BABYLONIAN LITURGIES

SUMERIAN TEXTS FROM THE EARLY PERIOD

AND FROM THE LIBRARY OF ASHURBANIPAL, FOR THE MOST PART

TRANSLITERATED AND TRANSLATED, WITH INTRODUCTION

AND INDEX

 $\mathbf{B} \mathbf{Y}$

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

^{1.} Sumerian and Babylonian Psälms (París, 1909).

^{2.} Radau, Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts in the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume (1909). The same, Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to God Ninib (1911), which were partly interpreted by Radau in his Ninib the Determiner of Fates (1910). Myhrman, Babylonian Hymns and Prayers (1910). Fragment of a Nippurian Liturgy, Babyloniaca III 241-249 and a fragment ibid., 79-80, a duplicate of Radau, Miscel. No. 6.

^{3.} François Thureau-Dangin, Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello, Chapter IV, AO.4327, 4328, 4329, 4330, 4331, 4334, 4336 and several small fragments, one with a library note, uś-ri-śú ba-ba-sá-e-sá, 4316.

^{4.} Zimmern, Sumerische Kultlieder; Fragments d'Hymnes à Šamaš, Babyloniaca III 74-78 (v. Zim. No. 73).

^{5.} Scheil, Revue d'Assyriologie VIII 161-169, duplicate of Zim. 2 I 1-III 21. Scheil's, text is of an earlier period than Zim. no. 2 and probably belonged originally to the collection sold to the British Museum from some collection pillaged from Nippur and published in Cuneiform Texts XV 7-30.

three texts probably come from the earlier excavations of Nippur¹. I venture to assign those texts, which have found their way to the Royal Scottish Museum², to the same source as those published by Professor Zimmern.

It is perhaps possible on the basis of the numerous texts and critical editions which we now possess to write a preliminary history of Babylonian public worship. In this department of their religious literature the Semites adhered, even more closely than in their services for private penance and magic rituals, to the ancient Sumerian literary forms and especially to the Sumerian language. In the whole range of Sumero-Babylonian public worship extending from the era of Sargon of Akkad, (2800 BC, 3) to the first century BC., we have no Semitic text which is known to have been chanted in the temples. Most of them have not even an interlinear Semitic translation. This custom of regularly supplying the temple liturgies with an interlinear version must have arisen after the period of the first Babylonian dynasty (2232-1929), for none of the texts before or during this period show much tendency in this direction. Sporadic attempts of this kind are found in Nippur texts from the age of the Isin dynasty 1, and we know from other sources that attempts were being made in that period to teach Sumerian by drawing up selections of standard texts supplied with a Semitic translation placed opposite on the right, not under the line as in connected religious texts 5. It is impossible to determine the exact period in which the scribes felt compelled to supply the liturgies with a version in the vernacular. Perhaps the Assyrian scribes who copied these texts in the Babylonian temples for use in Assyria, themselves took the initiative in this matter. We may not, however, be far from the truth in suggesting that the Babylonians of the Cassite period first began editing their long liturgies with a Semitic interlinear version, and

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

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

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

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

^{5.} Myhrman, op. cit. No. 11. But AO. 4332, NFT. p. 212 appears to be a real interlinear bilingual, certainly older than Myhrman 11.

we shall find reason to assume that about this time the great public services achieved their final form.

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

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

kalû
gala = kalû
psalmi**s**t

2. VAB.I 50 X 22-30.

^{4.} UŚ-KU, Semitic kalû, v. SBP. VIII; DP. 132 VI 1, the grand kalû of Ninā(ki); TSA. 2 rev. I 9, of Girsu; DP. 87 II 6, the little kalû. According to a syllabar, Hrozný, ZA. 19,368 the Sumerian for this ideogram is gala in which case the word is connected with the word kal, loan-word kallu, male, attendant. Cf. kal-la-ku sîru, "thy mighty servant", VAB. IV 360,32. The pronunciation gala is confirmed by K. 3228, cited by Bezold in ZA. 15,423, UŚ-KU-mah = gal-ma-hu. The Semitic kalû translates this and a large number of other Sumerian words for psalmist. The gala of Shirpula is distinguished from the gala dingira or "psalmist of god", VAB.I 52, 27 and 30. See Genouillac TSA.LIX. But another fragment published by King in ZA. 25,302 has [...]-ga-al; King suggests gaggal. In any case the Sumerian word gala represents an appocopated form. Cf. also ZA. 27,236.

^{3.} Gudea, St. B, V 3. I am inclined to translate balag by "lyre", owing to the shape of the ancient ideogram and the Amharic bagana, lyre with ten strings; the Syriac pelaggā "drum", appears to be derived from this word (See Sum. Gram. 20). Heuzev in the Revue d'Assyriologie, 9, 85 ff. has shown that the drum and the lyre are the two most important musical instruments of primitive music and he has given several bas-reliefs showing the drum and the lyre carried in a procession by psalmists. In some mysterious way the names became confused and balag then came to mean drum or tambourine, the most popular of all instruments. I am unable to determine the period in which this confusion arose; balag is proven to mean "lyre" by the fact that its voice was said to be like a bull, SBH. 92 a 18, Gud. Cyl. 28,17, and a bas-relief of a lyre has a bull upon its frame, RA. 9,89.

written with another ideogram 1 so that we infer that these temple singers were not consecrated priests, at least not in the early period. But the ideogram first employed to designate "psalmist" probably describes him as a man in the temple service who chants songs to appease the gods. In fact we shall find that public temple services originated from the desire to pacify the gods whose anger manifests itself in causing all human woes. In the evolution of these services certain mournful refrains recur, among them especially the words addressed to the gods, "how long until thy heart is at rest?" A particularly mournful litany to Enlil has the line, "The psalmist speaks no more 'how long until thy heart'?" The psalmist is departed with sighings "2. And another passage describes in even more sad lines some national calamity:—

"Oh temple thy skilled singer is not present, thy fate who decrees?

The psalmist who knows the song is not present, thy fate on the drum he chants not.

He that knows to twang the lyre is not present, thy fate he sings not "4. Although the lyre balaggu, is the most prominent of the psalmist's instruments yet the drum and tambourine are equally ancient 5, and the flute, if not primitive, in any case is very ancient. A litany to the sun-god contains a passage most instructive in this regard:—

"Unto the temple of god upon a lyre let us bring a song of adoration.

The liturgists a melody shall sing.

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

^{2.} SBP. 240, 31, 37.

^{3.} mulu here translated by $m\hat{u}d\hat{u}$, "knower", but the word designates a kind of psalmist, v. p. xxiv.

^{4.} BL. 32, 28-33. See also Frank, Studien zur Babylonischen Religion, p. 95.

^{5.} The name for the drum I suppose to be uppu. See p. xxxII.

The liturgists a melody of lordly praise shall sing.

The liturgists a melody to the lyre shall sing.

To the sacred drum and the sacred tambourine shall sing.

To the double flute and manzu 1 (an holy chant) they shall sing "2.

These liturgists and musicians had exclusive control of the public temple services and their occupation became synonymous with sacred choral literature ³. An Assyrian scribe who copied these ancient Sumero-Babylonian temple services for the Ninevite library says of them that they are "The wisdom of Ea, the psalmist's art, the treasure of wisdom, which are designed to pacify the hearts of the great gods." ⁴.

The psalmists were charged apparently with singing the official liturgies in whatever kind of service they were required. As far as our present evidence goes we are confirmed in the opinion that the temple liturgies and psalms could be sung only by the psalmists. Although they do not appear to have been consecrated priests nor like the asipu and sangu priests to have had any authority to exercise the mysteries and touch the sacramental objects, yet in matters connected with the sacred choral literature their authority must have been supreme. The Babylonians clearly regarded these public services as possessing sacrimonial purity, to be chanted only by those who were properly commissioned for this purpose. Confirmation of this opinion is found in the ritual for dedicating the foundation of a temple. The magic ritual of preparation and consecration performed by the consecrated priests is attended by the chanting of psalms and liturgies by the psalmists 5. The official liturgist (kalû) is accompanied by a professional singer $(n\bar{a}ru)$. The ritual directs the psalmists to preface the magic ritual by a psalm 6. Later in the service he sings to the flute to the gods Ea, Shamash and Marduk. He is then required to chant one of the long temple series called "The sacred temple. itself laments" 7. This passage proves that the long temple chants could be employed on occasions not connected with the daily or regular services, but it also shows that the same could not be utilised in the

^{1.} An instrument, see p. XXXIII.

^{2.} SBP. 68, 5-70, 15.

^{3.} The great catalogue of first lines of temple litanies and hymns ends with the note, "Tablet of the first lines of series of psalmody", IVR. 53 IV 30.

^{4.} SBP, 176,27 f.

^{5.} Weissbach, Miscellen 32 and pl. 12.

^{6.} A-IGI here probably means an er-sag-tug-mal or psalm of intercession.

^{7.} é-zi-da....ni-bi-šú er-im-šéš-šéš, a title which occurs among the series to the lyre, IVR, 53 II 12.

consecration of buildings without the presence of the official liturgists ¹. The ritual of dedication closes with the recitation of a section of an epic or heroic song, "When Anu created the heavens", a Semitic composition which formed no part of the Sumerian liturgical corpus. I venture the opinion that this secular and profane hymn was sung by everybody present. We shall find that the liturgies originated for the most part in ancient lamentations over the ruin of cities at the hands of foes. Since the ritual just discussed concerns the rebuilding of a ruined temple, it is wholly natural to expect that the rededication should include a liturgy which portrayed its ruin.

Psalmists in other professions In the early period the psalmists must have occupied a menial position in society for a contract of the pre-Sargonic period concerns the sale of a poor man's son who was a temple psalmist? On the other hand we meet with members of this profession who were engaged in ordinary business. The same may be said of their status in the Sargonic period 4, as well as under the dynasty of Ur 5, where they engage in trade and even enter the legal profession. They are paid the same wages as an ordinary temple servant 6 and are designated in the temple accounts as menials

^{1.} Schrank, Babylonische Sühnriten 90-92 and Frank, op. cit. 98, have also discussed this text. These authors do not properly distinguish between the consecrated priests asipu and the psalmists kalû. That the asipu priest alone conducted the magical rites at a dedication is clear from VAB.IV 62,40 ina sibir asipûtu, "By the art of the asipu priests (I cleansed that spot)". See also 146,47; 220, 52. Behrens, Assyrisch-Babylonische Briefe 11 and 51 also ranks the kalû among the consecrated priests of magic because he is mentioned with the masmasu a priest of incantations; Harper, Letters IV 361 rev. 9 and amel kalî sa annaka amel mas-mas issi-su aptiķid têmu assakansu muk 6 ûmê uḥir (?) takpirtam dat (?) annê tušetaķa, "I entrusted the matter to a psalmist who is here (there is a magician with him) and I advised him as follows, 'Six days wait (?) and the rites of atonement carry out in this way ". This text makes it all the more evident that the kalû could not perform the mysteries but needed one of the magicians to assist him. Unfortunately our text does not tell us what kind of service is intended.

^{2.} RTC. 17 translated in ZA. 25,212.

^{3.} DP. 99 rev. I, Henša an inferior $kal\hat{u}$ is one of the mule-herds of the temple estate; see also 100 rev. I.

^{4.} RTC. 110 obv. 5, a pot of beer received from an inferior kalû.

^{5.} A psalmist is a public notary or conveyancer (maskim) in a lawsuit, RTC. 292, reign of Bur-Sin.

^{6.} REISNER, TU. 139 I 10.

(kallu) ¹. Since in the Sumerian period we meet with at least three ranks of psalmists, viz. the superior, the ordinary and the inferior gala, we may surmise that the ordinary and inferior members of this profession helped with the temple liturgies only when they were needed, and drew so small a salary that they were forced to pursue the ordinary professions. On the other hand the superior or chief psalmist ² evidently held a permanent and superior position which entitled him to a considerable income. He is never mentioned among ordinary temple servants ³. On the contrary we find his salary entered among those of the highest officials of the city ⁴. In the period of the first dynasty a galmahu in charge of the temple services of the goddess Annunit of Sippar is mentioned as giving information concerning a priest of another rank (sangu) ⁵.

galmahu

Female psalmists are also mentioned, whence we may suppose that the choral services were arranged for male and female voices which took those parts, base, tenor, alto and soprano, to which they were adapted, but we know too little of Babylonian music to speak with assurance on this point ⁶. Terracotta figurines of women singers have been found from the period of Gudea, where they are represented holding a tambourine upon the breast ⁷. In a bas-relief of this period which represents two musicians beating a huge drum at least one of the figures appears to be a woman ⁸. A fragment of an ivory bowl of the Assyrian period represents a procession of musicians ⁹, one playing a double flute, one a tambourine and a third a lyre or zither. The lyre or zither of a fourth person can still be discerned ¹⁶. The berson who

Female psalmists

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

plays the tambourine is clearly a woman.

^{1.} See especially RTC. 425, twelve kal gala, menials, psalmists. For the early period RTC. 52 obv. III.

^{2.} $U\dot{S}$ -KU-mah = gal-ma-hu, v. page vII.

^{3.} In DP. 132 VI Lugal-ga-éš-e pays the support of the superior psalmist of the city Ninā; ibid X Ninanda supports the superior psalmist of Girsu.

^{4.} Genouillac, TSA. 2 rev. I 9; 2 obv. II 11.

^{5.} King, Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi III 147, 5 and rev. 6.

^{6.} For female gala v. CT. I 9 col. I 13.

^{7.} Découvertes en Chaldée (DE SARZEC AND HEUZEY), pl. 39 figure 5 and page 254.

^{8.} RA. 9 pl. III.

^{9.} Only three figures are preserved.

^{40.} Preserved in the British Museum; reproduced by Hunger in Altorientalische Kultur im Bilde, pl. 80, No. 159 after photograph by Mansel.

^{11.} zamāru, SBP. 68,8.

to the lyre, drum, etc., we might suppose that they confined their activity to playing the instruments, while the singing was reserved for another class of temple servants whose profession we shall presently discuss ¹. But we have every reason to suppose that the psalmists not only played the instruments but assisted also in singing. It will be seen, however, that the instrumental music formed the primitive and essential part of their profession. It is, I believe, highly probable that in a full temple service the singing was done by a class who evidently occupied an inferior position.

The king had psalmists in his own employ, but since they sang only the accepted official words and music employed in the temple I suppose that the king's psalmists conducted the service in a royal chapel ².

Psalmists as scribes

The guilds of psalmists became in the latter days of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires a learned community, a kind of college which studied and edited the official liturgical literature. They appear to have interested themselves in astronomy also, for an astrological report of the Assyrian period is signed by Bêl-šum-iškun the kalū, BM. 83-1-18, 232, Thompson, Astrological Reports 235 A. The Royal Museum of Berlin possesses a considerable portion of a great liturgical library edited by a guild of psalmists at Babylon who wrote in the second and first centuries before our era. These learned liturgists, Bêlapaliddin, Ilišu-zer-ibni and the son of the former Ea-balatsu-ikbi, belong to a guild founded by their ancestor Sinibni whose date cannot be determined 3. They call themselves "inferior psalmists." of Marduk, whence we may suppose that all grades of this priesthood had long since been elevated to permanent positions in the temple. In each case the editor says that he copied and collated the tablets belonging to his father; the custom had apparently arisen of transmitting both office and sacred books from father to son in the priesthood.

Consecration of the bull as patron of psalmody An interesting text copied by an Assyrian scribe at Babylon describes a ritual by which a bull, symbol of the lyre, was consecrated in the college hall of the psalmists. We have already noted 5 that the Sumerians of the classical age compared the sound of the lyre, the chief instrument of psalmody, to the bellowing of a bull. It seems, therefore, that this animal became symbolic of music and that an image of a bull was placed in the cloister where the liturgists lived. Our text has the library note, "When thou bringest the bull into the house of the college, this is the ritual

^{1.} nāru, v. page xxvii.

^{2.} See Reisner, TU. 287.

^{3.} See Reisner, SBH. XIII f.

^{4.} galu-tūr, see e.g., SBP. 60,20; SBH. 34,14.

^{5.} Page vii, n. 3.

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

The ritual begins by directing that figures of the seven sons of Enmešarra ² should be made with a kind of dough or paste made of meal³. Enmešarra an ancient deity of the underworld had been identified with the constellation Taurus, and for this reason he and his seven sons, the Pleiades, are invoked as protectors of the lyre and the college of musicians. Bronze figurines of twelve ⁴ gods are put into a bronze tambourine. A priest then holds ⁵ the tambourine containing these twelve ⁶ bronze figures and recites the following hymn:—

- 8. gud-gal gud-mah ú ki-us azagga 7
- 8. "Great bull, mighty bull, that treads the shining pasture,
- 9. gū-gal-lum gu-maḥ-ḥu ka-bi-is ri-te elli-tim
- 10. sag-du 8 dib-dib-a he-gal dagal-la
- 10. That roams in the meadows, bestowing plenty in mercy,

^{1.} IVR. 23 No. 1 rev. II 25 f.

^{2.} These seven gods, sons of Enmešarra a title of Enlil, are partially preserved in CT. 24,4.29-35. Enmešarra is an under-world deity closely related to Nergal. He appears to have been identified with the sign of the zodiac Taurus at a time when the sun in mid-winter stood in that sign and in the powers of the lower world, consequently his seven sons were identified with the seven Pleiades which lie in the region of Taurus. Note that wailings in Tebet (December) are held for Enmešarra, ZA.6,243, 36, in the Neo-Babylonian period when the sun no longer stood in Taurus in December. At least three of the sons of Enmešarra, as well as this god himself, are patrons of foundations, since as gods of the underworld foundations would naturally be in their protection. Cf. ZIMMERN in ZA.23,365.

^{3.} zid-dub-dub-bu a kind of meal.

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

^{5.} te-kîl for tukîl (?), on analogy of likîl for lukîl (?), cf. Landersdorfer, Althaby-lonische Privathriefe 128.

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

^{7.} The Sumerian is not correct. Read ú-azag ki-uš.

^{8. \$}ag = 'flood' and du, 'flow', "where the floods flow", irrigated meadows; ef. \$ag-na mu-un-di-di, "its flood she causes to flow", said of a canal, PSBA. 1911, 86,24. \$ag-tûm-ma in RADAU BE.29, No. 5, rev. 9 is obscure. Perhaps not this word. Note the Arabic جريب, ġarīb, river, field, etc. The original meaning is perhaps "irrigated land".

- 11. ib-ta- 'kir-bi-ti mu-rim he-gál-li
- 12. d·dú-šar-ra ùru-a a-ķar dug-li-a
- 12. That husbands the grain, that causes the fields to rejoice,
- 13. e-ri-iš nisaba mu-šul-1 li-lu ekli
- 14. šu-mu läg-läg-ga igi-zu bal-bal-a
- 14. My clean hands make libations before thee ".
- 15. ka-ta-a-a ellâti ik ka-a ma-har-ka

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

- 18. alpu i-lit-ti iluzi-i at-ta-ma
- 19. a-na pár-si ki-du-di-e 5 na-su-ka
- 20. a-na da-riš ilunin-gis-zi-da ib-ri-ka
- 21. [parsê] rabûti uşurāti u-şu-ri
- 22. ši-im pár-și ša šamê ù irșitim
- 23. [šu-u (?) ana (?)| balaggi lip-pa-kidma
- 24. [nuh libbi?] a-na iluBêli lik-ţa-'i-iš'

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

^{1.} Sic! read šal?, III 1 part. of הלל.

^{2.} pî apsī ša libbi uznā alpi šakna imni ša lilissi siparri a-ra-mi (sic!, read ta-ra-mi?).

^{3.} ina kan sak-kut kani tâhi tulahhas, "Upon a sakkut-reed, the good reed thou shalt whisper".

^{4.} A bird-divinity, god of the storm. The bull, which represents the lyre, is in this way connected with the sound of wind and thunder. The line conveys the idea that the instruments of temple music produce a sound like the storm.

^{5.} See p. 41, No. 63.

^{6.} An ancient vegetation god, a type of Tammuz. I am not able to explain why he should be mentioned as a patron of music. Tammuz was one of the principal deities honored by the psalmists.

^{7.} I² of kašu, cf. itta'id, but PSBA 1909,62,6, ak-ti-šak-ka

The bull is thus supposed to hear that he presides over the sacred college of music in the temple of Bel-Marduk of Babylon. The bowl is now tilted against the left side of the tambourine 1 and the following hymn whispered as before:—

- 26. [ba-an-]ná-a e-lum mu-lu ná-a li-šú ba-an-ná-a
- 27. şal-lu be-lum ša şal-lu a-di ma-ti şa-lil
- 28. kůr-gal a-a d·mu-ul-lil-lá mu-lu ná-a li-šú
- 29. šadu-ú rabu-ú a-bu ^{itu}Enlil ša sallum a-di mati
- 30. sib na-ăm-tar-tar-ra mu-lu ná-a li-
- 31. ri-'-ù mu-šim ši-ma-a-ti ša sallum a-di māti

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

Col. II.

- 1. d·[mu-ul-lil-lá urú-zu ba-an-ṣi-em ur-ri-eš kur-e]
- 2. iluEnlil [ša âli-ka iddimma išteniš ittakalu]
- 3. túg gal-gal-la [šed-da ba-an-gam
- 4. la-biš su-[ba-ti rabûti] ina ku-si [it-mi-it]
- 5. gan ² gal-gal-la sag mar-ra ba-an-
- 6. ša mi-riš-ti [rapašti] ina bu-[bu-ti it-mi-it] ³

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

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

^{1.} Restore l. 25 [pî apsî ša uznā] alpi šakna šumeli ša lilissi siparri a-ra-mi.

^{2.} Var. sug.

^{3.} Lines 1-6 restored from SBH.78, 32-36; see SBP.22, 51-4.

into the mysteries over which he will preside, by the selection of a characteristic passage from the sacred literature. The ritual has here a note saying that these lines constitute a kisub which was the technical name for a section of the official litanies 1.

The bull having been thus consecrated to preside over the sacred college, the ritual now proceeds to the consecration of the tambourine 2.

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

11. sib-zid-da sib-[zid-da]	11. " Faithful shepherd, faithful shepherd.
12. ri-ú ki-nu ri-ú [ki-nu] 13. d·en-lil-lá sib-[zid-da] 14. iluEn-lil ri-ú [ki-nu]	13. Enlil, faithful shepherd.
15. umun gu kalam-ma sih-zid-da	15. Lord of all the Land, faithful shepherd.
16. be-el nap-har ma-a-ti ri-ú [ki-nu] 17. umun gú ^d ·i-gí-gí sih-zid-da	17. Lord of all the Heaven Spirits, faithful shepherd.
18. be-el nap-har ilaniIgigi ri-ú ki-nu 19. umun gú dim-gul síb zid-da	19. Lord of all tarkullu ³ , faithful shepherd.
20. be-el tar-kul-li ri-ú [ki-nu] 21. umun ma-a-ni gis-har-ra umun ma- [a-ni?]	21. Lord, designer of his land, lord [of his land].
22. be-lum mu-uş-şir māti-šu [bêl māti-šu?]	
23. umun ma-a-ni giš-har-ra	23. Lord designer of his land
25. mu-un-ga ma-al-la [kúr-ri ba-an- și-em] 26. ma-ak-ku-ri šak-na [ana nak-ri	25. The accumulated property thou hast given to the foe.
[ta-ad-din]	

^{1.} Read 1. 9 perhaps, ki-sù-bi-im [pi-min gud-kam], "It is a kisub for the ears of the ox".

^{2. &}quot;ana lib lilissi siparri [tu-laḥ-ḥaś?]".

^{3.} tarkullu originally means sail (?) or mast (?) of a ship, but the word took on some meaning like, "guardian, defender", whence a title of gods; Gula tarkul of the land, SBP. 160, 13; Ishtar tarkul of Babylon, 191, 65; Ninuraš tarkul of heaven, II R. 57 c 56 and of the Land, ibid. 59. The passage above probably means "lord of all gods who are called tarkullu". See also Jensen's ingenious, but by SBP. 191, 65 discredited, explanation.

- 27. gil-sa-a ma-al-la kúr-ri [ba-an-ṣi-em]
- 28. šu-kut-ta ša-kin-ta ¹ [ana nakri taddin] ²
- 29. tuš azag-ga [kúr ba-tuš]
- 30. šu-ub-ta elli-tim [nakru ittašab]
- 31. ki azag-ga [kúr ba-tuš]
- 32. aš-ru el-lum [nakru ittašab]
- 33. ki-nad azag-ga [kùr ba-an-da-ná]
- 34. tap-ša-ha el-lum [šanumma inîl]

- 27. The hoarded treasures to the foe thou hast given.
- 29. The foe occupies the sacred abode.
- 31. The foe sits in the holy place.
- 33. In the sacred resting place a stranger sleeps.

Rev. I.

- 1. urú è-a [kúr mu-un-na-și-em]
- 2. a-lum šu-pu-u [ana nakri taddin] ³
- 3. umun den-ki lugal abzu (?) [šag-zu dé-en-tig-e]
- 4. be-lum iluE-a šar apsī? [libbaka linfh]
- 5. umun dasar-lù-dug [šag-zu
- 6. be-lum iluMarduk [libba-ka
- 7. umun a-a d-iškur-ra [šag-zu
- 8. be-lum a-bu iluAdad [libba-ka
- 9. umun šul d babbar [šag-zu
- 10. be-lum id-lu iluŠamaš [libba-ka]
- 11. umun duraš-a-ge [šag-zu
- 12. be-lum iluNin-uraš [libba-ka
- 13. umun-mah d. śul-sīg-è-a [śag-zu
- 14. be-lum şi-ru ^{ilu}Šul-sīge-a [libbaka]

- 1. The magnificent city [unto the foe thou hast given].
- 3. May the lord Ea, king of the deep(?) [appease thy heart].
- 5. May the lord Marduk [appease thy heart].
- 7. May Adad [appease thy heart].
- 9. May the strong lord Shamash [appease thy heart].
- 11. May the lord Ninuraš [appease thy heart].
- 13. May the mighty lord Shulsigea [appease thy heart].

^{1.} For the passive participle šakīn v. p. 121, n. 2.

^{2.} Lines 25-28 are a duplicate of SBH . 70,8-10.

^{3.} Lines obv. 29. rev. 2 are similar to SBH.70,11-17.

- 15. su si-sá-bi su [si-sá-bi
- 15. Direct thou the hand, direct thou the hand.
- 16. ka-ta šu-te-šir ka-[ta šu-te-šir]
- 17. šu si-sá-bi ki-uš-mu [gub-bi?]
- 17. Direct thou (my) hand, [steady?] thou my foot-steps.
- 18. ka-ta šu-te-šir kib-sa [kîn] 1
- 19. dúg-ga-bi si-sá dúg-[ga-bi si-sá]
- 19. This speech direct aright, this speech direct aright.
- 20. ki-bi-ta šu-a-tum šu-te-sir [kibita šuatum šutêšir]
- 21. li-li-és zabar dúg-ga-bi [si-sá]
- 21. Of this tambourine, its utterance direct aright".
- 22. li-li-eš ki-bit-su šu-[te-šir]

Thus the tambourine is also dedicated to the work of the sacred college. I imagine that the real object here consecrated is a bas-relief representing a tambourine and a bull, an artistic fancy in stone or metal to secure by mythological and consecrated symbols the protection of the gods who preside over "all such as handle the harp and organ". Since the Sumerians connected the bull (and Enmešarra) with the lyre, and the ram with the drum, we should expect that the instrument accompanying the bull in this ritual would be a lyre or at least an instrument of that kind, but reasons exist for translating lilissu by tambourine, and we may suppose that in the late period from which our text comes the ancient mythology was no longer insisted upon and that the bull or Enmešarra god of Taurus became symbolic of all instruments. The ritual adds here the following note, "This is a section of a litany for cleansing the mouth 3 of the bronze tambourine".

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

"Before the God of Psalmody 4 and the lyre thou shalt place a reed enclosure 5 (?)

^{1.} Kegler, Sternkunde, I 217 has discussed a few lines of this section.

^{2.} Gen. 4, 21.

^{3.} mis pî, "washing of the mouth", a ceremony of consecrating statues of deities but later employed for consecrating objects not of anthropological form. See ZIMMERN in Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet, 959-67.

^{4.} A statue representing Ea, god of music.

^{3.} $gi-d\check{u}-a=tarbasu$ (?). The word designates a small enclosure in which the various objects of the ceremony were set out; these rituals were performed on roofs, in huts by the river, in the open field, etc., hence the priests appear to have carried about with them these cane screens so as to designate the ritual spot as holy.

and set out the ritual utensils. A mixture of honey, butter and fat thou shalt set forth; šašķu-meal thou shalt pour out and sacrifice a lamb. The right shoulder, the loin and roasted bits 1 thou shalt set forth". Here the text breaks away for several lines and the end of the ritual is obscure. The ceremony ends with a bilingual litany addressed apparently to the priest (ašipu) who had assisted the psalmists in the dedication. This passage is unfortunately so badly damaged that we can give only a partial translation:—

The general tenor of this selection chanted by the school of liturgists resembles a prayer employed in private services to free the king from troubles ². It has clearly no direct connection with the principal object of the ritual, namely to consecrate the bull and tambourine in the sacred college. The literary note at the end of this song says that it is a kišub, that is, a chant to the lyre and other instruments ³.

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

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

^{1.} Cf. King, Magic, 12,7.

^{2.} Compare IV R. 13, No. 3.

^{3.} This note is still a mystery to me. I would venture the suggestion that we are to read; — ki-šù-bi-im ša mar ašipūti amelu migra iķabbî-ma mar ašipūti ina naš ma-šid-di tu-na-ah, "It is a lyrical passage for the priest of incantation, the man who commands what is favourable; the priest of incantation thou shalt appease by drawing the wagon".

leads us to assume that these are mere synonyms. Gala, as we have seen, means simply a temple servant whose music appeares the angry gods.

lagar

In all periods we meet with a word lagar, labar for "psalmist", which is transcribed into Semitic as lagaru. The ideogram 1 employed for writing this name occurs at an early period and represents, perhaps, some kind of a musical instrument. I do not know of any passage in connected texts 2 where this pictograph is employed for "psalmist", and we may infer that it went out of use at a very ancient period. The word is invariably spelled out la-gar, a form which became by phonetic change la-bar. But behind lagar lies the primitive form la-gal 3, which clearly contains the word gala. Lagal is probably composed of lù-gala, i-e. the Sumerian determinative for a profession and the ordinary word for psalmist so that it is practically identical in meaning with gala 4, and like gala, also means servant as well as psalmist.

Position of Psalmists Gudea speaks of having installed the psalmist along with the high priest in the temple of Ningirsu at Lagash, and we have considerable liturgical literature from the musical guild of this temple in the early period. In fact the liturgical school of Lagash must have been one of the earliest and until the Hammurabi period most important. The epic of Gilgamish also mentions the high priest 6 and the psalmist 7

^{1. (}Integral of the second part of the second part of the earliest form of the REC, Supplement 14, and in the Hoffman Tablet I. 3 (Ogden in JAOS. XXIII) does not support this. The sign occurs as the ideogram for a plant, and a wood, SAI 7275 f. and in CT. XXIII 36,61, perhaps a kind of meal zid-lagar-a(?). The sign is rare. Note its use for sukkallu, messenger, and la-bar = sukkallu, CT. 19,44 b 11 f.

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

^{3.} For l > r, v. Sum. Gr. § 44, and dagal > dagar, Zimmern, K. L. 45 I 21; CT. 15, 10, 10.

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

^{5.} la-gal, Cyl. A. 20,21. lá-gal me-a-si-a, "The psalmist who plays the man-zu(?)", B L. 86,33.

^{6.} en, v. Jensen, KB. VI 188, 42.

^{7.} la-ga-ru.

together, and these were probably intimately associated in the conduct of the temple services. We have already noted how the psalmists in the ritual of consecrating the bull for their cloister associated the high-priest of Enlil with themselves. An inferior la-gar of the sacred college in Babylon is mentioned as the editor of a liturgy, copied in the year 147 BC 1; a learned index of Babylonian works on divination was edited by a psalmist of Marduk², showing that they interested themselves in many directions. A passage from a litany in which Innini weeps for her cities mentions the liturgists who have departed and no more stand in the temple to sing the intercessions 3. Psalmody was particulary connected with Innini, whom the Sumerians regarded as the mother who weeps for all human sorrows. She herself is called a psalmist of the temple 4. A musical refrain inserted into a litany of the moon-god after a passage describing the lamentations of Ningal, goddess of Ur, likewise mentions the psalmists who had forsaken the temple; "While her psalmist, psalmist no longer is" 5. Since the psalmists belonged to the temple organisation they naturally came under the control of the high priests of the temple en "the governor", and šangu" the controller" 6. The functions of these priests was secular rather than sacerdotal, as least this may be said of them in the Sumerian period. but technically they occupied the supreme position of authority, being charged with management of temple finances, and direction of all sacerdotal affairs. As such they apparently stood over the liturgists and more or less controlled their activity. Since the priests of the mysteries of magic were not permitted to perform their ceremonies in the temples, except for the purification and consecration of the temple itself, the enu and sangu priests had no connection with this class; on the other hand the psalmists formed the important staff of active temple priests, and the liturgies often speak of the high-priest and the psalmists together. It is, therefore, natural that the high-priests should interest themselves in liturgical services, for these and possibly a few private penitential services were

šangu

^{1.} Reisner, SBH. 33,36, a-me-lu lagar sihru.

^{2.} amelu la-gar ilu kur-gal, III R. 52,63. This text with duplicates has been transcribed by Virolleaud in Bab. IV 109 ff. See Hunger, Tieromina 21.

^{3.} See page 94,11, la-bar.

^{4.} SBP. 288,6.

^{3.} Perv, Sin 41,14. See p. XLIX. This composition was not clearly understood by Perv.

^{6.} By origin the word sangu probably means "accountant". The ideogram employed to write sangu usually means manû "to count, reckon", YYY; for the Sumerian form of this ideogram, v. REC. 419.

the only ones permitted in the temple. Magic and common public worship are originally independent and mutually exclusive elements in Babylonian religion. But this religion was perpetually harrassed by the encroachment of magic upon the purer forms of worship. In the late period from the time of Nabu-apaliddin (first half of the ninth century) onward, an ideogram for the temple executive sangu begins to appear 1 which means, "enchanter of the temple", and proves that magic had found its way into certain of the temple services. The ideogram for sangu has not been found in any Assyrian document, hence we may conclude that in Assyria this dean of the temple persevered in maintaining his ancient office free from the prerogatives of the mysteries. But another ideogram also of the late period appears in the religious and grammatical texts of both Babylonia and Assyria², which designates the sangu as one in the service of the god Ea and certainly a priest of the mysteries 3. It is evident that certain mystic rites had won their way into the temple services, probably in connection with the prayers of private penance. The high-priests enu and sangu were compelled either to admit the magicians (asipu) into the temple or to take over this sacrimony themselves. The second alternative naturally commended itself to an ancient and unvielding priesthood, and they in some way secured ordination to the mysteries of the water cult and the god of wisdom 4.

zur = surru

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

In syllabars of the late period an ideogram is employed for psalmist which does not appear anywhere in liturgical or other texts. This ideogram was pronounced zur in Sumerian, an ordinary word for "prayer", and for "to pray", but only

that brings a yellow goat".

^{1. = 1111 +.}

^{2.} Originally WINDER HIM END of which there are many abbreviated forms, v. Th.-Dangin, ZA. 15, 42. This ideogram probably means ila-úz-sîg-sîg, "he

^{3.} The word is employed only in the form sangammahhu, "great sangu".

^{4.} The paragraph on the sangu is not intended to be exhaustive.

^{5.} suhhu, nuhhu.

^{6.} şullû, şuppû. See Sum. Gr. 259.

in the sense of *private* intercession. This word was transliterated into Semitic as a loan-word *surrū*, but the ordinary word for public psalmist also translates the ideogram ¹. Of these psalmists almost nothing is known. I do not believe that they were ordained in the mysteries of magic.

Less common words for psalmists occur among which we shall mention first the "wailer", Sumerian er, rendered in Semitic by the ordinary word $kal\hat{u}^2$. The word does not designate a particular kind of psalmist but refers to the mournful character of the temple music. Both male and female wailers sing at the lamentations for Tammuz³, and the public women wailers at Lagash are mentioned in the inscriptions of Gudea ⁴. A contract of the reign of Nabuna'id, last of the kings of Babylon, mentions a quantity of liquor given to the "wailers" of Esagila ⁵. Another ideogram for "psalmist", which apparently means "wailer", occurs only in a syllabar ⁶. The woman wailer is designated once by an ideogram nu-nunuz-pa(d) which should properly be rendered in Semitic by kalitu, but the syllabar where it occurs renders it by the masculine $kal\hat{u}^7$. The "master of wailing", $mu-lu\ er-ra-ge\ (bel\ bikiti)$, and "the master of lamentation", $mulu\ adduge\ (bel\ bikiti)$ are other poetical terms which we meet with in the liturgies ⁸. Note especially the description of the liturgist who describes himself as one who intercedes with the god for afflicted humanity, p. 121, 15-20.

er wailer

^{1.} The ideogram is (A) often abbreviated to (B); both A and B have the Sumerian value zur and the Semitic renderings kalû, surrū, v. Br. 3708-14 and SAI. 2404-5; v. CT. 41,18 a 49 f. The ideogram is clearly connected with the supposed original of various abbreviated forms for sangu a word for "priest", but employed only in the compound sangammahhu, a priest of incantation.

^{2.} CT. 12,41,38 A-IGI(ir) = $kal\hat{u}$.

^{3.} IV R. 31 b 57.

^{4.} St. B. 5,4.

^{5.} Strassmaler, Nahuna'id 60,3, amelu ir pl. ir may of course be a confusion with the sign for "tanner", asgab, v. OLZ. 1911,385, in which case this reference should not be given here. Cf. Nbn. 31,7.

^{6.} galu tál, in ZA. 25,302,7 pronounced ... ga-al, being the value which is also given to $U\check{S}$ -KU in this syllabar; both =kalu according to King ibid 303. Compare Christian ZA. 27,257 who supposes that the variant DT. 105 had two Semitic translations. For tal= wailing, v. Sum. Gr. 246. Note that \P is also an ideogram for the god Ea, patron of psalmists, and \P (makas) = sisitu, lament, SAI. 7567.

^{7.} CT. 12,41,48.

^{8.} SBP 238,21-4.

mulu

For some obscure reason Sumerian employs a word which ordinarily means "master", "free-man", for psalmist \(^1\). It is possible that this word mu-lu, is a dialectic form of gala or gal, the ordinary word for psalmist, but mulu is commonly regarded as dialectic for galu, the classical word for "freeman", and may have no connection with the word gala, kal which means "servant" as well as "psalmist". A decision in this matter is impossible. The title mulu occurs only in a syllabar and in a late passage, "Oh temple thy skilled (musician) is not present" \(^2\). The word is probably connected with the longer phrase, mulu sir-ra, "the master of chanting", Zim, K. L. 12 II 17; 25 II 7.

tun-ma

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

Ea, patron

lumha

Hand of Ishtar

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

^{1.} $mu-lu = kal\hat{u}$, CT. 12, 41,40.

^{2.} Page 32,28. The word is here rendered by $m\hat{u}d\hat{u}$.

^{3.} CT. 12, 41, 45.

^{4.} Ninazu, most likely identical with Umun-azu, a title of Tammuz, SBP. 304,13. Ninazu is a title of any god who dwells in the lower world; in H R. 59 d 34 both names = Nergal; but CT. 25,8,13 = 2,51 Ninazu = Ninuraš. For these ideograms, v. CT. 19, 49, 19 f.

^{5.} bêlit kalûtum, Meek, BA. X pt. 1 p. 124,5. The ideogram \implies = kalû, in CT. 12, 41, 45 is obscure. We might transcribe tig-dingira, "He who appeares god", but we have little warrant for such transcription. The signs would be generally taken for, "wall of god", bád-dingira or, "high wall" bád-ana. With "wall of god", compare "hand of Ishtar".

relief he is represented standing upon the great drum which the psalmists beat to accompany a Sumerian liturgy. The grammarians, in their list of the arts over which he presided, called him god of the lyre and of the psalmists ¹. The name lumba ² designated Ea in this capacity, a word whose meaning has not been explained.

The Semitic word which ordinarily translates the various Sumerian expressions for liturgist and psalmist, namely $kal\hat{u}$ like the greater number of cult-terms in Babylonian religion is itself of Sumerian origin, being a transcript of gala, kal. It has no satisfactory Semitic etymology although two other words have been derived from this root by analogy, since the Babylonians did not distinguish clearly between their own words and those derived from Sumerian. They, therefore, constructed an abstract noun $kal\hat{u}tu$ for psalmody, as well as a form $kulu\hat{u}$ which is rare 3. To this group of liturgists who devoted their attention chiefly to instrumental music we shall add the following names for psalmist.

A syllabar connects the munambû and the lallarû with kalû. The Sumerian words for these Semitic terms both contain the noun ilu an ordinary word for "chant, mournful music". i-lu-a-li, "He that chants mournfully", is rendered by lal-la-ru⁴, which is also the name of some kind of a bird (or insect). It is reasonable to suppose that the instrument, upon which this musician played, gave forth a sound like that of the bird, which bore the Semitic name lallaru⁵. The synonymous word munambû means "he who weeps loudly", the piel participle of a verb nabû, from which was derived a common word for lamentation nubû, numbû. The Sumerian expression is i-lu-di⁶ a formation from the noun ilu, "chant of a mournful kind".

kalù

lallaru

munambu

^{1.} CT. 25,48,11; CT. 24, 43,120.

^{2.} Or num-ha? Read also lum-ha=d-halay-li, CT. 29, 45,12.

^{3.} ku-lu-'u-ki, "thy psalmody", addressed to Ishtar, PSBA. 1901,20, here a syn. of [di-]bu-bu-ki, "thy pining", cf. also ibid. 1909,65. Perhaps also in the n. pr. kulu-'-Ishtar in Johns, Deeds and Documents 82,1.

^{4.} CT. 19,41 a 19.

^{5.} For lallaru, v. Muss-Arnolt, 482 b after Zimmern and Meissner, and sag-sur "Heart that sighs", in a list of chirping birds, SAI. 6001. Perhaps also in UD (ha-ad) = sa zūr-had-had lal-la-ru, so named because of its bright color, CT. 42,6 b 25. Frank, Studien 68 n. 161 restores KB. VI 136,3 so as to find reason for assuming that the lallaru played upon the flute. I would suggest for lallaru the meaning "Honey creeper", a passerine bird which feeds upon honey, or the "Honey buzzard". For lallaru = honey, v. PSBA. 1904,120 rev. 1. In favour of a small bird is the fem. lalartu classified among "flies", CT. 14, 2 a 23.

^{6.} Br. 4027; SAI. 2684.

The same Sumerian word is rendered into Semitic by sarihu!. The verb sarāhu,

şārihu

although having the general sense "cry out in sorrow", has the technical meaning, "chant to the lyre", and the participle sārihu, "he that chants to the lyre". The word designates no separate religious order but is only a more special name for psalmist. The mušêlů 4, a kind of necromancer who appears to have exercised power over the souls of the dead by means of a lyre 5, does not come into consideration here, although his name is once written with an ideogram employed also

mnšėlà

sammēru

In Semitic the technical verb most often employed for singing to the musical instruments is $zam\bar{a}ru$. The idea of playing on instruments is essential to this verb as it is to the Sumerian equivalents, sir, ser, sar, nir, li-du, ila. The Semites derived from this verb a noun $zamm\bar{e}ru$ for "psalmist", a word which they rendered into Sumerian by i-lu-'du-'du-'du, "he that utters lament", li-'du-'du-'du, "he that utters a chant of joy", and e-la-lu. All these words contain in one form or another the root lil 8, "to shriek, play upon wind instruments". A text edited in this volume introduces $zimm\bar{e}ru$ as a gloss on $kal\dot{u}$ "who knows to play the temple music" 9. The female psalmist zammertu occurs in a grammatical text where it is rendered into Sumerian by ulili and udulla 40. The former word again contains the root lil; the second the root tul from tal, a word for liturgical wailing 41.

The temple liturgists discussed above were essentially those who sang to instruments. Another numerous body of musicians, whose origin can be traced to remotest antiquity, must be clearly distinguished from these. The Sumerian word for shriek, blow, play on wind instruments, is lil 12, not always kept distinct from the verb

for a mythical spirit, patron of the lyre 6.

^{1.} Br. 4028.

^{2.} Heb. מרח, Arabic saraha etc.

^{3.} i-lu balag-di, CT. 12,40 a 23. See ibid. 24-7 for ideograms compounded with ilu for sārihu.

^{4.} Probably III¹ part. of êlû, with Delitzsch, not connected with ša'ālu

^{5.} galu balag-gà, CT. 19,24 b 24.

^{6.} Gudea, Cyl. B 10,11.

^{7.} CT. 12,40, 7-9.

^{8.} Sum. Gr. 226.

^{9.} Page 32,32; zimmēru for zammēru is due to influence of the sibilant z.

^{40.} Br. 10956 f.

^{11.} Sum. Gr. 246.

^{12.} The root is the base of *ilu*, *iludi*, *li-du*, etc., employed in the various words for psalmist discussed above. The word means also "howl", "blow", "shriek", v. Sum. Gr., 226. My interpretation of the verb as "play upon a wind instrument, ibid. is correct.

sir, "to sing to instruments". From this root Sumerian derived the word for "young man who sings", lul 1, translated into Semitic by nä'ru, nàru 2, the equivalent of the Hebrew na'ar, "youth" whose voice is changing from the shrill high pitch of youth to lower tones of puberty. The Hebrews also employed youths in the temple services, doubtless for singing before their voices broke 3. But Sumerian lul and Semitic nâru retained the original sense of "speak with shrill voice", whereas the Hebrew derivative generally lost this sense and took on the meaning, "lad, boy, youthful attendant".

Sumerian employed the noun lul "youth" in the special sense of "musician", and not only a singer but one who plays instruments. For some reason these musicians were employed for accompanying private penitential services, and especially prayers of the incantation services so that in due course of time the lul or nâru became disassociated with the public liturgists, and more closely associated with the priests of magic. It is difficult to accurately define the line of cleavage between the public psalmists and the private psalmists, but in general it is clear that the real occupation of the latter consisted in accompanying the songs of private devotion 4.

lul, náru

^{1.} Tammuz is called \dot{u} -lu-lu, "the youth", Scheil, Tammuz obv. II 20; SBP, 336, 43-45.

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

^{3.} Perhaps we may infer this from Exodus 33, 11; cf. 24, 5. The etymology was first explained by Everts, ZA. 3. 328; see also Meissner, BA. III 359. The root $na^*aru > na^*aru$ "shriek, lament", must be assumed to explain the word ni-i-ru = unninu, "sighing", VR. 21 a 60, and ni-i-r-tu "wailing", SBP. 98, 27. But other evidence for na^*aru , "shriek, cry" is extremely doubtful. labbi na^*ri in KB.VI 68,41 may mean, "the slaying panther"; the description of the female demon Labartu in ZA. 45 180,44 nu^*urat kima $n\hat{e}\hat{s}i$ (?), is parallel to ustanalhap kima barbari (?), and $lah\bar{a}pu$ is connected with an Arabic root $\dot{b}\hat{s}$, to smite. Senecherib carried away to Nineveh men and women singers, $n\hat{a}r\hat{e}$ and $n\hat{a}r\hat{a}ti$, KB. II 96, 38.

^{4.} The eršemma.

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

These general lines of distinction are clear from the Isin period onward when the province of the private psalmists became fixed. But from the very beginning of Sumerian writing the lul appears to have been a liturgist who acted in a private capacity. He is first mentioned upon a circular bas-relief of the prehistoric period where his figure is engraved with his name and title "the superior naru". In this scene whose details have been obscured by the loss of the upper portion, this priest stands alone to the left of a small figure, who, with outstretched hands, implores a deity (?). We have here, probably, the nâru in the primitive sense of "singer". I will not venture to affirm that the word lul is first employed in the sense of flute player, but the ideogram employed to write this word probably represents a wind instrument, something in the nature of a bag-pipe, for which the reed flute $(iig\dot{u})$ and the double flute (halhallatu) were soon substitued. When we reach the classical period these psalmists were clearly associated with the reed flute, for Gudea placed the muse of the flute in the temple of Ningirsu and called him the lul loved by the gods 5, and a liturgy mentions the nâru who plays in the temple of Ishtar upon the pagů, some kind of a wind (?) instrument 6. Great modification in the use of these terms grew up in the long history of the Sumero-Babylonian culture.

The public liturgists also employed the flute for the temple litanies from the earliest period and in this same passage the $kal\hat{u}$ plays the reed flute ⁷.

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

^{4.} Zimmern, Rit., p. 476,15, the naru shall sing the prayer, "Oh exalted Ea", et passim; Neujahrfest 135, 20. Other references in Frank, Studien 70. Note also Weissbach, Miscel. 32,5 where the naru sings or plays a private psalm in-ha innih, but the kalû a litany, takribtam isakkan.

^{2.} See for example, SBP. 269 and IVR. 27 No. 3 (ZIMMERN, Busspalmen, no. 7).

^{3.} RA. 5,43.

^{4.} ti-qi.

^{3.} Cvl. B. 40, 9-15.

^{6.} SBH. 109,71. Note the ideogram employed in the late period for $tig\dot{u}$, viz. balag-lul, i. e., "lyre of the flute player", Br. 7044.

^{7.} Ibid., 1. 79.

and playing all instruments. The á-lá a kind of tambourine or drum is played by the náru in Gud. St. L. 4. 5. The takaltum of the nâru, Sum. gi-di, is clearly a wind instrument, a kind of bag-pipe, CT. 18, 34 c 25. The bas-reliefs of processions represent the nâru priests playing harps, dulcimers and double flutes. I infer that from the first the flute was studied by the liturgists also. The kalû sings to the double flute in a ritual of founding a temple, Weissbach, Miscellen., 12, 12 ina hal-hal-la-[ti]. But the nâru did not belong to the sacred college of liturgists 1. It is true that liturgists and private psalmists are mentioned together as they who "lead the congregation" in public worship 2, but the latter class played only a menial part in these services. They occupied themselves more and more with the liturgical elements of the magical services 3 and I dare say that the familiar figure on seals, who leads a penitent to his god, is none other than the private psalmist.

That they served in a public capacity is evident from the fact that the Assyrian kings employed them in their triumphal processions. Returning from a victorious invasion of the Mediterranean sea-bord Asarhaddon entered the public square of Nineveh to the music of the private psalmists who played upon harps (?) 1. Asurbanipal likewise entered Nineveh from the Elamite wars to the music of the "private psalmists who make a joyful noise" 5. Public festivities of this kind have of course no connection with sacred music. The nâru are mentioned among liturgical devotees of Ishtar; "The private psalmists of the harp (?) 4, the šchîta and kansabu 6, they of the flute, the sinnitu and arka[ta?] 7. This passage does not afford any evidence concerning the kind of public services in which they were engaged, but it is not likely that the sacred liturgies are referred to. They must have been regarded as public servants from the earliest period. A tablet of the pre-Sargonic era mentions

nårn in processions

nåru performs profane music

^{1.} Note the syllabar in PSBA. 1896, Dec. pl. III Col. I the nâru follows the asipu.

^{2.} amel kalê amel nârê ša gimir ummanûtu ḥammu, BA.III 250; cf. SBP. 164, 39 ff., "With her congregation she approaches the temple", and BA.X pt. 1 p. 21, 6.

^{3.} The *tul* is also rendered into Semitic by *šattammu* a priest who belongs to the sphere of magic. Note the Sumerian *me-na-ri šattammu* in Rm. 338,15: Whether the element *nari* be Semitic or not, *menari* means, "singer of incantations". See Muss-Arnolt, Lexicon 4133; Streck, ZA. 18,164; Frank, Studien 69.

^{4.} isu zag-sal, I Raw. 45 I 52. See also Thureau-Dangin, Sargon, 1. 159.

^{5.} KB.II 256, 46.

^{6.} Wind instruments (?).

^{7.} malilu, BA.V 564, cf. = Craig, RT.I 55.

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

nartu

We frequently meet with women psalmists of this class. It is difficult to distinguish the this class from the female singers (zammertu) of the sacred liturgies, unless in pursuance of our thesis we assume that the nartu sang only in private and profane music. Perhaps only in profane music, or in public festivities ⁸. A syllabar arranges the female nâru immediately after the female liturgists ⁹. Senecherib mentions the men and women private psalmists among the attendants of the court of of Merodachbaladan in Babylon, and these he took away captive to Nineveh ¹⁰. Since the conquerors never mention the temple liturgists among their captives it is evident that their connection with the sacred music rendered their position secure in the eyes of Assyrian kings. These at any rate respected the temples and their liturgists, and if they transported the flute psalmists this is proof that they had little connection with sacred music and no official standing in the sacred college.

Funera wailers By the nature of their office the *kalû* priests could not chant for burial ceremonies is since these did not pertain to temple liturgy. There are no clear instances of the

- 1. lul-dingir, Hussey, Sumerian Tablets, 25 VII, 4; Nikolski, 22 obv. VI 6.
- 2. Ibid., VI 3.
- 3. Nikolski, 32 obv. III 6; lul é-bàr-bàr; cf. DP. 59 VII.
- 4. RTC. 61 rev. I.
- 5. Reisner, TU. 146 II 19-22.
- 6. Ibid., III 22-27.
- 7. RTC. 401 obv. I 19 f.
- 8. See Ledrain, Le Temps des Rois d'Ur No. 41, ten women (?) singers return from singing (lul-ta qur-ra) at the festival of the new-moon.
- 9. ZK. H 300. VS.VI 61, 3 maratsu nârtum (sal-lul-tum) is given in marriage; same passage in 95,7 sal-lul-ti. Ungnad, OLZ. 1908, Beiheft H Nos. 2 and 3 reads sallutu, "third daughter". Also Delitzson's suggestion HW. 191, to read batultu maiden, is possible, since nartu really means "maiden".
 - 40. KB II 84, 30 narê narati.

sacred liturgists' conducting the wailings at interment !. This service naturally fell to the private psalmists and at least one text confirms this view. A letter concerning the interment of an Assyrian king states that the naru and his daughters sang before the dignitaries at the time of the funeral wailings?. Another letter describing an interment states that rites of magic were performed and private penitential psalms sung 3. Ceremonies of the latter kind belong exclusively to the office of the naru.

> The nåru not a magician

Since these musicians had charge of the liturgical sections of the magic ceremonics they came into close relation with the mysteries and the priests of magic. Several rituals have been preserved which define the manner in which these private psalmists assisted the magicians 1. At certain points in the mysterious rites of the asipu 3 the naru sings incantations, and in one instance he must wash his hands 6. The object of each of these ceremonies was to atone some person who had sinned 7 or accomplish some rite of purification. Unimportant manual services are rendered by the naru, such as placing jars of oil before the bed of an afflicted person. In certain private rites where the magician himself repeats the prayers these are not chanted (zamāru) but recited $(man\hat{u}, kab\hat{u})$. We can easily detect those rituals, at which the private psalmist assisted, by the term employed in the rubric. Thus if at a given point the rubric requires a prayer to be chanted (zamāru) we may infer that he is supposed to be present.

Ea, patron of mysteries and all arts, likewise presided over the guild of private Ea, god of the psalmists and in this capacity he bore the title dungs. 8MIf we knew the precise

^{1.} The funeral chants mentioned in Urukagina Cone B. 9, 32-10,6 are sung by the galu-dim-ma-ge. The kalû mentioned farther down, 1, 10, 22 has perhaps no connection with this service; v. Bab. VI 198.

^{2.} amelu LUL itti mārāti-šu, Harper, Letters, 473, 40 f; Meissner WZKM, 12, 59.

^{3.} nipišė ša ašipūti er-šag-tug-mal pl., Ibid., 437, 19; Behrens, LSS.II 1, 97.

^{4.} Zimmern, Ritual Tafeln 60-70. Zimmern translates galu lul by zammeru and Assyriologists have generally followed this rendering, adopted also by Delitzson and Muss-Arnol.r. This translation is certainly false for the zammeru is a title of the public liturgists. ZIMMERN (and also FRANK, Studien 15) have over estimated the **position** of the $n\hat{a}r\hat{u}$ in these rituals.

^{5.} This is the priest who conducts the service, not the nâru. The directions to the ašipu are given in the second person (tukarrabaššu No. 60, 26, etc.), and the nâru is referred to in the third person.

^{6.} No. 60,24.

^{7.} No. 60, 30.

dunga

meaning of the words lumha, Ea as patron of liturgy, and dunga, Ea patron of penitential psalmody, we might obtain a clearer insight into the origins of Sumerian music. For dunga one suggestion commends itself. The private players are on the whole separated from the liturgists by the fact that they employ wind instruments. One of their instruments, the takaltu, appears to have been the bag-pipe; the Sumerian word tun means takaltu a leather bag, and ga is an abbreviation for gal, "to use, possess"; dunga or tunga may perhaps mean "He that plays the bag-pipe".

The instruments

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

- 1. $\mathbf{\hat{a}}$ - $\mathbf{l}\mathbf{\hat{a}} = al\mathbf{\hat{u}}$, kettle drum (?) 3.
- 2. balag = balaggu, balangu, lyre or harp 4.
- 3. ub = uppu, drum.
- 4. liliz, li-li-es = lilissu, tambourine.
- 5. mesi = manzu; employed by the public liturgists; made of leather, SBH. 72 rev. 10; see BL. 79, 17. Perhaps in 86, 33 lá-gal me-a-si-a, "the psalmist of the manzu (?)".
 - 6. šem, to sigh (?), = halhallatu, the double flute. Late ideogram balag-lul. i.e., "instrument of the flute psalmist", balag being employed in a general sense.
 - 7. ti- $gi = tig\hat{u}$, flute, ordinary reed-flute 5. Late ideogram balag-lul. Some kind of a reed-flute is mean by gi-er-ra = kan bikiti, "reed of weeping" 6.

dunga gloss on lul) is one of the divine liturgists of Ea. Ibid., 99 \rightarrow (dunga) \rightarrow (standard dunga) is also one of the divine liturgists. For reading dunga as a gloss on sag, v. CT. 29, 45, 40.

- 1. Page xxiv.
- 2. For these words, v. Frank, Studien, 229-235.
- 3. See PSBA. 1911, 196, date of the contract No. 12; also p. 186 date formula b, su-á-lá.
- 4. Played both by men and women; v. SAK. 166, e) 7, Lipušea, lyre-player of the god Sin, a woman.
 - 3. See Th.-Dangin, SAK. 130 X 9; 138, XVIII 22.
- 6. SBP. 238, 27; 120, 25 (read gi-er-ra = ka-an bikîti); see MEER No. 11 and RADAU, Miscel. 3, 24. gi-er-ra-an-um-ma, RADAU. Miscel. 15 V 14.

- 8. gi-gid, "the long reed", malilu, flute, flageolet.
- 9. gi-di takaltu, bag-pipe (?).
- 10. $sa-li-ne-lu = pag\hat{u}$, bag-pipe (?); employed by the $n\dot{a}ru$.
- 11. balag-di=timbûtu, dulcimer 1. balag-di has three meanings, 1) liturgical passage sirhu, 2) liturgist, as in DP. 33 obv. I 3 and SAK. 166 e 7, and 3) a musical instrument, timbûtu.
 - 12. $gi\vec{s}$ - $g\dot{u}$ =silim (or sir), a liturgical instrument 2 . Probably the lyre 3 .
 - 13. giš-al-gar, lute $(?)^4$.

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

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

" The chief melody 5 in the temple let them take up for thee;

Oh lord, the chief melody in the temple let them sing to thee."

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

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

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

Babylonian Liturgies.

sirhu

^{1.} Certainly a string instrument and to be separated from timbuttu, seal ring, with Frank, l. c. 232. Cf. ragāmu ša timbutti, Sm. 578, 4. The instrument is probably figured on the processional scene of Senecherib, Paterson pl. 65-6.

^{2.} RADAU, Miscel. 2, 59.

^{3.} This phrase, which means "instrument of sweet tone", is probably a poetical term for balag. Note the poetical description of the balag-gà in SBH. 92 a 18, gud gù-silim-sīl, "Bull that cries with a sweet tone", and Gud. Cyl. A. 28, 17 gud gù-sīl-silim.

^{4.} RADAU, Miscel. 2, 60.

^{5.} sir-sag = sirhi restû, hardly "first melody", as I rendered it, SBP. 96, 10.

^{6.} SBP. 332, 9. sir-sag appears to be employed in some other technical sense in Zim. K. L. 25 III 14. 16 and RADAU, Miscel. 17, 13.

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

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

"The melody which is sung shall bring thee peace1; be thy heart appeared."

The liturgists are those who "know the melodies", and are masters of the musical movements. Ishtar the personification of suffering humanity, patroness of litanies, is she "who understands the measures".

samāru

More rare is the Semitic translation of sir by zamāru, employed in the same sense. A passage of great importance for the history of liturgy is the following melody of six lines taken from a liturgy to the sun god; —

"Unto the temple to the accompaniment of the lyre a song of lament we will take.

The liturgists the melody a will sing 6.

The liturgists a melody of lordly praise will sing 7.

The liturgist a melody of the lyre 8 will sing.

To the sacred drum and sacred tambourine they will sing.

To the double flute and bag-pipe an holy chant they will sing 9."

Original use of sir

The sources drawn upon for the fore-going discussion of the word for "melody, chant", belong to the standard compositions and show how the word was employed by the liturgists in the period when liturgy had been fully worked out. Here we have extremely long services 10 composed of a succession of melodies 11 characterized by changing refrains and musical motifs. But in the early Sumerian period the public services consisted of a single song, and in the case of the regular litanies these were probably done to the string instruments. A sir or melody in the

^{1.} So the Sumerian text of IV R. 21 * No. 2 rev. 5, sir-bi tuk-a ma-ra-tug-e. For tuk in the sense of sing, v. SBH. XII and cf. dug = kabu with tuk = kabu SAI. 8625.

^{2.} sir-zu, p. 32, 32.

^{3.} mulu sir-ra, ASKT. 118, 13.

^{4.} SBP. 34, 36.

^{5.} sir = zamari.

^{6.} izammuru.

^{7.} sìr-ra balag-gà = zamari balaggi.

^{8.} balay = balagga.

^{9.} SBP. 68, 5-15.

^{10.} As many as six hundred to a thousand lines.

^{11.} Some liturgies have as many as twenty sirhu.

most ancient services had the general meaning "song with musical accompaniment". But the first examples we have of these melodies, destined to form the basis of one of the most extensive systems of religious liturgy, are already marked by characteristic refrains. Thus a melody to the flute, commemorating the pillaging of Lagash, begins,

uru-a gilsa barmu bögam

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

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

er-šem-ma d-ba-ú-kam sir dingir-ad-da-mu Chant to the flute to Bau. Song of Dingiraddamu.

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

ki-šù-bi-im sìr nam-erim-ma².

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

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

sir nam-ur (?)-sag-gà d nin-si-an-na-ge.
"A song of the majesty (?) of Ninsianna"

Similarly a hymn to the grain goddess has the rubric:—
sir nam-su-bu denisaba.

"A song to the tune 'not wilt thou cast me down' to Nisaba" 4.

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

namšuh

^{1.} SBP. 284-287.

^{2.} RADAU, Miscel. No. 1.

^{3.} Ibid. No. 2; v. Sum. Gr. 200.

^{4.} K. L. 65.

^{5.} See p. 77 No. 192; МЕЕК 76, 33; WEISSBACH, Miscel. 37, 63; K. L. 5 b 14; SBP. 210, 12-14; SBH. 79, 16; 133, 56-60.

other passages not containing this refrain 1. A similar rubric is attached to section of a liturgy to the moon god:—

ki-šub gú 3 kam-ma : sìr nam-šub d sin-na-kam

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

The natural meaning of namsub is "incantation", especially the mysterious acts of magic connected with uttering curses. But public liturgy and the magic rituals were precisely the two forms of Babylonian religion which were kept apart 3; according to our present knowledge of the history of public worship a translation, "song of an incantation of Nisaba, or Sin", is impossible.

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

ki-šù (?) 5 sir-gal d-en-li-lá-[ge] sag-an-šú mi-ni-ib-[zag-sal?] 6.

"A liturgy accompanied by prostrations; a great song to Enlil. On high [we have praised him]" 7.

In none of the hymns to which sir is attached do we find any lines across the tablet to indicate sections as in the later liturgies 8. But the addition of gid "long" and gal "great" indicate a tendency to introduce musical modes.

balaggu

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

^{1.} The refrain does not occur in K. L. 65 and 68.

^{2.} K. L. 68.

^{3.} See p. xxII.

^{4.} RADAU, Miscel. No. 5. This rubric appears here as the last line in the text.

^{5.} RADAU, EBUR. The text frequently mentions Nisaba.

^{6.} RADAU, mi-ni-[ib-il-e-ne], but v. MYHRMAN BP. I No. 7.

^{7.} RADAU, Miscel. 16.

^{8.} BL. No. 195 is divided into three sections, and if my reading of sir in line 47 be correct this would form an exception. Sections one and two of this hymn have each a note which contains some musical direction.

balaggu should mean "lyrical melody", or passage to the lyre and this is probably the original meaning, but in the passage cited above (p. xxxivl. 6) the chant to the flute and bag-pipe is called a balaggu, so that the word is an exact synonym of sirhu. So completely was the meaning of balag forgotten that we have the liturgical note [ki-su-]ub? balag ti-gi deninuras, "It is a movement of prostrations, a musical series on the flute to Ninuras", where balag designates a liturgy to the flute 1. It is employed with its correct import perhaps in another liturgy:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

Oh sing a melody 6, once ruin befel me and once I was glad.

"Oh sing a melody, rage there is and glory there is "7.

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

eršemma

balag-di

^{1.} BL. No. 97.

^{2.} SBH, 128 rev. 21. an-na i-lu balag er-ra [dé-en-sed-dé] ilu a-nu-um ku-bi-e şir-hi bi-ki-tum [libbaka linîh].

^{3.} Ibid, 25 f. The word is employed in this sense in K. L., 25 III 15. 17.

^{4.} SBP. 132, 17; BL. 25, 1. RADAU, Miscel. 382 1. 14 balag-a-ni, finds the word employed here in the sense of sirhu but I doubt his interpretation. The passage means rather "her instrument is the reed of weeping".

^{5.} RADAU, Miscel. 383 n. 4, regards the word as a rubric, "sing in a wailing voice".

^{6.} balag-di. SBP. 2, 15. The word begins the second line of a sirhu.

^{7.} Page 25,1. First line of a sirhu.

were needed to designate these songs as passages intended for public worship, and the rubric first employed for these ancient single song liturgies was er-sem-ma, a phrase which probably means "wailing on the double flute". It is most feasible to suppose that, in this early period when the human mind was constructing literary forms for public worship, they had not vet succeeded in combining wind and string instruments in the musical accompaniment. The melodies were unvaried, monotonous and confined to a single instrument. Although we have not yet recovered from this ancient period any example of these single song liturgies which bears the rubric, "song to the lyre", i. e., balag, yet analogy forces us to suppose that this rubric existed contemporaneously with the flute rubric. These two technical terms eršemma and balag served to classify the first meagre corpus of public liturgy, on the basis of wind and string instruments, but both terms soon lost their original meaning. eršemma tended more and more to become a technical name for the liturgical intercession attached to the end of the complex liturgies. At least such is its use when it reappears in the late musical schools; for when the public service began to lengthen in the Isin period and instead of a single song to flute or lyre the litany was made to consist of several successive songs, the music seems to have been based upon a combination of flute, harp, drum, cymbals and various instruments. The old single songs gave way to a succession of shorter songs based on various melodies. Obviously the divisions based on the instruments no longer holds. In fact the term eršemma disappears entirely with the rise of the complex breviary in the pre-Babylonian period and reappears as a musical term in the Middle Period, a thousand years later and for a section of the prayer service which had been perfected in the later schools.

A catalogue of the first lines of such ancient flute hymns as could be found by some learned Assyrian scribe in a southern library has been preserved 1; forty of these primitive services are registered in his list. Eleven Sumerian ersemma services are known, almost complete, and of these only one appears in the catalogue 2. One of these is a joyous hymn to Enlil the earth god, sung at the offering of fruits of the harvest 3:—

"Oh lord that knowest the fate of Sumer, thou of thyself art glorious". A hymn of martial strain to the same god contains no spiritual longings and belongs to that body of heroic literature which perished in the earliest stages 4. An

^{1.} IV R. 53 IV. Duplicate of lines 1-5 in BL. 151.

^{2.} SBP. 292 in Col. IV 22.

^{3.} SBP. 276.

^{4.} SBP. 200,

ersemma of real dramatic and epic power addressed to the thunder god Immer, in which Enlil his father sends him forth to war, is the only survival of this type of song ¹. An ode to the moon god Nannar has no particular claim to being the expression of religious feelings, but it bears the rubric ersemma or flute song, just as the other temple services ².

Songs of a purely lyrical character may have been employed for public worship in the great days of Sumerian civilisation. But this people and the Semitic races of Babylonia and Assyria who succeeded to their heritage were too firmly obsessed with the tragedy of life to encourage tempestuous ballads in public worship. We may infer from these four hymns that the temple worship before the age of the dynasty of Ur included songs of a joyful nature as well as lamentations and lugubrious prayers. But the other nine temple litanies which we possess of this most ancient age are either dirges concerning the ruin of cities and national calamities or designed to give utterance to some more spiritual affection. A psalm on the flute to the goddess of Lagash in thirty lines lamenting the ruin of that city 3 has no reference whatsoever to any spiritual longings:—

Odes and lyrics discouraged

"Of my city her treasures

are far dispersed.

Oh mother, thou queen humiliated,

to the desolated when wilt thou return?

Oh shepherd the prayer

may appease thee.

The master of song in my city

and in my land sings no more".

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

^{1.} SBP. 280. My most recent version in Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels 147.

^{2.} SBP. 296.

^{3.} SBP. 284.

flute on the ruin of Nippur in the ancient days characterized by the refrain nigina uruzu udedu. This melodious motif, repeated after eighteen lines became popular not only in the temples of Sumer, but it was adopted into the great liturgies of Babylonia and Assyria intiginu uruzu udedu, "Repent, behold the city", is a weird refrain which undoubtedly appealed to the deepest religious sentiments of millions of believers. Sung to some mournful tune with flute accompaniment the hymn must have produced a powerful effect. But here also in a passage which became a standard section of the daily breviary we have no mention of higher spiritual sentiments. The melody, the historic connections, the sympathy in human sorrows, these are the religious elements which made the dirges universal litanies.

The weeping mother

More spiritual in their conception, more universal in their import, are old eršemmas in which the mother goddess appears as a mater dolorosa, a divine wailer. The ideas introduced by this conception ramify in so many directions that we must omit here all but those doctrines which so effectively moulded the liturgies. Whether as the virgin mother Innini of Erech beloved of the dying god Tammuz, or as a married mother goddess Bau of Lagash and Gula of Isin, this goddess became, not only in the special liturgies of the Tammuz wailings, but also in most of the public liturgies, the representative of human sorrow. Unlike other deities, who are described as wreaking vengeance upon cities for their sins, she appears in the liturgies of all cities as weeping with her people. This would be of course specially true of Erech, Isin, Larsa and other centres where she was particularly worshipped. A flute litany so general in its conceptions that we can detect no local origins is that sung to the virgin mother under the name Girgilum ².

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

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

The word

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

^{1.} SBP. 292. In the copy which we have Ur and Larsa are inserted. The melody is employed at the end of the second tablet of the *muten-nu-nunuz-gim* series, SBP. p. 138 and in a tablet of some unknown series, SBH. 122.

^{2.} SBP. 288.

longest cršemma vet recovered (73 lines) i after six lines of address to the virgin mother, "Begetting mother who knows lamentation, who abides among her people", has a dirge of sixteen lines to the wrathful word of Anu and Enlil which "From the land took away posterity, from the flock took away increase" 2. And it returns in later passages 3 to the "word"; "My holy places in the city it destroyed, its power who shall oppose"? The service is called an eršemma to Enlil, although this god appears only in his destructive word and the opening address is to Innini. This method of constructing litanies by representing the goddess weeping for cities and afflicted by the "word" is the most important religious idea in Sumero-Babylonian public worship.

For reasons which we shall presently discuss flute litanies, like the lyre and harp litanies which must have been in use with them 4, were superseded by more complex services, made by combining several passages. These passages have neither the rubric "flute song" nor "lyre song", but are called kisub and the whole litany is also called a kišub. The breviaries retained this form until the late middle period when the liturgists revived the word eršemma by giving this name to an intercessional prayer at the end of the kisub service. But the form of these musical recessionals differs greatly from the ancient hymns. They are now closely allied to another form of worship called ersag-tug-mal, or private penitential psalm. If the reader will compare for example the ersemma to Marduk attached to the Marduk liturgy enzu samarmar on page 123 with any of the ancient ersemmas he will discover no similarity in content or literary structure. We have now a real religious passage adapted, of course, to the series which it ends. This rubric is never found in the late period in its ancient meaning but means, here, the flute song of intercession at the end of the complex kišub public services 5.

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

kidudu Processions

Babylonian Liturgies.

^{1.} SBP. 10-15.

^{2.} Text restored, lines 7-16, in BL. p. 107. The section to the "word" is 7-22 in SBP. 10.

^{3.} Obv. 32- rev. 5; rev. 11-13.

^{4.} No example of a single song balag has been perserved.

^{5.} See p. xxxviii and SBP. 174,195,

texts mention the word "procession" after the term "flute song", but the compiler of the titles of flute songs 1 says that they are ersemma pl. kidudu pl. We may, perhaps, conclude that the Sumerian choirs moved in procession while the flute liturgies were being performed. The rubric of the catalogue must refer to ancient times, for the list which it gives contains only primitive single-song flute services which ceased to be employed as such before the first Babylonian dynasty. The flute recessionals at the end of litanies in the late period were also performed in choral march since the rubric at the end of the flute song to Enlil of the series nam-ta-è nam-ta-è says that there were eleven (?) kidudu, that is steps or marches, each line, I suppose, being marked by a degree or step 2. Another series also ends with a flute song which is done in choral march 3. It may not in any case be venturesome to suppose that after the long litanies of later times the flute song attached at the end is a real recessional done in long slow marches or steps 4.

Origin of longer litanies

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

^{1.} IV R. 53 III 1.

^{2.} BL. 63.

^{3.} BL. 17. er sem-ma d·[babbar?] duppu 3 kamma er-sem-ma ki-du-[du....], "Flute psalm to Shamash(?), third tablet; it is the flute psalm in marches (of the series.....)".

^{4.} The word kidudu went over into Semitic as kidudû with the meaning "public litany."

^{5.} Published by F. Thureau-Dangin, Nouvelles fouilles de Tello, after page 201,

^{6.} See PSBA. 1912, 156 f.

- "The virgin, queen of heaven, 'how long oh my temple?' sighs.

 Innina, queen of heaven,
- 'Oh my temple', sighs; 'Oh my city', she sighs; 'how long, oh my temple?'
 she sighs.
- 'Oh my husband', she sighs; 'oh my son', she sighs; 'how long oh my temple?' she sighs.
- 'Who stands in my dwelling place '? she wails.
- 'Who dwells in my abode '? she weeps." 1.

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

élum gúdsun

mázu kárkuriš

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

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

^{1.} AO. 4327 rev. Col. II.

^{2.} Bab. III 244-8.

The scribes do not hesitate, however, to use the beginnings of older songs for melodies within their breviaries. For example a series upon a large three-column tablet of the Isin period forms its second melody by copying from the introduction of a song, ágalgal šélsusu múluta-zúmunzu, a song still retained as the second melody of this series in the breviary of Assyria and Babylonia? And we know from the catalogue that this same old Sumerian song was made the first melody of another series. The long series to the weeping mother Bau known as mútennu núnuzdim has formed the last melody of its second tablet by introducing verbatim an ancient eršemma to Enlil 4. In those litanies which represent the weeping mother it was of course possible to employ lamentations to any of the great gods, for these were regarded as angry deities whose wrath only the melodious songs of the sorrowful mother could appease.

The selections for the succeeding melodies would naturally be taken from songs addressed to the same god, but the extraordinary neglect of ideas in these matters may be seen from the fact that we possess an old flute song to Enlil called enzu samarmar 5 which was developed into a Marduk litany 6. The psalmists of the Isin period were evidently aiming at liturgical effect. The creation of new songs was either beyond their ability or contrary to their tastes. If we possessed their scores and knew better the intricacies of the choral arrangements we might put some estimate upon the value of their work. In any case they formulated the canons for all succeeding generations. In the evolution of liturgy we shall find little that is new from the age of Isin to the last century before our era. This striving for musical and tonal effects is attended by almost childlike borrowing from older songs. Duplicates of passages recur with wearisome monotony.

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

The following old flute songs are known to have been developed into series; -

^{1.} Zim. K.L. No. 11; see Col. I 10.

^{2.} SBP. 114,41.

^{3.} IVR. 53 I 33.

^{4.} SBP., p. 138, 27-30.

^{5.} CT.XV 11.

^{6.} BL. No. 210.

^{1.} $lugal nam-ta-\hat{e}$, IVR. 53 III 3 = BL. 63. 5. ni-tuk-ki niginna, ibid. 22 = Col. II

^{2.} \acute{e} abzu-ta, ibid. 10 = BL. 103, 6.

^{. [23.38]}

^{3.} d. babbar-gimè-ta, ibid. 16=SBP.237.

^{4.} u-mun-ám ma-al-sú, ibid. 28 = BL.103, 19.

kišub Prostration

rubric kišub after each section and at the end kišubim. The compiler of the catalogue of these long series calls them not kišubim but balag! But we know from late rubrics that the full rubric of these series was kišubim balag? This is clearly a survival from ancient times parallel to eršemma kidudu. I have already suggested that a body of songs to the lyre (balag) attended by bowings and swayings (kišub) must have existed in early worship. When the instruments were combined balag survived as a rubric and eršemma disappeared to be revived a millennium later. Balag means no longer "song on the lyre", but simply "song with instrumental accompaniment", and in later times came to mean "series of songs". If our interpretation of kišub be correct then the choral movements attached to old string music were those which survived in the complex litanies. And this word, which occurs after each song in the classical compositions, most likely means "a melody sung to the instruments attended by prostrations". Each section is numbered by the formula gû-1-kam, "first section", gû-2-kam second section, etc.

When these liturgical forms were first created in the period of the dynasty of Ur, the scribes exercised much care in placing the word kisub, or kisu, after each section 4. In any case they added the final rubric ki-su-bi-im, "this is a series of melodies attended by prostrations" 5. In those breviaries developed from lamentations over temples which had been pillaged we have ordinarily the double rubric; —

sub-be še-ib é-
$$X$$
 ki-dé-en-gí-gí ki-šù-bi-im balag gù-de 6 .

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

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

^{1.} So restore IVR. 53 Col. I, v. Bab. III 248.

^{2.} SBP. 166,66,

^{3.} See page xxxvi.

^{4.} Vide ZIMMERN, K. L. 64 II 16, ki-šub gú-12-kam-ma; 68 edge, ki-šub gú 3-kam; 30 rev. 15, ki-šù; further SBP. 328,21; 332,27. For gú, BL. No. 197, variant, has é, sic!, v. p. 88 note 5.

^{5.} Babyloniaca III 248, 29; RADAU, Miscel. No. 1 rev., rubric; Myhrman, BP.I No. 8 rev., rubric; BL. p. 6, rubric.

^{6.} So in the late period, SBP. 70, 24 f.; 166, 65 f. (read *e-ib for mulu); 192,77 f.; SBH. 102, 46 f.

words balag $g\dot{u}$ -de do not appear, but are to be supplied 1. Occasionally the name of the deity to whom the litany is addressed appears in the second line; —

[sub-be|é-kiš-sír-gál ki-dé-en-gi-gi [ki-šù-bi-im] ša d-sin-na-kam.

"A prayer that the temple Ekišširgal be restored to its place.

A liturgy of prostrations of the Moon God "2.

[sub-be é-gal-mah?] ki-dé-en-gi-gi [ki-šù-bi-im ša] d-nin-din-dìg-ga-ge 3

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

[ki-šu-ub?] balag tigi d·nin-urašā-[ge]

" A litany in marches(?), to the lyre and reed-flute to Ninuraš " 4.

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

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

úmunnam-zúkanag šéirmal nítena 5.

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

úriki gúllaha érramu ní-inzal
"For Ur destroyed I weep with plenteous tears",

^{1.} Myhrman, No 8. The formula has ki-na-an-gi-gi (sic!).

^{2.} K. 3391 in SMITH, Miscel. 12.

^{3.} BL. No. 47.

^{4.} BL. No. 97.

^{5.} SBP, 276.

and into this melody references to the temples of Nippur, Sippar, Babylon and Barsippa are inserted. In this song we have a beautiful movement in four lines: —

ísisi ámtalalá ídebi-dá isi[š] ámtalalá šéb : ézida-ká šága-bi ášeir imšilalá númuni índibbi lú : húllani númuni índibbi šé-ib-e zídaka lú : húllani númuni índibbi

"Wailing has bound me, before it wailing has bound me.

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

To the walls of the holy temple her lord of gladness comes not "1.

This excerpt of some old song will be found copied into the first song of the series,

🟲 éturgim níginam šágabi ášeir,

"Like a sheep-fold harrassed, her heart laments" 2. and in the first song of the series,

é_e_še ámdume ése am dá_andu

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

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

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

^{1.} Zim. K. L. 5 rev. I 45-8.

^{2.} SBH. 35, 14-20; vide IV R. 53 I 4.

^{3.} KL. 25 I 18-23.

^{4.} Note especially ZIMMERN, K. L. Nos. 11 (original of later ame barana series), 12, 25, 26 and 27; MYHRMAN no. 1; Bab. 244.

first section is based upon an old song and represents Gula of Isin weeping for the temples of Nippur and Isin. Melody upon melody follows, several of them clearly old Isin songs arranged with popular refrains and selections which can be traced in other compositions. So far as the general sense is concerned any one of these songs is complete in itself and shows us the great mother goddess weeping because of the wrath of Enlil. The task of the liturgists appears to have consisted in selecting old songs with this idea. To us this succession of psalms becomes wearisome for each repeats the same general idea. But the rhythms vary greatly, and no doubt the musical motifs did also. Note for example the movements of the first lines of a few songs. Section two begins:—

wai uru-má-mu wai uru mámu wai uru-mámu mulú sirra wai uru-mámu

"Alas my city,

alas my city.

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

Compare with this the opening strains of the third section: -

édine ílua

úmuni ibzale

ílua édin[e] ílua úmuni íbzale

"The plain with lament she fills,

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

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

Interludes

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

nin-ri a-šag-ni a bar-ra-ni ¹ .	"The queen her field has forsaken".
šă-ab er-ri a-še-ir-ri al-kuš-ù-a-mu ga-ša-an ì-si-in-na er ì-si-in-na-ge	"Heart sighing and weeping weary her. As for the queen of Isin, the weeping of Isin has wearied her".

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

ma-a-a-bi ud-me-na-gim ma-a-a di-di-in "Now (?) as in the days of old where shall I go?"

This exclamation 1 of the weeping mother comes between the first and second songs of the series, úru húlage á emu imme². The first song represents her in the third person, the second in the first person.

In two cases it intervenes in the familiar passage on the "word". In one case the goddess is herself describing the devastation brought by the "word"3. The other passage is a psalm on the word of Nergal in which the mother goddess is not mentioned at all 4. The line does not divide two songs here but interrupts a connected passage. A litany describing the wrath of Ninuras has the same interlude between two of its sections 5. The reader will find the same interlude between two songs of an Innini liturgy on page 408 of this volume and it is employed in the same way on the tablet No 25 in ZIMMMERN's collection 6.

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

en-na la-bar-bi la-bar nu-tuk-ba-ra-"While her psalmist a psalmist no longer is ". an-ga

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

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

early period.

^{1.} For variants and discussion, v. SBP. 185 note 10.

^{2.} SBP. 184.

^{3.} SBP. 46, 19.

^{4.} Ibid. 76, 5.

^{5.} Ibid. 230, 16.

^{6.} Col. V 41.

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

Later forms

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

We remark a tendency to introduce a liturgical form in which one line begins ursaggal and the next elim-ma, each followed by a title of the god to whom the litary is directed "5. I have been unable to discover this motif in ancient texts. The popular honorific liturgies to deified kings of Ur and Isin naturally disappeared. The first Semitic dynasty saw the end of that class of literature, for the deification of kings was opposed to Semitic religion. This one Sumerian principle they rejected although they borrowed literally everything else. Compared with the classical Sumerian liturgy Semitic liturgy lost rather than gained. Theirs is a repetition of Sumerian forms lengthened by dreary lists of deities and titles set to old refrains.

Strophical arrangement

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

^{1.} RADAU, Miscel, no. 1, al-til, also on the large one tablet redaction, Bab. III 248, 30.

^{2.} Myhrman, no. 5.

^{3.} RADAU, Miscel. 14 rev. 3. A catch-line also in RADAU, Miscel. no. 15.

^{4.} Ibid., nos. 10 and 7.

^{5.} For example, SBP, 114, 226, etc.

If we represent these by A B C and D the strophical plan will be as follows;

A 2 The strophe is divided into two sub-strophes of three lines each and the second triplet is exactly like the first with the exception that at the beginning of the second triplet an epithet of the god is added.

1

The strophe has two sub-strophes of four lines each and the second substrophe repeats the first, adding an epithet of the god at the beginning of the first and second lines.

C and D have the same plan as A.

Less ambitious is the two line strophe of a hymn to Ninib published by Dr. Radau 1:—

lúgalmu gán kibal-sú-ginkar síksikki éngalmali níginlal záe a-súmmamen énnin-ib? gánkibal-sú ginkar síksikki éngalmali níginlal záe a-súmmamen.

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

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

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

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

úmunmu záeud úrumu úrsagma mên,

Metrical measures

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

^{2.} The scansion favours the reading ninib not dninuras.

But the next line,

šubbimu umun kalaga ursayma mėn, 1

cannot be made to conform to any such measure.

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

1. Bab. III 246, 17.

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

BABYLONIAN LITURGIES

Ι.

A LITURGY AND PRAYER TO THE MOON GOD FOR THE FLOCKS AND HARVESTS

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

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

Babylonian Liturgies.

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

- 2 . 1. ni-gab- \acute{e} $g\acute{a}l$ -lu 1. 2. [ni-gab-é] gál-lu lamas 2 é-gál-lu 3.galu-giš-è ³-é gál-lu..... 4.du-du giš-è-é gál-lu..... 5. ni-gab-é gál-lu lamas é gál-lu 6. gud tùr-ri gùn-ne udu gur-gur-ri 7. d·nannar d·sin me-en é d·en-lil-lá-šu ni-gab-é gál-lu 8. udu-šeg (?) šag-mu-da-ab-lal- e^4 9. d·áš-ìm-bàr me-en é d·en-lil-lá-šu ni-gab-é gál-lu 10. udu-nitah ib-[da-]⁵ab-peš-peš-e 11. d·nannar d·sin me-en é d·en-lil-lá-šu ni-gab-é gál-lu of the house. 12. úz ne-gar HAR-AB ne-ib(?)-nag-e 13. d·áš-im-bàr me-en [é] d·en-lil-lá-su
 - 1. [Oh Sin].. watchman of the temple thou hast been made (?).
 - 2. Watchman of the temple, guardian angel of the temple, etc.
 - 3.guard of the temple, etc.
 - 4. guard of the temple, etc.
 - 5. Watchman of the temple, guardian angel of the temple, etc.
 - 6. Thou that gatherest the oxen, bringest back the sheep.
 - 7. Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou, for the temple of Enlil watchman of the temple.
 - 8. For the herds (?) thou hast mercy.
 - 9. God of the new light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the temple.
 - 10. The male sheep thou makest lusty.
 - 11. Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
 - 12. The she-goats thou givest to eat; the thou givest to drink.
 - God of the new light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
 - 14. Wisdom unto children thou impartest.
 - 15. Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.

ni-gab-é gál-lu

ni-gab é-gál-lu

14. kud-da tür-ri-ge (?)-ne ib-zu-zu

15. denannar desin me-en é den-lil-lá-šu

^{1.} Or gál-dib (?); cf. SBP. 286, 9.

^{2.} For AN KAL-KAL, cf. beside SAI. 4433, CT.VIII 48 A1, 8; SBH. 85, 34.

^{3.} Perhaps a variant of $nig-\hat{e} = haitu$; cf. Pinches, Amh. 27 rev. 4.

^{4.} Sin as patron of flocks also IV R. 9

rev. 3; cf. Combe, Sin, p. 96. šag-lal = rêmu, full form šag-lal-sud > šalasud, ASKT. 99, 53. Also in lugal-šag-lal "the king is merciful", CT. I 9, II 19; V 22, VI 19.

^{5.} Not in the text.

- 16. iá kas a-nir gür 1-a mu-un-de-de-e
- 17. d-áš-ìm-hàr me-en é d-en-lil-lá-šu ni-gab é-gāl-lu
- 18. MUNUZ GĬR-lam-e mu-un-si-si-gi
- 19. d·nannar d·sin me-en é d·en-lil-lá-šu ni-gab-é gál-lu
- 20. gi-sún gi-ni-e gištab (?) gál-ím-me
- 21. d:áš-im-bàr me-en é d-en-lil-lá-šú ni-gab-é gál-lu
- 22. ad-da nig-bar-sur bar-sur-ra?
- 23. d-nannar d-sin me-en d-en-lil-lá-šu ni-gab-é gál-lu
- 24. kin-giš-gi nig-kun-gid kun-gid
- 25. d·áš-ìm-bàr me-en.... ám mi-ni-ibsun-sun
- 26. d-āš-ìm-bàr me-en é d-en-lil-la-šu nigab-é gál-lu
- 27. essad-e ³ šag-mu-da-ab-sur-ri
- 28. d·nannar d·sin me-en é d·en-lil-lá-šu ni-gab-é gál-lu
- 29. gud-ha-e zag-šag..... lá-lal-e

- 16. Oil and liquor that turn away sorrow thou causest to be poured out.
- 17. God of the new light art thou, for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
- 18. The.... thou fillest.
- 19. Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
- 20. The marsh lands thou causest to have reeds and.....
- 21. God of the new light art thou; for the house of Enlil watchman of the house.
- 22. Patron of the fuller's craft.
- 23. Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
- 24. Craftsman (?) of the long reservoirs.
- 25. God of the new light art thou;
- 26. God of the light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
- 27. The fishermen thou sighest for.
- 28. Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
- 29. The..... thou.....
- 4. REC, 220, completely confused with tur REC. 145 in the script of this period; cf. CT XV 24, 6.
- 2. gišnig-bar-sur, gišnig-bar-sig-sur=mazūru, a fuller's club.sur=zāru, אָנָת, press, squeeze clothes in washing, SAI. 1874 and sir= kaṣāru, press, bind, CT. XXIII 18, 46 and kāṣiru=fuller, Meissner, MVAG. 1904, 232. Hence ma-

zûru certainly fron zâru. The mazûru is an emblem of Sin, Scheil, Texts-el.-sem. II, 90, 11, and he appears here as the patron of the fuller's art.

3. For essad = mākisu, tax collector, v. Th.-Dangin, RA. VII 185. The original meaning, however, is 'fisherman', Gud. Cyl. B 14, 26-15, 1.

30.	d·áš-ìm-bàr me-en é [d·en-lil-lá-šu ni]-gab-é gál-lu	30. God of the new light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
31.	šurim-šù-ám síl mu-ni-in	31. To the ewes the lambs thou [givest].
32	udu amaš-bi šab-ba-šu šu(?)-niba	32. Sheep of the pens therein thou
	d·nannar d·sin me-en é d·en-lil-lá-[šu ni-gab-é gál-lu]	33. Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
34.	MAŠ + SAG (?)-šù-am máš mu-ni-in	34. To the leading goats (?) the kids thou [givest].
35.	máš úz-da gud šab-bi-šu	35. With the kids and she-goats the oxen (thou makest to lie down) together.
36.	d áš-ìm-hàr me-en é d en-lil-[lá-šu ni-gab-é gál-lu]	36. God of the new light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
37.	áb (?)-šù-ám amar	37. To the cows the calves thou [givest].
	áb-ba gud šag udu	38 cows and oxen among the sheep [thou pasturest (?)].
39 .	d-áš-lm-bàr me-en é d-en-lil-lá-šú [ni-gab é-gál-lu]	39. God of the new light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
40.	nig sag-má nig-sag ga-ra-ni	40. ····································
	nig egir-má nig-egir ya-ra-ni- ib	41
42.	zt-la-da ¹ ni-gab-e zi-[li-da]	42. Radiant 2 watchman, radiant [lamas- su].
43.	ni-gab-e zí-li-da é-kid nam-mi-in	43. Oh watchman radiant who openest the house
44.	d·lamas galu-giš-è zi-[la-da]	44. Oh guardian angel, radiant guard
	ni-gab-e zi-la-da é-kid nam-mí-in-	45. Oh radiant watchman who openest the house
46.	galu-giš-è giš-umun é-gál-[lu]	46. Thou hast been made guard and of the temple
47.	ni-gab-e zí-la-da é-kid nam-[mi-in-] zal-lá	47. Radiant watchman who openest the house

CLERCO, nº 260.

^{2.} zilada from the rootzil, sil, be bright;

^{1.} Cf. the title of Sin, nun-zi-li, DE cf. iluSin du-mu zi-li, MDOG. no. 5, 17 I 4.

48.	d·sin-ra d·en-lil mu á zína- mu-ne	48.	Unto Sin Enlil[spoke].
49.	lùmunig-gúgmu-na- ab	49.	Oh my misery
50 .	d·nannar-mu [ken]-ag-gà-ra	50 .	My Nannar beloved
	$nig \dots mu$ - na - $ab \dots$		
51.	nig-ba ù nig-muk-zu mura-è mu-na-ab	51.	
52 .	zag (?) ? ? á-el-la-mu de-mu-na-ra- ab-ad(?)	52 .	my for thee
5 3.	nig gúg-gi giš-na-ta? el-mu-na-r [v-]ab	53 .	Misery for thee
54.	nig(?) dúg-mu nag-a-zu igi im-si-in	54 .	•
	nag-a-zu igi-im-si-in	55 .	
56.	il-la-zu nam la-ám	56 .	
	hen-gál-zu gabám	57 .	the bounty
58 .	sĭg-ab-da-ab la zu (?) sĭg-ab-da-ab uri-(ki)-su ga-ara	58.	Give. Thy riches give; to Ur come.
	id-da aga sĭg-zu-da-ab	59 .	A canal of floods give.
	a-šag-ga še-gu-nu sig-ab-da-ab	60.	A field of abundant grain give.
	[id-da ha-dim-kar-nim(?)] sig ab-da- ab		A canal offish give.
62 .	[giš]-gi gi-sún gi-ni sĭg ab-da-ab	62.	Marsh and swamp of reeds give.
	[tul-tulne-bi] sig-ab-da-ab.	63 .	Pools of give.
	dingir ašnan-na sīg-ab-da- ab.	64.	Grain of give.
65.	[?]-tud ?-né-né-bar sĭg-dím-da-ab	65 .	give.
	é-gal-la zig sú-ud-gál sig-dím-da-ab	66.	Unto the (royal) palace life unto far away days grant; into Ur 1 come.
67.	mu-na-an-sĭg d·en-lil mu-na-an-sĭg uri-(ki)-sú ba-ara	67.	He gave, Enlil gave; unto Ur he came.
68 .	id-da a-ga mu-na-an- sig	68.	A canal of floods he gave.
	a-šag-ga še-gu-nu ² mu-na-an-sig		A field of abundant grain he gave.
	td-da ha-dim-kar-nim (?) mu-na-an- sig		A canal of fish he gave.

^{1.} The text has šeš den-ki not šeš-unu-ki, possibly an error! Ur was a city in the vicinity of Eridu and we may possibly have here a new ideogram for Ur.

^{2.} Cf. gan-e še-gu-nu-a mi-ni-in-du, the field with abundance of grain he has adorned, RADAU, BE. XXIX 2, 28. Also SBP. 334, 14.

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

1. giš-gi in a catchline at the end of a tablet of omens concerning a river, K 116 (DA.70), denotes a kind of marsh;

šumma ķanu ṣalmu ina giš-gi ittanmar nēšu innadar, if a black reed appear among the canebrake (?) a lion will rage. II

HYMN TO NINIB

IN MEMORY OF HIS CREATING THE CANALS AND SUPPLYING THE EARTH WITH IRRIGATION

Text published by Hugo RADAU, BE. XXIX nos 2 and 3, variants.

For my text I have used BE XXIX no 2 as the basis of lines 1-21 and from here to the end no 3 rev. 3 ff. with the aid of no 2 rev. and the duplicate VAT. 172+232+435+747 published by Reisner, SBH. no 71. Radau who discovered the variant text of Berlin has transliterated and translated the original and the variant. BE. XXIX, 63-74.

Obv.

- 1. ud-bi-a a-silim ki-ta-du a-kar-ra nuum (?)....
- 2. a šed i dŭ-dŭ dŭ-ù ud-zal-li-da-dim kùr-ra ri-a 2 ba-ni-ib-ila-a
- 3. dingir kalam-ma ba-lăḥ-gi-eš-a
- 4. gišal dusu-bi mu-un-lal-eš-a
- 5. har-ra-ám èš-kar-bi ni-me-a
- 6. uku kud-bi-šú é-galu gú-ba-an-de
- 7. ididigna nam-gu-la.....šú šagbi nu-me-e

- 1. Once upon a time healing waters which come from the earth [watered] the fields no more.
- 2. Cool waters causing abundance, which as the morning light are brought unto a barren land.
- 3. Which the gods of the land caused to flow.
- 4. (For which) men bore spade and labourer's basket.
- 5. And their pay³ was.....
- 6. The people wailed in (their) habitations because they (the waters) were cut off.
- 7. Of the Tigris..... its floods are not.

AJSL, 23, 314; KLAUBER, LSS. V3, 84; HROYNÝ, WZKM. XXV, 319 ff.

^{1.} Cf. Gud. Cyl. A 2, 8.

^{2.} For *é-ri-a*.

^{3.} For èš-kar, salary, v. Luckenbill,

- 8. AB + X kár-ri galu nu-šar-e (?)
- 9. sag-gar húl-a gar nu-šar-e
- 10. id tūr-tūr-ri šu-luğ gal'-li ne-in-aga saḥar nu-mu-da-an-zi-zi-i
- 11. gan-zid-da a-nu-šub-šub 1-bi e-aga nu-gál-la
- 12. kùr-kùr-ri abšin-na nu-gub-bu šebir-a² i-im-aga
- 13. en-e giš-tuk-pi-mah im-gub-bi³
 [be-lu u-zu-(un-šu) rabi-ti iš-kunma]
- 14. d·nin-ib dumu d·en-lil-lá-ge gal-bi 4 ni 5-mal-mal [ilu ninib be-lum mar iluenlil ra-bi-iš iš-ta-nak-kan]
- 15. gu-ru-um ⁶ dág-kùr-ra mi-ni-inaga ⁷
 - [(gu-)ru-un (ab)-nišadi-i iķ-ru-un.]
- 16. imir-sig-sig-ga-dim á-ne 8 in-sudsud-e 9
 - [ki-ma ir-pi-e-ti 10 muk-kal-pi-ti ina ram-ni-šu i-šad-di-hu]
- 17. bad-mah-dim kalam-ma-igi ba-ne 11-in-[gub]
 - $\begin{bmatrix} ki\text{-}ma \ du\text{-}ur \ ra\text{-}bi\text{-}i \ pa\text{-}an \ ma\text{-}a\text{-}ti \ i\text{-}[zi\text{-}ir] \end{bmatrix}$.

- 8. The cities (?) mourn (?) and men plant no more.
- 9. The hungry and the sorrowful plant no more.
- 10. The little canals where men perform hand-washings, give life to the soil no more.
- 11. The sacred plain water falls not upon; the making of canals is no more.
- 12. The lands bear verdure no moré, weeds (?) they create ".
- 13. The lord lent his great ear.
- 14. Ninib son of Enlil acted with majesty.
- 15. Heaps of stone of the mountain he heaped up.
- 16. In his own-strength he strode as an onrushing storm cloud.
- 17. Before the land like a mighty citywall he stood.
- 1. šub perhaps for šug, to water; v. Langdon, Sum. gram. § 41 g) and p. 242.
- 2. Here begins SBH. 71 obv. 2 [se-] bir-ri, probably a kind of obnoxious plant.
 - 3. Var. in-gub.
 - 4. Var. gal-bi-si, v. Sum. gram. § 83.
 - 5. Var. in.

- 6. Var. un.
- 7. Var. *gar*.
- 8. Var. im-bi.
- 9. RADAU's text has gid-gid-e; cf. CT.
- XVI 43, 68; King, Magic, 12, 6; 30, 24.
- 10. For *ir-pi-e-tu*, cf. also B. M. 82-3-
- 23, 151 in King, Creat. LIV.
 - 11. Var. ni.

- 18. gišbal ki-šár-ra mu¹-ni- in- gar [ina pilaķķi² ki-šar-ri³ iš-kun]
- 19. ur-sag-e mu-un-gùn uru ur-bi ni(?)-dū(?) [kar-ra-du ik-(nu-un) (mahaza?) mit-ha-ris (ib-ni)]
- 20. a-kalag-ga $d\acute{a}g$ im-da-[ab]⁴-di [me-e dan-nu-(ti) ab-ni $i\acute{s}$ -be]⁵
- 21. i-dé-šú a kùr da-eri-šú ki-a nu-unbád 6-e (?) [i-na-an-na mu-u da-ri-iš iš-tu irṣi-ti ana šadi-i ul (il-)lu-u]
- 22. $\begin{bmatrix} ni-bir-\end{bmatrix}bir-a$ 7 $gùn-ba-ni-\begin{bmatrix} in-nigin \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} \$a\ u-sap-pi-(\hu) & up-ta\h-\hi-& ir \end{bmatrix}$
- 23. [kùr-ra sug-ga] ⁸ ba-ni- in[gi-a] ⁹
 [sa ina și-rim u ba-ma-a-ti u-mállu-ú]
- 24. mu-un-ŭr-ŭr¹⁰ ididigna¹¹-a¹² im[dub?]
 [iḥ-mu-um-ma ana nārui-di-ig-lat
 it-ta-di]
- 25. a-gū a-kar-ra i-ni-in- [súg] [mi-i-lu u-ga- ri im-ki- ir]

- 18. With the mace he smote the world.
- 19. The hero heaped (the stones) and builded straightway a city.
- 20. With many waters the stones he satiated.
- 21. In those days waters from hell rose not to the earth-mountain forever.
- 22. But whom he scattered he gathered.
- 23. [The waters] which in field and highland he made to fill (the streams),
- 24. He conducted and into the Tigris poured.
- 25. The floods watered the fields.

- 2. The scribe has written $AN-\parallel$ probably by distraction.
- 3. Suppress Meissner, SAI. 7409 and read kišarru.
- 4. ?, the variant appears to have imda-di.
- 5. For šebû active in the kal, cf. ašba-ka, I satiated thee, Craig, RT. 6, 7. Išbe-Ea-bêli, 'Ea my lord has satiated'; Išbi-erra, 'He has satiated the city', name of the first king of the dynasty of Isin.
 - 6. This is the only passage where Babylonian Liturgies.

bad appears as a verb for 'go up, be high', elû. As adj. šakû, elû, CT. XII 12 a 29; II R. 30 g 9; CT. XVI 12, 24.

This meaning for $b\acute{a}d$ may possibly go back to the notion of a high wall, $b\acute{a}d$ = $d\~{u}ru$, a derivation advocated in my Sum. Gram. 205.

- 7. Var. ri-(a?)
- 8. Var. sug-zag.
- 9. Cf. II R. 32 q 12.
- 10. Var. *ur-ur*.
- 11. RADAU's copy has here and in line 7 TIG-KAR not preceded by the sign MAS.
 - 12. Var. šú.

^{1.} Var *mi*.

- 26. t-de-šú ud-da nig ki-šar [i-na-an-na umišamma ki-ša-a-ir]
- 27. lugal kalam-ma en d-nin-ib-ra str-?-bi-šù mu-un-ŝi¹-hul-li-eš [šar-ri ina rîŝāti u hidā]ti(?) ha-du-u
- 28. gan-e še-gu-nu-a mi-ni-in-dim [..... ú-ban-ni]
- 29. EBUR-iš giš šar-ge gurin mi-ni-inila

 $[in-bi....ti \ \dot{u}$ - $\dot{s}a$ - $a\dot{s}$ - $\dot{s}i]$

- 30. $gur dù-ri^2$ $gùn im-mi-in gur-gur^3$ $[\dots ti-li \ \dot{u}-gar-ri-in]$
- 31. en-e kalam-ta kár im-ta- $[?^4]$ [.... ma-a-ti ka-a-ra uš-te-ra-a]
- 32. dingir-ri-e-ne $har-bi^5$ $mu-un-si-[-ig^6]$

 $[\ldots\ldots ka-bat-ta-\check{s}u-nu\quad it-\dot{t}i-ib]$

- 33. d·nin-ib a-a-ni ni-me-ib (?)...... [....d·nin-ib-ge sú-ud-bi-šú šumi-ni-in-gál-li-eš]
 - [.....ana bêli ilu ninib ana rûkēti ilabbinu-ši]
- 34. ud-bi-a sal-e dagal-a sá-nam-mi (?)-ib-dúg⁷
 - [....zinništum rêmu ikšudaššumma]
- 35. d·nin-maḥ-e ki-uš-dúg-ga-[a-ni ùnu-mu-un-ši-ib-túg-túg] [ilat ninmaḥ ašar ridûti-šu ul iṣallal]
- 36. ķin-ķin dugud-dim bar-ba
 [ni- nad]

- 26. And so now daily all the world,
- 27. Unto the lord of the land with joy and gladness rejoices.
- 28. The plain with abundant grain he created.
- 29. At harvest-time the gardens he caused to bear fruit.
- 30. The granaries on the hills he stored.
- 31. The master in (our) land erected a dike.
- 32. He made content the minds of the gods.
- 33. Ninib his father..... [adored] 8
- 34. In those days woman was touched not by compassion.
- 35. Ninmah in the place of begetting he embraced not.
- 36. Now (?) like a meteor beside her [he lies].

^{1.} Var. omits.

^{2.} Var. no. 3 rev. 30 $d\dot{u}$ -ne. We have here two dialectic variants for dul; on the one hand dul > dur, § 44; dul > dun, § 45.

It would appear from this passage that the original word for *tilu* is *dul* not *du*, cf. *Bab*. IV 27.

^{3.} Var. SBH. 123 rev. 13.

^{4.} RADAU, gur.

^{5.} Sic! bi referring to persons in the plural, § 160 and p. 108.

^{6.} So RADAU, and cf. Sum. Gram. 238, sig 5.

^{7.} Var. sá-ù-ga-ni-ib-dúg.

^{8.} The variant has another version "Unto the lord Ninib afar off they bowed down".

• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	*
 37. i-lu kùr gĭr-nu-gál-la-ba 38. ù-mu-un à-maḥ-a-ni 39. ur-sag-gal an-dim ib-ba-na 40. ud(?) sǔr-di ara uḥ duḥ-ba 	 37. Wailing in the land where no foot was [has ceased]. 38. The lord his might 39. The hero renowned like heaven 40
41. en d'mu-ul-lil-lá men sag-e dú	41. The lord Enlil adorned his head with a crown.
\mathbb{R}^{2} , \mathbb{R}^{2}	
AN INCANTATION IN TH	E " HOUSE OF LIGHT
AGAINST TH	E EVIL EYE.
Edin. 09	0.405-33
 igi ád-gĭr igi lù-găl ád-gĭr igi galu nig-ḥúl-dím-ma ád-gĭr 	 The eye ad-gir, the eye a man has The eye afflicting man with evil, the ad-gir.
3. an-e ba-tegimir nu-šeg-šeg ki-ba- teg ú-bil nu mă-di	3. Unto heaven it approached and the storms sent no rain; unto earth it approached and the fresh verdure sprang not forth.
4. gud-dé ba-teg sab-bi im-duh	4. Unto the oxen it approached, and their herdsman was undone.
5. é-tùr-ri ba-teg ga-tab-ba-bi-im nu- tah	5. Unto the stalls it approached, and milk was no longer plentiful.
6. amas-su ba-teg gùn-bi im -lam	6. Unto the sheepfolds it approached and its production
7. bär-ra ba-teg á-kalag uku mu-[un]- an-sar	7. Unto the homes (of men) it approached and vigor of men it restrained.
8. ki-el-ra ba-teg túg mu-un-an-kar	8. Unto the maiden it approached and seized away her robes.

9. Unto the strong man.....

11. What I know thou also knowest.

severed.

10. Marduk beheld it.

mu-un-si-il

9. $mes-r\bar{u}$ (?) i-(?) mu-nu-sig kib-lal!

10. d.asar-lù-dug-e igi-im-ma-an-sig

11. nig-ni-zu-a-mu ù za-e in-ga-zu-ba

^{1.} So the text. Not ME.

12. Seven vases of meal-water behind 12. imin a-še ummar-ri eqir qiš-qaz-kam the.... 13. imin a-še ummar-ri egir dāg HAR²-13. Seven vases of meal-water behind kamthe grinding stones. 14. iá-ta u-me-ni-šár 14. With oil mix. 15. ka-ta ù-me-ni-sìr 15. Upon (his) face apply. 16. nam-šub-ta 16. As thou sayest the curse, 17. tig galu-gig-ra ù-mu-ni-lál-[e] 17. (Thy) neck toward the sick man raise. 18. d. nin-tin-dìg-ga-gi ù-mu-ni-láh 18. May the queen who gives life to the dead purge him. 19. d.? -mu-dub-ra tab-ba-ri mu-.... 20. d·gu-nu-ra giš má-ni nun-mu-ú.... 20. May Gunura her boat..... 21. tù én é-sir-ru 21. Curse. Incantation of the house of light.

IV

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

Edin 09.405-2.

This incantation in the 'house of light' against the harlor of Jumina 1 (Ishtar) is extremely valuable as the earliest and most important description of the female incarnation of lasciviousness. Sumero-Babylonian religion represented the male and female principles of this aspect of human sin by the demons lil-la and ki-el lil-la (ASKT. 88, 30 f.), the former representing the temptation of woman and the latter, the servant of lilū (ardat lilī), the temptation of man. In the evolution of Babylonian magic it is the ardat lili, or the harlot who becomes most prominent. We see her in this early Sumerian text described as a beautiful woman (ardatu damkatu) haunting the streets and enticing her lover in his sleep. Both the lil-la (lilā) and the ki-el lil-la are represented in the original mythology as unmarried (ASKT. 88, 30)2. In the later period there grew up beside the 'servant of $lil\bar{u}$ ' another vague female principle of lilū, called the lilītu, a Semitic feminine formation of lilū and translated into Sumerian by sal-lil-lá (Maklu I 138). The word rapidly displaced the earlier ardat lilī and passed into the other Semitic languages as a female demon of darkness and lust. When the Sumerian for ki-el lil-lá is employed for lilītu and the scribe wished to write both lilitu and ardat lili in the same line he employed for the

^{1.} In Bab. IV 188, col. II 1, this harlot is called the 'hand of Ishtar'.

^{2.} Bab. IV, 189.

latter the Sumerian word ki-cl ud-da-kár-ra, or maid of darkness. The connection of lilītu with the idea of darkness was further promoted among the Semites by the popular erroneous derivation from lajil, 'night'. The harlot's evil machinations were, however, conceived of as carried on after sunset from the earliest period and a man seduced by the vision of lust was purified in the 'house of light'. The text here published is closely allied with commentaries on an incantation against the harlot published by me in Babyloniaca IV 185 ff. See also no. 194.

Obv.

- 1. ki-el šág-ga² sil-a gub-ba
 ki-el kár-lil dinnina durun-bád (?)
 gub-ba
 áb-šár-ra-ám áb-šár-ra-ám
 áb sal-la šar dinnina kam
- áb sal-la sar dinnina kam
 5. é-nun-mah denki-ga-gu ki-eldúr-a-ni
 gissar ab-a dú-gùr-ru-ám³
 nad l-ni... dím uru-sag-aga-ám s
 sib edin-na an-dûl-? ám
 dím mu-un-igi-lal dím sag-kenag-
- 10. šu mu-un-igi-lal su šag-kenag-kam
 gĭr mu-un-igi-lal gĭr šag-kenag-kam
 giši-lu azag-ga-gám (?) gú-za-in-na

- 1. The sacred maid stands in the street.
- 2. The maid harlot of Innina stands on the... wall.
- 3. Fatted cow, fatted cow is she.
- 4. Fatted6 cow of Innina is she.
- 5. Maiden who in the house of the mighty prince of Eridu dwells,
- 6. Like the verdant garden bearing seemliness she is.
- 7. Her bed like is made in the holy city.
- 8. Shepherdess of the plain, protection of is she.
- 9. The limbs (of a man) she looked upon; limbs of one beloved are they.
- 10. The hand (of a man) she looked upon; hand of one beloved is it.
- 11. The foot (of a man) she looked upon; the foot of one beloved is it.
- 12. At the holy threshhold, of lazuli,

-kam(?)

^{1.} ud-da-kár-ra = 'Suppression of light'. In this connection, v. Smith, Miscel. Texts. 14 rev. c. 4-6; én ki-el ud-da-kár-ra-[ge] nu-gig ud-da-kár-ra zu-ne, curse of the 'maid of lilū', the harlot who 'knoweth' in darkness. For the demon of lust and chief female demon in Hebrew, Aramaic, late Hebrew and Mandean incantations, see the Jewish Encyclopedia VIII 87: Schwab in PSBA. 1890, 302 and Hyvernat, ZK. II 135

^{2.} Cf. CT. XV18 rev. 6; BA. V 680, 7.

^{3.} Cf. Gud. Cyl. B 16, 15.

^{4.} For this sign v. CT. VIII 34 B 12.

^{5.} Gula is mother of *urú-sag-gà*, SBH. 93, 4; cf. 12, 11.

^{6.} For sar in the sense of 'fat', cf. IV R 20, 26.

AN-AL ki-i-dúr ĕ-ne-ni

šag kenag pàr-pàr-ri-ne

15. šag kenag IB i-i-ri-ne šag kenag an-ta imi-duḥ-dim meš-šakalag a-gi-dim hen-ra-ra

> d·asar-lù-dug-e igi im-ma-an-sĭg a-a-ni d·en-ki-ra é-a ba-ŝi-in-tur gù-mu-na-de-e

20. a-a-mu ki-el šag-ga sil-a gub-ba

ara min-kam-ma ub \-te-dúg
a-na ib-bi-en-na-bi nu-zu a-na bani-ib-gi-gi

d·en-ki-ge dumu-ni d·asar-lù-dug mu-na-ni-ib-gi-gi

dumu-mu a-na nu-zu a-na a-ra-abtah-e

25. dasar-lù-dug a-na nu-zu a-na a-raab-tah-e

nig-ni-zu-a-a-mu ù $^{\circ}z$ a-e in-ga $^{\circ}$ -e-zu

iá áb azag-ga ga áb-silam- ma 4

iá áb-a iá áb-làh dib

iá ALAN-sîg-sîg 5-bi a-ba-ni-de 30. gab ki-el-la a-mi-in....

> ki-el ig-tāg a-nam-mu-un-mir-... me-en

> dumu er-pad-da-ni nam-mu-un-TUR-LUL

- 13.place of she has gone forth.
- 14. Her beloved lay in repose.
- 15. Her beloved..... was disposed⁶.
- 16. Her beloved from above like.....
- 17. the strong man like a deluge she overwhelmed.
- 18. Marduk beheld it.
- 19. To his father Ea, into the house he entered, and wailed.
- 20. "Oh my father the sacred maid stood in the street.".
- 21. Twice he spoke thus.
- 22. "What he has said I know not, how I shall restore him (I know not)."
- 23. Ea answered his son Marduk.
- 24. "Oh my son what know I, what shall I add to thee?
- 25. Oh Marduk what know I, what shall I add to thee?
- 26. Whatsoever I know thou also knowest.
- 27. Fat of the sacred steer, milk of the cow.
- 28. Fat of a steer, fat of a white steer, take.
- 29. With fat his limbs anoint.
- 30. The breast of the maiden..... (turn away).
- 31. Maid who opened the door mayest thou disperse".
- 32. The son (of his god) who wept may sigh (?) no more.

^{1.} DUL with value ub?

^{2.} ù is a Semitic loan-word here. Cf. Bab.III 15, 26.

^{3.} inga for imma, v. Langdon Sum. Gram. $\S 40 \ d$).

^{4.} Cf. CT. XVII 12, 30, and strike the interrogation in SAI. 6652.

^{5.} Cf. Br. 7020 and for the probable reading gen, den, V. SBP. 12 n. 2.

^{6.} $rig > ri = ram\hat{u}$.

egir-mà kàs hu-mu-ni-su-hi tù én-é-sir-ri

33. Behind me the wandering demon may one cause to perish. Incantation of the house Curse. of light.

\mathbf{v}

HYMN TO THE MOON GOD

Edin. 09.405-32.

1.	lugal gud igi ḥa igi-mu-ùr	1. Mighty king with eye of, eye of,
2.	ù- na- dúg	2. Oh speak to us.
	alan (?) azag-gi-pár-dug-ga tu-ud-da	3. Bright creator of the light of goodness,
4.	en nir-gál dingir-ri- ge .	4. Lord excellent among the gods,
	ù- na- ne- tah	5. Oh unto us add increase.
	áb-za-za ² amaš-agag-gagà	6 ox of the sacred stall
7.	šag-azag dingir-ri-ge pad-da.	7. Thou whom the pure heart of the gods didst name,
8.	za-e ma-zu dumu an-na me-en	8. As for thee thou knowest; child of heaven art thou.
9,	dúg-ga-zu dù dingir-ra- ta	9. Thy command in the chamber of the gods,
10 .	ki nu- gi- gi- dam	10. Returns not to its place.
	enim-zu ní an-tagà-dím	11. Thy word in heaven itself like,
	šangu nu-rú- rú-dam	12. Priest cannot measure.
	gīš ur-sig nitaķ ban-nata	13. Vigorous one, hero beneficent
	lugal-mà bar-ma li-li dim	14. Oh my ruler at my side
15 .	dumu uri-(ki)-ma me- en	15. Child of Ur art thou.
	gar dumu lal-? lugal-mà	16 my ruler
17.	šab ad-da galu-zid ma-an- da	17. Shepherd, father, thou who life hast
	ki-zi-ma ad-da- mà	given $(?)$,
19.	galu nam-mū-dúg (?) ab ri	18 my father.
		19. Thou who creative power
20 .	lugal-muzu	20. Oh my king thy.
	. For <i>kàs</i> = <i>lāsimu</i> , a demon, v. CT I-34, 219.	2. An animal, in K.117,32 (Bab. II, pl. II) between immeru sheep and aribu

raven.

VI

HYMN TO TAMMUZ AND INNINA

Edin. 09.405-27

Obv.

1.	ur-sag kur-ra ne 1-zu śi-ir-ri	1. Hero! in the earth thy strength is surpassing.
2.	su-pad-e kùr-ra ne-zu ši-ir-ri	2. Increase-named in the earth thy strength is surpassing.
3.	an-na ur-bi-a ne-zu ši-ir-ri	3. In heaven straightway thy strength surpasses.
4.	ki-a ga-ba-bi-a ne-zu ši-ir-ri	4. In earththy strength surpasses.
5.	me-gal-ga-al di-ne-ir² pad-e-a	5 who announces the great decrees of the gods.
6.	me-gal-ga-al di-ne-ir pad-e-a	6 who announces the great decrees of the gods.
7.	me-e ara ù-na-an-su	7.
8.	ne-ir-ma-al ³ ki-ba-al	8 eminent in the hostile land 5.
9.	dingir maḥ mi-en SAL + KU-zu	9 mighty god art thou; thy
	e-ri-da 4 su-ḥa	sister in begetting.
10.	dingir mah mi-en SAL +	10 mighty god art thou; thy
	KU-zu e-ri-da su-ḥa	sister in begetting.
11.	MAL-LIL-ki-gà dū-zi me-en	11 thou art.
12 .	$\dots di$ -ne- ri - ni	12 his god.
13.	[za?]-e an-ki-a ni-ir- mà-al	13. Thou in heaven and earth art heroic.

- 1. Possibly a var. of $n\acute{e} = emuku$.
- 2. For dingir > dimir > dinir, a case of assimilation of m to the dental $n, \S 55$ a).
 - 3. Var. of nir-gál = etillu.
 - 4. Cf. nin-eri-da, Gud A 1, 2.
- 5. ki-ba-al refers here unmistakably to the nether world. It is, therefore, extremely probable that the phrase ki-bal-a sudsud = sāpin mat nukurti, " conquer-

or of the hostile land "(IV R. 26 n° 1, 1), refers to Nergal as the lord who triumphs over the powers of Hades, as Jastrow maintains. The same title may be applied to any solar deity, Ninib, Samaš, Tammuz, Nergal. ki-bal or Hades must not be confused with kùr nu-šeg = mat la magiri, "land of the enemy", IV R. 24 n° 1, 57.

14 zu KU-ùr KU-ùr¹ igi-zid di- da ² śar-di	14 a kindly eye upon the suffering cast (?).
15zu KU-ùr igi-zid di-da šar-di	15 a kindly eye upon the suffering cast (?).
16bi-a zi-ga ù-dib-ba-ra teg-a	16, unto the bound draw nigh.
17kár dím ù-dib-ba- ra teg-a	17. Grown up in, unto the bound draw nigh.
18. [é] ri-a dim ù-dib-ba- ra teg-a	18. Grown up in the desolate house unto the bound draw nigh.
19 šab-dim įá-ga šu-mu-un-á-te	19. Grown up in thou hast received.
20-22 me-en etc.	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	e v .
1	
2	
3 ne-za-ra	3unto thee.
$4. \ldots an \ldots zu$	4knowest.
5 bi azag-ra ma-ra-sìr	5 unto the holy hasten.
6 igi-ù-di ³ tu-da a-su-ra-ba	6for admiration created asuraba 5.
7su-mi pad-e a-ma-si en-da-hu-la.	7called, the sheep stalls thou makest glad.
8 tu-ùr lù-gal-mu mu-zu hi-pad- di	8 Woh my lord thy name I will proclaim.
9 du-da ki bu- bu- a	9to go, to the nether world hasten.
10 in du-du-da ki-bal ùr-ru- ri	10 to go, to the hostile land
11. ka-ša-na ana-ka? dib-ba- zi	11 queen of heaven
12 mu-gi-ib-e e-a i-gu-ub	12. The virgin in the house stood.
13. ù-dib-ba SAL-KU tu-ùr mu-gi-i-ba 14. mu-ud-na ka-ša-an-na-ka-k KU nu-	13. In sorrow the sister entered, she the virgin.
bi gig-ga	14. The consort of the queen of heaven
15. ù-bi-a lù-li-el-da gu-na-ša-na mu- un-di-di	15. And also with the <i>lilū</i> -demon she hastened.
1. Cf. CT XV 9, 17, syn. of agu, turban.	3. <i>ù-di</i> var. of <i>ŭ-di</i> , Br. 9359; Gud. Cyl. A20, 30.
2. Cf. SBP. 120, 1.	4. Contracted from kasan ana-ka.
	5. Cf. ansura-mu, nº 7 IV, 17.
Babylonian Liturgies.	3

- 16. ku-da-ra-ab-mu nc-na ka-ši-ša-na mu-un-di-di
- 16. she hastened.
 [I am unable to interpret the remaining lines.]
- 17. udu-še-da¹ mu-na-ab-du e-di ù-di gu-a-me-en
- gu-a-me-en 18. dum-mu ga-ša-an-su mu-un-na-abdu e-di² ù-di gu-a-me-en

VII

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

VIII

Edin. 09. 405-26.

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

	Obv.	Obv. VIII.
1.	$\dots \dots \dots \dots \dots \dots$	1 the maid of
2.	ša ar-da-tum	3
3.	maš na sal	4 strong, maid of
4.	kalag-ga mu-tin	5. Queen, great scribe,
	gašan dup -[ša r m a h]	
6.	gašan dup-šar maķ nin kalag-	6. Queen, great scribe, princess
	$[ga\dots]$	heroic

^{1.} For šega, § 50.

^{2.} For $egi = rab\hat{u}$.

^{3.} See ZIMMERN, Tamuz Lieder 249.

	•	·
	ninLU nin AH	7
8.	kullab al-ne-in-dur mè- ne mu-tin unu-(ki)-[ga mèn]	8 Kullab I rule, maid of Erech am I.
o	i-be-li $ar-da-tum$	Erech am 1.
σ.	[uriki ana-ku]	
40		AA The Assemble of Assels I will
	é a-ra-li-gà al-[ne-in-dúr mè-ne] é dúr-sàb-ba-gà al	10. The temple of Aralu I rule.
	· ·	11. E-dursabba I rule(.)
	bád-gur gur-ki²-gà al	12. The of Badgurgur I rule.
	é zíd-ka-nag³-gà-gà al	13. E-zidkanagga I rule.
14.	unu-(ki)-ga na-mèn unu-(ki)-ga na- mèn mu-tin mèn me-e unu-ki- ga-na [mèn]	14. Of Erech am I, of Erech am I, a maid am I, of Erech am I.
15.	9 2 3	
	ana-ku ar-da-tum ana-ku ša	
	(uruki) [anaku]	
16.		16. Of Erech its bride am I, maid am I
	mèn sag?-a-na	
17.	ša ul ⁴ kal-lat-su anaku ar-da-	
	tum ana-ku šu-mi-ru bu-us	
18.	kullab um-me-da-bi na-mèn mu-tin	18. Of Kullab its begetting mother am I,
	$m\grave{e}n\;\grave{u}\;(?)$ - $er\;d\acute{e}\ldots$	maid am I
19.	ša ul ta-ri-[ti-šu] ana-ku ar-da-tum	
	ana-ku u-nam-za	
20.	é-mu-a da-ma-al-la-áš dé-ib-lal mu-	20. My temple as a public square I have
	$tin \ men \ me-e \ unu-(ki)-gana-[men]$	made unholy, maid am I, of
21	bi-ti ana ri-bi-ti lu-ú-hat-ti ⁵ ar-da-	Erech am I.
	tum ana-ku u-ru-ka-[ti ana-ku]	Micon am 1.
22	kùr kullab-ka-áš ne-ib-lal mu-tin	22. The land of Kullab I have made
	na-mèn ⁶ me-e	unholy, maid am I.
23 .	da-ma in-tu-ud-da-ma mu-tin	23who bore him maid am I
	na-mèn ma	The state of the s

- 1. $g^{i\dot{s}}d\dot{u}r = b\hat{e}lu$, a weapon, must be considered as the same word as $d\dot{u}r = b\hat{e}lu$ to rule.
- 2. Sinidinnam built the great wall of Badgurgur, SAK 208 a) 2, 9, and Tammuz is lord of Badgurgur, CT. XV 18, 8, and cf. d·lugal-bád-gurgur-ki, K. 11928 (CT XXV), possibly a title of Tammuz.
- 3. Cf. é-zi-kalam-ma, a temple at Kullab, King, LIH. no. 61.
 - 4. ul = "that", §164, here employed in the sense of ditto.
- 5. For lal = hatû, v. Knudtzon, Gebete II 34.
- 6. namen is apparently a strengthened form of men.

25who bore him
27 who bore him
Rev.
3. Gilgameš lord of the earth
5. Umuzida in the boundary of Girsu
7. Tammuz with his(?) brother, a maid am I
9. For my brother, who reclines like a wild ox, I the maiden am restless.
11. For Tammuz, who reclines like a wild ox, I the maiden am restless.
12. Unto the chiefest of the priests offering of incense I the maiden give.
13. Unto I the maiden give.
14. Alas in wailing the shepherd, what has he done? the hero, what has he done?
3. For the niph'al of radû in the sense of lie down (of horses) v. CT.XV 50a 34 ina sibitti aibi irriddû, in the prison of the enemy they shall lie down. 4. Var. of ne-sag.

athûtu "brotherhood", ibid 64. Other

references in Muss-Arnolt 129 a.

5. Confirms Meissner, SAI. 3394.

40 + [X mu šid-bi duppu] 10-kam uru ám-ma-ir-ra-bi 1
gab-ri [......] kima labiri šaṭir-ma [barîm duppuiddina.....

Forty are its lines. Tenth tablet of the series $ur\acute{u}-\acute{a}m-ma-ir-ra-bi$. Copy of Like the original it is written and collated. Tablet belonging to iddin.

VIII bis.

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

VIII ter.

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

IX

THE SERIES " EXCELLENT ONE OF HIS PEOPLE"

The fragment of the series $nir-g\acute{a}l$ $l\grave{u}$ $\grave{e}-ne$ catalogued in the native lists in IV R. 54 a30 has been put together from K. 4956 and Reisner, SBH. no. 74. A third fragment K. 9315, evidently of the same series, cannot belong to the same tablet since after line 6 it appears to have a different text than SBH. 74. I have put K. 4956 with SBH. 74 since K. 4956 ends with a psalm $er\check{s}em-ma$, an ending characteristic of the last tablets of series, cf. SBP. XII. SBH. no. 74 also ends with a psalm, and the library note, "Its original is in the house of Belišunu. (....) Tablet of Belapaliddin son of Eabalatsuikbi son of Sinibni, Babylon month of Addar, tenth day", which would also indicate the end of the series. K. 9315 is closely allied to tablet one of the series $g\bar{u}-ud-nim$ $k\dot{u}r-ra$, SBP. 226, and probably belongs to the first tablet. K. 9315 l. 7 \acute{e} -ninn \bar{u} gives the correct reading for SBH. 36, 7, not BIR as Reisner copied. Line 11 has the name of the temple \acute{e} -me- $\breve{u}r$ - $[\breve{u}r]$ thus not agreeing with SBH. 36, 11 and it is probable that from here K. 9315 had an entirely different text. This temple occurs also in Lenormant Choix de Textes 70 I 18 and

^{1.} Cf. IV R. 53 a 45.

CT.XXV 39,9. The opening lines of this tablet have two important variants. $l\dot{u}$ is glossed lu in line one and another version of the heading occurs viz. nir- $g\acute{a}l$ \ddot{u} \acute{e} -ne, translated by etillum ($b\acute{e}lum$) $šak\acute{u}$ $š\acute{u}p\acute{u}$. We have, therefore, of this Ninib series only the beginning of the first tablet (K. 9315) and the beginning and the end of the last (6^{th} ?) tablet.

Tab. VI. Obv.

- 1. nir-gál lù è-ne [uku-ni] ¹ mu-lu tazu mu-un-zu ²
- 2. e-til-lum³ ḥa-'-iṭ ni-ši-šu ḥat-tuk man-nu i-lam-mad
- 3. elim-ma nir-gál mulu è-ne mu-lu..
- 4. elima umun ur-sag-gal
- 5. ur-sag-gal [nmun sig d·mu-]ul-
- 7. ur-sag-gal []-al- ne⁵
- 8. elim-ma $[\ldots]gi$ gi
- 9. ur-sag-gal $[\dots]U\check{S}$ - $B\check{U}R^6$
- 10. elim-ma []- i

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

Rev.

- 1.hen-sed-dé
- 2. *li-ip-ši-ih*
- $3. \ldots d\acute{e}$ -ra-ab- bi
- 4.lik-bu-ú-ka 5.dé-mu-ra-ab-bi
- $6. \dots nu$ -]uh lik-bi-ka
- 6.nu-]uḥ liḥ-bi-ka
 7. er-šem-ma [d·nin-i]b-
- 7. er-šem-ma [d·nin-i]b- ge 8. umun-e urú tud-tud dim-me-ir ka-nag-gà mu-un-hul-li-eš ⁷
- 1. (may thy soul) repose.
- 3. [That thy soul] repose may they say unto thee.
- 5. [That thy heart] repose may he say to thee.
- 7. A psalm to Ninib.
- 8. The lord creator of cities, god of Sumer they have made glad 8.
- 1. There is apparently room for this insertion on K. 4956.
 - 2. Cf. SBP. 198, 1:114, 41.
 - 3. Var. lu
- 4. Var. has a Semitic translation i-mah-ah-hu-u (sic) for imahhû.
- 5. Var. Sem. ... ku imahharum.
- 6. Var. Sem. gaṣ-ga (sic!)-ṣu
- 7. This line does not appear on SBH. no. 74.
- 8. Evidently a liturgical note, not a catchline.

\mathbf{X}

K. 9257 unilingual variant of SBP. VIII rev. 18-49, a liturgy to Nergal. Line 6 has the variant gu for gud SBP. VIII rev. 28 and, a for a. Line 10 gives the correct reading for the second sign of line 20 p. 23 of SBH. viz. urugal. The difficult sign at the beginning of 1. 14 does not help us to understand the sign in the Neo-Babylonian texts, SBH 23, 25 = 20, 44. Meissner, SAI. 6818 has read AMAR, yet the sign is clearly not AMAR. Line 14 has also azag instead of gil, i. e. same elûti.

XI

K. 8644, fragment of an Istar liturgy

XII

K. 4215, fragment of a liturgy.

XIII

K. 5209. Beginning of a liturgy to Ramman, unum ni-zu in-hu-luh-ga, "Oh lord fear of thee enthralls". In line 19 read mu-ni-iš si-hi-ip šamê u irşitim.

ΧÌV

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

XV

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

Obv.		Rev.
1. gašan		1ki-ta
2. gašan ma-gi-a		2kalag dirig-ga
3. denannar dsin		3ki-ta ba-tu-ra a-ta
4. gašan an-na		4za-e lugal
5. umun har-sag-gà	$ec{e}$	5TUL šu má ad ta ba-tu-ra
·6. d·šu-zi-an-na	$m{e}$	
7. gašan din-dib-ba	é	6. [sag zu] (li-nu-uḥ) bar-zu-ḥe-
8. gašan i-si-in-(ki)-na	é	ta- ne
		(ka-bat-ta-ka lip-šah)
		7. ane dé-em-e-tug-e
	, 144 14	8. [śa-mu-] ú li-ni-iḥ-ḥu-ka

9. ú-?¹ é-kùr-ra	é	9. [d·mu-] ul-lil šag-zu he- en-
10. é-kùr-ra	é .	túg 10ša-du etil ra-bu-ti! lib-ha-ka li- [nu-uh]
		11. [é-kùr-]ra šă-ba-ni ga-an-túg bar-
		ra-ni ga-[an-túg] 12. é-kur lib-ba-ka li-nu-uḥ ka-bat- ta-[ka li-nu-uḥ]
		13é šă-ba-ni ga -[an- tug]
		14d·mu-ul-lil šag-zu he-en-[tūg] 15du-ū-ku d·n lib-ba-ka li-[ni-ih]

XVI

LITURGY TO THE WORD OF ADAD, "LIKE A STORM HE CALLS"

K. 24 is a fragment of a large tablet, having originally two columns on the obverse and reverse, and is broken in such manner that about half of the tablet has been preserved. The columns originally contained about sixty lines. According to the library note this tablet is the second extract of the litargy ud-dain gra-le-de-ás, "Like a storm he calls" and is entered in the official catalogue IV R. 53 1 27. A Neo-Babylonian copy of this series existed written upon smaller tablets. Reisner, SBH no. 41 is a duplicate of column one of K 24 and the first line preserved on that tablet is line 15 of K. 24 I. The catchline of SBH, 41 agrees with the opening line of K. 24 col. II. Evidently the Assyrian redaction contained on each tablet four tablets of the Babylonian; the same calculation being made for tablet one of the Assyrian copy, SBH, 41 is tablet five of the Babylonian copy. It is highly probable that K. 5029 (no. XIII) belongs to the first tablet of the Assyrian copy. For a duplicate of col. I 1-7 v. K. 8473, 19-23.

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

^{1.} Cf. Gud. Cyl. A 8, 26.

^{1.} Text not entirely certain.

duplicate of K 24 obv. I 7-20 1. The only variant is in line 9 where K. 2365 has e-ne-em-bi-šú for na-ăm-bi-šú.

Obv.

- 1. balag di-ib-bi ù-na-nam ù-ma in-gana-nam.
- 2. ina şir-hi² nu-ug-ga-tum-ma³ ir-nittum-ma³
- 3. e-ne-em d·gu-la ib-ba ù-na-nam
- 4. e-ne-em d·mu-ul-lil-lá ib
- 5. e-ne-em ur-sag-gal ib
- 6. e-ne-em mah dimmer-ra ib
- 7. e-ne-em d·ud-qu-de 4 ib
- 8. e-ne-em d·ud-qù-ra-ra 5 ib
- 9. na-ăm-bi-šů an-na tůb 6 ki ba-sig
- 10. ane ba-túb-túb ki ba-sīg-sīg
- 11. d babbar an-ùr-ra ba-da- nad 7
- 12. denannar denusku suḥ-ba-anda-ni-ib-qa
- 13. ud-qal an-ta u-ka ba-an-de-e
- 14. ud-hul-ma-al-la-e ka-nag-gà su-suug (?)
- 15. iš-su kùr-kur-ra áš ba-niib-dib

- 1. Alas, rage there is and glory there is!
- 3. The word of Heaven truly is rage.
- 4. The word of Enlil truly is rage.
- 5. The word of the far-famed hero truly is rage.
- 6. The mighty word of Immer truly is rage.
- 7. The word of the god of the crying storm truly is rage.
- 8. The word of the god of the wailing storm truly is rage.
- 9. Because of it the heavens tremble and the earth quakes.
- 10. The heavens are made to tremble, the earth to quake.
- 11. The sun-god at the horizon sets in darkness.
- 12. Nannar god of the new moon is extinguished.
- 13. The great storm on high speeds.
- 14. The evil storm overflows the land.
- 15. Devastation in the lands it has brought.
- 1. Published by CRAIG, RT. pls 19-21, where obverse and reverse are confused.
- 2. For balag-di = ina sirhi as an exclamation, cf. SBP. 132, 17. sirhu probably has the technical sense of "song on a lyre" as $sig\hat{u}$, "song on a flute".
- 3. ma apparently translates the emphatic endings unanam and ingananam.

For nanam in this sense, v. Sum. Gram. p. 230.

- 4. ûmu śasû, "the crying storm".
- 5. For $g\dot{u}$ -ra = šas \dot{u} , v. SAI. 455 and for $g\dot{u}$ -ra-ra, SBP. 314, rev. 3.
- 6. Read $tub = r\hat{a}bu$; Sum. Gram. 248, not $t\bar{u}b$.
- 7. For nad = salālu, to disappear, cf. babbar-nad-ám = bubbulu IVR. 23a 4.

		•	
16. gi-li bar 1-tul-bi-ta	ba-da-	16. The marsh-lands in their full	U
	an- ša² -ra	it has dri	ed up.
17. UBUR PA-še-bi-ta	ba-da-an-su ³	17. The harvest in its season	it has
		fl	ooded.
18. é gi-dim-bi-ta	ba-da-an-sir 4.	18. The temple in its court	it has
		laid v	waste.
19. uru ⁵ ken-úr-bi-ta	ba-da-an-nad	19. The city upon her foundation	
		has made to sleep (in sil	ence).
20. ka-nag ki-mar-ra 6-	bi-ta ba-	20. The land in its habitations	is
	da- halam	brought to per-	dition.
21. é ⁷ -tùr áb-bi-ta		21. The stall of its cows	is
	dúg	desi	poiled.
22. amaš-a e-zi-bi-ta	ba- da-	22. The pen of its sheep	<u>.</u>

ba-

an-

an-gid

da-

- 1. This reading is certain and we have therefore to read bar-tul in SBH. 7, 26; 16, 20 etc. not an-tul. This reading apparently excludes the derivation andul, § 150 a).
- 2. $\delta a ra = ubbulu$, to carry; cf. $\delta ar =$ sutabulu SAI. 6128. Correct my reading kàr SBP. 260 and Bab. III 188.
 - 3. Var. súa.
- 4. Read sir also in SBH. 73, 7. The value sir = abatu "seize" is otherwise unknown.
 - 5. Br. 951. Var. úru.

23. é-a gŭd-ki-sĭg-ga 8-ta

- 6. Var. ki-gal. The Semitic for ki-mar is *šubtu* hence $bir\hat{u}tu = ki-gal$ is a synonym of subtu. birûtu cannot mean "well", Del. HW. 164, cf. SBP. 261, n. 5. birûtu has rather the meaning "plain" "habitable land".
 - 7. Var. omits(?).
- 8. This passage restores the var. 1. 17 and shews that g u d - k i - s u g - g a = k i n n u"family" as well as "kinnu" nest.

Note also in V R. 42 a 62 f, that qudkisiq = kinnu is distinguished from ablal = kinnu ša issuri. I have shewn in the Briggs Memorial Volume that kisig =kisikku means the "funeral meal of a family for the souls of the dead", and $g \check{u} d$ -kisig = "family" is probably connected with kisiq = parentalia. For qud-kisiq = " nest " in the early period we have the title of the liturgy usum gud-ki-sig-ga nad-a, "The dragon which lies in a cavern" IV R. 53a 32, and cf. kinnu "nest" syn. of takkapu "cavern", II R. 33 a 6. Perhaps the fundamental idea of kisig and gud-kisig is, "cavern, abode of the souls ", whence the idea " nest "; the offerings to the lower world are called simply kisig = kisikku. Inasmuch as the kisikku is a family meal with departed souls the words kisig and gud-kisig appear to have obtained through this connection the meaning "family".

23. The house of its family

has plundered.

has pillaged.

24 . ù-ma-dúg 1	a-ma-ru ba-an-úr
25. ki-tul-lá-ba	an-da-gi?- eš-a a-gĕ-e
	mu-un-na-dú-dú ³ .
26. mu-lu ú ù-m	uš []
27. urú é-a-bi-ta	
(Here inse	rt after a break of about
ten lines S	SBH, nº 41 rev. = SBP.
262.)	

Col. II.

- 1. na-ăm erim-mà 4-ni-šú kùr-kùrra-na an-búr-búr
- 2. aš-šum i-šit-ti-ša ina mata-a-ti i-ša-ba ⁵
- 3. NIN-RI^a na-am erim-mà-ni-sú kúrkùr-ra
- 4. d·me-dim-šá 7 dam d·immerra-qa mèn
- 5. iluša-la al-ti iluadad ana-ku.
- 6. gašán gu-la d·múš-har-an-ki 8-ge
- 7. be-el-tum ra-bi-tum ilat muḥaran-ki ana-ku
- 8. d.šu-zabar-azag gašan é-nun-na-ge-
- 9. ilatsa-la be-lit é-nú-un-ni ana-ku

- 24. Wrath and deluge he has caused to come.
- 25. There where the low places were inhabited, floods he has made to rush.
- 26.
- 27. The city of its homes [it has robbed?]

Col. II.

- 1. Because of her sanctuary in the lands she wanders stricken.
- 3. The princess because of her sanctuary in the lands (wanders stricken).
- 4. "Shala wife of Adad am I.
- 5. Mighty queen divinity who designs heaven and earth am I.
- 8. Shala queen of Ennuna am I.
- 1. Var. Semitic line, [ir-ni]-ta a-bu-bu ul-te-bi-i. For ù-ma-dúg, cf. Gudea, Cyl. B VIII 4, en-ni ki-bal kùr sak-ki-ni ù-ma-da gid-da, "That the lord might devastate with wrath (irnitti) the hostile land whose mountains are high."
- For dag = ašābu, cf. Sum. Gram.
 208.
- 3. Var. $d\hat{u}$ - $d\hat{u}$, and for du "to go", causative "bring", v. ibid., p. 210.
 - 4. So the text.
- 5. According to this spelling the verb should be written $\hat{s}\hat{a}hu$ not $\hat{s}\hat{a}pu$, cf. SBP. 239 n. 7.

- 6. A tittle of Innini, SBH. 81, 5; 82, 31. Here the title refers to Shala.
- 7. Dialectic for medim-šág = bināti damķāti, "goddess of sound limbs", CT. XXV 20, 23.
- 8. Var. of digis-har-an-ki, consort of dias-sir, CT, XXIV 26, 111, and, since assir appears to be a name of Ninib (III R. 67 c 28), a name of Gula. But as-sir-sig=Adad, CT XXV 16, 23, hence we may assume an identification on the one hand of Ninib and Adad, on the other of Gula and Shala.

10. dumu é-a d-suba-nun-na-ge		Daughter of the nuna am I.	temple, Shub
11. mar-ti bi-ti ilatsu-ba-nu-na			
ana-ku 12. nu-nunuz si-sá d-me-nun-e-si-go		The upright	Menunesi am I.
13. i-sar-tum ilatmenunes ana-ku		• • • •	• • • •
14. dgal ad gi-gi	-		
15. iluyy ma-lik			
16ri-im-mu-un			
10 mo ma am	*		
Rev. Col. III.		Rev. Co	l. III.
1. é sukkal TE (?)		Only a few signs	toward the end
·2. é dúg-áš-bar		the column pro	
3. é-da-a nig-bu šub-bu		F	
4. é mu-uš-šú é šugbar			
5. bit mušlu bit kak-ki			
6. \acute{e} $dim-me-[ir]$			•
7. \acute{e} -zid nun-dim an $[\ldots]$			
8. bit zid gaś-ri śa śami-e [I		
9. umun se-ir-ma-al-la	1		
10. $be-li$ $e-til-[lu]$			
11. \acute{e}			
12. barpl. mu-har-bi baries			
13. pár-şu-šupár-šu-ú ú-şu-ra-			
$[ti-\check{s}u\dots]$			
14. $ezenbi$ $šunu-ra[]$			
15. i -sin-nu rab -bu-tum ul ti []			
16. garza KAL la-bi en si-sa []			•
17. ne-šúšù-ba gab-ru			
11. nc-susu-na gan-ru			
Rev. Col. IV.		Rev. Co	l. IV.
1. gašan e-ne		The and afthings	
2. [dam?] šág-ga			lumn contains a lis
			stly those of Ada
3. $a\acute{s}$ - $[\acute{s}a?]$ - $tum(?)$ $[damkatu?]$ 4. $\acute{s}e$ - ib \acute{e} - $b\grave{a}r$ - $[ra]$		for whom Shal	a wans.
5. i-na li-bit [ébarra]			
6. na-ăm zi-ib-ba		•	
v. na-dn zi-in-na			

8.	urů ďū-dū-a				
9.	ālu e-pi-ša				
10.	nibru-(ki) dū-dū-a	uru			
11.	é-kùr dū-dū-a	uru			
12.	\acute{e} -[ken - $\acute{u}r$] 1 $d\~u$ - $d\~u$ - a	uru,		•	
13.	é-nam-ti-la dū-dū-a	uru			
14.	$zimbir$ - (ki) $dar{u}$ - $dar{u}$ - a	uru	•		
15.	é-[bàr-ra] dū-dū-a	uru			
16.	tin-tir-(ki) dū-dū-a	uru			
17.	é-sag-ila dū-dū-a	uru			
18.	bád si-ba-(ki) dū-dū-a	uru			*
19.	é-zi-da dū-dū-a	$uru\dots$			
20.	é-maḥ-ti-la dū-dū-a	uru		•	
21.	é-temen-an-ki dū-dū-a	uru			
22.	é-dár-an-na dŭ-dŭ-a	uru			
23.	še-ib é-ud-gal-gal-la dū-dū-a	uru		•	
24.	éš é-nam-tar dū-dū-a	uru			
25.	eš é-pad-da dū-dū-a	uru		•	
26.	és é-bàr-ta-ás dū-dū-a	uru		•	
27.	és é-hen-dun-na º dŭ-dŭ-a	uru			
28.	nu-nunuz si-sá dumu	immer-			
		ra - ge^3	Photo V	14	
29.	šanu-ú nis-hu ud-dam gu	ù-de-de-		'Walled	
		nu al-til	,		
30.	ki-ma la-bi-ri-šù šă-tar-ma	bara-a-			
		[am]			
31.	mat iluašur-banī-aplu	šar kiš-			
	šati ša $r\ mat\ a$ šš ur - (ki) .				

XVII

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

consort of Adad and as nu-nunuz si-sá in II 12. It would seem that she is regarded both as consort and daughter of Adad.

^{4.} Cf. SBP. 53 n. 2.

^{2.} For lines 27-9, cf. K. 5309 obv. 7-11.

^{3.} In col. II 4 Shala appears as the

Asurbanipal is the one employed at the end of liturgical compositions and has been translated from a complete copy in SBP.179. Line 14 has maḥazi instead of maḥari; maḥāzu 'reception, acceptance', from aḥāzu, occurs on K. 4383 obv. II (CT. XI 40) in the sense of 'understanding', Sum. bar.

XVIII

K. 9308. Fragment of the second tablet of the series muten nu nunuz-dim-ma and corresponds to SBH. no 46 obv. 37-rev. 1.

- 1. $[\ldots ab \ldots .lib-ba-]an mar-[ra]$
- 2. $[\dots e-lum-e \ na-\breve{a}m] \ hul-a- \ [\check{s}\check{u}]$
- 3. [umun-e d·mu-ul-lil-li] lil-lá-da ni-ba-[an-tur]
- 4. [bêlu ilu enlil] ana za-ķi-ķi [ú-tir-ru]
- 5. [mu-lu ka-nag-da ba-an-da-]gur-raelil-lá-[da
- 6. sag-gig-ga-na ba-an-da]-ka-sal-laºlil-lá-[da
- 7. ba-an-tar- tar NAM + SAB-(mušen) mu-ba-an-dal
- 8. [urú-mu ăm-gíg]-ga ba- ni- in- [sig?]
- 9. [umun-e unu maḥ]-a šu-pi-el-lá ba-[ab-dúg]
- 10. $[\acute{e}-ma\ im-ta-\grave{e}-]a$ $bar-ta-ni-\check{s}\acute{u}...$
- 11. [d·mu-ul-lil-lá] urú-mu urú zi-da a-še-ir ma-al 1
- 12. [...dagal-la ba-dū-a a-še-ir-ra
- 13. $[\acute{e}-k\grave{u}r\ k\grave{u}r...ra...a-]$ mu a-se-ir-ra.

XIX

Sm. 794 + VAT. 425 (SBH. n° 57). The fragment of the obverse of Sm. 794 completes the first lines of VAT. 425. The reverse of both Assyrian and Babylonian copies is badly damaged. Sm. 794 rev. 3 contains the end of the name of the series possibly to be restored to [zu-ab pi-e]l-la-ám, 'The apsu defiled', IVR. 53 I 1. Of the catchline for the next tablet only ud... za-e is preserved. Partly translated by Jastrow, Religion pt. 8, p. 54².

- 1. erim-ma erim-ma : é ³ : é erim-ma éerim-ma é-zi-da
- 2. [i-śit-]tim i-śit-tum i-śit-tum bîtu ki-e-nu
- 3. erim-ma erim-ma uku-zu ma-a-a ni-lăh-eš
- 1. Oh sanctuary, sanctuary of the faithful temple.
- 3. Oh sanctuary, sanctuary, thy people where have they taken them?
- . 1. K. 9308 omits line 49 of the variant.
- 2. The text appears to have been glossed and uncertain in many lines. The Semitic does not always follow the Sumerian. I have in all cases translated directly from the Sumerian.
 - 3. Sic!

4.	[išittim] i-šit-tun	n ni-šu-ka	e-ka-a
_	iš-šal-la		

- 3. é-zi-dé é dam-an-ki ge
- 6. é-zi-dé é d dam-gal-nun- na
- 7. \acute{e} -z \acute{i} - $\acute{d}\acute{e}$ \acute{e} d·asar-lu-[dug]
- 8. é-zi-dé é d·PAP-nun-an-ki
- 9. é-zi-dé é d sukkal-maḥ-ám
- 10. é-zi-dé é d mu-zí-ib-ba-sà
- 11. é-zi-dé é d·id-ge
- 12. é-zi-dé é donina- ge
- 13. \acute{e} -zi-d \acute{e} \acute{e} d· \acute{a} ra-1 ge
- 14. uku tūr-tūr-zu uku gal-gal-zu
- 15. ni-šu-ka și-ĥi-ru-tu di-šu-ka ra-bu-ti
- 16. tūr-tūr: şi-ih-hi-ru-tu-ka: e-su-tadúg-ga:?? ka: zu sid?
- 17. gal-gal : ra-bu-[tu]-ka-ma^e (:) meri-ta sĭg-a : ša har-ra-an šadi-i[?]
- 18. ... mu: a-me-lu? ? \acute{a} -zu it-gur-ra....
- 19. ... áš-ru-ka nig-ga AN kab-ba...
- 20. ...aš-šu-ki: ... lá K-sa-A²-lal:??
- 21. ... ś \dot{u} (?) $\dot{s}u$ -ka ? zi- $i\dot{k}$ -ni za- $a\dot{k}$ -
- 22. S[U + KAR(?)[zu] SU(?) + KAR-tur lil-li...
- 23. u-ni-(?)-ki-ka lil-la as (?)...

- 5. Oh faithful temple, temple of the Wild-ox of Heaven and Earth 3.
- 6. Oh faithful temple, temple of the far famed spouse 4 of the prince.
- 7. Oh faithful temple, temple of Asar-ludug.
- 8. Oh faithful temple, temple of Zarpanit.
- 9. Oh faithful temple, temple of the great messenger.
- 10. Oh faithful temple, temple of him proclaimed of blessed name 5.
- 11. Oh faithful temple, temple of the river goddess.
- 12. Oh faithful temple, temple of Ninā.
- 13. Oh faithful temple, temple of Ara.
- 14. Thy people the little ones, thy people the great ones,
- 16. Thy little ones.....
- 17. Thy great ones [have gone] the way of the mountain 6.
- 18.
- 20.
- 22. Thy female kids cripples

^{1.} Cf. Meissner, SAI. 10964.

^{2.} So read and see CT. XIX 26, 13.

^{3.} Ea.

^{4.} Damkina.

^{5.} Nebo.

^{6.} Cf. SBP. 33, 24.

- 24. únu-za mùś! sal-dug- ga- ge
- 25. šu-bat-ka ša el-li-iš ku-un-na-a-

a f

- 26. šuba zagin-na am-šár-šár-ra-ge
- 27. ina su-be-i u uk-ni-i ra-ak-ka-

9.1

- 28. é-e mu-lu-zu [bi]² la-ba-gub li-zu a-ba ib-[tar]
- 29. bitum mu-du-ka ul iz-za-az arkat-ka [man-nu iparras]
- 30. [bi-tum] mu-du-šu [ul-iz-za-az] arkat-su[man-nu iparras]
- 31. lagar-e sìr-zu-bi la-ha-gub li-zu balag-di sìr-[nu-dúg?] 3
- 32. ka-lu-ú mu-di-e sir-hi-ka : zi-im-me-ri-ka : ša sir-hi mu-di- e sir-hi-šu 4
- 33. balag-e śu(?)-gi-gi-zu la-ba-gub lizu: ba-lag-gu?-li-?-ka
- 34. é gt(n)-gt(n)-zu me [la-ba-gub] ir-ra
 [la ba-gub] li-zu : bîtu a-mat-ka
 aţ-iś 5 it-taś-[lal]
- 35. uku-zu ma-a-a ni-lăh-eš me [la-bagub] ir-ra [la-ha-gub] li-zu
- 36. ni-šu-ka e-ka-a iš-šal-la aj-iš it-ta-aš-lal-la
- 37. : ni-šu-ka ša iš-šal-la aj-iš it-taš-lal
- 39. ki-ir-ra ám-nigin-e-en ám-nigin-een

- 24. Thy vast abode which has been adorned in splendour.
- 26. Which has been beautified with onyx and lapis lazuli.
- 28. Oh temple, thy lord is not present, thy fate who decrees?
- 31. The psalmist who knows the song is not present; thy fate upon the lyre [he sings not?].
- 33. He that knoweth to twang (?) the lyre (?) is not present. Thy fate [he sings not].
- 34. Oh temple, thy hand-maid, where is she taken as plunder? Thy fate, [who shall decree?]
- 35. Thy people whither have they taken?
 Where is she taken as plunder?
 Thy fate [etc.]
- 39. There, where she is taken I would turn, yea I would turn.
- 1. For mus = ellis, cf. mus, Sum. Gram. 230 and mas = ellu 228. The Sum. line has a Semitic gloss sukutta-ki "thy (fem!) chamber".
- 2. The scribe has also a version for the second and third persons in the Semitic version.
 - 3. Cf. SBP, 240, 31.

- 4. The Semitic line apparently depends upon another version.
- 5. ai-is corresponds to me (so also Meiss. SAI. 7905) and for ma-a-a=ai-is v. SAI 4878; cf. ki-a=aiak ASKT. 127, 29 [§ 242]. la-ba-gub is a refrain and not noticed in Semitic.

- 40. a-šar iš-šal-la a-sa-hu-ur a-sa-hu-ur
- 41. ám-nigin-e-en (ki) ir-ra ám nigine-en me-en
- 42. a-sa-hu-ur a-sar is-sal-la asahur ana-ku??

41. I would turn, there where she is taken I would turn.

Reverse.

- 1. [eg...]e....
- 2. ša e-ki ina i-ki it-ta-ad-di
- 3. pà-ra-mu² pà-ra ba-šub
- 4. ša pal-gi ina pal-gi it-ta-an-[di]
- 5. ú-sú gín-na-mu ba-túm
- 6. ša ana i-si-ja ka-li-ku it-ta-áš-lal
- 7. a-šú gin-na-mu ba- túm
- 8. ša ana me-e ka-li-ku it-ta-áš-lal
- 9. ú ila-ila-mu.... ila ba- túm
- 10. za-bil i-şi.... iš-ta-lal
- 11. za-bil i-si... it-taš-lal
- 12. a ila-ila-mu... ila ba-túm
- 13. za-bil me-e [....is]ta-lal
- 14. ur in u in u in u (?)... ba-an...
- 15. ka-la-bi sa ud.....
- 16. : kal-bi ša ut-ni...di...
- 17. ur šu....
- 18. ka-[la-bi ša...] ana nak-ra
 The catch-line is ud...za-e.

Reverse.

- 1. He of the canal into the canal was hurled.
- 3. He of the stream into the stream was hurled.
- 5. He who went out for wood was seized as plunder.
- 7. He who went out for water was seized as plunder.
- 9. The carrier of wood was seized as plunder.
- 12. The water-carrier was seized as plunder.
- 14. The dogs.....

When I I have

littum issima ašriš irtabis

XX

Rm. 2,572. Fragment of a liturgy. Mentions the temple $Ide^{-ilu}Anu$ and the house of the parentalia (kisigga).

XXI.

Rm. 2,292. Fragment of a liturgy. Contains the phrase ki-a mu-un-sīg, "the earth it causes to quake", characteristic of the liturgies to the "Word".

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

XXII

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

XXIII

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

XXIV

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

XXV

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

XXVI

K. 13,503. Lines 1-5 duplicate of SBP. 164, 45-50. Fragment of a liturgy.

XXVII

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

XXVIII

K. 11652. Beginnings of 17 lines of a Nebo liturgy similar to SBH. no. 12. Line 5 restores SBH. 12 rev. 14.

XXIX

Sm. 116 Obv. Duplicate of SBP. 38, 11-26, Liturgy to the "Word" of Enlil.

XXX

Sm. 227. Probably fragment of an eršemma; note line $6 [d\acute{e}]$ -ra-ab-[bi], "May he speak to thee".

XXXI

Sm. 223. Fragment of a liturgy.

XXXII

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

XXXIII

Sm. 355. Fragment of a liturgy to Enlil.

XXXIV

Sm. 537. Fragment of a liturgy mentioning Ninlil, Enlil, Nisaba-gal (cf. SBP. 156, 40) and [gašan] ma-gi-a (cf. no. 15 obv. 2 and SBH. 12, 7).

\cdot XXXV

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

XXXVI

Sm. 1588. Opening lines of a section of a liturgy containing the phrase li-bi [a-ba tar-ri] = arkat-su mannu iparras, "Its fate who shall decree": Cf. Smith, Miscel. Texts 11 rev. 1 and SBH. 110, 28.

XXXVII

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

XXXVIII

K. 11906. Fragment of doubtful content.

XXXXIX

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

XL

K. 10465. Fragment of a prayer.

XLI

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

- 1. ...gin-na-ta al-gu-ul gu-ul al-ma-ma¹
- 2. [mu-]lu gin-na-ta al-gu-ul gu-ul alma-ma
- 3. [mu-] lu gin-na-ta al-gu-ul gu-ul al-ma-ma
- 4. $[al-\check{s}\grave{u}-\check{s}\grave{u}-d\acute{e}]$ du-mu-mu $nu-u\check{s}$ $ma-an-z\acute{t}-em-m\grave{a}^2$
- 5. [dagal gan] al-šù-šù-de du-mu-mu
 nu-uš ma-an-zi-em-mà
 [um-ma a-li-it-ta tasluḥ-šu mārī
 luman inamdina]
- 6. dagal d dam-gal nun-na) al-šù-sù-de du-mu-mu nu-uš ma-an-zí-em-mà
- 7. nu-uš ma³-an-zi-em-e⁴ nu-uš ma-anzi-em-e du-mu-mu nu
- 8. dagal-ni na-an-tur-tur na-an-di-di du-mu-mu nu [ana maštaki-ša idâl i-te-ni-lik(?) māri luman]
- 9. dumu urudšin-gam azag-ga tú-a-mu du-mu-mu nu [mar ša ina šenni ellu irmuk māri luman]
- 10. dumu bur-ta gar kur-a-mu du-mumu nu [maru ša ina bûru akalu ikulu mārī luman]

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

^{1.} For $ma = \tilde{s}ar\bar{a}hu$, v. PSBA. 1910, p. 166.

^{2.} Cf. CT. XVI 11, 65; 13, 60.

^{3.} Var. ba.

^{4.} Var. mà.

- 11. ne-kur e imi-ba dīm-ma-mu du-mu-mu nú mu nú [ša ikulu ina ramāni-šu irbu mārī luman]
- 12. ne-šeš-šeš im-ba gúd-dā-mu du-māmu nu [sa ippaššušu ina ramāni-šu išîḥu mārī luman]
- 13. gi gub-gub-ba i-dé-bar-bar-ri-mu du-mu-mu nu [ša ina ķan mandāti umandidu māri luman]
- 11. "He who ate and of himself grew great, oh my son, truly he will give (to thee)".
- 12. " He who was anointed and himself grew tall, oh my son, truly he will give (to thee)".
- 13. "He whom with the reed-measure I measured, oh my son, truly he will give (to thee)"1.

XLII

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

XLIII

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

XLIV

K. 10378. Fragment of a litany to Enlil, duplicate of Zimmern, Kultiteder Nos. 8 and 9, and of Myhrman, B.P. No. 8. Line 1 = Zim. 8 I 15, 9 I 14; Myhrman 8 I 14. The preceding lines have been restored by combining the variants. Zimmern No 8 continues the text.

Obv. I.

- 1. [d·en-lil?] zi-bu-ù² sú-du-ăm³ zibu-ú
- 1. Oh Enlil be propitious, thou of unsearchable (heart), be propitious.
- 1. The passage apparently refers to the education and consecration of Marduk by his mother Damkina, and his instruction in the mysteries of magic by his father Ea.
 - 2. This series corresponds to IV R.
- 53 I 16 [Zimmern]. The verb form zi-buù, is probably imperative of the verb zib = tâbu. For ù suffixed v. § 216, also ma-al-ù, "open", SBH. 75, 17.
 - 3. Cf. sú-du-ám, Gud. Cyl. A 1, 22.

- 2. ág-ud-zal-ge
- $3. \ldots zi-bu-\dot{u}$
- 4. d·mu-ul-lil šag-sú-du¹ e-ne ág-zida-ge
- 5. e-lum tig-ki-ma-al ăm-di-di²
- 6. am ná-a 3 gud-dé sīg-gan-nu-di 4
- 7. d·mu-ul-lil dam-kar-ra ki-daga-ra 5
- *8. ù-mu-un mu erín-na-ni sag-ma-al ki⁶
- 9. ù-mu-un zal erin-a-ni ⁸ ga-ra-ám ⁹ da-ma-la
- 10. ù-mu-un ki-dúr-a-ni urú ir11-ir
- 11. ki-ná-a-ni á-ág-gà-e gal-zu¹³
- 12. a-a dmu-ul-lil urú-ta nibru-(ki)-ta
- 13. é-kùr-ri é šag-gi-pad-da-ta
- 14. gi-gun-na¹⁴ gišimmar-šim g^{iš}erinna-ta

- 2. of morning light.
- 3. be propitious.
- 4. Enlil of unsearchable heart, lord of justice.
- 5. Mighty one, when thou settest thy neck thou hastenest forward.
- 6. A crouching wild-ox art thou, bull that institutes destruction.
- 7. Enlil herdsman of the vast earth.
- 8. Lord that clotheth, his people, recorder of the earth.
- Lord that maketh abound oil for his people, milk for the newly begotten¹⁰.
- 10. Lord whose abode is the vast city of weeping¹².
- 11. In whose chamber oracles are interpreted.
- 12. Father Enlil in (thy) city, in Nippur,
- 13. In Ekur the temple of (thy) heart's choice,
- 14. In the great dark chamber of odotous palm and cedar.
- 1. Zim. No. 8, 3 sir-ra. Note that this variant establishes the reading sir-= arāku, Sum. Gr. p. 241.
 - 2. Cf. SBP. 138, 21.
- 3. Here begins Myhrman 815; CT. XV 0, 9.
- 4. Cf. RADAU, BE. XXIX No. 1 III 17.
- 5. The vars. CT XV 10, 10 and Zim. 816 have also ra. For dagala > dagara, v. § 44.
 - 6. Zim. No. 8 I 7 omits.
- 7. Doubtful. For mu = labāšu, v. Sum. Gr. 228. ZIMMERN, AO. XIII 8, " der da beruft (?) seine Mannen".
 - 8. CT XV 10, 12 rin-na.
 - 9. Zim. No 8 I 8 ka-ra-ám. CT XV 10,

- 12 ga-NUNUZ-am. So then the phonetic value of NUNUZ = pir'u is probably eri, "offspring", and garam is for ga-eri-am.
- 10. MYHRMAN 8 I 8 has an addition after damala beginning KU-...
 - 11. Zim. 8 I 9 er.
- 12. For uru employed for the abode of the dead, v. CT. XV 30 rev. 10. For my previous translations v. SBP. 277, 13 and Bab. III 250.
- 13. So Zim. No. 8 I 10, which makes better sense than gal-la, SBP. 276, 14. For gal-zu = pašāru, v. CT XVIII, 30, 13.
- 14. For gigunū, part of the temple, v. VAB. IV 239 Anm.

15šeš- $d\bar{u}$ - a - ka šeš- mul - $la(?)$ - $[ta]$	15. In the
16 si - ra \acute{e} \breve{u} - di - $[ta]$	16. In the house of vision.
17. [é] gi-dim-dim i i-dé nu bar-ri-[ta]	17. In the house kan urulli, where eye sees not.
18lu \acute{e}^{d} -babbar nu-zu- $[ta]^2$	18. In the house which sunlight knows not.
19mah dug-li-dŭ-dŭ 3 [-ta]	19. In the great, bestowing prosperity.
20e, ki ág-el-la- [ta]	20. In the place of purity.
21e kun -sag-gà 4 -é- $[a-ta]$	21. In the
22a $g^{i\check{s}}ik$ - ku - igi - lal - $[ta?]$	22. In the, gate of the lifting of
	the eyes.
23 silim-ma mu-mar-mar-ra- [ta?]	23. In the silim 6
24. kisal-maḥ-e ág-sár-sár-ra-[ta] 5	24. In the great court of riches
	* • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

XLV

K. 10165. Fragment of doubtful content.

XLVI

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

XLVII

K. 10170. Fragment of a liturgy.

XLVIII

K. 10163. Fragment of a penitential psalm and partly a variant of Sm. 2054 = BA. V 667. With line 6 cf. Sm. 2054, 11; l. 7 = 1.13; l. 8 f. restore:

- 15. [er-ra] a-še-ir-ra mu-na-dúr-ru-ne-eš [ina bikit] taniḥi napalsuḥu-ši.
- 1. Myhrman 8I 17 [é] gi-dim-dim é i-dé [nu-bar-ri]. Since bit kan urulli is here defined as the "house unseen", or "dark, mysterious house" (cf. SBP. 218, 5), it would be natural to connect urullu with aralu. For the spelling urulu v. Scheil, ZA X 209, in a list kamarru, sêtu, "net".
- 2. In Myhrman, No 8, lines 17 and 18 are inverted, and dingir is omitted before babbar.
 - 3. Zim. No 8 I 17 adds a.
- 4. Zim. 8 I 19 omits sag-gà. Myhrman No. 8 omits lines 20 f.
 - 5. So Zim. 8 I 22.
 - 6. Cf. é giš-gar-ra, Gud. Cyl. A 25, 1.

17. [suùb nu-šed] 1-de balag nu te-en te-en [la upassaḥ-śi uppu la] unâḥ-śi balaggu.

XLIX

K. 10897. Fragment containing only three signs.

L

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

LI

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

LII

K. 10835. Mythological (?) fragment.

LIII

K. 10564. Fragment of doubtful content.

LIV

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

LV

K. 11162. A lamentation. Line 5, na-ăm urú-na na-ăm é-a-na nu-mu-un-ši-túg, "Because of his city, because of his temple, he rests not". In lines 10-12 the foot, the eye, and the hand of the god are mentioned.

LVI

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

^{1.} So read, Macmillan's text is not accurate.

points. Note line 27 ki is omitted before ăm. In line 31, K. 193 and K. 2365 (Craig, p. 20) agree in reading sukal-maß sá-gal ukkin d-nusku-ge which text must be read in SBH. 132, 46. Line 32 agrees with K. 2365 and the whole is to be read umun gĭr u-bar šangamaß abzu-ge. SBH. 132, 47 has falsely igi for u-bar, ef. 86, 63, and for ILA-BALAG-MAH, GA-RI-BALAG-MAH.

LVII

K. 9325. Fragment of an intercession arazu derabbi.

LVIII

K. 10533. Fragment of doubtful content. Perhaps an incantation.

LIX

K. 9407. Fragment of a psalm.

LX

K. 9265. Fragment of doubtful content.

LXI

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

LXII

K. 10666. Fragment of an Innini liturgy. Lines 2 and 3 are restored from SBH. 139, 128-30. Duplicate of no. 71 obv. 4 ff.

LXIII

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

LXIV

K. 11874. End of a penitential psalm containing 55 lines. Cf. IV R. 10b 52.

LXV

K. 11229. Fragment of a lamentation.

LXVI

Sm. 264. Fragment of a lamentation.

LXVII

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

LXVIII

Sm. 260. Fragment of a liturgy.

LXIX

K. 9275. Fragment of a liturgy.

LXX

R. 9298. List of gods from a litany. Obv. 9 has ma-gi-a for the ordinary $\acute{e}-gi-a$, originally $g\grave{a}(l)-gi-a=gag\^{u}>mag\^{u}$, convent of the temple. ma-gi-a occurs also in SBH. 12, 7; K 9154 obv. 2 etc.

LXXI

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

The section which ends at 1. 56 is identical with the end of the reverse of SBH. no. 27, which is the second tablet of the series a-se-ir gig-ta. K. 10666 (no. 62) 11. 2-7 forms a duplicate to 11. 59-64.

We might perhaps assign this tablet to the series aser gig-ta, but the difficulty is that it actually has the title immal gù-de-de translated into Semitic. The two series nimal gù-de-de and aser gig-ta are both Istar liturgies and both contain the long

section lines 14-58. Perhaps they agreed even farther for the duplicate SBP. I ceases entirely at line 50. (See no. 177.)

K. 6881 (no. 148) is a duplicate of lines 48-55. Lines 1-2 on K. 6881 do not agree with the lines which precede line 48 on K. 2485.

- 1. ní-ma-al-la¹ gù-dé-dúg ki-bi bada-nad
- 2. gù-dé-de ni-ma-al-la gù-de-de ki-bi
- 3. ág $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$ -me-ta-gim $[\ldots,ki]$ -bi
- 4. mu-gig an-na na- ge
- 5. kùr-sun-sun [gašan é-an-na-] ge
- 6. an al-dúb-ba [gasan é gè-par-r]a-
- ge 7. ki sīg-ga [gašan é-an-ki-] a-ge
- 8. d·lil-lá en-na² [gašan tūr-dāg liliz]
- 9. ama é-a [d·da-da-nu-nunuz] šág-ga
- 10. d·na-na-a [KAK-sag-é-a]- ge^3
- 11. ud e-ne-em[an-na ma-ra i-ir-a-]
- 12. e-ne-em [d·mu-ul-lil-lá ma-ra i-ira- mu]
- 13. e-ne-em [d-....ma-ra i-ir-a- mu]
- 14. e-ne-em [d·....ma-ra i-ir-a-] mu
- 15. e-ne-em [$d \cdot \dots ma-ra i-ir-a-$] mu

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

silam, also written \longrightarrow YYYY $(Y \hookrightarrow Y \hookrightarrow Y)$ Sb 134 so that there can be little doubt about the sign.

2. Variant of lil-lá-an-na, SBH. 132,

3. Lines 5-10 restored from K. 10666 and 11857.

^{1.} This phrase was taken by me in SBP. 28 n. 5 for ni-mal = rihamun, storm. It appears, however, from this text that ni-mal means "cow", as in Gud. Cyl. B 4, 8. The Sumerian sign is properly -|\forall |\forall |

- 16. \acute{e} - $m\hat{a}^1$ [mu- $\acute{s}i$ -in-gin-na-] mu^2
- 17. har-ra-[an kùr-ra³ mu-ši-in-tur-ra-]mu
- 18. $g_{i,4}m_{i,1}$ [mu- s_{i-1} n- $g_{i,n}$ -na-]mu
- 19. gis 4ma... [mu-si-in- us-sa-]mu
- 20. mu-lu [... a mu-si-in-tur-ra-mu
- 21. ni-gir la?..... 5
- 22. šu-nu-lah-ha-ni ma-[šu mu-ši-in-ir-ra-mu]
- 23. mu-lu su-e-sir-mal i-ni-in-tur-ra-]
- 24. zi-ga \bar{u} -a [ba?....a-mu]
- 25. mu-un-ga 7 gišmá sag-gà.....
- 26. gašan mèn ⁸ g^{iš}má egir-[ra ba-e-ū-a mu]
- 27. ur-ri-bi mu-lu su-e-sir [mal-la-ni E + SAL-ma ni-in-tur $]<math>^9$
- 28. ur-ri-bi šu-nu-laḥ-ḥa-bi¹⁰ [ma-šú mu-ši-in ir]
- 29. šu-ni mu-un-ši-in-ir $[imi\ mu$ -un- $du^{11}]$
- 30. ur-ri-bi šu-ni mu-un-ši-in-ir imiteg-[a mu-e¹² gam-en]
- 31. me-e imi ba-da-teg e-ne [nu-mu-da-teg]
- 32. tug-mu mu-da-an-kar dam-a-ni mu-ni-in-tug
- 33. ur-ri-bi dāg zagin¹³ mu-da-an-sil dumu-ni mu-ni-in-lal
- 34. ki-gub-ba-bi am-gug-[e-ne]
- 35. gim-ma ní-mà-sú¹⁴ ki ám-ši-in-ķinķin

- 16. He came to my temple.
- 17. By the mountain road he entered.
- 18. In ships he came to me.
- 19. In ships he embarked.
- 20. The entered.
- 22. His unwashed hands upon me he put.
- 23. He with sandals entered.
- 24. The swift horseman (?)came?
- 25. The possessions upon the prow of the ship [he put].
- 26. I the queen upon the ship's stern rode.
- 27. The foe, he with sandals, entered my court.
- 28. The foe put his unwashed hands upon me.
- 29. He put his hands upon me, he filled me with fear.
- 30. The foe put his hands upon me, with fear he oppressed me.
- 31. I with fear was filled, but he did not dread.
- 32. My garments he tore away, and clothed his wife therein.
- 33. The foe stripped off my jewels of lazuli and put them on his son.
- 34. I tread now his courts.
- 35. So for me myself he sought in the shrines¹⁴.

- 1. Var. mu-a.
- 2. Var. ba.
- 3. Compare RADAU, Miscel. nº 3, 5-7.
- 4. Var. omits.
- 5. Var. omits, l. 21.
- 6. On the variant line 22 follows 23.
- 7. Var. ma-an-ga, evidently a case of vowel harmony. Cf. SBH. no. 83, obv. 41.
 - 8. Var. ga-ša-an-mèn (so read).

- 9. Here var. has a line omitted both by K. 41 and K. 2485.
 - 10. Var. ni.
 - 11. For variants see SBP. p. 4.
 - 12. So K. 41.
 - 13. mu is omitted (!)
- 14. Var. sú. The text of K. 41 obv. III, 21 is evidently in disorder. The Semitic has apparently ki-a-am ana ramani-ja.

- 36. ud-ba-a imi-ba-teg šu ¹-è-ta [na-è]
- 37. é-mà ba-an-ùl-e-en ingar-mà ²[ba-abhuluh-ha]
- 38. tu-(hu) imi-teg-a-gim múś-úr-ra udba-ir
- 39. su-din-(hu) dal-la-gim [di- $]d\acute{e}$ [al- $g\bar{\iota} r$ - $g\bar{\iota} r$ -ri-e]n
- 40. é-mà mušen-gim im-ma-r[a-an-dal-e-en]
- 41. [urú-]mà mušen-gim im-ma-r[a-an-dal-e-en]
- 42. [é-]mà egir-mà gù-mu-un-[de-de-e]
- 43. [gašan-]mèn urú-mà egir-mà gù
- 44. [me-e] é-mà é-mu nu-mèn a-gim in-na-a-de ³
- 45. [me-]e urú-ma urú-mu nu-mèn a-gim me-e É+SAL ma E+SAL-mu numèn a-gim
- 46. [na-]an-tur dé-en-im-mi(?)-in-dúg-a la-bi mu-un-kur-e
- 47. na-an-da-ra-ma-ma 4 da-im-mi-indúg i-si-iš-bi ma-a ma-un-da-ra 5gi
- 48. a-gim ni-gul a-gim ni-gul-gul ni-zu a-gim mu-un-pi-el

- 36. Then I was filled with fear. "Cause her to go forth" (he said?) Not should I go forth (?)
- 37. In my temple he pursued me, in my halls he terrified me.
- 38. Like a frightened dove upon a beam, I passed the night.
- 39. Like a *sudin*-bird that flees from a cranny I hastened by night.
- 40. From my temple like a bird he caused me to fly.
- 41. From my city, etc.
- 42. "My temple is behind me", I cry.
- 43. "A queen am I, and my city is behind me", I cry.
- 44. To my temple, "My temple thou art not", thus I cry.
- 45. To my city, "My city thou art not", thus (I cry). To my habitation, "My habitation thou art not", thus (I cry).
- 46. If I say I will not enter into it, its beauty consumes me.
- 47. If I say I will not come unto it (?), longing for it causes me to tremble ".
- 48. Even as he destroyed it, destroy thou him likewise. Do thou thyself even so make him ashamed.
- 1. King's copy of CT. XV 25, 13 and my collation have ba, but su is apparently the true reading.
- 2. K. 41 gim is evidently an error of the scribe.
- 3. This text agrees with K. 41 in omitting four lines concerning Isin and Larak, thus proving that the classical text in CT. XV 24-5 is an Isin and Larak redaction.
- 4. This gives the reading for K. 41, rev. I 16. Var. mà-mà.
- 5. ra on BM. 23117 appears probable and is here certain. The Semitic of K. 41 has $u\$an\^a\s -anni, III^{II} of $n\^a\$u$, to shake, tremble. K. 41 has clearly zi-gi which is a preferable reading for \sqrt{sig} , "to crush". For $gi = n\^a\$u$ cf. CT.XII 29 obv. 22b, rev. 14 b, gi = na[-a-\$u?]. Cf. SAI. 10289(?).

49. sal -egi $E + SAL$ -zu	a-gim	ni-gul-
la ni-zu		

- 50. ni-zu mu-lu kùr-ra a-gim-mu-un-[na]-zi-em
- 51. gašan kúr-ra-ra a-gim 1
- 52. me-e ni-mu nu-mu-un-pi-el a-a-mu mu-un-pi-el
- 53. umun dingir gal-e mu-un-pi-el a-amn
- 54. umun kùr-kùr-ra mu-un-pi-el a-amu
- 55. umun dúg-ga zi-da mu-un-pi-el a-amu
- 56. ki ub-da nu-di-di-bi-mèn nu-kuš-ùbi-mèn ud-ba me li [e-a ?]

- 49. Oh lady as in thy chamber thou didst perish, do thou even so make him ashamed.
- 50. Thou thyself the foe even so wilt requite.
- 51. Oh queen the foe even so thou wilt requite.
- 52. "I myself didst not cause the shame; my father caused the shame.
- 53. The lord great god caused the shame; my father caused the shame.
- 54. The lord of the lands caused the shame; my father, etc.
- 55. The lord of unerring word caused the shame; my father, etc.
- 56. Where once I hastened not, I sorrowed not, now I shall be glad.
- 57. a t-dé-ba šag-mu a i-dé-ba šag-mu a i-dé-ba ur ³-ba lú-lú ⁴
- 59. mu-gig an-na gašan an-na-ge
- 60. kùr sun-sun gašan é-an-na-ge
- 61. an al-dúb-ba gašan é-gè-par-ge
- 62. ki-sīg-ga gašan-é-an-ki-ge
- **63**. d·lil-la-en-na gasan e[tù r-]dag-ga(?)-a-ge
- 64. dagal é-a d·[da-]da nu-nunuz ság-ga

- 57. How long before her, how long before her shall my heart be cast in gloom?
- 59. Oh virgin of heaven queen of heaven.
- 60. Thou that shatterest the mountains, queen of Eanna.
- 61. That makest heaven to tremble, queen of the dark chamber.
- 62. That makest the earth to quake, queen of Eanki.
- 63. Lillanna queen of Eturdaggā.
- 64. That lovest the temple, Oh Dada sacred woman child-begetting.

^{1.} K. 6881 has for lines 49-51 mu-lumu-un-na-zi-em: lù....

^{2.} Cf. CT. XV 24, 14 ud-ba me li-e-a. SBH. 54 rev. 5 has a Sem. translation; [asar?] ûme-su sa idîlu balu innahu anaku ûmu su inim-[mir].

^{3.} ur' = dimtu, derivative of $\sqrt{er} = bak\hat{u}$.

^{4.} Semitic in SBH. 54 rev. 7; ahulap libbi-ša ahulap libbi-ša ahulap panu-ša ina dimtim dulluhu, which corresponds to line 57 of our text. The Sumerian has, however, quite a different text.

Rev.

1.	$d \cdot na - [na - a? \dots]$ é-a-ge
2 .	sag (?)ra-mu
3.	$^{\mathrm{d}} \cdot \dots \dots mu$
	The state of the

LXXII

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

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

LXXIII

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

	Obv.	
13.	e	13-16.
14.	e	
15 .	c-[$(?)$]	
16.	e - ne - $[\dots\dots]$	
17.	mu-lu ú ¹ kalama-ta dingir ba-è	17. The lord the mighty one, from the land the divine one has gone forth.
18.	gil-sa-a-bi-šú ki-bi-šú la-ba-ab-gí	18. To his treasure-house, to his place he returns not.
19	ta me-a-bi nu me-a-bi ²	19. That which was should not have been.
20.	uku tūr-tūr na-ăm-təg-ga nu-ma- al	20. The little ones of the people have no sin.
21.	ud ma-al-la-aga³ ud ma-al-la-aga	21. A day of desolation, a day of deso-
	ud me-te-a nu-ma-al	

^{1.} mu-lu ú, lit. = amelu le'u " the mighty man".

^{2.} Cf. Gud. Cyl. A IV 23.

^{3.} A var. of gilliema = šahluktu.

22úh-ha-a dubbin mušen eri-in-na 1	22venomous, claw of the Erin bird.
23šă-tùr-ra mu-lu-ra an-zi- em	23the dragon, man overwhelms (?)
24 mu-lu-ra nu è-ne	24 man allows not to escape.
25 è- a	25 goes up (?)
$26. \ldots ra-ge$ me - a	26-27?
$27. \ldots ge \qquad me- \qquad [a]$	
28. i-de te-en-bi-ta ha nu-è-n[e?]	28. From before his grasp the fish escape not.
29. dubbin še-ba amar šu-ti- a	29. With crushing claw the full grown calves it seized.
30. hub hub-ba mu-lu šu-ti- a	30. With destruction man it possessed.
31. udu-zib-ba² mu-lu šu-ti- a	31. The raging storm man has possessed.
32. kalag-ga gud áb-ba šu-ti-a	32. The strong one ox and cow has seized.
33. a-kalag hul-ma-al-la e-zinu-bal-	33. In the evil flood the sheep pass not over.
34. ki-a hul-ma-al-la e-zi a-nag	34. In the evil earth the drinking
gi-a	places disappear for the sheep.
35. e-ne-em-mà-ni na-ăm-tag-ga	35. His word institutes no sin, oh lord
nu-ma-al mu-lu ta-zu mu-un-zu	who comprehends thy form?
36. elim-ma mu-lu	36. Honoured one who comprehends thy form?
37. d·gu-la mu-lu	37. Oh Änu who?
38. d·mu-ul-lil-lá mu-lu	38. Oh Enlil who?
$39. d \cdot am - an - ki$ $mu - lu$	39. Oh Ram of heaven and earth who?
40. d·asar-lù-dug mu-lu	40. Oh Marduk who?
41. $d \cdot en-bi-lu-lu$ $mu-lu$	41. Oh Enbilulu who?
42. d·sukkal-maḥ-ám mu-lu	42. Oh great messenger who?
43. $d \cdot mu$ -zí-ib-ba-sà-a mu -lu	43. Oh thou named of good name who?
44. umun d·sá-kud maḥ-ám mu-lu	44. Oh lord great judge who?
45. dúg-ga-a-zu mu-lu	45. Thy word who comprehends?
46. mu - a - zu mu - lu	46. Thy name who comprehends?
Reverse.	Reverse.
1. e-ne-em-zu mu-lu ta-zu mu- un-zu	1. As for thy word who comprehends thy form?

^{1.} The same bird in Gud. Cyl. A 25, 2. Cf. Cyl. A 25, 9. 6; B 5, 4.

2.	elim-ma	nir-gál	galu	\grave{e} - ne	mu- lu
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- 2. Honored one and majestic, guide of the people, who?
- 3. mu-lu šā-ba-na mu-un-zu-a t umun a-ra-zu dé-ra-a[b-bi]
- 4. mu-lu šă-ab-ba-na mu-un-zu-a ara-zu
- 5. šă-ab e-lum-e mu-un-zu-a a-ra-zu
- $\mathbf{6}$. §áb d·gu-la mu-un-zu-a a-ra-zu
- 7. šáb kùr-gal a-a d·mu-ul-lil mu-unzu-a a-ra-zu
- 8. šáb d·am-an-ki mu-un-zu-a a-ra-zu
- 9. šáb d-asar-lù-dug mu-un-zu-a a-ra-
- 10. šáb den-bi-lu-lu mu-un-zu-a a-ra-
- 11. [śáb] d mu-zi-ib-ba-sà-a mu-un-zu-a
- 12. [šab umun d·] di-kud maḥ-ām muun-zu-a a-ra-zu
- 13. [šáb ur-sa]g-gal mu-un-zu-a a-ra-
- 14. $[\mathring{s}\mathring{a}b....]ge^2mu$ -un-zu-a a-ra-zu
- 15. [.....ba]lag er-ra ud-dé ba-ra-è a-ra-zu
- 16. [.....]-a-ge a-ra-zu
- 17. $[\dots nun]$ -ki-ge a-ra-zu
- 18. $[\ldots]$ a-ge a-ra-zu
- 19. [.....] na-ge a-ra-zu

- 3. He who knows the heart of Anu, oh lord (intercession) may he speak unto thee.
- 4. He who knows the heart of Anu, intercession may he speak unto thee.
- 5. He who knows the heart of the exalted, intercession, etc.
- 6. He who knows the heart of Anu, intercession, etc.
- 7. He who knows the heart of the great mountain, father Enlil, intercession, etc.
- 8. He who knows the heart of the Ram of heaven and earth, intercession, etc.
- 9. He who knows the heart of Marduk, intercession. etc.
- 10. He who knows the heart of Enbilulu, intercession, etc.
- 11. He who knows the heart of Nebo, intercession, etc.
- 12. He who knows the heart of the great judge, intercession, etc.
- 13. He who knows the heart of the great judge, intercession, etc.
- 14. He who knows the heart of...... intercession, etc.
- 15. [He of] the wailing lyre that sends forth the storm, intercession, etc.
- 16. intercession, etc.
- 17. intercession, etc.
- 18. intercession, etc.
- 19. intercession, etc.

^{4.} Cf. SBH. 45, 13 = SBP. 124, 13.

^{2.} Cf. SBH. 44, 14.

20. []-na-ge a-ra-zu	20 intercession, etc.
21. [] ra (?) a-ra-zu	21 intercession, etc.
22. $[\ldots]$ -si a-ra-zu	22 intercession, etc.
23. dagal é-urú-sag-gà 1 gašan din-dib-	23. Mother of Eurusagga, queen that
ba-ge a-ra-zu.	gives life to the dead, intercession, etc.
24. ság-tun² an-na gašan ì-si-in-(ki-)ge a-ra-zu	24. sagtun of he aven, queen of Isin intercession, etc.
25. dinusku á-mah utug é-kùr-ra a-ra- zu	25. Nusku of mighty oracles, shade of Ekur, intercession, etc.
26. d·kal-kalaga ni-dŭ gal e-kùr-ra-ge a-ra-zu	26. Kalkalaga, great watchman of Ekur, intercession, etc.
27. nubanda mah d mu-ul-lil-lá zid ge a-ra-zu	27. Great herald of Enlil the faithful, intercession, etc.
28. d·ur ³ d·sin-na ligir ab-bar-ra-ge a-ra-zu	28. The divine servant of Sin, prince of prophecy, intercession, etc.
29zu-na an šub-bi-en dé-ra-ab-bi a-ra-zu	29 of heaven may petition speak, intercession speak to thee.
30. [še-ib nip]pur-(ki) é-kùr-na a-ra-zu	30. In the walls of Nippur, in his Ekur, intercession, etc.
31. [ki-]úr é-nam-ti-la-na a-ra-zu	31. In Kenur, in his house of life, inter- cession, etc.
32. [śe-ib zim]bir-ki é-bàr-na a-ra-zu	32. In the walls of Sippar, in his Ebarra, intercession, etc.
33. [se]-ib din-tir-(ki)-na a-ra-zu	33. In his walls of Babylon, intercession, etc.
34. [é-sag-]ila bád-si-ab-ba-(ki)-na a-ra-zu	34. In Esagila, in his Barsippa, intercession, etc.
35. [é-zi-]da é-maḥ-ti-la-na a-ra-zu	35. In Ezida, in his great house of life, intercession, etc.
36. [é-te-me]-an-ki- na a-ra-zu	36. In his Etemenanki, intercession, etc.
37. $[\acute{e}-d\acute{a}r]-an-na$ na $a-ra-zu$	37. In his Edaranna, intercession, etc.
38. [é-nam-bi]-é-zi-da 4 na a-ra-zu	38. In Enambi, in his faithful house, intercession, etc.
39. [é-ur-me-imin-]an-ki-na a-ra-uz	39. In his E-urme-imin-anki, intercession, etc.

^{1.} bit bāmat ummāni, cf. SBH. 19, 51, and K. 69 obv. 15.

^{2.} For the ancient sign, see REC. 447 and SAI. 3752.

^{3.} Var. uru, SBH. 26, 10.

^{4.} Cf. K. 193, 19.

	40. $[\acute{e}$ -sir-sa] g -us-sa na	a-ra-zu	40. In his Esirsagussa, intercession, etc.
	41. [kiš-(ki) é-kišib-ba- na	a-ra-zu	41. In Kiš, in his "House of the seal", intercession, etc.
	42 . [é-me-ten-] ur-sag- na	a-ra-zu	42. In his Emetenursag, intercession, etc.
	43. $[g\dot{u}$ - $d\ddot{u}$ - a - $(ki)]$ \acute{e} - mes - lam	-na a-ra-zu	43. In Cutha, in his Emeslam, intercession. etc.
	44. $[\acute{e}]$ - i - $d\acute{e}$ - d - a - nu - um - na	a-ra-zu	44. In his E-ide-Anu, intercession, etc.
<u>ئ</u> م	45. ////du dé-ra-ab-bi	a-ra-zu	45. [Compassion?] may be speak to thee, intercession, etc.
	46. dib-bi-ne-du dé-ra-ab-l	bi a-ra-zu	46. Mercy (?) may he speak to thee, intercession, etc.
	47. gi-gi dé-ra-ab-bi	a-ra-zu	"Repent", may he speak to thee, intercession, etc.

[er-śem-ma]

d-en-lil-la- ge

[A psalm on the flute] to Enlil.

LXXIV

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

LXXV

K. 9378. Lines 2-5 duplicate of no. 73 rev. 41-4.

LXXVI

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

LXXVII

K. 9848. Fragment of a liturgy.

LXXVIII

Rm. 2 II 366. Fragment of a liturgy.

LXXIX

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

LXXX

Bm. 79, 7-8, 70. A duplicate of IV R. 28* no. 4 rev. 24-35. Here a-dúg-ga is translated by śanātim, submerged a-dúg means "to pour or sprinkle" in IV R. 25 a 34, šu azag-ga-ne-ne a sal-zid mu-ni-in-dúg-ga, "Their pure hands with water carefully he washed". In IV R. 28* no. 4 rev. 34 two translations of a-dug-ga are

given sa nakrum u sanů, [The city] which was demolished and submerged. For sanů "be submerged", see Zimmern in GGA. 1898, 826; Boissier, Choix II 47, 6 subatsu istanâ, "its abode is submerged". Perhaps in CT. IV 29 C 3 si-ni-am(?).

LXXXI

K. 9381. Fragment of a litany.

LXXXII

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

LXXXIII

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

LXXXIV

K. 11689. Beginning of an Istar liturgy urú-a ur-ri ma-ni-in-ma-al = âlu ana nakri iššakkan, "The city is given over to the foe".

LXXXV

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

LXXXVI

Rm. 911. Fragment of a ritual and incantation.

LXXXVII

K. 10195. Beginning of an Istar liturgy called dagal mu-gig.

LXXXVIII

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

LXXXIX

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

XC

Rm. 539. Possibly an incantation.

^{1.} Cf. SBH. 54 obv. 23.

XCI

K. 6564. Fragment of doubtful content.

XCII -

K. 9298. Fragment of a hymn.

XCIII

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

XCIV

K. 3801. Fragment of a lamentation.

XCV

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

Obv.

- 1. kur-gal den-lil-da šu-di-a
- 2. durun-azag ka-zal-la ki-dur-a nigdu°-du°-a
- 3. bara donin-tud bara dur-a- ni
- 4. išib-mah azag-gi ga-ám-me-te kalag dib-a
- 5. nam-en nam-lugal den-lil-sú [gál-]i
- 6. dinin-tud ka-zal-la-ki....a
- 7. ... d ·nin-tud.....ni

Rev.

- $1. \ldots \dot{u}$ -tu-da
- 2.ka-sīl gar-ra
- 3. [kur-gal] d. en-lil-da šu-di-a
- 4. [áb am]ar-bi-ta ka-sīl mu-na-abbi

Obv.

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

Rev.

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

^{1.} Restored from K. 7787.

- 5. d-nin-tud-ri¹ i-lu-bi-ta mu-unna-an-dū (?)-a
- 6.d·nin-tud nin-mah keš- (ki)-a
- 7. kùr-gal den-lil-da šu- di-a
- 8. d·nin-tud áb-amar-bi-ta ka-sīl muna-ab-bi
- 9. dagal dinin-tud nin-mah keš-(ki)-
- 5. ... Nintud with their cry they hailed (?)
- 6. ... Nintud great lady of Keš,
- 7. By the great mountain Enlil was taken by the hand.
- 8. Nintud because of the cows and their calves of joy spoke.
- 9. The merciful Nintud, great lady of Keš.

XCVI

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

XCVII

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

XCVIII

K. 6657. Fragment of a liturgy.

XCIX

K. 7227. Fragment of a liturgy.

 \mathbf{C}

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

CI

Sm. 65. Duplicate of tablet five of the Istar liturgy muten nu nunuz-gim, SBP. 154, 33-45. The duplicate restores line 33 d kùr-me not mar as in my edition, and 1. 34 ni-dŭ gal "great watchman", not umun-mu gal.

CH

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

CIII

K. 3276. Fragment of a list of liturgical psalms similar to IV R. 53. With obv. 7 cf. IV R. 53 III 10, obv. 19 = IV R 53 III 28.

^{1.} For ri demonstrative v. § 163.

CIV

K. 9093. Fragment of a litany. Note the phrases: a-ba mu-un-gul za-e mu-un-[gul] a-ba mu-un-sig za-e mu-un-[sig], "Who has destroyed? thou hast destroyed. Who has cast down? thou hast cast down."

CV

K. 9120. Fragment of an Istar litany.

CVI

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

CVII

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

CVIII

K. 9243. Lower edge of obverse. Fragment of a litany.

CIX

K. 3335. Fragment of a myth concerning the mythical birds Zū and Arabū.

 $\mathbf{C}\mathbf{X}$

- K. 5036. Fragment of a myth concerning Ninib. Notice lines 3 and 3: -
- 3. $g^{i\xi}KI$ - $G\dot{U}$ à-sag ur-bi ni-kur-kur-[e-ne?], " In the mixing bowl together they (?) ate."
- 5. ur-sag-ra urú-mah sag-gà er-šu, " Unto the heroic one the great city with wailing [cries?]

CXI

K. 9040. Fragment of a hymn.

CXII

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

CXIII

K. 8963. Fragment of an incantation. With line 5, cf. IV R. 22 a 54.

CXIV

K. 9359. Fragment of doubtful content. Incantation?

CXV

K. 9618. Part of a penitential psalm, er-šag túg-mal.

CXVI

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

CXVII

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

CXVIII

K. 9368. Fragment of a litany.

CXIX

K. 13518. Fragment of a litany.

CXX

K. 13520. End of obverse. A litany.

CXXI

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

The W

CXXII

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

CXXIII

K. 10178. Fragment of a litany.

CXXIV

K. 13526. Fragment of a litany.

CXXV

K. 13534. Lower edge of obverse. Six fragmentary lines containing names of temples.

CXXVI

K. 10168. Left edge, beginnings of eleven lines of names of temples and cities.

CXXVII

K. 13557. Six fragmentary lines of a hymn to Nintud. With line four, cf. no. 95 obv. 1.

CXXVIII

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

CXXIX

K. 13549. Fragment of a litany.

CXXX

K. 13554. Beginnings of eleven lines, probably a hymn to Sin.

CXXXI

K. 13346. Fourteen fragmentary lines of a litany.

CXXXII

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

CXXXIII

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

CXXXIV

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

CXXXV

K. 9249. Nine fragmentary lines of an intercession a-ra-zu dé-ra-ab-bi.

CXXXVI

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

CXXXVII

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

Babylonian Liturgies.

4. mu a-se-ir-ra gin a-se-ir-ra	4. The strong man weeps, the maid-					
5. sal-la a-še-ir-ra dumu a-še-ir-ra 6. mu-lu šă-ba an-na mu-un-zu-a	en weeps. 5. Women weep and children weep. 6. May he that knows the heart of Anu (intercede).					
7. mu-lu šă-ba an-na mu-un-zu-a	7. May he that knows the heart of Anu (intercede).					
8. šáb d·e-lum-c e-la-lu	8. The heart of the mighty one is full of woe.					
9. šáb ^d gu-la mu-un	9. He that knows the heart of the great god (intercede).					
10. šáb d mu-ul-lil-lá e	10. The heart of Enlil is full of woe.					
11. šáb kùr-gal a-a d·mu-ul-lil-lá mu-un	11. He that knows the heart of the					
12. šáb [d·am-an-ki] e	Great Mountain, father Enlil (in-					
13. [sáb d-asar-]lù-dug mu-un	tercede), etc., etc.					
14 e						
15 mu-un						
16-18?						
19. $[\ldots de]$ -ra-ab-bi						
CXXXVIII						

K. 3482. Duplicate of CXXXIX.

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

1. $[\dots]^{1}$ er-sag túg- $[mal]$	1? psalms of penance.
2. [me-e] sá-kud-ta me-e	
3ma-ra ha-ma-da-túg-mal	
	of penance
4. me-e sá-kud-ta imi	4. I unto judgment in fear [will go].
5. me-e umun-mu-ra er-ra mu-[u	
-	ab- ir
6. 4 er-sáb túg-mal bar	6. Four psalms of penance
7. mc-e dìm-me-ir-mu a-na-ám m	
	fy?]

^{1.} Only a figure missing, giving the number of lines in the psalm.

8. sul dìm-mc-ir-bar-bi nu hul	(?) šă-ab- 8.	The god heroic whose soul is not evil-minded
9. gi-bil-lá gùr-ru kùr-sú-du	<i>1</i> 9 .	Bearing a torch, the far-away land
10. ki-dúr ud-du-e-ta a		In the abode where the blazing
ba-šáb	-ba 1	sun arises in the heavens, sorrow of heart
11. umun dim-me-ir-mu bar durun-a-ra e		Unto the lord, my god, who dwells in the bright chamber, tears [I bring].
12. me-e dim-me-ir-mu imi-a	la^2 ba - an - 12. a - ab - $[bi?]$	I unto thee, my god, with fear will speak.
13. me-e dim-me-ir-mu sir-ri	i-eš ga-an- 13. na-ab-[bi?]	I unto thee, my god, with mournful song will speak.
14. me-e dim-me-ir-mu a-ra-	-zu-ga-an- 14. na-ab-bi	I unto thee, my god, prayers of inter- cession will say.
15. me-e dim-me-ir-mu er-re	n ³ mu-un- 15. ra-ab- ir	I unto thee, my god, tears will bring.
16. me-e dim-me-ir-mu sá-k	ud ga-an- 16. na-ab-tur	I unto my god, unto judgment enter.
17. me-e dingir-mu mu-e-ši-ir mu qa-an	n-gín túg ⁴ - 17. n-na-ab-úr	I unto my god, do come; my gar- ments I remove.
18. ma ma-al-la-šú saḥar-ra		Upon me prostrate, earth is scattered.
19. umun dim-me-ir-mu bar durun-a-ra er-ra šab-n		Unto the lord, my god, him that sits in the bright chamber, tears and sighing I bring.
20. šáb dím-me-ir-mu ki-bi-š	śń ha-ma- 20, gi-gi	May the heart of my god return to its place.
21 dim-me-ir-mu me-i [bi] a-ba be d	na-šú har- 21.	my god how long his soul
22 $dingir l\dot{\mathbf{u}}$ - $g\check{a}l$ - lu		• • • • • • • • • •
23nir-da ad-sa.		
the state of the s		

This psalm of penance is particularly important for its references to removing the garments (17) and putting earth upon the head (18). Note also the bearing of torches in line nine. From the reference in line ten, we infer that the psalm was said to Shamash the god of judgment. References to judgment in lines two and sixteen support this interpretation.

^{1.} Var. ki-dúr ud-ud lag-a-ge d·babbar-ra an

^{2.} Cf. me-da = puluhtu, SBP. 4, 7.

^{3.} Var. er-da me....

^{4.} Variant has $t\dot{u}g$ -mu, etc., on a separate line.

CXXXX

K. 5024. Fragment of a lamentation.

CXXXXI

K. 5302. Ends of ten lines of a litany.

CXXXXII

K. 13567. Fragment of a lamentation.

CXXXXIII

LITURGY OF THE CULT OF TAMMUZ

K. 3643. Obv. destroyed. Rev. has 25 fragmentary lines. The fragment contains several passages which vitally affect our knowledge and understanding of the cult of Tammuz. The liturgy represents the people rehearsing the sorrows of Innini wailing for the life of the earth and seeking the lost Tammuz. The song then turns to gladness and enlarges upon the glory of the risen Tammuz. He is identified with both Shamash and Nannar. The close relation between Tammuz and the sun-god is one of the clearest traits of Sumerian mythology. In the legend of the kiškanū tree of Eridu, whose abode is the hidden chamber of the river-god in the nether sea, Shamash and Tammuz i are the gods who watch the sacred "tree of life", in that subterranean sea². In Myhrman, No 6, 1. 2 Tammuz has the title debabbar, thus clearly identified with Shamash. Shamash and Tammuz are named as the gods of Durgurru³, and Tammuz is lord of Durgurru⁴. Zimmern has already pointed out that, in a list of gods so constructed as to give a resumé of the great lists of gods, Tammuz follows the Shamash section 5. Another text which, as I have repeatedly pointed out, gives a theological analysis

^{1.} Dagal-ušumgal-anna-ge.

^{2.} CT.XVI 46, 195.

^{3.} Clay cone of Sinidinnam, BA. I 301 ff. Col. II 14.

^{4.} CT.XV 18, 8.

^{5.} Gott Tamūz, p. 13. In the great list of gods the Adad group breaks in between the Shamash and Tammuz group, v. Zimmern, An = Anu, p. 116, but this is due to late theological speculation, for in SBP. 160 Adad (l. 14) follows upon the Shamash and Tammuz groups.

of the Babylonian pantheon, is of special importance in this respect. This list begins with the Shamash-Nergal-Ninib group, after which follows Damu. The order here is as follows 2.

- 1. Shamash and Aja. 2. Gibil. 3. Uttaene. 4. Nergal. 5. Allat and Ningiszida.
- 6. Ninšubur (i.e. Ninib) and Gula. 7. Ninšubur of Larak and Gula of Larak.
- 8. Tammuz (Damu).

The Adapa legend represents Tammuz and Giszida 3 as gods who had vanished from earth (ina matini ilu šina halkuma) to guard the gates of heaven. The litany translated on page 20 speaks of Tammuz as u-mu-zi-da, and he is often addressed as tu-mu umun-mu-zi-da, "Child, lord of Justice", SBP. 304, 45; 312, 5; etc. Evidently in these Tammuz hymns not two gods "Tammuz child of Ningišzida (= Umungišzida)" are intended, but the liturgy simply addresses Tammuz under another title 4. Tammuz belongs to the group of deities connected with the sun in so far as he is a god of vegetation, and with the Ea group in so far as he descends into the nether sea and dwells in the abyss (Dumuzi-abzu). Shamash is par excellence the god of justice, and Nergal, the aspect of the sun in the lower world, appears to have passed judgment upon the souls of the dead. In Zim Kultlieder, No 26, obv. I. 16 Tammuz is called ummuna tarri, 'lord of judgment. Probably this power of inquisition attributed to the gods of light is derived from the revealing power of light which searches into the secrets of all things. The name dumu-zi-da itself means, "just child", whence we infer that in his original character he represents an aspect of the god of justice, possibly the spring sun, or possibly the original conception of this name is taken from the judgment of the souls of the dead, a function performed by the vanished lord of life.

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

^{1.} SBP.168-9.

^{2.} SBP.158-160.

^{3.} gi&s-zi-da certainly identical with umun-gi&s-zi-da, nin-gi&s-zi-da, u-mu-zi-da (see above, p. 20, l. 5), means probably "faithfulness", kittu. gi&s-zi-da is a nounformation from the root zid = k&nu and the abstract prefix gi&s, v. Sum. Gr. § 151. Also cf. gi&s-lal = tukumtu, "binding, battle," from lal = kam&a. This derivation strengthens the accepted derivation of dumu-zi-da, "faithful child". Both are therefore aspects of Shamash as lord of justice, or attendants of his court as Nigzida (=kittu), Nig-sisa (=m&esaru), Nig-gina (=kittu), etc., all of whom appear as inferior deities in the household of Shamash.

^{4.} Against ZIMMERN, Gott Tamūz, p. 10, No. 21.

^{5.} SBP. 339, n. 13.

^{6.} VAT.617, v. ZIMMERN, Gott Tamüz, 33, n. 1. This Neo-Babylonian text is shortly to be published by ZIMMERN as No 2. in Vol. II of Vorderasiatische Schrift-

The author has generously allowed me to study this text, and I cite here two lines to show the close connection with lines 12 f. of K. 3643.

VAT. 617. Rev. I 9; ùr dagal-muḥ-na tūr-tūr-ra-ka šu-am-mu-un-di-en-na.

10. $t\bar{u}r$ - $t\bar{u}r$ dagal-mul-na dagal-E+SAL-a-ge E+SAL mu-un-na-ab-bi "In the bosom of his mother creator, in his childhood, she gave him rest.

In his childhood, the mother creator, mother merciful, compassion spoke".

Noteworthy is line 14; d û-ta-ám ki û-ta-ám, "The god of light upon earth shines," another passage in which Tammuz is identified with the spring sun. The identification of Tammuz with the moon-god in line 16 of K. 3643 introduces a new element into the Tammuz theology, The connecting element here is not clear, unless it be that Tammuz like the moon disappears for a time in the infernal regions. The text represents an advanced and abstract theology in which the personality of the various gods becomes faint and confused. Nannar was regarded as the father of Shamash, and Tammuz being identified with Shamash thus became Nannar himself. The passage shows how completely Babylonian religion outgrew the pagan character of its gods, evolved them into mere principles, and used their names as convertible terms for natural elements.

1.	 ki nu	bir-bir-ra-mu

- 2: šurim-ma nu ki-šub 1-na-mu
- 3. im da-an-ag-qu-la su-nu-qur-ra-
- 4. ne-im-mar ne-im-mar ² i-si-iš ud mu-un-zal ³
- 5. akkil di-e dumu-sal kullab-(ki)
- 6. ur (?) maš an-na nin šubur-ra 4

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

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

- 1. Cf. ki-sub = $nid\hat{u}tu$, desert land, POEBEL, BE.VI 2, 12.
- 2. ne-im-mar I take for ne- $gar = n\hat{u}ru$, an epithet of Ištar as the divinity of Venus.
 - 3. Cf. Smith, Miscel. Texts 11, 7.
- 4. This title usually written nin-subur is an ordinary title of Ninib and means

bêl irsitim, "lord of (in) the earth", referring to the annual descent of the sun-god, Ninib. The passage proves the close parentage of Tammuz with the sungod Ninib, for which see ZIMMERN, Gott Tamuz 715.

7.	ùr(?) ¹ mas azag suhub zagin-na- mu	7.	Wailing(?) for the holy brother, my radiant šuhub.
8.	.? e-ne-em šág-ság-ga-mu	8.	my sacred one
9.	ra-gab e-ne-em gi-en gi-na-mu	9.	Messenger of the word, my faithful one.
10.	ra-gab utul-mu mu-lu akkil-a	10.,	Messenger, my shepherd, lord of lament.
11.	e-lum-ma-mu zi-ga-zu-dé zi-ga-zu- dé	11.	Oh my exalted one, when thou risest, when thou risest.
12.	e-lum-ma-mu ùr dagal muḥ-na-mu zi-ga-zu-dé	12.	Oh my exalted one, when to the bosom of my mother creator thou risest.
13.	ùr dagal-zu ùr kenag-zu zi-ga	13.	When to the bosom of thy mother, to the bosom of thy beloved thou risest.
14.	ùr dagal-zu gašán an-na zi-ga	14.	When to thy mother, the queen of heaven thou risest.
15 .	e-lum-ma-mu a-ba d·uta-ám za-e d·uta- ám	15.	Oh my exalted one, who is Shamash? thou art Shamash.
16.	e-lum-ma-mu a-ba d·nannar za-e d·nannar-ám	16.	Oh my exalted one, who is Nannar? thou art Nannar.
17.	za-e é-gal-la	17.	Thou in the palace
	éš é-an-na uru	18.	In the abode of Eanna, in the city
	éš é-an-na	19.	In the abode of Eanna
2 0.	azag dinnina-ge	10.	Holy Innini
21.	anna dumu	21.	?
22 .	azag d·innina-ge dug-li	22 .	Holy Innini with abundance
2 3 .	nín śubur-ra	23.	Lord in the lower world
24 .	an-na il-la	24.	To heaven lifted up
25 .	[nin]-śubur-[ra	25 .	Lord in the lower world?.

CXXXXIV

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

CXXXXV

K. 8610. Fragment of an intercession arazu derabbi.

^{1.} For $\dot{u}r = bak\hat{u}$, v. No. 139, 19.

^{2.} The transcription contains a few corrections of the text discovered by collation.

CXXXXVI

K. 3026. Fragment containing thirtynine ends of lines. A hymn.

CXXXXVII

K. 8462. Fragment of a psalm mentioning the musical instruments uppu and manzu (1.5).

CXXXXVIII

K. 6881. Duplicate of K. 2585, see no. 71.

CXXXXIX

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

CL

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

CLI

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

CLII

K. 11831. Fragment of a penitential psalm:

CLIII

K. 13522. Fragment of a litany.

CLIV

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

CLV

Rm. 13. Fragment of a hymn to Sin?

CLVI

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

CLVII

K. 5503. Fragment of four mutilated lines. A myth mentioning the throwing of the sa-hul, "the wicked net".

CLVIII

LITANY OF **NEBO**

K. 3238. Third tablet of the series ukkin-ta es-bar-ra til-la, "From the assembly wisdom is departed ", catalogued in the native list at IVR 53a 31. The obverse is a duplicate of REISNER, SBH. no. 12 as far as line nineteen. The few lines preserved on the reverse are a duplicate of SBH, no. 12 rev. 5-9.

Obv.

1. a^{\dagger} - \tilde{u} šă-ba-mal [..., $k\dot{u}r$ al-gul-1. The lofty one, furious (?), who in his gul....su.... shattered the mountain. 2. ša-du ri-tu-šu ša [ina...]šadi-i [u-3. e-ne-em [d. gu-la] kùr 3. The word [of Anu] shattered the mountain. 4. e-ne-em [d · mu-ul-lil] kùr 4. The word [of Enlil] shattered the mountain. 5. e-ne-em d·mu-zi-ih-ba-sà a4 5. The word of him named with good name, the lofty one, furious, who in his . , shattered the mountain 3. 6. e-ne-em d. šid-rú-ki-šár-ra a 4 6. The word of the Recorder of the Universe, the lofty one, furious, who in his shattered the mountain. 7. The word which stills the heavens 7. e-ne-em an-sú an-im5-dub-ba-ni. on high. 8. a-ma-tum ša e-liš ša-me-e ú-rab-9. e-ne-em ki-šú 9. The word which causes the earth ki al- sīg-ga- ni beneath to shudder, 10. The word which in his glory he 10. e-ne-em ù-ma-ni-ta mu-un-da-an-

dúg-ga-ni

- t. Correct U to A in my text, lines 1.3.11.
 - 2. This line is omitted in SBH. No.12.
- 3. Lines 3.4 are clearly a late insertion since, they do not appear on K. 3238.

Babylonian Liturgies.

- 4. a is apparently an abbreviation for a-ū šă-ba-mal, etc., and shows that Nebo is the god first mentioned after the opening liturgical melody on the original.
 - 5. Var. al.

spoke,

- 11. a-ma-tum ša ina ir-nit-ti-šu iķbu-ú
- 12. a d pap- nun-an-ki-ge mu-un-daan-dah-a-ni
- 13. [iş ?]-rat¹ sa ilu zar-pa-ni-tum uş-şi-pu
- [14. e-nc-em ù-ma-ni-ta mu-un-da-andùg-ga-ni]
- 15. d· mu-zi-ib-ba-sà mu-un-da-an-daḥa-na
- 16. ma-da da-ma-al-la a mu-un-[dúg]
- 17. ma-a-tum ra-pa-aš-tum me-e uša-ne-e³
- 18. mé-a na-ăm-lù-găl-lu šu'-ba-anmar kùr al- gul- gul
- 19. ina ta-ḥa-zi um-ma-na-a-ti ana gati ú-ma-al sadi-i |u-|ab-bit
- 20. edin-na gub-ba edin sag-sú-ga-
- 21. şi-ra-am ina a-la-ki-su şi-rim pu-[şu-]5um-mā
- 22. edin-na ki-gub-hu gīn sal- sal- la
- 23. şi-ra-am a-sar ü-lak-ti-su ar-da-ti uş-[şa-at?]⁶
- 24. kaskal-dubbin-na ù-ne-kur ù-nesĭy-ya
- 25. ina har-ra-ni ip-rik-ma is-pu-un
- 26. ama-hen-na en-nun-mà-bi [é-mu?]
- 27. um-ma a-lit-ti ana ma-aṣ-ṣar-ti ú-še-[ṣi?]

The form which Zarpanit magnified,

[The word which he in his glory spoke]²,

And which he, named with a good name, magnified.

Waters have flooded the wide land.

- 18. He who in battle-disposes of hosts, has shattered the mountain.
 - When he walked in the fields, the fields became pale (with hoar-frost).
- 22. In the fields where he walks, the maiden who gives birth,
- 24. On the highway he oppressed, he smote.
- 26. The begetting mother from her shelter he caused to go up.

- 2. Not in K. 3238.
- 3. Cf. IV R. 28 * No. 4 rev. 35.
- 4. K. 3238 $\delta u \delta u$, which is evidently original.
- 5. su omitted. Cf. Jensen KB.VI 284, 47. For the adjective pusû, white, v. VAB.IV 154,32; 458 VII 5.
- 6. uṣṣu, perm. from maṣû, be wide, conceive. Cf. S^d 281 di-im = maṣû and dim = banû (passim).

^{1.} This is the most probable restoration.

28. gúd dúr-dúr (?)-ru-na-ma nu-ur	- 67 — -
nam-ga-NE-[GAR-DU?]	$ \mathbf{I}_{ij} _{L^{2}(\mathbb{R}^{2})} = \frac{1}{2} e^{-i\mathbf{r}_{ij}} e^{-i\mathbf{r}_{ij}} e^{-i\mathbf{r}_{ij}}$ (2)
29. al-pi rah-zu-ú-ti ul ú-še-te-bi [i] The oxen which repose he lets no rise.
30. ama-hen-na en-nun-mà-bi [e	9
31. a-ū a-a? ru na-nam kùr al-gul-gu	
32. e-ne-em d mu-zí-ib-ba-sá kùr	32. The word of him, named with good name, shattered the mountain.
33. e-ne-em d- šid-rú-ki-šár-ra kùr	33. The word of the Recorder of the Universe shattered the mountain
34. a-ū K-šid-A-a-ni-ta-(ša-ku-u) kūrai gul-gu	•
35. ša-di-i ina ša-a-ga-mi-šu šadi u-tab-ba-t	
36. [a-ū] K-šid-A-a-ni-ta kùr	36. The lofty one, — when he bellowed he shattered the mountain.
37. [d·mu-zi-]ib-ba-sá K-sid-A-gi-ni-t [kùr	a 37. He named of good name, - when he
38. [ª-šid-rú-]ki- šár-ra¤ K-šid-A-gi [ni-ta kùr	- 38. The Recorder of the Universe, -
39 K-sid-A-gi- $[mi$ -ta- $kur]$	39. The
	. he bellowed, he shattered the mountain.
	Rev.
2BAD tin-tir-[ki]
3ri šă-ab-ba-na é-sag-[ila	
4. [e-ne-]em šă-ab-mà-ge ù-li-[li? mu un-dùg?	- 4. The words of my, heart in woe [l
5. e - ne - em \acute{e} - i - ul - lu - $m\grave{a}$ $[\acute{u}$ $(?)]$	5. The words of my « house of lament?» [in woe I speak?]
6. šă-ab-mà mu-un-nâ-a šă-ab-mà mu un[- 6. In my heart I am at rest, in my

- 7. ina lib-bi-ia a-na-lu ina lib-bi-ja...
- 8. mu-lu šă-ab-mà nu-me-a mu-lu ur nu è-a-[mu]
- 9. išten i-lu ba-lum lib-bi-ja man-maan ul [usi]
- 8. Any god without my knowledge goes not forth; no, not one.
- 10. kalag-kalag-ga šu-dú-ma ki-bal-a gur-gur-[mu]
- 11. id-lu ša da-na-na šuk-lu-lu mu-abbit mat nu-kur-ti
- 12. [ur-sag d·mu-zi-ib-ba-ná kalagkalag-ga: umun d·en-zag...²
- 13. [d·ag] dumu nun-na kalag-kalag-ga:

 dumu-nitah é-sag-ila kalag-kalagga
- 14. [umun d·en-]bad¹ é-zi-da kalag-kalagga : dumu šu-mar-gi a-a-[ni-ge]
- 15. d·šid-rú-šár-ra kalag-kalag-ga: dingir sag tin-tir-(ki) kalag-kalag-ga:
- 16. d-ab-ú umun gu-la kalag-kalag-ga: šu-mah am- na- ge
- 17. igi-gál-bád-si-ab-ba-[ki]kalag-kalag-ga: iskim-til d-kùr-gal kalag-kalag-
- 18. dumu-nitah áš-du d-marduk-kam kalag-kalag-ga : dumu-zid sìr-a kalag-kalag-ga

- 10. The hero, perfect in might, shattering the hostile land,
 - The strong god named of good name, hero perfect in strength: The ford Nebo of Dilmun.....
- 13. Nebo son of the prince 3, hero perfect in strength.
 - Heir of Esagila, hero perfect in strength.
- 14. Lord, divine master of the wall of Ezida, hero perfect in strength:The son avenger of his father.
- 15. Recorder of the Universe, hero perfect in strength.
 - Chiefest god of Babylon, hero perfect in strength.
- 16. Divine $Ab-u^5$, mighty lord, hero, etc. Vast strength of heaven.
- 17. Wise one of Barsippa, hero, etc.
 - Prophet of life (?) ⁶, god of the great mountain, hero, etc.
 - Only heir of Marduk, hero, etc.
 - True son, waîler 7, hero, etc.
- 1. The text has *ni-ku*. Interpretation uncertain.
 - 2. Cf. BA. V 672,4.
- 3. i.e., Marduk. The line = BA.V 672.2.
- 4. Cf. K. 11652,5 and for amélu bêl dûri, Strassmaier, Neb. 411,9.
 - 5. An ordinary title of Tammuz.
 - 6. Or 'perfect prophet' (?).
- 7. The epithet describes more accurate ly the god Tammuz, see above, note 5.

19. dug-li kalama gal ^d eri-e kalag kalag- ga: è ¹ maḥ kalag-kalag-ga	19. Abundance of the land, great (son) of Zarpanit, hero, etc. Great psalmist, hero, etc.
20. umun enim ^d bar-bar-ra kalag-kalag- ga : dúg-ga-ni ka-zal kalag-kalag-ga	20. Lord of the word of Shamash, hero, etc.
	Whose speech brings gladness, hero, etc.
21mà é-engur-ra kalag-kalag-ga : umun á-ba gur-gur-ra kalag-kalag-ga	21of the house of the sea, hero, etc.
	Lord, whose hand wards off (the foe), hero, etc.
22. an-gim lib ² -ba-mu kalag-kalag-ga: ki-gim sīg-ga-mu ³ kalag-kalag-ga	22. Like heaven he is made surpassing, Like the earth he is established, hero, etc.
23 `mar-ur* ki-ga-mu kalag-kalag-ga- be-li a-bu-bu te-bu-ú	23who sends a deluge, hero, etc.
24.[á-] ùr ság-ság-ga-mu kalag-kalag- ga: sa mes-ri-e-ti dam-ka	24. He whose limbs are sound, hero, etc.
25.[si-ib] lib-ba-mu kalag-kalag-ga: bi-ir-ka ma-a-ri	25. He whose knees hasten, hero, etc.
26.[u-]ma di-di a-na kalag-kalag-ga: ka-šid ir-nit-te a-bi-šu	26. He that attains unto the glory of his father, hero, etc.
27em enem-ma-da nu-mu-un-da- pad-da kalag-kalag-ga	27 by a word which is not revealed, hero, etc.
28tu-ra	
29igi-nigin-na kalag-kalag-ga	

CLIX

K. 8384. Fragment of a liturgy to Marduk.

30....it-ta-na-as-ha-ar

- 2. kima šamê šûtuk : v. Sum. Gr., § 48.
 - 3. kima irşitim ritî.

^{1.} amelu UD-DU often in colophons as variant of amelu UŠ-KU, SBH. 102,51, and see Reisner, ibid. p. xII. With è-mah cf. UŠ-KU-mah, 'the great psalmist', passim.

CLX

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

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

CLXI

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

CLXII

K. 8608. Fragment of a liturgy.

CLXIII

K. 3315. Fragment of a hymn, partly interlinear. Variant of SBP. 124, 19-34. The obv. 7 has za-e si-ra me-en = atta rabata, "thou art great". For sir < nir in this sense, v. Sum. Gram., p. 241 ser (6). Lines 9 f. have an interesting reference to the creation of heaven and earth. Rev. 7-6 is a variant of no. 73 rev. 23-8.

CLXIV

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

CLXV

K. 3462. An incantation and ritual.

CLXVI

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

CLXVII

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

· CLXVIII

BM. 91-5-9, 101. Beginning and end of a text forming one tablet of a litary to Ninib. The catchline begins me-e umun-mu-ra, "I to my lord". The following tablet is no 176.

CLXIX

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

CLXX

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

CLXXI

Sm. 719. Fragment of a litany.

CLXXII

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

CLXXIII

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

CLXXIV

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

CLXXV

K. 3001. Duplicate of K. 2004 and part of the liturgy, ni-mal gù-de-de, "The cow lowed". Line one of this fragment is line five of tablet two of the restored text in SBP. p. 26. See BA. V 619, 16.

	71	
	dim-me-[ir mah adab K	
2.	é ki-[sĭg-ga-ge (é ki-sĭg-ga	
3.	d·su-kur-[ru tūr nun zu-ab	
4.	še-ib i-si-in-(ki) ba-hu	t =
	gašan sag tu-mu an-na	KU- ra
6.		ba-ḫul
7.	mu-gĭ-ib gašan an-na	KU-ra
8.	gašan an-na na-ăm uru-na	-šú ² ba-ḫul
9.	nin gašan an-na	KU-ra
10.	akkil ³ ki-azag-ga ⁴	ba– hul
11.	nin gašan ^d *subur ⁵ -ra	KU- ra
12 .	é tuk-mes-kúr-ra	ba- hul
13.	nin-tud-ūr-ra ⁶	KU- ra
14.	kes-(ki) ur-šáb-ba i	ba-ḥul
15.	gašan an-na hallah-(ki) 8	KU-ra
16 .	urú-ni gir-su-ki-a	ba- hul
17.	d·ba-ú dam umun-na	KU- ra
18 .	nigin urú-azag-ga ⁹	ba-ḫul
19.	dul-ur d·ba-ú	KU- ra
20 .	e-sil sir-sir-ra	ba-ḫul
21 .	d·é-? e-sil-sir-ra	KU-ra
22 .	edin-bar ¹⁰ šir-bur-la-(ki)-a	ba- hul
23 .	ab-ba d·zi-ib-zi-ib	KU-ra
24 .	$\acute{e}\ldots sug$ - ga	ba-hul
	nab dumu sag an-na	KU- ra
26.	gal gú-en-na-gà	ba- hul
	nin-mah gu-en-na	KU-ra
	dúr-é a-dúg ¹¹	ba-ḫul
	gašan-mu gašan gu-la ¹²	KU-ra
	še-ib sirar-(ki)	ba - $\hbar u l$
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

- 1. K. 2004 and 3001 have $d\dot{u}r$ -ra, but SBH. 118 obv. $g\dot{u}$ -de-in-ra = ina šaše-šu, "When he (she) cries out".
 - 2. Glossed illuu-bar-(ki) aš-šum àli-ša.
- - 4. Glossed ašri ellim.

- 5. Cf. Sum. Gram. p. 242.
- 6. Glossed iluid-dá-a-hu.
- 7. Glossed ana ki-sa ur-sà-ba.
- 8. Glossed ša ha (?)....
- 9. Bau is queen of uru-azag-ga, SBP.
- 134, 37. Here glossed su-pa-....
- 10. Cf. SBP. 170. 13.
- 11. Glossed ana supat i-li-a-at.
- 12. be-el-tum rabî-tum.

31. nin-mah deninā	KU-ra
32. dumu-zid UZ-da-gà	ba-hul
33. dīm-u-hu IŠigi-duh	KU-ra
34. é-ib-gal	· ba-hul
35. d·ašnan d·azag-sud	KU-ra
$36. \ e'(?)$ - gi - pad - da	ba-hul
37. gašan é-zi-da-mu	KU-ra
38é-mar-a	ba-hul

Rev.

[Several lines are broken away.]

mó	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	KU-ra
	ba-hul
	KU-ra
	ba-hul
	KU-ra
	ba-hul
	KU-ra
és-é-kar-ra	ba-hul
gašan-mu gašan banda ²	KU-ra
áb-kiúr	ba-hul
\dot{u} - $g\dot{u}l$ $AD(?)$ - $AD(?)$ - ib $dumu$ an - na 3	KU-ra
éš é-hal-hal-la	bā-hul
é-da-zu za-ab-ba	KU-ra
é-bara-sir-ra	ba-hul
ama d·dam-gal-nun-na	KU-ra
és gú-ab-ha4	ba-hul
azag gašan mar-(ki) 5	KU- ra
	ba-hul
\dots gasan-an-an	KU-ra
tūr-sag ub-ba ⁶	ba-hul
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	KU-ra
	ba-hul
•	KU-ra
eš é-UD-KIB-NUN-(ki) 8	ba-hul
	SAL + KU d·dumu-zi zu-ab ma ki-nad ūr-šā-ba¹ šagan lal lù ķar-ķar éṣ é-dùg-ga alad mu-lu urú é bara-si-ga nin-dar-ra-na éṣ-é-kar-ra gašan-mu gašan banda² áb-ki úr ù-gúl AD(?)-AD(?)-ib dumu an-na³ éś é-hal-hal-la é-da-zu za-ab-ba é-bara-sir-ra ama d·dam-gal-nun-na éš gú-ab-ba⁴

- 1. Corresponds to line 35 of SBP. 26.
- 2. Glossed nin banda.
- 3. L. 12 = 36 in SBP. 26, which has ù-li-li urú (?)-mar?-ra(!).
 - 4. Line 17 = 37 in SBP. 26.

 Babylonian Liturgies.
- 5. Line 38 in SBP, 26.
- 6. Glossed ana šu-bat. Line 39 in SBP.
- 26.
 - 7. Var. SBH. 118, 40 has na.
 - 8. Cf. SBP. 28, 41.

CLXXIX

K. 5040. Fragment of an intercession.

CLXXX

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

CLXXXI .

K. 9385. End of a psalm. Lines 8-13 correspond to SBP. 258, 21-26.

CLXXXII

K. 8642. Fragment of doubtful content.

CLXXXIII

K. 9333. End of a penitential psalm.

CLXXXIV

K. 5831. Fragment of a psalm of intercession.

CLXXXV

K. 4638. Fragment of a litany, $g\dot{u}$ - \dot{u} -nun=karradu ša la immahharu and duhburbur-zid-sar = naptanu.

CLXXXVI

K. 2881. Fragment of a litany. The obv. 4-15 consists of a refrain, "Thy temple or city which thou hast made an object of admiration, behold".

The reverse 11-13 is a duplicate of SBP. 98, 38-43.

CLXXXVII

K. 11859. Fragment of a litany with the refrain, a-ba-i-dib.

CLXXXVIII

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

CLXXXIX

K. 9767. End of the second tablet of the series, a urú-mu im-me, "How long, oh my city, she cries". Cf. SBH. no. 51, obv. 1.

CLXXXX

Sm. 2170. Fragment of doubtful content, possibly an incantation.

CLXXXXI

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

CLXXXXII

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

CLXXXXIII

K. 10205. The reverse is the end of an er-sem-ma, or song on a flute, concluding a liturgical series, cf. SBP. p. XII. The psalm is similar to no. 181 and SBP. p. 258, which is ordinarily termed er-sag-tug-mal. The obverse 12-17 is a duplicate of SBH. no. 30, obv. 42-47.

CLXXXXIV

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

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

^{1. 1}êmu here translates utul. For restorations see No. 143.

6.	[ki-cl-(?)]-e gi-in'-e ág-gig ne- aga-a	6-7. The maid, the servant has disgraced.
7.	[ar-da-tum (?)] am-tum ik-ki-ba e-ta-kal	
8.	[ki-el-]e ama-na-ăm-tag-ga âg-gig ne-aga-a	8-9. The maid, Mother of Sin, has disgraced.
9.	[ar-da]-tum amanamtagga ik-ki- ba i-te-pu-us	
10.	[ama-]na-ăm-tag-ga na-ăm-tar gig-ga-ge	10-11. The Mother of Sin, fate of disease.
11.	amanamtagga ši-ma-tu ša mar-șa	
12.	na-ăm-tar gig-ga-ge i-dé a lú-lú	12-13. Fate of disease (who) darkens the
13.	ši-ma-tu ša mar-sa pa-nu ša dim-tam dul-lu-hu ²	face with tears,
14.	gišgu-za azag-ga dúr-mar-ám	14-15. On the clean stool sat.
15.		
16 .	mušnad azag-ga ki-nad ba- nad	16-17. In the clean bed lay.
17.	ina ir-ši el-li-tim it-ta- ziz	
18.	múš-ba-ab-dúg-ga 3 in-ga-an-zu	18-19. Man she taught the desire of
	i-ša-ri ri-ḥa-a il-ta-mad	intercourse.
20.	múš su-ub-dúg-ga in-ga-an- zu	20-21. Man she taught to kiss.
21.	na-ša-kam il-ta-mad	
	ga-nu ga-ni-laḥ-en ga-ni-laḥ-en	22-23. Oh come let us go to it, let
23.	al-kam i ni-il-lak-šu i ni-il-lak- šu	us go to it.
24. 25.	me-en-ne urti-šú ga-ni-laḥ-en ni-nu ana âli-šu i ni-il-lak-šu	24-25. We to the city, let us go.
26 .	urú-šú ŭ-di šú ga	26-27. To the city for beholding, let
27 .	. ana âli ana tab-ra-a-ti	us go.
28 .	urú-šú gullab-(ki)-šú ga	28. Unto Kullab let us go.
29 .	še-ib unú-ki-šù ga	29. Unto walled Erech let us go.
30.	še-ib hallab-(ki)-sù ga	30. Unto walled Hallab let us go.
	har-sag-kalam-ma '-šú ga	31. Unto Harsagkalamma let us go.
32.	é-tùr-kalam-ma¹-šú ga	32. Unto Eturkalamma let us go.
2,	Read in not lugal. Cf. SBH. no. 27 rev. 6. The finite form ba-ab-dúg is here	 ab-dú-dú = ana puḥḥur, Šamašumukin, Bilingual 9. 4. Names of temples in Hallab, SBH.

^{3.} The finite form ba-ab-dug is here employed as an infinitive object of the verb ingan-zu, with which compare ba-

^{4.} Names of temples in Hallab, SBH. 104, 16.18.

Rev.

	\mathbf{R}	lev.
	. úru-šú úru-šú še-ib tin-tir-(ki)-šú 2. ana âli ana âli ana li-bit-tim ba-bi-lu	1-2. Unto the city, unto the city, unto walled Babylon (let us go).
	3. e-ne-em gašan an-na-ge di-da- ra 4. ana a-wa-at iltu Ištar ik-bu-ú	3-4. Against the command of the queen of heaven, which she spoke,
	b. ki-el ama na-ăm-tag-ga saḥar-ḥub- ba-ba-zid!	5-6. The maid, Mother of Sin, covered with dust, has transgressed.
•	6. ar-da-tum amanamtagga ina e-pi-ri it-ta-bal-kit	
	i. i-dé mu-un-ši-in-bar i-dé dīg-a-ge ip-pa-li-is-si-ma nap-lu-us mu- tim-ma	7-8. She beheld her with a look of death.
ę	. gašán-e gù-ba-an-de-e gù na-ăm- tag-ga sú-ga ² -ám	9-10. The queen wailed with a loud wail of revenge for sin.
10). be-el-tum is-si-ma ša-si-e ar-ni- im-ma	
	. sìg sak-ki-na-ge mu-ni-in-dib . ina pa-ni-a-at pir-ti-ša is-bat-si	. 11-12. By the forelock of her hair she seized her.
	ba-šub	
14	. ar-da-tum amanamtagga ina li-it du-ri it-tan-di	W was
	. sàb-ba šibir-ra-a-na dé-mu-un- gi-gi	15-16. May the shepherd with his staff slay her.
	. ri-e-ú ina ši-bir-ri-šu li-duk-ši . labar-c me-zi-a-na dé	17-18. May the psalmist with his mesa
	. ká-lù-u ina me-și-e-șu	slay her.
2 0	. duk-ķa-bur ^{duk} gŭr-ra-na dé . pa-ḥa-ru ina zar-ba-bi³-šu	19-20. May the <i>paḥaru</i> with his vessel the <i>zarbabū</i> slay her.
	. ?lá-ra me-ri 4 ba-da-ra-na dé lá-ru-u ina paṭ-ri u haṭ-ṭar-ri 5	21-22. May the with sword and knife (?) slay her.

- 1. So the Semitic (ittabalkit) has read KU, from zig, to rush.
- 2. sú-ga is not translated in Semitic. According to II R, 30 a 10, the translation should be šasê arni šaķú-ma.
- 3. Var. zarbabē. The Sumerian ideogram on K. 5188 is kisi, the ordinary sign

for the insect zirbabu. Apparently the words zirbabu and zarbabū are connected.

- 4. Var. mē-ri-a.
- 5. Or patarri (?).
- 6. The accepted translation of paharu is « potter », but this is uncertain.

23. [mu-na-d]úg ta-me-a-bi ù e-la-lu	
24. [mi]-na-a¹ ik-bi-ši-im-ma ina dim-ti u lal-la-ra-a-ti	and wailing?
25. sal-egi-ri šáb-ba-a-ni še-du nu- uš-gul-e-en	v
26. ša ru-ba-tum lib-ba-ša da-ma- ma ul i-kal-la ²	not moaning.
27. šă-ab gašan an-na-ge ta-me-a-bi 3	27. The heart of the queen of heaven what (said it unto her, etc.)
28. sal-egi-ri šáb-ba-a-ni še-du	28. The heart of the lady restrains not moaning.
29. ta me-a-bi nu me-a-bi 30. ša ib-ša-a ul ib-ša-a	29-30. That which was should not have been.
31. ud-dé mu-un-na-ab-ir-ra-sú	31-32. On the day when they
32. [ûmi ša]nam ub-la-as-ši	brought to her,
33. gig-e mu-un-na-ab-zal-la- a-šú	
34[mūši ša] uš-ta-ba-ra-ši	•
35. šab-ba-ni	35. Her heart
36. mu-uš-túg-pi (?)	36. Her ear
K. 5188 + 8481 Rev.	
4. ù	
5. <i>in-nin</i>	
6. <i>he-im</i>	
7. dinnini	
8. dingir ní-du in	
9. a ùma	
$10. \ldots UD NI mu \ldots$	
11. age TAR azag-ga	
12. naŞAB pár-ra ir	
13su ib-ba bur-ra	
4. túg nam-nin-ni na-ăm	
15. te-di-ik be-lu-tim	
6. šu na-ni zu-zu	
17. i-dé-ni dúb-bi zi	
18. i-ni-ša c-ki-a	

Cf. no 73, obv. 19.
 Cf. SBH. no. 36, obv. 15-16.

^{3.} Var. has lines 27. 28 as one line.

```
19. ....giš-par-ra.....
20. .... ti a-na me-ir-tu....
21. \dots bi-zi-da-ni \dots
22. ...ki-a-am §a....
23. nu mega(?)-a (a in ... ka-li-c)\acute{e}...
      gar bi . . . .
24. .... la(-[e?]-li-ša ga-tim el-li-tim)
       zí-em-má (in-na-din?).....
25. .... (...tim ša be-lum ki-nu) šu-
      \dot{e}-ba (ik-ru ^1....)
26. ....(...be-el ki-na-a-tim) \S u-ne-
       in-\dot{e}-ba (ik-ru....)...
27. ....(...i-lum be-lum) \ddot{s}u-ne-in-
       è-ha......
28. ....(....li-ka en-ni-na) amaš-a
       (ana su-pu-ri...)...
```

CLXXXXV

This tablet, together with the one published as no. 196, was purchased from a London dealer, who claims to have received them from an Arab of Bagdad. Both belong to the same class of literature and to the same period as those published by Mr. King in Cuneiform Texts, vol. XV, and by Dr. Radau in BE. XXXIX, and in the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume. Both texts have been tampered with by some thievish person who attempted to mend them with clay and to complete the lines with cuneiform signs. When the tablets arrived at the Ashmolean Museum, they had the appearance of being in a perfect state of preservation. I have of course removed the modern restorations. The tablet published under this number (195) apparently contains two hymns to Nergal (lines 1-13) and (15-48). The introductory hymn to Nergal? I take to mark the occasion of the coronation of a king and a prayer for the prosperity of the land. The second hymn to Nergal I take to mark the occasion of the end of a drought or famine caused by the god of summer heat.

^{1.} Cf. SBH. 44, 20.

^{2.} Here called Ninsubur.

^{3.} If the text contains the name of an ancient king, I have been unable to discover it. dagal-dninsubur in line two would be a good personal name, but I know of no king by this name.

1.	nin-mu zid kalam-ma sukkal an-	1. My lord, breath of life of the land,
	na	messenger of Anu,
2.	é-an-na dagal dnin-subur mudur	2. In wide E-anna, oh Ninsubur, cause
	zagin šu-ù-me-ti	me to seize a sceptre of lapis lazuli.
3.	igi an-na / igi im-me-dib-	3. Before Anu thou shall proceed.
	dib-bi ¹	
4.	an-ni an-šag-ta sag-e-eš mu-	4. [This] shall Anu in heaven's centre
	ni-in-sàg	grant.
5.	den-lil-li nam-e-eš mu-ni-in-tar	5. [This] shall Enlil decree as fate.
	šurim-zid síl šág-šág úz-zid máš	6. The faithful ewe nourish her lamb,
٠.	šág-šág	the faithful goat nourish her kid.
7	ama gan zid-dim dumu ság-	7. The faithful mother nourish her
ο.	šág-ga	child.
0.	tùr hu-mu-'u-da-du amas hu-mu-	8. Let the folds be built, the stalls
	'u-da-sīg	be erected.
9.	a-za amaš nigin (?)-na-	9. Thy the stalls
	za	10
10.	an	
11.	ní-gal i-ši kàr igi-bar giš	11. Splendour
	? ne ba-bi-ir bar BAD	12
	an-ni ki-e ni-bi ba	13. Heaven and earth of themselves are
		shaken when thou speakest?].
-		
14.	šáb-ba-tuk-a	14.
	ur-sag am bur-gur-gur áb-gim in	15. Hero, oxlike, restoring the banquets,
	ar sug um bar-gar-gar ab-gim in	
10		who like a cow [is compassionate]
10.	mu-ruš-zu ni-ba zi-kin?	16. Thy terrible name of itself the
		$\mathbf{soul} \ (?) \dots$
17.	kalag-gim nam-ki-bal šub-šub-bu	17. Like a mighty man thou crushest
		disobedience.
18.	kùr-gar ib-ba si-gar-bi me-en	18. The foreign lands thou subduest; of
		the regions their bar thou art.
19	é-mes-lam za-e dúr-a-zu-dé	19. In the house of Meslam when thou
	o mos van sa o da, a sa de	
-)Λ·	hul-hul-li šag-igi-kar súg me-li	sittest,
ZII -	nul-nul-u sag-lgl-kar sug me-li	20. There is rejoicing, gladness of heart,
_ U,	var var sag igi iini sag iis v	
		fulness of joy.
	kalama-e gùn igi-im-sig² gĭr-zu-šú	fulness of joy. 21. The land altogether bows at thy
		fulness of joy.
		fulness of joy. 21. The land altogether bows at thy

^{1.} Cf. Gud. Cyl. A 27, 5.

^{2.} Var. of *igi-sig* (?).

90 1 200	9171)	ออ	(0)
22 bar SUD-a S		22.	· /
23 nam-kal-gál-2	_	40 .	[Thou of Cutha?] thy power Anu (?
	è-a		from the nether sea has caused to arise.
24 e nigin igi-im	n-mi-nigin	24.	seest all things.
25. [dné-unu]-gal nam	-kal-gál-zu sá- / bal-e	25.	Nergal, thy power brings unrest.
26 ki-gal-bi igi-ii	m-ma -an-ág	26 .	in his vast land 1 surveys thee
27. nam-ur-sag-zu uku-c			Thy power the people know.
28. a-a-zu den-lil-li ki-ga			Thy father Enlil in the vast land
<i>y.</i>	an-ág		surveys thee.
29. nam-ur-sag-zu uku-e	•	29	Thy power the people know.
30. ur-sag uku-e sil-sil			Oh heroic one, guide the people, god
	nigin		of the world, all of it.
31. ki-bal-e PES ha-			The rebellious
32. dné-unu-gal uku-e sil	-sil dingir kùr- ra nigin	32.	Nergal, guide the people, god of the world, all of it.
33. sag (?) dib-ba-zu	tú-ur-bi-šú (?) hul	33.	Thine angry heart (?) 2 hostilely evi [may not inspire (?)]
34. an-gub-na sá-bal-da	-	34.	Oh angub 3 of Heaven (?), unrest shall not [be (?)].
35. dné-unu-gal šag (?)-dis	h-ba tú-ur-bi	35.	Nergal, (thine) angry heart hostilely
			[evil may not inspire (?)].
90	•	0.0	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
36 .	dū sir	36.	dū-sir.
37. ur-sag nigin šár (?)-r.	a maš		Heroic one of the whole world (?)
38. $AL igi im-ši$		38 .	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		39 .	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
		40	
41 . unum-e da-gub-bi-mèn	an-gub me-e	41.	Oh lord, dagub thou art, angulathou
42. ki-el ga-ša-an an-na.	••••	42.	(May) the maiden queen of heaver (speak repose to thy heart).
43. ga-ša-an-mèn migin t	túg (?) mu-mèn	43.	A queen thou art, turn (unto me), my
	dé-im dúg-e		thou art, mayest thou say,

- 44. šag dé-im-túg-e bar dé-im-túg-e
- 45. dim-mē¹-ir da-nun-na kin (?)-gà-e dé-en-tûg-e
- 46. nin-e a-maškim-e² a-ki³ BAD(?) ba ni-in-gar
- 44. "Let the heart repose", let the soul repose".
- 45. May the gods, the Anunakki, the messengers (?) repose.
- 46. The lord⁶ the.... water of the earth.... has restored.

47. sir (?)4

- 47. A song
- 48. (Edge) dné-unu-gal-ka-kam.
- 48. Of Nergal.

CLXXXXVI

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

"Divinity of begetting, divinity of procreation (?) thou art.

For ever thou exercisest love."

- 2. Cf. RADAU, BE. XXIX, nº 1, II 7.
- 3. Cf. Gud. St. B 9, 20.
- 4. Cf. CT. XV, 32 end, and SBP. 286.
- 5. The sign is clearly δu (not tug?) employed in the phrase δU -mal.
 - 6. nin masculine, as in line 1.

^{1.} This is the first instance in Sumerian where we have the intermediate step between dingir (diñir) and dimmer, i. e., digir diñir diwwir dimmer. Here the sign PI clearly stands for a sonant w, and tends to invalidate my argument, Sum. Gram., p. 38, that PI represents the surd w.

Obverse.

1.	já dùg
2.	e
	nam-ursag 1-e
4.	d·gu-la gi
5.	den-lil d.nin-lil-bi mu-na
	nig-šu stl-la (?)-bi igi
	mu-ta-an ² ab-es sag-li
	gal-zu ù-li-bad-du gub-bi
	šu-pi-el šu-maļi
10.	d en-lil d nin-lil-bi d nin-si-in-[na 3
	ki mu-na

Reverse.

12.	en dené-unu-gal-ra la-da é-da
13.	den-lil denin-lil-bi mu-na-an-sum-mu
14.	en-gal kùr-ra-ka mi-ni-in-tu-ri
15 .	giš-ma silig *-ga sag-hi-gim šù-ùr sù-šub-bé
16.	šurim PA dugud ana gukkal hul-ud hu-um-ga-ni
17.	ú-mu-un kalam-ma??? BE?
18.	mà-a gig a-rá giš-ig giš ? -ga-ba-ka ? mà mà
	ù-mu-tu à ug-ùr ? ? me-gim igi ra
20 .	kùr nibru-(ki)-šú nu-um-ši-ni-ib-gál-la-iš
	kur ki utu-suš utu nu-gál-ba an-bil ti-ir šu-ni
	ki-(?)-en-gi lal-bi ni-gur-gur
	uku sag-gig-ga
24.	zi-ba nigin si-si nam-ab-ba
25 .	gir-bi šu-silim dingir-ra-ni gù-de-a zi šu silim
	garza gil-sa-a da-eri kùr-šú šu
27 .	d né 6-unu-gal lugal utu-šuš
	den-lil denin-lil-bi sag-šurim mu-ni

1. Written sag-ur.

2. Vowel-harmony for mu-ti-an-na.

- 3. Originally nin-an-sī-an-na. For variants v. RADAU, Hilprecht, Anniv., p. 406.
- 4. Note the form of the sign.
- 5. See SAK. 82, note d.
- 6. So the sign gir has been transcribed. The value $n\acute{e}$, according to the syllabars belongs to the sign PIRIK, later confused with GIR. The reading $n\acute{e}$ must be considered extremely doubtful, and has been introduced to explain the late form nergal.

- 29. nam-bi-šú gal-uku dug-zal-la-me ki-ba...
- 30. nibru-(ki) mah en nin igi me-gim an-na...
- 31. dingir sîg-a dingir ?-gan-me-en du-eri-šú ka-aga? mu-ni-gar
- 32. ki-šub dinnina

dumu sin 3-na-ka

33. lal gal me-a si-a

me nam... ki.

CLXXXXVII

A LITURGY TO NINTUD, GODDESS OF CREATION

Ashmolean Prism.

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

The occasion which gave rise to the composition appears to have been the coronation of a patesi king of Keš. The goddess of Keš being Nintud (a form of Ninlil), the goddess of childbirth, it is natural that the liturgy of a patesi of Keš should be formed upon the mythological and theological concepts which had attached themselves to this divinity. Its fragmentary remains lead us to infer that the liturgy would have given valuable information concerning the Sumerian ideas of the creation of animate nature. From the few lines preserved on an Assyrian copy of a hymn to Nintud of Keš (no. 95), we gain a faint idea of the poetry which characterized this cult 4.

^{1.} For this title see DE GENOUILLAC, TSA., p. xxviii.

^{2.} Probably for ki-aga = $r\hat{a}mu$.

^{3.} Sic! without dingir.

^{4.} Cf. also nos. 102 and 107.

Keš, like Dir, appears to have been a locality either near to Kiš or a part of Kiš, east of Babylon, the site of modern Ahimer. Keš and Kiš occur side by side in the Stele of Manistusu and the Code of Hammurabi, and are never confused !. According to a passage in my Sum.-Bab. Psalms, p. 24, 74, the temple in Keš was called Ekisigga. Keš was the centre of the cult of Nintud, and Kiš of Zamama, whose temple bears the name Ekisibba. Nintud is a form of Ninlil of Nippur; in other words she is the Ninlil of Keš, where her character as goddess of begetting was emphasized. Hammurabi appeals to her as the begetting mother, Code 44, 42. As the goddess who created mankind she appears as Aruru, King, Creation I 134, 21 2. According to a tablet published by Dr. Pinches in PSBA., 4944, pl. XI, Ninlil or Bêlit ilāni had seven names for seven different localities. Here Nintud is connected with di-el-ti, and Ninharsag with Keš. di-el-ti may be an error for ki-el-ti, as we have di-en-qi-ra for ki-en-gi-ra in this Prism. Kelti would be for Kešti, in which case Keš and Keštu would be possibly differentiated forms of the same word. Ninmah, another epithet of Ninlil as the goddess of the temple Emah in Babylon, has the title ka'isat halati, "she who bestows life", R.A., 8, 60, 1. 32.

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

Col. I.	· Col. I
1. $[\ldots nam]$ -ta-ab-è	1. [Nintud from] has sent forth.
$2. \ [\ldots na]m-ta-ab-e$	2. [Mother Nintud from] has sent forth.
3 $?$ -la \acute{e} -dug $ib(?)$ -ta-ab- \grave{e}	3. [has sent forth.
4umun kur-ra igi mi-ni- ib-il-il	4. [Unto Nintud (?)] the lord of the world lifted his eyes.
5 umun ní-ba mu-na-gùr-	5 the lord exalted in glory.
gù r	
6 il-la-gim šar-gim mu-na ?	6-9?
7 mu - na - ni - ib ?	

^{1.} The only argument for the identification of Kiš and Keš is the fact that K. 13672, a variant of CT. XXV 26, 116 has Kiš for Keš.

^{2.} Cf. Weissbach, Bab. Miscel. 35, and above no. 102.

8 maš.		
9		
10	-	10 stood.
11 bi-ta? da	im-ma- an- sur	11 from its with he
	•	poured out.
12 $m\grave{a}$ - $m\grave{a}$?	UD al-mà- mà	12 builded builded.
13 kalam-mà	-bi anšu-kùr šurub- bak ¹	13 their land the horse of Shuruppak.
14 tal kal	lam-mà-bi anšu-kùr šurubbak	14 the dark-headed people their land the horse of Shurruppak.
15da mă-	a an-da gú-lá-a	15. [In] grew up, with heaven it rivalled.
16 da n	nă-a kùr-ra sag- ila- bi	16. [In] grew up, in the mountain lifted its head.
17a har		17 as the mountains gleaming.
18. [én-ḤAR-(ki)]-g ši-in	im rib-ba galu - ga _r an- túm-mu	18. As EN-HAR a form let man bear.
19. [ur-sag-] bi Aás		19. Their strong one like Ninib in form.
20ama ší- in	- ga- an- ù- tud	20 a mother may beget.
21. [nin-bi]d nin-tu	d-gim rib-ba- a-2 ra	21. Their lady like Nintud in form (shall be)
22. a-ba er- mu	- ni- in- duḫ³	22. Who the wailing shall begin?
23. $[ki-\check{s}ub]^4$ $g\acute{u}$	àš- a- kamā	23. A prayer Section one.
$24.[\ldots kes]-(ki) dug$		24 in Keš well builded.
25 és	, ,	25 in En-ḤAR-ki dug-ki well
	an-na dirig-ga	
	-[rib]si- ri-a- [gé?]6	• •
28 na-gim		28 like lighting humanity.
	<u></u>	
A Cf RATIALY Mice	aal no 17 10	1575 has a liturgical note of dranger

^{1.} Cf. RADAU, Miscel., no. 17, 10.

^{2.} Var. omits.

^{3.} Lines 21 +22 form one line on Var.

^{4.} Var. has fill for ki-šub passim. For $e = kab\hat{u}$ v. Sum Gr. 212. Const.

¹⁵⁷⁵ has a liturgical note é dnannar, 'prayer to Nannar'.

^{5.} Var. é Ykam-ma, 'first prayer'.

^{6.} a is last sign on Var.

sur- ra ed out. 30gimmur- du ninda-ib-gim gù- 30 like, whose wail, like the nun-na 1 reed-(flute), is loud-voiced. 31 bi-ta libiš kalam-ma 31 from its the hearts the people.		39 —
30gimmur- du ninda-ib-gim gùnun-na¹ 31 bi-ta libis kalam-ma 32 bi-ta zid ki-en-gi-ra² 33 ligir-gal an-e³ us- sa 34 da-gal an-e³ us- sa 35gal an-e us- sa 36 lal us-[sa]⁴ 36 Col. II 1 bad an-ki 4 4 den-lil-li zagh 4 4 den-lil-li zagh 5 5. ama denin-dud es-bar (?) 6 6 kes-(ki) na [in-ga-an-tūm-mu] 8. ur-sag-bi d-âs-sir-[gi-gim rib-ba] 9 ama si-in- ga- an-u-t tud 10. nin-bi denin-lud-gim rib-ba- ra[a-ba] er [mu-ni-in-dub] 11. gû- min- kam 12. é an-sû gām-du ki-sû ninnû 14. é an-sû ki-sû gir (?) 15 15. d an-sû ki-sû gir (?) 15 16. d an-sû ki-sû gir (?) 15 17. Like EN- HAR queen beneat is. 15 18. d an-sû ki-sû gir (?) 15 19 an-sû ki-sû gir (?) 15 10 the temple above is, beneat is. 15 11. The temple above is, beneat is. 15 12. Var. an-ni.		29 like which beneath is pou
31 bi-ta libis kalam-ma 32 bi-ta zid ki-en-gi-ra 2 33 ligir-gal an-e 3 us- sa 34 great potentate followin 35 gal an-e us- sa 36 lal us-[sa] 4 36 lal us-[sa] 4 37 dingir kis-(ki) 3 38 dingir kis-(ki) 3 39 abzu 3 39 dingir kis-(ki) 3 39 ama 4 nin-tud es-bar (?) 5 39 ama 5 i-in- ga- an-tum-mu] 8 39 ama 5 i-in- ga- an-tud b] 8 31 from its the hearts the people. 32 from its the soul of line in Sumer. 33 great potentate following An 35 great following An 36	30gimmur-du ninda-ib-gim gù-	30 like, whose wail, like the
32 bi-ta zid ki-en-gi-ra 2 33 ligir-gal an-e 3 us- sa 34 da-gal an-e 3 us- sa 35gal an-e us- sa 36 lal us-[sa] 4 36 Col. II 1 bad an-ki 1 2 abzu 3 dingir kiš-(ki) 3 god of Kiš 4 4 den-lil-li zag 4 2 5 ama dinin-tud eš-bar (?) 6 6 é keš-(ki) na 6 7. én-HAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba galu ši-[in-ga-an-tum-mu] 8. ur-sag-bi dis-sir-[gi-gim rib-ba] 9 ama ši-in- ga- an-ū-tud 10. nin-bi dinin-tud-gim rib-ba- ra[a-ba] er [mu-ni-in-dub] 11. gū- min- kam 12. é an-šū gām-du ki-šū 11. 11. Section two. 12. The temple above a vase (?) is, be neath is. 13. dan-šū ki-šū lu 14. é an-šū ki-šū gīr (?) 15. The temple above is, beneat is. 15. The temple above is, b		31 from its the hearts
33 ligir-gal an-e 3 us- sa 33 great potentate following An 34 da-gal an-e 3 us- sa 35 great following An 35gal an-e us- sa 35 great following An 36 lal us-[sa]4 36 Col. II Col. II 1 bad an-ki 4 heaven and earth 2 abzu 2 the nether-sea 3 god of Kis 4 den-lil-li zag 4 Enlil 5. ama dinin-tud es-bar (?) 5. Mother Nintud decision 6. e kes-(ki) na 6. Temple of Kes 7. Like EN-HAR a form may ma bear. 8. ur-sag-bi diss-sir-[gi-gim rib- ba] 8. Their strong one like Ninib in form 9 ama si-in- ga- an-du-tud 10. nin-bi dinin-tud-gim rib-ba- ra[a-ba] er [mu-ni-in-duh]	32 bi-ta zid ki-en-gi-ra ²	32 from its the soul of li
34. da-gal an-e³ us- sa 34. great following An 35. -gal an-e us- sa 35. great following An 36. lal us-[sa]4 36. 36. Col. II 1. heaven and earth 2. abzu 2. the nether-sea 3. dingir kis-(ki) 3. god of Kis 4. den-lil-li zag) 4. Enlil 5. ama dinin-tud es-bar (?) 5. Mother Nintud decision 6. kes-(ki) na 6. Temple of Kes 7. én-HAR- (ki)-gim rib-ba galu si-[in-ga-an-tūm-mu] 6. Temple of Kes 7. 8. ur-sag-bi d-ās-sir-[gi-gim rib- ba] 8. Their strong one like Ninib in forn 9. ama si-in- ga- an-d- tud 9. 10. nin-bi d-nin-tud-gim rib-ba- ra[a-ba] er [mu-ni-in-duh] 10. Their lady like Nintud in form (sha be). Who the wailing shall begin 41. gú- min- kam 41. Section two. 42. te an-sú gašan ki-sú ninnū 13. The temple above a vase (?) is, be neath is. 43. te an-sú ki-sú gir (?)	33 ligir-gal an-e ³ us- sa	33 great potentate following
35gal an-e us- sa 36 lal us-[sa] ⁴ 36 Col. II 1 bad an-ki 4. heaven and earth 2 abzu 2 the nether-sea 3 dingir kiś-(ki) 3 god of Kiš 4. den-lil-li zaġ 4. Enlil 5. ama denin-tud es-bar (?) 5. Mother Nintud decision 6. é keš-(ki) na 6. Temple of Keš 7. én-HAR- (ki)-gim rib-ba galu ši- [in-ga-an-tām-mu] 8. ur-sag-bi deās-sir-[gi-gim rib-ba] 9 ama ši-in- ga- an-ù-tud 10. nin-bi denin-tud-gim rib-ba- ra[a-ba] er [mu-ni-in-duh] 11. gú- min- kam 12. é an-sú gām-du ki-sú 12. Their lady like Nintud in form (shabe). Who the wailing shall begin 14. gú- min- kam 15. é an-sú gašan ki-sú ninnū 15. The temple above, the queen beneath is. 16. é an-sú ki-sú gir (?) 16. The temple above is, beneat is. 17. So Var. clearly. 3. Var. an-ni.	3/4 da-gal an-ga us so	
36. Col. II Col. II Col. II 1.		
1		
1	Col. II	Col. II
2 the nether-sea 3 dingir kiś-(ki) 3 god of Kiś 4. d·en-lil-li zag) 4. Enlil		
3		
4. d-en-lil-li zag		
 5. ama d'nin-tud es-bar (?) 6. é keś-(ki) na 7. én-HAR- (ki)-gim rib-ba galu śilo-ga-an-túm-mu] 8. ur-sag-bi d-áš-šir-[gi-gim rib-ba] 9ama śi-in- ga- an-ù-tud 9 a mother niay beget. 10. nin-bi d nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra[a-ba] er [mu-ni-in-duh] 11. gú- min- kam 12. é an-śú gām-du ki-śú 13. é an-śú gašan ki-śú lu 14. é an-śú ki-śú gǐr (?) 15. Mother Nintud decision 16. Temple of Keš 17. Like EN—HAR a form may ma bear. 18. Their strong one like Ninib in form (sha be). Who the wailing shall begin be). The temple above a vase (?) is, be neath is. 18. é an-śú gām-du ki-śú lu 19. The temple above, the queen beneath fifty 11. The temple above is, beneat is. 12. The temple above is, beneat is. 13. The temple above is, beneat is. 14. So Var. clearly. 15. The temple above is, beneat is. 16. Var. an-ni. 	L depolition 720	
6. é keš-(ki) na	ama dinin tud of how (2)	
7. én-HAR- (ki)-gim rib-ba galu ši- [in-ga-an-túm-mu] 7. Like EN—HAR a form may ma bear. 8. ur-sag-bi d šš-šir-[gi-gim rib- ba] 8. Their strong one like Ninib in form 9 ama ši-in- ga- an-ù- tud 9 a mother niny beget. 10. nin-bi d nin-tud-gim rib-ba- ra[a- ba] er [mu-ni-in-duh] 10. Their lady like Nintud in form (sha be). Who the wailing shall begin be). Who the wailing shall begin 1 11. gú- min- kam 12. é an-šú gām-du ki-šú 11. Section two. 12. é an-šú gašan ki-šú ninnū 12. The temple above a vase (?) is, be neath is. 13. é an-šú ki-šú lu 14. The temple above is, beneat is. 15. é an-šú ki-šú gir (?) 15. The temple above is, beneat is. 1 So Var. clearly. 3. Var. an-ni.		
[in-ga-an-túm-mu] 8. ur-sag-bi d-áš-šir-[gi-gim rib- ba] 9ama ši-in- ga- an-ù- tud 10. nin-bi d-nin-tud-gim rib-ba- ra[a- ba] er [mu-ni-in-duh] 11. gú- min- kam 12. é an-šú gām-du ki-šú 13. é an-šú gašan ki-šú ninnū 14. é an-šú ki-śú lu 15. é an-šú ki-šú gĭr (?) 16. So Var. clearly. 17. Their strong one like Ninib in form (sha be). Their lady like Nintud in form (sha be). Who the wailing shall begin be). Who the wailing shall begin be). Who the wailing shall begin be). The temple above a vase (?) is, be neath is. 16. é an-šú ki-śú lu 17. The temple above, the queen beneath fifty 18. The temple above is, beneat is. 19. The temple above is, beneat is. 10. Their strong one like Ninib in form (sha be). Who the wailing shall begin be). The temple above a vase (?) is, be neath is. 13. The temple above is, beneat is. 14. So Var. clearly. 15. The temple above is, beneat is.		
9 ama ši-in- ga- an-ù- tud 9 a mother nay beget. 10. nin-bi d·nin-tud-gim rib-ba- ra[a- ba] er [mu-ni-in-duh] 11. gú- min- kam 12. é an-šú gām-du ki-šú 13. te an-šú gašan ki-šú ninnū 14. é an-šú ki-šú lu 15. é an-šú ki-šú gĭr (?) 16. So Var. clearly. 17. Their lady like Nintud in form (sha be). Who the wailing shall begin be). Who the wailing shall begin be). The temple above a vase (?) is, be neath is. 16. The temple above, the queen beneat is. 17. The temple above is, beneat is. 18. Var. an-ni.	[in-ga-an-túm-mu]	
10. nin-bi d·nin-tud-gím rib-ba- ra[a-ba] er [mu-ni-in-duh] 11. gú- min- kam 12. é an-šú gām-du ki-šú 13. é an-šú gašan ki-šú ninnū 14. é an-šú ki-śú lu 15. é an-šú ki-šú gǐr (?) 16. So Var. clearly. 17. Their lady like Nintud in form (sha be). Who the wailing shall begin be). Who the wailing shall begin be). Who the wailing shall begin be). The temple above a vase (?) is, be neath is. 16. É an-šú gāšan ki-šú ninnū 17. The temple above, the queen beneat is. 18. The temple above is, beneat is. 19. Var. an-ni.		
ba] er [mu-ni-in-duḥ] be). Who the wailing shall begin 11. gú- min- kam 11. Section two. 12. é an-šú gām-du ki-šú 12. The temple above a vase (?) is, be neath is. 13. é an-šú gašan ki-šú ninnū 13. The temple above, the queen beneath fifty 14. é an-šú ki-šú lu 14. The temple above is, beneat is. 15. é an-šú ki-šú gǐr (?) 15. The temple above is, beneat is. 15. Var. an-ni.		9 a mother may beget.
12. é an-šú gām-du ki-šú 12. The temple above a vase (?) is, be neath is. 13. é an-šú gāšan ki-šú ninnū 13. The temple above, the queen beneath fifty 14. é an-šú ki-šú lu 14. The temple above is, beneat is. 15. é an-šú ki-šú gǐr (?) 15. The temple above is, beneat is. 1. So Var. clearly. 3. Var. an-ni.		
12. é an-šú gām-du ki-šú 12. The temple above a vase (?) is, be neath is. 13. é an-šú gāšan ki-šú ninnū 13. The temple above, the queen beneath fifty 14. é an-šú ki-šú lu 14. The temple above is, beneat is. 15. é an-šú ki-šú gǐr (?) 15. The temple above is, beneat is. 1. So Var. clearly. 3. Var. an-ni.		
12. é an-šú gām-du ki-šú 12. The temple above a vase (?) is, be neath is. 13. é an-šú gašan ki-šú ninnū 13. The temple above, the queen beneath fifty 14. é an-šú ki-šú lu 14. The temple above is, beneat is. 15. é an-šú ki-šú gĭr (?) 15. The temple above is, beneat is. 1. So Var. clearly. 3. Var. an-ni.	11 an-min-kam	44 Section two
neath is. 13. é an-sú gašan ki-sú ninnū beneath fifty 14. é an-sú ki-sú lu 15. é an-sú ki-sú gĭr (?) 15. The temple above is, beneat is. 15. The temple above is, beneat is. 16. So Var. clearly. 3. Var. an-ni.	· ·	
beneath fifty 14. é an-sú ki-sú lu 14. The temple above is, beneat is. 15. é an-sú ki-sú gĭr (?) 15. The temple above is, beneat is. 1. So Var. clearly. 3. Var. an-ni.		neath is.
15. é an-šú ki-šú gĭr (?) 15. The temple above is, beneat is. 1. So Var. clearly. 3. Var. an-ni.	13. e an-šu gašan ki-šú ninnū	
1. So Var. clearly. 3. Var. an-ni.	14. é an-šú ki-šú lu	
1. So Var. clearly. 3. Var. an-ni.	15. é an-šú ki -šú $gir(?)$	
70 T		
70 T	1. So Var. clearly	3 Var an-ni

16. ká an-šú gim lil ki-šú gĭr(?)	16. The gates above like are fixed,
a	beneath are.
17. é an-šú muš-gim síg-ga ki-sú ud-	17. The temple above like a dragon
$gim \ a-e$	blazes, beneath like the Sun
18. é an-šú ud-gim è-a ki-šú nannar-	18. The temple above like the Sun arises,
gim??	beneath like the Moon
19. é an-šú kùr-ra ki-šú idim-	19. The temple above like a mountain is,
ma	beneath a cavern is.
20. é an-ki ês gu-?-bi na- nam	20. The temple above in heaven and earth
<i>y</i>	thrice is.
21. én-HAR-gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-	21. Like EN-HAR may man a form
an-túm-mu	bear.
22. [ur- s]ag-bi d-áš-šir-gi-ba rib-ba (?)-	22. Their strong one like Ninib in form,
[a- ra?]	
23 ama ší-in-ga- an- ù-	23. May a mother beget.
tud	
24. $[nin-bi]$ denin-tud- $[gim]$ $rib-ba-ra$	24. Their lady like Nintud in form shall
a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duh	be. Who the wailing shall begin?
$25. \ldots \hat{e}s$ kam ma^{-1}	25. Section third.
26. [eri] in-ga-ám uru in-ga-ám sag-ga	26. Behold the city, the habitations too
a-ba-a mu-un-[?]	behold! Who therein shall [dwell?].
27. é keš-(ki) eri in-ga-ám šag-ga a-ba	27. The temple of Keš (and) the city see!
a- mu	Who therein shall [dwell?]
28. šag-ga-a ur-sag ur-sag-e-ne si-mu-	28. Therein their heroic ones it will direct
<i>un-</i> [<i>na-ab-sá</i> ?]	aright (?).
29. eš-bar-kin-dúg-ga-šu? mu-un?	29. To herald decision it will
30. e^{-2g} ud $udu \dots gud$ - um udu	
30. e-e-gua aaa gaa-am ma-ge	30. The temple the oxen and sheep
	like one ox
· ·	31. The cedars messengers divine.
. sukal	31. The cedars messengers divine.
. sukal	31. The cedars messengers divine.32. The temple the oxen, all of them,
. sukal	32. The temple the oxen, all of them,
. sukal 32. é-e gud šár-ra-ám al	32. The temple the oxen, all of them, shall
. sukal 32. é-e gud šár-ra-ám al	32. The temple the oxen, all of them, shall33. The temple the sheep, all of them,
. sukal 32. é-e gud šár-ra-ám al 33. é-e udu šár-ra-ám al	32. The temple the oxen, all of them, shall33. The temple the sheep, all of them, shall
. sukal 32. é-e gud šár-ra-ám al 33. é-e udu šár-ra-ám al	 32. The temple the oxen, all of them, shall 33. The temple the sheep, all of them, shall 34. Withwood the boat of the god
. sukal 32. é-e gud šár-ra-ám al	32. The temple the oxen, all of them, shall33. The temple the sheep, all of them, shall

^{1.} Var. é êš-kam-ma.

^{2.} Var. omits.

Col. III.

4. Var. gá.

Col. III.	Col. III.
1. giš A-TUD-GAB-LIŠ dingir	1. With sarbatu-wood the of god
2. har-sag-da an-da sîg	2. In the mountains on high shining.
3. én-HAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba [galu ši-in-ga-an-tùm-mu].	3. Like EN - HAR - (ki) a form may man bear.
4. ur-sag-bi d'áś-sir-[gi-]gim rib-ba]	4. Their strong one like Ninib in form,
5 [ama $\dot{s}i$ -in-]ga-mu-[$t\hat{u}m$ -mu]	5 may the mother beget.
6. [nin-bi dnin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba	6. Their lady like Nintud in form.
er- mu - ni - in - duh .	Who the wailing shall begin?
7. [ki-šub gù-lam-kam-ma]	7. A prayer. Fourth section.
8. é	8. The temple
9. éurur	9. The temple
10śag- ga-a ur-sag-ur-sag-e-ne si- mu-[un-na-ab-sá?]	10. Therein their heroic ones it shall direct aright.
11. dnin-har-sag-gàusumgal-a an-na ki im-m[i]	
12. dingir-nin-tud ama-gal-la tud-tud	
mu-un	begetting
13. d*sul-sīg-è-a pa-te-si-ge nam-en mu	v G
14gi ur-sag-gà és mu	14. [Nini]b, the heroic, in the abode
15. ddim-me ligir gal-am¹ edin-na-an²	* "
mu- um	- WW.20
16. é siķķa lulim³ gun-ám	16. The house of the wild goats and the
	sturdy sheep altogether
17. én-HAR-(ki)-ga4-gim rib-ba galu ši-	
in-ga-an-[túm-mu]	_
18. ur-sag-bi dáš-šir-gi5-gim [rib- ba]	18. Their strong one like Ninib in form,
19. gis^6 ama $si-in-ga-an-[\dot{u}-tud]$	
20. nin-bidnin-tud-gim[rib-ba-ra-ba er-	- 20. Their lady like Nintud in form (may
$\mathit{mu} ext{-}\mathit{ni} ext{-}\mathit{in}\;\mathit{du}\!\left[\!\!\left. h\right]\!\!\right]$	be). Who the wailing shall begin?
21. gù ⁷ iá- kam- ma	21. Section fifth.
22. é ud-gim ki-gal-la gub-ba-[ám]	22. The temple like the sun in the vast abyss was founded.
1. Var. la.	5. Var. <i>gi</i> .
2. Var. omits na-an.	6. Ama is the first sign on the variant
3. Var. lulim-e.	in this line.
• 37	

7. Var. é.

23. am-bár-bár-gim edin-na lag-lag-gi.	23. Like a furious wild-ox on the high lands, it has been placed.
24-29. Only traces of lines.	
30. [én-HAR-ga-gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-an túm-mu]	30. [Like EN-HAR-ki may man bear the form].
31. [ur-sag-bi dáš-šir-gi-gim rib-ba]	31. [Their strong one like Ninib in form,]
32. [ama si-in-ga-an ù-tud]	32. [May a mother beget].
Col IV	Col IV
1. [nin-bi] dnin-tud-gim rib-ba a-ba [er-mu-ni-in-duh	1. Their lady like Nintud in form (may be). Who the wailing shall begin?
2. gù āš- kam- ma	2. Section sixth.
$3. \ldots e - du^{\circ} - bi$ sa	The seventh section is too badly damaged
$4. \ldots ki e-du^{\circ}-bi \ldots$	to yield a connected sense.
5 bi-an da-nun-na	The refrain at the end agrees with that
6 é an-name-en	of the preceding sections.
7 an-mu-un-gub	of the preceding sections.
8 túg-lal nam mu-un-lal.	
9 e $umum$ den ne	
10 e-a ŭr mu-un-gub	
11 a śu-bi-śú azág-ga-ám dū-dū-ge(?)	La V
12 e-nun e-ne gù-túg-ám.	
13 a-ni ge šag mu-ni sīg-gi-ne.	
14 ge gig-ga gig-ga-ne.	
15 gig mi-ni ib-za	
16 dug ka-zal-bi al-dug	
17 é-dug ka-zal-ir-bi al-dug	
18 ni-bi a-mu-un-durun	
19 bi sag-gà nin-tag-bi a-[mu-	
un-durun]	
20. [én-HAR-]gim rib-ba galu ši-in-	
$ga-[an-t\acute{u}m-mu]$	
21. [ur-sag-]bi dáš-sir-gi-gim rib-ba	
ama ši-[in-ga-an-ù-tud]	
22. [nin-bi dingir]-nin-tud-gim rib-ba-	
ra a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duh	

^{1.} The lines on Col. III were incorrectly numbered on plate LXVII.

I estimated the illegible sections too high, but was able to number the lines correctly from the variant.

23. gù imin-kam- ma
Of the eighth and last section only a
few traces of lines remain.

CLXXXXVIII

K. 2759. Fragment from the end of the reverse of the third tablet of the series dúg-ám, not otherwise known.

- 1. ga-an-dúg mu-lu....
- $2. \ldots bi$ (?) $ga-an-d\acute{u}g$ $mu-lu \ldots$
- 3. $[\acute{a}$ -gim] ga-an-dúg a-ba ba-ra-è-é $a[\acute{s}ub$ -bi]
- 4. a-ki-ni lul-si man-nu uṣ-ṣa a-ḥu-lap ša na-du-u
- 5. urú-zi-mu ga-an-dúg a
- 6. é-an-na ub i imin ga-an-dúg a
- 7. har-sag kalam-ma ub imin ga-andúg a
- 8. è-tùr-kalam-ma ub imin qa-an-dúq-a

- 1. I cry, "who".
- 2. I cry, "who....".
- 3. This will I cry, "Who shall escape? How long! he that is cast out."
- 5. Oh my faithful city! I cry, "Who shall escape? How long! he that is cast out."
- 6. Oh Eanna of the seven regions?! I cry, "Who shall escape? How long! he that is cast out."
- 7. Oh Harsagkalama of the seven regions! etc.
- 8. Oh Eturkalama of the seven regions!

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

2. Here certainly the name of a temple, as in SBP. 166, 57. For harsagkalama-(ki), a city, v. ibid., 265, 5, and PSBA, 1911. pl. XI, 3. Cf. II R. 59 rev. 14.15.

- $oldsymbol{9}.~~gi ext{-}in ext{-}bi^{\,1}\,gub ext{-}ba\,gi ext{-}in ext{-}bi\,nu\,[gub ext{-}bi]$
- 9. He whose maid stood forth for him; his maid now stands not forth.
- 10. ša am-tu iz-zi-zu-šu a-mat-su-ul iz-[za-az-su]
- 11. la-bar-bi gub la-bar-bi nu-gub a-ba ba-ra-[è-é a šub-bi]
- 11. He whose psalmist 2 stood forth for him, his psalmist now stands not forth. Who shall escape? How long! he that is cast down.

12.	me-e ur-ri gin³	me- e	12. I am become a foe	I
2	šal-šu nis-hu dúg-án	ı	•	

CLXXXXIX

LAMENT OF INNINI FOR TAMMUZ

Sm. 1368 (HAUPT ASKT. 118) + K. 6849 == BA. V 681. The beginning of the text has been restored from ZIMMERN, Kultlieder No. 26 Obv. III 3 to III 9, where the text ceases to be a variant of Sm. 1368. The text is especially interesting because of the clear reference to the drowning of Tammuzzin the Euphrates, and the descent of Innini to the gate of hell, guarded by the demon who carried Tammuz away to the lower world. In VAT 611 + 612 + 1371 Obv. II 15 (ZIMMERN 26) begins a section of a Tammuz liturgy, which after line 17 is interrupted by a considerable break. When the text of Col. III begins to be legible, the third line is identical with line 6 of K. 6849, but line 2 of VAT. 611, etc., does not agree with K. 6849, 5.

vices of private penance.

^{1.} Amtu is here a religious title, probably a priestess or devotee of Ishtar. The same function of the amtu appears in a Sumerian text of the Nippur Collection in Constantinople.

^{2.} This passage is important, since it proves that psalmists assisted at the ser-

^{3.} The same catch-line occurs in SBH. 50,32 but the section preceding this line in SBH. 50 does not agree with K. 2759. Compare CT. XV 24, 9 urú-mà ur-ri gin "To my city I am become hostile".

5. ăm-mul	 5. The cattle (?)
8. ar-hu ana bu-[ri] 9. ţu-mu-zu li-[bi-ir-ra nu-mu-ra-ab- și-du]	9. Thy child [the gallu demon will not give up to thee].
10. $ma-ra-ki$	11. The lord of destruction [will not yield him to thee].
12. be-cl na-aś-pan-[ti] 13. ù-mu-un gi-[gi nu-mu-ra-ab-ṣi-du]	13. The slaying lord [will not yield him up to thee].
14. be-lum da-i- $[ku ?]^4$ 15. ama kala- a-ka edin-na $[]^5$	13. The mother of the hero in the plain [unto the lord came?]
16. um-mi id-li ina și-[ri] 17. a-ra-li-ka edin-na6	17. In Arallu, in the plain [unto the lord she came?]
18. mu-lu sìr-ra-ù li-bi-[ir-ri ma-da te mu-un-dî-a]	18. "He of the loud cry, the gallā demon, me why has he robbed?]"
19 ša sír-hi gal-lu-ú	U
1. li-bi-ir-ri ù-mu-un si-ga ma-da te [mu-un-dî-a] 2. gal-lu-ù be-el na-as-pan-ti mi-[na-	1. "Oh gallū8 lord of devastation, why [hast thou destroyed] him from me?

- 1. VAT. 611 omnits.
- 2. K. 6849, mar.
- 3. So ASKT. 418 rev. 1 and K. 6849,9. HAUPT'S text has here, Ψ i. e., nig-[si-ga?]. VAT. 611, si-ge.

am tušalpitanni]

- 4. K. 6849, omits ll. 13 f. VAT. 611, dúg-ge. For the dāiku who slew Tammuz, v. SBH. 68,12.
- 5. Cf. BA. V 674, 1 (?).
- 6. VAT. 611 omits lines 15-17. Cf. AO. 4331 Obv. II in Thureau-Dangin's Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello.
 - 7. Cf. SBH. 68,12.
- 8. In the Tammuz liturgies two kinds of $gall\bar{u}$ are mentioned.

In this text the gallū appears as the

- 3. me-ir-si gú id zimbir-(ki)-ge ma-da [te mu-un-dî-a]
- 4. ina gi-ir-si-e 1 ša a-ah pu-rat-ti [minam jati tušalpitanni]
- 5. ùr-mu in-bad dam-[ma-mu]
- 6. su-ni ip-te-ma mu-[ti]
- 7. şi-ib-mu in-bad dumu-[mu]
- 8. bir-ki-ia ip-te-ma ma-[ri]

- 3. In the flood ² of the bank of the Euphrates [why hast thou destroyed] him from me?
- 5. My womb he opened, he my husband.
- 7. My lap he opened, he my son.

slayer of Tammuz, who in SBP. 314,26 f. conducts Belit-seri to Hades, andguards the gates of hell, 312,12.

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

1. girsû, loan-word from an original gir-sig. Tammuz is referred to as d-damu ság-ga umun me-ir-si(g) = [ilu Tammuz] damka bêl gir-su-[u], SBH. 86 rev. 14 + 134 b 28 f. = SBP. 160,14. In line 5 page 20 of this volume we have the same god referred to as Umun-mu-zida, i.e., Ningiszida ina limît gi-ir-si-e (= me-ir-si), "on the borders of the flood". The meaning "inundation, flood of fresh water, waters of the undersea", I infer from mīr-sig = urpatu, "stormcloud", Br. 8414, and duhhudu sa mirsi following duhhudu sā šamni, "to make oil abundant", in K. 4359 rev. 16 [CT. 12,

50]. Here mirsu evidently refers to some beneficent element in nature. Further, perhaps here $m\bar{i}r$ -sig = $\bar{s}arbillu$ (rainstorm?) following $mir-mir-ra = meh\hat{u}$, II, R. 31 c 8, and Gula (= Ninkaraka) has the title ē-mir-si-ga, i. e., bêlit girsê (?), perhaps "lady of fresh water", referring to this goddess (mother of Tammuz) as goddess of healing, CT. 25,3,51. It is tempting to connect the element gir-su, in the name of the well-known god Ningir-su, with the word me-ir-si; the name would then be practically identical with the title of Tammuz bêl-qirsê "lord of the flood", referring in any case to a deity of vegetation who sends fresh waters, and in this aspect connected with the Ea group. For Ningirsu placed in the Eridu pantheon, v. CT. 25, 16, 43 29, 93. References to Tammuz who perishes in the floods are, SBP. 312,10 and 334,1 ff. The latter passage justifies the supposition that in the ceremony an image of Tammuz was cast upon the river in a little boat.

2. Cf. ZIMMERN, K.-L., no. 1, rev. I, a-me^d· dumu-zi-diab-dib-dib, "The flood has seized away Tammuz".

- 9. ù li-bi-ir!-ra ma-da te mu-[un-9. And thou oh gallā-demon, why [has t $d\hat{\imath}$ -a. thou destroyed him | from me?
- 10. u gal-lu-u ja-ti mi-n[am tušalpitanni
- 11. ká li-bi-ir-ra-ka ga-an-gub a mu...
- 11. At the gate of the gallu-demon verily I will place myself..."
- 12. ina ba-ab gal-li-e lu-uš?-ziz

CC

LAMENT TO TAMMUZ AND INNINI

K. 3356, published by Macmillan in BA. V 679, and collated by me. The transliteration is taken from my own copy. The tablet belongs to the beginning of a long Tammuz liturgy, and represents both Tammuz and Innini as departed from the earth. It is possible that K. 3356 belongs to the same series as no. 143, which is to be placed somewhere near the end of a liturgy.

- $6.\ldots.ka$ -nag-gà-ge ta³
- mu-mu mu-ud-na-zu ta
- 8. nin-ri dam sib-ba
- ta
- 9. dam-ma-ra⁵ gig-ga-ba ta
- 40. dingir dumu şi-ir-tūr-ra-ge⁶ta
- 11. \bar{u}^{7} si-ib-ba-qe ga si-ib-ba-[qe]
- 12. sàb-ba ŭ și-ib-ba-ge ga kū-kū-da-|ge|
- 13. u-me-a-am d·dumu-zi ne-šu8 dúg-ga lăg-lăg-ga......

- 6..... of the land 4 how long?
- 7. mu-mu thy husband how long?
- 8. Oh queen wife of the shepherd, how long?
- 9. Oh amorous wife, how long?
- 10. Divine son of Sirtur, how long?
- 11. Pure food, pure milk.
- 12. Oh shepherd, pure food, sweet 9 milk.
- 13. Let be¹⁰. Tammuz, how long, pure words (?)...

- 1. Vide ZK, II, 281.
- 2. Or uz (?) 3. Read ta-[šú].
- 4. Cf. CT. 15, 18, 14 f.
- 5. So the text. [For ra emphatic vide § 163].
- 6. The mother of Tammuz is mentioned also in RA. 8, 164, obv. II 19, dumu d-si-ir-tūr-ra-ge, for which the variant VAT. 617 has d·dumu si-ir-tūr-ra.

Babylonian Liturgies.

- 7. Var. of $\dot{u} = akalu$, also VAT. 617 Rev. I 19.
- 8. $ne-šu = li-š\dot{u} = ana māti$, how long? For l < n, v. Sum. Gr. § 45 b. The same word occurs in SBP. 336,12-15, and 312,24. The text has RAM clearly, possibly an error.
 - 9. Cf. Küchler, Med. p. 135.
- 10. For the imperative of the verb me, to be, v. ù-me-ám, SBP, 282, 25.

- 14. sáb-ba ne-ta¹ ní-gùr²-ata-sú mu-lu in-kur(?)
- 15. d.dumu-zi-ta ní-gùr-a ta-sù
- 16. ū-gùr-ru-a ū la-ba-da kúm³ ta-šú]
- 17. ga gùr-ru-a ga la-ba-da-úm ta-sú
- 14. Oh shepherd that sleepest, thou that liftest thyself up, how long? thou that art estranged.
- 15. Tammuz, thou that liftest thyself up. how long?
- 16. He that carried food, now eats not food with (his brothers). How long?
- 17. He that carried milk, drinks not milk with (his brothers). Why art thou fallen?

Rev.

1. ni-qur-ru-a ni-qur-ru-a...... 1. Thou that liftest thyself up, thou that liftest thyself up... 3. e-si qim kin4. \$ilam-gim..... 5. elim-ma...... $6. \ sib.....$

CCI

This dialogue between Tammuz and Ininni is published by Dr. DAVID W. MYIIR-MAN, Babylonian Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. 1, nº 6. In this liturgical dialogue it will be noted that Tammuz invariably addresses Istar as his sister, precisely as in the Manchester Text, IV 23, V 5, etc. Note, however, a trace of the figure Bêlit-sêri4, sister of Tammuz, I 7 mu-ti-na, where the nam apparently no longer applies to her, but to Innini⁵. For my text I have made use of a more correct copy by Dr. Radau.

- 1. neta = neda = nad, v.SBP. 337 n.15.
- 2. A Tammuz text in Constantinople has ni-gur-ru. Cf. rev. 1.
- 3. For kumin the sense of eat, v. Boissier, DA. 21,12; — šumma ina mursišu ipallah itebbî uššab akala ikkal mê išattî kusapa ikassap buri-šu ilķî imât, "If in his illness he fears, gets up and sits down, eats foot, drinks water, breaks

bread and takes his bowl, he will die".

The line was transliterated by Virol-LEAUD in Bab. I14,23]. Here kusapa ikassap is written PAD-KUM. The text has $KUM + \hat{S}E$, i. e., gaz. These signs interchange, v. IV R.29 * C rev.a 20, kūmmà, var. kum-mà. A parallel passage is Scheil, Tammuz rev. II 16 f. = Zimmern, Kult lieder p. 4 b 19 f.

- Scheil. \\ \begin{array}{ll} 16. & nu-me-a & ba-an-da-kur. Where food was not, food is eaten. \\ 17. & nu-me-a & a-ba-an-da-nag. Where water was not, water is drunk. \end{array}
- 4. Sum. gešten-anna > mušten-anna > mu-ti-an-na, SBP. 134, n. 3; ZIMMERN, Der Babyl. Gott Tamûz, p. 9.
 - 5. Probably also in Scheil, II, 20.

	bal - e SAL - KU - ma 1 $(-ni$ na - mu 2 - $e)$ d $babbar$ 3 dam - ma - $[ni(?)]e$
3.	in-nin gu-šar-ra 4 dug-li gùr-ru
4.	d innina gu-sar-ra dug-li gùr-ru
5 .	še-?-gi-na dug-li ma
6.	dama dug-lia
7.	dinninamah dug-lia
	mu-ra ga-mu-ra- gin
10.	d-innina gu-šar-ra ga-mu-ra- gin
11.	šeš ⁵ gu-šar-ra ma-i-ra-ta
12.	a-ba-a ma-c-ri-a a-[ba-a] ma-i- ra-ta

- 1. Uttering a discourse 6 his sister was.
- 2. To the god of sunlight, her consort, she was (speaking),
- 3. The heavenly queen 7 who brings the verdure in abundance,
- 4. Innina who brings the verdure in abundance.
- 5. « The sprouting things (?) abundance where.....
- 6. [His] consort.....who abundance [bestows?]
- 7. Innina.....who abundance [bestows?]
- 8..... to my [consort?]......
- 9. «Oh heavenly queen, the verdure I will restore for thee.
- 10. Oh Innina, the verdure I will restore to thee.
- 11. « Oh brother, the verdure, where is it taken? 8
- 12. Who has taken, who has taken?
- 1. Cf. ZIMMERN, Sum. Kultlieder, 3 a 1 ff.
- 2. So RADAU. na-mu-e for na-me an emphatic particle.
- 3. Here Tammuz appears as the solar deity, apparently identified with Shamash; cf. ZIMMERN, Der Bab. Gott Tamūz, p. 17. His argument based upon K. 171 is, however, vitiated by the fact that K 171 is an extract from the great « God List», in which (at any rate in its late form) the Adad group separates Shamash from Tammuz, see ZIMMERN, Zur Herstellung der grossen Götterliste, p. 116. See page 61 above.
- 4. For gu-sar, 'springing verdure', lit. 'plant of the garden', v. gu-sa-ru, Bab. IV, 238,9. Cf. also $g\dot{u}$ -sà-ra $= z\bar{a}r\dot{a}$, 'begetter' Rm. 604,6 and Del. H. W.

- 263 a, to which add PSBA. 1912, p. 71, 1. 2, za-ri ilāni.
- 5. Note that Ininna does not speak to Tammuz as « my brother ».
- 6. For bal = speech, discourse, v. Sum. Gram., p. 205 bal 4).
- 7. in-nin = nin-ana, a synonym of gasan anna. Zimmern, Der Babyl. Gott Tamūz, p. 16, on the basis of SBP. 84,22 gasan a-na-a = ilu istar šakāt, interprets "the lofty goddess". But for ana = šamū (a noun) cf. Sum. Gram., 89, n. 4, ininna-ka-ge, a form which proves innina to be a construct compound.
- 8. For *i-ra* = babālu, 'carry', cf. SBP. 2,24 with 4,5, and for the passive verb form, v. Sum. Gram., § 202.

		· · · · · · · ·
(13.	gu-bi ma-a-ra a-ba-a	ma-
(-		i-ra-ta
14.	SAL+KU-mu ri-a-bi	$[ga ext{-}mu ext{-}$
)		ra- gin]
)15 .	d-innini ri-a-bi	[ga-mu-
(ra-gin]
(16.	šeš ri-a-bi-a	ma i- ra-
1		ta
17.	a-ba-a ma-ab-tíl-tíl a-ba	-a ma-ab-
)		til-til
118.	gu-bi ma- a- ra a-ba	-a [ma-ab-
1	•	til-til
(19.	SAL+KU-mu til-a-bi	ga-mu-
)		ra-gin
/20.	d-innini tíl-a-bi ga	-mu-ra-gín
(3	<i>3</i>
/21	šeš tíl-a-bi-a	ma-i-ra-ta
1		•
22	a-ba-[a ma-]ab-tab-bi!	a-ba-a
1		ah tah li
23	gu-[bi ma-a-ra] a-ba-a	ma-ah-bi-
1	3.5 [5.5]	bi
124	SAL+KU-mu tab-ba-bi	
)		gin
25	d-innini tab-ba-bi ga-	mu-ra-gin
(=0.	<i>y</i>	<i>y</i>
126	šeš tab-ba-bi-a	na i-ra- ta
		a-ba-a ma-
)		ab-zi-zi
		as 20 20
28	gu-bi ma-a-ra a-ba-a	ma-ab-zí-
\=0.	ya ze ma a ra a za a	zi^2
(29	SAL+KU-mu zi-a-bi	ga-mu-
)	TIE HO ma st a-bt	ra-gin
)3n	d innini zi-a-hi ga-	mu-ra-gin
(50.	mmu si-a-ni ya-	ma-ra-ym

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

^{1.} For tab, see Sum. Gr. 245.

^{2.} Below this sign the scribe adds en. It is probable that this gloss indicates that zt is for zt-en < zt-em < sig = sa-

panu, v. Sum. Gram., p. 257 zem. m > n would be a case of partial assimilation of m to the dental sibilant z (or s), v. \S 55 a.

- (31. šeš zi-a-hi-a ma i-ra-ta
- 32. a-ba-a ma-ab-tag-tag a-ba-a ma-tagtag
- 33. gu-hi ma-a-ra a-ha-a ma-tag-tag
- $\{34. SAL+KU-mu\ tag-a-bi\ ga-mu-ra-gin$
- (35. d-innini tag-a-bi ga-mu-ra-gtn
- 36. šeš tag-a-bi-a ma i-ra-ta
- 37. a-ba-a ma gurŭn-gurŭn! a-ba-a ma-gurŭn-gurŭn
- 38. gu-bi ma-a-ra a-ba-a magurŭn-gurŭn
- \{39. SAL+KU-mu gurŭn-na-bi gamu-ra-gin
- (40. d-innini gurŭn-na-bi ga-mu-ra-gin
- 41. seš gurŭn-na-bi-a ma i-ra-ta
- 42. a-ba-a mu-da-an-nad a-ba-a mu-da-an-nad?
- 43. za-ra hen-da-an-nad hen-da-an-nad²
- 44. za-ra nitahlam ³-[mu] hen-daan-nad

- 31. «Oh brother, the fallen where are they transported?
- 32. Who has crushed, who has crushed?
- 33. The plants for me who has crushed? »
- (34. « My sister, that which is crushed, I will restore to thee.
- 35. Ininni, that which is crushed, I will restore to thee. »
- 36. Oh brother, the crushed, where are they gone?
- 37. Who has garnered, who has garnered?
- 38. The plants from me who has garnered?
- 39. « My sister, that which is garnered, I will restore to thee.
- 40. Innini, that which is garnered, I will restore to thee. »
- 41. « Oh brother, that which has been garnered, where is it transported?
- 42. Whom shall I embrace, whom shall I embrace?
- 43. Thee I would embrace, yea I would embrace.
- 44. Thee, oh my husband, I would embrace.
- 1. The phonetic value of the sign IL ending in n (see 1. 39) is most likely gurun; gatun-na K. 4174 III 20 scarcely comes into consideration, since the sign is only apparently made up of ga + tun. The form of the ancient sign bears no resemblance to ga + tun, cf. REC. 105 with 447. My reading is conjectural.
- 2. ga appears as the precative of the first person when the writer wishes to
- express determination, vehement assertion of purpose. hen,he, is employed with the first person in the expression of wish, desire. Cf. Sum. Gram. § 219.
- 3. For this reading v. King, ZA. XXV 302,10 $U\dot{S}$ -SAL-DAM = gitlam, nitahlam < gitlam represents a hitherto undocumented phonetic change n > g or the reverse process of $g > n \S 51$. The change was probably produced by partial assimilation n to h.

- 45. d dagal-usumgal 1-an-na ben-da-an-nad
- 46. ku-li^{2 d}en-lil-[lá-ge] hen-daan-nad
- 47. šag-zi-ta-è-a hen-da-an-nad
- 48. a bara-ga ri-a 3 hen-da-an-nad
- 49. ni-gi-en mu-lu šă-ab mal-kam i mulu šă-ab mal-kam i

- 45. Dagalušumgalanna I would embrace.
- 46. The comrade of Enlil I would embrace.
- 47. He that from the flood is risen, I would embrace.
- 48. He whom the father in the holy chamber did create, I would embrace.
- 49. Return, oh lord, create the risen waters, oh lord, create the risen waters
- 1. usum is written with the hieratic form of (so photograph) as in CT. XV 20,3.
- 2. So apparently the photograph. Cf. Bab. III 240,13. An unpublished seal bears the name of the owner ku-lu-ba-ni. It would appear then, that kulu > gulu (= ibru, friend) was a title of Tammuz, and that the name ku-lu-ba-ni really means "Tammuz-bani". ku-li also in Myhrman, 10 V 2.
- 3. ri-a < a-ri-a; cf. na-izi kùr-ta ri-a 'incense created in the mountain'', Surpu IX 92.
- 4. For mal-kam = šakānu, 'institute, make', v. Ent. Cone IV 28; Urukagina, Plaque Ovale IV 9.
- 5. This reference to the rising of Tammuz from the flood must be brought into connection with the difficult passage SBP. 308,10-15 (= ZIMMERN, Tamūzlieder 208, and cf. p. 214; see also Baudissin, Adonis und Esmun, p. 106), "In his infancy in a sunken boat he lay, In his manhood in the submerged grain he lay". Here follows a reference to the storm-flood in which the god lay, and

again (312,10) reference is made to the raging flood which brought him low [cf. Scheil II 47]. For the disappearance of Tammuz beneath the floods even more direct is the statement, 335 VI 23 ff., "He who upon the river was cast out". The descent of Tammuz into the flood. and his sleeping in the submerged grain, is naturally connected with the casting. of coffined images of Adonis and Osiris upon the waters, and the throwing of the Adonis gardens the sea (v. BAUDISSIN, op. cit., 188). Note also that Istar, in her descent to Arallu in quest of Tammuz crosses the « shining river », Bab. IV 244,30. These references to the descent of Tammuz beneath the waters and his resurrection from the flood may refer to him as the sungod (see 1. 2) in his aspect of quickener of vegetation, whose descent into Hades at the summer soltice was represented as that of any ordinary mortal who journeved to the lower-world beyond the western sea, where the sun himself passed into the nether-sea. His ascent from the flood would be at the winter soltice.

). Oh lord my heart thou wilt rejoice.
. The spade labors not, the granaries shall be heaped.
2. Oh gracious prince, the regular offer- ings command
Possessions multiply (?), the grana- ries enrich.
Oh shepherd, the springing verdure (?) irrigate ».
}

55. bal-bal-e dininna-kam

55. A discourse of Innina.

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

- 1. The sign is a peculiarly gunified form of ()-, i.e. \(\)\(\)\(\)
 - 2. Uncertain.
 - 3. So photograph.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

No. 10. Line 7 read zi for nam. Although the duplicates, SBH. 17 rev. 4; 20, 30; 23,14, have bur-NAM-sar, yet bur-zi-sar is clearly the correct reading. K. 4638 (No. 183) is an interlinear duplicate of lines 6-8 = SBP. 86, 27-32, and this text has also zi. bur-zi(g) is translated by naptanu šaķūtu in K. 4638, and by naptanu šaķū in SBP. 86,31. For zig = šaķū, tall, high, v. Sum. Gr., p. 258. With the help of K. 9257 + 4638 we interpret SBP. 86,30 f. as follows:

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

naptan šakū i ana šuļmutu ilugibil abgalla

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

Line 14 the sign is u-sar, cf. Thureau-Dangin REC. 490. The Semitic translation is i-sit-tum; cf. usar = settum, Br. 10139: sit-tum, Sm. 1086.

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

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

No. 15, K, 9154 rev. is a duplicate of SBP. 124,24-40. K. 3315 (no. 163) is a duplicate of SBP. 124,19-34. K. 9154 rev. 3 has \$u-tu-ra-ta\$, after which correct the doubtful signs in SBH. 45,26 = SBP. 124,26 at-tir to \$u-tu\$. Lines 1-5 read (1) at-ta \$i-ri-[ta...] (2) za-e dirig-ga (3) at-ta \$u-tu-ra-a-ta (4) za-e lugal (5) ...tim ba-\$u-u at-ta-ma \$ar-ru\$. Correct SBH. 45.28 doubtful signs to ba-\$u-\u00e4\$. SBP. 124,28 read ba-\$u-\u00e4\$. Line 6 probably \$hen-\$\u00e5ed-d\u00e9\$. Line 10. \$\u00e5a-du-u ra-bu-u ilu enlil. Line 12, before \u00e9-k\u00e4r read ana (?) or bit (?); cf. SBP. 126,35. (13)...ra-ge. (15)...\$\u00e5a-du-u rabu-u\$, etc.

No. 16. K. 24 obv. I 18 read ba-da-an-dig = ul-te-mit, SBH. 73, 8.

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

No. 41. The sign $d\bar{\imath}m$, SBH. 14, 13, appears to be confused with ba. K. 3345, 12 has a sign followed by -ri which I am unable to identify.

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

^{1.} Var. ina naptani šaķūti, where naptanu is regarded as feminine. naptanu apparently means "bowl, dish", originally.

- No. 47. Line 11 is probably the end of the name of a series..... ^d · gu-la-din-dig-ga. On this tablet all the legible signs are the last on the right edge.
 - No. 51. Read mu-un-ga-sa-ra.
- No. 55. In line 5 the sign bar before \dot{u} is to be suppressed. \dot{u} is a gloss on nu giving a variant reading \dot{u} -mu-un- \dot{si} - $t\dot{u}g$, 'may he repose'.
 - No. 70. K. 9298. For correct copy see no. 92.
- No. 71. Line 8 read $t\bar{u}r$ - $d\bar{a}g$ -amas = No. 122,2 [v. under Corrigenda]. L. 10 read dumu-sag \acute{e} -a-ge. For Nanā as daughter of Ea., v. Gudea, Cyl. A 2,16, « sister of Ningirsu and child begotten of Eridu¹». Lines 57-59 = SBH. No. 54 obv. 1-3. Rev. 1-3 = SBH. No. 54 obv. 4.5.7, hence SBH. No. 54 followed directly upon No. 27.
- 80. In line 10 read a-lum sa na-ak-ru u-sa-[nu-u], the city which the enemy submerged.
- 83. With rev. 5-8, \acute{e} - $g\acute{i}$ -a..., $dumu \acute{e}$ -a..., nin-zi-da..., $[n\acute{i}n]$ -gu-la..., compare SBH. 59,45-47.
- 95. Obv. 4, read kalam-dib-a, and cf. RADAU, BE. 29,5 rev. 7. Rev. 5, mu-un-na-an-tuk-a. After line eight insert ama d nin-tud-ri i-lu-bi-ta mu-un-na-an-tuk-a. In lines 5 f. insert ama.
 - 101. Line 1 for kùr-me read sīg (Br. 7373).
- 103. Obv. 4, read ušum ú-ki-sĭg-ga ná-a, "the dragon lay in the nest"; cf. IV R. 53 a 32: b 21. In line 14 read... i-gud gul e-lum gud-gul and compare IV R. 53 a 13.
 - 110. Obv. 3 read giš-ki gu-gu-ru. The interpretation p. \$5 is uncertain.
- 117. Line 6 is a catch-line, and is separated from the preceding section by a cross line. The name of the series is to be read am-e amas-[a-na] = IV R.53 a 7. ASKT. p. 125 has the same series indicated in the colophon. SBH. 130 begins with the name of this series, "the fold of the lord".
 - 137. Line 5 for sal-la read dam.
 - 139. Line 6 for bar read dingir. Line 16 for tur read dig. The interpretation of

^{1.} Nanā is probably a case of vowel harmony for Ninā. [Sayce was the first to discover the identity of Ninā and Nanā]. Cf. SBP. 162,23 nin-zi-da d·gašan ni-ná-a-(ki), with 210,11, nin-zi-da gašan-mu d·na-na-a. So read also 114,31 and 258,20. See also 106, 13, nin-zi-da: [rubâtum kittum]: gašan [d·na-na-a]: bel-el-tu ituŋ-a. Also, nin-gu-la gašan-mu d·na-na, SBH. 59,47: K. 5157 rev. 43. Ninā is the virgin goddess, consort of Tammuz in the pantheon of Eridu, SBP. 162,23-25, corresponding to Innini and Tammuz in the Nippur pantheon, SBP. 152,19 f. Throughout Babylonian religion the goddess Nanā and Innini are usually kept apart, though both represent the same theological aspect. Nanā constantly follows Nebo and Tašmetum, who belong to the Eridu pantheon; v. SBP. 210,11; 258,20; 114,31; 106,13.

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

146. K. 3026 obv. 10-20 can be restored from Zimmern., K.-L., 60 II 7-15.

- · 10. $[ub-\acute{e}....bi]$ -sag¹ ub-e ba-da-ab-10. Without he cried (?), within he humiliated. gam^2 11. [da-e....bi]-sag † da-e ba-da-ab-11. Within he cried (?), within he gam^2 humiliated. 12. [si-dúg-ga gù-bi-de] ŭr-na³ ba-e 12. In the cavern he cried, and its roof si-si4 13. $[PA-sig-q\dot{u}-bi-de]$ $m\dot{u}r-q\dot{u}^5$ bar - 613. In the... he cried, and the bulwark was broken. ra14. The brick wall is fallen; straight-14. [sìg-gù-gar-ra ur-bi [gú-mi-ni-inmar 7 way he crushed it. 15. [dam-ta nu-ar] i-dé-mu-un-ma-ma 15. 16. 16. [dumu-ta nu-ar] i-dé-mu-un-kar-17.i-lu mu-un-na-ab-bi 17.in woe he spoke. 18. ... in woe he spoke. 18. i-lu mu-un-na-ab-bi g
 - 151. Duplicate of IV R. 53 r. III 1-5.
 - 157. Read K. 6503.

20. [uru-ba kaskal-a-šú (?)

19. [é-sag-di

158. In line one ZIMMERN would supply before kùr, a-ma-ru na-nam, and in line two before śadi-i, a-hu-um-ma. The idea would then be, "Lofty one, furious (?), who a deluge is; he has shattered the mountain".

20.

dar

mar

mu-un-

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

tùb-ba ni-ib 10-dar-

1. Var. gù-bi-dé, he cried.

- 2. Var. ba-an-da-ab-ga. For the euphonic nasal n before d, compare Poebel, OLZ. 1912, 294. Other examples are, nu-mu-un-da-ma-ma 186 r. 17 = nu-mu-da-ma-ma SBP. 10, 13. mu-na-an-gin RA. 9, 112, 25 = mu-na-gin, Gud. Cýl. A 2,9. nu-mu-un-da-ma-ma = nu-mu-da-ma-ma, p. 6, 13.
 - 3. Var. *ur-bi*.
 - 4. Var. si-sá; v. Br. 3465.
 - 5. Var. qù.
 - 6. Var. bar (so read? Zim. sur!).
 - 7. Var. gù-mi-ni-ib-gar.

- 8. Var. *kár*.
- 9. Lines 17 f. are omitted on the variant. Cf. SBP. 66, 24.

49. The sanctuary.....?

10. Var. mi-ni-ih.

Page 67 1. 36 insert gi after K-šid-A. 67,39 read ni for mi.

163. See Corrigenda to No. 15.

165. Unilingual duplicate of V R. 50 II 7-20 (= Sum. Gram. 190). Already published by C. D. Grav, Šamas Religious Texts, pl. XV.

167. P. 70 read temples.

177. K. 2786 belongs to the same tablet as K. 2881, and I have given the complete text on plate LXIX. On page 74 l. 6 read \dot{u} -ta-ma-padan tu-ra-na... L. 7, \dot{u} -ta-ma-pad. P. 751.3, read amar not gu. Suppress note 1; also RA. 9,6 n. 81.

Translate, "Of the stalls, the young cattle I give to drink"; see RA. 9.6 n. 9.

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

Rev. 16-26 is a duplicate of CT. XV 7,7-17 (SBP. p. 10)². Since CT. XV 7,22-27 = rev. 31-36, it follows that rev. 16-36 = SBP. 10,7-27, and SBP. 2, 18-21 fills in the gap between K. 2881 rev., and 2786 reverse. It is probable that SBP. 2 should be restored at the beginning from SBP. 10,7-20. ZIMMERN, K.-L. 25 VIII 35-53 is a duplicate of SBP. 10, 7-27 and of SBP. 2 as far as line 11. Here called variant A. ZIMMERN, K.-L. 61 obv. is a duplicate of SBP. 10,7-14, called here variant B.

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

- 16 (7). ud-dé e-ne-em an-na e-ne-em d·mu-ul-lil-lá-ri
- 17 (8). ud-dé šăh-ih-ha d· gu-la-ri
- 18 (9). ud-dé šă-ab-hul-ma-al-la d muul-lil-lă-qe³
- 19(10). $\dot{a}g^4$ \dot{e} -zi-mu ba-ab-gul-la-
- 20(11). ág urú-zi-mu ba-ab-hul-la-ri
- 21(12). na-ăm-tar ág-é-mu sīg-gan ne'in-dúg-ga-ri
- 22(13). an-šú ni-zig nu-mu-un⁶-da-ma-

- 7. The spirit is the word of Anu, and the word of Enlil.
- 8. The spirit of the angry heart of Anu,
- 9. The spirit of the evilly-disposed heart of Enlil,
- All of my consecrated temples has destroyed;
- 11. All of my consecrated cities has afflicted.
- 12. Fate has afflicted all my temples with calamity ⁷.
- 13. On high it raged and was not restrained (?)8

^{1.} Page 74 note 1 refers to obv. 8-10.

^{2.} This duplicate escaped me and was discovered by ZIMMERN.

^{3.} Var. ri. Note that ri and ra mark the direct and indirect construct in the same manner as ge and ka; v. § 163.

^{4.} mimma šumšu.

^{5.} Var. gu-la-a-ri.

^{6.} Var. omits.

^{7.} Var. A VIII 41 agrees with this text. Var. B has sig im-me-[en-dúg-ga-ri].

^{8.} Var. B has ág (?) SE (?) zi-zi nu-mu-da-má-mà.

23(14). ki-sú ni-zig nu-mu-un ¹-da-zi-zi 14. Beneath it raged and was not with-24(15). na dizig-ga-bi-tu-ra mu- held $(?)^3$

ub-bi-ir

25(16). bi lù-să- a^2 mu-ub-rig

In Rev. 6 read perhaps [nin-gu-] la gasan-mu d-na-na-a.

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

- 170. Read l. 8 asilal-lá si-sá.
- 171. Page 76 read K. 9475.
- 185. See Corrigenda to No. 10.
- 186. See Corrigenda to No. 177.
- 188. Line 6, read man-nu: a-ba mu-un-dib-bi : it-ti-ik.
- 192. Rev. 7 read a-[ba ta-] zu mu-un-zu, "Who comprehends thy form? ».
- 194. On page 77 mention should be made of Bezold's note, Catalogue, p. 697. Page 78, 17 read it-ta-til (Zimmern). Page 79,5 for zid read durun and line 6 it-ta-pal-sah. "In the dust she sat." [Zimmern].

Page 80 below, 1. 12 SAB is uncertain. L. 13 read si-ib-ba.

- 202. Fragment of a psalm. Rm. 2,421.
- 203. Fragment of a Semitic hymn to Tammuz. K. 10742.
- 204. Fragment of an Ishtar liturgy. Note lines 3-6. máš-šub-ba-šú, dumu-sub-ba-šú, mu-ud-na-šub-ba-šú ć-hul-a-šú, "Because of the rejected kid, the rejected son, the rejected husband, the desolated house". K. 5653.
 - 205. Fragment of an Ishtar liturgy, K. 11977.
 - 206. Fragment of a litany. Note 1. 4 d da-[mu?], K. 9358.
- 206. Fragment of a large litany of the cult of Ishtar. Three columns on each side. Col. I of observe entirely gone. Of the reverse only a few lines at the beginning of Col. V are preserved.K. 11150.

Obv. II

- 1. [sub-bé še-ib-é... ki dé-en-]gi-gi 4.
- 1. A prayer for the temple..., that it be restored.
- 2. [ma-a-bi ud-me-na-gim ma-] a-a di-di-in 5.
- 2. Now (?) as in the days of old, where shall I go?
- 3. [nam é-hul-]⁶la-bi er-ra?gig-ud muni-ib-zal-e⁷
- 3. For the desolated temple with tears night (?) and day I am surfeited.

1. Var. omits.

4. Cf. SBH. 97,78 and Nos. 54, 58,

2. Var. tar-a (!).

- 120, ki-š $\alpha[d\acute{e}$ -en- $g\acute{\iota}$ - $g\acute{\iota}]$ and 202.
- 3. Var. A... ni-gar-nu-mu......
- 5. Vide SBP. 185 n. 10.
- Var. B. . . i-gál nu-mu-da-zi-zi.
- 6. Restorations uncertain.
- 7. me-ni-ib-zal-zal. IV R. 24 No. 3,20. mu-un-zal-li, K. 3931,7. The element b in these prefixes is purely euphonic, and interchanges with n before the root.

- 4. [é-]zi-mu šc-ib é-kùr-ra-mu
- 5. eš é-nam- ti-la
- 6. é-zi-mu se-ib zimbir-ki-mu
- 7. é-sá-kud-kalam-ma
- 8. é-zi-mu še-ib tin-tir-ki-mu
- 9. és é-tùr-kalam-ma
- 10. é-zi-mu še-ib had-si-ab-ba(ki-) mu
- 11. eš é-mah ti-la
- 12. eš é- dár an-na
- 13. $[\acute{e}$ -zi-mu] $\acute{s}e$ -ib unug-(ki)-mu
- 14 [é] gè-par-imin-bi ?

- 4. For my consecrated temple, the brick house of my Ekur,
- 5. For the abode of the house of life.
- 6. For my consecrated temple, the brick house of Sippar,
- 7. The temple of judgment of the land.
- 8. For my consecrated temple, the brick house of Babylon,
- 9. The abode of the temple, fold of the land.
- 10. For my consecrated temple, the brick house of Barsippa ¹,
- 11. The abode of the house of life,
- 12. And the abode Edaranna.
- 13. For my consecrated temple, the brick house of Erech,
- 14. The temple of the seven dark chambers.
- 1. For the change d > r in bad-si-ab = barsip, v. Sievers, $Phonetik^{5} § 777$.
- 2. Eanna, temple of Erech, is here described as having seven dark chambers, as in No. 156,1 and SBH. 100, 34. The term describes the section of the temple known as the ziggurat or stage tower; v. II R. 30 a 20 é-gè-pār-imin = ziggurratum uruk. [For DAK = bar, v. Br. 5222].

The name of the stage tower of Erech occurs as gè-par-imin an-[na-ge?], SBH. 100, 34; é-gè-par-[imin], No. 62,4; é-gè-par-imin-bi, No. 156,1. é-gè-par at Sippar, SBH. 120, 12, is probably an epithet of some temple. Note that Eanna, Harsagkalama and Eturkalama, all temples of Innini in Erech, are described as having "seven regions" (ub), p. 93. ub and gepar appear to be employed interchangeably for 'stage' of a tower. gè-par = gipāru certainly means, "dark chamber", whence it follows that each stage of the tower contained a secret chamber. See finally Zimmern, K.-L. 39 obv. 4f., é-an-na šu-ub-ba-šú, 'for Eanna prostrated'; gè-par-imin šu-ub-ba-šú, 'for Geparimin prostrated'. On the general use of the word v. SBP. 240. Tammuz is said to depart from the é-gè-par, by which the ziggurat in Erech is certainly meant, SBP. 306, 41; gè-par-ta ba-ra-è-a, 'From the secret chamber he has gone', Zim, K.-L. 35 r. I 10. See also K.-L. 26 II 13. It is possible that the word occurs in Messerschmidt, Keilschrift-text aus Assur, pl. 27, 4 ki-pàr of Nunamnir. The reading ki-kisal, by Luckenbill. ASJL. 28, 195, is difficult. For the value par for Br. 5479, v. RA. 7,110 (Thureau-Dangin).

Obv. III.

1.	[urú-a-dúg-ga	a] gi -	a-	[bi]

- 2. [nibru-(ki)? a-dúg-ga] é¹-ta mar-ra bi
- 3. [urú a-dúg-ga] a-gí- a-bi
- 4. [uruk(ki) a-dúg-]ga é-ta mar-ra-bi
- 5. [urú.....a ki- us- sa bi
- 6. [uru] na- ăm-bi nu tar-ri-da- bi
- 7, [uru mu-ul-lil-lá ba- ùl- la-bi
- 8. urú umun-na li-li ne-in-tar-ra-hi
- 9. urú d·mu-ul-lil-lá d uº-mă-mu
- 10. an-ni sak-ki-gid- da- bi
- 11. en d·nu-dim-mud-da šag-dib-ba-bi
- 12. urú na-ăm-tar gig-ga im-ma-dū-a
- 13. prú ^{giš}KU sag-gà ba-zi-ga
- 14. urú giš KU-ta la-ba-ra šub-ba-[bi]
- 15. urú ki-el-bi nu- hul- lu-[bi]
- 16. urú kalag-bi nu- li- bi
- 17. urú mé say-gà gab-ri ³ a
- 18. urú mé-e ba-gul- gul- la
- 19. urú mu-bi tu-ra gi-bi tu-ra

- 1. The city submerged, how long until her recompense?
- 2. Nippur (?) submerged, in the waters inundated.
- 3. Oh city submerged! how long until her recompense?
- 4. Erech submerged, in the waters inundated ?.
- 5. The city which in.... was founded
- 6. The city for which such fate was not decreed.
- 7. The city which Enlil directed.
- 8. The city whose lord governed it.
- 9. The city against which Enlil instituted (?) hostility,
- 10. Which Anu smote,
- 11. Which the high priest Ea was wroth against.
 - 12. The city which Fate with sorrow filled (?)
 - 13. The city which held its weapons above all,
 - 14. The city where the psalmist perished with the weapon,
- 15. The city whose maidens are unhappy,
- 16. The city whose men rejoice not,
- 17. The city which in battle was foremost to oppose,
- 18. The city which in battle was annihilated,
- 19. The city whose strong men are distressed, whose females are distressed.

Lines 20-28 are identical with no. 71,1-8 p. 43.

^{1.} e' = a, water, also Zim. K.-L. p. 2 a 10. 22. Cf. e-ga-a, flood, CT. 19, 41 b 13.

^{2.} ana mê salû, IV R. 28* b 35.

^{3.} Cf. Gudea, St. E 9,3; Cyl. A 19,7.

208. K. 5157, a single column tablet, broken across the middle; upper part of the obverse and lower part of reverse preserved. A psalm [er-šag tug-mal] to Enlil of the same kind as the lament to Ninlil, SBP. 256-9. The obverse begins with the seven mighty names of Enlil, which are all translated into Semitic ! Extracts of the text were given by Haupt. ASKT. 181. See also Bezold, Catalogue, 693.

Obv.

- 1. [ni-tuk ma-ra šu-] gi-ba-an-ši-ib
- 2. [aśaridu jaśi] ga-ti sa-bat
- 3. [elim-ma ni-tuk me-]na-śú
- 4. [kabtu ašaridu a-]di ma-tim
- 5. [u-mu-un_kùr-kùr-ra-ge_mc-] na-šú
- 6. [bêl mātāti] a-di ma-tim
- 7. [u-mu-un dúg-ga zi-da] me-na-sú
- 8. [bêlum sa kibîti kitti] a-di ma-tim
- 9. [a-a ka-nag-ga] me-na-šú
- 10. [bêl mātim] a-di ma-tim
- 11. [sib sag-gig-ga] me-na-šú
- 12. [re'u]sal-mat kak-ka-di a-di ma-tim
- 13. i-[dé-dŭ ní-] te-na me-na-sú
- 14. [ša barîina] ra-ma-ni-šu a-di ma-tim
- 15. am [erin-na sá-sá] me-na-šú
- 16. [kardumuštešir um-]ma-ni-šu a-di ma-tim
- 17. ù-[lul-la] dúr-dúr me-na-šú
- 18. ša a-lal² sir-ra-a-ti³ sal-lu⁴a-dima-tim
- 19. umun nibru-(ki)-a me-na-šú
- 20. be-el ni-ip-pú-ri a-di ma-tim

- 1. [Oh honoured one], take me by the hand.
- 3. [Oh exalted and honoured one], yet how long?
- 5. [Oh lord of lands], yet how long?
- 7. [Lord of faithful word], yet how long?
- 9. [Father of the Land], yet how long?
- 11. [Shepherd of the dark-headed people] yet how long?
- 13. Thou of self-created vision, yet how long?
- 15. Hero who directs his host, yet how long?
- 17. He that quiets the strength of rebellion, how long?
- 19. Oh lord of Nippur, how long?

^{1.} See especially SBP, 292.

^{2.} For u, might, strength, v. Sum. Gram., 249.

^{3.} sirratu also in Boissier, DA. 7,16, mar šipri ša sir-ra-a-ti itteruba, "A messenger of rebellion shall enter".

^{4.} Sic! where we expect usallilu or usaslilu, after IVR. 21 * b 4, v. Bab. II 153. The verb must be active. Read perhaps i-lu, "he who binds", for i'ilu.

21umun me-na-šú ur-ri kala-ga ma-da-zu til-e mighty foe make an end city? 22be-lum a-di ma-tim nak-ru dan-nu ig-da-mar mat-ka 23ka-nag-zu ḥa-lam-ma-23destroys thy Land. ge 24ri(?) ù-ḥal-laḥ ma-at-ka 25sud uku ma-da-zu bir-25of a distant country ha	
22. be-lum a-di ma-tim nak-ru dan-nu ig-da-mar mat-ka 23. ka-nag-zu ha-lam-ma-ge 24. ri (?) ù-hal-lak ma-at-ka 25. sud uku ma-da-zu bir-ge 25of a distant country has	
ru dan-nu ig-da-mar mat-ka 23. ka-nag-zu ḥa-lam-ma- 23. destroys thy Land. ge 24. ri(?) ù-ḥal-laḥ ma-at-ka 25. sud uku ma-da-zu bir- 25. of a distant country has	
23	
ge 24	
24	
25of a distant country ha	
	ıs scat-
bir tered the people of thy lan	
26. [ma-]tim ruk-ti ni-ši	
ma-ti-ka ú-sap-pi-ilh	
27	sed to
	lament.
29	
30	ittereu.
σο u-sap-μι-ιμ	
Rev.	
1. [ilu marduk bêl bâbili] ik- ri-bi 1. [May Marduk lord of Baintercussion √speak.	abylon]
2. [d pap-nun-an-] ki-ge a-ra-zu 2. [May Zarpanit] a prayer (utter	r).
3. [ilu zar-pa-] ni-tum teṣ-li-ti	
4. [d·mu-si-]ib-ha-sà-a zūr-zūr 4. May Nebo intercession (spea	k).
5. ila na-]bi-um ik-ri- bi	,
6. [dumu-sag] duras-a a-ra-zu 6. May the firstborn daugh	iter of
7. [mar-tum reš-ti-tum ilu uraš-a tes- Ninib a prayer (speak).	
li-ti	
8. nin-zi-dé gašan gù-ur-a-sīg-ga-ge 8. May the righteous princess in	terces_
• $z\bar{u}r$ - $z\bar{u}r$ $^{\circ}$ sion (utter).	iterees-
()	
9. ru-ba-tum kit-tum ^{ilu} taš-me-tum	
9. ru-ba-tum kit-tum ^{ilu} taš-me-tum ik-ri-bi	lad
9. ru-ba-tum kit-tum ilu taš-me-tum ik-ri-bi 10. nin-gu-la gaš-an-mu d·na-na-a a-ra- 10. May the great princess, m	y lady
9. ru-ba-tum kit-tum ilu taš-me-tum ik-ri-bi 10. nin-gu-la gaš-an-mu d·na-na-a a-ra- zu Nana, a prayer utter.	ıy lady
9. ru-ba-tum kit-tum ilu taš-me-tum ik-ri-bi 10. nin-gu-la gaš-an-mu d·na-na-a a-ra- zu Nana, a prayer utter. 11. ru-ba-tum rabi-tum be-el-tum	ıy lady
9. ru-ba-tum kit-tum ilu taš-me-tum ik-ri-bi 10. nin-gu-la gaš-an-mu d·na-na-a a-ra- zu Nana, a prayer utter.	y lady

Reading uncertain, v. Sum. Gram. 259.
 Vide SBP. 258 n. 6.

- 12. $aa-ugu^4-zu^{-d}\cdot en-ki^{-d}\cdot nin-kiz\bar{u}r$
 - a-bu a-lid-ka ilu Enki ilu Ninki?
- ik-ri-bi
 14. nitlam kenag-zu ama-gal ^d·nin-lil
 a-ra-zu

13.

- 15. hi-ir-tum na-ram-ta-ka um-mu rabî-tum iluninlil tes-li-ti
- 16. sukkal-maḥ-zu gal-ukkin 3 d nuskuge zūr-zūr
- 17. [sukkallika sîru mu-ut-]te-'-ir 4
 ilu nusku ik-ri-bi
- 18. [i-dé-zi bar-mu-un-ši-ib] dé-ra-ab-
- 19. [kînis naplisinni] lik-bu-ka
- 20. [gú-zu-zi gur-mu-un-si-ib] dé raab-bi
- 21. [kišadka kîniš 5 suḥiranni] liķ-bu-
- 22. [šag-zu dé-en-na-tug-mal]dé-ra-ab-
- 23. [libba ka linûh] lik-bu-ka
- 24. [bar-zu dé-en-na-sed-dé] dé-ra-ab-
- 25. [kabattaka lipšah] lik-bu-ka
- 26. [šag-zu šag-ama tu-ud-da-gim] ki ha-ma-gi-gi
- 27. [libbaka kima lib ummi ālit]-tum aš-ri-šu [litûr]

- 12. May the father, thy begetter, lord and mistress of the earth, intercession (utter).
- 14. May thy beloved spouse, the great mother Ninlil, a prayer (utter).
- 16. May thy great messenger, the herald Nusku, intercession (speak).
- 18. "Behold me faithfully", may he say to thee.
- 20. "Turn thy neck unto me faithfully", etc.
- 22. "Thy heart repose", etc.

Chair & W hard

- 24. "Thy soul beat rest", etc.
- 26. Thy heart like the heart of a begetting mother, return to its place.

^{1.} For the reading of MUH as $ugu = \bar{a}lidu$, v. PSBA. 1911, p. 85, l. 25, u-gu-a-ni = alitta-ša.

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

^{3.} Read kingal, S^b 127. The variant texts have DI for ZU, i.e., sá-gal-ukkin, SBH.132,46; K.193 rev. 31; CRAIG, RT. 20,30.

^{4.} The ordinary I2 form of real is mutta'ir (King, Magic, 6,20) for muuta'ir.

^{5.} No. 193,5 has rîšu, 'head'.

- 28. [ama tu-ud-da a-a tu-ud-da-gim]ki ha-ma-qi-qi
- 28. Like a begetting-mother, a begetting father, return to its place.
- 29. [kima ummi ālitti abi ālidi ašrišu litûr] 1

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

CCX

FRAGMENTS OF THE SERIES

en-zu sá-mar-mar, "Oh wise lord, giver of counsel".

The liturgical series en-zu sá-mar-mar is catalogued in the fragment No. 103, obv. 4. Reisner, SBH. No. 28 forms the fourth tablet of a late Babylonian copy on long single-column tablets. No. 192 is a fragment of an Assyrian copy, also on long single-column tablets, and represents the sixth and last tablet of that redaction. This fragment joins No. 193, so that a considerable portion of the tablet can be put together. K.5160, published by Meek in BA.X pt. 1 No. 4, is a large Neo-Babylonian fragment of this series redacted on double-column tablets. The fragment now contains a good part of obv. II and rev. I. Since rev. I is a duplicate of 192 + 193 obv., it is obvious that rev. II was a duplicate of 192 + 193 reverse. In other words K. 5160 rev. I + II contain the last tablet of the series, and K. 5160 obv. I + II contain tablet five. K. 5160 obv. II, which is partially preserved, represents tablet five reverse. We have therefore tablet 4 partially preserved (beginning of obv. and end of reverse); tablet 5 upper part of reverse; tablet 6 upper half of obv. and end of reverse.

The series rose out of an ancient Sumerian public psalm of wailing over a national calamity, and addressed to Enlil, CT.XV 11 = SBP. 198-203, of which ZIMMERN K. L. No. 2 rev. I 23-II 8 is a duplicate. The same public psalm has been almost entirely copied into a Ninuraš liturgy of which SBP. 206-208 forms part of the last tablet. The eršem-ma which closed that series, rev. 27 ff., has not been preserved. Tablet one of this Marduk series probably began with an extract from the ancient en-zu sá-mar-mar psalm to Enlil, and hence was given that name. It is curious that the Ninuraš series employed the same psalm in its last tablet. The refrains mention only Eridu, Babylon and Barsippa. It is just possible that SBH. No. 20 followed on after the singing of the en-zu sá-mar-mar liturgy, for contrary to all rules we have a catch-line at the end of tablet VI, and this agrees with SBH. 41, 1. Moreover, the

^{1.} For the restorations of the reverse, see SBP. p. 258; also numbers 181, 183, 193, etc.

refrains in SBH. No. 20 agree closely with those of our series. Note also that SBH. No. 20 does not belong to a series. With the long liturgical psalm occupying all of tablet six compare No. 208, which is also an *ersemma* from an Enlil series.

Tablet IV (SBH. 28). Obv.

- 1. am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig-ga bame
- 2. [ri-i-mu ra]-bu-u ša[ša-kiš?i-]za-azzu mar-ṣi-iš id-bu(?)-bu-uš (?)
- 3. urú-ṣi-ib-[ba] am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig
- 4. éš-mah 1 am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig
- 5. és-sir am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig
- 6. habur-(ki)2 am-qal ù-na qub-ba qiq
- 7. [tin-]tir-(ki) am-qal ù-na qub-ba qiq
- 8. [é-sag-ila] am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig

- 1. The great wild ox, who stands [aloft?], pondered thereon in sorrow.
- 3. Upon the Beneficent city the great wild ox, who stands [aloft?], pondered in sorrow.
- 4. Upon Ešmah the great wild ox, etc.
- 5. Upon the chamber of psalmody, etc.
- 6. Upon Shubaru the great wild ox, etc.
- 7. Upon Babylon, etc.
- 8. Upon Esagila, etc.
- 1. Damgalnunna is mother of és-mah, IVR. 21* b rev. 13; ASKT. 117,14; SBH. 52,7. In these passages and in the passage above, es-mah denotes a shrine in Eridu and connected with the water-cult. Hence the ritual hat in which the incantations of Eridu were performed are called és-mah = bit sêri, "house of the field", CT. 17,4,19 and ASKT. 104, 9 (uṣurat bit sêri ana sutêsuri). Since the god Shamash, as a god of purification held an important position in these magic rituals, he has the titled és-mah, "god of the house in the field", CT. 24, 31, 65; 25, 27, 4; 25, 25, 26. é és-mah in Zimmern, Neujahrfest 140,2 probably means "ritual house in the plain". Zimmern identifies é-es-mah with é-mah, temple of Ninmah in Babylon, which is not likely.
- 2. This appears to be the original pronunciation of A-HA-ki, HA-A-ki = \$ubaru, apparently a quarter of Eridu and has no connection with the land Subartu. habur > \$abur > \$ubar (cf. Sum. Gr. § 40 b and ki-gab = \$a-ba, CT.XV 11, 18 = Zim. K. L. No. 2 rev. I 39) may of course not be possible, but the reading ha-bur for the signs HA-A is legitimate. Eridu, and HA-A-ki, mentioned together, Langdon, Drehem p. 23. A priest consecrated and educated in the cult of Eridu and A-HA-ki, CT. 16, 6, 239. Also in BA.V 675, 25 $A-HA-ki = \S u'ara$, we have to do either with an Eridu Habur or a mythological Habur (Subar) in the lower world. The word may be connected with hubur, the stream of salt (?) water which surrounds the world. On the other hand the river Habur in Northern Mesopotamia has probably no connection with the $Habur > \S ubaru > \S u'aru$ of Eridu. Against Zimmern and my previous conclusion in Drehem ibid., I now regard any connection between Subaru of Eridu and Subartu (never Subaru, only gentilic subaru, v. Ungnad, BA.VI pt. 5 p. 19) of the Mitanni as wholly excluded.

9. [bad-si]-ab-ba [ki] am-gal ù-na gub-	9. Upon Barsippa, etc.
ba gig	
0. [é-zi-] da am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig	10. Upon Ezida, etc.
1. [é-maḥ-]ti-la am-gal ù-na gub-ba	11. Upon Emahtila, etc.
gig	
2. [é-temen-]an-ki am-gal ù-na gub-ba	12. Upon Etemenanki, etc.
gig	
3. é-dár-an-na am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig	13. Upon Edaranna, etc.
4. še-ib uru si-ib-ba-(ki)ba-gul-la-ta	14. The brick-walls of the Beneficent
tin-tir-ki ¹ nu-um-me	City have been demolished and <i>Tintir</i> is not.
5. é-d-am-an-ki ha-gul-la-ta é-sir nu-	15. The temple of Ea has been de-
um-me	molished and the house of psalm-
6. é-d·asar-lù-dug ba-pi-el-la-ta é-sag-	ody is not.
ila nu-um-me	16. The temple of Marduk has been
	humiliated, Esagila is not.
1. QFQ St=tD=D8-(Kt) UD=Q8-t8.D-t8.D D8	indimination, incompany to not.
im - k $\dot{u}r$ - g ir $[g\dot{u}r$ - ru - $?]$	17. The Beneficent City of the four
8. $tin-tir(ki)bi$ -š \acute{a}	17. The Beneficent City of the four regions
im - k $\dot{u}r$ - g ir $[g\dot{u}r$ - ru - $?]$	17. The Beneficent City of the four
$im-k\grave{u}r-g\check{\iota}r[g\grave{u}r-ru-?]$ 8. $tin-tir(ki)$ bi -s \acute{u}	17. The Beneficent City of the four regions
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 8. tin-tir(ki)bi-sú	17. The Beneficent City of the four regions
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 8. tin-tir(ki)bi-šú Rev	17. The Beneficent City of the four regions
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 8. tin-tir(ki)bi-šú	17. The Beneficent City of the four regions
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 8. tin-tir(ki)bi-śá	17. The Beneficent City of the four regions
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 8. tin-tir(ki)bi-šá	17. The Beneficent City of the four regions
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 8. tin-tir(ki) bi-šú Rev 1.	17. The Beneficent City of the four regions
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 8. tin-tir(ki) bi-šú Rev 1. ana ri 2. kùr-gal 3. ki-bal [gĭr?] 4. d-a-nun-na dingir gal-gal-e-ne [ka šu-mu-ra-an-mar-ri-e-ne]	 17. The Beneficent City of the four regions. 2. Great mountain. 3. The hostile land. 4. The Anunnaki and the great gods ² [bow down before thee?]
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 8. tin-tir(ki) bi-šú 1. ana ri- 2. kùr-gal 3. ki-bal [gĭr? 4. d-a-nun-na dingir gal-gal-e-ne [kašu-mu-ra-an-mar-ri-e-ne] 5. ur-sag á-maḥ d-en-ki-ge sag-nu-mu-	 The Beneficent City of the four regions. Z. Great mountain. 3. The hostile land. 4. The Anunnaki and the great gods ² [bow down before thee?] 5. Hero, vast might of Ea, whom none
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 8. tin-tir(ki)bi-šú	 The Beneficent City of the four regions. Great mountain. The hostile land. The Anunnaki and the great gods ² [bow down before thee?] Hero, vast might of Ea, whom none rival (?).
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 8. tin-tir(ki) bi-šú 1. ana ri 2. kùr-gal 3. ki-bal [gĭr?] 4. d·a-nun-na dingir gal-gal-e-ne [ka šu-mu-ra-an-mar-ri-e-ne] 5. ur-sag á-maḥ d·en-ki-ge sag-nu-mu-ni-ib-[gí-a?] 6. a-a-zu d·en-ki-ge ù-ši-in-gu ³ á-bi	17. The Beneficent City of the four regions
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 8. tin-tir(ki) bi-šú 1. ana ri 2. kùr-gal 3. ki-bal [gĭr?] 4. d·a-nun-na dingir gal-gal-e-ne [ka šu-mu-ra-an-mar-ri-e-ne] 5. ur-sag á-mah d·en-ki-ge sag-nu-mu-ni-ib-[gí-a?] 6. a-a-zu d·en-ki-ge ù-ši-in-gu ³ á-bi ù-mu-un-da-an-gŭr	 The Beneficent City of the four regions
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 8. tin-tir(ki)bi-šú Rev 1. ana ri 2. kùr-gal 3. ki-bal [gĭr?] 4. d-a-nun-na dingir gal-gal-e-ne[kašu-mu-ra-an-mar-ri-e-ne] 5. ur-sag á-mah d-en-ki-ge sag-nu-mu-ni-ib-[gi-a?] 6. a-a-zu d-en-ki-ge ù-ši-in-gu 3 á-bi ù-mu-un-da-an-gŭr 7. a-bu-ka ilu Ea i-šap-pár-ka ú-ma-	17. The Beneficent City of the four regions
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 18. tin-tir(ki) bi-šú Rev 1. ana ri 2. kùr-gal 3. ki-bal [gĭr?] 4. d·a-nun-na dingir gal-gal-e-ne [ka šu-mu-ra-an-mar-ri-e-ne] 5. ur-sag á-maḥ d·en-ki-ge sag-nu-mu-ni-ib-[gí-a?] 6. a-a-zu d·en-ki-ge ù-śi-in-gu ³ á-bi ù-mu-un-da-an-gŭr 7. a-bu-ka ilu Ea i-šap-pár-ka ú-ma-'ir-ka-ma	17. The Beneficent City of the four regions. 2. Great mountain. 3. The hostile land. 4. The Anunnaki and the great gods 2 [bow down before thee?] 5. Hero, vast might of Ea, whom none rival (?). 6. Thy father Ea may send thee; his commission may be entrust to thee.
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 18. tin-tir(ki) bi-šú 1. ana ri 2. kùr-gal 3. ki-bal [gĭr?] 4. d·a-nun-na dingir gal-gal-e-ne [kašu-mu-ra-an-mar-ri-e-ne] 5. ur-sag á-mah d·en-ki-ge sag-nu-mu-ni-ib-[gí-a?] 6. a-a-zu d·en-ki-ge ù-ši-in-gu ³ á-bi ù-mu-un-da-an-gŭr 7. a-bu-ka ilu Ea i-šap-pár-ka ú-ma-	17. The Beneficent City of the four regions

^{1.} Since Eridu is mentioned in the first part of the line and a temple of Eridu in the next line, we should naturally refer tin-tir-(ki) not to Babylon but to some part of Eridu. Note that tin-tir-(ki) = Babylon (?) occurs in 1. 18.

i. e., the Igigi.
 Gf. gin, to send, Sum. Gr. 216.

- 9. ina ki-bit iluEa na-'-dis tal-lak 1
- 10. bar-bi in-ág-tuk-a a-ba e-ne-gín :
 bád-bi ne-in-gi nam-tag-gà nam-mie-duh
- 11. sig-bi ni-ba im-hul-hul-e : li-bit-tašu ina ra-ma-ni-šu uš-ta-ṣab-bit
- 12. enim abzu im-dir-ám⁴ an-šéš: ina a-mat ap-si-i ša kima ú-pi-e ša-pa-at
- 13. gišmes-gim (?) in-sir-ri muš + a-na qiš-i-dim-me-sil-e-ne
- 14. ki-ma me-e-su i-na-sa-ah šur-šu uš ma-riţ
- 15. id-da nu-me-ám a-mi mu-un-ul-ul: ina ba-lu na-a-ri a-gu-ú it-ta-ki-pa
- 16. a-úḥ-ki nu-me-a ki-a ba-an-gul-la
- 17. ina ba-lu la-a-i-ra-a-nu kib-ri u-tab-ba-bi-bit (sie!) 8

- Her suburbs are possessed, who inhabits them ²? Her city wall they demolished ³, and the sin is not absolved.
- 11. Her brick walls of themselves go to ruin.
- 12. By the word of the sea, which like a rain-cloud is obscure⁵,
- Like a mēsu-tree she is plucked away, like a root she is extirpated^θ.
- 15. Since the canal is gone the flood overflows.
- 16. Since the clay is gone the shore is destroyed.
- 1. REISNER'S copy na-' BAR ta-lak-UD (sic!).
- 2. Transcription and translation wholly uncertain.
- 3. Uncertain, gi < gil(?).
- 4. The text has \(\delta m im \)-dir (!).
- 5. Jensen first suggested the meaning "dark, obscure" for the verb šapū (KB.VI 355), rendered by "thick" in Delitzsch, HW.678 and Muss-Arnolt 1079. This meaning is evident from the fact that the Sumerian verb šuš, related to šėš, also means "be dark, shrouded in darkness"; cf. e-ne-em-mà-ni gakkul-ám-ma al-šuš = amatsu kakkullu katimtu, "his word is shrouded in mystery like a flask", SBP.42, 60. See especially Boissier, Choix 171,9, šumma nūru ša ina gizilli našū ša-pu, "If a light which one carries upon a torch goes out (?) (or smokes and becomes dark?)".
- 6. The transcription and translation are conjectural. One may read us-ma-rit (lak, sid). The subject I take to be âlu "city". For marātu, rub, polish, see Zim. Rt. p. 150,15. marṭak, I am become bald, Harper, Lett. 348,9; muttutu am-ma-rit, "I am made bald on the forehead", VR. 47 b 32. Here Küchler, Med. 10.61, ina ubanika tumarrat, "with thy finger thou shalt rub (him)". Probably connected with marāku, rub, polish, BA. II,636,12.27.31; Küchler, Med. 10,55; K. 203,13 (in Bab. III 220).
- 7. lāirānu, a derivative of lîru, spit, slime, Heb. Syr. Arab. ריר. See on this passage, Hommel Grundriss 254, and Holma, Körperteile 8.
 - 8. Cf. utatabbit, SBH. 6, 8; II²/2 of abātu.

- 18. umun-e urú-ni-a na-ăm-și-ib-baantar-ri
 - n- 18. The lord who decreed a good fate ri for his city.
- 19. be-lu ša âli-šu šim-tu ta-ab-bi (sic!) i-še-mu
- 20. nis-hi ribu-u en-zu sá-mar-mar nu-al-til a-na zamar nishi giṭṭi
- 21. Bêl-apil-iddin apil sa Ea-balaț-su-ikbî apil Nannar-ibni : katâ
- 22. Ea-balaț-su-ikbî [māri-šu kalû şiḥru] ili-šu ¹ Bâbili araḥ atar addar ûmu 10 săttu 200 + [?-kam An-ti-'-uk-ku-su] šarri¹?.

Fourth extract of "The knowing lord, the giver of counsel", not finished. To be chanted. Long-tablet belonging to Belapiliddin, son of Eabalatsuikbi, son of Nannaribni. Written by the hands of Eabalatsuikbi his son, the inferior psalmist of his god³. At Babylon on the tenth of intercallary Adar, in the 200 +? year (of the era of Seleucus); Antiochus was king.

Tablet V (K. 5160 Obv. = BA.X pt. 1 p. 75).

Rev.

- 2. of pure appearance whose body seemly.....
- 3. $du(?)^4$ zi-mu el-lu-tum⁵ ša zumur-šu, as (?)-[miš....
- 4. giš-tir giš-šim erin-na dúg-e-ne KA-KA.....
- 5. ša ina ķiš-ti ri-ki e-ri-ni im-meel-lu ⁶ ina ḥa-[bi-bi]^
- 4. He who in the forest of odorous cedars shouts with joyful song.
- 1. dingir-šu-kam a mixture of Semitic and Sumerian.
- 2. Reisner gives 200 +. In this case we must assume a simple date of the Seleucidian era, and the name of a king whose reign falls between 106—85 B. C., for the scribe Eabalatsuikbi appears on other tablets only in this period. I have supplied Antiochus Cyzicenus 116-95.
 - 3. i. e., Marduk.
 - 4. Meek, kar-ra-du.
 - 5. The word zi-mu is often construed as a mas. plural.
- 6. malālu is given the meaning, "enjoy oneself," by Delitzsch, HW. 413 b. Also Zimmern, Neujahrfest 133, translates CT.15,44,28, "The eunuchs who upon the threshold i-ma-li-lu, sport." The root is connected with Hebrew p, Arabic malila,

- 6. me abzu šu-el-la gub-ba šu-luḥ karkar [gub-ba]
- 7. me zi-de-eš bar-ra he-dú tin-tir-(ki) dul-[la-bi]
- 8. ša par-si ki-nu-tim ana nap-lusi as-mu su-lul ba-ab-ilāni
- 9. ur-sag zag-è maḥ tin-tir-(ki) u-di-da gub-ba
- 10. ķar-ra-du a-sa-ri-du si-i-ru sa ina ba-bi-lim ana tab-ra-ti izza-zu
- elim-ma dug-li šig² abzu šag-ga³ ésag-il-la gub-ba
- 12. kab-tu ša ina é-sag-ila ki-rib apsi-i el-li ku-uz-ba ma-lu-u
- 13. gud (?) a-gūr-ra sù zagin sú- sú

- 6. He who to make clean the ordinances of the sea, stands, to make holy the hand-washings, stands.
- 7. He who is worthy to look upon the true ordinances, stands, protection of Bobylon.
- 9. Heroic one, mighty leader. who in Babylon stands as object of admiration.
- 11. The honored, full of luxuriant strength, who at the clean sea of Esagila, stands⁴.
- 13. Strong one (?) who is huge in strength, who is bearded with a bright beard.

skelter, dance; the Heb. and Syr. amallel, speak, is probably ultimately the same root, v. Nöldeke ZDMG.57,413. The meaning "speak, sing," is seen in the word malilu, "flute". Heb. and Arabic preterite in a but Bab. i seen in Meissner, fragment of Gilgamish Epic II 9, sur i me-li-il (imperative), "dance and play." CT. 16,44,101, the evil spirits on the mountain of sunrise im-ma-ni-di-es = immalillu: since di means both "speak", and "go", one can be in doubt here, but line 99 has iltanassumu, "they run," and line 103 ittanahlalu "they slink away", hence the verb has the sense "they shelter". In a dream a man sees a bow (kastu) which im-me-lil, Bossier, Choix II,10. Boissier finds here a Semitic root but to rub, but its existence is doubtful, and the form is passive, which excludes his rendering, "If he rub a bow". The meaning is perhaps, "If the bow dance about". The Sumerian of our passage dúq favours a meaning, "shout, speak".

- 7. For the restoration, cf. CRAIG RT.56,17, Marduk ha-bi-bi, "the shouting", prs. part.
 - 1. es employed as a plural of nouns is irregular, v. § 129.
 - 2. See Sum. Gr. 238.
- 3. $\check{s}ag$ var. of $\check{s}\acute{a}g=dam \dot{k}u$, v. Sum.~Gr.~235. The Semitic translator gives two versions of $\check{s}ag$, viz. kirib and ellu!
 - 4. So the Sumerian line.

14. ša e-mu-ki pu-un-gu-lu ziķ-na elli-tam zaķ-nu 1

15. [sib?]dumu nun abzu šita-na 2 dun 3
gal-zu
who understands the digging of water-sources.

16. .[be?]lum ma-ar ru-bi-e ša ap-si-i
pi-tu-u be-ra-tim
17. ... am-šu-sal-sal-la
18. ... du-šū tu-ud-da
19. ... as-mu

Tablet VI4. Obv.

- 1. [u-mu nam-mu-]un-sub-bi-en mu nam-mu-un-sub-bi-en
- 2. [be-lum la ta-]nam-da-an-ni be-lum la ta-nam-da-an-ni
- 3. [umun d·]am-an-ki nam-mu-un-šubbi-en
- 4. [umun] d. asar-lù-dug nam
- 5. [umun] den-bi-lu-lu nam
- 6. [ur-]sag d·mu-si-ib-ba-sà-a nam
- 7. [umun]d·sá-kud-mah-am nam
- 8. $umun \ tin-tir-(ki)$ nam
- 9. umun é-sag-il-la nam
- 10. umun bad-si-ab-ba-(ki) 5 nam

- 1. Oh lord, not shalt thou cast me down; oh lord, not shalt thou cast me down.
- 3. Oh lord, Divine Ram of Heaven and Earth, not shalt thou cast me down.
- 4. Oh lord Marduk, not etc.
- 5. Oh lord Enbilulu, not etc.
- 6. Champion, Named with Good Name, not etc.
- 7. Oh lord, Great Judge 6, not etc.
- 8. Oh lord of Babylon, not etc.
- 9. Oh lord of Esagila, not etc.
- 10. Oh lord of Barsippa, not etc.
- 1. This description applies also to Shamash, SBP.64,28, and Sin IV R. 9 a 10. A more correct translation of zagin is uknu.
 - 2. The complement na indicates that the original value of $\rightarrow \mathbb{N}$ was sitan.
 - 3. dun, dig, open a water-source, v. Sum. Gr. 211 dun 2.
 - 4. Obv. = Meek pl. 76 restored from K.4630 + 10205.
 - 5. Here begins K.5160, rev. I. With lines 4-14 cf. SBH.41,5-19.
- 6. iuSakudmaham is ordinarily a title of Ninuraš of Isin, a solar deity, consort of Gula of Isin, SBP.174,44; 228,23, and not to be confused with Shamash of Sippar, as I have done in my previous editions. The title sakud-mah = daianu siru is also employed of Shamash of Sippar, as in VAB.IV 164,1, since both are solar

11. umun é-zi-da nam	11. Oh lord of Ezida, not, etc.
12. umun é-maḥ-ti-la nam	12. Oh lord of Emahtila, not, etc.
13. umun é-te-me-an-ki nam	13. Oh lord of Etemeanki, not, etc.
14. umun é-dár-an-na nam	14. Oh lord of Edaranna, not, etc.

Priest

15. mu-lu er-mar-ra gin nam	15. He that renders petition am I ³ .
16. ša-kin tak ¹ -ri-bi ana-ku ²	Thou wilt not cast me down.
17. mu-lu zūr-zūr-ra gin nam	17. One of prayer I am. Thou, etc.
18. ša ik-ri-bi ana-ku	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
19. mu-lu a-ra-zu gin nam	19. One of intercession I am. Thou, etc.
20. ša te-es-li-ti ⁴ ana-ku	

Thou wilt not cast me 22. a-bi a-li-di ⁶ ana-ku 23. li tukundi ⁷ túg-mal nam 23. Soon repose! Thou wil	Penitent.		
23. li tukundi ⁷ túg-mal nam 23. Soon repose! Thou wil		21. A father who has begotten I am 5. Thou wilt not cast me down.	
24. a-di sur-ri nu-ḥa	undi ⁷ túg-mal nam	23. Soon repose! Thou wilt not, etc.	

deities, and as gods of light they become patrons of justice. Evidently a close connection existed between this deity and Marduk, for the tablet SBH. No. 30 contains two penitential hymns, one to Sakud and one to Marduk. That deSakud and deSakudmah are identical is proven by SBH.57,1 sa-kud and 57,3 sa-kud-mah. Titles of this solar Ninuras of Isin as Sakud in CT.25,16 ff. and 24,38. In the passage above [as in SBH.41,11] he is probably identified with Marduk. His temple at Isin is Erabriri, where he also held the title En-nu-gi, PSBA.1900,362,9. sa-kud is the original of the form Sakkut, a title of Ninuraš which appears in Hebrew, Amos 5,26, as sikkūth, i. e. Mars, along with Kijjūn = Bab. kajamānu, the name of Saturn, star of Nergal.

- 1. Var. ták.
- 2. K. 5160 gives an alternative ša ták-rib-ti ša-kin-ti ana-ku. The passive participle šakīnu is otherwise unknown; cf. SBH. 58,43.
 - 3. Var. "I am one of homage rendered."
 - 4. Var. tes-li-tim.
- 5. It is unusual to find individual circumstances of this kind appearing in the public litanies. The "I" of these services usually stands for the whole congregation.
 - 6. Var. a-bu a-li-du.
 - 7. Var. adds -bi.

- 25. me-na i ù-mu-un bé?-gi-en nam
- 26. a-di ma-ti be-el ki-na-a-ti 3
- 27. ib-si me-na-sú nam

ma-și a-di ma-ti

- 28. nam-mu-un-šub-bi-en e-ne-ra gaan-[na-ab-dúg]
- 29. la ta-na-da-an-ni ana ša-a-šu lu-[uk-bi
- 30. sir-ri nu-ti-li ba-ni-[ib gaz?]
- 31. şi-ri-ih la ka-te-e ur-[ri-da-an-ni?]
- 32. er sīg-gan nu-di ba-ni-[-ib....]
- 33. bi-ki-ti la ku-us-su-pi (?)

- 25. How long 4 oh lord of righteousness (?) Thou wilt not, etc.
- 27. It is enough; how long? Thou, etc.
- 28. "Thou wilt not reject me", unto him I will say.
- 30. Sighing without end has [brought me low.]
- 32. Weeping without diminishing....

Rev.

- 1. [i-] dé- [zid bar-mu-un-ši-ib dé-raab-]bi
- 2. ki-nis [nap-lis-an-ni lu-uk-bi-]ka
- 1. "Behold me faithfully", I will say to thee.

Priest.

- 3. gú-zu [zid gur-mu-un-ši-ib dé]
- 3. "Turn thy, neck unto him in faithfulness", I will say to thee.
- 4. ri-ši-[ka ki-niš suḥḥir-šu lu-uķ-bi-]ka
- 5. šag-zu dé- $[en-na-t\acute{u}g-e\ d\acute{e}]$
- 6. bar-zu dé-[en-na-túg-e dé]
- 5. "May thy heart repose", I will say to thee.
- 6. "May thy mind repose", I will say to thee.
- 4. V. Sum. Gr. p. 177; cf. SBP. 288,11; me-nam, Zim. K. L., 2 b 23.
- 2. Var. bi.
- 3. Cf. No. 194 rev. 25. The abstract prefix bi is known to me only in this passage; we expect nig-gi-en, cf. § 149. kinati a plural with abstract force, from kittu, v. Brockelmann, Vergleichende Grammatik, § 228 a. See also Ham. Code IV 53; perhaps also VAB. IV 172,40.
- 4. K. 5160 has a gloss *ja-ti* for *adi mati*, probably formed as a fem. to the interrogative adverb *jau* where? Br. 10367; SBH. 106,68 (wrongly interpreted in Sum. Gr. p. 111).

- 7. šag-zu šag ama-[tu-ud-da-gim kibi-šú ha-]ma-gi-gi
- 8. ama tu-ud-da a-[a tu-ud-da-gim kibi-šú ha] 1
- 7. Thy heart like the heart of a begetting-mother may return to its place.
- 8. As a begetting-mother, as a begetting-father, to its place may it return.
- 9. er-šem-ma [d. asar]-lù-dug-ge
- 10. er-šem-ma [en-zu] sá-mar-mar
- 9. Psalm on the flute to Marduk.
- 10. Psalm on the flute for the series, "Knowing lord, giver of counsel.
- 11. umun še-ir-ma-al-la an-ki a-[ba ta-] zu mu-un-zu
- 12. šiššu nis-hu en-zu sá-mar-mar al-til
- 13. kima labiri-šu šă-țir-ma ba-a-ri
- 14. é-gal ilaasur-bani-apli šar kissati šar mat assur-(ki)
- 15. mar iluašur-ahi-iddina šar kiššati šar mat aššur-(ki)
- 16. liplipi iluSin-aḥê-erîb šar kiššati šar mat aššur-(ki)
- 17. [śa] a-na iluMarduk ilatZar-pa-nitum tak-lu
- 18. [nir-]gal-zu nu-ri ilunabu ša dupšarrūti

- 11. Oh lord, glorified in heaven and earth, who comprehends thy form?
- 12. Sixth extract of, "The knowing lord, giver of counsel". It is the end
- 13. Like the original it has been written and collated.
- 14. Palace of Asurbanipal, king of dominions, king of Assyria,
- 15. son of Asarhaddon king of dominions, king of Assyria,
- 16. grandson of Senecherib, king of dominions, king of Assyria,
- 17. who puts his trust in Marduk and Zarpanit,
- 18. the wise, light of Nebo of letters.

The eršemma of this series (which is unusually long, occupying all of the sixth tablet) is so clearly the expression of the religious feelings of an individual, that it should really be called an er-sag-tug-mal, or private penitential psalm. No doubt this psalm was employed as a private psalm to Marduk and later as the public intercession for the end of this Marduk series. Two penitential psalms, one to Sakud and one to Marduk, have been transcribed on a single tablet SBH. No. 30, and are so closely related to the liturgical psalm of this series that I have added them to this volume as No. 211.

^{1.} For restorations see SBP. 258 and SBH. 59.

CCXI

PENITENTIAL PSALMS TO SAKKUT AND MARDUK¹

(SBH. No. 30.) Obv.

1. me-e sá-kud-ta me-e sá-kud- ta	1. I to the Judge, I to the Judge (will pray).
2. ana-ku ana da-jā-ni ana-ku ana da- jā-ni	P-35/*
3. me-e ^d sá-kud-mah me-e 4. ana-ku ana be-lum da-jā-ni și-ri	3. I to the lord, mighty Judge, etc.
ranga kanalangan di Kabupatèn Kabupatèn Kabupatèn Kabupatèn Kabupatèn Kabupatèn Kabupatèn Kabupatèn Kabupatèn	
5. me-e umun é-rab-ri-ri me-e	5. I to the lord of Erabriri, etc.
6. ana-ku ana be-lum é-rab-ri-ri 2 🏋	
7. me-e umun é-gal-mah me-e	7. I to the lord of Egalmah, etc.
8. ana-ku ana be-lum é-galmah 🏋	white Toward
9. me-e umun tin-tir-(ki) me-e	9. I to the lord of Babylon, etc.
10. ana-ku ana be-lum bāb-ilāni 🏋	
11. me-e umun é-sag-il-la me-e	11. I to the lord of Esagila, etc.
12. ana-ku ana be-lum e-sagila	
13. me-e umun kiš-(ki) me-e	13. I to the lord of Kish, etc.
14. ana-ku ana be-lum ki-ši	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
15. me-e umun é-kisib-ba me-e3	15. I unto the lord of Ekišibba, etc.
16. ana-ku ana é-kisibba 🏋	
17. me-e umun é-me-te-ur-sag me-e	17. I unto the lord of Emeteursag, etc.
18. ana-ku ana be-lum é-mete-ursag 🏋	

^{1.} Translated by Jastrow, Religion II 84 f., who correctly identified Sakud with the god of Isin.

^{2.} Probably the chapel of Sakud and Gula in the temple Egalmah at Isin.

^{3.} Chapel of Zamama in Emetenursag, v. VAB.IV, 185.

19. me-e é-ŭ-nir-ki-dúr-mah 1 19. I unto the lord of Eunirkidurmah, umun те-е etc. 20. ana-ku ana be-lum é-unir-kidurmah ! 21. me-e umun é-ka-azag-ga me-e 21. I unto the lord of Ekazagga, etc. ana-ku ana be-lum é-ka-azag Y 23. me-e umun é-gú-dŭ-a-(ki) me-e 23. I unto the lord of the temple of Cutha, etc. 24. ana-ku ana be-lum é-gú-dŭ-a-(ki) ** 25. me-e umun é-mes-lam 25. I unto the lord of E-meslam, etc. ana-ku ana be-lum é-meslam 27. me-e umun á-[dil-bad-] (ki) 27. I unto the lord of Dilbat 2, etc. 28. ana-ku ana be-lum [dil-]bad- (ki) * me-e umun é-i-bé-d-a-nu-um me-e 29. 1 unto the lord of E-ibe-Anu, etc. ana-ku ana be-lum é-ibe-Anu YY 31. d sá-kud e-ne-em še-ga-ge me-e 31. Unto the Judge whose word is beneficent, etc. 32. ana da-jā-ní ša ma-ag-rat a-matsu 🏋 33. d·sá-kud kùr-kùr nigin-na me-e 33. Unto the Judge of all lands I (will pray).

Priest.

35. er-im-šéš-šéš i-ši 3 nu-gà-gà

34.

- 35. He weeps and ceases not to begin again.
- 36. i-bak-ki it-hu-sa 4 ul i-kal-la
- 1. Ziggurat of Kish, Br. 9358. The sign nir is replaced by ur in SBH.40, 13 and 36, 17, but nir is correct, see the date formula of the 22nd year of Samsuiluna "Ziggurat of the mighty abode".
 - 2. i.e., Uraša a form of Nin-uraša at Dilbat.

ana da-jā-ni ša nap-har mātāti 🛚

- 3. So traces by Reisner.
- 4. I² of ahāzu. The form is omitted in the lexicons; cf. IV R. 27 a 38. The Sem. translation is not literal.

Penitent.

- 37. i-dé-mu er-ra in-si-si- gi(?)
- 38. i-ni-jā bi-ki-tum ú-ma-al-la i
- 39. ki-nad gíg-ù-na-ge a-se-ir sig-ga
- 40. ina ma-kā-al mu-ši ta-ni-ḥi úmal-la-an-ni
- 41. er-ra a-še-ir-ra: bi-ki-tim u ta-nihi: mu-ni-ib-sa³: uš-ḥar-ar-anni: si
- 37. My eyes fill with tears.
- 39. In repose at the darkest ² hour of night, sighing fills me.
- 41. Weeping and sighing have brought me to silence.

Priest.

- 42. mu-lu er-mar-ra gin gú-zu [gur]mu-un-ši-ib
- 43. ša tak-rib-tum ša-kin-tum ub-lakku 4 ki-šad-ka su-uh-hi-ir-šu
- 44. mu-lu zūr-rūr-ra gin i-dé-zid barmu-un-ši-ib
- 45. ša ik-ri-bi ub-lak-ku ki-niš nap-liis-su
- 46. mu-lu a-ra-zu gin gú-zu [gur]-muun-ši-ib
- 47. ša tes-li-tim ub-lak-ku ki-šad-ka suuh-hi-ir-šu
- 48. [dim-me-ir-mu mu-lu zūr-] zūr-rage zūr-zūr dé-ra-ab-bi
- 49. [i-lu bêl ik-ri-]bi ik-ri-bi lik-bi-ka 5
- 50. [ama d·innini-mu mu-lu a-ra-zu-]
 ge a-ra-zu dé-ra-ab-bi
- 51. [ummu ištarti-ja bėlit tesliti]
 - tes-lit-tam lik-bi-ka

- 42. He that renders petition am I; turn thy neck unto him.
- 44. He that renders prayer am I: faithfully behold him.
- 46. He that renders intercession am I; turn thy neck unto him.
- 48. May my god, lord of prayer, prayer to thee speak.
- 50. May mother Innini, lady of intercession, to thee intercession speak.

^{1.} Piel of inner condition, v. Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 509.

^{2.} šat můši. Note ù-na a noun from ana with ù prefix: "height, hour of greatest darkness." Material reasons also favour this interpretation of šat, v. VAB. IV, 56.

^{3.} Sic! read si?

^{4.} Sic! The scribe has read tûm for gin and renders, "As for him who brings thee petition submitted". Here the official psalmist begins the intercession.

^{5.} Cf. ASKT. 123, 7; 121, 3 and SBP. 258, 9.

52 .	d·en-lil zūr-zūr dé : ik-ri-bi lik-bi-ka	52 .	prayer to thee speak.
	Re	ėv.	
1.	a-ra-zu dé-ra-ab-bi	1.	intercession may speak to thee.
2.	tes-lit-tam liķ-bi-ka		
3.	ša é zūr-zūr dé	3.	prayer may speak to thee.
4.	d·pap-sukal: a-ra-zu dé	4.	of Papsukal may speak intercession to thee.
5.	[šag-zu dé-im-túg-mal : lib-ba-ka] li-nu-uh : bar-zu dé-im-šed- : ka- bat-ta-ku lip-ša-hu : -dé	5.	May thy heart repose, thy mind be at rest.
6.	[šag-zu šag ama-tu-] da-gim ki-bi- šú ḥa-ma-gi-gi	6.	May thy heart like the heart of a begetting-mother return to its place.
7.	[libbaka kima lib um-] mua-lit-tu ana aš-ri-šu li-tūr		
8.	[ama tu-da a-a tu-da-gim ki-bi-šú ḥa-ma-gi-gi	8.	Like a begetting-mother and a beget- ting-father may it return to its place.
9.	[kima ummi a-] lit-tu u a-bi a-li-du ana aš-ri-šu li-tūr		
-		• •	
	[er-šag]-tùg-mal d·sá-kud-kam		A penitential prayer to Sakkut.
13.	[a-ra-zu] zūr-zūr-ra-ta šag-bi dé-in- šed-dé	13.	With intercession and prayer I will appease his heart.
14.	[ina tak-rib-]tum u te-is-li-tum lib- ba-šu ú-na-ah		
	[ur-sag] ¹ d·asar-lù-dug umun dim- me-ir-e-ne gin	15.	Heroic (?) Marduk, lord of the gods art thou.
16.	[kar-ra-] ¹ du ilu Marduk be-lu ilāni at-ta		

^{1.} So restored by Reisner.

17. [za-da] nu-me-a a-ba ka-áš-mu-un- bar-ra	17. Without thee who renders decision?
18. [ina ba-lu] ka-a-tum 1 man-nu pur- śa-a i-pàr-ra-as	
19. [umun-mu?] gú-zu mu-un-śi-in-gi?	19. Oh my lord (?) turn thy neck unto him, faithfully behold him.
20. [bêli? kišad-ka] suḥḥir-šu ki-niš nap-li-is-su	
21. [śag-zu dé-en-śed-dé] ³ E + SAL tuk-ba-ne	21. May thy heart be at rest; have mercy upon him.
22. [libbi-ka linúh] ri-e-mu ri-ši-šu 23. [] i-dé-zid bar-mu -un-ši-ib	23. Him in faithfully behold.
24 ha-za-ti ki-niš nap-li-su	
25. [húl-bi im-mi-]in-húl a-dim ⁵ mu-un lal-e	25. As for him whom devsatation has overthrown, whom uncanny powers have laid low,
26. $[\$ulputu]^6$ u - $\$al$ - pi - tu di - mi - ta $[ukanni$ - $\$u]^7$	
27. [bar-zu] mu-un-mà-mà á(?)-za ba- ta è	27. Whom thy hater with afflicted, who from thy (protecting) hand has wandered,
28. [$\dot{s}a$] za -'- ru - ku ina idi -[ka] \dot{u} - su -[u]	Market W. Warman
29. [bar] lù erim húl-bi [gid-]mu- un	29. The hater, evil and hostile, pluck out.
30. [za-i-ra-]a-nu lim-nu u aj-bi u-suḥ	
31 uku-bi sá-ba-ab	31. Him among his people make prosperous.
32 ni-ši-šu šul-lim	

^{1.} See Meissner, Assyrische Grammatik § 28 b 2. Ungnad, Babyl.-Assyr. Grammatik § 56. balu is generally construed with the possessive pronouns.

^{2.} The imperative form should be gi-mu-un-ši-in, cf. ASKT. 122,18.

^{3.} Uncertain? cf. IV R. 54 a 38. See also Jastrow II 97.

^{4.} Text zu!

^{5.} Cf. ASKT. 75,4 a-dim (e-ki-me) (= ki-i), so, in this way. The Sumerian in this passage possibly to be pronounced etim = etimmu, syn. of dimetu.

^{6.} Restorations are doubtful.

^{7.} Cf. CT. 17, 29,22.

- 33. [lù erim zi-ir-] zu kùr-ra-ta muun-qi!
- 34. [amelu raggu mušši-]² iš-ka ina māti ³ te-ir
- 35. [nam-nir-]ri-za kùr-kùr-ra ḥen-i-i
- 36. [be-lu] ut 4-ti-ka [ina] ma-ta-a-ti lut-ta-'id
- 37. [dìm-me-ir-mu] mu-lu zūr-zūr-rage zūr-zūr-ra dé-ra-ab-bi
- 38. [ama dinnini-mu] mu-lu a-ra-zu a-ra-zu
- 39. [d·amurre]mu-lu ḥar-sag-gà-ge zūrzūr-ra
- 40. d·gú-bar-ra gašan gú-edin-na-ge ara-zu
- 41. d·am 6-an-ki am urú-ṣi-ib-ba-ge zūrzūr-ra
- 42. ama éš-mah d·dam-gal-nun-na-ge a-ra-zu
- 43. sal-dumu dam kenag-zu d-pap-nunan-ki-ge a-ra-zu
- 44. sukkal-zid d·mu-si-ib-ba-sà-a a-razú

- 33. The wicked man who brings thee trouble from the land turn away.
- 35. And I will extol thy lordship among the lands.
- 37. See obv. 48.
- 38. See obv. 50.
- 39. May Adad lord of the mountains, a prayer to thee speak.
- 40. May Gubarru blady of the hills, intercession to thee speak.
- 41. May the Ram of Heaven and Earth, ram of the Beneficent City 7, a prayer to thee speak.
- 42. May the mother of the vast abode, Far-famed spouse of the Prince 8, intercession to thee speak.
- 43. May the daughter, thy beloved spouse Zarpanit, a prayer to thee speak.
- 44. May the faithful messenger, Named with a good name, intercession speak.

- 1. Sic! Read gi-mu-un.
- 2. Restorations very uncertain.
- 3. šadi-i (?).
- 4. For bêlûtu, cf. ardu-ut-te, Tigl. Prism, V 16.
- 5. A western goddess of the highlands, Semitic Ašratu, consort of Adad, and identified by the Babylonians with Geštinanna, a goddess of the vine, because both were connected with the cult of the dying god, Ašrat with Adonis and Geštinanna with Tammuz.
 - 6. Text am-a-an sic!
 - 7. Ea of Eridu.
 - 8. Damkina, consort of Ea.

- 45. é-gi-a dumu-sag duraš-azūr-zūr-ra
- 46. nin-zi-da gašan gu-ur-a-sĭg-ga-ge ¹ a-ra-zu
- 47. nin-gu-la gašar-mu ^d·na-na-zūr-zūr-ra
- 48. umun d-sa-kud-mah-ám na nun ²-na-ge a-ra-zu
- 49. i-dé-zu bar-mu-un-ši-ib dé-ra-ab-bi
- 50. gú-zu [gi]-mu-un-si-ib $d\acute{e}$: $\acute{s}ag$ -zu $[d\acute{e}]$ túg-mal $d\acute{e}$
- 51. bar-zu dé-en-sed-dé dé
- 52. šag-zu ama tu-ud-da-gim ki-bi-šú ha-ma-gi
- 53. ama tu-ud-da a-a tu-ud-da-gim kibi-šú

- 45. May the bride, the first daughter of Uraša, a prayer speak.
- 46. May the faithful lady, queen Tashmetum, intercession speak.
- 47. May the great princess, my queen Nana, a prayer speak.
- 48. May Sakkut the mighty, the.... of the Prince, intercession speak.
- 49. "May thine eyes look upon him", I will say to thee.
- 50. Turn thy neck unto him; may thy heart be at rest, etc.
- 51. May thy mind be at peace, etc.
- 52. Thy heart like the heart of a begetting-mother return to its place.
- 53. Like a begetting-mother, like a begetting-father, return to its place
- 54. er-sag-túg-mal d·marduk-kam
- 54. Penitential psalm to Marduk.

1. See p. 112,8.

^{2.} If nun-na here refers to Ea, as is probable, then Sakkut, like Marduk, belongs to the Ea pantheon.

INDEX

Temples, Gods and their Titles.

a-a kanagga, father of the Land, 111; 9.

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ab-ba, title of Sibsib, 72, 23.
 áb-sal-la-šár, title of the Harlot, 13, 4.
 \dot{a}b-\dot{s}\dot{a}r-ra, idem, 13,3.
 d·ab-ú, Tammuz, 101 6. Nebo, 68, 16.
 Adab, city, 72, 1.
 ad-gir, in the incantation against the evil eye, 11, 1 f.
 d-Alád-d-Kalag, a protecting genius, inferior god. Apparently not essentially diffe-
   rent from d'Kalag, q. v. The sign alád [Br. 6230] does not appear before the
   Assyrian Sargonids, and has the meaning sêdu, as has also AN-KAL; in this
   compound, AN-KAL (phonetic lamma) is an epithet of alád, so that some difference
   in meaning must be assumed. dalad-lamma, means a protecting god in 89, a divine
   courtier who stands before Ishtar, Chaig RT. I 54, 29, and is used apparently for a
   bull image, VR. 4, 70. Ordinarily alad-lamma, without dingir, is employed for
   bull images, Del. H. W. 646 b. In King, Magic 8, 12 the dealad and delamma
   are female attendants of Istar and clearly indicate two similar types. Since Ishtar
   was herself originally a patroness of flocks and was called the "horned"
   goddess, it seems probable that alad and lamma were at least by origin bovine
   spirits, satyrs who survived from the primitive pastoral deities, and especially
   connected with the Ishtar of flocks.
-ama-é-a, mother of the temple, 88,4, title of Nisaba-gal; 43,9, Dada; SBP. 152,9
  Sadarnunna.
ama-erin-na, host; mulu R, queen of hosts (Ninegal), 101 12; v. SBP. 156,44.
ama-é-urusagga, title of Gula of Isin, 50,23; 92 r. 5; 15, 7.
ama-gal, great mother, Ninlil, 113, 14.
ama gu-la, great mother, title of Tammuz, 101 6.
á-mah, title of Nusku, 50,25; 92 7; 15 9. Marduk, 116,5.
ama-mah, title of Aruru, 102 3.
ama-namtagga, mother of sin, 78,8 ff.; 79.5.13.
d-Am-an-ki, Ea, 31,5; 48,39; 49,8; 46 5; 56 r.22; 190 3; 151; 56 r. 8; 116,15; 120,3.
am-gal, great wild ox, Marduk, 115,1 ff.
an-gub, title of Nergal, 83,34.
<sup>d</sup>·Anu, 82,3 f.; 110,10; 89,33; 186 r. 11;
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d·Anunnaki, 105,6; 98,7; d·a-nun-na 98 4; 84,45; "great gods", 190 2; 116,4.
d. Ara, 31,13.
arabū, mythical bird, 109 7.
aralu, lower world, 19,10; 95,17;
d. Aruru, goddess of birth, 88 3; hymn to A., 102.
d-Asar-qir-nun-na, 121 3.
d. Asarludug, Marduk, 31,7; 37 4; 190 4; 56 r. 9. 26; 48,40; 49,9; 116,16.
d\cdot \hat{A}\hat{s}-im-\ddot{u}r-(ra), god of the new moon, 56, 12; 2,9; 2,13; 3, 17. Compare the name of
  a temple of Sin E-im-ür-en-na, SBP. 166,56. The second sign aragub-šeššik has
  the phonetic value im, CT, 24,48 I 17. im must have been a very ordinary value
  of this sign, cf. CT. 32,2 IV 6. The name may also be written d-ás-DU-ür, BA. V
  668,5; IV R. 35 No. 6 I 25. The value ur for UD is established by galu áš-DU-
  ùr (= bêl namrasit) Radau, Miscel. 4,13. DU has also the value im, cf. im-me-c-
  zu (Zim. K. L., 3 b 4)= DU-mu-e-da (RA. 8, 164 II 18), i. e., im-mu-e-da. The
  root im, immi has the meanings, 'rush, rise up.' For en > em = as\hat{u}, v. IV R.
  24 * b 26 šag-im-ma-ge: šag-UD-DU-ma-ge. Note im-ma = sit šamši dawn, or
  urru day, in King, Magic 9,43. d.áš-lm-ür, means probably, god of the first
  ascending light.' RADAU, ibid. 420 reads as-qu-ur and regards the Semitic word
  for new moon azkaru as being the original for the Sumerian word.
d. Ašnan, grain goddess, 73, 35.
d-Assirgi, Ninib, 88,19; 89,8; 90,22; 91,1. 18; 92,21.
a-u, the lofty, Nebo, 67, 34.
d. Azag-sud, title of Ašnan, 73,35. Cf. Sm. 491,5 in Bab. III 28.
d. Babbar, 25,11; 56 r. 13; 69,20; 190 3; 92 r. 3. Title of Tammuz, 99,2.
Babilu, 50, 33; 79,2; bàb-ilani, 119, 8.
Badgurgur(ki), city; centre of the Tammuz and Innini cult, 19 n. 2.
Barsippa, 50,34; 82 40; 109,10; 117,3; 120; 125; 29,18; 27 15; 68,17; 167,2
  186 12; r. 8; 193 7; 116,9.
d-Bau, 101 5; 7 r. 2; 8 8; 123 2; 72,17. 19.
Bêlit-sêri, 128,5.
Cutha, city, 51,43; 125,23.
d. Da-da, 43,9; 46,64.
d-Damgalnunna-(ge), consort of Ea, 46 7; 56 r. 23; 36,6; 31,6; 73,16; 129,42.
d. Da-mu, Innini, 206 4.
Deltu-(ki), Nintud, goddess of di-el-ti-ki p. 87 : cf. II R. 60 a 24 = b 23.
Dilbat, 125,27.
d. Dimme, 91, 15.
d-Dim-muk- nun-na (tarkul nunna), 68 3.
Dim-u(hu), 73,33.
dul-ur, title of Bau. 72, 19.
dumu-an-na, 'daughter of Anu', (Ininni), 7 r. 8; 206; 72,25.
dumu-é-a, 'daughter of the temple', Shala, 28,10. dumu-é-a also a title of Gunura,
  SBH, 93,6; 94,6; ZIM, K. L. 25 II 10 dumu é-e.
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dumu-mah, Shamash, 72 10. SBP. 64,35.

dumu-mu, 'my son', Marduk, 36,4. 5. 10.

dumu-nun-gal, title of Sin, 92 r. 1; 15,4.

dumu-nun-na, 'son of the prince', Nebo, 68,13. Tammuz, 101 6. cf. SBP. 156, 38.

dumu-sag d.E-a, 'first daughter of Ea', Nana, 43,10.

dumu-sag E-ibé-Anu, 'first daughter of the temple E.', (Tashmetum), 56 14.

dumu-sag d·Uraš-a-(ra), 'first daughter of Ninib' (Tashmetum), 112,6; 56 12; SBH. 65 r. 13.

dumu-zid, 'faithful son', Nebo 68,18. Tammuz (?) 93,32.

d-Dumuzid, Tammuz, 43,1; 203 1.3. d-Dumu-zi-abzu 73,2 (at Keš).

dupsar-maħ, 'great scribe', Innini, 18,6. This title ordinarily applies to the sister of Tammuz, Gestinanna, Bêlit-sêri.

Dur-é-a-dug (su-pa-at i-ni-a-at) 'the abode in ruins', 72,28.

d·Ea, d·en-ki-ga-gu, 13,5; d·en-ki-ra 14, 19 (to Ea); hymn to E-a, 150; 116,6 f.

E-ad-gi-gi, 'temple of the sage', 123 6.

E-ankiage, 'temple of heaven and earth,' temple of Innini, 43,7.

E-anna, temple of Innini at Erech, 43,5; 46,60; 63,18; 82,2; 93,6; 72,6; 56 r. 15.

E-barasiga, temple of d. KAL, 73,7. barasig, 'shrine', SAK. 198 n. b).

E-barasirra 73,19.

E-barra, temple of Shamash at Sippar, 28,4; 50,32; é-barrum 486,10; r. 5.

E-dár-an-na, 'temple of the ram of heaven', in Babylon, 29, 22. Probably a chapel to Ea in Esagila. The name refers to Ea in his astral connection. He is essentially a water deity and represented by a goat with fish body. The Babylonians assigned sections of the ecliptic to Enlil, Anu and Ea, called harran Enlil, harran Anu and harran Ea. According to Weidner, BA. VIII 4,22, the section assigned to Ea corresponded to the region from the Archer to the Fish, thus including the signs of the Ram and Waterman. 186 15; r. 10; 193 11; 109,12; 207 r. 2; 99 5; 50, 37; 82 14; 167 5; 176 1; 126. ga-šan é-dár-an-na, 56 18. At Nippur (?) SBP. 210, 14; 116,13.

E-da-zu-zu(?)-ab-ba, title of a deity, 73,14.

EDIN-BAR, title of a goddess at Lagash, SBP. 170,13. Part of Lagash, 72,22. Cf. gú-bar, SBP. 284,7.

E-dág-ga, 'temple of crying', 73,5.

E-dúr-sàb-ba, 'temple of the abode of the shepherd', a temple of Innini, 19,11.

E-engur-ra, 123.5; 69.21, temple of Nebo.

E-éš-làg-gi, 100 5 f.

E-galmah, temple at Isin, 124,7.

E-gepar, 'temple of the dark chamber', 27 10; 46,61; 43,6.

E-gepar-imin, 'temple of the seven dark chambers', stage tower in Erech, 109, 14; 207 r. 5.

é-gi-a, bride, probably to be read gà-gi-a, title of various married goddesses, BA. V 586,5 Ninlil. SBH. 129,6, ilat Nâru; 129,14, Zarpanit; V R 62,60 Aja. King LlH, 66,2 title of Šarratum, i. e., Antu. 83, r. 5, Zarpanit(?); 56 r. 29, Tashmet; 130,45. E-gi-dim-dim, bit kan urulli, 39,17.

E-gi- $d\bar{u}$ -[a], 'temple of the fold', in Kullab, 156 3.

E-gissirgal, 'temple of light', temple of Sin at Ur, 27 6; 164, 7; 156 4.

E-hal-hal-la, 73,13.

E-haršabba, temple of the mother of Negun, 101 7. At Keš. See Uršabba.

E-he-nun-na, 'temple of abundance', temple of Ramman, 13 11; 29,27.

E-i-bé ilua-nu, temple of Anu and Ninib at Dilbat, 20 2; 51,44; 56 14; 125,29. Erroneously réad É-i-dé-iluAnu by me here and in all my previous publications. The correct reading was established by Gautier, Archives d'une Famille de Dilbat, No.11, é-i-bi-a-nu-um and é-i-bi-ilu-[a-nu-um], King. LIH. 101, 3. Var. É-im-bi-ilu-Anim KB. IV 214,9. The name means "Temple-proclaim Anu". The late form imbi is probably for an imperative form ibbi <ibr/>bê.

E-tb-gal, 73,34. Compare SAK. 255. Part of an Ishtar temple. VAT. 2100 III 4. E-ka-azag, 125,21.

E-karra, 73,9.

E-kenur, chapel of Ninlil in Ekur, 29,12. See kenur.

é-kid, 'he that opens the gate', 4,45. 47.

E-kišib-ba, 'temple of the seal', at Kiš, 51,41; 124, 15.

E-kisigga, 'temple of the parentalia', 72,2.

E-kur, 'mountain house', at Nippur, 50,30; 109,4:,29,40; 38,13:,186 8; r. 3.

elimma, 'strong', title of various gods; Ninib, 22,3. 4. 6; Enlil, 49,2; Marduk, 119,11.

E-magur, 'house of the boat', temple of Sin in Ur, 164 6.

è-mah, 'great psalmist', 69,19, title of Nebo.

E-mahtila, 'great house of life', chapel of Ezida, 167,4; 26, 1; 29,30; 99 3. 56 15. 186 13; r. 9; 193 9; 109,11; 82 12; 69 11; 116,11.

E-meslam, temple of Nergal at Cutha, 51,43; 82,19; 125,25.

E-meten ursag, 'house of the glory of the hero', temple of Zamama in Kis, 51,42; 124,17.

E-me-ŭr-ŭr, 'temple of the execution of decrees', 9,11. Cf. SAK. 220,14, here a temple of Innini.

E-mudkurrari, 27 9.

en, lord. Title of various gods. Sin, 15,4; Ea, 110,11; Nergal, 85,12. en-gal 85,14. E-nam-bi, 50,38.

E-nam-bi-é-zi-da, 56 19; 73 r, 38. é-nam-bi-zi-da, 26,3; BA. V 663,12; SBP. 164, 48. Temple of Nanā.

E-nam-he, temple of Lamman in Babylon, 13 8.

E-namtar, 'house of fate', 29,24.

E-namtila, 'house of life', chapel in Ekur, 29,13; 109,5; 50,31. Consecrated to Enlil, SBP. 212,7; МЕЕК No. 11,24.

d. En-bi-lu-lu, Marduk, 56 r. 10; 37 5; 104 1; 119 4; 190 5; 69 8; 48,41; 49,10.

E-ninnu. 97.

E-ni-te-en-dug, 'house of awe', temple in Ur, 27 6; 156 5; 164 8; Craig RT. 58,20. Ammiditana placed his statue in E. in his 30th year; v. BA. VI 3,25.

d·En-ki-ga-ge, 86, 4; en-ki-ga-gu, 13, 5. See Ea. d·en-ki, father-name of Enlil, 113,12.

d. Enlil, 'lord of wind-storms', originally a god of mountains. A psalm to Enlil, 73; a litany, 85. His seven names, 56 r. 1-7; 93; 38; 111; 106. Other references, 53,

1. 5; 97 5; 98 2; 430 9; 8,14; 11,41; 37 44 1; 82,5; 83,28; 85,5. 10. 13.28; 89,4. *E-nunna*, temple of Shala, 27,8; cf. SBP, 96,20.

^d. Enzu, Sin, 2,11. 15; 15 3. Written ^d·zu-en, Zim. K. 4, 1 I 3. 6. 10; zu-in, Bab. II p. 5.

E-padda, 'house of him of oracular power', of Ramman, 29,25; 13 9.

E-rabriri, chapel in Egalmah, at Isin, 124 n. 2.

Erech, city, 78,29; 19,14.16.20; 132 6; 204 10; 205; 207 r. 3; 109,13; 110,4. Eridu, 159 4.

d. Erie, Zarpanit, 69,18.

erin, a bird, 48,22.

E-sagila, 'house of the lifting of the head', temple of Marduk in Babylon, 1054; 125; 126; 1364; 186 r. 7; 1936; 50,34; 829; 1671; 29,17; 124,11; 699; 115, 8; sea of, 119,11.

E-sakud-kalama, 'house of judgment of the Land', temple of Shamash in Babylon, 36 7; 186 r. 5; 109,7; 27 12; 89 2; 92 4.

E-samab, 'house of the great womb', a temple of Innini where Ninib also was worshipped, 9 10.

E-sarra, 9, 8.

es-bar, outer temple, 50,28; SBP. 152,9.

E-silsirsirra, temple of Bau, 72,20.

E-sirsaggussa, a temple in Barsippa, 51,40; 26 5. E-sirussa, 56 22. See also SBP. 164,50; BA. V 663,14.

és-mah, great chamber: Damkina mother of, 56 r. 23;115, n. 1;129,42. Ea lord of, 150. és-sir, chamber of psalmody, 115,5.

E-śu-me- $r\acute{a}$, temple of Ninuraš at Nippur. The pronunciation of the last syllabe as $r\acute{a}$ is uncertain.

E-temenanki, 'house of the temenu of heaven and earth', stage tower of Babylon, 56,18; 26 2; 125; 126; 186 14; r. 10; 193 10; 207 r. 1; 99 4; 50,36; 82 13; 29,21; 116,12.

E-tùr-dāg-amas-a-ge, 'house of the fold, shelter of the sheep', of Innini, 46,63.

.E-turkalama, 'house of the fold of the Land', temple of Innini in Kullab 78,32; 56 r. 14; 186 r. 7; in Babylon, 109,9. E. of the seven regions, 93,8, a stage tower. E-ud-gal-gal, 'house of him of the great storms', of Ramman, 29,23; 13 7.

E-ŭ-nir, 'house of observation', stage tower of Eridu, 150; 1562; II R. 50 a 21 E-unir-kidurmah, stage tower of Kiš, 125,19.

Euphrates, river, 96,3.

E-urme-imin-anki, stage tower at Barsippa, 50,39; 56,21 E-urme-an-ki, 26 4.

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E-urusagga, 'house of the chief city', of Gula at Isin, 50,23; SBH, 26,5.
E-ut-ta-áš, temple of Ramman, 29,26; 13 10.
e-zid, 'holy temple', 109,4. 6. 8.10. 13; 31, 5 ff.; 35.
E-zi-da, 'faithful temple', of Nebo in Barsippa, 125; 126; 186 13; r. 9; 193 8;
  50, 35; 82 11; 167 3; 29, 19; 116, 10.
E-zid-kanag-gà-gà, temple at Kullab, 19,13.
gà-gi-a, bride; title of Innini, 19,16. See é-gi-a.
gallu, a demon, 95,19; ibid. r. 2; 97,9; ibid. 11.
galu-è-ne, 'guide of the people', 49,2, title of Enlil. ene for un=nisu.
galu-giš-è, guard (amelu sa namzaki), title of Sin, 4,44. 46.
gal-ukkin > kingal, messenger; title of Nusku, 113,16.
gašan-anna, 'heavenly queen', gašan-anna-ge, 'queen of heaven', title of Innini as
  mother-earth descended from father Anu, 92 r. 2; 49,19; 83,42.
qašan-azaq, 'holy queen', 92 9; 49 18; 88 5; SBH, 132,27, title of Nisaba.
gašan-banda, nin-banda, title of a goddess, 73, 10.
gašan-bàr, 92 r. 5; 50, 20, title of Suzianna. So restore 15 6.
gašan é-zi-da, title of a goddess, 73,37.
qasan ma-dig-ga, Gula, 101 10.
gašan ma-gí-a, Nisaba, 15 2; 34 4.
gasan Nibru-ki, queen of Nippur, 92 8; 49,17.
d. gasán-sar, Ninsar, sword-bearer of Ekur, 101 3; CT. 24, 11,37.
gašan tin-dib-ba, 'she who gives life to the dying', 92 r. 5; 15 7; 50,23.
gasan-urú-azag-(ki), queen of the holy city, Bau, 101 5.
gè-pàr-imin, seven dark chambers, 156 1.
gigunna, gigunu, 38,14.
Gilgamish, 20,3.
gipadda, reed hut, 73,36.
Girsu-ki-a, called city of Innini, 72,16.
qu-ab-ba, 'shore of the sea', és-guabba, a title of a temple of Damgalnunna, 73, 17.
qud-da-ū-a, 'the lofty', title of Lugal-aba, 101,10; SBP. 156,41.
gù-de-de, the loud crying. Title of Ninlil, 92 8.
d.Gubarra, Ašrat, 129,40.
qu-en-na, part of a temple, 72,26; cf. Gud. Cyl. B. 16,17.
d. Gula, 'the great god', title of Anu, 94 7; 25,3; 48,37; 58,9; 85,4; 186 r. 12.
d'Gunura, originally a title of the mother-goddess Ninā as patroness of healing, an
  aspect later developed into the special goddess of healing Gula. She appears with
  Tammuz, who under the name Damu is a patron of healing, in SBP. 160, 13,
  there called tarkullu of the land. With Damu she is entreated to smite the demon
  of disease with her great tarkullu, CT. 17,33 r. 36. In ZIMMERN K.L, 26 II 13 she
  is called sister of Tammuz, and Ninā is the sister of Ningirsu, a special form of
  Tammuz. But the tendency to regard her as a form of Gula is seen in the liturgies
  where she appears among the forms of Gula under the title dumu é-a, 'daughter
  of the temple', SBH. 93,6; 94,6; ZIM. K.L. 26 II 10 and in this volume 12,20.
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gu-ur-a-sig-ga, 'she that hears', title of Tashmet, 56 16; 112,9; SBH. 59,46. Habur, section of Eridu, 115 n. 2.

Hallab, a quarter of Erech, 72,15; 78,30; 204 11; 205. Usually written ZA-SUḤ-UNU-ki, i. e., ZA-SUḤ of Erech. Written also ZA-➤ ¥\forall -UNU-ki, Code of Hammurabi, III 52 See Meissner SAI. 9022: 9029.

d. Hani, see Nisaba.

Harsagkalama, 'Mountain of the Land'. Possibly the name of a part of Erech and of a temple erected there. The name, therefore, designates both a temple and a place. Never with determinative é. 1) Enlil of Harsag-kalama-(ki), PSBA. 1911 Plate XI 3. Innini of various cities, Erech, Agade, etc., among them harsagkalam-(ki)-i-tum, "she of H.", SBP.264,5. It is difficult to determine whether the place or the temple is intended. Here all references without the post-determinative ki are regarded as referring to a temple; é-zi-mu har-sag-kala-(ki), "my sacred temple in (?) H.", SBH.100,36.

2) Temple in *Harsaagklama* (ki), 78,31; 204 12. Of the seven regions, 93,7. See also ASKT.120,31; SBP.166,57; Innini gašan harsagkalama, SBH.104,16; IIR. 59 r. 14; Zim. K.L., 29.4.

igi-gál, wise, (Nebo), 68,17.

im-kár-ra, sunrise and sunset (?), 72 8; cf. SBP.64,33.

d-Immer-ra am-e ud-da ū-a, 'Ramman the bull that rides the storm', 46 1; 56 r 18; SBP.280,8.

in-nin, title of the mother-goddess, 99,3.9.

d-Innina, (nin-anna), 'heavenly queen', most ancient Sumerian earth-goddess. This title is employed to transliterate the sign REC.294. The sign is probably the picture of a serpent twining on a staff, which symbolises this deity as a serpent-goddess. d-innina-ge, 63,22; 99,4.7; 100,30; 103,55; 126,50. Daughter of the moon-god, 86,32.

išartu, ilat išartu, 'the righteous goddess', title of Shala, 28,13; 74,3.

Isin, city where the cult of Gula was established. gašan i-si-in-(ki)-ge, 92 r. 6; 50, 24. i-si-in-(ki)-na-gà, 15 8. i-si-in-(ki), 72,4; between Erech and Kullab in the geographical list, IVR 36 No. 1,8.

iskim, prophet, Nebo, 68,17.

d·Kalag, d·Kal. Ordinarily AN-KAL is read alad(sêdu) or la(m)ma (lamassu), but the reading ka-al is also assured by variants, v. Th.-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats, 63.

Of the two words *\$\tilde{s}edu\$ and \$lamassu\$, the former is Semitic and the latter possibly a loan-word from \$lamas\$. Both in Sumerian and Semitic \$\darkal\$. \$lama\$, \$alad\$, \$\tilde{s}edu\$, \$lamassu\$, do not designate a particular god but a protecting angel, perhaps originally a bull deity. Note the title of Ramman, \$\frac{itula-ma-az-zu}{ithe divine guardian}\$, \$CT.25,16,6\$. The \$\tilde{s}edu\$ and \$lamassu\$ (AN-KAL) appear as special but vague titles among eighteen messengers (?), \$amelu \ki[n-gi?]\$, \$CT.24,33,28\$ f., but the title may be applied to any god or mean simply 'divine guard', often of a man's personal \$Babylonian Liturgies\$.

protecting deity (IV R 59 a 18) and of bull statues which guard temples, palaces, city gates. The title occurs in Gud. Cyl. B 12,5 for the name of a patron of fishermen. In the date of the 29th year of Ammiditana lama lama is translated by lamazati, where the word designates golden rams put in the temple of Innini. Frequently a title of the goddess Bau, SBP.140, 14 f., SAK.194 X. Title of Innini la-ma-zi damiktum, 'the propitious guardian', Code 43,96. The fem. lamasat applies only to images which were regarded as feminine objects although they represented male animals. Cf. ckallu, pl. ckallati; Semitic regards objects made by craftsmen as feminine. When the statue represents a woman or female animal the ideogram is preceded by SAL, as Asarh V 52, but v. King, Annals 164, 25 AN-KAL-at, i.e., lamasat ilatistar. d-kalag mulu urû, divine guard, lord of the city', 73,6. See dalad.

d·kal-kalag, title of Sin, 2,2.5, etc.; 4,44: d·kal-kalag šág-ga, 101 2 = SBP.15%, 34. Here a title of a watchman of Ekur and follows Nusku, god of the new moon; 50,26; 15 10; 92 r. 8. See also CT.24,9,16. kal-kalag-ga, Nebo, 68,17.

kár-kár, lù kár-kár, 'lord of Karkar', Ramman (?), 73,4. Compare the "region of Karkar", in SAK. 40,22. If this interpretation be correct it follows that the city of Ramman *IM-ki* is to be read Karkar. Cf. 51 4.

d·Kazalsurra, a title of Lilenna, and the name of the mother-goddess as the mater dolorosa, "she who is adored with lamentation, "kazal = dalālu and sur = šisîtu.
56 r. 17. Craig RT.58,9; called bêlit kaššapāti, queen of the witches (sic!), Maklu I 60; worshipped in Ekallāti, II R. 60 a 11; ilat Nanā and ilat Kazalsurra bêlitija, Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats 19,11. Invariably mentioned with Nanā.

kenur, ki-úr, chapel of Ninlil in Ekur, 186-r. 3; 50,31; 83-5; kenur and é-kenur designate the same structure. Ninlil šarrat é-ki-úr, Shurpu II 145 and rubat é-ki-úr-ra SBP. 220, 9. é-ki-úr-ra temple of Ninlil, SBP. 212, 5; Meek, No. 11,23. é-ki-úr-ra, in a Cassite inscription, mentioned with Ekur (without Emahtila) OBI. 68 I 13, as in SBP. 208, 9 where Ekenur is called bit-šu elli, "his pure house"; here of Ninuraš son of Ninlil. A divine attendant of Ninlil is called rābis é-ki-úr-qe, CT. 24, 24, 62.

The name of this Ninlil chapel first appears in ancient texts as ki-ūr ki-gal, i.e., "Kenur the vast abyss", a cosmological reference to Ekur as the symbol of the ower world, see SBP.292,12; 24,72; 52,5. An unpublished text calls ki-ūr the palace of the queen of Hades. The word itself means duruššu, "building", and has been explained by nîrib irşitim, "place where men enter into the lower world", II R. 48 e 9. More often é-ki-ūr and é-nam-ti-la chapels of Ninlil and Enlil are written together in one line ki-ūr é-nam-ti-la as SBP. 108, 2; Bab. II 155,23; SBP.238,5; SBH.95,10; 133,57. ki-ūr-ra is employed for the chapel without any further additions in PSBA. 1911, 87,5.

Keš, Keš and Upi (Opis), twin city on the Tigris opposite Sippar. Keš is generally written EN-SAR + GAD-ki, Br. 10837 and Opis ÚH-ki, Br. 8122. But Keš is also written UH-ki, CT.16,36,3, ki-e-si, Var. ki-e-si SBH.81,3, and ki-sa BA.V 619,29 (v. p. 72). 54,6.9; 89,6; 90,27. Its goddess is Ninharsag, Nintud, Aruru. Keš to

be distinguished from Kiš. In VAB. IV 167,60-64, a canal starts below Sippar on the Euphrates and runs south-east to Kiš. Weissbach's contention that Kiš lay on the Tigris south of Opis is erroneous, see his *Wadi Brīsa* 42. The temple of Nintud mother of Negun at Keš is Uršabba, q.v.

ki-azag, holy place, 72,10; 86,5.

ki-el, maid. ki-el-la ù-tu-da. Aruru, 102,2.4; ki-el šág-ga, title of the harlot, 13,1. 14.20. ki-el kár-lil, whore, 13,2.

ķin-giš-gi, craftsman (?), Sin, 3,24.

Kis, city east of Babylon, modern Ahimer, 89,3; 51,41; 124,13.

d. Kisag, a type of mother-goddess, consort of the river-god ID-lù-RU-TIG, 56 r. 25; 46 9; CT. 24,16,27.

Kullab, a quarter of Erech, 19,8.18.22; 43 4; 62,5; 156 3; 78,30.

kùr-gal, 'great mountain', Enlil, 127; 852; 49,7; 58,11; 53,1 and rev.3. d.kùr-gal, 334. Nebo 68,17. Nergal, CT.24,42,90. Cf. 116,2.

kùr-gul-gul, 'she that shatters the mountains', title of Innini, 43,5; 207 25; 56 r. 15; 62 3; 43,5; 46,60; 84 5.

ligir, commandant. ligir és-bar-ra-ge, 92 r. 10.

d·Lil-en-na, 56 r. 17; Cr. RT. 19,17. d·lil-lá-en-na, 'queen of sheepfolds', 43,8; d·lil-lá-an-na, SBH.132,33. A title of Nanā usually accompanied by the title kazalsurra. An unpublished text Constantinople 2273,5 has lil-en-na. The title is composed of lil wind-spirit, and en-na, incantation. Compare Ninī (= Nanā) nin-en-na-ge, queen of incantation, SAK. 26 g I 8.

lillū, a demon of the winds, 17,15.

lugal-ab-a, 101 9.

lugal-gud, mighty king, Sin, 15,1.

 $^{\text{d}}$ -ma-gal-e-ne, 209 6.

ma-gi-a, perhaps identical with $g\grave{a}$ -gi-a > $gag\^{u}$, convent. Compare the title of Gula, d·nin-g\grave{a}-gi-a > d·nin-ma-gi-a, 'queen of the convent', II. R. 59 r. 29. [§ 41 c]. gašan-ma-gi-a, title of a goddess, SBP. 60,7; SBH. 132,27 gašan azag gašan ma-gi-a; also 92 9; 15 2; 49,18. Cr. RT.19,8; here it follows Nisaba, as in 88 5 + 34 4. Like $g\grave{a}$ -gi-a, ma-gi-a = bride, VIII ter 1 (of Nisaba). d·ma-gi-a, SBH. 120,9.

ma-ki-nad, 'house of the couch', 73,3.

Mar-(ki), city, 112 5; 73, 18.

Marduk(ilu), Consecration of, p. 36; 112,1; 11,10; 14,18; 68,18. Liturgy 159; 210; 127,15. Psalm to, 130,54.

MAR-TU-e 46 4; 56 r. 21. mar-ur * (abubu), title of Ramman, 13 12; 129,39.

d-Me-dim-šá, Shala, 27,4.

d. Menunesige, Shala, 28,12.

me-ri-lal, sword-bearer, Ninsar, 101 3.

d. Meslam-ta-è-a, Nergal, 46 2; 56 r. 19.

mu-gig-an-na, 'heavenly virgin', Innini, 84 3; 92 r. 2; 15 4; 50,20; 207 24. mu-gig, 132 5; 136 29. mu-gi-ib gašan anna, 72,7.

d. Muhar-an-ki, Shala, 27,6.

- d·Mullil 43,12; 48,38; 49,7; 92 1; 58,40 f.; 74,5; 107,16; 94 8; 34 2; 37; 105 2; 110, 7.9; 24,44; 25, 4; 38,4. Heroic names, p. 38. Derived from mulu-lil < galulil, 'lord of storm-winds'. The title interchanges with en-lil, q. v.
- . mu-lu har-sag-gà, 'lord of mountains', Ramman. 46 4; mu-lu ú, 'lord of might', Enlil, 47,17; 129,39.
- d. Musibbasā, 'he who is named with a good name', Nebo, 190 6; 31,10; 207; 37 6; 112,4; 65, 5; 67,32; 104 2; 119 5; 121 7; 135 5; 56 r. 28; 46 11; 48,43; 49,11.

mu-tin, maid, Innini, 19,14.16; 20,11.13.

mu-ud-na-am-zu for mudnazu, 'thy spouse', 56 r. 27.

mu-un-kùr-ra, 88 6.

- nab, title of Innini, 72,25; SBP. 170,7. The original meaning of nab is 'lofty', hence loan-word nābū, nabbu, lord, noble one. II. R. 57 c 20 na-a-bu-u explained by tizkaru elû, 'lofty hero', (Ninuraš). na-a-bu-u-a iluMarduk, 'my lord Marduk', VAB.IV 174,20. Hence 'heaven', šamû; nab = nâru, CT.13, 4 b 20 and CT.19, 41,27 (following kajamanu the usual title of Saturn) probably refers to the word nâru river, a constellation.
- namtar, fate, 110,12; 67 13.
- ^d·Nanā, dialectic for Ninī, a type of virgin sister-goddess, often confused with the virgin consort Innini. 112,10;56 r. 16; 182 7; 186 r. 1; 135 8; 20 4; 74 1; 77 5. Her temple Enambi-ezida, 56 20.
- d-Nannar, the moon god, generally derived from Semitic namāru; nanmar > nannar, v. Combe, Culte de Sin, p. 15. Written in Sumerian durù-ki, and glossed nanna. It is probable that the Sumerian nanna is abbreviated from the Semitic nannar, "rising light, new light." Frequently called 'watchman', (ni-dŭ) of the temple of Enlil, 3,19, etc. This title really designates the god of the new moon as watchman of the earth. Note also the n. pr. d-Nannar-ni-dŭ, Combe ibid. XVII. The Sumerian name uru-ki also means perhaps, 'guardian of the earth', so Combe, an interpretation which agrees admirably with the description on pp. 2-6 where he is a god of agriculture. The Babylonians evidently regarded the moon and its phases as having much influence upon nature. 15 3; 25,12; 56 r. 12; 164 7. 130 5; 63,16; 78, 4; 92 r. 1; 66 4.
- d-Nâru. 96 10; 31,11. Probably a male deity in iluNâru-lù-RU-Tig sakud kalama, judge of the Land, 46 8; 56 r. 24; CT. 24,16,26.
- iluNebo, liturgy to, 28; litany to, 65.
- d. Negun, son of d. Mah, i.e., Ninlil, CT.24,26,112; SBP. 156,39 = 101 7. The variants Nin-gún-na, Nin-gún, Ne-gún-na occur, VR. 43 a 11; II R. 59 c 40; Nik. 187; RTC. 53, etc. A form of Ninuras.
- ilu Nergal, d né-unu-gal, see 85 n. 6; 83,25. 32.35; 84,48; 85,12. Liturgy to, 10. ni-gab $(d\check{u})$, watchman $(at\hat{u})$, 50,26; 92 r. 8; 15 10. No. 1 passim; 101 1.
- d·ni-mar-ra, 'god of whirlwinds', 88, 11. In SBP. 198,7 ni-mar is a title of Enlil, and Zim. K. L. 2 r. 29 has var. a-ma-ru. Cf. ni-mal = ašamšutu, Br. 8433.

- d-Ningalnunna, 'Queen of the prince', title of the wife of Ea, generally Damgal nunna, VR. 51 b 24 = K. 5248 r. 13; 124 2; 128 7.
- d·Ningišzida, 20,5.
- nin-gu-la, 'great lady', title of Nanā, 112,10; SBH.59,47; Zim. K. L. 64 II 1; 83 8; 112,10; 130,47.
- d. Ninharsag, queen of mountains, title of Ninlil, worshipped at Keš, 97,11.
- d·Ninī, virgin sister-goddess, same type as Geštinanna; originally patroness of canals; daughter of Ea. See Nanā. 31,12.
- d. Nin-IB, title of Ningirsu, appearing about the age of Dungi; 8,14; 10,33; 168 3; 110,11; hymn to, No. 97. Liturgy to, 22. See Uraša.
- d-Ninki, mother-name of Enlil, 113,12.
- d. Ninlil, 'queen of storm-winds', 34 1; 85,5.40.13.28; 113,14; 130 10.
- nin-mah, Innini, 72,27; SBP,170,8, Nina, 73,31, Gula, 10,35.
- nin-ri, 'the lady', 83 r. 4. Innini, 97,8; 132 4.
- Gula, SBH. 81 r. 5; 82, 13.
- d·Nin-si-in-na, title of Innini as an astral deity, 85, 10.
- d. Ninsubur, 'lord of earth', generally title of Ningirsu, 82,2; 56 r. 30. Tammuz, 62,6.
- d. Nintud, patroness of child-birth, goddess of Keš, liturgy to, No. 197. Hymn to Nos. 95, 102, 127.
- $nin-tud-\bar{u}r-ra$, 72,3.
- nin-zi-da, 'faithful queen', generally Nanā, SBP. 210,11; 162,23 (Ninā); 106,13; 56 r. 16; 97,8; 2049.
 - Innini, SPB.160.19; Tašmet, 112,8; SBH.59.46; 83 7; 130,46.
 - Kišag, wife of the river-god, SBH.132,41; 46 9; 56 r. 25.
- Nippur (en-lil-ki), 29,10; 38,12; 85,20; 86,30; 1373; 1867; r. 2; 111,19; 50,30; 83 4.
- nir-qál, the majestic; Enlil, 49,2. nir-qál-an-ki, 90 2. Sin, 15,4. Ninib 22,1.
- d·Nisaba, originally Nidaba, goddess of reeds, later a grain deity. A sister-type like Geštinanna and Ninī. Sister of Ninā and Ningirsu, Gud. Cyl. A 5,25. Became patroness of writing is since the reed was employed as a stylus, a capacity especially attributed to Geštinanna, a vine-goddess probably by confusion of sister-types. By still further confusion of sister and wife (of Tammuz) Innina also becomes a patroness of writing, see dupsarmah.
 - The official pantheon regards Nisaba as wife of Hani, a patron of writing, but this is a late theological fancy, CT. 24.23.15 = 9.31 = II. R. 59 obv. 24.
 - The god Hani is called belum kunuk 'lord of the seal', SBP. 157,45. Hani is a mere title of Lugal-ki-sá-a; called ha-ni-ni-dub-ba, II R. 59 obv. 22, but hani-(Y->>) CT. 24,23, 13. The former title probably means, "Scribe of the granaries", and

^{1.} See Thureau-Dangin, RA.7,110.

the second, 'Scribe and prophet'. Both Hani the scribe and Nisaba are placed among the inferior gods of the court of Enlil. Nisaba appears to have been worshipped at Umma, (GIŠ-ḤÚ-ki), SAK. 58 IV 1; 154, 8. 12; 101 8. Hymn to, N. VIII ter.

d. Nisaba-gal, daughter of Ennugi, CT. 24,10,10; guzalitu of Nin[lil], II R. 59 obv. 25.

d·gašan nisaba-gal, distinguished from Nisaba, SBP. 156,40. ama-é-a d·nisaba-gal, "Mother of the temple-goddess N.," 88 4 + 34,3; 101 8.

ni-tuk, honoured, Enlil, 111,1.3.

nubanda-mah, 50,27; 92 r. 9; SBP. 152; 14; nu-banda á-mah, SBH. 26,9.

^d·Nudimmud, 110,11; 67 12.

nun-mah, majestic prince, Ea, 13,5.

NU-NUNUZ-šág-ga (zinništu damiķtu), title of Kišag, 46 9; 56 r. 25; 124 4. Bau, 123 2. Title of ? 32 7.

d. Nusku, in the pantheon placed among the inferior gods of the court of Enlil, II R. 59 obv. 13-15; SBP. 150, 8. In these passages, which represent the opinions of the schools, he is designated as a god who carries a sceptre and is mighty in oracles, i. e., in conveying oracles, á-mah utuk é-kur-ra, (ša teritu-šu şîru rabiş Ekurri) 92 r. 7. The ideogram for Nusku PA + DUR contains the ideogram for hattu, sceptre and rubû prince, and probably means 'prince of the wand', a sort of Hermes. By some unknown connection he is god of the new moon, "child of the thirtieth day", IV R. 23 a 4, where he has also the title, "he who walks in Ebarra", house of Shamash, hence connected also with the sun. In practice he is a fire-god represented by the lamp (gibillu) on engraved stones, and a theological text says that in magic ceremonies the torch or lamp stands for Nusku, ZA. VI 242,24. The three qualities, messenger and adviser, new moon and fire are prominent in all hymns to Nusku (especially Craig RT. 35), but in most hymns he is a fire-god and messenger, (Maklu II 1-17; IV R. 26 No. 3). He is earlier than Gibil a special fire-god, but does not belong to the primitive pantheon, appearing first in the age of Dungi (de Clercq, Cat. 86, Langdon, Drehen 51). 50,25, 56 r. 31. See p. 113 n. 3; 25,12.

d-Papnunanki, Zarpanit, 56 r. 27;105 5; 128 8; 136 5; 31,8; 66,12; 46 10; 129,43. d-Papsukkal, 127, 4.

d. Pasagga (Išum), a title of the god of the lower world, 101 11 = SBP. 156,43 q.v. Not yet found in a theological list. The title is ancient, DP. 53 V; Hussey, 41 IV. pa-te-si-gal-ab-zu, 68 4. Cf. SAK. 230,17, Ninuraš, patesigal of Enlil.

ilu Ramman (d. immer), liturgy to, 13; 25,6; 27 4. Great son of Anu, 13 3. Lord of kár-kár, 73,4.

sá-gal-ukkin, 'messenger of wisdom', Nusku, 56 r. 31.

sagan-lal, secretary, 73,4.

šag-su-du, unsearchable heart, Enlil, 38,4.

sag-tu-mu, first daughter; Innini, 72,5.

sag-tun-an-na, title of Gula of Isin, 92 r. 6; 15 8; 50,24. Var. sag-du-an-na, Zim. K.L. 25 II 46, e. p.

Sakkut, (god), 124,1; 125,31; 127,10.

d. Sakudmaham, Ninurash of Isin, 48,44; 49,12; 104, 3; 110 6; 123, 1; 120, 7; 124,3; 130, 48.

šanga-mah, great priest, š. of the apsu, 56 r. 32.

d·Senirda, a title of the goddess Aja, wife of Shamash, d·se-[nir-da] CT. 24, 31, 67b+25, 25, 31, but usually d·se-nir-da 25, 9, 27; SBH. 137,79; Zim. K.L. No. 11 rev. III 3. The original was clearly d·sú-nir-da as the variant d·sú-nir-da, SAI. 5196 shows. The most ancient writing has sú, TSA. 70 obv. I; Nik. 3 obv. IV, etc. She is explained as umun sul-mi-a, SBP. 137,79; en-sul-mé-ra, Zim. 11 r. III 3. This title means bêlit kuradat taḥazi, queen-heroine of battle. Aja is a personification of light, perhaps of the sun's light and as such a special form of Innini who, as a goddess of light, developed into a war-goddess. sul-mi-a is also a title of Innini, SBH. 97,46. The word su-nir-da¹ is probably an augmented form of su-nir, as si-im and si-im-da a musical instrument. This word passed into Semitic by metathesis as surinnu, surinu a word which has given rise to much discussion. The word is designated as a kakku 'weapon' (of Nebo) IV R. 23 No. 3,15². It is difficult to understand why d·sú-nir-da should mean 'goddess of battle' unless sunir be the name of a weapon, although the general meaning 'emblem, seems preferable in most cases. 77 2.

šeš-mul-la, 39,15; 43 3.

d-Shala, consort of Ramman, 27,5.9; 28,10.12.

iluShamash, hymn to, 58 f.

sib, sab, shepherd; Tammuz, 97,8. 12; 98,14. Sin, 15,17. sib sag-gig-ga, shepherd of the dark-headed people, 111,11. sib edin-na, 'shepherdess of the plain', title of a harlot, 13,8.

sib-zi-da, title of a god of sheep, 101 4; SBP. 154,36.

d·Šid-rú-ki-šár-ra (pakid kiššati) 'overseer of the universe', Nebo; 65,6; 67,33; 67,37. Written also šid-rú-šár 68,15; SBH. 28,15.

šid-rú-umun-ki-šar-ra, overseer, lord of the universe, SBH. 7,10.

d·sig-šu-dú, 'adorned with splendour', Nusku, 101, 1; SBP. 134,33.

d.Sin, here for the ideogram en-zu, 'lord of wisdom', the moon-god. Note that

^{1.} See SBP. 158,3 and Sum. Gr. § 153 2. Muss. Arnolt, 1116, "post, pillar", so also Delitzsch HW. 691, and Schorr, Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden 172. Thureau-Dangin, "emblem", so also Ungnad (Panier) Hammurabi's Gesetz, Nos. 715, 1066, etc. See also Babylonica II 117.

^{2.} See also II R. 20 a 28 kakku šurinu = maṣrāḥu, 'instrument which causes wailing?', or 'place of wailing?'. The passage may refer to the chapel of a temple where the šurinu of the god was placed.

Nusku, also a phase of the moon, is originally, a god of wisdom, and that both are attendants of Enlil the earth-god. Passim as watchman of the temple of Enlil, No. 1; 92 r. 1; hymn to, No. 5.

si-la-da, radiant, 4,42 f.

Sippar, 73,24; 186 r. 4; 27,11; 29,14; 117 3; 120; 50,32; 83 6; 36 6; 109, 6.

Sirara, city, centre of the cult of Ninā. UD-MÂ-NINĀ-(ki), 72,30. Ordinarily, UD-

Sirara, city, centre of the cult of Ninā. UD-MA-NINA-(ki), 72,30. Ordinarily, UD-MA- $NIN\bar{A}$ -SIR-(ki), SBH. 22,59; Br. 7852. The temple in Sirara is E-UD-MA- $NIN\bar{A}$ -(ki)-TAG dedicated to Ninā, SAK. 86,1 III 1.

Note also the phrase doninā SAL+KU dingtr UD-MĀ-NINĀ-ki-TAG-ta-mu, "My Ninā, the sister who is goddess in Sirara", SAK. 90 H 2; 92 III 27. Beside these forms we have UD-MĀ-NINĀ-TĀG-(ki), SBP. 284,6, for which Zim. K.L. 2 r. II 48 has si-ra-ra. The 'lord of Sirara', SBP. 84,1 is probably Ningirsu. Probably a section of Lagash.

d.Sir-tur, mother of Tammuz, 97,10. A prehistoric serpent deity.

d. Suba-nun-na-ge, Šubanunna, 'Pure princess'(?), Shala, 28,10.

d-Subur-ra, an earth-goddess, 72,11.

šu-dú-mà (šuklulu), the perfect, Nebo, 68,10.

sukkal-anna, messenger of Anu (Nergal), 82,1; Ninsubur, 56 r. 30.

sukkal-mah, Nebo, 682;31,9;48,42, Nusku, 56 r. 31; 113,16.

sukkal-zid, Nebo, 56 r. 28; 129,44.

šul, strong; title of Marduk, 85 6; Shamash, 56 r. 13; 92 r. 3; 15 5.

d-Šul-sīq-è-a, 'hero that arises in splendour', Marduk, 91,13.

sù-mă, bearded, Shamash, 72. sù-zagin, bright beard, (of Marduk), 119,13. Sumer, 89,32.

su-pad-e, title of Tammuz, 16,2.

d Šuruppak, 72,3; 88, 13.14,

d.Šu-za-bar-azaq, Shala, 27,8.

d·Šu-zi-an-na-ge, 'faithful strength of heaven'(?), a form of Ninlil and nurse of the moon-god, CT. 24, 5, 13. In a list of ships of various gods three are assigned to Š., which follow those of Enlil and Ninlil. If we may draw conclusions from the names of her sacred ships she is kazal-nunna, 'joy of the prince', i.e., of Sin (?), sag-hul-la, 'she who rejoices the heart', Del. Al. 88 V 25-7 f. Her cult was at Nippur, v. Poebel BE. VI 2, No. 8, 2. 15 6; 92 r. 4; 50,20.

Tammuz, d. dumuzi(de), liturgy to, 160; 60 ff. 94 ff. 97 ff. 17 f. 20,7.11.

Tigris, river T., 7,7; 9,24.

tin-an-na, for gestin anna(?), sister of Tammuz, 73,22.

Tintir-ki, 109,8; 1173; 120; 124 5; 125; 132 8; 136 r. 3; 29,16; 27 13; 68,15; 79,1; 186 11; r. 6; 193 5; 115,7; 124,9.

tù-mah, 'great magician', Marduk, 85,5; CT. 25, 40,14; 24,37,98.

^{1.} The name of the third ship id-da-nir-gál (ship of) the majestic river, is obscure.

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tu-mu-mu, my son, Tammuz, 160 5.
tur-saq, first daughter, 73,21.
ub-lil, chamber, shrine, 101 10.
ud-g\dot{u}-de, 'raging storm', Ramman, 13 5; 25,7.
ud-gù-ra, 'crying storm', Ramman, 25,8.
ud-ka-ra-ah, shrieking storm', Ramman, 13,6.
u-maš, or u-bar, reading uncertain, 56 r. 32, SBH, 86,63; 132,47; Cr. RT, 20, 31.
um-me-da, nurse, Innini, 19,18.
umun; umun, ù-mu-un, u-mu; possessor, owner, lord.
  umun dúg-ga zi-da, 'lord of faithful word', Enlil, 111 7.
  umun kùr-kùr-ra, 'lord of lands', Enlil, 111, 5.
  umun harsagga, 'lord of mountains', Shamash, 92 r.3; Ninlil, 15 5.
  umun-kalag-a-ge, 92 7; 49,16; SBH, 132,26.
  dumun-muduru, 'lord of the sceptre', Nusku, 101 1.
  umun-ug: 56 r. 32; SBH. 132,47; 86,63. Cr. RT. 20,31 has ug.
  umun sa-a, 'lord of light', 72 8; SBP. 158,1; 64,33. Shamash.
d. Umun-amas-azag, 'Lord of the holy sheepfolds', 101 4; SBP. 154,36.
umun-si-gal, 92 7; 49,16; SBH, 132,26.
umun duraš-a-ra, Lord Uraša, frequent title of Ninib, SBP. 226,6; 136,19; 46 4;
  56 r. 20; 9 6; 168, 4. First son of Enlil, 56 r. 11. SBH. 40, 6; 133, 54; IV R. 28*
  No. 4,34. 77 4. d uraš-a dil-bad-(ki)-a, SBP. 142,5.
umu-zi-da, for umun-zi-da, 'faithful lord', Tammuz, 20,5.
d. Unugal, 101 11.
Ur, city. SES-UNU-ki, 15,15; 1646; 116; 1564.
  ŠEŠ-^{d}·EN-KI, 5,66.
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d. Uraša, transcription of IB, god of Dilbat, confused with Ninuraša and Anu. The two titles IB and NIN-IB clearly contain the same element. The commentary CT. 24,40,60 f. explains nin-ib, i. e., nin-uraš, 'lord of uraš', as a god of counsel, (pirištu)! and uraš as god of strength (allu). uraš is explained by uddazalū, 'morning light', CT. 25, 11, 25, and NinIB is known to have been a god of the rising sun. From the connection with light he became god of war, hence it may well be that the original meaning of uraš is 'dawning light', an idea which developed in two directions, a) warlike, strong, b) wise. Note that nin-uraš is explained by iluNabū, the god of wisdom, CT. 25, 11, 12. uraš then takes on the meaning 'prophesy', barū, CT. 18, 49, 36. It is clear from the preceding citations that dinin-uraš and duraš both represent the well-known god of war, son of Enlil. Historically Nin-uraša appears as a title of this god in the reign of Dungi and at Nippur?, and rapidly

^{1.} Also 25, 11, 11.

^{2.} Genouillac, Trouvaille de Drehem Nos. 3 and 15. Gautier's statement, Archives
Babylonian Liturgies.

19

becomes a foremost figure in mythology, replacing his father Enlil in many aspects. Not until the period of the first Babylonian dynasty do we meet with a god durasa at Dilbat a city which was probably founded in this period. At that time Nin-uraša of Nippur and Uraša of Dilbat are distinct deities. At Dilbat Uraša retains an ancient connection with Anu. In fact uras and nin-uras are fathermother names of Anui; they represent an emanation from the first principle 'heaven', and if the meaning assigned to uras above be correct, these two gods are theological deifications of light, more especially of the 'sun-light'. We should have expected these personifications of an emanation to have remained abstract male and female figures of no practical importance in the pantheon? But like many mother (nin) principles, such as Ningirsu, Ningiszida, etc., Nin-uraš developed into a male deity at Nippur and becomes the son of the earth-god. Natural religion precedes theology, and the incarnation of light was a concept. which arrived long after Enlil had become the most powerful god in the pantheon. But at the newly-founded city Dilbat, father-heaven and mother-earth his daughter were installed by the theologians. Here the new god Uraša was enthroned by the theologians and here he maintained his close relation with Anu, from whom he was the first emanation. The god Anu must have been established there in the Semitic period, for the temple of Dilbat has the Semitic name, "Oh temple, proclaim Anu". Anu himself is confused with his son Urasa, and one theological list calls Anu, u-ra-as who is anum ša iš-šik ikribi, 'Anu of the possession of reverence's, 'Anu to whom reverence belongs', an explanation which has apparently nothing to do with the fundamental idea of uras. From references made to Urasa of Dilbat it is clear that he is distinct from Anu, and I doubt whether in texts other than theological, we have any right to translate d. IB by Anu 4. In the theological texts Uraša is regarded as a title of Nin-uraša, but in other texts Uraš is not always confused with Nin-uraša (Ninib) of Nippur. One is an Enlil type, the other an Anu

d'une famille de Dilbat, p. 4, that Ninib belongs to the most ancient pantheon is erroneous.

^{1.} CT. 24,1,4 f.

^{2.} All the other father-mother concepts representing intermediate emanations between Anu and Enlil, i. e., between heaven and earth, as Ensar and Ninsar, etc., remained abstract conceptions.

^{3.} CT. 24,19,2.

^{4.} The southern gate of Babylon looking toward Dilbat was called the gate of itu U-ra-aš, VAB. IV 180,20, otherwise written "gate of itu IB", 186,22; 162,28. It is, therefore, certain that d·IB in these inscriptions is to be read Uraš not Anu, as I have done, 74,31; 92,46, etc. See GAUTIER l. c., 3.

type, and in the liturgies Uraš is often the god of Dilbat who usurped his father Anu in the possession of the temple Ibe-Anu. The word is most often written uraša and urašara, and we have one example of nin-uraša-ra, SBP. 208,17. It is highly probable that the title was originally urašara.

Tashmet is constantly called 'the bride, first-born daughter of Uras'; duraš-a-ra, 56,12; duraš-a, SBP. 60,9; 56 r. 29; 168,3; 112,6; SBH. 65 r. 13; Here Uraša of Dilbat is probably intended.

Hymn to Uraša gašru bukur iluEnlil, Zim. Rt. 26 III 49 1.

d·uraš-a ki-še-gu, SBP. 70,21; ki-še-gu-nu-ra, 90,20; SBH. 29,20.

d·Ur-d·en-zu-na, 92 r. 10; 50,28, prince of the outer temple, see SBP. 152,15; uru-d·en-zu-na, SBP. 26,10, Read Ur-Sin-na.

Uršaba, the sleeping-chamber $\bar{u}r$ -šā-ba, a chapel where the sister of Tammuz was worshipped, 3,3. Temple of Nintud in Keš, 72, 14; é- $\bar{u}r$ -šab-ba, SBP. 156,39. Usually read Har-šaba but see p. 72 n. 7. The words har-šā-ba, with gloss har on the first sign, are explained by $habitti\ libbi$, 'thoughts of the heart', SBH. 9,116. har, har har

ur-sag, hero, title of Ramman, 176 3; 13 3; Marduk, 69 7; 119,9; Zamama, 92 3. ur-sag-gal, Nin-uraša, 22,4.5. 7; 56 r. 20. Enlil, 49,13, ur-sag-gal-e-ne, 85 4. urū-azag, holy city; Bau, queen of uru-azag-ga, SAK. 274; SBP. 154,37; 170,11. 72,18.

urú-sag-ga, Isin, passim.

urú-šag-ga, lord of uru šagga, Nergal, SBP, 82,57; K. 69 Obv. 21.

uru-si-ib-ba, the good city, Eridu, 1503; 1542; 123+, 1244; 1286, 1366; 116,14.

ušumgal, python, title of Ninharsag, 91,11. ušumgal mah, 86 3.

d· Utu, d· UD-ám, title of Tammuz, 63,15.

utuk, rabişu, minor deity, utvk-é-kùr-ra, Nusku, 92 r. 7; 159; 50,25.

uz-da-gà (title, of Tammuz?), 73,32.

úz-sag an-ki-a, leading goat of heaven and earth, Shamash, 154 3.

d-Zamama, god of Kiš, 92 3.

ilatZarpanit, 112 2; 66,13; 69,19.

^{1.} I shall not oppose the popular reading Ninib, which is too well established to be easily banished. Nin-urasa is clearly the original reading. In the late period the Aramaic peoples reproduced this name by Enurasat, אנרשו (Clay reads for in the Aramaic transcript), which shows that the sign Nin was really pronounced en; the masculine character of the god thus being recognised, although the ancient writing persisted. The addition of the feminine ending at is a mystery, but there can be ittle doubt about what the Aramaic letters mean.

LITURGICAL SERIES MENTIONED IN THE TEXTS OR DISCUSSED IN THIS VOLUME.

```
abzu pi-el-la-ám, 30 19.
ama-mu-gig, 87.
am-e amaš-a-na, p. 105 sub 117.
a-še-ir qig-ta, p. 42, 71; see also 105, 71.
a urú-mu im-me, 189.
é abzu-ta, 103 6.
en-zu sá-mar-mar, 210; 103 1; 192; CT. 15,11; Zim. K.L. 2 r. 23.
é-tùr ki áb-udu, 164 1.
gakkul-ám ma-al-sú, 103 18; IV R. 53 I 57. See also SBP. 42,60.
gū-ud-nim kùr-ra, 21 9.
lugal nam-ta-è, 41 73.
muten nu-nunuz-dim-ma, 18.
ni-mal gù-de-de, tablet I, 42 71; Tablet II, 175.
nin-mah d· Aruru, 54 102.
nir-gál lù è-ne, 21 9; 103 1.
ud-dam qù-de-de-áš, 24 16.
umun ní-zu, 23 13.
urú ám-ma ir-ra-bi, 188.
uru-a ur-ri ma-ni-in-ma-al, 84.
usum ú-ki-sig-ga ná-a, 103 3 and p. 105.
\dots bara azaq-qa, 103 5.
.....er i-si-iš 103 7.
\dots a-ba mu-un-hul 103 9.
.....ù-ki-ja mu-kalag-ga-mu, 103 11.
.....i gud-gul elum gud-gul, 103.
\dots \dots ma-al-ś\dot{u}, 103 14.
.....mä-a, 103, 17.
                             CATCH-LINES.
e-lum uru-zu-ta ra-ab-dug...., 117.
me-e umun-mu-ra, 168.
```

e-lum urú-zu-ta ra-ab-dúg...., 117. me-e umun-mu-ra, 168. nu-nunuz-si-sá dumu immer-ra-ge, 29,28. har-ra-an kùr-kùr-ra asilal-la si-sá, 180.

LIST OF TABLETS

к.	Plate.	
24	14	4956
193	23	5024
2485	27	5036 40
2489	38	$5040\ldots 56$
2759	page) 93	5457
2786	56	5188 61
2881	58	5209
3001	54	$5240\ldots 56$
3026	48	$5273\ldots 35$
3141	46	5302 46
3238	50	5653 70
3276	38	5831 57
3288	52	$6024.\ldots$ 72
3313	53	6036
3315	51	6084
3318	55	6110
3335	40	6173
3345	20	$6503\ldots 49$
3390	45	$6564\ldots 34$
3414	44	6657 37
3462	52	6881 48
3482	45	7227 37
3643	47	7787
3801	35	7863
3895	53	8213 39
3898	27	8384 50
4215	12	8462
4427	36	8473 29
4630		8481 61
4638	57	8603

200		
3608	. 51	10155
8610	. 47	10163
8644	. 51	10165
8642	. 57	10168
8644	. 12	10170
3963	. 41	10178
0040	. 40	10195
0093	. 39	10205
0120	. 39	10284
0154	13	10375
243	. 39	10377
219	. 43	10378
0257	. 12	10439
9257	, 25	10465
265	. 25	10533
0275	. 26	10564
295	. 23	10666
298	. 26	10728
298	35	10742
308	. 16	10835
309	. 25	10897
315	. 11	11045
316	. 43	11150
323	32	11102
325	. 25	11229
333	57	11639
358	. 70	11652
359	41	11689
368	41	11831
373	20	11857
378	. 32	11859
381	33	11874
399	41	11906
407	. 25	11977
410	32	13412
475		13449
550		13503
618	4.2	13518
722		13520
767		13522
848		13526

13542	1 2 II 424
13546 43	2 II 426 33
13549	B.M.
13554	79-7-8,46
13555	79-7-8,70 33
13557	79-7-8,79 49
	79-7-8,82
	79-7-8,166
Sm. Plate.	79-7-8,301
65 38	81-2-4,207
116 18	82-3-23,5220
223 19	82-5-22,534
227	
260	7 2 2 2 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3
264	1
323	1
355	DT. 312
498	Edinburgh Royal Museum.
537	09-405-1
	09-405-2 4
	09-405-3
110	09-405-7
101	i .
902	09-405-26
1588	09-405-32
1662	09-405-33
2170 59	-
Rm. Plate.	Fragment of Epic of Creation. 9.
1349	Other Texts Edited or Discussed.
49253	SBH. Page
514	6
GIE,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	12
000	23 47
010	41
011,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	46 30
	57 30
2,241	74
2,292	
2,572 17	ASKT. Page
2 II 366 32	119
2 II 373 53	118
2 II 420 33	BE. XXIX nos. 2 and 3, page 7
2 II 421	MYHRMAN, BPI no. 6, page 98

Edin 09 405-1

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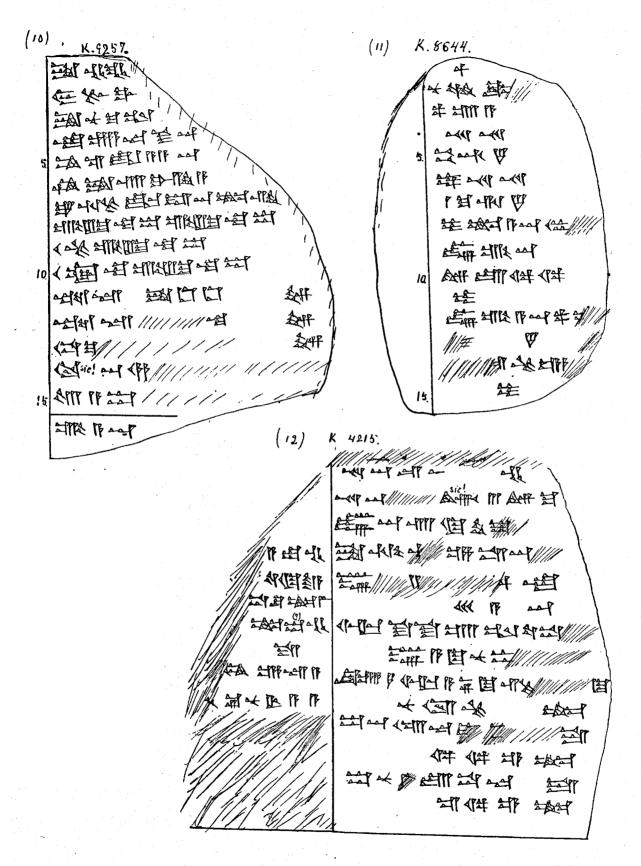
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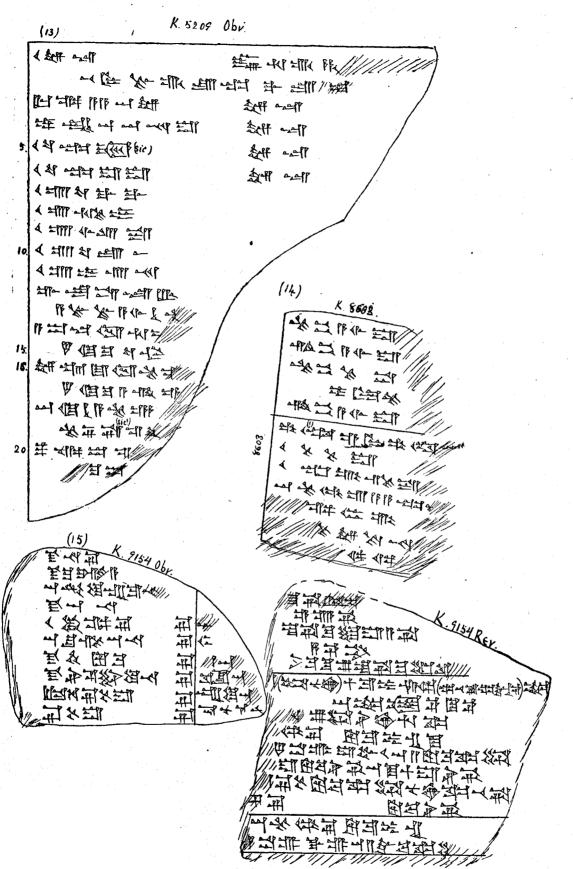
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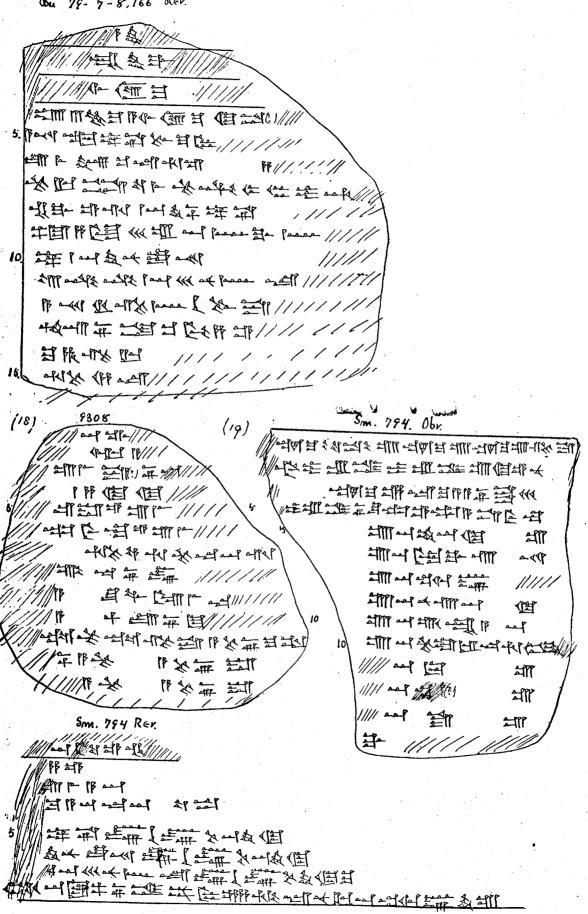


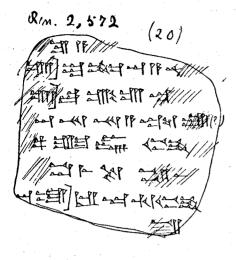
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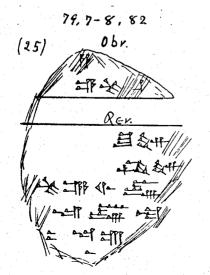


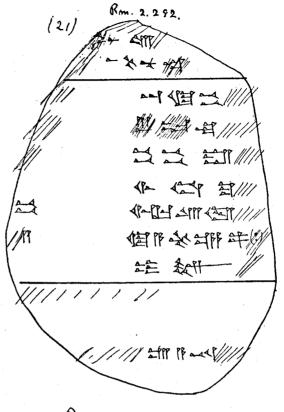


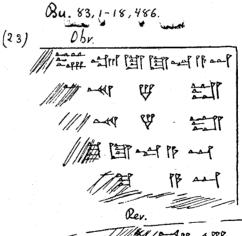
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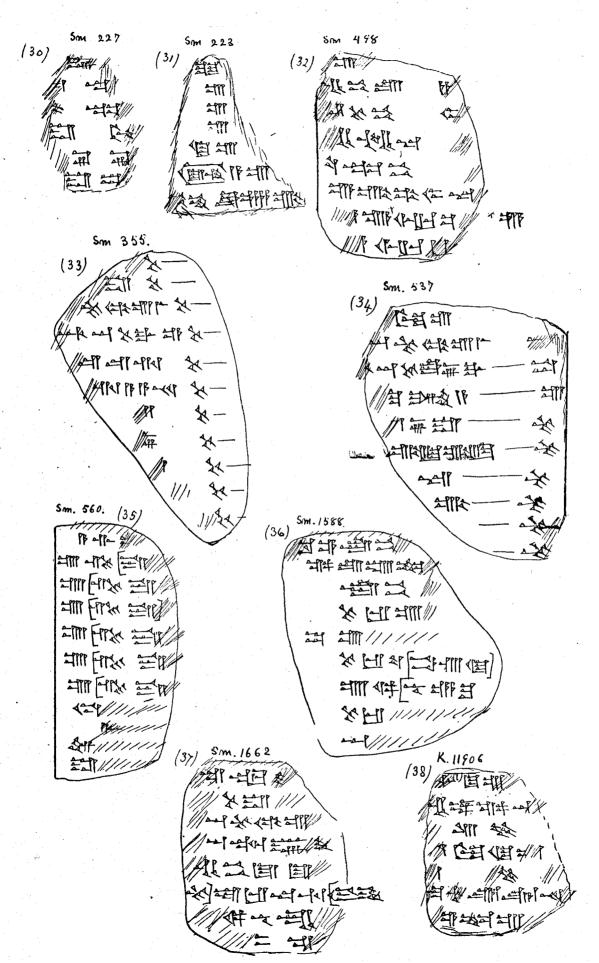


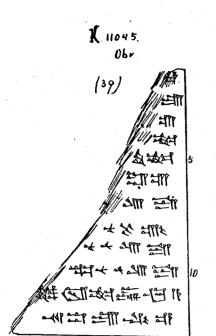


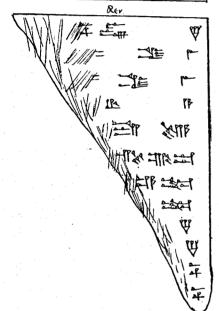


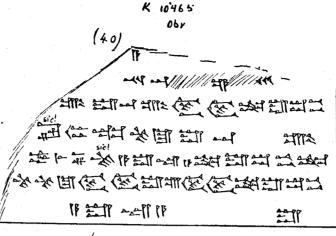
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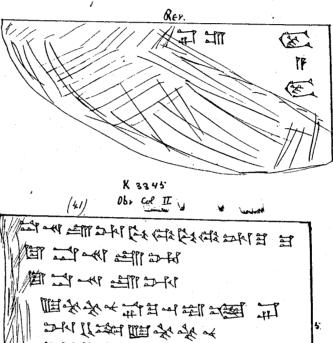
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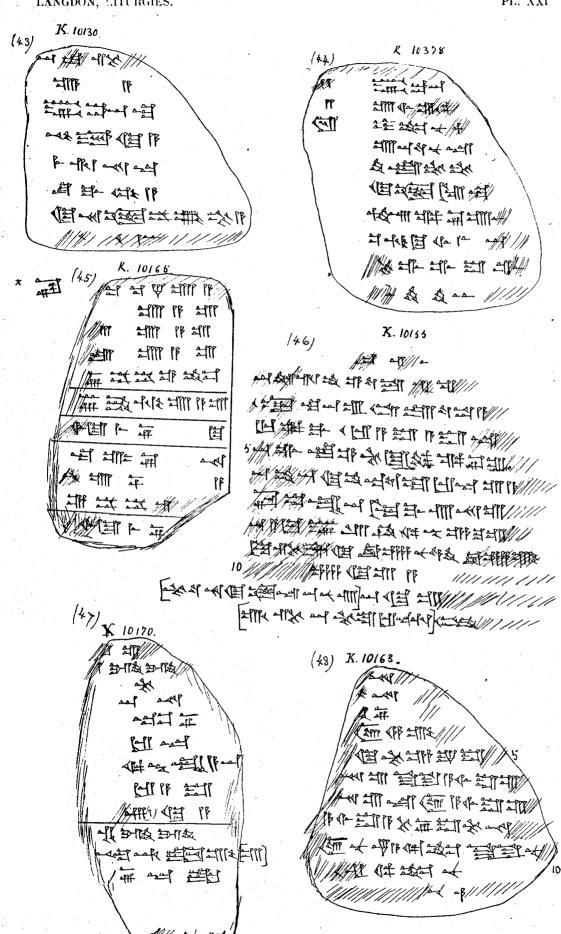


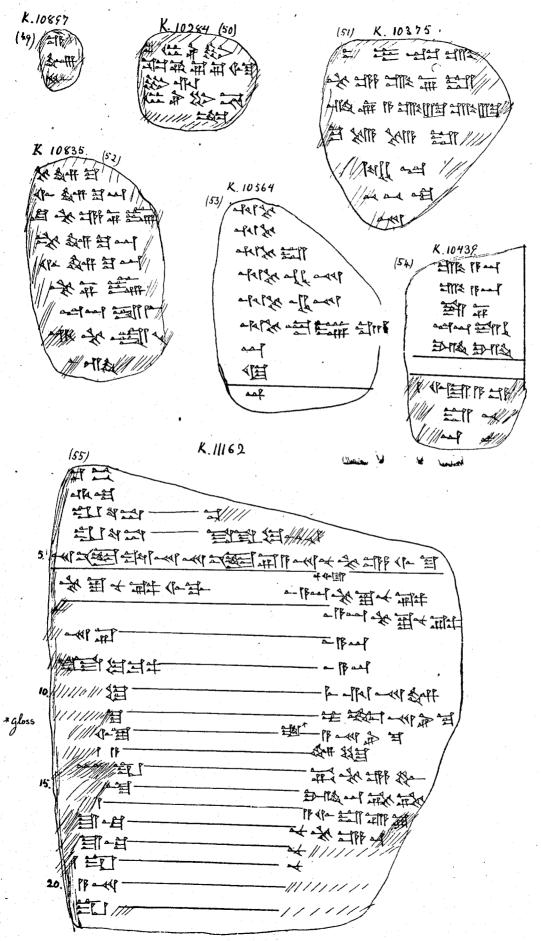






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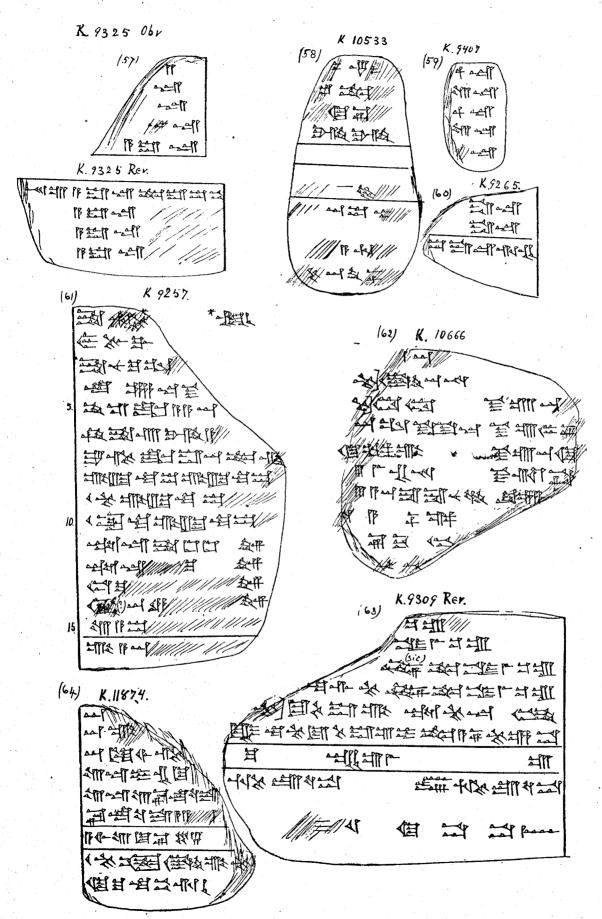


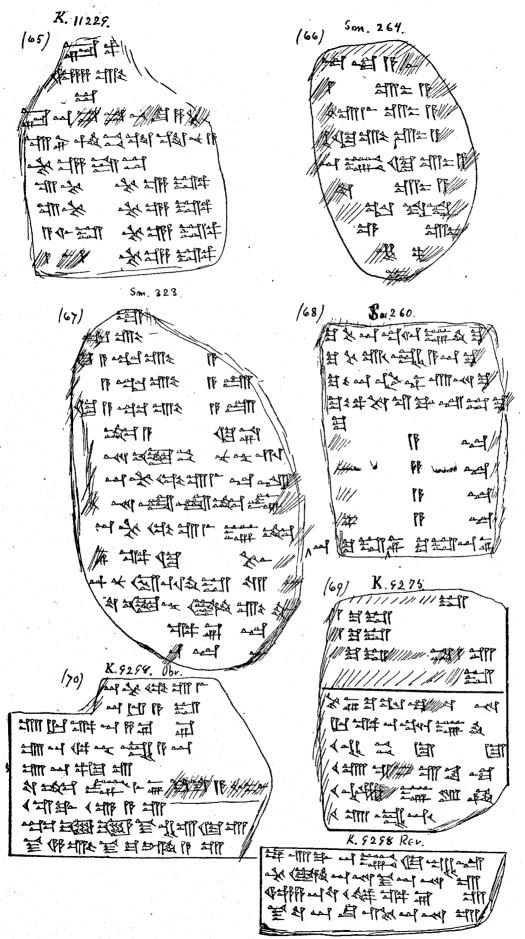


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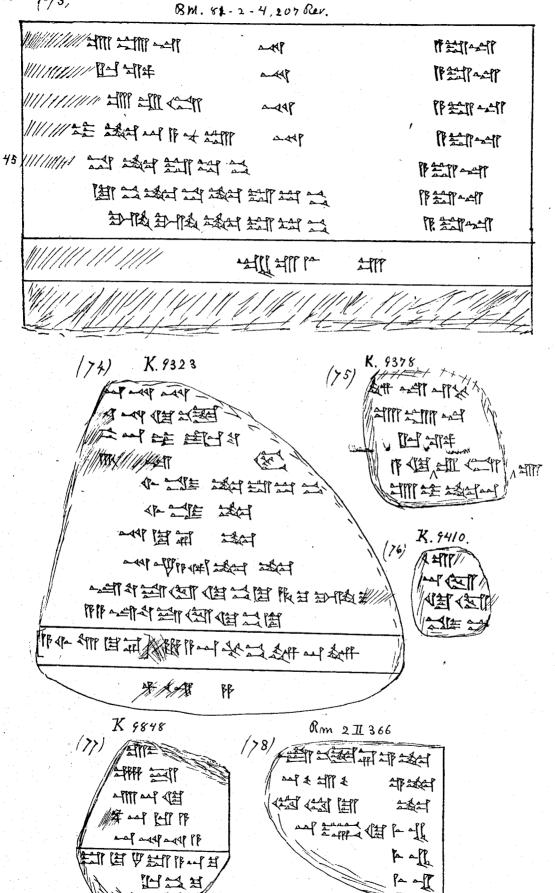
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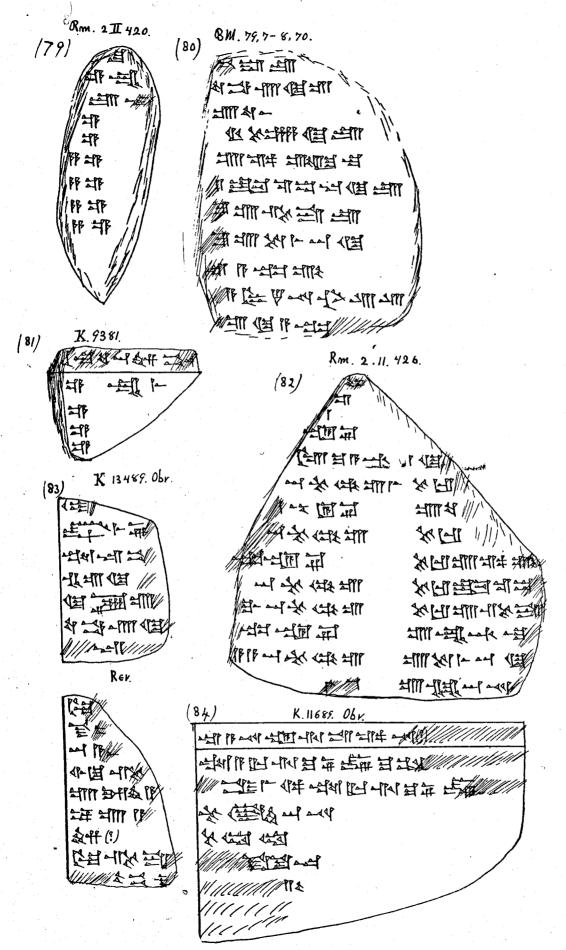
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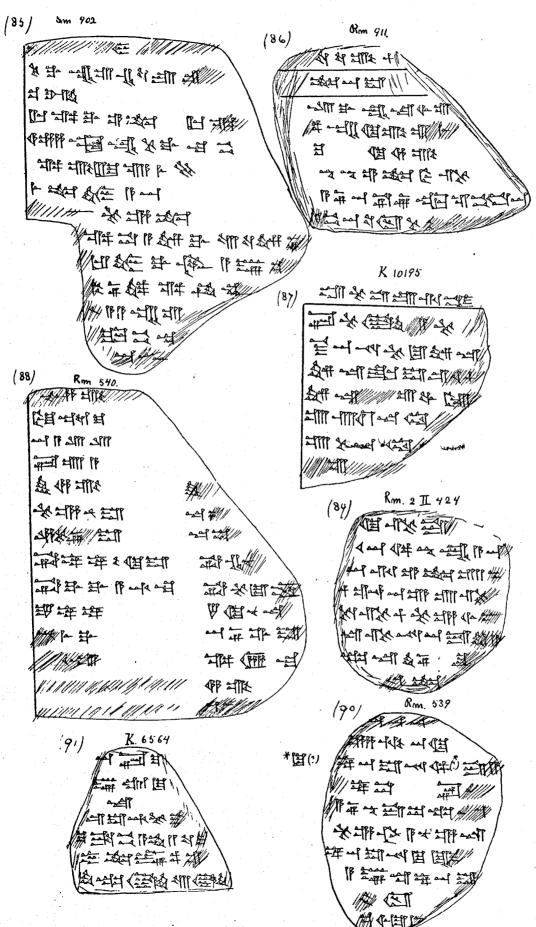
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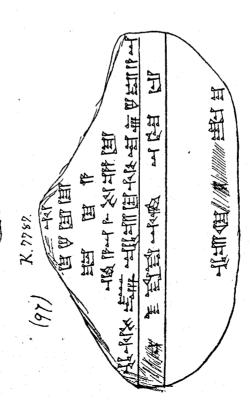
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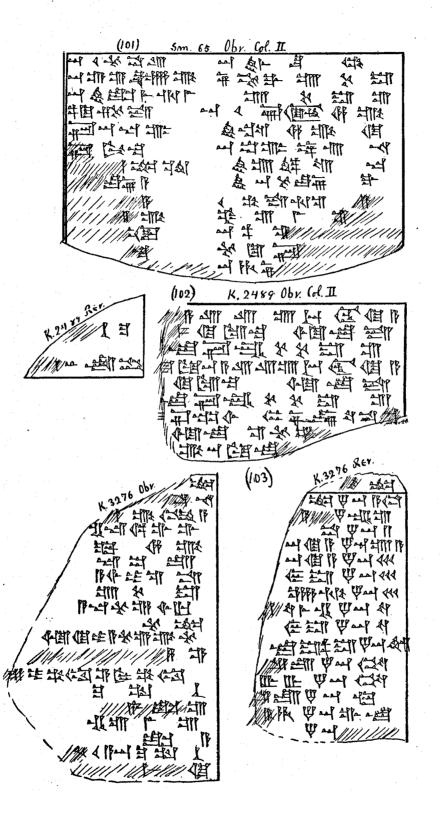
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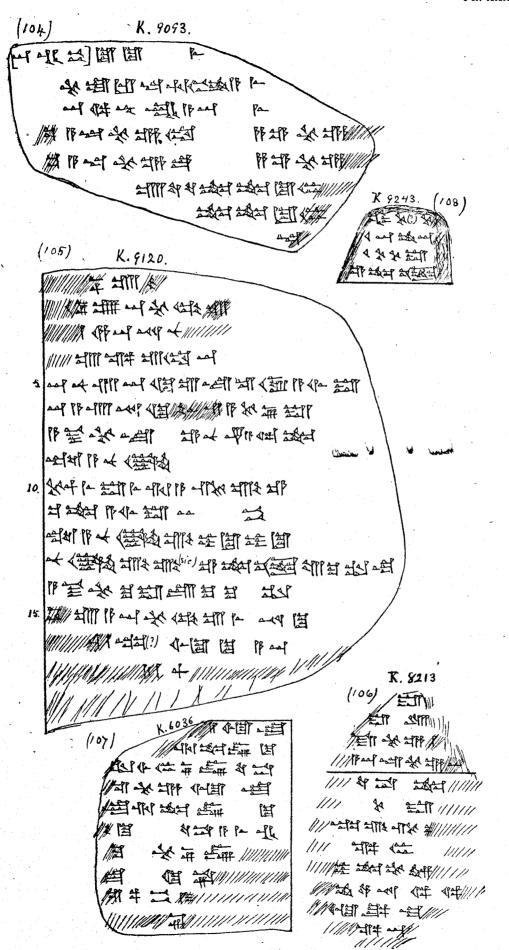
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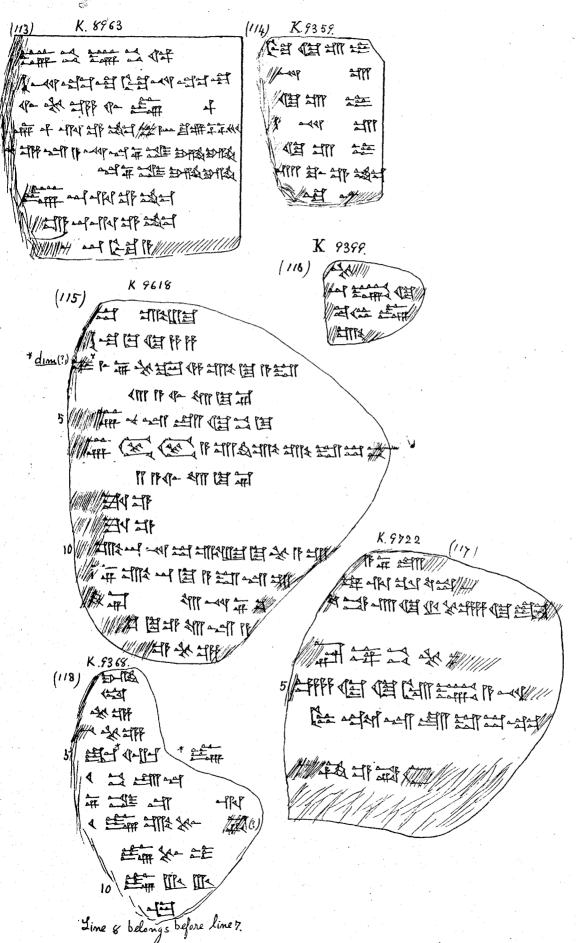
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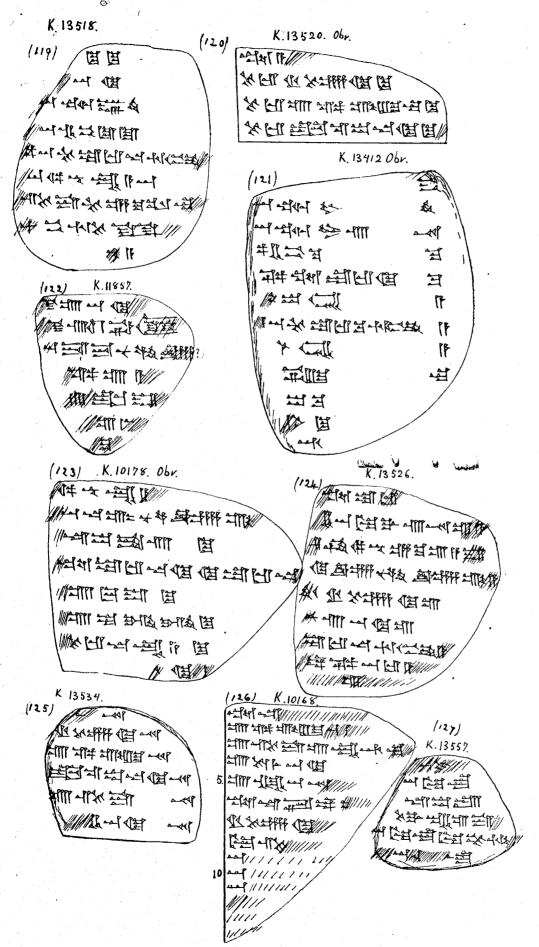
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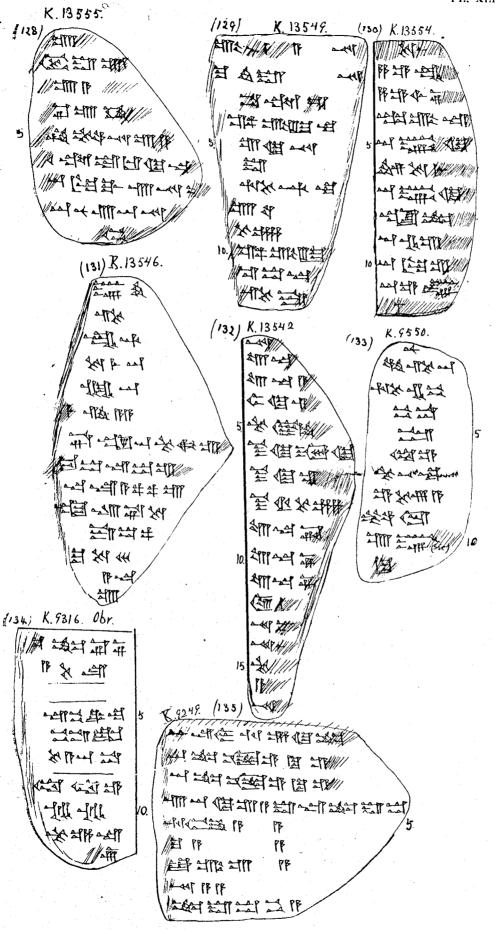
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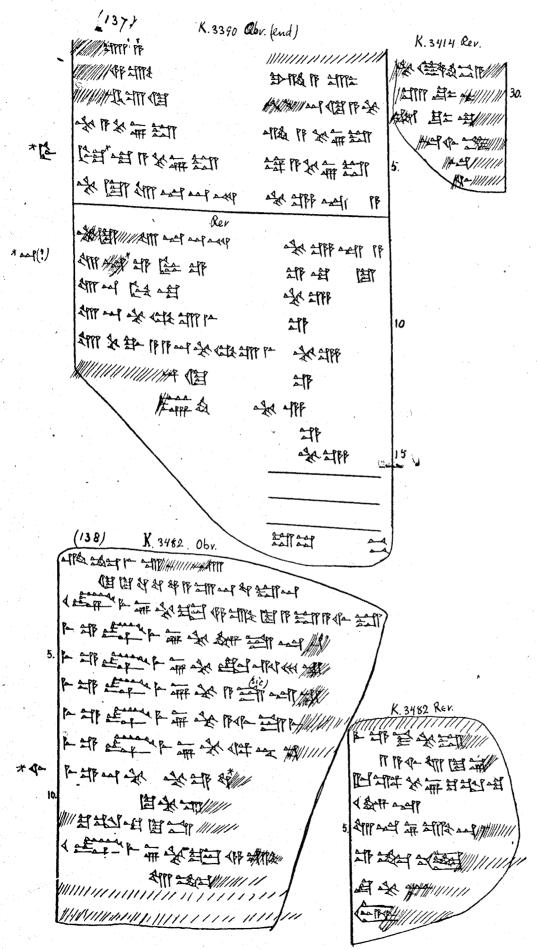




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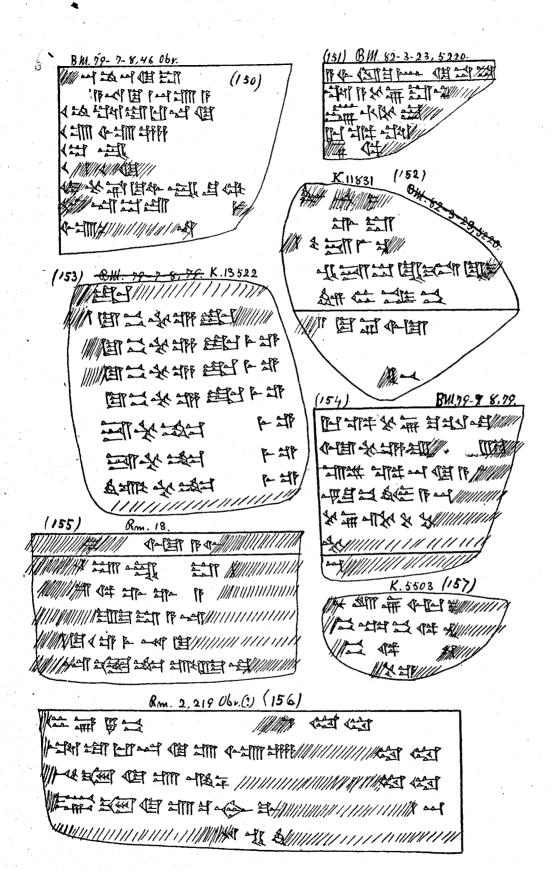
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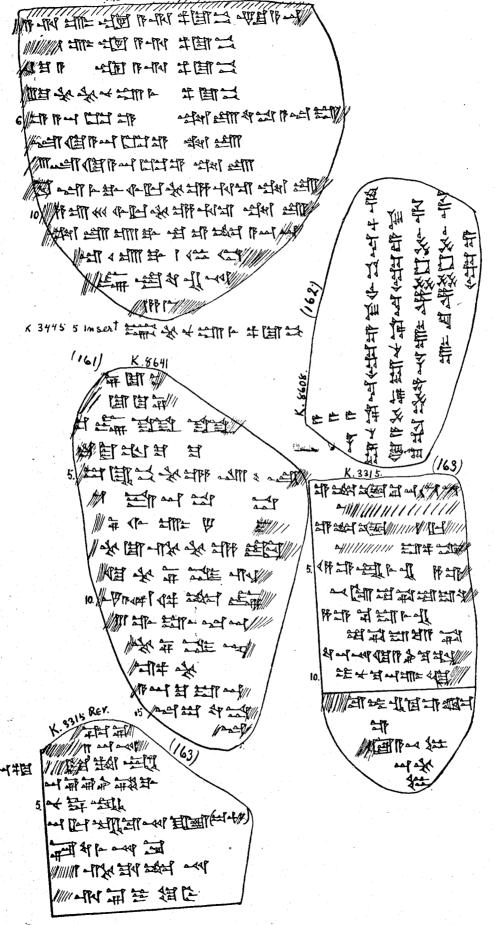
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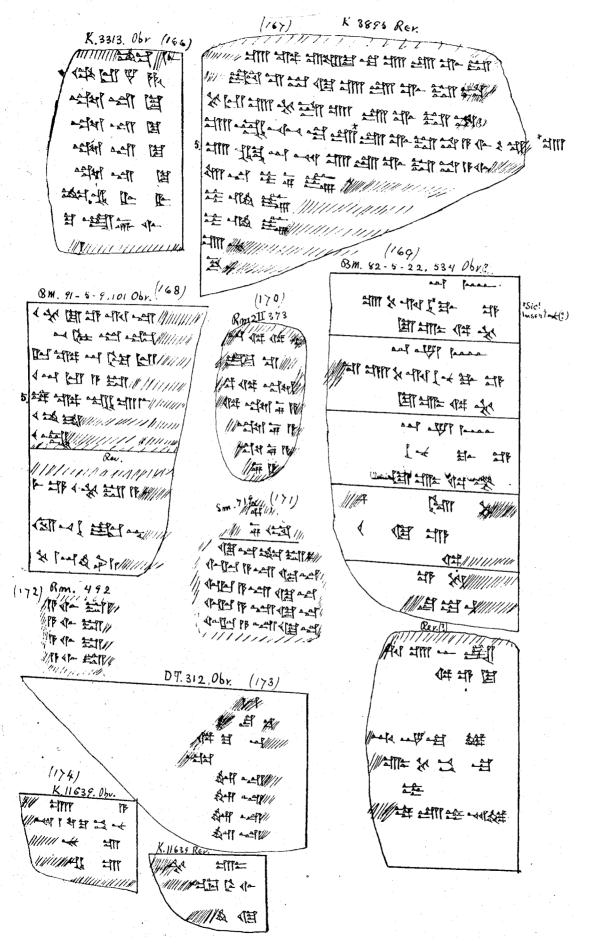
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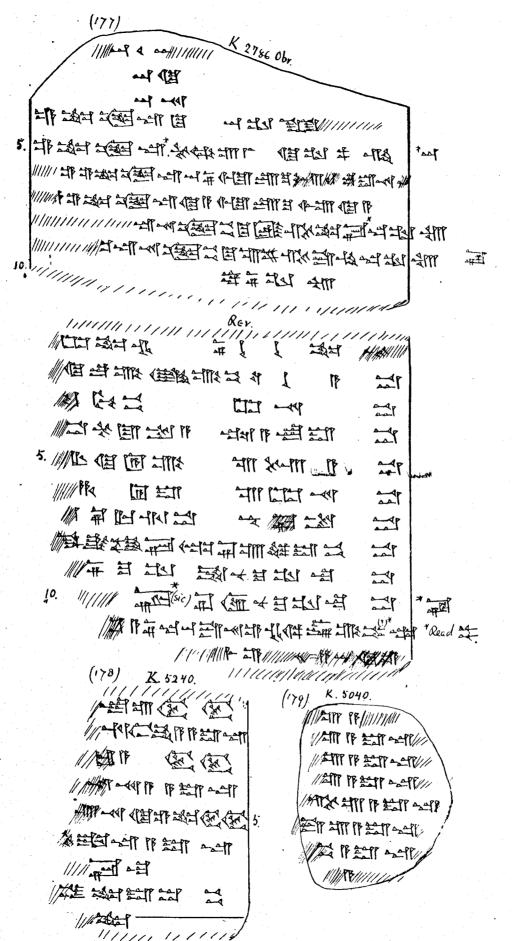
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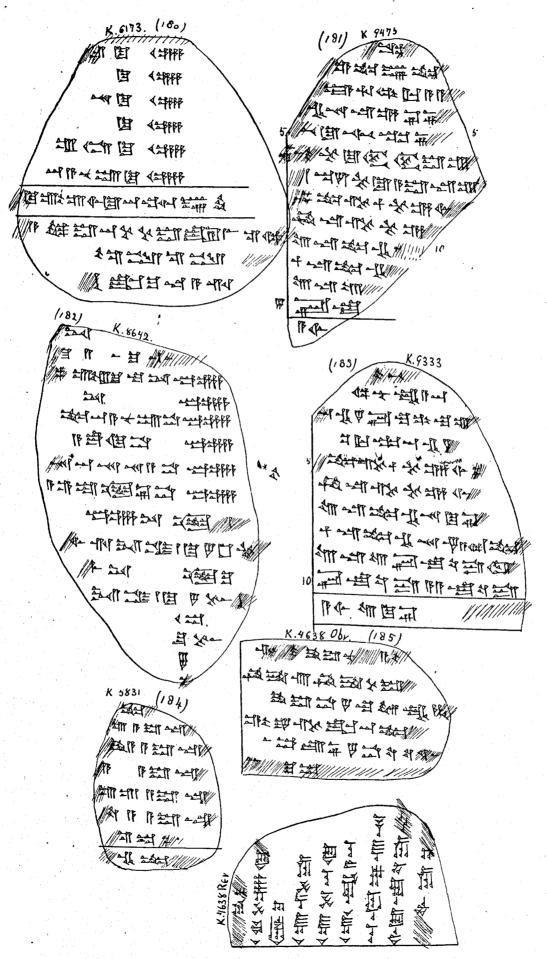
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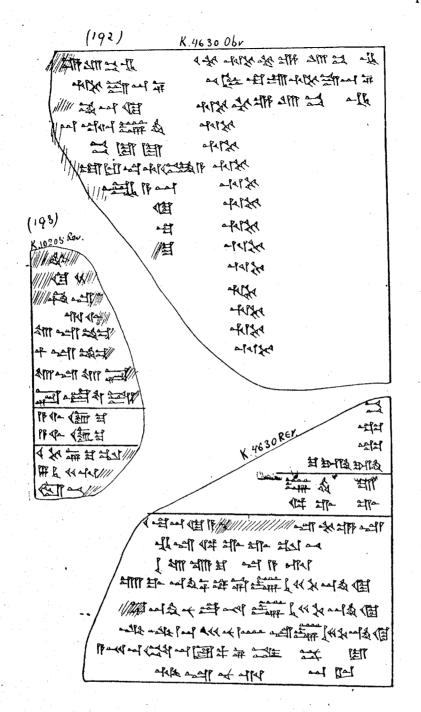
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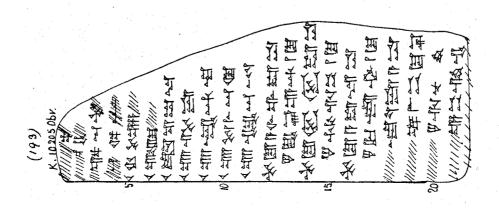
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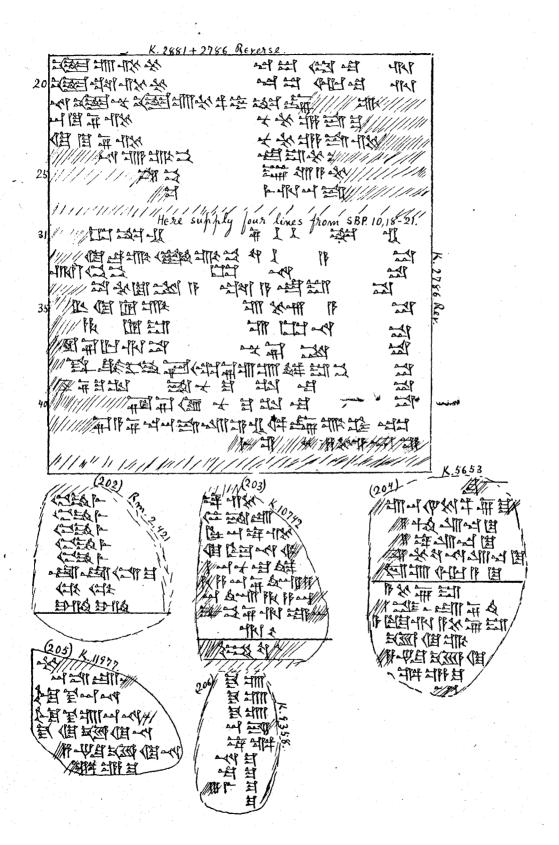
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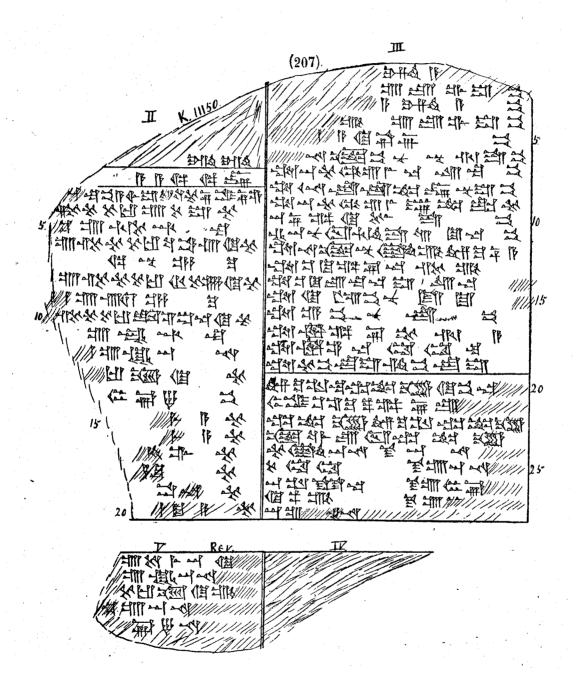
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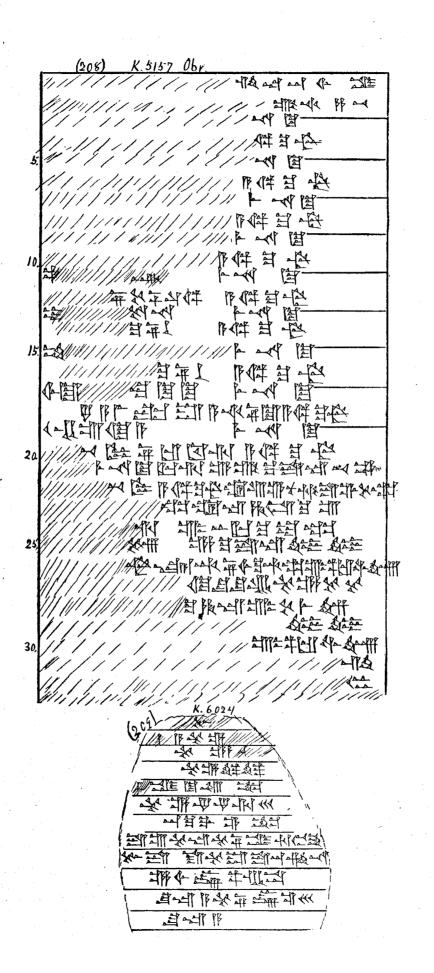
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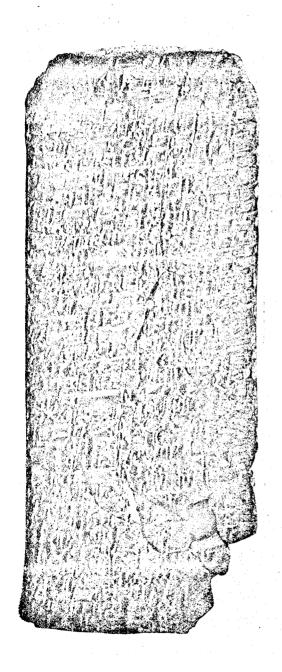


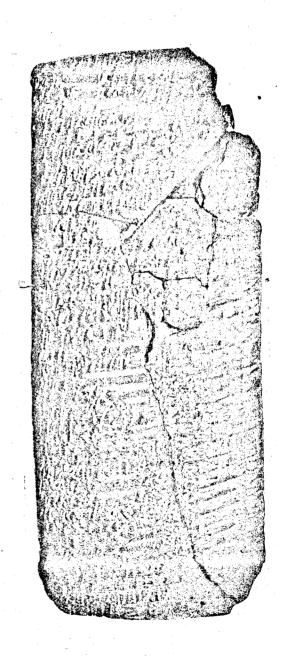
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101.7 read -17 for -Park No. 13 L 21 2 No. 14 l. 6 12 No. 16 Col I 18 last sign is (Zimmern) 201 6 the for it No. 25 1 4 of revense att for at No. 27 1 1 at and 24; 1.2 at and 144; 14 NAM at end doubtful; l.10 last sign / 14 readings should all be shaded No. 28 1 1 one or two signs gone before 1; l 2 ad-lum No. 3 l 2 for to read the No. 37 l 1 read attal, above l 1 yet to be seen 1 1 No. 38 l 2 read # 21 - 1 Wo. 45 1 read at for at No. 47 l. 11 first sign 2 , at the end att is legible No. 51 l 2 read of the atk for fat; 115 suppress and No 62 14 at and 研; 18 read = for 年, 19 18 # 全级 No 63 15 出版 for 知 El 2 last sign, will is all that can be seen; l. 3 = 1.4 after al read that Se 图 - 20 gim No 69 l. 1 read - Will; before me in lines 2-4 read and; Il 4 f at 6 md and start, l. 6 after le read dotter, l 8 read and etc read and and still to be seem; I 6 at beginning water 15.13 and Il APT No. 77 1 5 at beginning & still to be seen No. 78 for and read and 10 star for at last 15 ATTE Nos4 obv. 1 after sale read And 13 ANT OF THE at ends of ll 4 ff 2 is visible, l 4 of the 四州 for is-21, 1.7 suppress Att; 18/1/1/1 [ 2 ], after 18 still to be seen 1.9/1/1/1 10.86 16 before and 1-NIX No. 87 l. 1 after turn 2 1. 5 after 24 2 1 1 1 ste No 88 17 2 20 1 1 etc & at end read 和 1.9 at end 型 五十年 No. 89 1.3 at end 知, 14 mar for 4; 15. at end si- 五 16 after ma read 到面到的 ATT for all; & 8/1/18 tot. No 90 l3 di is certain; l 6 otal for all; l 8 218 for 18 No 91 4 after ra read 1. 5 after a read both of 200 No. 96 U. 7 and 8 Men.); I & so for 44, 19 all for all, and at the end there is I for three or more signs No. 97 1 6 read this the are at and in the colophon nipru ke kima at I etc il 10 read 11/1/1/ 20 Ma 20 Marte and 1. 20 after the read atter 10 105 l 4 after sag read after for and after la read agg. ga, 1 10 th after ra, 1 15 per haps to after etc. No. 107 l 3 and for the No. 109 l 4 active for 16 300, 11 4 of mu kur ru. No. 110 13 ( for B; 1. 4 of the state of All and soft 4 11 (1), 16 signs = 1 50; & 11 = FF = FF THE - FRENCH S. 1.13 after & read the horse No. 113 & 4 perhaps and we mes; The for = No. 121 l. 1 and; between lines & and 9 a line has been omitted; the only sign be is at the end, Mil is visible at the left edge. No. 122 1 2 (1) No. 129 l. 5 HAN. No. 138 I to read for all. No. 133 1. 3 all is uncertain, perhaps It; 1. 4 read 25 211, for line 11, which is omitted, read use which reads

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PHOTOGRAPHS OF OBV. AND REV. OF No. 1.





TWO PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE ASHMOLEAN PRISM.



