)]*

46. Its high priest from the “Dark Chamber” has been taken and
unto the land of the foe has gone.

47. *d.Nin-a-zu-ge ...*

47. Ninazu¹⁹⁹ ...

48. *d.Nin-ḡar-sag ...*

48. Ninharsag ...

49. *tu-(ḡu)-gim ...*

49. Like a dove ...

50. *a uru-gul-la é-gul-la-mu ḡḡ-ga-bi im-me*

50. How long? oh my destroyed city and my destroyed temple,
sadly I wail.

...

...²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ A title of Nergal.

²⁰⁰ About four lines are broken away to the end of the tablet.

Lamentation to Innini on the Sorrows of Erech. 13859 (Poebel No. 26)

This well preserved single column tablet is published by POEBEL in PBS. V 26. The composition reflects the standard theological ideas found in the canonical psalms and liturgies. The mother goddess Innini is represented as a divine mother wailing for the misery of her city and her people. The calamity consists in the pillage of the city and its holy places by a foreign invader, who is repeatedly compared to an ox. Like the ordinary psalms of public service the singers abruptly introduce the goddess speaking in the first person as in lines 16; 18-20; 33-4. But the lamentation does not have refrains and at the end the style approaches nearly that of a prayer. The tablet also bears no liturgical note at the end. For these reasons and because of the general impression which the lines leave with the present interpreter, he classifies this text as the product of a scholastic liturgist of the Ur or Isin period whose work was not incorporated into the corpus of the official breviary. [273]

OBVERSE

1. *zabar aga-[zu?] im-gūr-gūr-ri*
1. Oh pure one thy(?) crown overawes.
2. *til-igi-da²⁰¹-zu ... im-bi-bi-ri*
2. Thy proceeding arrow scatters the....

²⁰¹ *igi-da* occurs also in the title of Sin, *igi-da-gál*, ZIMMERN{FNS, KL., No. 1 Obv. I 3 and 6. The most natural interpretation is to regard *da* as a variant of *du*, hence “to go before.”

3. *zíd²⁰²-gu-šig suġur-sū-lal (ġa)-da ... -kùr...*
 3. Meal of the ... bean to the beared skate-fish thou givest to eat.

4. *eg ġa šig eg-eg ġa sū-lum-ma-gim im-bul-[...]—*
 4. She that gives fish to the stream, in the streams fish (as numerous) as dates she causes to dart about.

5. *gud-dam ra e-sir unug-(ki)-ga-ge šár-ám mu-na-ab(?) ... uš*
 5. Rushing like an ox in the street of Erech like a multitude(?)
 he followed²⁰³

6. *šár-ra giš-KU-A²⁰⁴ mu-na-an-dúr-ru-ne-eš*
 6. Multitudinously in the habitations they dwelled.

[274]

7. *šattam-a-ni lugal gab-gál²⁰⁵ ki-gub-bu-ne ba-ra-è*
 7. Her precentor,²⁰⁶ the defender king, whither they go, went up.

8. *ugnim-e igi-im- ma- an- šig*
 8. The hosts of peoples she beholds.

9. *nar-e li-du-a šu-i-ni-in-ġí ũb²⁰⁷ šu-na be-in-šub*
 9. The singer refuses to chant and from his hand has thrown the drum.

²⁰² Written *túg. gu-šig* is a kind of plant, on a tablet of the Tello Collection in Constantinople, MIO. 7086. For the meal of the *gu-šig* see also CT. X 20, II 33 and REISNER{FNS, *Templeurkunden*, 128 Col. III.

²⁰³ Restored from line 14. Here begins the rehearsal of the woes of Erech.

²⁰⁴ Cf. also CT. 15, 19 Rev. 2 where a place word is also expected.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Gudea, St. B 9, 27.

²⁰⁶ Semitic *šattamma* a title employed in later times apparently in a secular sense. Originally it has a sacred meaning and probably denoted a musical director who was also a priest. The application of a priestly title to the king is in accord with his royal prerogatives.

²⁰⁷ The sign is Br. 8899.

10. *ni*²⁰⁸-*nag-a-zu ni-nag-a-zu*

10. Thou drinkest not; thou drinkest not.

11. *a*²⁰⁹ *nu-e-nag amaš-zu um-mi-ni-nag*

11. Water thou drinkest not, but thy sheepfolds drink.

12. *ni-nag-a-zu ni-nag-a-zu*

12. Thou drinkest not; thou drinkest not.

13. *kaš nu-e-nag uš*²¹⁰-*zu um-mu-ni-nag*

13. Beer thou drinkest not, but thy protégés drink.

14. *gud-dam e*²¹¹ *e-sir unug-(ki)-ga-ge šár-ám ma-ra-mi-ù-uš*

14. Like an ox going forth in the streets of Erech like a
multitude(?) he pursues thee.

15. *šar-ra-ám giš-KU-A ma-ra-dúr-ru-ne-eš*

15. In multitudes they have taken up their abodes in the
habitations.

16. *mèn*²¹² *a-na-ag-en sal-e mà-a ma-an-dúg-ga sal-un-ne*²¹³
mèn-ne-en

16. As for me what shall I do? I who have bestowed care. A
sacred devotee I am.

17. *gud-dam e ib-tag-ra be-in-ra ni-zu*²¹⁴ *e-ne-ib-uš*

17. Coming forth like an ox, *hastening in destructive fury* he
came; even thee thyself he pursued.

²⁰⁸ For *ni* = *nu*, see SBP. 138, 22, *ni-kuš-ù* = *nu-kuš-ù*; SBH. 70, 3 = 131, 48.

Read *li*?

²⁰⁹ Text *GAR*!

²¹⁰ *BAD* = *kidinu*, has the value *uš*; cf. *uš-sa* = *kuddinu*, Br. 5061.

²¹¹ *e* is here interpreted as a phonetic variant of *UD-DU*. Cf. also *e-dam* in SBP. 118, 39.

²¹² This is the first example of this form employed as subject.

²¹³ The text is difficult. *UN* is certain but the sign *SAL* is not clear on the tablet.

²¹⁴ Text *SU*.

18. *šar-úr á nam-ur-sag-gà-mu šu-nu-um-ma-ti*

18. The *šar-ur* weapon, arm of my heroic power I have taken
not in my hand.

[275]

19. *é ġallab-mà a-gil-zu²¹⁵-bi dal-la mi-ni-gt²¹⁶*

19. Of my temple in Hallab its treasures he has hidden far away.

20. *giš-dal é-an-na pa-ba mi-ni-in-kud*

20. Of the *tallu*²¹⁷ of Eanna its *PA* he broke off.

21. *gud-dam sil-šú im-ma-na-ra-è*

21. Like an ox he came up against thee on the highways.

22. *gud-dam e e-sir unu-(ki)-ga-ge šár-ra mu-ni-in-gaz*

22. Like an ox going forth in the streets of Erech he slaughtered
multitudes(?).

23. *šár-ra giš-KU-A-a-na mu-ni-in-dīg*

23. Multitudes in their habitations he caused to die.

24. *giš-ig ká-gal-la im-ma-an-gūr-gūr*

24. The doors of the city gate he shattered.

25. *a-tuġ²¹⁸-na-ka ... im-ma-an-è*

25. Her defender he caused to go forth,

²¹⁵ Phonetic variant of *gil-sa* = *sukuttu*. The prefix *a* is difficult and probably the noun augment, see *Sum. Gr.* § 148. The vowel *a* seems to possess another sense in SBP. 284, 1.

²¹⁶ *gí* = *piġû*, confine, RA. 9, 77 I, 10; note also *é-a-ám gí = ina bití piġû*, K. 41 Col. II 12.

²¹⁷ Part of the door; see VAB. IV Index.

²¹⁸ Variant of *á-taġ* = *rêšu*. The final *ka* is for the emphatic *ge* in the status obliquus (*ga*). This emphatic particle is here attached to the object which is not a construct formation, but the choice of *ka* for *ge* is probably influenced by the principle of employing the oblique case of the construct when the noun in question is in the accusative; see *Sum. Gr.* § 135. “Defender” refers to Tammuz.

26. *šu-PEŠ*²¹⁹ *dumu šu-PEŠ*^d *Innini-ge*

26. The fisherman, the son fisherman of Innini.

27. *šen-urudu mu-na-an-bar-ri-ia-dúg*²²⁰

27. The copper vessels he scattered.

28. *gud-dam ra ... im-ma-an-ra-aĝ*

28. Hastening like an ox he has wrought demolition.

29. *gud-dam e er-im-ma-an-šub*²²¹ *sîg-sîg-ni-mà-mal*²²²

29. Coming forth like an ox tears he has caused to fall and misery he caused to be.

[276]

30. *d*. *Innini zig*²²³ *-mu sum-ma-ab*

30. Oh Innini, grant me favor.

31. *gud kur-ra ga-mu-ra-ab-sum tûr-zu ga-mu-ra-ah-lu*²²⁴

31. Oxen of the mountains I will give thee; thy stables I will enrich for thee.

²¹⁹ The same title in PBS. V 2 Obv. II 23, *d**Dumu-zi šu-PEŠ*. POEBEL{FNS interpreted this as a variant of *šu-ĝa = ba'iru*, fisherman, and his suggestion is probably correct. We have, however, to consider the possibility of a confusion with *kam = ukkušu*, the afflicted, SAI. 5082.

²²⁰ The rise of the semi-vowel *i* between the vowels *a-a* occurs under similar circumstances in *igi-ĝe-ni-ib-ila-ia-dúg*, RADAU{FNS, *Miscellaneous Texts*, No. 4, 5. See also *Sum. Gr.* § 38, 2. The form above arose from *bar-ri-a-a-dúg*. The prefixed element *dúg* falls under § 153 of the Grammar. *bar = sapāhu* is a variant *par*, to spread out, scatter.

²²¹ *šub*, to let fall, hence *tabāku*, to pour out. Heretofore this meaning of *šub* was known only from the forms *al-šû-šû-be = ittanatbak*, SBH. No. 62, 15, and forms cited by MEISSNER{FNS, SAI. 8345. See also *šu* from *šub*, *ibid.*, 8334 and *al-šû-šû-be*, MVAG, 1913 pt. 2 p. 49, 16.

²²² The same passage occurs in Ni. 13856 II 13. *sîg-sîg = šaḫummatu*, variant of *sîg-sîg*.

²²³ *zig* is probably phonetic for *šeg = magāru*, see *Sum. Gr.* 258, *zig*⁷.

²²⁴ *lu* from *lum = dašû, dišû*, passim.

32. *udu ... kur-ra ... ga-mu-ra-ab-sum amaš-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-lu*
 32. Sheep of the mountains I will give thee; thy sheepfolds I
 will enrich for thee.

33. *azag*^d *Innini-ge mu-na-ni-ib-gí-gí*²²⁵
 33. Holy Innini replied:—

34. *a-šag ġallab-(ki)-a dūr-gar be-e-gar-ra e-ku*²²⁶ *ni-nad-ba*
 34. “In the plains of Hallab thou shalt make thy abode where the
 people repose.”

35. *ama-ba*²²⁷ ... *gūr(?) ... ġa-ra-ab-túg-e balag-al*²²⁸ *ġu-mu-ra-*
ab-bi
 35. May their hosts *attend(?)* thee and proclaim to thee on lyre
 and harp(?)

36. *d* *Innini nam-ur-sag-[zu]*²²⁹ *ga-ám-dúg*
 36. Oh Innini, I will rehearse thy valor.

37. *zag-sal-zu ... dug-ga-ám*
 37. It is good to sing thy praise.

²²⁵ Cf. also PBS. V 25 I 15; II 13 *mu-na-ni-ib-gí-gí*.

²²⁶ *eku* from *uku* by dissimilation of vowels. See also REISNER{FNS, SBH. 77, 17.

²²⁷ For *ama* = *ummatu*, *ummanātu*, see *Sum. Gr.* 202, *ama*² and WEIDNER{FNS, *Handbuch der Babylonischen Astronomie*, p. 86, 4.

²²⁸ See, for the musical instrument *AL*, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, Index, p. 221.

²²⁹ Text omits *zu*, which is not on the tablet.

Liturgical Hymn to Sin. 8097 (No. 7)

This liturgical composition consists of two melodies each designated by the rubric *sagarram*, “It is a *sagar*.” The entire service is sung to the *tigû*, a kind of flute. In the first melody of fifteen lines the choir chant the glory of the moon god and his city Ur. The second melody of twenty-four lines is apparently an address of the earth god Enlil to his son the moon god. This melody must remain obscure as long as the recurring liturgical phrase *áb-mu-ba-ši-in-dib* is unexplained.

[277]

....
....

5. [...] *-ni éš uri-ki mu-šú ba-an-sá*

5. His city(?) the abode of Ur as a name he named.

6. *en ud-sud-du-ge uru-ni-ta*

6. As lord unto eternal days in his city,

7. *^{d.} Zu-en-e kidur²³⁰ ba-ni-in-gar*

7. The god Sin he²³¹ caused to abide.

8. *uri-ki uru šag-gi-pad-da-na*

8. In Ur the city which his heart has chosen

9. *è gud-gim ub-im-me*

9. The temple like a strong bull calls unto the regions(?)²³²

²³⁰ Written *KU-KI* Cf. also CT. 16, 44, 80 *KU-KI-gar-ra-bi = ina ašābi-šu*.

²³¹ Enlil.

²³² A reading *ár-im-me*, “it is glorified,” suggests itself. Cf. SBH. 93, 1.

10. *lugal-mu ... sá-rin-na-ni*²³³

10. Of my king, may his net(?)

11. *ki-maġ ki-kal-kal ġe-en-na-nam-ma-ám*

11. Be upon tomb and ruins.

12. *^dZu-en-e uru kenag-gà-ni*

12. Of Sin, may his beloved city,

13. *eš uri-(ki) me-azag-azag-ga....*

13. The dwelling-place Ur, with holy decrees a city....

14. *lugal-mu bara....*

14. Of my king may his chapel....

15. *[...]-e nin [...] gar-ra....*

15.

16. *sa- [gar-] ra- ám*²³⁴

16. It is a *sagar* melody.

17. *e*²³⁵ *^dNannar [áb -] zu me-a mu-'u-lu en ^d.Áš-ìm-ür*

17. Hail! Nannar, of the flocks(?) thou art ruler, lord Ašimur.

19. *uru igi-ila éš šag [-gál ul-] ti*²³⁶, “Personal Names of the Form *fu ul*,” p. 50. Note also *ul-ti-a = ħābšatum*, PBS. V *ibid.* l. 12. The hymn to Sin, SBP. 296, contains in line 14 the same phrase.

-a-ni-mà

19. In my city of the lifting of the eyes, the home of his own abode, which is his fulness of luxury,

²³³ Cf. TSA. 31 Obv. II.

²³⁴ See PBS. Vol. XII 12.

²³⁵ Cf. SBP. 295, 17.

²³⁶ *ul-ti = ħubušu*, “the lusty man,” POEBEL{FNS, PBS. V 136 V 13, with which compare n. pra. *Ĥubbušu*, *Ĥubbuštu*, in HOLMA{FNS

20. *šuruppak-gim [nam-ġar-]-gud-e²³⁷ gál-la-bi*

20. Whose design is like Šuruppak,

21. *...-e... áb-mu-ba-ši-in-dib*

21.I have caused him to be a shepherd(?)

22. *[e dumu] ^e.En-lil-lá kalama me-a mu-'u-lu en ^d.Áš-ìm-ür*

22. [Hail! son] of Enlil, in the Land he is ruler, lord Ašimur.

[278]

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

24. Into my city of the lifting of the eyes, the home of his own
abode, which is his fulness of luxury,

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

25. Whose design is like Šuruppak,

REVERSE

1. *[... áb-mu-ba-] ši-in-dib*

1. [...] I have caused him to be a shepherd(?)

2. *[dumu-sag ^d.En-lil-lá kalama me-a] mu-'u-lu en ^d.Áš-ìm-ür*

2. [First son of Enlil, in the Land he is] ruler, lord Ašimur,

4. *[ud-]-dug-ga [ki-gar-ra mu-šú ga]-sá-a*

4. [“He that institutes battle”] as a name I name.

5. *^d.Áš-ìm-[ür šag]-gi-pad-da-mu*

5. Ašimur the ... whom my heart has chosen,

6. *é-mud-[kur-ra-mu]²³⁸ copied the sign wrongly.*

áb-mu-ba-ši-in-dib

6. In Emudkurramu I caused to be a shepherd(?).

²³⁷ Text not entirely certain. If correctly read the signs *ĤAR-GUD* = *kabattu* must be read in SBP. 48, 45 after the variant SBH. 3, 10.

²³⁸ Restored from line 10. The only previous occurrence of this name is in SMITH'S{FNS *Miscellaneous Texts*, 11, 1 which has *RI* not *MU*. The end of the name is broken in BL. No. 27. Perhaps SMITH{FNS

7. *dumu-sag* ^{d.}*En-lil-lá kalama me-a mu-'u-lu*

7. First son of Enlil, in the Land he is ruler.

8. *ud-dug-ga*²³⁹*-ki-gar-ra mu-[šú] ga-sá-a*

8. “He that institutes battle” as a name I name.

9. ^{d.}*Áš-ìm-ür me-en ki [šag]-gi-pad-da-mu*

9. Ašimur thou art; where my heart has chosen,

10. *é-mud-kur-ra-mu áb-[mu-ba]-ši-in- dib*

10. In Emudkurramu I have caused thee to be a shepherd(?).

11-12. *lugal tûr-azag-ga áb-zu me-a mu-'u-lu šul-pa*

munsub-nun-na

11-12. Lord of the clean sheepfolds, ruler of the flocks is he, the glorious(?) hero, far famed shepherd.

13. *šag-túm-ma bara ša mu-un-dū eš-e uri-(ki)-mu-[šú]*

13. In the meadow a sanctuary I have built; in the abode of my city Ur,

[279]

14. *é-šág-nam-sar kur Dilmun-na nam*

14. In the temple Šagnamsar²⁴⁰ which is in the mount of Dilmun,

15. *é-gi-azag-bi-a áb mu-ba-ši-in-dib*

15. In the temple of the holy stylus a shepherd I caused him to be(?)

²³⁹ Pronounced *udugga* = *šaltu*.

²⁴⁰ The name as transliterated means *mudammik musarrê*, “Temple of the benefactor of writing.” In line 15 its holy reed is mentioned, a mythical stylus symbolic of the god of wisdom, Enki, according to SAK. 6 h.

16. *dumu-sag*^d *En-lil-lá kalama me-a mu-'u-lu šul-pa munsub
nun-na*

16. First son of Enlil, in the Land he is ruler, glorious(?) hero,
far famed shepherd.

18. *šag-túm-ma bara ša-mu-un-dū éš-e uri-ki-mu-šú*

18. In the meadow a sanctuary I built; in the abode of my city
Ur,

19. *é-šá-nam-sar kur Dilmun-na nam*

19. In the temple Šagnamsar which is in the mount of Dilmun,

20. *é-gi-azag-bi-a áb-mu-ba-ši-in-dib*

20. In the temple of the holy stylus a shepherd I have caused
him to be(?)

21. *sa-gar- ra- úm*

21. It is a *sagar* melody.

22. *nar-balag*²⁴¹ *d. Zu-en-na*

22. Song on the flute to Sin.

²⁴¹ *nar-balag* = *tigû*, a kind of flute. Here the word indicates that in the musical accompaniment this instrument was employed. It probably denotes a specific kind of melody. Three other musical instruments have given their names to classes of melodies, the *eršemma*, *balag* and *me-zí*, see SBP. page IX, and BL. page XXXVIII.

Lamentation on the Destruction of Ur. 7080 (No. 11)

[280]

The fragment Ni. 7080 carries the right half of one of the largest literary tablets in the Museum. Broken evenly at the center from top to bottom the right half of this tablet preserves part of Col. III and all of Cols. IV, V of the obverse. The reverse correspondingly contains Cols. I, II and half of Col. III. Like so many similar liturgical compositions of the period of Ur this lamentation is divided into a series of *kišubs* or songs, here of unusually great length. The third song ends at Obv. III 38; its first line stood in Obv. II, which has been lost. The fourth song began at Obv. III 42 and ends at Obv. IV 23, containing thirty-four lines. The fifth song begins at Obv. IV 27 and ends at Obv. V 7, containing forty-seven lines. In the following pages will be found a translation of twenty-three lines of the end of the fourth song which describes the wrathful word of the gods Anu and Enlil. The fifth song, a remarkable ode to the wrathful word of Enlil, has been translated so far as the text permits.

The sixth song begins at Obv. V 11, and probably terminated in the broken passage at the top of Rev. I. Its length was also unusual, having at least forty-five lines. This song was edited on a small tablet Ni. 4584 on which the beginning and the end of the section are preserved. It has been published as No. 10 in *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, Vol. X of the Publications of the Babylonian Section. Only a few lines at the commencement of this song have been translated here. From this point onward the language of the liturgy presents such difficulty that the writer has been unable to offer a translation.

Section seven probably ended at the top of Rev. II and refers throughout to the mother goddess who weeps over the ruins of Ur. The eighth song probably began at the top of Rev. II and ended perhaps at the top of Rev. III. It is another doleful ode to the weeping mother and many of its lines are clear and translatable. The entire song is marked by sorrowful refrains: *me-li-e-a uru-mu nu-me-a*, Oh woe is me, my city is no more.²⁴² *a-uru-mu im-me*, How long? oh my city I cry.²⁴³ *me-li-e-a uru-ta è-a-mèn*, Oh woe is me, from the city I depart.²⁴⁴ *dingir ga-ša-an-gal-mèn é-ta è-a-mèn*, Great divine queen am I, from the temple I depart.²⁴⁵ *er-gig ni-šéš-šéš*, She weeps bitterly.²⁴⁶ [281]

Only the ends of lines of a large part of the ninth song are preserved in Rev. III. The tenth song probably occupied most of the space in Rev. IV. Speculation concerning the number of songs in the entire liturgy is limited to the number of about 11-13. The liturgy was, therefore, extremely long, attaining to a content of about 500 lines. We know from the single tablet variant of the sixth song that another edition of this series existed in which small tablets carried each a single *kišub*. A similar condition of editorial redaction is revealed by ZIMMERN, KL. 200, a small tablet which contains the twelfth song of a liturgy to the deified king of Isin, Išme-Dagan.

The historical event referred to in this liturgy is undoubtedly the destruction of Ur in the time of Ibi-Sin, last of the kings of the Ur dynasty. This calamity left many traces in the temple songs of Sumer, and the Sumerian prayer books of Nippur contain other lamentations on the fall of Ur, written perhaps during the Isin period. The writer has already published a single column tablet which rehearses the same catastrophe, mentioning Ibi-Sin

²⁴² Rev. II 22.

²⁴³ Rev. II 19.

²⁴⁴ Rev. II 29.

²⁴⁵ Rev. II 30.

²⁴⁶ Rev. II 37:41. Cf. *er-gig mu-un-šéš-šéš*, ZIMMERN{FNS, KL. 25 II 2 f.

himself and naming the Elamites as his captors.²⁴⁷

OBVERSE IV

1. *an-ni e-ne-em-bi ba-ra-mu-un-gur*

1. Anu may prevent his word.

2. *^dMu-ul-lil-e ni²⁴⁸-šág ġe-ám-bi*

2. Enlil may order kindness.

3. ... *šag-mu ba-ra-be-in-šed-di*

3. And may my heart be at peace from sorrow.

[282]

4. [...-]*su-ud arad-na sag ki-ba-da-ab-gál-la*

4.

5. [] *-nae-ne-em-súr-ragur-da-bi*

5. [] the angry word be prevented.

6. [] *ba-da-an-dúr-ru-ne-eš-a*

6.

7. *ùr-ġe-im-ma-gid-gid-da ġe-im-ma-lal-lá*

7. The foundations it has annihilated, and reduced to the misery
of silence.

8. *an-ra a-i-ne-mà me-e ġe-im-ma-na-dúg*

8. Unto Anu I will cry my “how long?”

9. *^dMu-ul-lil-ra ní-mu šag-ne-du ġe-im-ma-ag*

9. Unto Enlil I myself will pray.

10. *uru-mu nam-ma-gul-lu ġe-im-me-ne-dúg*

10. “My city has been destroyed” will I tell them.

²⁴⁷ See *Historical and Religious Texts* 5-8.

²⁴⁸ *nig* to *ni*.

11. *Uri-(ki) nam-ma-gul-lu ġe-im-me-ne-dúg*

11. “Ur has been destroyed” will I tell them.

12. *uku-bi nam-ma-bir(?) -e ġe-im-me-ne-dúg*²⁴⁹

12. “Its people have been *scattered*” will I tell them.

13. *an-ni e-ne-em-bi ba-ra-mu-un-gur*

13. May Anu prevent his word.

14. ^d*Mu-ul-lil-e ni-šág ġe-ám- bi*

14. May Enlil order kindness.

15. *šag-mu ba-ra-be-in-šed-di*

15. And may my heart be at peace from sorrow.

16. *uru-mu gul-gul-lu-ba-da-bi ġe-im-ma-an-?-eš*

16. My city which has been destroyed may they ...

17. *Uri-(ki) gul-gul-lu-ba-da-bi ġe-im-ma-an-?-eš*

17. Ur which has been destroyed may they ...

18. *uku-bi diġ gi-bil-šu ág-bi ġa-ba-an-tar-ri-eš*

18. Of its slain people may they decree a new dispensation.²⁵⁰

19. *me-e nig-dúg-mu mu-ne-sum-ma-gim*²⁵¹

19. I will offer my meditations unto them.

20. *me-e uru-mu-da ġe-en-bi mu-un-da-lal-eš*

20. I (will say to them): “In my city they have despised the splendor.”

21. *Uri-(ki) mu-durun-da ġe-en-bi mu-(un)-da-lal-e-eš*

21. “In Ur the city of homes they have despised the splendor.”

22. *an-ni [dúg-ga-ni ġur] nu-kúr-ru-dam*

22. Anu whose words in this manner change not.

23. ^d. *Mu-ul-lil-e eñim-bi è-a-ni ... e-dam*

23. Enlil the going forth of whose word....

24. *ki-šub-gú 4-kam-ma-ám*

24. It is the fourth song.

25. *uru-ni ba-da-gul-ám me-ni ba-da-kúr-am*

25. Her city has been destroyed, her ordinances have been changed.

26. *giš-gí- gál-bi- im*

26. This is its antiphon.

27. ^d. *En-lil-li ud-de gù-ba-an-de*

27. Enlil utters the spirit of wrath

28. *uku-e še-ám-šá*

28. and the people wail.

29. *ud ġe-gál-la kalaṃa-da ba-da-an-ḳar*

29. The spirit of wrath prosperity from the Land has destroyed

30. *uku-e še-ám-šá*

30. and the people wail.

31. *ud dug Ki-en-gi-da ba-da-an-ḳar uku-e še-ám-šá*

31. The spirit of wrath peace from Sumer has taken and the people wail.

²⁴⁹ Lines 50-54 on Col. III may be restored from lines 8-12.

²⁵⁰ Literally, "decree again their oracle."

²⁵¹ *gim*, emphatic suffix.

32. *ud ġul-gál-e á-ba-da-an-ág uku-e še-ám-šá*

32. He has sent the evil spirit of wrath and the people wail.

33. *kin-gal-ud-da ud-da-gub-ba šu-na im-ma-an-sġg*

33. The “Messenger of Wrath,” the “Assisting Spirit” into its hand he entrusted.²⁵², Choix, II 53, 4. On *uddugub* as a title of kings see BE. 31, 22 n. 9.

34. *ud kalam-tíl-tíl-e ġù-ba-an-de uku-e še-ám-šá*

34. He has uttered the spirit of wrath which exterminates the Land and the people wail.

35. *^d.En-lil-li ^d.Gi-bil á-taġ-a ki-mu-na-ni-in-[]*

35. Enlil has sent Gibil as its helper.

36. *ud-gal an-na-ge ġù-ba-an-de uku-e še-ám-šá*

36. The great spirit of Heaven has been uttered and the people wail.

37. *ud-gal-e²⁵³ an-ta ġù-ni-ib-im-me uku-e še-ám-šá*

37. The mighty spirit on high he commanded forth and the people wail.

[284]

38. *ud kalam tíl-tíl-e azag ki ...*

38. The spirit that annihilates the Land ...

39. *im-ġul-e a-maġ-è-a-gim ...*

39. The evil storm like a mounting inundation ...

²⁵² We meet here for the first time with two avenging angels or genii who attend the Word in its execution of the wrath of god. *Ķingaludda* is mentioned as one of four evil spirits *ilu limmu* in CT. 25, 22, 44. He is mentioned with the Zû bird and the demon *šġdu* as appearing in dream omens, BOISSIER{FNS, DA. 207, 34. See also BOISSIER{FNS

²⁵³ The *ud-gal* is regarded as plural = *ġmu rabġti* and identified with the evil spirits of incantations, CT. 16, 22, 266 and 276. In the Epic of Creation the “great spirit of wrath” is one of the demons attendant upon Tiamat.

40. *giš-dúr*²⁵⁴ *uru-ge sag-gaz ni-ag ...*

40. The shepherd of the city it slew ...

41. *an-na ùr-ba? mu-un-nigin ...*

41. Of heaven its foundation it ...

42. *ud-da igi-ba-ne mu-un-ne-ne ...*

42.

43. *bàr-bàr-ri ne-gig-edin-na tùr(?) ...*

43.

44. *an-ne-bar-ám ne-gùr-gùr ...*

44.

45. *an-ne é UD-UD è ...*

45.

46. *kalam-ma lăg-lăg-ga ...*

46.

(Lines 47-55 mostly illegible.)

Col. V.

(Lines 1-6 mostly illegible.)

7. *Uri-(ki)-ma túg-gim ba-e-gul ... gim ba-e-búr*

7. Ur like a garment thou hast destroyed, like a ... thou hast scattered.

8. *ki-šub-gú 5-kam-ma-ám*

8. It is the fifth song.

9. *ud ug(?) -ám al-[Juku-e še-am-šá*

9. The spirit of wrath like a *lion* ... and the people lament.

²⁵⁴ See PBS. X 161, 13.

10. *giš- gí- gál -bi- im*

10. This is its antiphon.

11. *ud-ba ud uru-da ba-da-an-gar uru-bi ...*

11. At that time the spirit of wrath upon the city was wrought
and the city....²⁵⁵

12. *a-a^d Nannar uru dim-dūl-dūl-da ba-da-an-[Juku-e
še-ám-šá*

12. Father Nannar upon the city of *master workmen* ... and the
people wail.

13. *ud-ba ud kalama-ta ba-da-an-kár uku-e še-ám-šá*

13. At that time the spirit of wrath *descended* upon the Land and
the people wail.

[285]

14. *uku-bi šika-kud-da [nu-me-a bar-ba ba-e-si]*

14. Her people without water jars sit without her in desolation

15. *bád-ba gú [?²⁵⁶]-nin [kaskala im-ma-an-gar-gar uku-e
še-ám-šá]*

15. Within her ... in the ways are *placed* and the people wail.

16. *ká-gal-maġ ġir-gál-la-[ba àd-a im-ma-] an [BAD]*

16. The great city gate and the highways with the dead are
choked up.

17. *duk?-tun-sir-gim dū-a-ba [sag-bal-e] ba-ab- gar*

17. Like a leather vessel all of her the usurper cast asunder(?)

18. [] *e-sir ġir-gál-la-ba àd im-ma-an-gar-gar*

18. In her ... streets and roads corpses he *heaped up*(?)

²⁵⁵ The traces on Ni. 7080 are against the restoration *še-am-šá*. Lines 11-19
are restored from PBS. X No. 10.

²⁵⁶ *ġir?* Variant *gú-nin!*

Liturgical Hymns of the Tammuz Cult. 3656 (Myhrman No. 5)

The obverse of this fine single column tablet contained a hymn in thirty-eight lines to the departed Tammuz. It represents the people wailing for the lord of life who now sleeps in the lower world. Thirteen lines have been completely broken away from the top. The reverse carried a long liturgical song of the cult of this god in which the mother goddess is represented wailing for her ravished lover. Songs of the weeping mother are common enough in these wailings for Tammuz, but all other known examples of this *motif* represent the major unmarried type of mother goddess Innini-Ishtar wandering on earth, crying for her departed son. The hymn on our tablet reveals in a wholly unexpected manner the close relation between the mother goddess Gula of Isin and Innini. It was known that both sprang from a common source, a prehistoric unmarried goddess, but one had hardly supposed that the liturgists went so far as to introduce the married goddess of Isin in the rôle of the virgin mother Innini. The great mother divinity of Isin, although attached in a loose way to a male consort Ninurta, in that city retained, nevertheless, much of her ancient unattached character. In the standard liturgies she is almost invariably the type of Weeping mother, whereas Innini is this type in the Tammuz liturgies. Since Gula of Isin was the ordinary liturgical type we find the influence of the ordinary liturgies effective in the composition of the Tammuz hymn. It explains the extraordinary phenomenon of the introduction of a long passage (Rev. 3-10) from one of the wailing liturgies. And the short litany refrain lines 11-20 is obviously an imitation of numberless similar passages of the ordinary liturgies in which

[286]

the goddess wails for various temples; here only for Nippur and Isin, since the composition was written for the services at Nippur in the period of the Isin dynasty. In a most gratifying manner our tablet shows how the lamentations of the mother goddess in the canonical prayer books express sorrows for certain concrete misfortunes and certain defined temples and cities and find their general expression in the lamentations for Tammuz, the representative of all human vicissitudes. This edition has been made from my own copy. The tablet was first published by MYHRMAN, PBS. Vol. I No. 5, and by RADAU, BE. 30 No. 2. To these copies I have been able to make only slight additions.

HYMNS OF THE TAMMUZ CULT

1. *KU-?* []

1.

2. *kalag giš* []

2. Oh strong one []

3. *me-ri kuš-ù-[zu²⁵⁷]* []

3. Thy weary foot []

4. *á-lirum-šu²⁵⁸-[kuš-ù-zu ...]* []

4. Thy weary arms—breast—hands []

5. *a-zu²⁵⁹-guruš a-zu* []

5. Oh strong healer, oh ... healer []

6. *kalag^d Da-mu-mu* []

6. Oh strong one, my Damu []

7. *tu-mu ù-mu-un mu-zi-da* []

7. Oh child, lord Gišzida []

²⁵⁷ Cf. RA. 12, 37, 1.

²⁵⁸ So from my copy and CT. IV 4b 12 = *Babyloniaca*, III 17.

²⁵⁹ For this title of Tammuz, see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 34.

8. *a-zu a dam ... ni-kuš-ù-a-zu*

8. Oh healer, how long husband ... wilt thou be weary?

9. *a-zu a ʒu-mu ... ni-kuš-ù-a-zu*

9. Oh healer, how long son ... wilt thou be weary?

10. *i-dé (?) ... ʒu-ru ? [na?] zu-dé*

10. When before ... thou sittest,

11. *kalag da-ga-ám-ma²⁶⁰-ni ... zu-dé*

11. Oh strong one, when *into* his *assembly* thou ...

12. *a-rib²⁶¹ šu-si me-ri ... a-bal-mà na-nam*

12. Alas he whose fingers and feet [*are bound*], my irrigator²⁶²
is he.

13. *šag-zu-šú la-aḡ-[la-aḡ-]ḡu-a-zu*

13. Because of thee she wanders far for thee.

14. *kalag^d Da-mu-mu a-bal-mà na-nam*

14. My sturdy Damu, my irrigator is he.

15. *ama-zu mu-lu er-ri nu-kuš-ù*

15. Thy mother she of lamentation rests not.

²⁶⁰ Probably for *dagan = puḫru*, RA. 11, 144, 8. See also *dakan*, divine abode, DELITZSCH{FNS, *Glossar*, 132.

²⁶¹ Cf. SB P. 304, 13.

²⁶² Title of Tammuz as spirit of the waters, see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, pp. 6 and 44. *a-bal = tābik mē*, pourer of water, irrigator, is the original idea of this ideogram. For the title *galu-a-bal* in this sense, see CT. 13, 42, 7 ff. *Ak-ki galu abal*, the gardener who cared for Sargon. See also THUREAU-DANGIN{FNS, *Lettres et Contrats*, No. 174, 6-8, *galu a-bal*, a kind of laborer. The later usage of the word as libator of water for the souls of the dead, Semitic *nāḡ mē* is a strictly conventional development, see *Babyloniaca*, VI 208.

16. *ama ga-ša-an tin-dib-ba túb-bi-šú nu-durun*

16. The mother, queen who gives life to the afflicted, carries not to repose.

17. *ù-šub-ba-za ù-zi-ga-za sîr-ri-šú na-ri-bi*

17. In thy perdition, in thy seizure, in melodious sighing she speaks of thee.

18. *kalag a-rin-na-za ù(?) a-tar-ra-za sîr-ri-šú na-ri-bi*

18. Oh hero, in thy contumely, in thy removal, in melodious sighing she speaks of thee.

[288]

19. *ama-ugu-mu GAR-LUL-LUL-na-mu sîr-ri-šú nu-uš
ma-gub-bi*

19. My child-bearing mother, my lamenter(?) with melodious sighing behold she stands

20. *kalag idim-[ma me-]en galu-kur-al*

20. Oh sturdy one, prostrate thou art, a man of the land of wailing(?)²⁶³

21. *en ... me-en galu-kur-dim*²⁶⁴

21. Oh lord, ... thou art, a man of the land of lament.

22. *unu-[dagal-mu] kur-idim-ma-mu*

22. In my vast chamber, in my land of misery,

23. *en me-en a-ra-li ki-sag kirud-da-mu*

23. A lord am I. In Aralu, place where I am cast away,

24. *kalag me-en kur-ri-sud-du-šú im-ma-ab-du me-en*

24. A laborer am I. Unto the faraway land I go.

²⁶³ *al* as synonym of *DE* (in line 21) is probably a variant of *ilu = nagû*.

²⁶⁴ Sign *DE*.

25. *ud-me-e-na*²⁶⁵ *ni- ? ?*
 25. Daily(?) he [*sorrows?*]²⁶⁶

REVERSE

1. *šă-ab-er-ri*²⁶⁷ *kuš-ù-a-mu ma-a-a nad-da-[mu]*
 1. I weary with heart woe, where shall I rest?
2. *balag-di šă-ab-er-ri kuš-ù-a-mu ma-a-a nad-da-[mu]*
 2. Oh sing to the lyre; I weary with heart woe, where shall I rest?
3. *ama uru-sag ga-ša-an tin-dib-ba mèn*
 3. Mother of the chief city,²⁶⁸ queen who gives life to the dead
 am I.
4. *sag-ṭu-an-na ga-ša-an Ì-si-in-(ki)-na mèn*
 4. First born daughter of heaven,²⁶⁹ queen of Isin am I.
5. *ṭu-mu é-a ga-ša-an-mu*²⁷⁰ *d. Gu-nu-ra*
 5. Daughter of the temple, Queen Gunura.
6. *tum-lu-azag ama é-šăb-ba mèn*
 6. Holy *tumlu* mother of Ešabba am I.
7. *d. En-á-nun*²⁷¹ *ama gù-an-ni-si mèn*
 7. Enanun mother of lamentation am I.

[289]

²⁶⁵ This line is connected with the classical interlude *ma-a-bi ud-me-na-gim* etc. discussed in SBP. 185 n. 10 and BL. XLIX.

²⁶⁶ Below the double line the figure 38, i.e. 38 lines on the obverse. Thirteen lines have been broken from the top.

²⁶⁷ Cf. ZIMMERN{FNS, K.L., 25 II 42.

²⁶⁸ I. e. Isin.

²⁶⁹ On this title see BL. 143.

²⁷⁰ Probably an error. Omitted in translation.

²⁷¹ On this line, see the commentary in *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* 173 note 3.

8. *ga-ša-an nigín-mar-ra ki-azag-ga mèn*

8. Queen of Niginmarra,²⁷² the holy place, am I.

9. *ga-ša-an áš-te²⁷³ ... ga-ša-an La-ra-ak-(ki) mèn*

9. Queen of Ašte,²⁷⁴ queen of Larak.

10. *ama é-a^d Ašnan^d Azag-sud mèn*

10. Mother of the temple, Ašnan the divine lustrator²⁷⁵ am I.

11. *šā-ab-er-ri a-še-ir-ri ma-a kuš-ù-mu*

11. Weeping and sighing where shall I find rest?

12. *er é-kur-ra-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu*

12. Weeping for Ekur, where shall I repose?

13. *er kenur-ra-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu*

13. Weeping for Kenur, where shall I repose?

14. *er dù-azag-ga-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu*

14. Weeping for Duazagga, where shall I repose?

15. *er é-dīm-ma²⁷⁶-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu*

15. Weeping for the “House of the King,” where shall I repose?

16. *er uru-sag-gà-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu*

16. Weeping for the chief city, where shall I repose?

²⁷² Temple in Isin-Šuruppak. Šuruppak must have been a quarter of the later and more famous Isin. Note that this temple is assigned to Šuruppak in POEBEL{FNS, PBS. V 157, 7. The liturgies, however, constantly place Niginmar at Isin.

²⁷³ I see traces of a sign after *te*.

²⁷⁴ Temple in Larak, a quarter of Isin. See SBP. 160 n. 7.

²⁷⁵ *azag-sug* title of the deities of lustration Ašnan, Nidaba and Gibil.

²⁷⁶ Rendered *bit šarru*, V Raw. 16, 52, probably a royal chapel or room in Ekur especially provided for the king. See also SBP. 292, 14; KL. 25 I 11.

17. *er tir-azag-ga*²⁷⁷-*ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu*

17. Weeping for the sacred forest, where shall I repose?

18. *er Ì-si-in-(ki)-na-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu*

18. Weeping for Isin, where shall I repose?

19. *er é-gal-maġ-a-ge ma-a kuš-ù-mu*

19. Weeping for Egalmah, where shall I repose?

20. *er La-ra-ak-(ki)-a-ge ma-a kuš-ù-[mu ma-a na]-d-da-bi*

20. Weeping for Larak, where shall I repose, where shall he rest?

21. *šă-ab dam-e-mu ša-ab [tu-mu-]*²⁷⁸ *mu*

21. The ravished one my husband, the ravished one, my son,

22. [...] *ki-el-la šăb mu-ud-na-mu*

22. [In ...] the clean place, the ravished one my spouse,

[290]

23. *tu-mu-tūr tu-[mu ...]*

23. The little son, the ... son [...]

24. *ga-ša-an [...]*

24.

25. *šă-ab [...]*

25.

26. *AN-NE [...]*

26.

27. *sukkal [...]*

27. ²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ Probably name of a sacred park at Isin. It contained a chapel, *é-tir-azag-ga*, KL. 25 I 12.

²⁷⁸ For the restoration, cf. RA. 12, 34, 9.

²⁷⁹ The edge has the figure 48 which indicates the number of lines on the reverse and left edge.

L. E. *a-šab-ba-ni a-ba-bar-ra-ni*

L. E. How long his ravishing? how long his absence?²⁸⁰

A Liturgy to Enlil, Series *e-lum*

gud-sun (Zimmern KL. No. 11)

The history of the text of this long and intricate Enlil liturgy elucidates in unusual manner the evolution of Sumerian prayer books until they attained canonical and permanent form. The earliest text of this liturgy is partially preserved on the *Tablet Virolleaud* published in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. XVI. The fragment was brought to Europe in 1909 by the assyriologist CHARLES VIROLLEAUD, having been purchased by him during his excavations in Persia. It is light brown and varies from the center to the edge by two inches to one inch in thickness. The fragment is from the upper left corner of a large three(?) column tablet. About half of the first melody is preserved on the obverse. The reverse preserves the last two melodies. From their rubrics we learn that the entire series contained eleven sections. This tablet has the rubric *ki-šub-gú* after each strophe. The titular lityny²⁸¹ occupies as usual the next to the last place but only the opening lines giving the *motif* and a few titles are given. The redactor indicates the remaining titles by a rubric “(Recite the title) of

²⁸⁰ See also the same idea in SBP. 312, 12 and KL. 25 II 41.

²⁸¹ Concerning the *titular litanies*, see PBS. X 156, 173, etc.

[291] a god until they are finished.” The rubric is in Semitic which shows that the redaction was done by Semitic scholars.

The series as it finally issued from the hands of the liturgists in the Isin period was written upon a huge five(?) column tablet, the lower half of which has been published by ZIMMERN, *Altsumerische Kultlieder*, No. 11. Each column contained about fifty lines. There are no *giš-gí-gal* or antiphons after the melodies, ten of which I have been able to restore. By borrowing from old songs and other liturgies the redactors have greatly increased the length of this service. At least ten songs have been lost on Cols. III, IV of the obverse and I, II of the reverse.

The late Assyrian redaction is mentioned in the catalogue of prayer books IV Raw. 53 I 13 and in BL. No. 103 Obv. 13. SBH. No. 21, edited in SBP. 112-119, is tablet one of the late Babylonian School²⁸² and contains the first four songs, duplicates of the first four on K.L. 11. SBH. No. 25, edited in SBP. 120-123,²⁸³ carries on the obverse two songs (*e-lum di-da-ra* and *me-e ur-ri men*) found on Col. III of K.L. No. 11, Rev., or the two last melodies before the titular litany. A fragment published by MEEK in BA. X pt. 1, No. 11, contains the end of *e-lum di-da-ra* and all of *me-e ur-ri men*. SBH. 25 and MEEK No. 11 belong to the series *e-lum di-da-ra*, entered in the Assyrian catalogue, IV Raw. 53a 8, and form tablet *one* of that service.

[292] The titular litany of the *e-lum gud-sun* series is identical (except for some variants) with the famous titular litany of the mother goddess series *mu-ten NU-NUNUZ gim-ma*, tablet *five*, edited in SBP. 149-167. Portions of the titular litany of the Enlil series have been edited in PBS. X 155-167, see pages 163-4. The titular litany of *ní-ma-al gù-de-de* occurs at the end of tablet two of that series, SBP. 24-9 = BL. 72-3. Not every series has a theological litany of this kind, which ordinarily comes before

²⁸² Erroneously designated the fourth tablet of *ame baranara* in SBP.

²⁸³ Erroneously assigned to *ame baranara* in SBP.

the *er-šem-ma*, or intercessional song at the end. The song to the “word,” which occurs in all series, is partially preserved on Obv. III and begins *a-ma-ru na-nam*. The indispensable song to the weeping mother comes just before the titular litany. This little nine-line melody *me-e ur-ri-mèn me-e kàs-mèn* must have been a national religious song. It was copied into another Enlil song service as we have seen. The same song introduces tablet *four* of an Innini series of which we have only the end of tablet *three*, K. 2759, in BL. 93 f.

Finally the reader will note that the first song *e-lum gud-sun* of this series has been copied into one of the tablets of *ame baranara*, SBH. No. 22 = SBP. 126 f. A fragment of some unknown series, K. 8603 = BL. 14 also employs this song in the body of its text.

1. *e-lum gud-sun mu-zu kur-kur-šú*²⁸⁴

1. Exalted one, bull that overwhelms, thy name is on the lands.

2. *ù-mu-un-e*²⁸⁵ *kur-kur-ra gud-sun*

2. Lord of the lands, bull that overwhelms, thy name, etc.²⁸⁶

3. *ù-mu-un dúg-ga-zi-da gud-sun*

3. Lord of the faithful word, bull that overwhelms, etc.

4. ^{d.}*Mu-ul-lil a-a ka-na-ág*²⁸⁷-*gà ... gud-sun*

4. Enlil, father of the Land, bull that overwhelms, etc.

5. *sib sag-gíg-ga gud-sun*

5. Shepherd of the dark-headed people, bull that overwhelms, etc.

6. *i-dé-duğ ni-te-na gud-sun*

6. Thou of self-created vision, bull that overwhelms, etc.

7. *am GĪR²⁸⁸-na sá-sá gud-sun*

7. Wild bull who directs his hosts, bull that overwhelms, etc.

8. *ù-lul-la ku-ku²⁸⁹ gud-sun mu-zu kur-kur-šú*

8. Thou that sleepest the sleep of perversity, bull that overwhelms, thy name is on the lands.

9. *mu-zu kur-ra mu-ma-al-la-šú an ní-bi nam-dúb*

9. When thy name is laid upon the lands the heavens tremble of themselves,

10. *ki ní-bi nam-sīg*

10. and the earth quakes of itself.

11. *^dMu-ul-lil e-ne-em-zu kur-ra-ám ma-ma-al-la-šú*

11. Oh Enlil, when thy word is laid upon the lands,

12. *dúg-ga-zu kur-ra-ám ma-ma-al-la-šú*

12. When thy command is laid upon the lands,

13. *daġ-a-zu kur-ra-ám ma-ma-al-la-šú*

13. When thy *command*²⁹⁰ is laid upon the lands,

14. *an ní dúb sīg²⁹¹ ki ní-bi nam-sīg*

14. The heavens tremble of themselves, the earth of itself quakes,

²⁸⁴ The text of lines 1-25 is taken from *Tablet Virolleaud*, now *Collection Nies*. No 1315.

²⁸⁵ SBP. 112 and 126 have *umun*, et passim.

²⁸⁶ SBH. 42 has an inserted line between II. 1-2. See SBP. 112.

²⁸⁷ Vars. *nag*.

²⁸⁸ Uncertain. Apparently REC. 225. Elsewhere in this passage always *šAB* which has been read *erin-na = ummāni-šu*, BL. 111, 16.

²⁸⁹ See *Yale Vocabulary* 135.

²⁹⁰ On this passage see PBS. X 170, 13 and Ni. 15204, 8 of this volume.

²⁹¹ Sic! Error for *ní-bi-dúb*.

15. *ama [nu]²⁹²-gíg-gi ama nu-bar-ra dumu-ni mi-ni-in-gí-gí*

15. The harlot mother, the hierodule mother slays her son,

16. ... *ga-ša-an uru bar-ra-ra dumu-ni mi-ni-in-gí-gí*

16. ... queen of the city, outside the city slays her son.

17. ... *dumu-ni mi-ni-in-gí-gí*

17. ... slays her son.

18. *e-lum ... e-ne-em-zu-šú ... kur-ri ni-in-gí-gí*

18. Oh exalted ... at thy word ... the foreign land *thou reducest to the misery of silence.*

19. *^dMu-ul-lil mu-lu? A ...*

19. Enlil lord of ...²⁹³

20. *kur-ri ni-in-gí-[gí]*

20. the foreign land *thou reducest to the misery of silence*

21. *e-lum za-e e-ne-em-zu an-e um-ma-[dúg]*

21. Oh exalted one, as for thee, thy word in heaven speak

22. *an-e ib-[...]*

22. and heaven shall ...

23. *^dMu-ul-lil za-e e-ne-em-zu ki-e um-[ma-dúg]*

23. Enlil, as for thee, thy word on earth speak

[294]

24. *ki nu-um-[]*

24. and earth shall not...

²⁹² Omitted by the scribe. Line restored from Ni. 15204, 11.

²⁹³ With line 19 the variant SBH. 42 lower fragment begins.

25. *dim-me-ir a-tú-a*²⁹⁴ *um-ma-dúg*....

25. God of libation speak [and heaven shall ... and earth shall not...]

26. *d. am an-ki am uru zí-ba-ge um-ma-dúg* [....]

26. Divine wild ox of heaven and earth, wild ox of the good city²⁹⁵ speak, etc.

27. *ama é-maġ-a*²⁹⁶ *d. [Dam-gal-nun-na-ge]*

27. Mother of the house of the famous one, Damgalnunna,

28. *um-ma-dug* [....]

28. speak, etc.

29. *d. Asar-lù-dug-e [dumu uru zí-ba-ge]*

29. Marduk, son of the good city²⁹⁷

30. *um-ma-dúg* [....]

30. speak, etc.

31. *d. ìd ama uru zí-ba-ge um-[ma dug....]*

31. River goddess, mother of the good city speak, etc.

32. *d. A-?298-e ga-ša-[an ab-su-ra-ka-di299 um-ma-dug....]*

32. Zarpanit queen of ... speak, etc.

²⁹⁴ Var. adds *ra*.

²⁹⁵ The god Ea of Eridu is meant.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Col. II 19. On this variant for *dumu-maġ*, see note in *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* 163.

²⁹⁷ Restored from Col. II 20.

²⁹⁸ We expect the sign *EDIN* (= *rī*) but the traces are clearly not those of *EDIN*.

²⁹⁹ Col. II 23 *ab-su-di*. Here begins KL. No. 11, I, which joins directly on to *Tablet Virolleaud*.

33. [*sukkal-zid mu-dug-ga*]-*sá-a-ra um-ma*³⁰⁰

33. Faithful messenger, called by a good name, speak, etc.

34. [*ud-dé du(l)- du(l)-*]*dúg šu-ám mi-ib-gál*

34. [The spirit] reduces [all things] to tribute.³⁰¹

35. *te-e-ám ama-gan-ra dumu-ni zí-em-mà-na-ad(!)-du*³⁰²

35. How long shall the child-bearing mother reject her son?

36. *te-e-ám ama-gan-ra ga-ša-an urú*³⁰³ *bar-ra-ra dumu-ni
zí-em-mà-na-ad(!)-du*

36. How long shall the child-bearing mother, queen of the city,
cast aside her son?³⁰⁴

[295]

37. *te-e-ám ama-gan-ra ga-ša-an sun-na-ra*³⁰⁵ *dumu-ni zí-em-
mà-na-ad-du*

37. How long shall the child-bearing mother, the wild-cow
queen, reject her son?

³⁰⁰ This refrain is read *ù-um* etc. on the late variant, SBH. No. 21, Obv. lower fragment.

³⁰¹ Cf. SBP. 40, 33. Restoration uncertain. This line does not appear in SBH. 42 = SBP. 112 which has here insertions for Tašmetu and Nanā.

³⁰² For *-na-ta?*. The suffixed conjugation is frequently employed in interrogations; *me-na gí-gí-mu*, “When shall one restore it?,” BE. 30, 12, 2. *a-ba ku-ul-la-ba*, “Who shall restrain?,” Ni. 4610, r. 1. *a-na an-na-ab-taĝ-ni*, “What shall I add to thee?,” GENOUILLAC{FNS, *Drehem*, 1, 12. Variant SBP. 114, 32 *zag-na ab-zí-em-e*.

³⁰³ Var. SBH. 43, 35 *ur-ra-ge*.

³⁰⁴ Parallel passages do not mention the “queen of the city” but only the ordinary mother who rejects her children, SBH. 131, 58-61; BL. 74, 10. The phrase refers obviously to the mother goddess. “Her son” must be interpreted figuratively in the sense that the mother goddess is the protector of all human creatures.

³⁰⁵ This title *gašan-sun* or *nin-sun*, really means *beltu rimtu*, “the wild-cow queen,” and characterizes the ancient mother goddess as patroness of cattle. The title usually refers to the married type Gula or Bau, as in SBP. 284, 19, and note that Ninsun, mother of Gilgamesh, is frequently called *ri-mat*, POEBEL{FNS, OLZ, 1914, 4. The title also applies to the virgin type Innini in KL. 123 r. II 7.

38. *a urú-a mu-lu im-me-a-ra*³⁰⁶ *dumu-ni zí-em-mà-na-ad-du*
 38. How long in the city shall he of wailing reject his son?

39. *a ki-dagar-ra-ám Nippur-ám ib éš-ga-a-ra*³⁰⁷
 39. How long in the wide land, in Nippur, in the region of the
 vast abode?

40. *a-gal-gal šel-su-su mulu ta-zu mu-un-zu*³⁰⁸
 40. Flood that drowns the harvests, who comprehends thy form?

41. *e-lum a-gal-gal šel-su-su mulu ta-zu mu-un-zu*
 41. Exalted, flood that drowns the harvests who comprehends
 thy form?

42. *d. mu-ul-lil ù-mu-un kur-kur-ra*
 42. Enlil lord of the lands, who etc.

OBVERSE II

1. *ù-mu-un dúg-ga-zi-da*³⁰⁹
 1. Lord of the faithful word, who etc.

³⁰⁶ *mu-lu imme* also BE. 30, 9 I 2 = *bêl kîli(?)*, “Man of wailing.” The late version replaces this line by [*te-e-ám*] *da-ga-a-ta dumu-ni*, “How long shall the wife of the strong man reject her son?”, SBP. 114, 37. *dagāta* = *dam-guṭu*, SBH. 131, 60.

³⁰⁷ Probably a title of Ekur. *ešgalla* title of the temple in Kullab, KL. 3 II 20. The late version rejects this line since its local reference was not suited to general use.

³⁰⁸ Here this line begins an Enlil melody within the body of a series. Originally *a-gal-gal šel-su-su* was a Nergal melody and a series based upon it is catalogued in IV R. 53a 33 of which K. 69 is the first tablet. See also BÖLLENRÜCHER {FNS, *Nergal*, No. 6.

³⁰⁹ The late redaction of this melody revises this litany with the new liturgical movement *ursaggal—elimma* placed before alternate lines. When this scheme is employed all feminine deities are omitted. See SBP. 114. Note 5 p. 115 *ibid.* is to be suppressed.

2. *d.mu-ul-lil a-a ka-nag-ga*

2. Enlil father of the Land, who etc.

3. *sib sag-gíg-ga*

3. Shepherd of the dark-headed people, who etc.

4. *i-dé-duġ ní-te-na*

4. Thou of self-created vision, who etc.

[296]

5. *am erin-na sá-sá*

5. Hero who directs his hosts, who etc.

6. *ù-lul-a dúr-dúr*

6. Thou that sleepest the sleep of perversity, who etc.

7. *šag gi-ū gi-ū šā-ab túg-e túg-e*

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

8. *šag an-na gi-ū gi-ū*

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

9. *šag d.mu-ul-lil gi-ū gi-ū*

9. Oh heart of Enlil be reconciled, etc.

10. *šag ur-sag-gal gi-ū gi-ū*³¹⁰

10. Oh heart of the great hero, be reconciled, etc.

11. *ní-ma-al-e zid al-ma-al*³¹¹ [li-]e³¹² *nap-tan-na aš-ša-ka-nu*

11. Kneaded bread for the feast I set,

³¹⁰ Lines 7-10 conjecturally restored from *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* 165, 8-11.

³¹¹ Lines 11-17 restored from SBP. 116, 16 ff.

³¹² Meaning and restoration uncertain.

12. *ní-ma-al-e ní-ma-al-e*
12. Kneaded bread, kneaded bread,
13. *ní-ma-al-e zid al-ma-al*
13. Kneaded bread for the feast I set,
14. [*kur-gal* ^d.*en-lil-*]*da šu-en-ne ba-túg*
14. By the Great Mountain, Enlil, it has been blessed.
15. [*a-a* ^d.*mu-ul-lil*] *šu-en-ne ba-túg*
15. By Father Enlil it has been blessed.
16. [*kur-gal* ^d.*en-lil-*]*šu-en-ne ba-túg*
16. The Great Mountain Enlil has blessed.
17. [*a-a* ^d.*mu-ul-lil*] *šu-en-ne ba-túg*
17. The Father Enlil has blessed.³¹³
18. *ù-mu-un am urú-zí-ib-(ki) šu-en-ne-ba-túg*
18. Lord, hero of the sacred city, has shown grace.
19. *ama-é-maġ*³¹⁴-*a* ^d.*dam-gal-nun-na*
19. Mother of the house of the famous one, Damgalnunna, has shown grace.
20. ^d.*asar-lù-dug dumu urú zí-ib-(ki)*
20. Asarludug, son of the sacred city, has shown grace.
21. *mu-ud-na-an-ni* ^d.*apin*³¹⁵-*nun-na-an-ki*
21. His wife Zarpanit has shown grace.
22. ^d.*id ama urú zi-ib-(ki)*
22. River goddess, mother of the sacred city, has shown grace.

[297]

³¹³ First line on ZIMMERN{FNS, No. 11 Col. II.

³¹⁴ See note on line 27 above.

³¹⁵ Usually *pà* = *ekû*, canal, is used in this title of Zarpanit. She is originally a patroness of irrigation and ultimately identical with Ninā.

23. ^d*a-rĭ-e ga-ša-an ab-su-di*³¹⁶

23. Zarpanit queen of ..., etc.

24. *sukkal-zid mu-dug-ga-sá-a šu-ba-e-en*

24. Faithful messenger, called by a good name, has shown grace.

25. *ní-ma-al-e zí-ib ni-ma-al-la-ta*

25. The kneaded bread which has been well made,

26. *zí-ib ni-ma-al-la-ta ní-ma-al-e zí-ib-bi dé-kùr-e*³¹⁷

26. Which has been well made, the kneaded bread may he eat
graciously,

27. ^d*mu-ul-lil-li zí-ib-bi-kùr zí-ib-bi dé-kùr-e*

27. May Enlil graciously eat; yea graciously eat.

28. *ki an-dúr-ru-na-šú uku*³¹⁸*-e gar-ma-an-zí-en*

28. Where Anu sits may the people hasten.

29. [^d*A-nun-na*³¹⁹]-*ki-an-dúr-ru-na-šú uku-e gar ma-an-zí-en*

29. [*The Anunnaki.*] Where Anu sits let the people hasten.

30. *é-e ám-ba-al ne-sag-mag*³²⁰*é-e am-ba-al*

30. To the temple he enters, the mighty priest of sacrifices to the
temple enters.

³¹⁶ *ab-su* = *ab-zu*, sea? Cf. *ab-zu-bil-la*, the shining ocean, KL. 1 Rev. I 19 f.

³¹⁷ SBP. 116, 27 *dé-en-kùr-e*.

³¹⁸ Var. *u-mi-a*, SBP. 116, 33.

³¹⁹ Line 29 is false and to be corrected after the late text SBP. p. 118, 35 f. which has two lines. Read *ki an dúr-ru-na-šú* ^d*A-nun-na* [*gar-ma-an-zí-en*], where Anu sits let the Anunnaki hasten.

³²⁰ Cf. SBH. 44, 37.

31. *a-tú-tú ma-mu šu-luĝ-ge a-tú-tú ma-mu*

31. A libation he offers, the priest of hand washing a libation offers.

32. *é-e ud-šă-ab-šú e-dam ud-šuš-šú e-dam*

32. To the temple at mid-day go up! at sun-set go up.

33. *ud-da ne-sag-e šu-si-sá e-dam*

33. Daily to direct the sacrifices go up!

34. *ud-da ù-gul-ma-ma šu-si-sá e-dam*

34. Daily to direct the prayers go up!

35. *ud-da an ðim-me-ir mu-zu an-ni zu-zu-dam*

35. Daily Anu merciful god³²¹ on high *proclaim*.

36. *d.am-an-ki am urú-zi-ib-(ki) an-ni zu-zu-dam*

36. The hero of heaven and earth, hero of the sacred city on high *proclaim*.

37. *d.en-lil mà-gùn³²² d.en-lil ĝùn-uku-e gar-ma-an-zi-en*

37. To Enlil let all the land, to Enlil let all the people hasten.

[298]

38. *an-ni a-ma-an-tú an-ĝù(?) an-ni a-ma-an-tú šă-ab
ám-ma-ab-túg-e*

38. Unto heaven verily I will libate water, unto the *canopy* of heaven, unto heaven verily I will libate water. The heart I will appease.

39. *im-ma-an-a-tú a ám-ma-ab-túg-e*

39. I will pour out a libation, the father I will appease.

³²¹ *ilu ra'imu*.

³²² *naphar māti*, cf. IV R. 23b 15.

40. ^d. *am-an-ki am urú-zí-ib-(ki) ám-ma-ab-túg-e*³²³

40. The hero of heaven and earth, the hero of the sacred city I
will appease.

COL. III

(Here began a melody of which ten lines at least are lost.)

11. *é-....[ta (=KL. 11 Obv. III 1)]*

11.

12. *unugal(?) -da....[ta]*

12.

13. *dù-sag-áš³²⁴ -ta []*

13.

14. *é-bi-tūr-ta^d []*

14.

15. *éš è-bàr-ta []*

15.

16. *éš é-an-na-[ta]*

16.

17. *še-ib []*

17.

³²³ It is not certain that this melody ended here. Possibly all the titles in lines 19-27 followed here with the refrain *am-ma-ab-túg-e*. At any rate the traces of a last line on SBH. 44 are those of the last line of this melody. There is not space enough on SBH. 44 after line 37 for more than the lines 31-40 supplied above for we must make some allowance for the interlinear Semitic translations in the break on SBH. 44.

³²⁴ *šubat pirišti*. This sanctuary at Nippur is mentioned in BE. 29 No. 5 Obv. 11; *dù-sag* in KL. 64 II 4 and III 6.

18-22 ...

18-22 ...

23. *é* []

23.

24. *dù(?)* []

24.

25. ...

25.

26. [*mu-un-*]*túg-gà-ta* []

26. He has been pacified []

27. *mu-un-túg-gà-ta* []

27. He has been pacified []

28. *mu-un-túg-gà-ta* []

28. He has been pacified []

29. *mu-un-túg-gà-ta šag^d* []

29. He has been pacified, the heart of ... [has been pacified]

30. *mu-un-túg-gà-ta kur-gal^dm[u-ul-lil mu-un-túg-gà-ta]*

30. He has been pacified, the great mountain [Enlil has been pacified]

[299]

31. *edin-na ? -a erida (ki)-ta*

31. In the ... plain of Eridu....³²⁵

32. *a-ma-ru na-nam kur al-gul-gul*

32. A tempest it is shattering the mountain.

³²⁵ End of the sixth melody.

33. *ù-mu-un-e e-ne-em-mà-ni a-ma-[ru na-nam]*

33. The word of the lord is a tempest.

34. *šāb-bi e-lum-e a-ma-ru na-[nam]*

34. The heart³²⁶ of the exalted is a tempest.³²⁷

35. *šāb-bi^d mu-ul-lil a-ma-ru na-nam*

35. The heart of Enlil is a tempest.

36. *ù-mu-un-na šag an-šú an ní-ne ba-ni-ib-gam-ma-[ne]*

36. The heart of the lord is in heaven and the heavens waver of themselves.³²⁸

37. *^dmu-ul-lil e-ne-em ki-šú ki ní sīg-ga-ni*

37. The word of Enlil is on earth and the earth trembles of itself.

38. *e-ne-em-mà^d a-nun-na gil-li-em-eš-[a-ni]*³²⁹

38. The word which brings woe to the spirits of earth.

39. *e-ne-em-mà-ni a-zu nu-tuk šim-šar nu-[un- tuk]*

39. His word a prophet has not; a magician it has not.

40. *e-ne-em-mà-ni a-ma-ru zi-ga gab-šu-gar nu-un-tuk*³³⁰

40. His word is an onrushing tempest, an adversary to oppose it has not.

³²⁶ Heart is used here in the sense “wrath.”

³²⁷ Cf. SBP. 98, 40 f.

³²⁸ Cf. SBP. 98, 44; 124, 19.

³²⁹ Cf. SBP. 38, 13.

³³⁰ Cf. *ibid.* 98, 48.

(Here followed Obv. IV; eight or ten lines continued this melody to the word. Their contents were similar to SBP. 100, 49-57 ff.)

REVERSE III³³¹

1. *sukkal-zid mu-dug-ga-sà-a* []

1. The faithful messenger, he called by a good name.

2. *dingir ga-še-dé a-be-in-si sag* []

2. The god who satiates with milk and grain, *sag*³³²....

[300]

3. *an-ki-bi-da im-mi-ib-ġun-gà*

3. Heaven and earth it has pacified.

4. *ki-an-bi-da im-mi-ib-ġun-gà*

4. Earth and heaven it pacified.

5. *ud é-kùr-ta kùr-gal^d mu-ul-lil* [*im-mi-ib-ġun-gà*]

5. When in Ekur the great mountain Enlil it pacified,

6. *é-lam-ma³³³-ta ama-gal^d nin-lil im[-mi-ib-ġun-gà]*

6. [When] in Elamma the great mother Ninlil it pacified,

7. *an-ni-gar-ra³³⁴-ta ereš³³⁵ ^d mu-ul-[-lil im-mi-ib-ġun-gà]*

7. In Annigarra the *consort (sister)* of Enlil it pacified.

³³¹ In case the tablet possessed five columns like KL. 25 then this column is Rev. III. I know of no *four* column tablets of similar kind.

³³² *sag* began a refrain which followed the titles of Enlil, Ea, etc. and ended with this line. See Obv. I 21-31, etc.

³³³ Cf. SBP. 82, 47.

³³⁴ A title of Egalmah in Isin, SBH. 94, 29 = SBP. 186, 29.

³³⁵ Either DAM or SAL + KU (sister) must be expected, since we have obviously a reference to Aruru here.

8. *e-lum di-da-ra dé-en*³³⁶ *ga-ám-dúr*

8. The exalted who walketh forth, where tarries he?³³⁷

9. *di-da-ra e-lum di-da-ra dé-en ga-ám-dúr*

9. Who walketh forth, the exalted who walketh forth, where tarries he?

10. *ù-mu-un-e kur-kur-[ra-ge di-da-ra]*

10. The lord of the lands, who walketh forth, where tarries he?

11. *[ù-mu-]un-e dúg-ga-zi-da di*

11. The lord of faithful word, who etc.

12. ^d*mu-ul-lil a-a ka-nag-gà di*

12. Enlil, father of the Land, who etc.

13. *sib sag-gíg-ga di*

13. Shepherd of the dark-headed people, who etc.

14. *i-dé-duğ ní-te-na di*

14. He of self-created vision, who etc.

15. *am erin-na sá-sá di*

15. Hero that directs his hosts, who etc.

16. *ù-lul-la dúr-dúr di*

16. He that sleeps the sleep of perversity, who etc.

17. *me-e bur-mağ-a kaš ga-an-na-ab nisak-ka*

17. I in a great bowl will pour out wine to him.

18. *ama-gim dugud*³³⁸ *-da da-mu-un-lal*

18. I like a wild ox will bow down to the mighty one.³³⁹

19. *urú-zu al-gul-gul ga-an-na-ab-dúg*

19. “Thy city is destroyed,” will I say to him.

20. *kenur é-nam-ti-la al*

20. “Kenur and Enamtila are destroyed,” will I say to him.

21. *zimbir-(ki) é-bàr-ra al*

21. “In Sippar Ebarra is destroyed,” etc.

22. *urú-zu tin-tir-(ki) al*

22. “Thy city Babylon is destroyed,” etc.

23. *é-sag-ila bád-si-ab-ba-(ki) al*

23. “Esagila and Barsippa are destroyed,” etc.

24. *é-zi-da é-mağ-ti-la al*

24. “Ezida and Emahtila are destroyed,” etc.

25. *é-te-me-en-an-ki al*

25. “Etemenanki is destroyed,” etc.

26. *é-dár-an-na al*³⁴⁰

26. “Edaranna is destroyed,” etc.

³³⁶ Sic! An error for *en-ne*? See SBP. 120, 1. Perhaps *dé = te*, “where?” strengthened by *en = adi*.

³³⁷ The following melody has been restored from the late variant SBP. p. 120.

³³⁸ Glossed *gú-da*.

³³⁹ Semitic *lu-uk-mi-is-su*, glossed *kamû*. *kamû*, “to bind,” is the natural rendering of *lal*. The Semitic should perhaps be neglected as faulty and the Sumerian rendered, “Like a wild ox by the mighty one I am hobbled.”

³⁴⁰ Lines 21-26 may not have stood in the ancient liturgy.

27. *gi-er-ra ba-mă ga-an-na-ab-dúg*³⁴¹

27. “Wailing on the reed-flute ascends in her,”³⁴² will I say to him.

28. *ud ma-ra mu-un-zal-la-ta i-dé-a-ni nu-gub*

28. When I am overjoyous in his presence may I not stand.

29. *^dmu-ul-lil-li mu-un-zal-la-ta i-dé-[a-ni nu-gub
i-dé-nam-mu-un-dŭ-ru]*

29. As to Enlil when I am overjoyous in his presence may I not stand.

30. *^dmu-ul-lil-li i-dé-a-ni nu-gub i-dé-nam-mu-un-dŭ-ru*

30. In the presence of Enlil may I not stand; may he behold me not.

31. *me-e ur-ri-mèn me-e kàs-mèn*³⁴³

31. I am a stranger and a fugitive.

32. *a è-ne al-dib a è-ne al-dib*

32. The risen waters seized away; the risen waters seized away.

33. *[nin]-urú-ma ama-gal ^dnin-lil-là [mèn]*

33. Queen of city and house, great mother Ninlil am I.

34. *[^da]-ru-ru SAL+KU ^dmu-ul-lil-là [mèn]*

34. Aruru, sister of Enlil I am.

35. *[nin?][?]ú-a gašan ni-ib-bur mèn*

35. A *queenly* caretaker, queen of Nippur I am.

36. [*gašan*] *azag-ga*³⁴⁴ *gašan ma-gí-a mèn*

36. An holy queen, queen of the convent I am.

37. *ma ma-al-la-šú ma ma-al-la-šú*

37. In the builded house, in the builded house,

38. *d.mu-ul-lil* [*umun?*] *kúr-kúr-ra ma*

38. Enlil [*lord*] of lands in the builded house,

39. [*ereš*]-*mu mu-un-til ma*

39. My consort dwells not in the builded house.

40. At the end of this column began a long titular melody.³⁴⁵

(Lines 1-11 of this melody, i. e., 40-51 on KL. 11, III, are supplied by Tablet Virolleaud, Rev. 1-11, and restores the entire section.)

REVERSE IV(?)

1. *d.Mu-ul-lil-li dam-a-ni d.Nin-lil-li*

1. Enlil and his consort Ninlil (we will pacify). (= Tab. Vir. Rev. 12.)

³⁴¹ Here begins variant 81-7-27, 203 = BA. X 87.

³⁴² Nippur.

³⁴³ Beginning of a melody of a weeping mother series, BL. p. 94, 12. It is not certain that this melody stood in the ancient text. See for the text 81-7-28, 203 (= 78239) in this volume.

³⁴⁴ Cf. SBH. 132, 27.

³⁴⁵ The duplicate, MEEK, NO.{FNS 11, has here another melody not a titular litany. This text does not belong to the *e-lum gud-sun* series.

2. *An*^d *Uraša ki-še-gu-nu-e*³⁴⁶
2. Anu-Uraš kiségunu.
3. *d.En-ki* *d.Nin-ki* *En-ul* *d.Nin-ul*
3. Enki and Ninki, Enul and Ninul.
4. *d.En-da-šurim-ma* *d.Nin-da-šurim-ma*
4. Endašurimma, Nindašurimma.³⁴⁷
5. *d.En-dù-azag-ga* *d.Nin-dù-azag-ga*³⁴⁸
5. The Lord of Duazag, the Queen of Duazag.
6. *ama* *d.Nin-lil a-a* *d.Mu-ul-lil*
6. Mother Ninlil and father Enlil.
7. *d.En-ut-til*³⁴⁹ *d.En-me-en-šár-ra*³⁵⁰
7. Enuttilla and Enmenšarra.
8. *nin-zi-an-na*³⁵¹ *ga-ša-an ġar-sag-gà*³⁵²
8. Ninzianna and Ninharsag.
9. *d.Šul-pa-è*³⁵³ *en*^{giš} *banšur-ra*
9. Šulpae, lord of the sacrificial board.

[303]

³⁴⁶ This title of Uraša remains unexplained. In all other examples *dUraša ki-še-gu-nu-ra*, SBP. 150, 6; 90, 20; K. 3931 Rev. 29; KL. 17 Rev. II 6. Perhaps also Gudea, Cyl. B 19, 13 is to be restored *ki-še-gu-[nu-ra]*.

³⁴⁷ Father-mother names of Enlil, IV Raw. 1b 17 f.

³⁴⁸ Enlil names, CT. 24, 4, 24 f.

³⁴⁹ Enlil, CT. 24, 4, 20.

³⁵⁰ Usually *me-šár-ra*. Enlil name, CT. 24, 4, 26. Not originally associated with Nergal. See *Historical and Religious Texts*, p. 35.

³⁵¹ Here both titles of Ninlil. Variant *nin-zíd-an-na*, PSBA. 1911, 233 n. 39.

³⁵² See previous footnote.

³⁵³ Originally title of Enlil, CT. 24, 25, 97 = 13, 42. Usually Marduk as Jupiter.

10. *ama še-en-tùr*³⁵⁴ *Catalogue*, p. 10, No. 51, 8 where she is identified with Nintud = ^d*bêlit*.

dim-me-ir imin

10. Mother Šentur, (mother) of the seven gods.³⁵⁵

11. *ù-mu-un si*³⁵⁶ *Nipru-(ki) ù-mu-un kalag-a*

11. The lord *light* of Nippur, mighty lord.

12. *gù-de-de*³⁵⁷ *ga-ša-an Nipru-(ki)*

12. The loud crying, queen of Nippur.

13. *dingir dumu-sag*³⁵⁸ ^d*ga-ša-an mu-un-ga-ra*

13. Divine first born daughter, divine queen of treasures.

14. ^d*Nusku [á-]mağ dingir-gidim [é-kur-ra]*

14. Nusku of mighty message, divine spirit of Ekur.

[15. *ama é-a-ge* ^d*Sa-dár-nun-na*]

[15. Mother of the temple, Sadar-nunna.]

[16. ^d*Še-ra-ağ gidim é-šar-ra*]

[16. Šerah spirit of Ešarra.]

[17. *lamma-šág-ga me-lam-an-na*]

[17. The propitious spirit whose splendor is supreme.]

³⁵⁴ Two other readings of this title of Ninlil as mother goddess are known; ^d*Še-en-tūr*, SBP. 150 n. 5, l. 11 and ^d*Še-en-tur*, KING{FNS, *Supplement to BEZOLD'S*{FNS

³⁵⁵ In ZA. VI 242, 21 their mother is Išhara, another title of the same mother goddess. For the seven gods see IV Raw. 21 No. 1 B.

³⁵⁶ Perhaps = *si-gal*, title of Ninurta, SBH. 132, 26; BL. 92, 7. CT. 24, 7, 12.

³⁵⁷ Usually title of Ninlil as here, SBH. 132, 23; SBP. 150 n. 5, 13. But consort of Ninurta, CT. 24, 7, 12.

³⁵⁸ Var. ^d*Nappasi*.

18. *dumu [sukkal-gal^d.Nannar^d.Zuen-na*
 18. The son, [great messenger, Nannar-Sin.]
19. *d.En-[nu-NUNUZ-zi^d.Nannar³⁵⁹ dam^d.Nannar-ge]*
 19. Zir [spouse of Nannar].
20. *nu-banda-[maġ^d.Mu-ul-lil-la-zi-ge]*
 20. [The august] prefect, [divine Enlilzi]³⁶⁰
21. *d.[En]-bu-[ul-e dumu é-sab-ba]*
 21. [Enbul son of Ešabba.]
22. *šul-a[n-na umun ġar-sag-ġal-ge]*
 22. Hero of [heaven, lord of the great mountain.]
23. *d.ga-ša-[an-gal-e ama-an-na-ge]*
 23. Ningal [heavenly mother.]
24. *d.ga-ša-[an an-na áš-ni-gi-ge³⁶¹]*
 24. The queen of heaven [who alone is strong.]
25. *mu-ud-[na-ni^d.Ama-ušum-gal-an-na]*
 25. Her husband [Tammuz.]
26. *ama ù-[mu-un-na gašan sun-]na*
 26. The mother of the lord,³⁶² Ninsun.

[304]

³⁵⁹ The entire ideogram was read *zir = zirru*, SMITH{FNS, *Miscel. Texts* 25, 16.

³⁶⁰ A legendary king who had received apotheosis, and was placed in the court of Enlil, CT. 24, 6, 20 = 8 Col. III 1. The variant SBP. 152, 15 inserts another deified king Ur-Sin. See also GENOULLAC{FNS, *Drehem*, 5501 II 21; *Babylonian Liturgies*, 92 Rev. 10; CT. 24, 6, 21.

³⁶¹ Or *gi-ur-sag*. The Semitic is *ša ediš-ši-ša karradat*. On Innini queen of heaven, see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 88.

³⁶² I. e., Gilgamesh.

27. *ù-[mu-un banda ù-mu-un èš-]nun-na*

27. Lugalbanda lord of Ešnunak.

28. *é-rib an-na mu-tin-an-na*

28. The heavenly sister-in-law, Geštinanna.³⁶³

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

REVERSE V(?)

1. *^dEn-á-nun ama gù-an-ni-si*

1. Enanun mother of loud weeping.³⁶⁴

2. *^dNINDA + GUD³⁶⁵ amar zag-gi-ra³⁶⁶*

2. Ninda-Gud, the radiant son.

3. *^dSú-nir-da³⁶⁷ en šul-mé-ra*

3. Šunirda, queen, heroine of battle.

4. *dumu-šág-ga ga-ša-an kár³⁶⁸-nun-na-ra*

4. The pious daughter, Ninkar-nunna.³⁶⁹

5. *ga-ša-an dig-ga dingir-lum-ma³⁷⁰*, SAK. 273. SCHEIL{FNS, I. c. 4, says that *Lum*, *Ḫum* is an Elamitic god. The title *gašan-dig-ga* indicates a female deity. Note the variant *gašan-sa-lum-ma*, SBP. 158, 56. An underworld deity.

ur-sag

5. Queen(?) of the dead, Lumma the heroic.

³⁶³ See *Tammuz and Ishtar* 57, n. 2.

³⁶⁴ On this title of the weeping mother, see *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* 173.

³⁶⁵ A title of Immer the thunder god.

³⁶⁶ *Zagin-na* to *zaggira*, see *Sumerian Grammar*, § 47.

³⁶⁷ Aja goddess of light and battle, *Babylonian Liturgies* 143.

³⁶⁸ ZIMMERN{FNS, AZAG an error?

³⁶⁹ Cf. K. 7145, 7 in CT. 29, 47.

³⁷⁰ *^dLum-ma* or *Ḫumma*, CT. 24, 6, 18 one of two *utukku* of Ekur. Duplicate 24, 22, 117. Often in names of the early period, SCHEIL{FNS, *Textes Elamites-Semitiqes*, p. 4 and in name of ancient patesi of Umma, *Ur-lum-ma*, see THUREAU-DANGIN{FNS

6. *ù-mu-un uru*³⁷¹-*gal ù-mu-un é*³⁷²-*gid-da*
6. Lord of the grave, lord of the seizing hand.

[305]

7. *d.Ir*³⁷³-*ra-gal kú-a-nu-si-ra*³⁷⁴
7. Great Girra, hero unopposable.

8. *lamma-šág-ga sil-gig edin-na*
8. The good genius of the dark ways of the plain.³⁷⁵

9. *d.Nin-sîg-ge d.Guškin-banda-ra*
9. Ninsig Guškinbanda,

10. *ù-mu-un nig-nam-ma-ge ̕U*³⁷⁶-*kur-kur*³⁷⁷
10. Lord of whatsoever is, the sculptured form.

11. *sal-sî*³⁷⁸-*a d.Ba-ú*³⁷⁹-*šág-ga*
11. The earth woman, beneficent Bau.

12. *ù-mu-un né me en*³⁸⁰ *ga-ša-an abzu*
12. Lord of might, lord of decrees, priest of the deep.³⁸¹

³⁷¹ Br. No. 909. Var. SBP. 158, 57 = V Raw. 52 II 27, has *unugal*.

³⁷² Var. of *á* = *idu*.

³⁷³ Sign NITAḥ. See Var. *ir-ra*, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, p. 174, 7.

³⁷⁴ For *gud-á-nu-gí-a*, ox that turns not back his might. See I. c. 173 n. 3. For *g* to *s* see *Sum. Gr.* § 40 *b*.

³⁷⁵ Spirit of the lower world, CT. 24, 8, 13.

³⁷⁶ Vars. *šun*, or *šen* SBP. 158, 61; CT. 24, 23, 24. Hence ̕U (*mušen*) has also the value *šen* or *šun*. See on lines 9 f. *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* 174 n. 5.

³⁷⁷ For *kul*.

³⁷⁸ *Gunu* of ̕U. Var. *NU-NUNUZ-ki-a*, see SBP. 158, 62 = CT. 24, 10, 2.

³⁷⁹ Var. *A-mà-mà. Ma-ma, Ma-mi, Mâ-mâ, A-mà* = Bau, Nintud.

³⁸⁰ For *en-me* = *bêl parši*. Var. *umun me*. Here certainly a male deity as *d.Nin-né* = *Almu*, form of Nergal in V Raw. 21, 25. For *Nin-né* in the early period see ALLOTTE DE LA FUÏE{FNS, DP. 128 II 3. But *Nin-né* = *Nin-né-mal* = *Alamu*, form of Allat sister Ninlil, CT. 24, 10, 3, cf. V R. 21, 26.

³⁸¹ Variant SBP. 158, 63 = SBH. 86, 63 reads *šanga-maḡ abzu-ge*. For the writing of *šanga*, see *Babylonian Liturgies*, p. XXII n. 2.

13. ^dAšnan ^dAzag-sug³⁸² mun-galu³⁸³-sal-sal

13. Ašnan the divine cleanser, the ... loud crying.

14. [ù-mu-un] sa-a³⁸⁴ ki-sá³⁸⁵ dumu nun-ra

14. Lord of light, director of the earth, and the daughter of the prince.³⁸⁶

15. [gidim uru-]ma ur sag-imin

15. The demon of my city the dog of seven heads.

16. [^dGi-bil mu- ? ?]-na³⁸⁷ mu-ten ur-sag

16. Gibil ... warlike man.

17. [^dUt-ta-ed-dé mu-lu] ki-azag-ga

17. Uttaedde lord of the holy place.

18. [umun ma-da sub-be an-na]

18. [Lord of the land, light of heaven.]³⁸⁸

19. [umun á-zu umun e³⁸⁹-gid-da]

19. [Lord Nergal, him of the seizing hand.]

20. [ga-ša-an-né-da umun mu-zi-da]

20. [Allat and Ningišzida]³⁹⁰

³⁸² On variants *Duru-sug*, *Dúr-ru-si-ga*, see *Sum. Lit. Texts* 174, 9.

³⁸³ Sic! Perhaps error for *ja-mun*. See also CT. 24, 9, 40 ^dHa-mun-sal(?)*-sal?*. SBP. 158, 64.

³⁸⁴ Title of Shamash, CT. 25, 25, 11.

³⁸⁵ Title of Shamash here. Variant ^dSu-ud-ām = Aja, CT. 25, 9, 25.

³⁸⁶ I. e. Aja.

³⁸⁷ So! Var. *mu-galam*, “of skilful name.”

³⁸⁸ See Var. *Sum. Lit. Texts* 175, 10.

³⁸⁹ So Var. I. c. I. 11. See above, line 6.

³⁹⁰ Certainly these two underworld deities are intended in this line. They occur together also in CT. 25, 5, 60-64. See also 25, 8, 14 where read *Nin-né-da*.

21. [] *dū-a*

21. []

22. []-*ga*

22. []³⁹¹

23. [^d*Ir-ri-eš ur-sag ga-ša*]-*an-subur*

23. [Irriš, the heroic] lord of the soil.

24. [*dingir ama é-uru-sag-gà gašan tin-dib-ba*]

24. [The divine mother of the temple of the chief city³⁹² queen
who gives life to the dead.]

25. [*sag-gà an-na gašan*] *Í-si-in-na*

25. The lofty browed queen of Isin.

26. [^d*Pa-bil-sag ù-mu-]un La-ra-ag-ga*

26. Pabil-sag³⁹³ lord of Larak.

27. [^d*Gu-nu-ra dim-gal*] *kalam-ma*

27. Gunura bar of the Land.

28. [^d*Da-mu šág-ga ù-]mu-un gir-su-a*

28. The pious Damu lord of the flood.³⁹⁴

29. [^d*Immer ù-mu-un*] *ní-dū-an-na*

29. Immer lord of terror.³⁹⁵

30. [] *íd-da-ra*

30. ... the river.³⁹⁶

³⁹¹ Two lines not on any variant.

³⁹² Gula of Isin.

³⁹³ See for reading, *Sum. Lit. Texts* 176, 5.

³⁹⁴ See *Babylonian Liturgies* 96 n. 1.

³⁹⁵ For variants, see *Sum. Lit. Texts* 177, 8.

³⁹⁶ Variant SBP. 160, 16 has another text. Other variants omit the line altogether, KL. 8 IV 8; *Sum. Lit. Texts*, 177.

31. [*ù-mu-un ši ka-nag-]gà ši kur-kur-ra*

31. Lord of the souls of Sumer, of the souls of the lands.

32. [*d. Sú-ud-da-am du-mu nun-na ama é-]šab-ba*

32. Suddam, daughter of the prince, mother of Ešabba.

About twenty-four lines completed this column and ended the liturgy. The void is to be completed by part of the titular litany, SBP. 160, 19-164, 38, and by a short intercession similar to the fragmentary intercession at the end of KL. No. 8. It is possible that the eleventh and last section on Tablet Virolleaud was retained as the final melody of this later redaction.

[307]

Reverse of Tablet Virolleaud (The titular litany)

1. *é-e sub-da sub-da [mu-un-laḡ-en-ne-en]*

To the temple with prayer, with prayer let us go.³⁹⁷

2. *balag*³⁹⁸ *é-e dirig sub-da [mu-un-laḡ-en-ne-en]*

To the lyre unto the temple which surpasses all let us go.

³⁹⁷ Cf. SBP. 74, 19 and 68, 5.

³⁹⁸ For this sign = REC. 46, see now K.L., 25 III 15. The two signs *balag* and *dup* are distinguished clearly on this tablet; see Obv. 9 for *dup*. On the distinction of two original signs in Br. 7024, see THUREAU-DANGIN{FNS, ZA. 15, 167; Chicago Syllabary 208 f., and PBS. 12 No. 11 Obv. Col. II 45 and 46 and page 13. Syl. B distinguishes the two signs.

3. *balag nigin-na-e sub-da* ^{d.}*Mu-[ul-lil-ra mu-un]*
To the lyre unto the merciful one with prayer, [unto Enlil,]
4. *balag d̄im-me-ir mu-lu sub-da* ^{d.}*Mu-ul-[lil-ra mu-un]*
To the lyre unto god, the lord, with prayer, unto Enlil [let us go].
5. *d̄im-me-ir lu-gă-lu-ne-en sub-da mu-un-laġ-en-[ne-en]*
Unto him who is god of his people with prayer let us go.
6. *me-en-ne é-e t̄ub a-ra-zu-a mu-un-laġ-en-ne-[en]*
We “Oh temple repose” in prayer come.
7. *me-en-ne ki-e t̄ub a-ra-zu-a mu-un-laġ-(en)-ne-en*
^{d.}*Mu-[ul-lil-ra]*
We “Oh earth repose” in prayer come, unto Enlil (come).
8. *ù-mu-un šă-ab t̄ub-e-da in-gà*³⁹⁹*-laġ-(en)-ne-en*
^{d.}*Mu-[ul-lil-ra]*
To pacify the heart of the lord behold we come unto Enlil.
9. *šă-ab ġun-gà bar ġun-gà-da in-gà-laġ-ne-en* ^{d.}*Mu-[ul-lil-ra]*
To pacify the heart, to pacify the soul, behold we come to Enlil.
10. *me-en-ne šă-ab ù-mu-un-na mu-un-t̄ub-(en)-ne-en*
^{d.}*Mu-[ul-lil]*
We will pacify the heart of the lord, yea of Enlil.
11. *šă-ab an-na šă-ab* ^{d.}*Mu-ul-lil-lá mu-un-tub-(en)-ne-en*
The heart of Anu and the heart of Enlil we will pacify.
12. ^{d.}*Mu-ul-lil-lá dam-a-ni ...* ^{d.}*Nin-lil-lá*
[The heart of] Enlil and his wife Ninlil [we will pacify.]

³⁹⁹ See RA. 11, 45 n. 5.

13. *d.En-ki d.Nin-ki d.En-mul d.Nin-mul*⁴⁰⁰
 The heart of Enki, Ninki, Enmul and Ninmul [we will
 pacify.]

14. *i-lu a-di ig-ga-am-ma-ru*
 A god until they are finished.⁴⁰¹

[308]

*ki-šub-gú 10-kam-ma*⁴⁰²
 The tenth strophe.

(The Recessional)

15. *ù-mu-un-mu za-e babbar*⁴⁰³ *uru-mà ur-sag-gà me-en*
 My lord thou art, light of my city, a hero thou art.

16. *šùb-bi-mu ù-mu-un kalag-a ur-sag-gà me-en*
 My illumination, oh valiant lord, a hero thou art.

17. *ù-mu-un kalag-a ur-sag-gà me-en kalag-ga-na me-en*
 Oh valiant lord, a hero thou art, its⁴⁰⁴ defender thou art.

18. *d.Babbar-gim za-e ? en-na an-ni tur-tur-ne-[en]*
 Like Shamash thou art ... into heaven enters.

19. *d.Nannar-gim ki dumu-zu an-na(?)*⁴⁰⁵ *na-an-gir-ri-[ne-en]*
 Like Nannar where thy son⁴⁰⁶ in heaven hastens.

⁴⁰⁰ All father-mother names of Enlil, CT. 34, 3, 29 ff.

⁴⁰¹ This Semitic rubric is unique in the published literature of Sumerian liturgies. It indicates that the choristers should here complete the long titular litany by reciting the titles of the deities named in the litany given in full on the Berlin tablet; see the preceding edition of K. L. 11 Rev. IV 1 ff.

⁴⁰² For this rubric, see PBS. X 151 note 1.

⁴⁰³ For Enlil connected with the idea of light, see PBS. X 158 n. 1.

⁴⁰⁴ The pronoun refers apparently to *uru* in line 15.

⁴⁰⁵ Text *na-an!*

⁴⁰⁶ The moon god was held to be the son of Enlil, SBP. 296, 5.

20. *ù-mu-un-mu enem-zu galu-ra*⁴⁰⁷ *na-an-na-ab-zí-[em]*
My lord thy word on man has fallen.
21. *enem-zu galu ki*⁴⁰⁸ *-kal-ra na-an-na-ab-zí-[em]*
Thy word on him of the foreign land has fallen.
22. *enem-zu galu en-na nu-šeg-ra na-an-na-ab-zí-[em]*
Thy word on men as many as are not obedient has fallen.
23. *ù-mu-un-mu uru-zu-a è-ni a-sar-sar-ra*⁴⁰⁹
My lord *beneficent* waters in thy city cause to spring forth.
24. *a-a*^d. *Mu-ul-lil ki-bur-ta-bur-ta uru-zu-a è-ni*
Father Enlil ... in thy city cause to come forth.

ki-šub-gù 11-kam-ma

The eleventh strophe.

25. *sub-bi še-ib è-kur-ra-ta ki-na gí-gí-ra.*
A prayer for the brick walls of Ekur, that it return to its
place.

ki-šú-bi-im

A song of supplication.

26. *al-tíl e-lum gud-sun*
It is finished, the series “Exalted, bull that overwhelms.”

Early Form of the Series

d. Babbar-gim-è-ta 11359 (Myhrman No. 8)

Ni. 11359, published by MYHRMAN, PBS. I. No. 8, is the left upper corner of a large four column tablet. It contained a series of *ki-šub* melodies which formed the prototype of the later Enlil series of which three tablets have been edited by the writer, see *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* 167. It stands to the completed series as the similar tablet of the *e-lum gud-sun* series, Tablet Virolleaud, is related to its completed canonical form in ZIMMERN, KL. 11. Both Ni. 11359 and Tablet Virolleaud show the evolution of two great Enlil liturgies arrested midway in their evolution. They still consist of unmethodically joined melodies. Both have the same rubric at the end. The first melody of *d. Babbar-gim-è-ta* after line four agrees with the first melody of the Enlil series *zi-bu-ù sud-du-ám* in ZIMMERN, KL. 8 and 9 after line five of that series. A duplicate will be found in BL. pp. 37-39, which see for critical notes on the reconstructed text.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. BL. 48, 23.

⁴⁰⁸ Text *DI*.

⁴⁰⁹ Same phrase in Ni. 14005, 24. See *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, p. 140.

OBVERSE 1

1. ^{d.} *Babbar-gim è-ta* []

1. Like the sun-god arise ...

2. *ù-mu-un gan* ...

2. Oh lord ...

3. *a-a* ^{d.} *Mu-ul-lil ù-[mu-un kur-kur-ra*

3. Father Enlil, lord of the lands.

4. ^{d.} *Mu-ul-lil ù-mu-[un dúg-ga-zi-da]*

4. Enlil lord of faithful word.

5. *am-ná-a gud-dé sīg-gan-nu-di*

5. Crouching wild ox, bull that rests not.⁴¹⁰

6. ^{d.} *Mu-ul-lil dam-kar-[ra ki-dagar-ra]*

6. Enlil herdsman of the wide earth.

[310]

7. *ù-mu-un mu erin-na-[ni sag-ma-al ki]*

7. Lord who *summons* his toilers, recorder of the earth.

8. *ù-mu-un íá erin-a-[ni ga-eri-ám da-]ma-[la]*

8. Lord who causes to abound oil for his toilers, milk for the newly born.⁴¹¹

9. *ù-mu-un ki-dúr-a-ni [uru ir-ir]*

9. Lord whose abode is the city of weeping.

10. *ki-ná-a-ni á-ág-[gà-e gal-zu]*

10. In whose chamber oracles are interpreted.

⁴¹⁰ For the interpretation, see RA. 12, 27 n. 5.

⁴¹¹ See for readings BL. 38, 9.

11. *a-a^d Mu-ul-lil uru-[ta Nibru-ki]*

11. Father Enlil in (thy) city Nippur.

12. *é-kur é-šag-gi-pad-da-ta*

12. In Ekur temple of (thy) heart's choice.

13. *gi-gun-na giš-tir-šim [^{giš} erin-na-ta*

13. In the great dark chamber of odorous forest and cedar.

14. [] *Šeš-dū-a-ka šeš-mul [... ta]*

14. In ...,

15. [] *si-ra é-ū-[di- ta]*

15. In ... the house of vision,

16. [] *lu é babbar nu-[zu-ta]*

16. In ... house which knows the sunlight not,

17. [é]-*gi-dim-dim-ma i-dé [nu-bar-ri-ta]*

17. In the house of the “reed of sorrow,” which eye beholds not,

18. [] *maġ dug-li duġ-[duġ-ta]*

18. In the great ... causing prosperity to abound,

19. [é(?)]-*ku-a^{giš} ik-[ku-igi-lal-a-ta]*

19. In *Ekua* gate of the lifting of the eyes,

20. [] *silim-ma mu-mar [mar-ra-ta]*

20.

...

REVERSE II

...

21. *sub-bi še-ib é-[kur-ra-ta?] ki-na-an-gí-gí-ra*⁴¹²

21. Prayer for the brick walls of *Ekur* that it be restored to its place.

22. *ki-šù-bi-im*

22. It is a service of prostrations.

[311]

Liturgy of the Cult of Kes (Nippur Fragments and Ashmolean Prism.)

Keš and Opis, two closely associated but unlocated southern cities of Sumer, lay apparently somewhere in the region between Erech and Šuruppak. So closely were they united that the same cult of the great mother goddess obtained in both.⁴¹³ According to II Raw. 60a 26, Innini of Hallab was the queen of Keš. The Sumerian liturgy, BL. p. 54, names Nintud as the goddess of this city, but the list of mother goddesses in PSBA. 1911 Pl. XII calls her by the name Ninharsag,⁴¹⁴ where she is associated with Ninmenna, epithet of the earth mother in Adab a city near

⁴¹² See also *Tablet Virolleaud*, Rev. end.

⁴¹³ Also Opis was sometimes called Keš, see CT. 16, 36, 3, *ki-e-ši*, gloss on the ideogram for Opis.

⁴¹⁴ For Ninharsag at Keš, see also SAK. 14 XVIII 6. Another title of the goddess at Keš is Ninmah, SAK. 237e.

Šuruppak. A fragment, No. 102 in BL., reads her title at Keš as Aruru. These various epithets all refer to the earth mother whose principal married type is Ninlil. In fact one liturgy actually names Ninlil as the goddess of Keš, SBP. 24, 74. On the other hand, a cult document of the Neo-Babylonian period names Kallat Ekur, the bride of Ekur, as the goddess of *U-pi-ia* or Opis, VS. VI. 213, 21.⁴¹⁵ The bride of Ekur is Ninlil. Thus the twin cities Keš and Opis of Sumer with their cult of the earth mother Ninharsag or Nintud were imitated in later times in Akkad and located on the Tigris where Opis survived into Greek times (ωπις) and Keš seems to have become confused in writing with Kiš a famous city near Babylon. At Opis in Akkad a male satellite *Igi-du* was associated with the mother goddess and we may be safe in assuming that he was borrowed from the original southern cult.⁴¹⁶ Of the names Ninharsag, Aruru, Nintud, Ninmah, Innini of Hallab, we are not certain which one applied especially to Keš and Opis. In any case the liturgy which we are about to discuss had some special name for the goddess here. In a refrain which recurs at the end of each melody the psalmists say that the god of Keš, that is probably Igidu,⁴¹⁷ was made like Ašširgi, or Ninurta, and that its goddess was made like Nintud, hence the *special* name of the mother goddess in this liturgy cannot have

[312]

⁴¹⁵ Here the god of Opis is given as Igidu, a form of Nergal. In this late text Opis on the Tigris at Seleucia is probably intended. The southern Keš and Opis were imitated in Akkad, at any rate in later times, and Keš was apparently confused with Kiš which gave rise to a second Kiš in Akkad. The ancient and historical Kiš at Oheimer on the canal of the Euphrates should not be confused with Kiš corruption for the new Keš near Seleucia.

⁴¹⁶ The god *Igi-du* of Keš is identified with Ninurta as were most of the male satellites of the mother goddesses in various cities. CT. 25, 24 K. 8219, 17+K. 7620, 18, ^d*Igi-du* = ^d*Nin-urta*. According to CT. 25, 12, 17 it is one of the titles of Ninurta in Elam. But in CT. 24, 36, 52 ^d*Igi-du* is a form of Nergal, and in the omen text, BOISSIER{FNS, DA. 238, 10 he is explained as ^d.Meslamtaèa, a form of Nergal.

⁴¹⁷ Or perhaps Negin. See below.

been Nintud.

So far as the text of this important liturgy in eight melodies can be established, it leads to the inference that, like all other Sumerian choral compositions, the subject is the rehearsal of sorrows which befell a city and its temple. Here the glories of Keš, its temple and its gods are recorded in choral song, and the woes of this city are referred to as symbolic of all human misfortunes. The name of the temple has not been preserved in the text. But we know from other liturgies that the temple in Keš bore the name Uršabba.⁴¹⁸ The queen of the temple Uršabba is called the mother of Negin, also a title of Ninurta in Elam.⁴¹⁹ The close connection between the goddess of Keš and Ninlil is again revealed, for Negin is the son of Ninlil in the theological lists, CT. 24, 26, 112. Therefore at Keš we have a reflection of the Innini-Tammuz cult or the worship of mother and son, mother goddess Ninlil or Ninharsag, and Igidu or Negin.⁴²⁰ [313]

Keš and Opis must have been closely associated with both Erech and Šuruppak, and of traditional veneration in Sumer. Keš is mentioned in a list with Ur, Kullab (part of Erech) and Šuruppak, SMITH, *Miscellaneous Texts* 26, 5. Gudea speaks of a part of the temple in Lagash which was pure as Keš and Aratta (i. e. Šuruppak).⁴²¹, KL. 199 Rev. I 37 (here without *ē*). This temple can hardly be the one which forms the subject of the liturgy on the Ashmolean Prism.

The various mother goddesses of Eridu, Kullab, Kêši, Lagaš and Šuruppak are invoked in an incantation, CT. 16, 36, 1-9. The first melody of the Ashmolean Prism contains a reference to the horse of Šuruppak.

The textual history of this liturgy is interesting. The major

⁴¹⁸ BL. 72, 14. Here Keš or Kisa is written with the ideogram for Opis.

⁴¹⁹ CT. 25, 12, 23. See SBP. 156, 39.

⁴²⁰ SAK. 118 XXVII 2.

⁴²¹ A temple *ē-an-za-kar* is assigned to Opis in POEBEL{FNS, PBS. V 157, 8 and ZIMMERN{FNS

text is written upon a four-sided prism now in the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford. The object is eight inches high, four inches wide on each surface and is pierced from top to bottom at the center by a small hole, so that the liturgy could be turned on a spindle. The writer published a copy of this prism or prayer wheel in his *Babylonian Liturgies*. The elucidation of this exceedingly difficult text was lightened somewhat by the discovery of a four column tablet in Constantinople, which originally contained the entire text. It was afterwards published as No. 23 of my *Historical and Religious Texts*. Since the edition of these two sources, the Nippur Collection in Philadelphia has been found to contain several fragments of the same liturgy. A portion of the redaction on several single column tablets had been already published by RADAU in his *Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts*, No. 8 (=Ni. 11876), last tablet of the series containing melodies six, seven, and eight. I failed to detect the connection of RADAU's tablet at the time of the first edition but referred to it with a rendering in my *Epic of Paradise*, p. 19. Another tablet, also from a single column tablet redaction at Nippur, has been recovered in Philadelphia, Ni. 8384.⁴²² This text utilized here in transcription contains a section marked number 4 on that tablet but all the other sources omit it. Hence this redaction probably contained nine melodies. The new melody has been inserted between melodies three and four of the standard text. If evidence did not point otherwise the editor would have supposed that Ni. 8384 and 11876 belonged to the same tablet. But Ni. 8384 has melodies four, five and six of its redaction with the catch-line of the next or its seventh melody which partly duplicates the Radau tablet. Moreover, these two tablets have not the same handwriting and differ in color and texture of the clay. Finally a small fragment, Ni. 14031, contains the end of the second melody and the beginning of the third on its obverse. The reverse contains the end of the sixth melody. This

[314]

⁴²² Published by BARTON{FNS, *Miscellaneous Religious Texts*.

small tablet undoubtedly belongs to the four column tablet in Constantinople. The two fragments became separated by chance when the Nippur Collection was divided between Philadelphia and the Musée Imperial of Turkey. Ni. 14031 will be found in my *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, No. 22.

Under ordinary circumstances a text for which so many duplicates exist should have yielded better results than I have been able to produce. But the contents are still obscure owing largely to the bad condition of the prism. My first rendering of the interesting refrain in which I saw a reference to the creation of man and woman was apparently erroneous. The refrain refers rather to the creation of the mother goddess of Keš and to her giving birth to her son Negin.⁴²³

[315]

COL. I (Lines 1-22 defaced)

...

23. [é ke]š-(ki)-dug-ga dū-a

23. [Temple] in holy Keš builded.

24. [é(?)] ÉN-ḪAR-(ki)-dug-gu dū-a

24. [Temple(?)] in holy EN-ḪAR builded.

25. [é ...] nun-gim an-na dirig-ga

25. [Temple] like ... nun, like heaven exceeding all.⁴²⁴

26. [é ...] azag-gim ? -si ri-a

26. [Temple] like the pure ... clothed in

27. [é] an-na-gim mūš kur-kur-ra

27. [Temple] like heaven the illumination of the lands.

⁴²³ A new copy of the Ashmolean Prism is published in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. XVI.

⁴²⁴ Cf. BA. V 707, 7.

28. [*é ...*] *tūr-gim ki-a-ta sur-sur-ra*
 28. [Temple] like ... *tur* in the earth *founded*.
29. [*é ...*]-*gim mur-du ninda*⁴²⁵-*gim gù-nun-di*⁴²⁶
 29. [Temple] like ... roaring, like a *young bull* bellowing.
30. [*é ...*] *bi-ta lipiš kalam-ma*
 30. [Temple] in whose ... the hearts of the creatures of the Land
 ...⁴²⁷
31. [*é ...*] *bi-ta zid Ki-en-gi-ra*
 31. [Temple] in whose ... the soul of life of Sumer ...
32. [*é ...*] *ib-gal an-e-ri*⁴²⁸ *uš-sa*
 32. [Temple], great ... *IB*, attaining unto heaven.
33. [*é ...*]-*da-gal an-e*⁴²⁹ *uš-sa*
 33. [Temple], great ... *da*, attaining unto heaven.
34. [*é ...*] *gal an-e* *uš-sa*
 34. [Temple], great ..., attaining unto heaven.
35. [*é ...*] *-na [an-e]* *uš-sa*
 35. [Temple ...], attaining unto heaven.
- COL. II
1. ... *an-ki* ...
 1. ... heaven and earth ...
2. ... *abzu* ...
 2. ... of the nether-sea ...
3. *é an-ni(?) šu-[]*
 3. Temple which Anu ...

4. *d.En-lil-li zag-šú ...*

4. Enlil above all ...

5. *ama^dNin-tud eš-[bar-kin ...]*

5. The mother, Nintud oracles ...

6. *é Keš-ki ... na ...*

6. Temple in Keš ...

7. *ÉN-ḪAR-(ki)⁴³⁰-gim rib-ba⁴³¹, KTA. 32, 5, rib-ba = šu-tu-ku. galu ši-in-[ga-an-túm-mu]*

7. Like *EN-ḪAR* it has been made surpassing; verily man has brought solicitude for it.⁴³²

8. *ur-sag-bi^dÁš-šir-gí-gim rib-ba*

8. Its hero like Ašširgi has been

⁴²⁵ Probably for *gud-NINDA=bîru, mîru*.

⁴²⁶ Var. *na*.

⁴²⁷ Some verb seems to be missing here. The construction is obscure.

⁴²⁸ So the prism.

⁴²⁹ Var. *ni*.

⁴³⁰ Variant Constple. omits *ki*.

⁴³¹ Cf. *ki-gim rib-ba = kima iršitim šutuḫat*, DELITZSCH{FNS, AL³ 134, 5. *KAL (ri-ib) = šutuḫu*, Chicago Syllabar 287; *rib = šutuḫku*, CT. 19, 11, 12; *nam-kalag-ga-ni rib-ba = dannussu šutuḫat*, IV Raw. 24a 48; *ana-gim ki-gim rib-ba-zu-ne = ša kima šamê u iršitim šutuḫata*, SBP. 250, 6. See also EBELING{FNS

⁴³² The meaning is obscure. For the suggested rendering cf. *en me-a túm-ma*, the lord who cares for the decrees, SAK. 204, 6.

9. *ama ši-in-ga-an*⁴³³, KL. 68 Rev. 24.

-*ù-tud*

9. made surpassing; the mother⁴³⁴ verily has borne him.

10. *nin-bi*^d *Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba*⁴³⁵ *er-mu-ni-in-duĝ*

10. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then
wailing began.

11. *gú 2 kam-[ma-ám]*

11. It is the second song.

12. *é an-šú ĝud-da ki-šú ...*⁴³⁶

12. Temple, in heaven resplendent, in earth ...

13. *é an-šú ... ki-šú ...*

13. Temple, in heaven ..., in earth ...

14. *é an-šú siḳḳa*⁴³⁷ *ki-šú udu-[gim]*

14. Temple, in heaven (*like*) a wild goat, on earth like a sheep ...

15. *é an-šú ... ki-šú dár-[bar-gim ...]*

15. Temple, in heaven (*like*) ..., in earth like a roe ...

⁴³³ For this emphatic verbal prefix cf. DELITZSCH{FNS, AL³, 134, 5; ZIMMERN{FNS

⁴³⁴ I. e. Nintud. For *ummu* in the sense of “mother goddess” note CT. 16, 36, 1-9 where the various mothers of Eridu, Kullab, Keš, Lagash and Šuruppak are invoked. The reference here is undoubtedly to Ninlil as the mother of Negun, SBP. 156, 39.

⁴³⁵ *a-ba* = *arka*, and then. The same phrase in BE. 31, 2, 7 and for *aba*, see especially *Sum. Gr.* § 241. *er-du(ĝ)* probably variant of *er-du* = *damāmu*.

⁴³⁶ Ni. 14031 in PBS. X No. 22 has as the verb the sign *dug* written five times, as also the prism.

⁴³⁷ Restored from the variant Cstple. Rev. I 10.

16. *é an-šú ... gim ... ki-šú dár-bar-gim ...*

16. Temple, in heaven like ..., in earth like a roe ...

17. *é an-šú muš-gim sîg-ga ki-šu babbar-gim za-e laġ-[laġ?]*

17. Temple, in heaven like a dragon gleaming, on earth like the
sunlight thou shinest.

[317]

18. *é an-šú babbar-gim è-a ki-šu^d Nannar-gim ...*

18. Temple, in heaven like the sun arising, in earth like the new
moon ...

19. *é an-šú kur-ra ki-šu idim-ma*

19. Temple, in heaven shining,⁴³⁸ on earth loud crying.⁴³⁹

20. *é an-ki 3 gu-ma-bi na-nam*

20. Of the temple of heaven and earth three are its attendants.

21. *ÉN-ĤAR-(ki) gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-an-túm-mu*

21. Like EN-ĤAR it has been made surpassing; verily man has
brought solicitude for it.

22. *ur-sag-bi^d Áš-šir-gí-gim rib-ba-[ra]*

22. Its hero like Ašširgi has been made surpassing; the mother

23. *[ama] ši-in-ga-an-ù-tud*

23. verily has borne him.

24. *[nin-bi]^d Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duġ*

24. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then
wailing began.

⁴³⁸ So? *kur* = *napāhu*, better than my former rendering of this passage.

⁴³⁹ *idim* = *šegû*, *nadāru* (cf. THOMPSON{FNS, Reports 82, 6 with 108, 5), refers to the rumbling of the great gates of the temple.

25. [gú] 3-kam-ma-[ám]

25. It is the third section.

8384.

1. [é- ...] ní-gal-ar an-ni mu-mağ sá

1. [Temple ...] in splendor blazing, which Anu with a far-famed name has named.

2. [è ...]-gal ^d.En-lil-li nam-ma-ni gal tar-ri

2. [Temple ...] great, whose fate Enlil has grandly decreed.

3. [é]á-nun-gál ^d.A-nun-ge-ne kalam sigi(?)⁴⁴⁰ lám(?) -mu

3. [Temple] ... of the Anunnaki, in the Land *starlike gleaming*.

4. é ki-dúr im-dúb-bu⁴⁴¹ dingir gal-gal-e-ne

4. Temple, peaceful dwelling place of the great gods.

5. é an-ki-bi-da giš-ğar-bi ni-ğar me el šu-ba-e-tag

5. Oh temple whose design in heaven and earth has been planned, thou art possessed of pure decrees.

6. é kalam ki-gar-ra zag-gar-ra uš-sa

6. Temple erected in the Land, where stand the chapels of the gods.

[318]

7. é-kur ġe-gál ka-zal ud-zal-zal-li

7. Mountain house, radiant with abundance and festivity.

8. é ^d.Nin-ğar-sag-gà zi-kalam-ma ki-bi-šú gar

8. Temple in whose place Ninharsag has instituted the breath of life of Sumer.

⁴⁴⁰ Br. 2729? Cf. R (si-gi) = *kaḳkaḳabu*, CT. 18, 49, 4.

⁴⁴¹ Same phrase in CLAY{FNS, *Miscel.* 31, 33.

9. *é-ġar-sag-gal šu-luġ-ġa túm-ma nig-nam-ma-ni ni⁴⁴²-kúr*

9. Great mountain house, made worthy of the rituals of purification, of its possessions nought changes.

10. *é ... da-nu ka-áš-bar nu-gà-gà*

10. Temple ... ceases not to render decision.

11. *è ... kalam-dagal-šú lá-a*

11. Temple ... unto the wide Land bearing.

12. [*é*] *kalam šár ù-tud numun giš-isimu tuk-tuk*

12. [Temple] causing the multitudes of the Land to produce offspring, causing the seed to send forth sprouts.

13. [*é*] *lugal ù-tud nam kalam-ma tar-ri*

13. Temple that gives birth to king, decreeing the fate of the Land.

14. [*é*] *bár-bár kar su-ḫin-dúr-bi ag-dé*

14. ...

15. *ÉN-ḪAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-an-túm-mu*

15. Like ÉN-ḪAR it has been made surpassing; verily man has wrought solicitude for it.

16. *ur-sag-bi^d. Áš-šir-gí-gim rib-ba ama ši-in-ga-ám-ù-tud*

16. Its hero like Ašširgi has been made surpassing; the mother verily has borne him.

17. *nin-bi^d. Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duġ*

17. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then wailing began.

18. [*gú 4*]-*kam-ma-ám*

18. It is the fourth section.

Ashmolean Prism, Col. II

26. [uru]⁴⁴³-in-ga-ám uru-in-ga-ám šag-bi a-ba a-mu-un-zu⁴⁴⁴

26. It is a city, it is a city! Its secrets who shall understand?

27. é Keš-ki uru-in-ga-ám šag-bi a-ba a-mu-un-zu

27. The temple of Keš is a city! Its secrets who shall understand?

28. šag-bi-a ur-sag ur-sag-e-ne si-mu-un-si-di-e-ne

28. Within it the heroic ones administrate.

29. eš-bar-kin-dùg-ga šu-gal mu-un-dú-dú⁴⁴⁵

29. The oracles proclaimed grandly it executes.

30. é-e gud-udu⁴⁴⁶-dam gud-ám-ma-gur-ri(?) -en

30.

31. ?-e tum-ma-ám luġ-luġ- ...

31.

⁴⁴² *ni* = *nu*; cf. SBP. 138, 22, *ni-kuš-ù*; POEBEL{FNS, PBS. V 26, 10.

⁴⁴³ So on Var. Cstple. II 6.

⁴⁴⁴ First example of the verb *zu* strengthened by augment *a*; cf. *a-ru*, *a-sil* in *Babyloniaca* II 96.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A 10, 18.

⁴⁴⁶ Semitic *šenu*? Cf. EBELING{FNS, KTA. No. 4 Rev. 13.

32. *é-e gud-šár-ra-ám*⁴⁴⁷ *al-dúg-[ga?]*
32.

33. *è-e udu-šár-ra-ám al-dúg-[ga?]*
33.

34. *giš-KU-LIL(?) -ne*⁴⁴⁸ *gú-LIL-ma-ám gál-li ...*
34.

35. *giš-KU-da*⁴⁴⁹ *... gùr ...*
35.

COL. III

2. *giš*^d *A-TU-GAB-LIŠ-dam an-da-PI-PI-SAL(?) ...*
2.

3. *gar-sag-da mă-a*⁴⁵⁰ *an-da-sîg-sîg-[ga-ám?]*
3.

4. *EN-HAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-túm-mu*
4. Like EN-HAR it has been made surpassing; verily man has wrought solicitude for it.

5. *ur-sag-bi*^d *Aš-šir-gi-gim rib-ba ama ši-in-ga-an-ù-tud*
5. Its hero like Ašširgi has been made surpassing; the mother verily has borne him.

[320]

6. *nin-bi*^d *Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba er mu-ni-in-duġ*
6. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then wailing began.

⁴⁴⁷ Var. Cstple. *an*.

⁴⁴⁸ Read *ge-ne?* Ni. 8384 *ge(?) -e-ne*.

⁴⁴⁹ Ni. 8384 *dam*.

⁴⁵⁰ So on 8384.

7. [gú⁴⁵¹ 4-kam-ma-ám

7. Section four⁴⁵² it is.

8. ...

8. ...

9. é []

9.

10. é []-la né [] tu⁴⁵³ [] ur []

10.

11. šag-bi-a ur-sag ur-sag-e-ne si-mu-un-si-di-e-ne

11. Within it the heroic ones administrate.

12. ^dNin-ġar-sag-gà ušumgal-ám šag-ki im-[]

12. Ninġarsag *placed* it in the bosom of the earth like a python.

13. ^dNin-tud ama-gal-la tud-tud mu-un-[]

13. Nintud the great mother ...

14. ^dŠul-pa-è-a pa-te-si-ge nam-en-na mu []

14. Šulpae the priest king lordship ...

15. ^dAš-šir-gi⁴⁵⁴ ur-sag-gà AB⁴⁵⁵-mu-[...]

15. Ašširgi, the champion, ...

⁴⁵¹ Var. Cstple. é. See below line 21 and BL. 88 n. 4.

⁴⁵² Fifth section on Ni. 8384.

⁴⁵³ First sign on Ni. 8384 Rev. 1.

⁴⁵⁴ Ni. 8384 *gi*

⁴⁵⁵ Same sign on Var. Cstple. But Ni. 8384 has a sign apparently related to the difficult sign which I assimilated to Br. 4930 in AJSL. 33, 48. The sign on Ni. 8384 recurs in ZIMMERN{FNS, KL. 35 II 5.

16. *d. Urumaš ligir-gal-ám*⁴⁵⁶ *edin-na-an*⁴⁵⁷ *mu-da-an*-[...]

16. Urumaš great prince in the (heavenly) plain has ...

17. *é-e siḫka lu-lim*⁴⁵⁸ *gú-ám-ma-gur-ri*⁴⁵⁹

17. The temple assembles the rams and bucks.

18. *ÉN-ḤAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-an-túm-mu*

18. Like EN-HAR it has been made surpassing; verily man has
wrought solicitude for it.

19. *ur-sag-bi d. Áš-šir-gi*⁴⁶⁰ *-gim rib-ba*

19. Its hero like Ašširgi has been made surpassing; the mother

20. *ama ši-in-ga-a-an-ù-tud*

20. verily has borne him.

[321]

21. *nin-bi d. Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra*⁴⁶¹ *a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duḡ*

21. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then
wailing began.

22. *é 5-kam-ma-ám*

22. It is the fifth⁴⁶² section.

23. *é ud-gim ki-gal-la gub-ba*

23. The temple like the sun on the vast foundation stands.

⁴⁵⁶ Var. Ni. 8384 *gal-e*; Var. Cstple. *gal-la*. According to CT. 24, 10, 8 the throne bearer of Enlil, but in 24, 26, 124 a *ligir-gal* in the attendance of the mother goddess.

⁴⁵⁷ Ni. 8384 *edin-na*; Var. Cstple. *edin*.

⁴⁵⁸ Both variants add *e*.

⁴⁵⁹ Var. of *gú-gar* = *puḫḫuru*. See BL. 10, 30.

⁴⁶⁰ Vars. omit *gim*.

⁴⁶¹ Ni. 8384 omits *ra*.

⁴⁶² Sixth on Ni. 8384.

24. *am-laġ-laġ-gim edin-na sūg-sūg-[gi]*

24. Like a white bull on the landscape it reposes.

25. [] *e gar-ra é* []

25.

26. []-*bi-ta* []

26.

27. [-]*ta* []

27.

28-30.

(28-30 illegible or lost on all the variants.⁴⁶³)

31. [] *ra* []

31.

32. [] *gar nu* []

32.

33. [] *an-šár ki-šar*

33.

34. []*bi la-ġa-ma ki-uš-sa*

34.

35. [] *na-ra-ab Uri-(ki)-ka keš-du*

35.

36. *ÉN-HAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba*⁴⁶⁴ *galu ši-in-ga-an-túm-mu*

36. Like ÉN-HAR it has been made surpassing; verily man has brought solicitude for it.

⁴⁶³ Lines 29-IV 4 are partially restored from Ni. 14031.

⁴⁶⁴ First signs on RADAU {FNS, *Miscel.* No. 8 = Ni. 11876.

Col. IV

1. *ur-sag-bi* ^{d.} *Áš-šir-gí-gim rib-ba-ra*

1. Its hero like Ašširgi has been made surpassing; the mother

2. *ama-a*⁴⁶⁵ *ši-in-ga-an-ù-tud*

2. verily has borne him.

3. *nin-bi* ^{d.} *Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duġ*

3. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then
wailing began.

4. *é*⁴⁶⁶ *6-kam-ma ám*

4. It is the sixth section.

5. *é-azag LU-bi é*⁴⁶⁷

5. The sacred temple whose (?) is....

6. *é-Keš-(ki)-azag LU-bi é*⁴⁶⁸

6. The sacred temple of Keš whose ? is....

7. *é-a en-bi* ^{d.} *A-nun-na-me-eš*

7. In the temple whose high priests are the Anunnaki,

8. *nu-éš-bi dim-é-an-na-me-eš*⁴⁶⁹

8. Whose sacrificial priests are the *dim* of Eanna,

9. *kisal-e lugal-bur-ra-ám mu-un-gub*

9. The aisle ... treads.

⁴⁶⁵ So Ni. 11876.

⁴⁶⁶ So apparently Ni. 11876.

⁴⁶⁷ Text certain. Not *NUN*.

⁴⁶⁸ See last footnote.

⁴⁶⁹ Var. *Cstple. en.*

10. *en-dug šag túg-lal nam-mi-in-lal*

10. (The temple) unto which a beneficent lord has shown solicitude....

11. *a-tu-e umun*^d. *En-ki NE-GAB in-[]*

11. The libator(?), lord Enki....

12. *tu-e a-ūr(?)*⁴⁷⁰-*a*⁴⁷¹ *mu- e- gub*

12. The baptizer ... treads thee.

13. *lâl a-šag-ga ki-azag-ga-ám mi-*⁴⁷² ...

13.

14. *en isimu-e*⁴⁷³ *abkal ubar-e-ne tù ki-ám-ma-gál-li-eš []šeš-a-ni SU-mu-un-sīg-gi-ne*⁴⁷⁴

14. The lord Isimu, the councilor....

15. [] *RU URU RU mu-ni-ib-bi-ne*

15.

16. []-*ma-ge gig-ga*⁴⁷⁵ *mi-ni-ib-za [] á-lal-e gù-ġu mi-ni-ib-bi*

16. ... in sorrow abounds. ... the bound cry like birds (?) [7]

17. []?-*ra-ge sūġ-sūġ mi-ni-ib-za [] dug-gi si-ġa-ba-ni-ib di*

17. ... in desolation abounds. ... may direct aright.

[323]

18. [] *ka-zal-bi al-dug*

18. Of ... its joy was sweet.

⁴⁷⁰ Radau's copy has *ĶIN*.

⁴⁷¹ Var. *a-an*.

⁴⁷² Ni. 11876 has *lâl-e ki-azag-ga nam-mi-in-KU?*

⁴⁷³ Ni. 11876 omits *e*. This text proves that in the ideogram Br. 1202 the gloss *isimu* belongs properly to the first two signs only and that the original reading was *isimu-abkal*. See especially CT. 12, 16, 34 (*i-si-mu*) = *PAP-sīg* = *usmû*. In the later period *abkal* was apparently not pronounced and the whole ideogram was rendered by *isimu*.

⁴⁷⁴ This line is not on the prism.

⁴⁷⁵ Ni. 11876 *ga-a-an*. Cstple. Var. *gig* simply.

19. [-]dug ka-zal-bi al-dug

19. Of ... its joy was sweet.

20. []-zal-bi a-mu-un-KU

20.

21. []-ġar-sag-gà nin-bi[?-] bi ám-mu-un-KU(?)

21.

22. ÉN-ĤAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-an-túm-mu

22. Like EN-HAR it has been made surpassing; verily man has brought solicitude for it.

23. ur-sag-bi^d. Áš-šir-gi-gim rib-ba ama ši-in-ga-an-ù-tud

23. Its hero like Ašširgi has been made surpassing; verily the mother has borne him.

24. nin-bi^d. Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ṛa a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duġ

24. Its lady like Nintud has been made surpassing. And then wailing began.

25. [é(?)⁴⁷⁶] 7-kam-ma-ám

25. It is the seventh section.

⁴⁷⁶ Or *gú*.

Third Tablet of the Series “The Exalted One Who Walketh” (*e-lum didara*) (No. 13)

The series *elum didara* is entered in the Assyrian liturgical catalogue, IV Raw. 53a 8, and the first tablet of this Enlil liturgy has been found in the Berlin collection and published by REISNER, SBH. No. 25.⁴⁷⁷ The Berlin tablet belongs to a great Babylonian temple library of the Greek period redacted by a family of liturgists descendants of Sin-ibni. A fragment of the same first tablet of another Babylonian copy has been found, BM. 81-7-27, 203.⁴⁷⁸ The catch line of tablet two is lost on SBH. 25 and no part of tablet two has been identified. In 1914 I copied BM. 78239 (=88-5-12, 94) the upper half of a large tablet carrying according to the colophon ninety-six Sumerian lines. The number of lines provided with an interlinear translation on this fragment is only two, which increases the actual number of lines to ninety-eight. Probably a few more should be added for Semitic lines on the lost portion. This tablet, also from a

[324]

⁴⁷⁷ I edited this tablet in SBP. 120-123 where I erroneously assigned it to the Enlil series *ame baranara*. The tablet has been partially restored from MEEK{FNS, No. 11. The first two melodies of *elume didara* are used in the Enlil liturgy *elum gudsun* near the end just before the titular lity and have been re-edited above pp. 300-2 in the edition of the *elum gudsun* series.

⁴⁷⁸ MEEK{FNS, No. 11 in BA. X pt. 1.

Babylonian redaction, belongs to an edition made by another school of liturgists and contains tablet three of *elum didara*.

The third tablet of *elum didara* began with a melody *nin-ri nin-ri gû-am-me* to the mother goddess Bau (I. 2), who in line 7 is identified with Nanâ. Lines 3-6 introduce by interpolation other local forms of the mother goddess, as a concession to cities whose liturgists succeeded in inserting these lines before the canon of sacred songs were closed in the Isin period. Hence Babylon is favored by a reference to Zarpanit in line 3; Barsippa by a reference to Tašmet in lines 4-6. Bau or Gula wails for Nippur whose destruction is here attributed to the moon-god, Sin. The introduction of a long passage to the moon-god in the weeping mother melody of an Enlil liturgy is unusual. The entire passage reflects the phraseology and ideas of the well-known Sumerian hymn to the moon-god *magur azag anna*.⁴⁷⁹ The composer desiring to utilize these fine lines makes a setting for them by describing Sin as the god who visited Nippur with wrath, regardless of the inconsistency of placing such a passage in an Enlil song service which attributed the sorrows of Nippur to Enlil himself.

According to the catch line of tablet two of the Ninurta liturgy *gud-nim kurra* the third tablet of that series began by the same melody as tablet three of the *elum didara*.⁴⁸⁰ It is probable [325] that the first melody of tablet three of both series was identical. Melodies are always identified by their first lines and when these agree we assume that the entire melodies are identical. Since the musicians referred to all melodies by their first lines it was manifestly impossible to begin two different melodies with the same line. But tablet three of the weeping mother liturgy *muten nu-nunuz-gim* begins its first melody⁴⁸¹ *nin-ri nin-ri gû-ám*, etc., otherwise both melodies differ completely. This is the first

⁴⁷⁹ SBP. 296.

⁴⁸⁰ SBP. 236.

⁴⁸¹ SBP. 140.

known of example of two different melodies bearing the same title. It is curious indeed that an Enlil, a Ninurta and a *mater dolorosa* series all begin their third tablets in the same manner.

The obverse of BM. 78239 breaks away before the end of the melody *nin-ri ninri gú-ám-me*. Here forty-five Sumerian lines are lost; one or two melodies at least stood in this break. For the last passage on tablet three, the scribe borrows the first melody of the Ninurta series *gud-nim kurra*.⁴⁸² The litanies which begin these melodies or series of addresses to Ninurta differ greatly in the two redactions. Since SBH. No. 18 belongs to a Ninurta series the addresses therein are much more extensive. The composer of the Enlil series *elum didara* obviously introduced this irrelevant melody to obtain the fine passage to the weeping mother, Rev. 10-21 on BM. 78239. These lines are lost on the Berlin text SBH. No. 18. On the whole the liturgy *elum didara* is more inconsistent in the development of ideas than any song service of which extensive portions are known. Only tablets one and three are as yet identified and neither of these is much more than half complete.

[326]

ru-ba-tum (rubatum) ši-si-it âli i-šes-si ina lal-la-ra-ti

The princess, the princess, in misery shouts the wailing of the city.⁴⁸³

1. *nin-ri nin-ri gú-ám-me úru in-ga-ám-me ù-li-li*

1.

2. *a gašan-mu nu-nunuz-šág-ga ù*

2. How long my queen, the pious woman, in misery?⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸² SBP. 226=SBH. No. 18.

⁴⁸³ The first line, together with its Semitic translation, is identical with the first line of the third tablet of the series *muten nu-nunuz-gim*, see SBP. 140. Otherwise the melodies differ.

⁴⁸⁴ The refrain *ù-li-li* apparently provides an incomplete sentence.

3. *é-gí-a é-sag-il-la*⁴⁸⁵ ù

3. The bride of Esagila in misery?

4. *dumu-sag*^d *Urašā-a* ù

4. First born daughter of Urasha in misery?

5. *dumu-sag é-i-be-*^d *A-nu-um* ù

5. First born daughter of the temple Ibe-Anum in misery?

6. *gašan-gù-ur-a-šġ ud-lal-a-ge* ù

6. The obedient queen, she the ..., in misery?

7. *gašan-mu*^d *Na-na-a* ù

7. My queen Nana in misery?

8. *é-zu é-zu-šú* ù

8. (How long) shall thy temple for thy temple in misery be?

9. *uru-zu uru-zu-šú* ù

9. Thy city for thy city in misery be?

10. *dam-zu dam-zu-šú* ù

10. Thy wives for thy wives in misery be?

11. *dumu-zu dumu-zu-šú* ù

11. Thy sons for thy sons in misery be?

12. *še-ib-šú še-ib-gí-gí* ù

12. (How long) for the brick walls shall the brick walls restored
wail?

13. *saġar-šú saġar-gí-gí*⁴⁸⁶ ù

13. For the dust shall the restored dust wail?

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. SBH. No. 84, 13, there a title of the river goddess.

⁴⁸⁶ Lines 10-13 form a duplicate of SBH. No. 25, Rev. 2-5 = SBP. 122.

14. *si-mă*⁴⁸⁷ *azag an-na še-ir-ma-al-la ní-te-na dirig-ga-zu-dé*
za-e dirig-ga-zu-dé

14. Bright horned light of heaven mighty of itself, in thy
 excellence, yea thou in thy excellence,

15. *na-an-na-ru el-lu ša ša-me-e e-til ra-ma-ni-šu ina*
šu-tu-ru-ti-ka at-tam

15.

[327]

16. *a-a*^d *Nannar si-mă azag an-na še-ir-ma-al- a ní-te-na*

16. O father Nannar bright horned light of heaven, mighty of
 itself, (in thy excellence, yea thou in thy
 excellence),

17. *a-a*^d *Nannar umun-e an-šár*

17. Father Nannar, lord of all the heavens,

18. *umun*^d *Nannar umun*^d *Aš-ìm-ür-ra*⁴⁸⁸

18. Lord Nannar, lord of the rising light,

19. *umun gu-la galu nin-ġul-ma-al-la uru-zu ní-te-en-na*
še-ir-ma-al-la ní-te-en-na

19. Great lord, who himself has wrought evil to thy city,⁴⁸⁹
 mighty of himself,

20. *uru-zu Nippur-(ki) galu nin-ġul-ma-al-la uru-zu*

20. As for thy city Nippur, he who has wrought evil to thy city,

21. *nigin kalam-ma-zu á-si ma-ni-ib-bi*

21. All thy Land....

⁴⁸⁷ *si-mă*, literally *karnānu*, the horned, referring to the new-moon. The variant SBP. 296, 1 has *má-gúr*, the crescent boat. Undoubtedly *má-gúr* should be rendered by *nannaru* in this passage.

⁴⁸⁸ See BL. p. 132.

⁴⁸⁹ I. e. Sin himself is the author of Nippur's sorrows.

22. [uru?] *kalam-ma-da-zu gig-ga-an-na-ag-eš*

22. Thy city and land are afflicted with woe.

23. [] *zu-gà⁴⁹⁰ (galu) a-ba an-lāḡ⁴⁹¹-eš*

23. In thy ... and thy ... the scribes are driven away.

24. [] *zu-gà pag-da⁴⁹² ma-an-lá-lal-la-aḡ(?)⁴⁹³-eš*

24. In thy ... and thy ... the augurers are exiled.

25. ... *zu ba-ni-ib-gul*

25. Thy ... is destroyed.

26. ... *zu ba-ni-ib-sīg-sīg*

26.

27. ... *ḪUL-AŠ-A (gloss) e-ga ib ...*

27.

28. ... *A-AN ḪUL ... e-ga ib ...*

28.

29. ...

29. ...

REVERSE

1. [*gū-ud nim*] *kur-ra [mu-lu ta-zu mu-un-zu]*

1. Exalted hero of the world, doth any one comprehend thy form?⁴⁹⁴

[328]

2. [*kar-ra-du ša-ku-u ša ma-a-tim kat-tuk [man-nu i-lam-mad]*

2.

⁴⁹⁰ Glossed *ki*.

⁴⁹¹ *LAḪ*; transcription and interpretation uncertain.

⁴⁹² Hereby is established the reading *pa(g)-dà = mûdu, kapdu*. Probably a kind of augurer.

⁴⁹³ Probably tautological writing for *lallaḡ = itabbulu*, Voc. Hittite 7509.

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. the first melody of the Ninurta series *gū-ud nim kur-ra*; see SBP. 226; BL. No. 9 and SBH. 40.

3. *alim-ma umun ur-sag-gal*
3. Honored one, lord, great champion.
4. *ur-sag-gal umun si^d.Mu-ul-lil-lá-ge*
4. Great champion, lord, light of Enlil.
5. *alim-ma abil é-kur-ra*
5. Honored one, son of Ekur.⁴⁹⁵
6. *ur-sag-gal umun é-šu-me-DU⁴⁹⁶*
6. Great champion, lord of Ešume-du.
7. *umun é-šag-maġ-a umun-e é-i-be-šu-gúd*
7. Lord of Ešamaġ, lord of E-ibe-šugud.⁴⁹⁷
8. *umun sukkal-maġ-di⁴⁹⁸ gal-ukkin^d.Nusku-ge*
8. Lord, great messenger, the herald Nusku.
9. *^d.Maš-tab-ba^d.Lugal-gřr-ra*
9. The twin god, Lugalgirra.
10. *dúg-ga-zu mu-lu ta-zu mu-un-zu*
10. As to thy commands, who comprehends thy form?

⁴⁹⁵ Similar passages have *é-šár-ra* (SBP. 226, 8; SBH. 40, 8) chapel of Ninlil in Ekur (SBP. 221 n. 7).

⁴⁹⁶ Temple of Ninurta in Nippur. A syllabary recently published by SCHEIL{FNS (RA. 14, 174 I. 7) explains the name by *bit gi-mir par-ši hammu*, Temple which executes the totality of decrees. Note, however, the epithet *é i-dé-ila = bit niš inê*, House of the lifting of the eyes, SBP. 208, 11.

⁴⁹⁷ In any case an epithet of the temple of *Urta* in Dilbat, *Ibe-^{ilu}Anum*. For this reading *I-be* see vars. *I-bi*, *Im-bi*, BL. p. 134. The word *ibi* is probably Sumerian for *igi*, and shows that the phonetic rendering *i-de* is erroneous. The dialectic pronunciation of *igi* was *ibe* and despite the Semitic variant *imbi* the name is apparently Sumerian *Ibe-Anu*, Temple of the eye of Anu. Here *šu-gúd* is an epithet for Anu, i. e. the lofty.

⁴⁹⁸ See also SBH. 132, 46; BL. No. 56 Rev. 31; CRAIG{FNS, RT. 20, 30. This text has a variant *a* for *di*.

11. *taġ-a-zu mu-lu*

11. As to thy succor, who comprehends thy form?

12. *e-ne-em-zu mu-lu*

12. As to thy word, who comprehends thy form?

13. *edin-na di-di edin-na še-ám-du*

13. She wanders on the plain, on the plain she wails.

14. *ama gašan tin-dib-ba edin-na*

14. The mother, queen who gives life to the dead, on the plain wails.

15. *nin gašan nigín-gar-ra edin-na*

15. The queen, lady Ningingar, on the plain wails.

16. *nin gašan Lara-ak-(ki)-ge⁴⁹⁹ edin-na*

16. The queen, lady of Larak, on the plain wails.

[329]

17. *nin gašan I-si-in-na-(ki) edin-na*

17. The queen, lady of Isin, on the plain wails.

18. *nin ama é-dúr⁵⁰⁰-azag-ga edin-na*

18. The queen, mother of the holy city, on the plain wails.

19. *nin ama ŠU-ĤAL-BI⁵⁰¹ edin-na*

19. The queen, the ... mother, on the plain wails.

20. ^d*Ba-ú nu-númuš šág-ga edin-na*

20. Bau, the pious woman, on the plain wails.

⁴⁹⁹ Probably part of the great city Isin, see SBP. 160 n. 7.

⁵⁰⁰ Probably variant of *é-dūr* = *adurú*, *kapru*, village, city, POEBEL{FNS, PBS. V 106 IV 30; see also II Raw. 52, 61 f. Note the similar title of the city of Bau *uru-azag-ga* in SAK. 274; BL. 147. Here the title refers to Isin not Lagash.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. CRAIG{FNS, RT. II 16, 18 ^d*Ama-ŠU-ĤAL-BI-ta*.

21. *éš é-rab-ri-ri umun* ^{d.}*Sá-kut-maġ-a edin-a*
 21. The abode, Erabriri, of the lord Sakutmah on the plain wails.

-
22. *e-lum-e la-lu u-'u-a u-'u-a*
 22. Oh honored one, the exuberant, alas, alas.

23. *96-ám mu-šid-bi-im duppu 3-kam e-lum di-da-ra nu al-tíl*
 23. Ninety-six is the number of its lines. Third tablet of *Elum didara*, unfinished.

24. *gab-ri Bár-sip-(ki) kima labiri-šu ša-ṭir-ma barim duppu*
^{d.}*Bêl-iḳ-ṣur mārī-šu ša* ^{d.}*Bêl-iškun-ni*
 24. Copy from Barsippa, according to its original, written and collated. Tablet of Bêlikṣur son of Belishkunni,

25. *mar Iddin-*^{d.}*Papsukkal pa-liḫ* ^{d.}*Nabu ina šar-tum la uštešir ù ina me-riš-tum la u-ša-bi*⁵⁰² in ZA. 31, 41. *ikalli* probably for *ukallim*; note the variant *ušâbi = ušâpi*.
 25. son of Iddin-Papsukkal worshipper of Nebo. In fraud he has not translated it and with wilful readings has he not published it.

Babylonian Cult Symbols. 6060 (No. 12)

Ni. 6060, a Cassite tablet in four columns, yields a notable addition to the scant literature we now possess concerning Babylonian mystic symbols. A fragmentary Assyrian copy from the library of Ašurbanipal was published by ZIMMERN as No. 27 of his *Ritual Tafeln*. The Assyrian copy contains only fifteen symbols with their mystic identifications, in Col. II of the obverse. The ends of the lines of the right half of Col. I are preserved on ZIMMERN 27, and these are all restored by the Cassite original. The obverse of these two restored tablets contained about sixty symbols with their divine implications. Most of them are the names of plants, metals, cult utensils and sacrificial animals, each being identified with a deity. A tablet in the British Museum, dated in the 174th year of the Seleucid era or 138 B. C., Spartola Collection I 131, published by STRASSMAIER, ZA. VI 241-4, begins with an astronomical myth concerning the summer and winter solstices⁵⁰³ and

⁵⁰² Cf. CT. 12, 3a 29; *ina šar-tu la uštešir-šu u ina me-riš-tum la i-kal-li*, "By fraud he has not translated it and with wilful readings has he not published it." For *šutešuru*, "to translate or edit a tablet," see LEHMANN{FNS, *Shamash-shum-ukîn*, Taf. XXXIV 17 *akkadû ana šutešuri*, "to translate into Akkadian." On this difficult passage concerning the education of Ašurbanipal see *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 3 and corrections by UNGNAD{FNS

⁵⁰³ Only in a loose sense. From Tammuz to Kislev is the period of death, from Kislev to Tammuz the period of revivification of nature. See on the meaning of this passage KUGLER{FNS, *Im Bannkreis Babels* 62-5.

then inserts a passage on the mystic meanings of ten symbols. The myth of the solstices runs as follows:

[331]

“In the month Tammuz, 11th day, when the deities Miniṭṭi and Kaṭuna, daughters of Esagila,⁵⁰⁴ go unto Ezida⁵⁰⁵ and in the month Kislev, 3d day, when the deities Gazbaba and Kazalsurra, daughters of Ezida, go unto Esagila—Why do they go? In the month Tammuz the nights are short. To lengthen the nights the daughters of Esagila go unto Ezida. Ezida is the house of night. In the month Kislev, when the days are short, the daughters of Ezida to lengthen the days go unto Esagila. Esagila is the house of day.” The tablet then explains the Sumerian ideogram *gubarra*=Ašrat, the western mother goddess Ashtarte, and says that Ašrat of Ezida is poverty stricken.⁵⁰⁶ But Ašrat of Esagila is full of light and might.⁵⁰⁷ Some mystic connection between Ašrat or Geštinanna, mistress of letters and astrology,⁵⁰⁸ scribe of the lower world, and the daughters of night and day existed. This cabalistic tablet here refers to a mirror which she holds in her hand and says she appeared, ⁵⁰⁹ on the 15th day to order the decisions. The 15th of the month Tammuz is probably referred to or the beginning of the so-called dark period when the days begin to shorten and Nergal the blazing sun descends to the lower world to remain 160 days.⁵⁰⁹ For some reason Ašrat, here called the queen,⁵¹⁰ appears to order the decisions, probably the fates of those that die. The phrase “The divine queen appeared” is

⁵⁰⁴ Temple of Marduk in Babylon.

⁵⁰⁵ Temple of Nebo in Barsippa.

⁵⁰⁶ *maš-dū=muškênitū*.

⁵⁰⁷ *šarahitum*.

⁵⁰⁸ See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 151. Ašrat or the western Ashtoreth usually had the title *bêlit šêri*, “Lady of the plains” and was identified with the Babylonian Geštinanna and Nidaba. Hence [*Bêlit-]šêri* is *dupšarrat iršitm*, scribe of the lower world, K.B. VI 190,47; cf. IV R. 27 B 29.

⁵⁰⁹ See lines 51-4 of this tablet. Nergal descends into the earth on the 18th of Tammuz and remains until the 28th of Kislev.

⁵¹⁰ *ilat šarrat*.

usually said of the rising of stars or astral bodies, but the reference here is wholly obscure. As a star she was probably Virgo. At any rate some mystic pantomime must have been enacted in the month of Tammuz in which the daughters of Esagila and Ezida and the queen recorder of Sheol were the principal figures. The pantomime represented the passing of light, the reign of night and the judgment of the dead. Clearly an elaborate ritual attended by magic ceremonies characterized the ceremony. At this point the tablet gives a commentary on the mystic meaning of cult objects used for the healing of the sick or the atonement of a sinner. [332] Obviously some connection exists between this mystagogy and the myth described. The commentary is probably intended to explain the hidden powers of the objects employed in the weird ritual, at any rate the mystery is thus explained.⁵¹¹

(1) Gypsum is the god Ninurta.⁵¹² (2) Pitch is *the asakku-demon*.⁵¹³ (3) Meal water (which encloses the bed of the sick man) is Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea.⁵¹⁴ [A string of wet meal was laid about the bed of a sick man or about any object to guard them against demons. Hence meal water symbolizes the two gods who guard against demons. See especially EBELING, KTA. No. 60 Obv. 8 *zisurrá talamme-šu*, “Thou shalt enclose him with meal water.”]

(4) Three meal cakes are Anu, Enlil and Ea.⁵¹⁵ (5) The design

⁵¹¹ Here epitomized. It will be found transcribed and translated by ZIMMERN{FNS in his *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrfest*, p. 129.

⁵¹² MAŠ. See below Col. II 15, gypsum is Ninurta, the god of war, primarily a god of light. Gypsum, Sum. *im-bar*, “radiant clay,” became symbolic of Ninurta because of its light transparent color.

⁵¹³ So, because gypsum, lime and pitch are smeared on the door of the house and the god of light (Ninurta) tramples upon the demon of darkness.

⁵¹⁴ Two inferior deities related to Nergal, god of the lower world. Their images placed at the enclosure of a house prevent the demons, ZIMMERN{FNS, Rt. 168, 21 f. The image of Lugalgirra designed on a wall prevents the devils, *ibid.* 166, 12. He binds the evil ones, IV R. 21* C III 26. The two are placed at the right and left of a door to forbid the devils to enter. Maklu VI 124.

⁵¹⁵ The great trinity: heaven, earth and sea.

which is drawn before the bed is the net which overwhelms all evil. (6) The hide of a great bull is Anu. [Here the hide of the bull is the symbol of the heaven god as of Zeus Dolichaïos in Asia Minor.]

(7) The copper gong⁵¹⁶ is Enlil. But in our tablet II 13 symbol of Nergal and in CT. 16, 24, 25 apparently of Anu. The term of comparison in any case is noise, bellowing.

[333]

(8) The great reed spears which are set up at the head of the sick man are the seven great gods sons of Išhara. The seven sons of Išhara are unknown, but this goddess was a water and vegetation deity closely connected with Nidaba goddess of the reed.⁵¹⁷ The reed, therefore, symbolizes her sons.

(9) The scapegoat is Ninamašazagga. Here the scapegoat typifies the genius of the flocks who supplies the goat. See, however, another explanation below Obv. II 17.

(10) The censer is Azagsud. The deity Azagsud in both theological and cult texts is now male and now female. As a male deity he is the great priest of Enlil, CT. 24, 10, 12, and always a god of lustration closely connected with the fire god Gibil, MEEK, BA. X pt. 1 No. 24,4.⁵¹⁸ But ordinarily Azagsud is a form of the grain goddess who was also associated with fire in the rites of purification. As a title of the grain goddess, see CT. 24, 9, 35 = 23, 17; SBP. 158, 64 *A-sug* where ZIMMERN, KL. 11 Rev. III 11 has *Azag-sug*. She is frequently associated with Ninḡabursildu and Nidaba (the grain goddess) in rituals, ZIMMERN, Rt. 126, 27 and 29; 138, 14, etc. The censer probably symbolizes both male and female aspects, the fire that burns and the grain that is burned. See below II 9, where the censer is symbol of Urashâ a god of light.

(11) The torch is Nusku the fire god in the Nippur pantheon. Below (II 10) the torch is Gibil, fire god in the Eridu pantheon.

⁵¹⁶ In any case a cult utensil on which a noise was made, CT. 16, 24, 32.

⁵¹⁷ See the Chicago Syllabar 230 where she is identified with Nidaba.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. ZA. 16, 178, 27; BA. V 649, 3; *Shurpu* VIII 10.

The mystic identifications do not always agree, but the term of comparison can generally be found if the origin and character of the deities are known and the nature of the symbol determined. Each god was associated with an animal and a plant and with other forms of nature over which they presided. When the cult utensils are symbols the term of comparison is generally clear. [334]

Below will be found such interpretations of these mysteries as the condition of the tablet and the limits of our knowledge permit. Most difficult of all are the metal symbols which begin with Obv. I 10. Here silver is heaven, but it can hardly be explained after the manner of the same connection of Zeus Dolichaîos with silver in Kommagene. The cult of this Asiatic heaven god is said to have been chiefly practiced at a city in the region of silver mines.⁵¹⁹ That is an impossible explanation in the case of Anu whose chief cult center was at Erech. The association of gold with Enmesharra, here obviously the earth god, is completely unintelligible. In Obv. I 31 he is possibly associated with lead or copper as the planet Saturn. In lines I 14-18 the symbols are broken away, but they are probably based upon astronomy. Metals seem to be connected with fixed stars and planets on the principle of color. The metallic symbolism of the planets was well known to Byzantine writers who did not always agree in these matters. Their identifications are certainly a Græco-Roman heritage which in turn repose upon Babylonian tradition.⁵²⁰ The

⁵¹⁹ So A. B. COOK {FNS, *Zeus*, 632. I would, however, entertain doubts concerning this explanation of silver as the emblem of the Asiatic Zeus and of Jupiter Dolichenus. The identification of this metal with the sky god in Babylonia and Kommagene surely reposes upon a more subtle idea. [For the explanation of silver = Anu and gold = Enlil, see p. 342.]

⁵²⁰ The Sabeans, a pagan Aramaic sect of Mesopotamia at Harran, are said to have assigned a metal to each planet. Since a considerable part of their religion was derived from Babylonia we may consider this direct evidence for the Babylonian origin of the entire tradition. For an account of the metals assigned to the planets by the Babylonians, Persians, Greeks and Sabeans, see Bousset in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 1901, article on "Die Himmelreise

following table taken from COOK, *Zeus*, p. 626, will illustrate Græco-Roman ideas on this point:

Kronos—lead (Saturn); Zeus—silver (Jupiter); Ares—iron (Mars); Helios—gold (Sun); Aphrodite—tin (Venus); Hermes—bronze (Mercury); Selene—crystal (Moon).

[335]

Our tablet preserves only the names of the deities at this point, and if metals stood at the left we are clearly authorized to interpret the divine names in their astral sense. This assumes, of course, that these astral identifications obtained in the Cassite period. Assuming this hypothesis we should have the metals for Betelgeuze, Ursa Major, Venus, Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, New-moon(?), a star in Orion, Venus as evening and morning star, Virgo, and perhaps others.

The reverse of the tablet is even more mystic and subtle. The first section connects various cult substances with parts of the body. White wine and its bottle influence the eyes. White figs pertain to a woman's breasts. Must or mead have power over the limbs as the members of motion. Terms of comparison fail to suggest themselves here and we are completely disconcerted by the fancy of the Babylonian mystagogue. In the next section, which is only partially preserved, we have twelve gods of the magic rituals. The province of each in relation to the city and state is defined. Kushu, the evil satyr who receives the sin-bearing scapegoat, hovers over the homes of men. Muḫru, the deity who receives burnt offerings, or incarnation of the fires of sacrifice, dwells at the city-gate. Sakkut, a god of light and war, inexplicably protects the pools. Then follow hitherto undefined and unknown Cassite deities and a break in the tablet.

As in the Assyrian duplicate, ZIMMERN Rt. 27, so also here, the reverse contains a lexicographical commentary on mythological phrases. The name of the god *Negun* is commented upon here and most timely information is given. Both the phonetic reading of the

der Seele." The order of the planets, taken from the Byzantine list above, is based upon their relative distances from the sun.

name and the character of the deity are defined. The colophon at the end has the usual formula attached to cult instructions whose contents are forbidden to the uninitiated.

[336]

1. *duk a-gub-ba ... []*⁵²¹

1. The vessel of holy water ... [of the gods]

2. *d.Nin-ḥabur-sil-du nin(?) [tù-tù-ge]*⁵²²

2. is Ninhabursildu,⁵²³ queen of incantations.

⁵²¹ Restoration from Zim. Rt. 27.

⁵²² Conjectural restoration from ASKT. 96, 21. ZIMMERN{FNS, Rt. 27 I 3-4 has a longer description of [*Ninḥabursildu a-ḥa-lat [d A-gub-ba bêlit] mê(?) ša nâri(?)*].

⁵²³ This deity appears in incantations as the queen of the holy waters *bêlit egubbê*, IV R. 28*b 16; *Bab.* III 28, Sm. 491, 3. Although placed in the court of Enlil the earth god as sister of Enlil by the theologians, CT. 24, 11, 40 = 24, 52, where she is associated with a special deity of holy water, *dA-gub-ba*, yet by function and character she belongs to the water cult of Eridu. Her symbol is the holy water jar (*duk*) *agubba* and the deity *dAgubba* is *šu-luḡ lăg-lăg-ga Erida-ge*, Purifying handwasher of Eridu, CT. 24, 11, 41 = 24, 53. The river goddess *dIă* is also *bêlit agubbê*, CT. 16, 7, 255 where in l. 254 *Ninḥabursildu* is *aḥat dA-[gub-ba]*, sister of *Agubba*, and the river goddess is mother of Enki, or Ea, god of the sea, CT. 24, 1, 25. The reading *ḥabur* for *A-ḥA* is most probable, and the cognate or dialectic form *hubur* is a name for the mysterious sea that surrounds the world. See BL. 115 n. 2. The holy water over which she presides is taken from the *apsu* or nether sea, which issues from springs, hence *egubbû* is spring water, CT. 17, 5 III 1. The name, then, really means "Queen of the lower world river, she that walks (*du*) the streets (*sil*)."⁵²⁴ The Semitic scribe of CT. 25, 49, 6 renders the name in a loose way by *bêlit tēlilti bêlit ālikat*

3. *duk gan-nu-tūr*⁵²⁴ *d.*[JMEŠ-GAR
3. The little *hannu*-vessel is the deity ...

4. *giš šinig d.*A-nim
4. The tamarisk is anu.⁵²⁵

5. *giš šag-gišimmar*⁵²⁶ *d.*Dumu-zi
5. The date palm-head is Tammuz.

6. *ú in-nu-us*⁵²⁷, SAI. 2805.
1ex*d.*É-a
6. The *mashtakal*-plant is Ea.

7. *giš sul-ġi d.*Nin-urta
7. the *šalatu*-reed is Ninurta.

sulē [rapšāti], Queen of lustration, queen that walks the [wide] streets (of the lower world). For the title *bēlūt tēliltī*, see CT. 26, 42 I 14. For a parallel to the description of her walking the streets of inferno, cf. *d.* Kal-šág-ga *sil-dagal-la edin-na*, Lady of purity who (walks) the wide streets of the plain (of inferno), consort of Irragal, god of the lower world, SBP. 158, 59. A variant, KL. 16 III 8 has *sil-gig-edin-na*, the dark street, etc.

⁵²⁴ Variant of *kân-tūr*, V Raw. 42, 39.

⁵²⁵ In K. 165 Rev. 8 f. the tamarisk and date palm are said to be created in heaven (*giš an-na ù-tū*) and the same is said of them in Gudea, Cyl. B 4, 10, *giš-šinig giš-šekka* (i. e. = *šig* = *gišimmaru*) *an ù-tud-da*. This plant appears frequently in magic rituals, IV R. 59b 4 *išū bi-ni* (Semitic), IV R. 16b 31, *Shurpu* IX 1-8, and also in medical texts. *bīnu* has been identified with Syriac *bīnā*, tamarisk. If this identification be correct, a comparison with the Hebrew legend of the *manna* (bread of heaven in Psalms 105,40), said to have been the exudation of the tamarisk, is possible.

⁵²⁶ Semitic *ukuru*, Aramaic *kērā*, see MEISSNER{FNS, MVAG. 1913, 2 p. 40 and BE. 31, 69 n. 2. Used both in medicine and magic.

⁵²⁷ Passim in rituals and medicine. See BE. 31, 69, 27; 72, 29; KING{FNS, *Magic* 11, 44; MEISSNER{FNS

8. *ú-el*⁵²⁸, *Magic* 30, 25. Perhaps identical in name with the stone *arzallu*, SAI. 8545. On a Dublin tablet often *giš EL*. Cf. *ú-šig-el-šar* = *šûmu*, onion.

1exd.Ninâ⁵²⁹

8. The *El*-plant is Niná

[337]

9. *gišburru*⁵³⁰ d. *Gir-ra*⁵³¹

9. The *gišbur* wood is the Fire God Girra.

10. *dāgkubabbar* d. *GAL*⁵³²

10. Silver is the great god (the moon).

11. *dāgku-gi* d. *En-me-šár-ra*⁵³³

11. God is Emmešarra (the sun).

12. *dāgurudu* d. *É-a*

12. Copper is Ea.

⁵²⁸ In *Shurpu* VIII 70 mentioned with *šalālu*. A magic ointment made of the *El* and *maštakal*, CT. 34, 9, 41. See also EBELING{FNS, KTA. 90 rev. 17; KING{FNS

⁵²⁹ For the correct reading *ni-ná-a*, see AJSL. XXXIII 194, 159.

⁵³⁰ Here a wood employed in magic, cf. BE. 31, 60, 6+15. In syllabars *giš-BUR* = *gišburru*, *giškirru*, indicates a weapon or an utensil.

⁵³¹ *NITA-DU*, fire god, title of Nergal as fire god and identical with *d gír* = Nergal.

⁵³² Here certainly *Anu*, heaven god, followed by Earth and Sea gods. Note also *dGu-la* in liturgies *passim* as title of Anu, BL.{FNS 136. Anu = Sin, see p. 342.

⁵³³ Title of Enlil, lord of the totality of decrees. Enlil = Šamaš.

13. *dāg*an-na *d*.Nin-maġ

13. Lead is Ninmah.⁵³⁴, KTA.{FNS p. 121, 11. Symbols of these four deities on boundary stones in same register, HINKE{FNS, *A New Boundary Stone*, p. 28 second register, et passim.

14. []⁵³⁵, *Magic* 50, 29.

1ex*d*.Ninurta

14. [] is Ninurta.

15. [] *d*.Ninlil⁵³⁶ in DEIMEL{FNS, *Pantheon Babylonicum* 215.

15. [] is Ninlil.

16. [] *d*.Dilbat

16. [] is Ishtar-Venus.

17. [] *d*.AMAR-RA-ĜE-UD-DU-A-LU-TU⁵³⁷

17. [] is Marduk-Jupiter.

18. [] *d*.Lugal-giš-a-tu-gab-liš-a⁵³⁸

18. [] is Nergal-Mars.

⁵³⁴ Originally title of the great unmarried mother goddess *bēlit ilāni*, but often a title of the virgin types Innini and Ninā, BL. 141; of Gula *ibid*. Also somewhat frequently she is Damkina, consort of Ea, IV R. 54*b* 47; CT.{FNS 33, 3, 21 her star beside that of Ea. Here she is the mother goddess and the same order, Heaven, Earth, Sea, Mother Goddess in *Shurpu* IV 42, where Nin-maġ has the Var. Nin-tud, EBELING{FNS

⁵³⁵ Possibly a metal stood here, identified with *d*MAŠ, a star in Orion (Kaksidi=Beteigeuze), CT.{FNS 33, 2, 6; KING{FNS

⁵³⁶ Possibly the constellation Ursa Major. Margidda, the Wagon is intended, identified with Ninlil on a Berlin text, WEIDNER{FNS, *Handbuch* 79, 10. See also BEZOLD{FNS

⁵³⁷ From the context certainly a title of Marduk. ZIM.{FNS 27 I 19 omits LU-TU.

⁵³⁸ Or *Bēl-šarbe*, title of Nergal, v. VAB. IV 170, 67. Between lines 17 and 18 the variant inserts two lines.

19. [] ^d *Sak-kud*

19. [] is Ninurta-Saturn.⁵³⁹

20. [] ^d *Nusku*⁵⁴⁰

20. [] is Nusku.

21. [] ^d *Pap-sukkal*⁵⁴¹

21. [] is Papsukal.

[338]

22. [-]šág ^d *Sak-kut*⁵⁴²

22. [] is Sakkut.

23. [-]šID ^{ilu} *Ram-ma-nu*

23. [] is Ramman.

⁵³⁹ But Mars in Amos 5, 26. I accept here the later identifications, Nergal-Mars, Ninurta-Saturn. The identifications in the earlier period of Babylonian astronomy appear to have been Ninurta-Mars and Nergal-Saturn.

⁵⁴⁰ Probably the astronomical form of Nusku as god of the new moon, IV R. 23a 4. His character as fire god is symbolized by the torch, ZA. VI 242, 24. In II 10 supply *Gibil* after ZIMMERN{FNS RT. 27, 5. As fire god he is messenger of Enlil.

⁵⁴¹ *Papsukal*, messenger of Zamama, god of Kiš, a form of Ninurta. He also like Nusku derives his messenger character from his connection with light, *Papsukal ša še-ir-ti*, Papsukal of the morning light, CT. 24, 40, 53. Since Ninurta is identified with Alpha of Orion, Pap-sukal is identified with one of the stars in Orion, CT. 33, 2 II 2; *mul sib-zi-an-na* ^d *Pap-sukal* [*sukal* ^d *Anim Ištar*] restored from VIROLLEAUD{FNS, *Supplement* LXVII 10. Here he is messenger of heaven and of Ishtar as Venus, queen of heaven, that is, he is a messenger of the powers of celestial light. Nusku and Pap-sukal often occur together in magic texts, *Šurpu* VIII 10.

⁵⁴² Here probably Sakkut as lord of light and justice, god of Isin, in his normal capacity. See BL. 120 n. 6. His emblem is something made of date palm, *šág, gišimmar*. This deity is unknown in magic texts except in ZIMMERN{FNS, Rt. 70, 8.

24. [] *ilat* *Ishtar Uruk-(ki)*
 24. [] is Ishtar of Erech.⁵⁴³
25. [] *ilat* *Ishtar A-ga-de-(ki)*
 25. [] is Ishtar of Agade.⁵⁴⁴
26. [-] *TAR* *ilat* *Be-lit-šêri*
 26. [] is Bêlit-šeri.⁵⁴⁵
27. [] *d*. *Nin-lil*
 27. [] is Ninlil.
28. [*ri-*] *kis-su-nu* *d*. *Ninurta*
 28. [] their band(?) is Ninurta.
29. [] *ilāni sibitti*⁵⁴⁶
 29. [] is the seven gods.
30. [] *d*. *En-me-šár-ra*
 30. [] is Enmesharra.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴³ Ishtar of Erech is Venus as evening star, the effeminate Venus of Erech, see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 54 and 180 n. 4.

⁵⁴⁴ Venus as morning star. The Ishtar of Agade was the type of war goddess, see op. cit. p. 100; hence Venus as morning star is sometimes called the Bow Star, KUGLER {FNS, *Sternkunde* II 198.

⁵⁴⁵ Western title of Geštinanna, sister of Ishtar. Here perhaps the constellation Virgo.

⁵⁴⁶ The seven gods are the Pleiades, CT. 33, 2, 44. Since they are followed by Enmesharra perhaps here to be identified with the seven sons of Enmesharra (see BE. 31, 35). In ZA. VI 242, 20 *gi-uru-gal-meš*, “the great reed spears” are symbols of the seven great gods, sons of Išhara. But traces of the last sign are not those of *MEŠ* here.

⁵⁴⁷ In astronomy a form of Nin-urta = Saturn, but by character allied to Nergal a lower world deity. See line 11 above. For E. as Saturn note V Raw. 46a 21, his star *UDU-LIM* and II R. 48, 52 the same star is *d* *UDU-BAD-sag-uš* = *kaimānu*, Saturn. See also BE. 31, 35 n. 4 line 12, *kaimānu* title of Enmesharra.

OBVERSE II

...

2. *giš* [] [^d.]

2. []

3. *giš* [] [^d.]

3. []

4. *giššim* [] [^d.]

4. []

5. *šim-šal*⁵⁴⁸, *Beiträge zum assyrischen Lexicon*, p. 85,
 identified it with Syr. *šamšārā*, Persian and
 Arabic *šimšar*.

[^d.]

5. Box-wood is the god....

6. *gi-dug-ga*⁵⁴⁹ [^d.]

6. The good reed is the god....

7. *šim-li*^d [*Immer*⁵⁵⁰]

7. Cypress is Adad.

[339]

⁵⁴⁸ *šimeššalû* employed in medical texts, see SAI. 3574 and JASTROW{FNS,
Medical Text Rev. 5. Here also without *giš*. HOLMA{FNS

⁵⁴⁹ Passim in medical and incantation texts, CT. 23, 45, 9; RA. 14, 88, 6;
 EBELING{FNS, KTA. 26 R. 20; IV R. 55 No. 2, 18., etc.

⁵⁵⁰ Here variant ZIM{FNS. Rt. 27 Obv. II begins.

8. *šīpāti burrumti*⁵⁵¹ *ilu Labartu(?)*⁵⁵² and I have seen a sign *KU* or *ŠU*. *Labartu* is usually written *RAB+GAN-ME*. Here we may have to do with some new ideogram for this deity. She is the daughter of Anu, *HAUPT*{*FNS*, *ASKT.* 94, 59. A prayer to the daughter of Anu is *KING*{*FNS*, *Magic* No. 61, 5-21.

mar[at ilu Anim]

8. Wool of variegated color is *Labartu* daughter of Anu.

9. *šim-ZU*⁵⁵³ *d. [Nin-urta]*

9. The aromat-ZU is Ninurta.

10. *nig-na* *d. Urašā*

10. The censer is Urasha.⁵⁵⁴

11. *gi-bil-lá* *d. [Gi-bil]*

11. The torch is Gibil.⁵⁵⁵

12. *ku-ta-ri ibbûti*⁵⁵⁶ *d. [Ne-gun]*

12. The clean incense is Negun.⁵⁵⁷, *Sin* XIII 22.

⁵⁵¹ Written *sig dar-a*.

⁵⁵² The name of this deity is not legible in *ZIMMERN'S*{*FNS* variant and the first sign of the name on the Nippur text is doubtful but apparently the *šeššig* and *gunu* of *Galú*, that is *REC.* 100 later *RAB+GAN*, (v. *SAI.* p. 155 note 1). After this sign *ZIMMERN*{*FNS*

⁵⁵³ *ZIM.*{*FNS* *SU*.

⁵⁵⁴ But in *ZA.* VI 242, 23 symbol of Azagsud.

⁵⁵⁵ But *ZA.* VI 242, 24 Nusku, fire god in Nippur pantheon.

⁵⁵⁶ See *MUSS-ARNOLT*{*FNS*, p. 940. Also note *niknakku ša ku-ta-ri*, censer of incense, *CT.* 29, 50, 9; *kutari ša šipti*, incense pertaining to the ritual of the incantation, *ibid.* 20. *kutari* is a plural form employed to denote several acts of fumigation.

⁵⁵⁷ Reading established by *Rev.* II 8. But see *MEEK*{*FNS*, *AJSL* 31, 287, *li-si to ne-su(n)* gloss on the star *Ne-sün*; son of Ninlil, hence a star in Ninlil's constellation *Ursa Major*, *VIROLLEAUD*{*FNS*

13. *mul-lil-lum* ^{d.}*Ig[i-BALAG*⁵⁵⁸ *lù nu-giš-šar* ^{d.}*En-lil-lá]*

13. The amphora(?) is Igi-BALAG, gardener of Enlil.

14. *urudū nig-kalag-ga*⁵⁵⁹ ^{d.}*Nin-[sar* ^{d.}*Nergal]*

14. The copper kettledrum is Ninsar,⁵⁶⁰ that is Nergal.

15. *kuš-gū-gal*⁵⁶¹ ^{d.}*[NINDA+GUD]*

15. The hide of a great bull is NINDA+GUD.⁵⁶²

16. *im-bar* ^{d.}*[Utu-gāl-lu*

16. Gypsum is the storm god (Ninurta).⁵⁶³

17. *esir* ^{d.}*id*

17. Bitumen is the river god.⁵⁶⁴

18. *māš-ġul-dúb-ba-a* ^{d.}*[Ku-šu]*

18. The scapegoat is Kushu.⁵⁶⁵

[340]

19. *udu-ti-la*⁵⁶⁶ ^{d.}*[Gira]*

19. "The living lamb" is Gira.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁵⁸ Perhaps *igi-sig-sig*; cf. CT. 24, 3, 25.

⁵⁵⁹ In ZA. VI 242, 19, symbol of Enlil. But CT. 16, 24, 25 hero of Anu. In rituals generally with *kušgugalū*.

⁵⁶⁰ Sword bearer (*nāš patri*) of Enlil, CT. 24, 10, 16.

⁵⁶¹ Symbol of Anu in ZA. VI 242, 19.

⁵⁶² Priest of Enlil, CT. 24, 10, 13. Cf. *GUD-NINDA* = *mîru*, young ox, SBC. 19, 14.

⁵⁶³ ZA. VI 242, 15 gypsum is ^{d.}*MAŠ*.

⁵⁶⁴ But ZA. VI 242, 15 bitumen is the *asakku* demon.

⁵⁶⁵ A pest demon son of Anu, III R. 69, 70. On the other hand, ZA. VI 246, 22 the scapegoat represents the patron of flocks Ninamašazag who supplies the goat. When sin is transferred to the goat it falls under the protection of Kushu. See Rev. I 6.

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. ^{d.}*En-udu-til-la*, SBP. 150 n. 5 I. 8.

⁵⁶⁷ Patron of flocks and fire god.

20. *máš-gi-bil-la*^d [*Mu-uḫ-]ra*
 20. The goat of the torch⁵⁶⁸ is Muḫru.
21. *še-bir-bir-ri u-pu-un-tum*
 21. “Scattered grain(?),” chick pea (?)
22. *zērê ma-ka-lu-ú*
 22. seed-corn, eating table and
23. *duk*₁*ka-gaz*^{pl.} *d.Nun-ūr-ra* *d.Ea*⁵⁶⁹
 23. the *ka-gaz*-pots are Ninurra-Ea.
24. *giš**ku-ma-nu* 7 *û-mu*⁵⁷⁰ *ku* *d.Marduk*
 24. The seven (headed) weapon of laurel wood, the storm, the
 weapon of Marduk.
25. *kù-gi-sig*^{pl.} *d.A-nun-na-ki*
 25. Red sun-disks(?) are the Anunnaki.
26. *kù-gi nig-máš-zid*⁵⁷¹ *d.Maš-tab-ba-gal-ga*
 26. *The golden sacred kid(?)* is the Great Twins.⁵⁷²
27. *máš-dū* *d.Un-gal Nibru-*^{ki}⁵⁷³
 27. The kid is Ungal⁵⁷⁴ of Nippur.
28. *kur-gi-(ḡu)* *d.Nin-sîg*
 28. The crane is Ninsig.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁶⁸ That is burnt offering.

⁵⁶⁹ I. e. Ea as the god of potters. Nunurra is *paḫaru rabû* of Anu, MEEK{FNS
 BA. X pt. 1 p. 42, 14. Note CT. 24, 14, 41, ^d*Nun-ūr-ra(duk) ka-[gaz]*.

⁵⁷⁰ Sic! Semitic.

⁵⁷¹ Cf. IV R. 28* No. 4 Rev. 3. The symbols in lines 24-6 are obscure.

⁵⁷² Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea.

⁵⁷³ The temple of Gula and Ungal of Nippur, CLAY{FNS, BE. XV 34, 2. *Ungal*
 = *tênisêti*, population. God of the people of Nippur.

⁵⁷⁴ See previous footnote.

⁵⁷⁵ A form of Enki as patron of metallurgy. See RA. 12, 83 n. 5.

29. *sún*⁵⁷⁶ *giš* *erin šita*⁵⁷⁷ *d. Zi-i*

29. The *sun* of cedar, weapon of *Zu*.⁵⁷⁸

30. *lâl ... d. []*

30. Honey ... is the god ...

31. *lî ... li*

31. Oil ... oil ...

32. *d. id d. []*

32. ... River-god, god...

[341]

REVERSE I

1. *karanu ellu kaḳḳul-ti enâ-šu*

1. White wine and bottle are his eyes.

2. *tittu pišîtu*⁵⁷⁹ *tulê-šu*⁵⁸⁰

2. The white fig is her breasts.

3. *iṣu nurmû bir-ka-a-šu*

3. The *nur*-fig is his (her) knees.

4. *tittu*⁵⁸¹ *ki-sal-la-a-šu*

4. The fig is his (her) loins.

⁵⁷⁶ *sun* probable reading for *BAD* in this sense. Offerings to the *giš-sun*, GENOUILLAC{FNS, *Drehem*, 5505 Obv. II 15.

⁵⁷⁷ Sign a confusion of *NI+giš* and *KAK+giš*, see RA. 13, 3.

⁵⁷⁸ *Zû*, the eagle, bird of the blazing sun, Ninurta, Ningirsu, is the only emblematic animal that figures as a deity. The myth of his conflict with the serpent in the story of Etana dramatizes the old legend of the conflict between sun and clouds. He appears in magic here for the first time.

⁵⁷⁹ See Vab. IV 154, 44 and note.

⁵⁸⁰ *šu* here for *ša*, feminine. The form should be dual.

⁵⁸¹ *Gunû* of *MA = tittu*; Sumerian *peš*, value also assigned to *MA = tittu* in the Chicago Syllabar, 115 f.

5. *mirsu pit puridi-šu*

5. Must is his (her) crotch.

6. *d. Ku-ši šêr ki-i-ši*⁵⁸². Rt. p. 168, 29.

6. The god Kushu over the chamber.

7. *d. Mu-uḥ-ra ina pan abulli*

7. Muḥru before the city gate.

8. *d. Sak-kut ina ḳabal appari*

8. Sakkut in the midst of the pool.

9. *d. Si-lak-ki*⁵⁸³ *ina ma-na-ḥa-ti*

9. Silakki in the ruins.

10. *d. E-ḳu-rum*⁵⁸⁴ *ina libbi šêr išdi*

10. Ekurum in the leg.

11. *d. Ab-ba- gu-la*⁵⁸⁵ *ina igari*

11. Abbagula in the wall.

12. *d. ? ? ina nasikati*

12. [] in the fortress.

13-17.

13-17.

⁵⁸² *kīšu*, compensation for *kiššu*. See also STRASSMAIER{FNS, *Nabonidus* 699, 24, *ki-šu*. Note that the *ḥulduppu* (probably an image of a scapegoat) symbol of Kuši is placed opposite the door in ZIM{FNS

⁵⁸³ CLAY{FNS, *Personal Names of the Cassite Period*, mentions a deity *Si-lak-ku-ku(?)*. In any case a Cassite deity not mentioned in Babylonian lists and texts.

⁵⁸⁴ Otherwise unknown. A Cassite deity(?).

⁵⁸⁵ Probably same as *Abagal*, DEIMEL{FNS, *Pantheon*, p. 43.

18. 12 *ilāni* []

18. Twelve gods.

REVERSE II

1. [SAG-ĜĪR]-ME ša ina pani-šu namru⁵⁸⁶

1. The battle which before him gleams.

2. [KU]-ŠÚ la⁵⁸⁷ maḥ-ru

2. ... not are received.

3. [-]u:NU: la-a

3. []NU = not.

4. [BT:]šu-u⁵⁸⁸:ILA:ma-ḥa-ri

4. []BI = that: ILA = to present.

[342]

5. [^dNe-gun] erim-bi nu-tuk-a ai-bi ina ḳatê-šu la uṣûni

5. Negin who foes has not. The wicked from his hand escape
not.

6. NE-RU:ai-bi:ID:ḳa-ti:TUK-A SAL-ŠEŠ?

6. NE-RU = wicked : ID = hand : ? ?

7. ^dNe-gun⁵⁸⁹ ḳa-lu-ú i-ša-tam

7. Negin is he that burns with fire.

8. ḪU-gunu[1agin]:gu-nu-u:SI:ka-lu-u

8. The *gunu* of ḪU has the syllabic value *gunū:si(g)* = to burn.

9. NE:i-ša-tu:sa-niš ka-lu ni-ka

9. NE = fire: Or = to consume offerings in fire.

⁵⁸⁶ Cf. ZIMMERN{FNS, 27 R. 14-17.

⁵⁸⁷ Written NU. Cf. ZIMMERN{FNS, 27 Rev. I 19.

⁵⁸⁸ Cf. *ibid.* 21.

⁵⁸⁹ Sign is ḪU-gunu an error for SI-gunu. Only the latter sign has the values bright, burn. Line 8 proves that the sign is based on SI.

10. *SAL-ŠEŠ*⁵⁹⁰:*ba-nu-ú: ga-lu*

10. *ninmuš* = blaze, burn.

11. *SI:ba-nu-ú:NE ga-lu*

11. *si(g)* = blaze: *bil* = burn.

12. *mûdû mûdâ li-kal-lim*

12. Let the knowing inform the knowing.

13. *la mûdû ul immar*

13. He that knows not may not read.

ki-ma labiri-šu ^{*ilu*}*Ninurta-našir mar Ilu-iķiša* ^{*amelu*}*ašipu ištur*
bûši E-šu-me-rá

According to its original Ninurtu-našir son of Ilu-iķiša, the priest of magic wrote. It is the property of the temple Ešumera.⁵⁹¹

[343]

⁵⁹⁰ *nîn-muš*. The sign *ŠEŠ* has the value *muš*. Note SAI. 2629 the gloss *ga-an-ŠEŠ* and variant *Chicago Syllabar* 212 *ga-an-muš*. See also JRAS. 1905, 81-4-28 l. 14. For *muš* = *banû* cf. SAI. 1916.

⁵⁹¹ This is a real library note and is clear evidence for assuming that the temple of Nippur possessed a library, at least in the Cassite period. For similar library notes on the tablets from Aššur, see RA. 13, 99. Note also the Smith Esagila tablet published by SCHEIL{FNS, *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres XXXIX*, Rev. 7, *mûdû mûdâ likallim la mûdâ ul immar an pî duppi gabri Barsip-ki šaṭir-ma UB-ṬU ù ba-ri*. For *an pi (KA)*, see RA. 13, 92.

Addendum On Obv. I 10 F.

Anu in this passage really denotes Sin, the moon, which has been connected with silver on account of its color. The identification of Anu, the heaven god, with the moon god rests upon the astronomical connection between the moon and the summer solstice, see WEIDNER, *Handbuch der Babylonischen Astronomie*, 32. Sin is called "Anu of heaven," KING, *Magic*, No. I, 9, and for the connection with silver, see VIROLLEAUD, *Astrologie*, Supplement, V II, *kaspu ilu A-nu hurasû ilu Enlil erû ilu Ea*. Enlil is connected with gold in VIROLLEAUD, *Astrologie*, Second Supplement, XVII 14, and Enlil is not infrequently identified with Shamash, see p. 158, 1-2 and p. 308, 18, and gold is the traditional metal of the sun.

The Greek identification of Zeus, the sky-god, with silver is certainly borrowed from Babylonia; see p. 334.

Description Of Tablets

| NUMBER IN THIS VOLUME | MUSEUM NUMBER | DESCRIPTION |
|-----------------------------|------------------|---|
| 1 | 13856 | Large two column tablet. Unbaked; light brown with dark spots. Top broken away and left lower corner damaged. H. 6-½ inches; W. 4-¼; T. 1-¾ - ¾. Liturgy of the cult of Ishme-Dagan. See pages 245-257. |
| 2 | 11005 | Upper part of a large two column tablet. Unbaked; light brown. Top and left edge of the fragment damaged. H. 3-¾; W. 3-¾; T. 1-½ - ¾. Liturgy of Ishme-Dagan. See pages 258-259. |

- 3 7847 Dark brown unbaked tablet. Right upper corner slightly damaged. Right lower corner broken away. Two columns. H. 8; W. 5- $\frac{1}{4}$; T. 1 - $\frac{1}{2}$. Mythological hymn to Innini. The obverse is translated on pages 260 to 264, but the reverse is too badly damaged to permit an interpretation. The text ends with the line, "Oh praise Innini," the literary note characteristic of epical compositions. The scribe adds a note stating that there are 153 lines. Written by the hand of *Lugal-ĝe-a* ... son of *E-a-i-lù(?)*....
- 4 7878 Light brown fragment from the left upper corner of a large unbaked tablet. H. 3- $\frac{1}{2}$; W. 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ - 1; T. 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ - 1. Duplicate of 7847. This tablet omits the liturgical note, "Oh praise Innini." It has the colophon, "Written by the hand of *Ninurash-mu*..., in the presence of *Nidaba-igi-pa(?)*-...*ĝe-en*."
- 5 15204 Single column, dark brown tablet. Partly baked. Left lower corner broken away. H. 4- $\frac{1}{2}$; W. 2- $\frac{1}{2}$; T. 1- $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$. Psalm to Enlil. See pages 265-268.

- | | | |
|----|------|---|
| 6 | 2154 | Single Column, light brown tablet. Top and left lower corner broken. H. 4- $\frac{1}{4}$; W. 2- $\frac{1}{2}$; T. 1- $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$. Lamentation for Lagash. See pages 268-272. |
| 7 | 8097 | Single column, light brown tablet. Lower edge damaged. H. 4- $\frac{1}{4}$; W. 2- $\frac{1}{4}$; T. $\frac{3}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$. Liturgical hymn to Sin. See pages 276-279. |
| 8 | 346 | Single column, dark unbaked tablet. Damaged at top and bottom. H. 4; W. 2- $\frac{1}{2}$; T. 1-- $\frac{1}{2}$. Bilingual hymn. See plate 86. |
| 9 | 8334 | Single column, light brown tablet, unbaked. Left upper corner and top of reverse damaged. H. 4- $\frac{3}{4}$; W. 2- $\frac{1}{2}$; T. 1- $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$. Hymn to Innini. |
| 10 | 8533 | Upper part of a large two column tablet. Light brown, soft and crumbling. Purchased by the Expedition in 1895, from Abu Hatab. H. 3- $\frac{1}{4}$; W. 5- $\frac{1}{2}$; T. 1- $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$. Hymn to Enlil. |
| 11 | 7080 | Large light brown tablet; five columns; broken perpendicularly at the middle. Isin period. H. 8- $\frac{1}{4}$; W. 4; T. 2. Liturgy to Enlil. Lamentation for the city of Ur. See pages 279-285. |

- 12 6060 Nearly complete tablet; baked. Temple library (IV). Second Exp. Two column tablet; Cas-site period. H. 4; W. 3- $\frac{1}{2}$; T. 1- $\frac{1}{2}$. Cult symbols. See pages 320-342.
- 13 B.M. Upper half of large single column tablet. Light brown, partially baked. H. 7; W. 6; T. 2. Acquired by the British Museum in 1888. Late Babylonian edition of the third tablet of the liturgy *elum didara* to Enlil. See pages 323-329.
- 14 11327 Lower part of a large unbaked tablet, two columns. Right half almost wholly broken away. Myth of the water god Enki. H. 6; W. 6- $\frac{1}{2}$; T. 1- $\frac{3}{4}$. Probably a *zag-sal* hymn.

Index Of Tablets

Tablets in this Volume.

| MUSEUM NUMBER | NUMBER IN THIS VOLUME |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| 346 | 8 |
| 2154 | 6 |
| 6060 | 12 |
| 7080 | 11 |
| 7847 | 3 |
| 7848 | 4 |
| 8097 | 7 |
| 8334 | 9 |
| 8533 | 10 |
| 11005 | 2 |
| 11327 | 14 |
| 13856 | 1 |
| 15204 | 5 |
| B.M. 78239 | 13 |

Other Tablets Translated Or Discussed

Nies 1315, Tablet Virolleaud, 290-308

Poebel, PBS. V No. 26, 272-276

Myhrman, PBS. I No. 5, Radau, BE. 30, No. 2, 285-290

Myhrman, PBS. I No. 8, 309-310

Zimmern, KL. No. 11, 290-308

Zimmern, *Ritual Tafeln*, No. 27, 330-340

Ashmolean Prism, 311-323

Strassmaier, ZA. VI 241-4, 330-333

Reisner, SBH. No. 18, 327-329

Reisner, SBH. No. 21, 292-297

Reisner, SBH. No. 22, 292-295

Reisner, SBH. No. 25, 300-302

[347]

Index To Vol. X

abal, irrigator, 287, 12.

Abbagula (deity), 341, 11.

agubba, vessel, symbol of Ninhabursildu, 336, 1.

Aja (goddess), 305, 14.

Allat (goddess), 306, 20.

am, ^d*Am*, title of Ea, 294.

Ama-šuhālbi, title of mother goddess, 329, 19.

Ama-ušum-gal, title of Tammuz, 304.

Annigarra, temple in Isin, 300, 7.

Anu (god), 261; 264; 281; 282; 295; 297; 302.

Identified with the moon god, 337, 10.

Anunnaki (gods), 247, 2; 262; 317; 340.

Arabu, bird of Enlil, 266.

Aralu, 288, 23.

Aruru (goddess), sister of Enlil, 301.

Ašimur, title of moon god, 277, 17 and 22; 278.

Ašnan (goddess), 289; 305.

Ašširgi (god), 316; 317; 318; 319; 320.

Ašte, temple in Larak, 289, 9.

Azagsud (*ilu*), title of grain goddess, 289, 10; 305, 13.

Babylon (city), 301, 22.

balag-di, choral phrase, 250, 14; 254, 26.

Barsippa (city), 301, 23.

Bau (goddess), 329; 305.

Belit-šêri (goddess), 338.

Bel-šarbe, title of Nergal, 337, 18.

bitumen, symbol of river god, 339.

Canonical liturgies, 237 ff.

censer, symbol of Urashā, 339, 10.

copper, symbol of Ea, 337, 12.

crane, bird symbol of Ninsig, 340.

Damgalnunna (goddess), 294; 296.

Damu, title of Tammuz, 287, 6:14; 306, 28.

date-palm, symbol of Tammuz, 336, 5.

Dilbat (goddess), 337, 16.

Dilmun (ki), 279, 14:19.

dog, seven-headed, 305, 15.

Duazag, sanctuary, 248, 7; 289.

dumu-sag, title of Tašmet, 326, 4:5.

dingir dumu-sag (= Nappasi = Ninmungara) is probably a title of Ninlil, 303, 13. See *ibid.* note 6 and SBP. 150 note 5, line 14.

Ea (god), 336, 6.

E-anna, temple of Ištar in Erech, 275, 20.

E-barra, temple of the sun god, 301.

E-daranna, chapel of Ea in Esagila, 301.

E-dimma, temple, royal chapel in Ekur, 289, 15.

E-durazagga, epithet of Isin, 329, 18.

E-galmah, temple at Isin, 289, 19.

e-gi-a, bride, title of Zarpanit, 326, 3.

E-Ibi-anum, temple in Dilbat, 326.

E-Ibe-šagud, 328.

E-kua, 310, 19.

E-kur, temple of Enlil, 256; 258; 259; 289; 308; 310; 328.

Ekurum (god), 341.

[348]

E-lamma, chapel or temple of Ninlil at Nippur, 300, 6.

el-plant, symbol of Ninā, 336, 8.

E-maha, 294, 27 and note.

E-mahtila, chapel in Ezida, 301.

E-mudkurramu, chapel (?) in Ur (?), 279, 6:10.

E-namtila, chapel of Ekur, 301.

Enanun, title of mother goddess, 289, 7; 304.

Enbul (god), son of Ešabba, 303, 21 = SBP. 15216 and CT. 24,
23, 127.

Var. ^d*A-an-bu-bu*, CT. 24, 6, 33.

Endašurimma, title of Enlil, 302, 4.

En-duazag, title of Enlil, 302.

EN-HAR(ki), 316; 317; 318; 319; 320.

Enki (god), 259, 16; 302; 307; 322.

Enlil (god), 258; 259; 261; 264; 265; 266; 267; 268; 269; 277;
281; 282; 283; 292; 293; 295; 299; 300; 302;
307; 309. As sun god, 308, 18 and 15.

Enlilsī, deified king, 303, 20.

Enmešarra (god), 337, 11; 338, 30.

Enmenšarra, 302.

Enul, title of Enlil, 302.

Enmul, 307.

Enuttilla, title of Enlil, 302.

E-rabriri, temple of sakkut, 329, 21.

Erech (city), 272; 273; 274; 275.

Eridu (city), 259, 16; 299, 31.

E-šabba, temple of Gula in Šuruppak, 288, 6; 303, 21;
^{ilat}Suddam is mother of Ešabba, 306, 32.

See *Suddam*.

E-sagila, temple of Marduk, 301; 326.

E-šagnamsar, temple in Dilmun, 279, 14:19.

E-šamah, temple of Ninurta, 328, 7; see BL. p. 135.

E-šarra, 303, 16.

Ninurta is son of E-šár-ra, BL. No. 9, 8.

Mythological chamber in Ekur, SBP. 221 n. 7.

Ištar weeps for *E-šár-e*, KL., 123, Obv. II 2.

Ešnunak (city), 304, 27.

E-šumera, temple of Ninurta in Nippur, 328, 6; 342, 13.

E-temenanki, stage tower in Babylon, 301.

E-zida, temple of Nebo, 301.

gannu-tur, vessel, symbol of a deity, 336, 3.

gepar, dark chamber, 270, 24; 271; 272.

geštinanna (goddess), 304.

Gibil, firegod, 339, 11; 305, 16.

gidugga, reed, 338, 6.

Girra, firegod, 337, 9.

gišburru, a wood, symbol of firegod, 337, 9.

gisgigal, antiphon, 251, 24; 254, 23; 283, 26; 284, 10.

Gišzida (god), 287, 7.

gold, symbol of sun, 337, 11.

gudede, title of Ninlil, 303, 12.

Gula (goddess), consort of Tammuz, 285.

Gunura, title of mother goddess, 288, 5; 306, 27 = SBP. 160, 13.

Guškinbanda, title of Ea, 305, 9.

gypsum, symbol of Ninurta, 339.

Hallab (city), 275; 276.

Historical poems, 242.

Ibi-Sin, king of Ur, 281.

Id (deity), river god or goddess, 294; 297; 340.

Igibalag (deity), 339, 13.

Immer (god), 260; 262; 306; 339, 7.

[349]

incense, symbol of Negin, 339, 12.

Innini (goddess), 275; 276.

Iriš (god), title of Ninurta, 306, 23 = SBP. 160, 8.

Isin (city), 289. Queen of Isin, 306, 25; 329.

Išme-Dagan, deified king, 243; 245; 257; 258; 239.

Ištar, goddess of Erech, 338, 24;
of Agade, 338, 25.

kagaz, pot, symbol of Ea, 340.

Kenur, chapel of Ninlil in Ekur, 259; 289; 301.

Keš (city), southern and northern Keš, 311;
southern Keš, 315; 316; 319; 267.

Kingaludda, messenger of the Word, 283.

kinsig, a chamber, 248, 7.

Kišegunura, title of Urašā, 302, 2.

kišub, prayer in liturgies, 245; 256; 279; 290; 308.

kušgugalû, hide of an ox, symbol of Nindagud, 339, 15.

Kušu (deity), 339; 341.

Lagash (city), 268; 270.

Larak (city), 328, 16; 289, 9 and 20.

lead, symbol of Ninmah, 337, 13.

Libit-Ištar, deified king, 243.

Liturgical compositions and compilations, 237 ff. 243.

Lugalbanda (god), 304.

Lugalgirra (god), 328, 9.

Lumma (deity), 304.

Mama (god), title of Sin, 269, 8.

Marduk (god), 294; 296; 337; 340.

mašgibilla, burnt offering, symbol of the god Muhra, 340.

mašḥuldubbû, 339.

Maštabba (god), 328. Maštabba-galgal, twin gods, Gemini, 340.

maštakal-plant, symbol of Ea, 336, 6.

metals of planets, 334.

mi-ib-weapon, 264, 22.

Muhra (god), 340; 341, 7.

Musical instruments, 249, 23; 251, 29; 262, 33; 279, 22; 301, 27.

Nanā (goddess), 326, 7.

Nannar, god of new moon, 277.

Son of Enlil, 277, 22; 284, 12; 303; 308, 19; 309, 1; 327.

Nappasi (goddess), 303 n. 6.

Nebo (god), 294; 297; 299.

Negun (god), 339, 12. Firegod, 342.

Nergal (god), 304; 306.

Nigin marra, title of mother goddess, 289, 8; 328, 15.

nigkalalagû, kettle drum, symbol of Nergal, 339, 14.

- Ninā (goddess), 270; 336.
- Ninazu (god), title of Nergal, 272, 47.
- Nindagud (god), 339, 15; 304.
- Nindašurimma, mother name of Enlil, 302.
- Nin-duazag, mother name of Enlil, 302.
- Ningal (goddess), 303.
- Ningišzida (god), 306, 20.
- Ninhabursildu (goddess), 336, 2.
- Ninharsag (goddess), 272; 302; 318; 320.
- Ninkarnunna (goddess), 304, 4.
- Ninki, mother name of Enlil, 302; 307.
- Ninliga (goddess), 272.
- Ninlil (goddess), 258; 259; 261; 267; 302; 337; 338.
- Ninmah (goddess), 337.
- [350] Ninmar(ki), goddess of, 269, 5.
- Ninsar, title of Nergal, 339, 14.
- Ninsig, title of Ea as god of metallurgy, 340, 28; 305, 9.
- Ninsun (goddess), 304.
- Nintud (goddess), 316; 318; 320; 321.
- Ninul, Nimul, mother names of Enlil, 302; 307.

Ninurašā (god), 256; 336; 337; 338; 339.

Ninurra, title of Ea, 340.

Ninzianna, title of Ninlil, 302, 8.

Nippur (city), 248; 259; 266; 268; 295.

Nunammir, title of Enlil, 258, 5.

Nusku, firegod, 337, 20; 303, 328.

Opis (city). Northern and southern Opis, 311.
See Keš.

Papsukkal (god), 337, 21.

Papilsag, god of Larak, 306.

Queen of heaven, 304.

Ramman (god), 338.

Sadarnunna, consort of Nusku, 303, 15; SBP. 152 note 1.

sagar, liturgical rubric, 277, 16; 279.

Sakkut (god), 341, 8.

Sakkutmah, 329, 21.

See also 337, 19; 338, 22.

šalālu, plant, symbol of Ninurta, 336, 7.

Šamaš (god), 305, 14.

šarur-weapon, 274, 18.

šattam, religious title, 274.

Šentur, title of Ninlil, 303, 10.

Šerah (god), Semitic title of Serpent-god as patron of
vegetation, 303, 16 = SBP. 152, 10.

seven gods, 338, 29; 303, 10.

seven-headed weapon, 340.

Silakki (god), 341.

silver, metal of Anu, i. e., moon god, 337, 10.

šimli, cypress, symbol of Adad, 339, 7.

šimšal-wood, symbol of a deity, 338, 5.

šimzu, an aromant, symbol of Ninurta, 339, 9.

Sin (god), 263; 277; 279.

Single song services, 240.

šipatu, wool, symbol of Labartu, 339.

Sippar(ki), 301, 21.

Sirar(ki), 270.

Suddam, title of Gula, 306, 32 = SBP. 160, 18.

For this title of Gula of Šuruppak, see p. 177 n. 4 in part 2 of
this volume. Usually a title of Aja or Ishtar as
deities of light. Since^d Sukurru or Gula of
Šuruppak is the same as *Suddam* mother of
Ešabba, the temple Ešabba must be located in
Šuruppak.

Šulpae, title of Enlil, 303; 320.

šumer, 259; 283.

Šunirda, title of the goddess Aja, 304.

Šuruppak (city), 277, 20; 278, 25.

Symbols of deities, 336 ff.

tallu, part of a door, 275, 20.

tammarisk, symbol of Anu, 336, 4.

Tammuz (god), 270; Hymn of, 285; 336, 5.

tirazagga, sacred grove, 289, 17.

Titular litanies, 236; 302 ff.

Ubšukkinna, hall of assembly, 247, 3.

Uddagubba, messenger of the Word, 283.

udutila, symbol of Girra, 340, 19.

[351]

Ur (city), 277; 278; 279; 282; 284.

Ungal (god), 340; cf. 306, 31.

Urašā (god), 326; 258, 6; 260; 302, 2.

Ur-Engur, cult hymn of, 243.

Urumaš (god), 320.

urusagga, chief city, title of Isin, 289, 16; 306, 24.

Utta-edde (god), 305, 17 = SBP. 158, 4.

Weeping mother, 265; 280.

Word, 261, 28; 262, 29; 284; 294; 299; 308, 22; 315.

Hymn to the Word, 283.

zagsal, rubric, 233 ff.; 276, 37.

Zarpanit (goddess), 294; 296; 297.

Zeus Dolichaeos, 334. His connection with silver borrowed
from Babylonia, 342.

Zir (goddess), wife of Nannar, 303.

Zu (god), the eagle as symbol of the sun, 340, 29.

Autographed Texts

Plate LXXI. 1. Obverse. Col. 1.

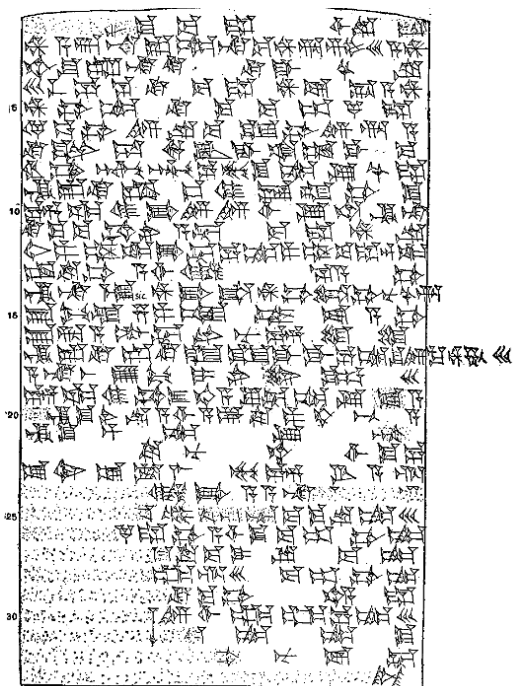


Plate LXXII. 1. Obverse. Col. 2.

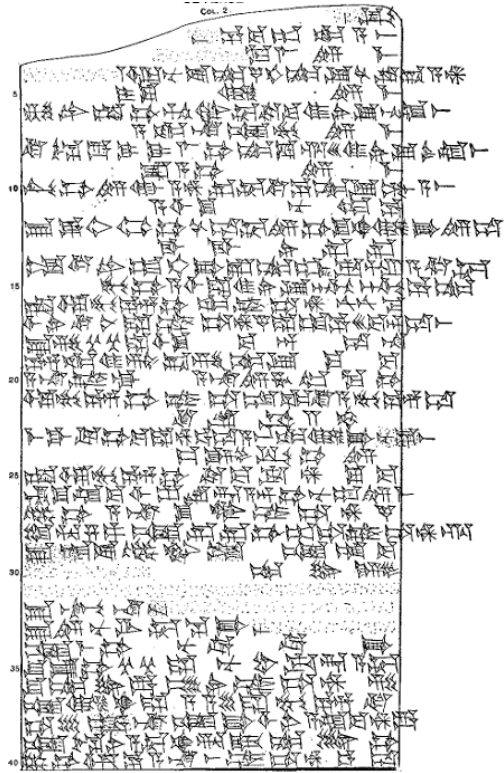


Plate LXXIII. 1. Reverse. Col. 1.

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 三十三
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 三十五
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Plate LXXIV. 1. Reverse. Col. 2.

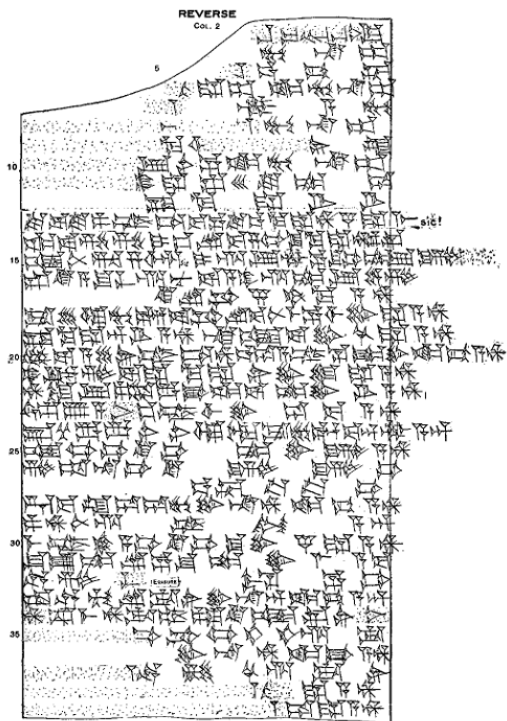
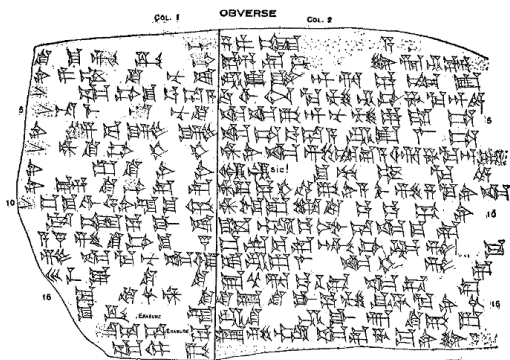


Plate LXXV. 2. Obverse.



2. Reverse.

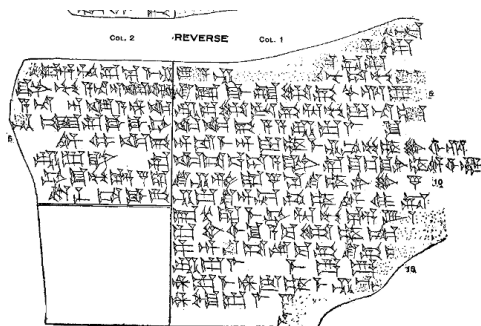


Plate LXXVI. 3. Obverse. Col. 1 Initial.

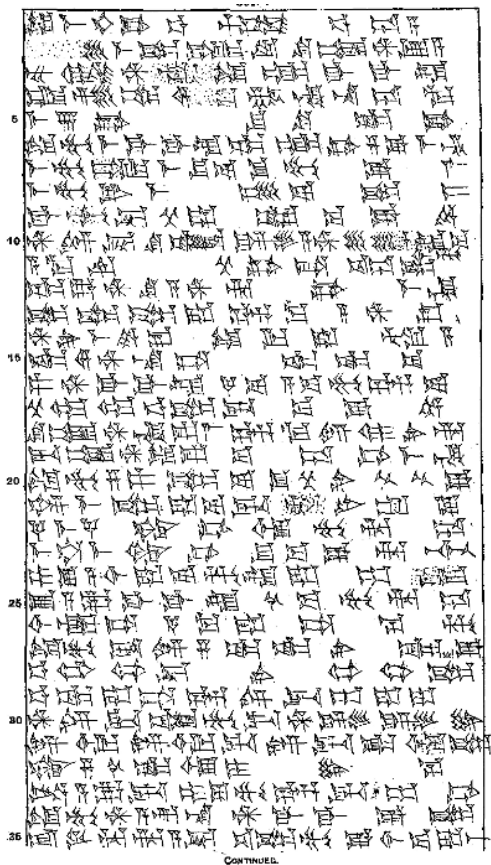
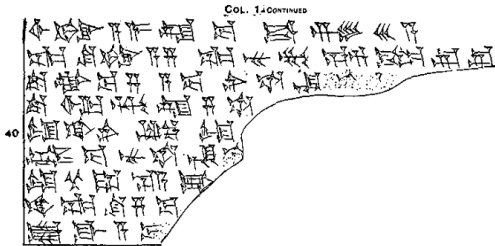


Plate LXXVII. 3. Obverse. Col. 1 Continued.



3. Obverse. Col. 2 Initial.

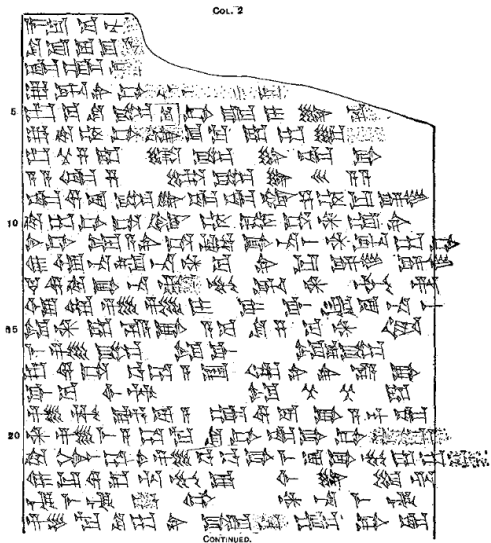
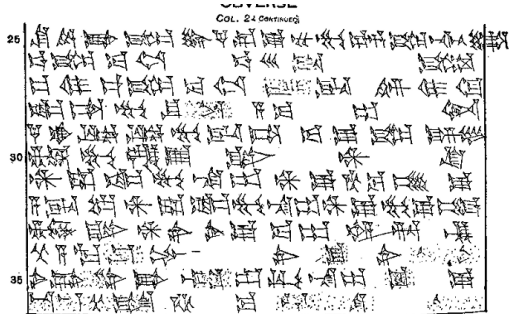


Plate LXXVIII. 3. Obverse. Col. 2 Continued.



3. Reverse. Col. 1 Initial.

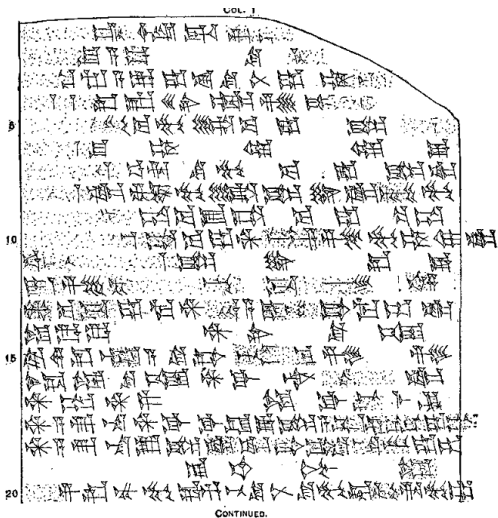
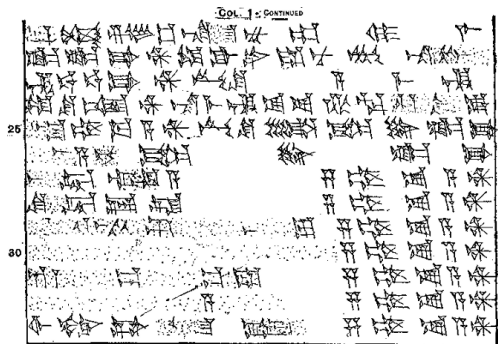


Plate LXXIX. 3. Reverse. Col. 1 Continued.



3. Reverse. Col. 2 Initial.

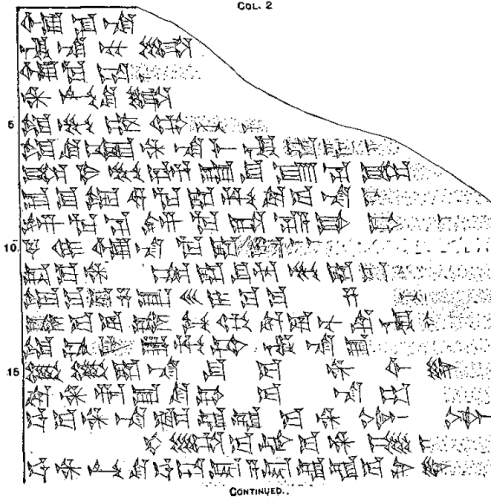
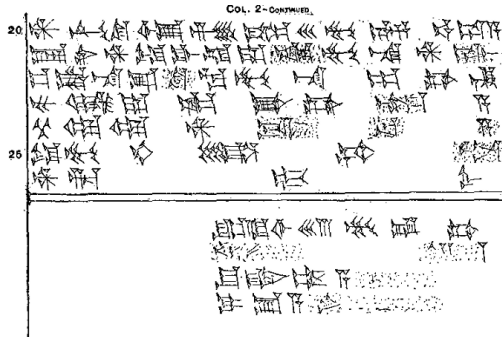


Plate LXXX. 3. Reverse. Col. 2 Continued.



4. Obverse.



4. Reverse.

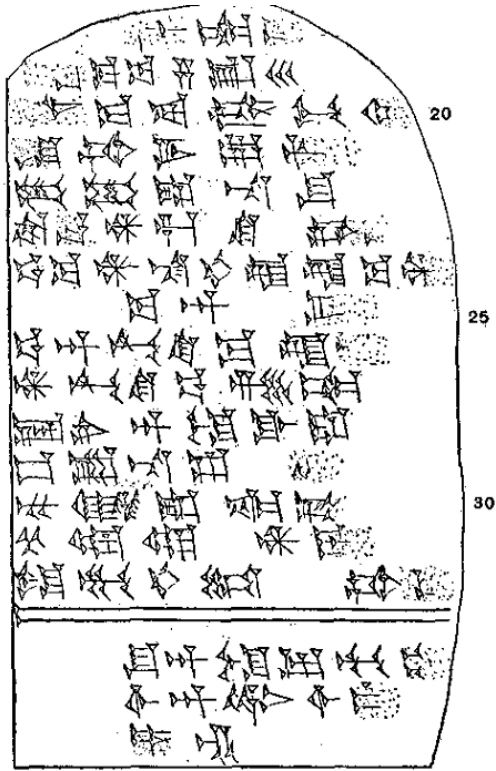


Plate LXXXI. 5. Obverse.

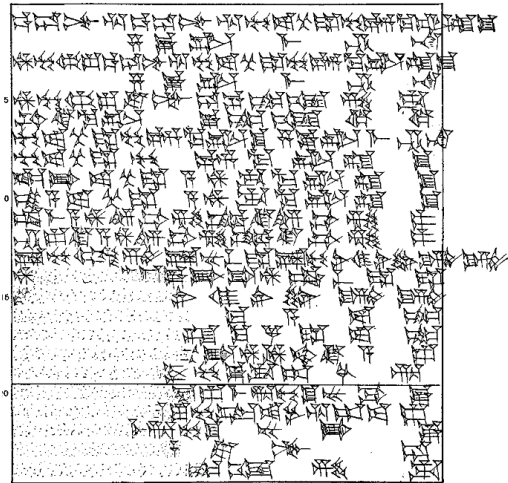


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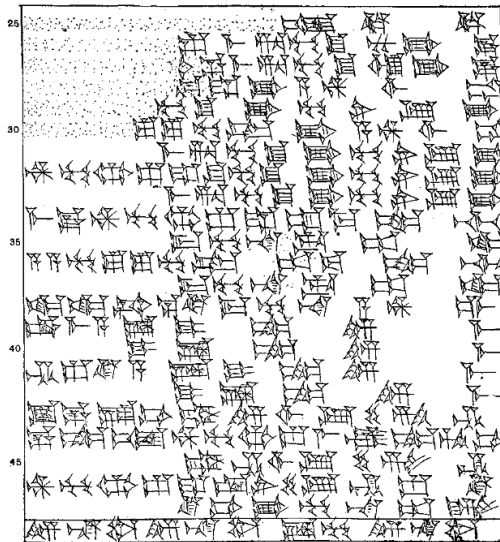


Plate LXXXIII. 6. Obverse.

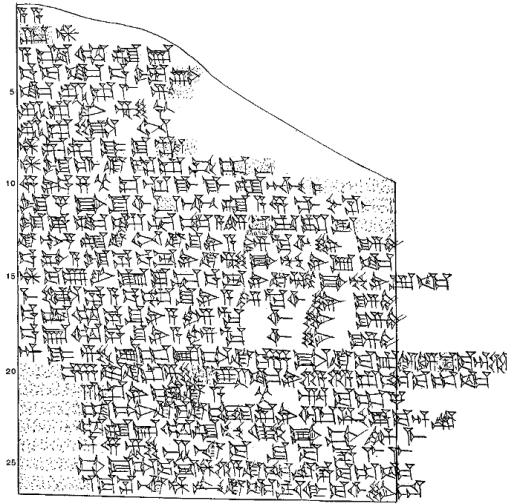


Plate LXXXIV. 6. Reverse.

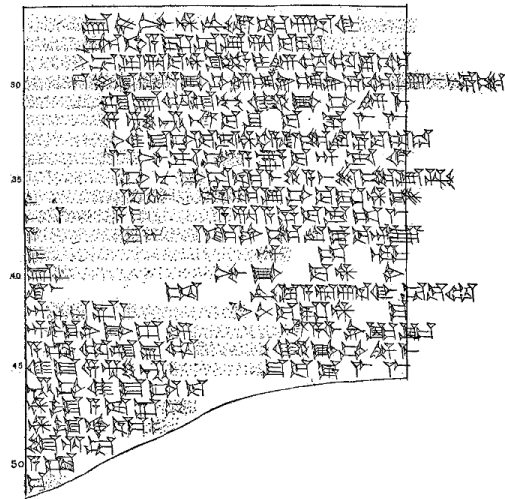
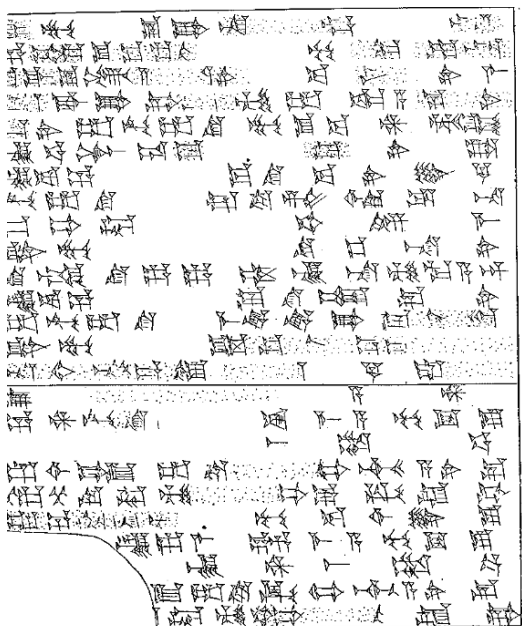


Plate LXXXV. 7. Obverse.



7. Reverse.

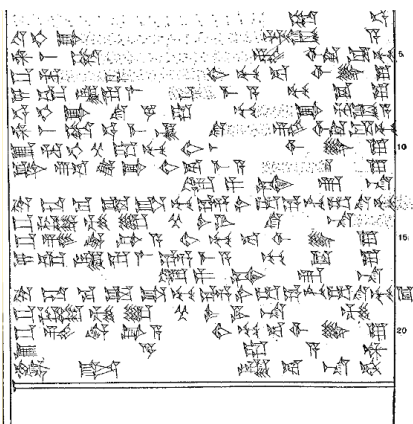
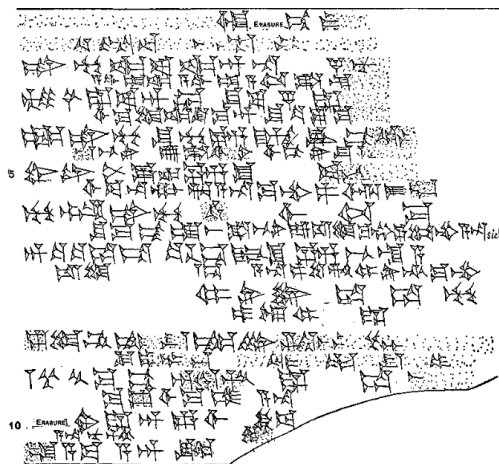


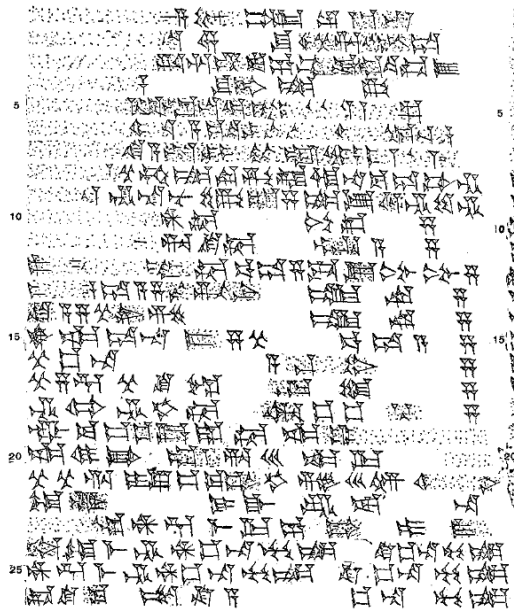
Plate LXXXVI. 8. Obverse.



8. Reverse.



Plate LXXXVII. 9. Obverse.



9. Reverse.

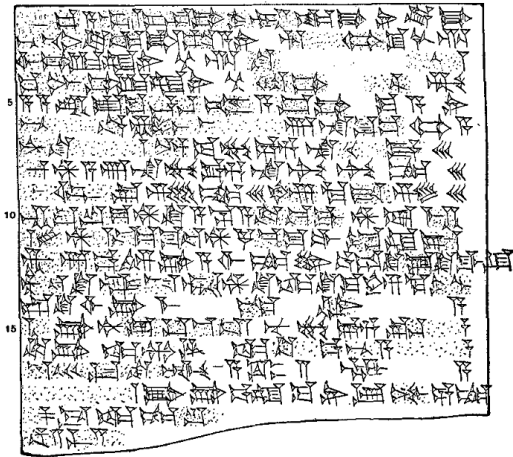
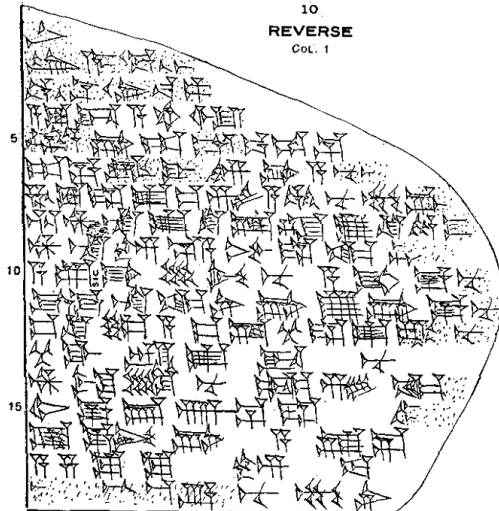


Plate LXXXIX. 10. Reverse. Col. 1.



10. Reverse. Col. 2.

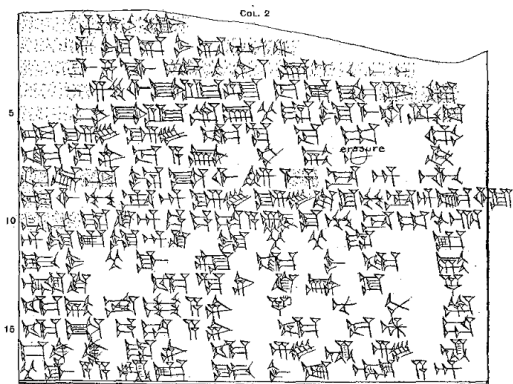


Plate XC. 11. Obverse. Col. 3 Initial.

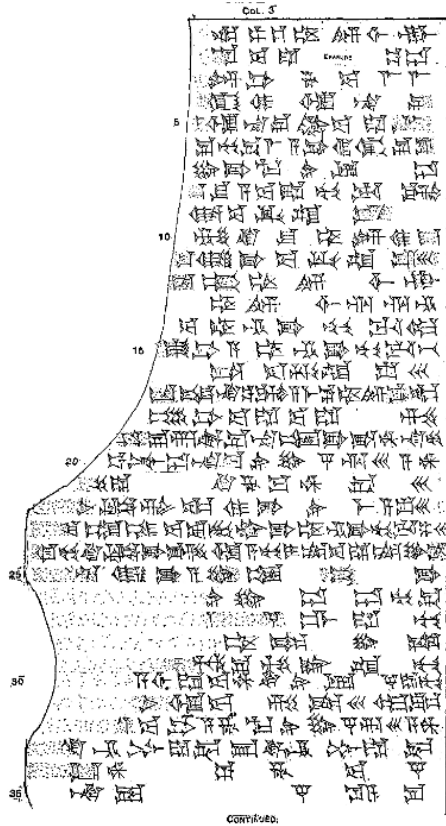


Plate XCI. 11. Obverse. Col. 3 Continued.

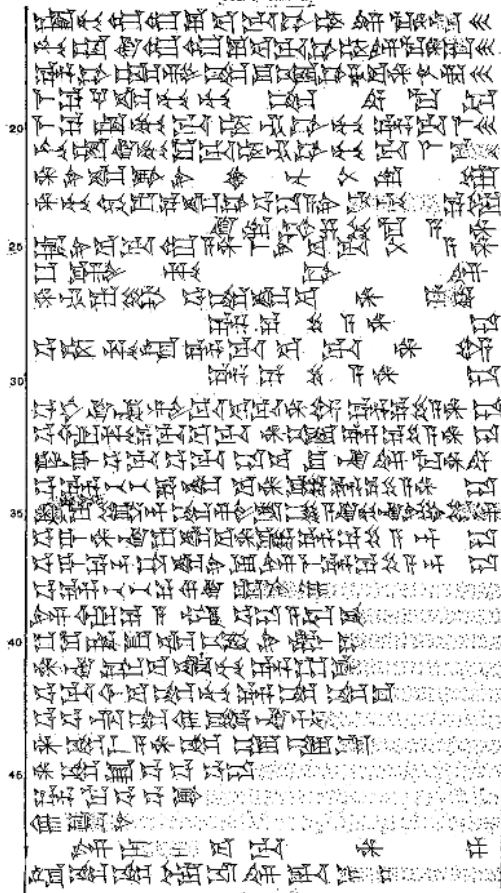
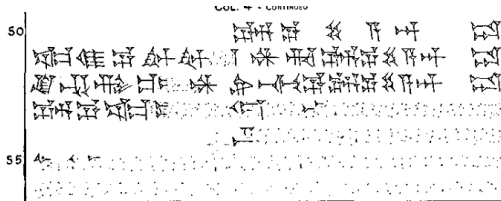
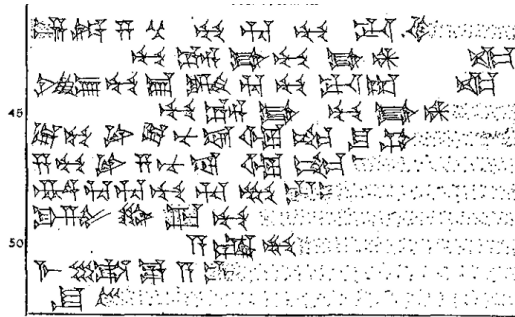


Plate XCIII. 11. Obverse. Col. 4 Final.



11. Obverse. Col. 5 Initial.



11. Reverse. Col. 2 Initial.

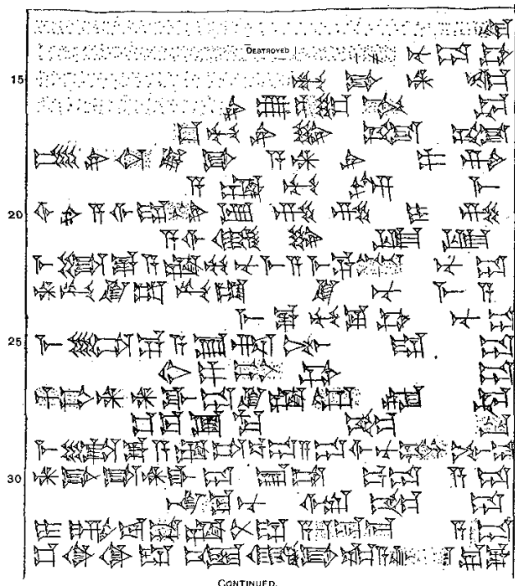


Plate XCVII. 11. Reverse. Col. 2 Continued.

COL. 2 - CONTINUED

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11. Reverse. Col. 3. Initial.

20

25

CONTINUED.

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Plate XCVIII. 11. Col. 3 Continued.

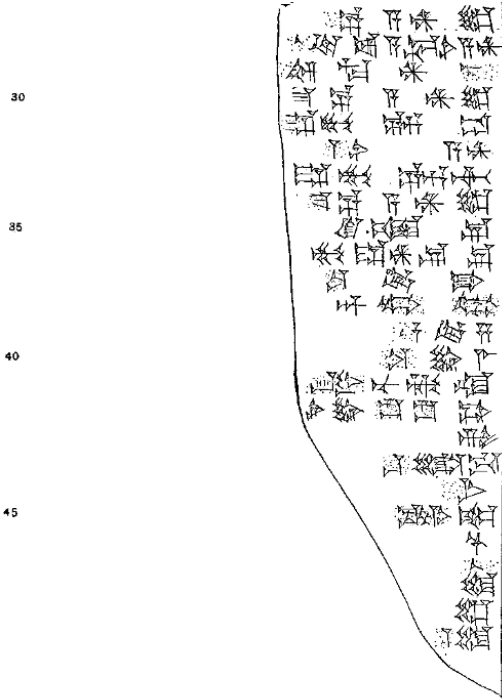


Plate XCIX. 12. Obverse. Cols. 1 and 2.

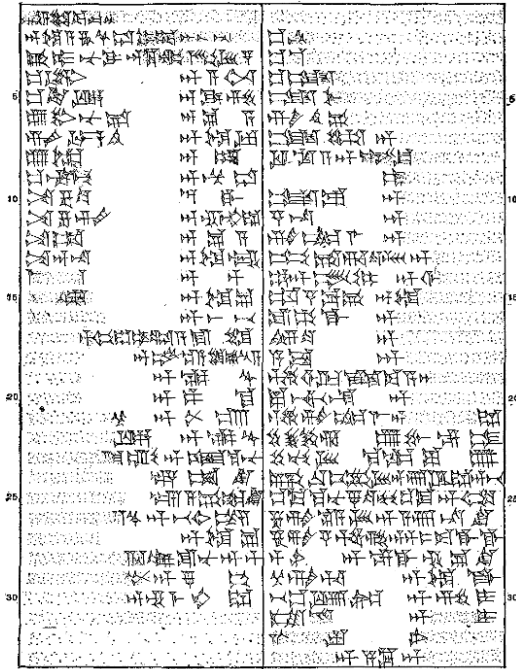


Plate C. 12. Reverse. Cols. 1 and 2.

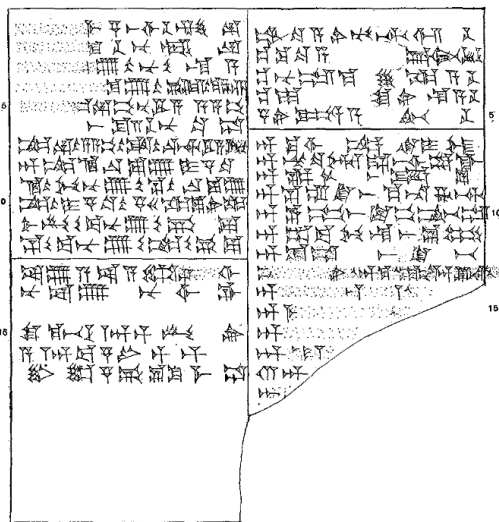


Plate CI. 13. Obverse.

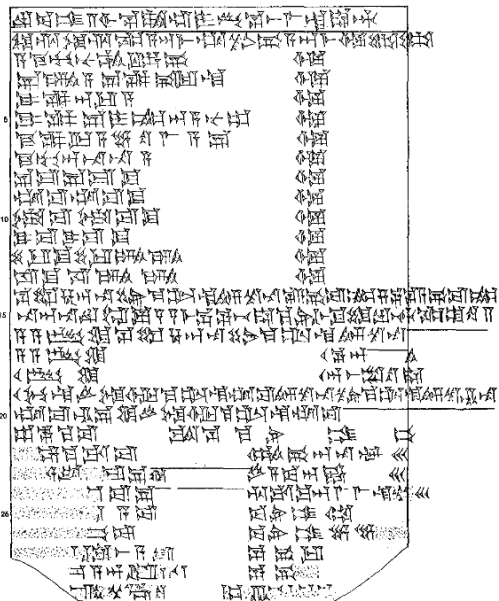


Plate CII. 13. Reverse.

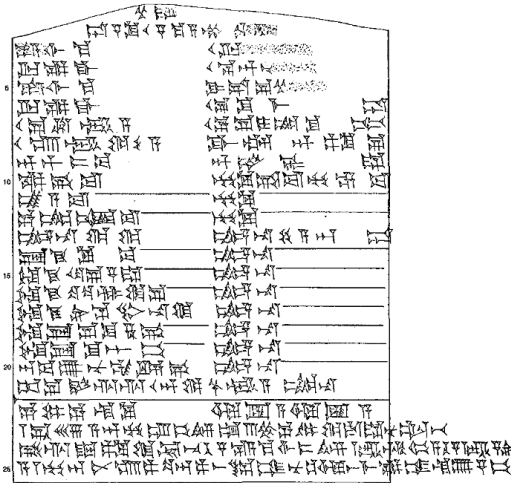


Plate CIII. 14. Obverse. Col. 1

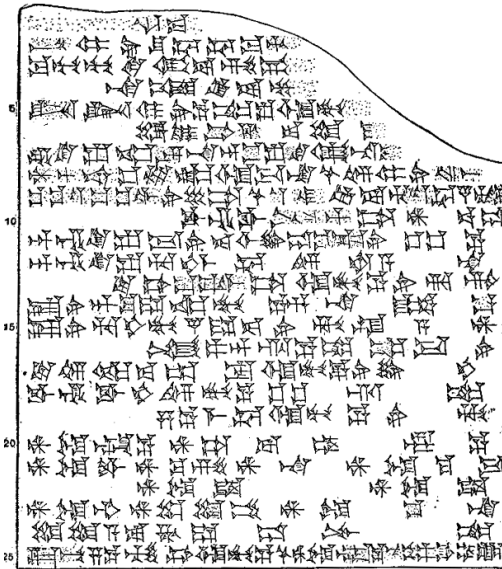
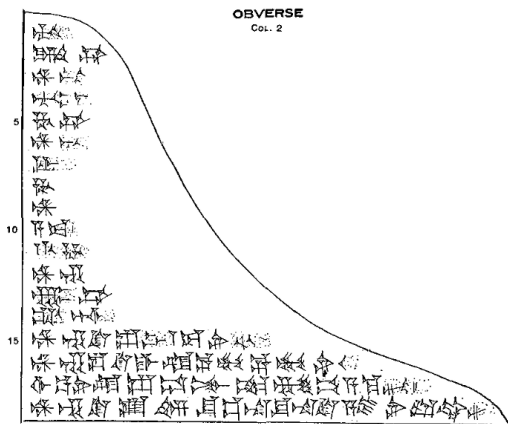


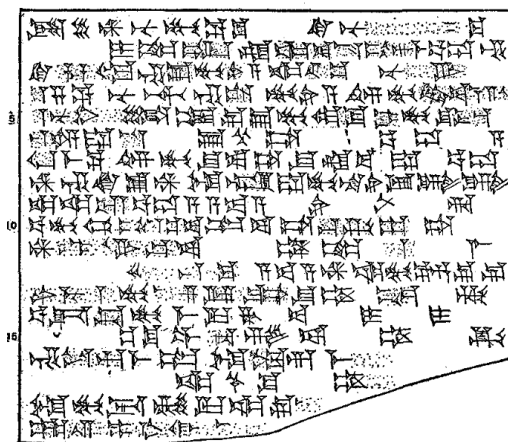
Plate CIV. 14. Obverse. Col. 2.



14. Reverse. Col. 1.



Plate CV. 14. Reverse. Col. 2.



Footnotes

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