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

ΒY

STEPHEN LANGDON

SHILLITO READER OF ASSYRIOLOGY, OXFORD

WITH 75 PLATES



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INTRODUCTION

Four years ago an attempt was made to translate and interpret the liturgies of the Babylonian religion¹. 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 Nippur². We are now fortunate enough to possess a few liturgical texts from Lagash of the classical Sumerian period³. 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 Babylon⁴. An important text of this period containing a liturgy of the wailing for Tammuz has also been added to that part of our religious literature⁵.

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

1. Sumerian and Babylonian Psälms (Paris, 1909).

2. RADAU, Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts in the HILPRECHT Anniversary Volume (1909). The same, Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to God Ninib (1914), 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, uš-ri-šú 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 dynasty⁴, 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

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.

^{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.

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

1. US-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, malë, 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, US-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 $[\ldots]$ -ga-al; KING suggests gaggal. In any case the Sumerian word gala represents an appropriate form. Cf. also ZA. 27,236. 2. VAB.I 50 X 22-30.

3. Gudea, St. B, V3. I am inclined to translate *balag* by "lyre", owing to the shape of the ancient ideogram and the Amharic *bagana*, lyre with ten strings; the Syriac *pelaggā* "drum", appears to be derived from this word (See Sum. Gram. 20). 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 : —

- vm ----

"Oh temple thy skilled singer ³ 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. $\equiv ||||$. It is also the opinion of GENOULLAC that this word for "psalmist" is connected with the ordinary word for "menial". $U\dot{S}$ -KU is probably to be read nitah-tug = zikru munihu, "the man who brings peace", i. e., appeases the gods with song. For $\boxed{=} = nahu$ or salalu, repose, v. CT. 15, 10, 8 and BL. 111, 17. The sign varies with $\boxed{=}$ in the same sense, v. CT. 15, 23 a 16 $\boxed{=}$ (tu) = nahu and tug-mal = nahu always $\boxed{=}$ -mal; e. g. Gud. Cyl. A 7, 5; 18, 2; Cyl. B 10, 6. Read passim tug or tig (?). The value tug for these two signs must not be confused with $tug = \boxed{=}$ subatu. [Note that I adopt tug = nahu to distinguish it from tug = 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 "?.

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 $(kal\hat{u})$ is accompanied by a professional singer $(n\bar{a}ru)$. The ritual directs the psalmists to preface the magic ritual by a psalm⁶. 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 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.

II

Babylonian Liturgies.

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 2. On the other hand we meet with members of this profession who were engaged in ordinary business 3. 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 a sipu and the psalmists kalû. That the a sipu priest alone conducted the magical rites at a dedication is clear from VAB.IV 62, 40 ina sibir a sip πtu , "By the art of the a sipu 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 aptikid têmu assakansu muk 6 ûmê uhir (?) takpirtam dat (?) annê tušetaka, "I entrusted the matter to a psalmist who is here (there is a magician with him) and I advised him as follows, 'Six days wait (?) and the rites of atonement carry out in this way'". This text makes it all the more evident that the kalû could not perform the mysteries but needed one of the magicians to assist him. Unfortunately our text does not tell us what kind of service is intended.

2. RTC. 17 translated in ZA. 25,212.

3. DP. 99 rev. I, 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 psalmist² evidently held a permanent and superior position which entitled him to a considerable income. He is never mentioned among ordinary temple servants³. On the contrary we find his salary entered among those of the highest officials of the city⁴. In the period of the first dynasty a galmalu 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.

• XI ---

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 ¹⁰. The person who plays the tambourine is clearly a woman.

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

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

2. US-KU-mah = gal-ma-hu, v. page vii.

3. In DP. 132 VI Lugal-gà-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 HEUZEV), 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.
41. zamāru, SBP. 68,8.

galmahu

Female psalmists 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.

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 *kalû*, 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." ⁴ of Marduk, whence we may suppose that all grades of this priosthood 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

Psalmists

as scribes

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

- 2. See REISNER, TU. 287.
- 3. See REISNER, SBH. XIII f.
- 4. galu-tūr, see e.g., SBP. 60,20; SBH. 54,14.
- 5. Page vii, n. 3.

^{1.} náru, v. page xxvII.

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 azagya ⁷	
9.	gū-gal-lum gu-maḥ-ḥu ka-bi-is ri-te	
	elli-tim	
10.	šag-du ⁸ dib-dib-a he-gal dagal-la	1

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

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 alosely 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. ZINMERN 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-kil for tukil (?), on analogy of likil for lukil (?), cf. LANDERSDORFER, Altbabylonische Privatbriefe 128.

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

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

8. \$ag = `flood' and du, 'flow', '' where the floods flow'', irrigated meadows; cf. \$ag-na mu-un-di-di, '' its flood she causes to flow'', said of a canal, PSBA. 1911, 86,24. \$ag-túm-ma in RADAU BE.29, No. 5, rev. 9 is obscure. Perhaps not this word. Note the Arabic $\Rightarrow garib$, river, field, etc. The original meaning is perhaps '' irrigated land''. 11. ib-ta-' ķir-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 ^{ilu} zi-i at-ta-ma	18. "Oh bull offspring of Zu ⁴ thou art.
19.	a-na pár-și ki-du-di-e ⁵ na-su-ka	19. For the laws of temple liturgies they have set thee up.
20.	a-na da-riš ^{ilu} nin-giš-zi-da ib-ri-ka	20. Forever Ningishzida ⁶ has selected thee.
21.	[parșê] rabûti ușurāti u-șu-ri	21. Guard thou the great laws and the institutions,
7	ši-im pár-și ša šamê ù irșitim	22. [Forever?] fix the ordinatices of heaven and earth.
	[šu-u (?) ana (?) balaggi lip-pa-kid- ma	23. [May he be?] set to preside over the lyre.
24.	[nuḥ libbi?]a-na ^{ilu} Bĉli liḥ-ṭa-'i-iš ⁷	24. [Peace?] unto Bel may he give ".

1. Sic! read sal?, III 1 part. of .

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

3. ina kan sak-kut kani tâbi tulahhaš, '' 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 kâšu, cf. itta'id, but PSBA. 1909, 62, 6, ak-ti-šak-ka

— xv —

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	26. "He that sleeps, lord that sleeps how long shall he sleep?
27. șal-lu be-lum ša șal-lu a-di ma-ti sa-lil	
 28. kùr-gal a-a d·mu-ul-lil-lá mu-lu ná-a li-šú 29. šadu-ú rabu-ú a-bu ^{ilu}Enlil ša sal- lum a-di mati 	28. Great mountain father Enlil, that sleeps, how long?
30. sib na-ăm-tar-tar-ra mu-lu nă-a li- śú 31. ri-'-ú mu-šim ši-ma-a-ti ša șal- lum a-di măti	30. Shepherd that fixes the fates, he that sleeps, how long?

Col. II.

1. ^d·[mu-ul-lil-lá urú-zu ba-an-și-em ur-ri-eš kur-e]

- iluEnlil [ša âli-ka iddimma išteniš ittakalu]
 túg gal-gal-la [šed-da ba-an-gam
- 4. la-biš şu-[ba-ti rabûti] ina ku-şi [it-mi-it]
 5. gan² gal-gal-la šag mar-ra ba-angam
 6. ša mi-riš-ti [rapašti] ina bu-[buti 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

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

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

^{2.} Var. sug.

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-là sib-[zid-da] 14. ^{ilu} En-lil ri-ú [ki-nu]	13. Enlil, faithful shepherd.
15. umun gú kalam-ma sib-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 sib-zid-da 	17. Lord of all the Heaven Spirits, faithful shepherd.
18. be-el nap-har ^{ilani} Igigi ri-ú ki-nu 19. <i>umun gú dim-gul sib zid-da</i>	19. Lord of all <i>tarkullu</i> 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-uș-șir măti-šu [bêl măti-šu?]	
23 . <i>umun ma-a-ni giš-ḫar-ra</i> 24 . be-lum mu-uṣ-ṣir [māti-šu	23. Lord designer of his land
25. mu-un-ga ma-al-la [kúr-ri ba-an- și-em]	25. The accumulated property thou hast given to the foe.
26. ma-ak-ku-ri šak-na [ana nak-ri [ta-ad-din]	

1. Read 1. 9 perhaps, ki-šù-bi-im [pi-min gud-kam], "It is a kišub for the ears of the ox".

2. "ana lib lilissi siparri [tu-lah-has?]".

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.

	— x	vii —
	gil-sa-a ma-al-la kúr-ri [ba-an-și- em]	27. The hoarded treasures to the foe thou hast given.
28.	šu-kut-ta ša-kin-ta ¹ [ana nakri taddin] ²	
29. 30.	<i>tuš azag-ga</i> [<i>kůr ba-tuš</i>] šu-ub-ta elli-tim [nakru ittašab]	29. The foe occupies the sacred abode.
	ki azag-ga [kúr ba-tuš]	31. The foe sits in the holy place.
	ki-nad azag-ga [kùr ba-an-da-ná]	33. In the sacred resting place a stranger sleeps.
34.	tap-ša-ha el-lum [šanumma inîl]	
	Rev	. I.
1.	urú è-a [kúr mu-un-na-și-em]	1. The magnificent city [unto the foe thou hast given].
2.	L	
3.	umun ^d ·en-ki lugal abzu (?) [šag-zu dé-en-tig-e]	3. May the lord Ea, king of the deep(?) [appease thy heart].
4,	be-lum ^{ila} E-a šar apsī? [libbaka linîh]	
5	umun ^d ·asar-lù-dug [sag-zu]	5. May the lord Marduk [appease thy heart].
6.	be-lum ^{ilu} Marduk [libba-ka]	Landert
7. 8.	umun a-a ^d ·iškur-ra [šag-zu] be-lum a-bu ^{ilu} Adad [libba-ka	7. May Adad [appease thy heart].
9.	umun šul ^d ·babhar [šag-zu]	9. May the strong lord Shamash [appease thy heart].
10.	be-lum id-lu ^{ilu} Šamaš [libba-ka]	
11.	umun ^d ·uraš-a-ge [šəg-zu]	11. May the lord Ninuraš [appease thy heart].
12.		
13.	umun-maḥ d·śul-sīg-ċ-a [śag-zu]	13. May the mighty lord Shulsigea [appease thy heart].
14.	be-lum și-ru ^{ilu} Šul-sīge-a [libba- ka]	*
		

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1. For the passive participle šakin 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.

Babylonian Liturgies.

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15. su si-sá-bi su [si-sa-bi 45. 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 [qub-bi?] 47. Direct thou (my) hand, [steady?] thou my foot-steps. 48. ka-ta šu-te-šir kib-sa [kîn]⁴ 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"². 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 an<u>cient</u> 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 mouth³ of the bronze tambourine".

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

"Before the God of Psalmody⁴ and the lyre thou shalt place a reed enclosure 5(?)

2. Gen. 4, 21.

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 can escreens so as to designate the ritual spot as holy.

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

^{3.} mis $p\hat{i}$, "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.

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 : —

"Wash thou thy hands, wash thou thy hands.

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

[May the gods], all of them, rejoice for thee.

[May Marduk?| upon thy king, "thou art delivered" bestow.

May Adad upon thy king, "thou art delivered" bestow".

The general tenor of this selection chanted by the school of liturgists resembles a **prayer** employed in private services to free the king from troubles 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 *kisub*, 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-su-bi-im sa mar asiputi amelu migra ikabbi-ma mar asiputi ina nas ma-sid-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 appeases the angry gods.

In all periods we meet with a word lagar, labar for "psalmist", which is transcribed into Semitic as lagaru. The ideogram 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-gal³, 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 psalmist⁵ 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 priest⁶ and the psalmist⁷

1. (1-ga-ar) in S^b, CT. XI 25,27 occurs in the archaic syllabar CT. V 8 obv. IV 1. 6 after break. I doubt the connection of this sign with the second part of (1-ga-ar) 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. in the combination *en-me* X is possibly this sign since the whole means *enu ša* ^{iln}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 manzu(?)", B L. 86,33.

6. en, v. JENSEN, KB. VI 188, 42.

7. la-ga-ru.

lagar

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⁺; 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 '. 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 sangu" 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} kùr-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 44,44. 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 $man\hat{u}$ "to count, reckon", reckon"; for the Sumerian form of this ideogram, v. REC. 419.

the only ones permitted in the temple. Magic and common public worship are originally independent and mutually exclusive elements in Babylonian religion. But this religion was perpetually 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 Assyria 2 , which designates the sangu as one in the service of the god Ea and certainly a priest of the mysteries³. 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

- XXII ---

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.

second alternative naturally commended itself to an ancient and unyielding priesthood, and they in some way secured ordination to the mysteries of the water cult

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"⁵, and for "to pray"⁶, but only

1. EITTY +.

and the god of wisdom 4.

2. Originally = MANE = MAR ELE of which there are many abbreviated

forms, v. TH.-DANGIN, ZA. 15, 42. This ideogram probably means $ila - \dot{u}z - s\hat{i}g - s\hat{i}g$. "he that brings a yellow goat".

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. sullů, suppů. See Sum. Gr. 259.

in the sense of *private* intercession. This word was transliterated into Semitic as a loan-word $surr\bar{u}$, 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 Gudea⁴. A contract of the reign of Nabuna'id, last of the kings of Babylon, mentions a quantity of liquor given to the "wailers" of Esagila⁵. 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 *kalîta*, but the syllabar where it occurs renders it by the masculine *kalû⁷*. The "master of wailing", *mu-lu er-ra-ge* (*bêl bihîti*), and "the master of lamentation", *mulu adduge* (*bêl bihîti*) 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, 45-20.

1. The ideogram is IN # [(A) often abbreviated to [(B); both A

and B have the Sumerian value zur and the Semitic renderings $kal\hat{u}$, $surr\bar{u}$, v. Br. 3708-14 and SAI. 2404-5; v. CT. 11,18 a 19 f. The ideogram is clearly connected with zural zural

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

3. IV R. 31 b 57.

4. St. B. 5,4.

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

6. galu 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 $= kal\dot{u}$ according to King ibid 303. Compare CHRISTAIN ZA. 27,257 who supposes that the variant DT. 105 had two Semitic translations. For tal = wailing, v. Sum. Gr. 246. Note that \uparrow is also an ideogram for the

god Ea, patron of psalmists, and (makas) = sisitu, lament, SAI. 7567.

7. CT. 12,41,48.

8. SBP 238,21-4.

er wailer 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-má

mulu

Hand of Ishtar

Ea, patron of music, *lum*ha A curious Sumerian word $lun-ma^3$ occurs in a syllabar which explains the same by the Semitic word $kal\hat{u}$, "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-d-innini, "Hand of Ishtar", and su-d-inin-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 4. Ishtar appears so often, both in the wailings for Tammuz and in the liturgies, as a

sorrowful mother that she was said to be the "Lady of psalmody". We have already had occasion to remark that Ea, god of wisdom and the 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 mûdû.

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 $= kal\hat{u}$, in CT. 12, 41, 45 is obscure. We might transcribe *tig-dingira*, "He who appeases god", but we have little warrant for such transcription. The signs would be generally taken for, "wall of god", *b*ád-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 lumha² 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 *kalûtu* for psalmody, as well as a form *kulu*'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-laru⁴, 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-di*⁶ a formation from the noun *ilu*, "chant of a mournful kind".

1. CT. 25,48,11; CT. 24, 43,120.

2. Or num-ha? Read also lum-ha = 4 balag-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 (haad) = 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 436,3 so as to find reason for assuming that the lallaru played upon the flute. I would suggest for lallaru the meaning "Honey creeper", a passerine bird which feeds upon honey, or the "Honey buzzard". For lallaru = honey, v. PSBA. 1901,120 rev. 1. In favour of a small bird is the fem. lalartu classified among "flies", CT. 14, 2 a 23.

6. Br. 4027; SAI. 2684.

Babylonian Liturgies.

kalù

lallaru

munambù

IV

şarihu

mnšelů

The same Sumerian word is rendered into Semitic by sarihu¹. The verb sarahu, although having the general sense "cry out in sorrow"², has the technical meaning, "chant to the lyre", and the participle sarihu, "he that chants to the lyre". The word designates no separate religious order but is only a more special name for psalmist. The *musêlû*⁴, a kind of necromancer who appears to have exercised power over the souls of the dead by means of a lyre⁵, does not come into consideration here, although his name is once written with an ideogram employed also for a mythical spirit, patron of the lyre⁶.

sammēru

In Semitic the technical verb most often employed for singing to the musical instruments is zamāru. The idea of playing on instruments is essential to this verb as it is to the Sumerian equivalents, sir, ser, sar, nir, li-du, ilu. The Semites derived from this verb a noun zammeru for "psalmist", a word which they rendered into Sumerian by i-lu-'du-'du, "he that utters lament", li-'du-'du, "he that utters a chant of joy", and e-la-lu⁷. All these words contain in one form or another the root lil⁸, "to shriek, play upon wind instruments". A text edited in this volume introduces zimmeru as a gloss on $kal\dot{a}$ "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 udalla⁴⁰. The former word again contains the root lil; the second the root tul from tal, a word for liturgical wailing ¹¹.

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

1. Br. 4028.

2. Heb. צרח, 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.

10. 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", lul¹, translated into Semitic by $n\ddot{a}ru$, $n\dot{a}ru$ 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 $n\dot{a}ru$ 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 *naru* 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 devotion⁴.

1. Tammuz is called \dot{u} -lu-lu, " the youth ", SCHEIL, Tammuz obv. II 20; SBP. 336, 13-15.

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_latters 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. 47 p. 36. The plural na-a-ru occurs in SBH. 409,72, i. e., nara. Ea is god of the na-a-ri, CT. 24, 43, 124 ; see dunga p. XXII. 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 iu sa na-a-ri = dlul-a?, CT. 24, 47, 50.

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

4. The ersemma.

lul, nàru

In the magic services we frequently find the rubric that the $n\hat{a}ru$ shall here say such and such prayers ¹. Since the public liturgists $(kal\dot{u})$ are never mentioned in these rubrics for singing private prayers we may assume that the psalmists who took the responses in the penitential psalms ² (*er-sag-tùg-mal*), who sang the prayers of the lifting of the hand for men *in e.ctremis*, are none other than the familiar *nàru*.

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 $n\dot{a}ru$ "³. 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 *nåru* 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 $(tig\dot{u})$ 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 4 in the temple of Ningirsu and called him the *lul* loved by the gods $\overline{}$, and a liturgy mentions the *nàru* who plays in the temple of Ishtar upon the $pag\hat{u}$, 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

1. ZIMMERN, Rit., p. 476, 15, the nàru shall sing the prayer, "Oh exalted Ea", et passim; Neujahr/est 135, 20. Other references in FRANK, Studien 70. Note also WEISSBACH, Miscel. 32, 5 where the nàru 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-gi*.

5. Cvl. B. 40, 9-15.

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

7. Ibid., 1. 79.

and playing all instruments. The \dot{a} - $l\dot{a}$ a kind of tambourine or drum is played by the $n\dot{a}ru$ in Gud. St. L. 4. 5. The *takaltum* of the $n\dot{a}ru$, 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 $n\dot{a}ru$ priests playing harps, dulcimers and double flutes. I infer that from the first the flute was studied by the liturgists also. The *kalù* sings to the double flute in a ritual of founding a temple, WEISSBACH, Miscellen., 12, 12 ina hal-hal-la-[ti]. But the $n\dot{a}ru$ 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 (?)⁴. 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 nåru are mentioned among liturgical devotees of Ishtar; " The private psalmists of the harp (?) ⁴, the *šebîtu* and *kanşabu*⁶, they of the flute, the *sinnitu* and *arka*[*tu*?]⁷. This passage does not afford any evidence concerning the kind of public services in which they were engaged, but it is not likely that the sacred liturgies are referred to. They must have been regarded as public servants from the earliest period. A tablet of the pre-Sargonic era mentions

nàrn in processions

nåru performs profane music

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

2. amel kalê amel nârê ša gimir ummanûtu hammu, 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 *lul* is also rendered into Semitic by *ŝattammu* 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 1133; 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.H 256, 46.

6. Wind instruments (?).

7. malilu, BA.V 564, cf. = CRAIG, RT.I 55.

a "private psalmist of god "¹ among the public beneficiaries, and the same tablet states that a sacred woman lived at the house of the private psalmist ². In the same period he is expressly mentioned as a musician of a temple ³. They participate in the festival of the goddess Bau and receive rations for their services ⁴. 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 ⁵; another entry mentions two market gardeners, a confectioner, six menial workmen and a boy who are paid for the same service.⁶ A *náru* 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 Ninā⁷.

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 festivities⁸. A syllabar arranges the female naru immediately after the female liturgists⁹. 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 Nineveh⁴⁰. 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 $kal\hat{u}$ priests could not chant for burial ceremonies 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-hàr-hàr; 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 gur-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 II Nos. 2 and 3 reads *šallutu*, "third daughter". Also DELITZSCH'S suggestion HW. 191, to read *batultu* maiden, is possible, since *nartu* really means "maiden".

10. KB II 84, 30 nárê nárāti.

sacred liturgists' conducting the wailings at interment ¹. 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 *nåru* and his daughters sang before the dignitaries at the time of the funeral wailings ². Another letter describing an interment states that rites of magic were performed and private penitential psalms sung ³. Coremonies of the latter kind belong exclusively to the office of the *nåru*.

Since these musicians had charge of the liturgical sections of the magic ceremonies they came into close relation with the mysteries and the priests of magic. Several rituals have been preserved which define the manner in which these private psalmists assisted the magicians ⁴. At certain points in the mysterious rites of the $\bar{a}sipu$ ⁵ the $n\bar{a}ru$ 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 $n\bar{a}ru$, 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 ($zam\bar{a}ru$) but recited ($man\hat{a}, kab\hat{a}$). 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 ($zam\bar{a}ru$) 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 flute psalmists and in this capacity he bore the title durage. ⁸ MIf 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, 10 f; MEISSNER WZKM, 12, 59.

3. nipišê ša ašipûti er-šag-tùg-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 DELITZSCH and MUSS-ARNOLT. 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 $n\hat{a}ru$. The directions to the *āšipu* 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.

The *nàru* not a magician meaning of the words lumha, Ea as patron of liturgy¹, 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 bagpipe".

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 ².

1. \dot{a} -l \dot{a} = $al\dot{u}$, 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-flute⁵. Late ideogram *halag-lul*. Some kind of a reed-flute is mean by *gi-er-ra* = kan *hikîti*, "reed of weeping"⁶.

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

4. 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, $su-\acute{a}-l\acute{a}$.

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 MEEK No. 11 and RADAU, Miscel. 3, 24. gi-er-ra-an-um-ma, RADAU. Miscel. 15 V 14.

dunga

8. gi-gid, "the long reed ", mälilu, flute, flageolet.

9. gi-di takaltu, bag-pipe (?).

10. sa-li-ne-lu = $pag\hat{u}$, bag-pipe (?); employed by the naru.

11. $balag-di=timb\hat{u}tu$, dulcimer¹. 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, $timb\hat{u}tu$.

12. gis-gù=silim (or sir), a liturgical instrument². Probably the lyre³.

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 melody⁵ 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 *na-utud*, "they are not produced". Liturgies from the period of the Isin dynasty

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 $g\dot{u}$ -silim-sīl, "Bull that cries with a sweet tone", and Gud. Cyl. A. 28, 17 gud $g\dot{u}$ -sīl-silim.

4. RADAU, Miscel. 2, 60.

5. sir-sag = sirhi reštů, hardly "first melody", as I rendered it, SBP. 96, 10.

6. SBP. 332, 9. sir-sag appears to be employed in some other technical sense in ZIM. K. L. 23 III 14. 16 and RADAU, Miscel. 17, 13.

Babylonian Liturgies.

șirhu

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

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

" The melody which is sung shall bring thee peace 1; be thy heart appeased."

The liturgists are those who "know the melodies"², and are masters of the musical movements³. Ishtar the personification of suffering humanity, patroness of litanies, is she "who understands the measures"⁴.

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

" Unto the temple to the accompaniment of the lyre a song of lament we will take. The liturgists the melody " will sing 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."

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-tùg-e. For tuk in the sense of sing, v. SBH. XII and cf. $dig = kab\hat{u}$ with $tuk = kab\hat{u}$ SAI. 8625.

2. sìr-zu, p. 32, 32.

3. mulu sir-ra, ASKT. 118, 13.

4. SBP. 34, 36.

5. sìr = zamari.

6. izammuru.

7. sìr-ra balag-gà = zamari balaggi.

8. balag = 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.

samāru

Original use of sir 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,

u**ru-**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	Chant to the flute to Bau.
sìr dingir-ad-da-mu	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 Ninsia

Similarly a hymn to the grain goddess has the rubric : ---

sìr nam-šu-bu ^d·nisaba.

"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 "⁵; 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 *namsub* 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; MEEK 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"².

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 apart³; 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"⁴. More difficult is the interpretation of the rubric of a song to Enlil: —

> ki-šù (?) ⁵ sìr-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.

Since the lyre and dulcimer were the principal instruments for temple music the words *balag* (lyre) and *balag-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 *balaggu* as well as sirhu, and for the latter sirhu only.

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

^{4.} The refrain does not occur in K. L. 65 and 68.

^{2.} K. L. 68.

^{3.} See p. xxn.

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 dominuras, " It is a movement of prostrations, a musical series on the flute to Ninuras", where balag designates a liturgy to the flute 4. 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 *halaq-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 "?.

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

4. BL. No. 97.

2. SBH, 128 rev. 21. an-na i-lu balag er-ra [dé-en-šed-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 l. 14 *balag-a-ni*, finds the word employed here in the sense of *sirhu* but I doubt his interpretation. The passage means rather "her instrument is the reed of weeping".

3. 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.

bal**a**g-di

eršemma

— XXXVIII —

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 ersemma 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 ersemma 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 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 song⁴. An ode to the moon god Nannar has no particular claim to being the expression of religious feelings, but it bears the rubric eršemma 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 city³ has no reference whatsoever to any spiritual longings : —

> "Of my city her treasures are far dispersed.

may appease thee.

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

Oh shepherd the prayer

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

3. SBP. 284.

Odes and lyrics discouraged

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

^{2.} SBP. 296.

flute on the ruin of Nippur in the ancient days characterized by the refrain *niginü ùruzu ùdedu*. 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 Assyria¹. *niginu ùruzu ùdedu*, "Repent, behold thy city", is a weird refrain which undoubtedly appealed to the deepest religious sentiments of millions of believers. Sung to some mournful tune with flute accompaniment the hymn must have produced a powerful effect. But here also in a passage which became a standard section of the daily breviary we have no mention of higher spiritual sentiments. The melody, the historic connections, the sympathy in human sorrows, these are the religious elements which made the dirges universal litanies.

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 particulary 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 litanie These

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 ersemma vet recovered (73 lines) ¹ 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 kisub. The breviaries retained this form until the late middle period when the liturgists revived the word eršemma by giving this name to an intercessional prayer at the end of the kisub service. But the form of these musical 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

4. 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. xxxvii and SBP. 174,195,

Babylonian Liturgies.

٧I

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texts mention the word " procession" after the term "flute song", but the compiler of the titles of flute songs ¹ says that they are *eršemma* p^1 . *kidudu* p^1 . 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 : —

4. IV R. 53 III 4.

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 $kidud\hat{u}$ with the meaning "public litany."

Published by F. THUREAU-DANGIN, Nouvelles fouilles de Tello, after page 201.
 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 múzu kúrkuriš

" 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 songs². 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.

AO. 4327 rev. Col. II.
 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 Babylonia². And we know from the catalogue ³ 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 Enlil⁴. 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

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.

The following old flute songs are known to have been developed into series ; — 1. lugal nam-ta-è, IVR. 53 III 3 = BL. 63. 5. ni-tuk-ki niginna, ibid. 22 = Col. II

. [23.38

2. é abzu-ta, ibid. 10 = BL. 103, 6.

3. d·babbar-gimè-ta, ibid. 16=SBP,237.

4. u-mun-ám ma-al-šù, ibid. 28 = BL. 103, 19.

rubric kišub after each section and at the end kišubim. The compiler of the catalogue of these long series calls them not kišubim but balag¹. But we know from late rubrics that the full rubric of these series was kišubim balag². 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 "³, 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 gu-1-kam, " first section ", gu-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.

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-šů*; further SBP. 328, 21; 332, 27. For *gú*, BL. No. 197, variant, has *ć*, 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 *se-ib* for *mulu*); 192, 77 f.; SBH. 102, 46 f.

kišub Prostration

^{2.} SBP. 166, 66,

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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-šír-gál ki-dé-en-gí-gí [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-maħ?] ki-dé-en-gí-gí [ki-šù-bi-im ša] ^d·nin-dín-dìg-ga-ge ³

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

[ki-šu-ub?] balay 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 *nánšabbi dérabbi*. For the second melody they employ a song of the city of Ur,

úriki gúllaba 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.

- XLVII --

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 šêb : ézida-ká šága-bi ášeir ímšilalá 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 éše 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 Hammurabi⁴. 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 Kultlieder. The eminent Assyriologist of Leipzig has shown his usual brilliance and sound scholarship in producing this nearly complete Sumerian liturgy by joining several fragments. His text gives us a clear insight into the methods of this period and of all succeeding periods. As usual here, as in other breviaries the

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 íbzale 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".

1. Cf. SBP. 312, 12,

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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-mc-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, $\dot{u}ru \ h\dot{u}lage \ \dot{a} \ emu \ imme^2$. 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 all⁴. The line does not divide two songs here but interrupts a connected passage. A litany describing the wrath of Ninuraš has the same interlude between two of its sections 5. The reader will find the same interlude between two songs of an Innini liturgy on page 108 of this volume and it is employed in the same way on the tablet Nº 25 in 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 r	10
		ж. 1917 г. 1917 г.	an-ga	longer is ".	

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

Perhaps not so primitive, but certainly very ancient, is the custom of writing these 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

carly 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"¹. A catchline will be found at the end of a tablet containing two songs from a Gula series; — \acute{er} -ba-zal \acute{a} -babar-r \acute{a} -ni, "She has plenteous tears; who is there beside her?"². We know from another series that this is the first line of a melody ³. 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 ⁴.

– E –

Later forms

Strophical

arrangement

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

We remark a tendency to introduce a liturgical form in which one line begins *ursaggal* and the next *elim-ma*, each followed by a title of the god to whom the litany is directed "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 Sumefian principle they rejected although they borrowed literally everything else. Compared with the classical Sumerian liturgy Semitic liturgy lost rather than gained. Theirs is a repetition of Sumerian forms lengthened by dreary lists of deities and titles set to old refrains. Only in the classical age do we find attempts in strophical arrangement attended no doubt by musical phrases. The long hymn to the moon god which introduces this volume has ten four-line strophes in which lines one and three are repeated in each strophe. 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.

the second having eight lines, the

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 ; --

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.

B

A

2

3

1

 $\mathbf{2}$

4

1

2 3 4 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-šú-ginkar síksikki éngalmah níginlal záe_a-súmmamen énnin-ib ⁹ gánkibal-šú_ginkar síksikki éngalmah 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 litary begins,

úmunmu záeud úrumu úrsagma mên. 🗌

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 ^dninuraš.

Metrical measures But the next line,

subbimu umun kalaga ursagma mèn, 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 hfor 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 $\tau \alpha \beta \alpha \lambda \alpha'$, "drum". Perhaps the Assyrians employed this word for "cymbals".

BABYLONIAN LITURGIES

I.

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

The liturgical introduction lines 1-6 appeals to Sin as the watchman of the temple of Enlil. This temple was called Ekur or mountain house, symbolic of the earth which constitutes the dominion of Enlil. Under this poetic phrase the Moon God is really represented as the watchman of the earth and hence the people of Ur city of the chief cult of Sin appeal to him for the herds and fields. Lines 7-47 contain ten sections of four lines each. Lines one and three of each section constitute a recurring refrain; lines two and four describe some agricultural aspect of the Moon God. At line 48 began a short address of Enlil the Earth God to Sin. The text is completely illegible here for several lines. When the text becomes legible at line 57 we find Enlil bidding the Moon God to bless the fields and canals and to return to Ur. Interesting is the appeal for the life of the kings of Ur, proving that our text probably comes from the period of Dungi and Gimil-Sin¹.

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

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

Babylonian Liturgies.

1. ni-gab-é gál-lu ¹.

- 2. [ni-gab-é] gál-lu lamas² é-gál-lu
- 3.galu-giš-è ³-é gál-lu.....
- 4. du-du giš- \dot{e} - \acute{e} 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-e⁴
- 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
- 12. úz ne-gar HAR-AB ne-ib(?)-nag-e
- 13. ^d·áš-im-bàr me-en [é] ^d·en-lil-lá-šu ni-gab-é gál-lu
- 14. kud-da tūr-ri-ge (?)-ne ib-zu-zu
- 15. ^d·nannar ^d·sin me-en é ^d·en-lil-lá-šu ni-gab é-gál-lu

- 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.
- 13. God of the new light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
- 14. Wisdom unto children thou impartest.
- Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.

Or gál-dib (?); cf. SBP. 286, 9.
 For AN KAL-KAL, cf. beside SAI.

- 4433, CT.VIII 48 A1, 8; SBH. 85, 34.
 3. Perhaps a variant of nig-è = haiţu;
- cf. PINCHES, Amh. 27 rev. 4.
 4. Sin as patron of flocks also IV R. 9

rev. 3; cf. COMBE, Sin, p. 96. $šag-lal = r \hat{e}mu$, full form $šag-lal-sud > \tilde{s}alasud$, 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 gŭr 1-a mu-un-de-de-e
- 17. ^d-áš-ìm-bàr me-en é ^d·cn-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-ìm-bàr me-en é ^d·en-lil-lá-šú ni-gab-é gál-lu
- 22. ad-da nig-bar-sur bar-sur-ra²
- 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 2
- 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-e³ 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; thou were whelmest.
- 26. God of the light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
- 27. The fishermen thou sighest for.
- 28. Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
- 29. The..... thou.....

1. REC, 220, completely confused with tur REC. 145 in the script of this period; cf. CT XV 24, 6.

2. gisnig-bar-sur, gisnig-bar-sig-sur = mazûru, a fuller's club.sur = zâru, j, j, j, j, press, squeeze clothes in washing, SAI. 1874 and sir = kaşāru, press, bind, CT. XXIII 18, 46 and kaşiru = fuller, MEISSNER, MVAG. 1904, 232. Hence ma-

zâru 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 = $m\bar{a}kisu$, 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
31. šurim-šù-ám síl mu-ni-in
 32. udu amaš-bi šab-ba-šu šu(?)-niba 33. ^d·nannar ^d·sin me-en é ^d·en-lil-lá-[šu ni-gab-é gál-lu]
34. MAŠ + SAG (?)-šù-am más mu-ni-in 35. máš úz-da gud šab-bi-šu
36. ^{d.} áš-ìm-bàr me-en é ^{d.} en-líl-[lá-šu ni-gab-é gál-lu]
37. áb (?)-šù-ám amar 38áb-ba gud šag udu
39 . ^d ·áš-ìm-bàr me-en é ^d ·en-lil-lá-šá [ni-gab é-gál-lu]
 40. nig sag-má nig-sag ga-ra-ni 41. nig egir-má nig-egir ga-ra-ni- ib
42. zi -la-da ¹ ni -gab-e zi -[li -da]
43. ni-gab-e zí-li-da é-kid nam-mi-in []
 44. d·lamas galu-giš-è zi-[la-da 45. ni-gab-e zi-la-da é-kid nam-mi-in- []
46. galu-giš-è giš-umun é-gál-[lu]
47. ni-gab-e zí-la-da é-kid nam-[mi-in-] zal-lá

1. Cf. the title of Sin, nun-zi-li, DE CLERCO, nº 260.

- 30. God of the new light art thou ; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
- 31. To the ewes the lambs thou..... [givest].
- 32. Sheep of the pens therein thou....
- 33. Oh Nannar god of wisdom art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
- 34. To the leading goats (?) the kids thou [givest].
- 35. With the kids and she-goats the oxen (thou makest to lie down) together.
- 36. God of the new light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.
- 37. To the cows the calves thou [givest].
- 38. cows and oxen among the sheep [thou pasturest (?)].
- 39. God of the new light art thou; for the temple of Enlil watchman of the house.

40. ·····

- 42. Radiant² watchman, radiant [lamassu].
- 43. Oh watchman radiant who openest the house.....
- 44. Oh guardian angel, radiant guard...
- 45. Oh radiant watchman who openest the house...
- 46. Thou hast been made guard and... of the temple.....
- 47. Radiant watchman who openest the house.....
- cf. ^{ilu}Sin du-mu zi-li, MDOG. no. 5, 17 I 4.
- 2. zilada from the rootzil, sil, be bright;

48.	^d ·sin-ra ^d ·en-lil mu á zína- mu-ne	48. Unto Sin Enlil
49.	lùmunig-gúgmu-na-	49. Oh my misery
	ab	
50.	d•nannar-mu [ken]-ag-gà-	50. My Nannar beloved
	<i>ra</i>	
	nig mu-na-ab	х• 4
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
53.	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
		55
	il-la-zu nam la-ám	56
	hen-gál-zu gab ám	57 the bounty
	sĭg-ab-da-ab la zu (?) sĭg-ab-da-ab uri-(ki)-šu ga-ara	58. Give. Thy riches give; to Ur come.
	íd-da aga sĭg-zu-da-ab	59. A canal of floods give.
	a-šag-ga še-gu-nu sĭg-ab-da-ab	60. A field of abundant grain give.
	[id-da ha-dim-kar-nim(?)] sĭg ab-da- ab	61. A canal of fish give.
62	[giš]-gi gi-sún gi-ni sĭg ab-da-ab	62. Marsh and swamp of reeds give.
	[tul-tulne-bi] sĭg-ab-da-ab.	63. Pools of give.
	dingir ašnan-nasĭg-ab-da- ab.	64. Grain of give.
65	[?]-tud ?-né-né-bar sĭg-dím-da-ab	65
66.	é-gal-la zig sú-ud-gál sĭg-dím-da-ab uri-ki	66. Unto the (royal) palace life unto far away days grant; into Ur ¹ come.
	mu-na-an-sĭg ^d ·en-lil mu-na-an-sĭg uri-(ki)-šú ba-ara	67. Hegave, 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	69. A field of abundant grain he gave.
	id-da ha-dim-ķar-nim (?) mu-na-an- sig	70. A canal of fish he gave.

- 5 ---

1. The text has $\frac{\sin 4 \cdot en - ki}{\sin 4 \cdot en - ki}$ not $\frac{\sin 4 \cdot en - k$

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

71.	giś-gi ¹ gi-sún gi-ni mu-na-an sĭg	71. Marsh and swamp of reeds he	gave.
72.	tul-tu[1]ne-bi mu-na-	72. Pools of he gave	•
	an- sĭg		
73.	d-ašnan-na mu-na-an- sig	73. Grain he gav	e.
74.	? ? né-né-bar mu-na-an- sĭg	74 he gave	e.
75.	[é-gal-la] zig-šŭ-ud-gál mu-na-an- sĭq	75. Unto (the royal) palace life u away days he gave.	nto far
76.	la-za ^d ·enn-lil	76 thy oh Enlil.	
	[^{d.}]nannar ^{d.} sin-e[?]za imin	77 Nannar, god of w thy seven	
78.	$\ldots \ldots za-za\ldots i^{d}$	78 thy	
	^d •áš-ìm bàr-e 15 ib ▼ ki-šù-bi-[im]	79. God of the new light $15 i$	<i>b</i>
•		It is a lamentation.	
	<u>an an a</u>	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

- 6 -

1. gis-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 kanu şalmu ina giš-gi ittanmar nêšu innadar, if a black reed appear among the canebrake (?) a lion will rage.

HYMN TO NINIB

Π

7 -

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 n° 2 as the basis of lines 1-21 and from here to the end n° 3 rev. 3 ff. with the aid of n° 2 rev. and the duplicate VAT. 172 + 232+ 435 + 747 published by REISNER, SBH. n° 71. RADAU who discovered the variant text of Berlin has transliterated and translated the original and the variant. BE. XXIX, 63-74.

Obv.

- 1. ud-bi-a a-silim ki-ta-du a-ķar-ra nuum (?).....
- 2. a šed¹ dŭ-dŭ dŭ-ù ud-zal-li-da-dím kùr-ra ri-a² ba-ni-ib-ila-a
- **3**. dingir kalam-ma ba-lăh-gi-eš-a
- 4. g^{iš}al dusu-bi mu-un-lal-eš-a
- 5. har-ra-ám èš-kar-bi nı-me-a
- 6. uku kud-bi-šú é-galu gú-ba-an-de
- ^{id}idigna nam-gu-la.....šú šagbi nu-me-e

- 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.

1. Cf. Gud. Cyl. A 2, 8.

2. For é-ri-a.

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

3. For ès-kar, salary, v. LUCKENBILL,

8. AB + X kár-rigalu nu-šar-e (?)

9. sag-gar húl-a gar nu-šar-e

- 10. id tūr-tūr-ri šu-lug gal'-li ne-in-aga sahar 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 giś-tuk-pi-mah im-gub-bi³ [be-lu u-zu-(un-šu) rabî-ti iš-kunma]

- 14. ^d·nin-ib dumu ^d·en-lil-lá-ge gal-bi⁴ ni ⁵-mal-mal [ilu ninib be-lum mar iluenlil ra-bi-iš iš-ta-nak-kan]
- 15. gu-ru-um⁶ dág-kùr-ra mi-ni-inaga⁷

[(gu-)ru-un (ab)-nišadi-i ik-ru-un.]

16. imir-sig-sig-ga-dim á-ne⁸ in-sudsud-e 9

[ki-ma ir-pi-e-ti¹⁰ muk-kal-pi-ti ina ram-ni-šu i-šad-di-hu]

- 17. bad-mah-dim kalam-ma-igi ba-ne¹¹in-[gub]
 - [ki-ma du-ur ra-bi-i pa-an ma-a-ti i-[zi-ir]|.

- 8. The cities (?) mourn (?)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.
- 6. Var. un.

.

7. Var. gar.

8. Var. *im-bi*.

- 9. RADAU's text has gid-gid-e; cf. CT.
- 2. Here begins SBH. 71 obv. 2 [se-] bir-ri, probably a kind of obnoxious plant.

t. šub perhaps for sug, to water; v.

LANGDON, Sum. gram. § 41 g) and

- 3. Var. in-gub.
- 4. Var. gal-bi-si, v. Sum. gram. §83.
- 5. Var. in.

p. 242.

- XVI 43, 68; KING, Magic, 12, 6; 30, 24. 40. For *ir-pi-e-tu*, cf. also B. M. 82-3-
- 23, 151 in KING, Creat. LIV. 11. Var. ni.

and

18.	gišbal ki-šár-ra mu¹-ni- in- gar	18.	With the mace he smot
	[ina pilaķķi ² ki-šar-ri ³ iš-kun]		•
19.	ur-sag-e mu-un-gùn uru ur-bi ni(?)-dū(?)	19. *	The hero heaped (the builded straightway a
	[kar-ra-du ik-(nu-un) (mahaza?) mit-ha-riš (ib-ni)]		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
20.	a -kalag-ga dág im-da- $[ab]^4$ -di [me-e dan-nu- (ti) ab-ni iš-be] ⁵	20.	With many waters the satiated.
21.	i-dé-šú a kùr da-eri-šú ki-a nu-un- bád 6-e (?)	21.	In those days waters fr not to the earth-moun
	[i-na-an-na mu-u da-ri-iš iš-tu ir- și-ti ana šadi-i ul (il-)lu-u]		
22.		22.	But whom he scattered
	[ša u-sap-pi-(hu) up-tah-hi- ir]		
69	[]	ຄາ	[[[[]]]] ()] ()

9

- 23. [kùr-ra sug-ga]⁸ ba-niin- $[gi-a]^9$ [ša ina și-rim u ba-ma-a-ti u-mállu-ú]
- 24. mu-un-ur-ur¹⁰ ididigna¹¹-a¹² im-[dub?][ih-mu-um-ma ana narui-di-ig-lat it-ta-di
- 25. a-gū a-kar-ra i-ni-in-[súg] [mi-i-lu u-ga- ri im-kiir

- ***** ote the world.
- e stones) and a city.
- the stones he
- from hell rose ntain forever.
- l he gathered.
- 23. [The waters] which in field and highland he made to fill (the streams),
- 24. He conducted and into the Tigris poured.

25. The floods watered the fields.

1. Var mi.

2. The scribe has written AN-II 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. asbaka, I satiated thee, CRAIG, RT. 6, 7. Isbe-Ea-bêli, 'Ea my lord has satiated'; Išbierra, '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 bad may possibly go back to the notion of a high wall, bád $= d\bar{u}ru$, a derivation advocated in my Sum. Gram. 205.

- 7. Var. ri-(a?)
- 8. Var. sug-zag.
- 9. Cf. II R. 32g 12.
- 10. Var. ur-ur.

41. RADAU's copy has here and in line 7 TIG-KAR not preceded by the sign MAS. 12. Var. šú.

2

- 26. i-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 sir-?-bi-šù mu-un-ŝi¹-hul-li-eš [šar-ri ina rîšāti 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 u-sa-as-si]

- **30.** gur dù-ri² gùn im-mi-in gur-gur ³ [..... ti-li &-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-bi⁵ mu-un-si-[-ig⁶]

[.....ka-bat-ta-šu-nu iţ-ţi-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-mah-e ki-uš-dúg-ga-[a-ni ùnu-mu-un-ši-ib-túg-túg]
- [^{ilat}ninmaḩ ašar ridûti-šu ul işallal]
- 36. kin-kin dugud-dím 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.
- 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].

4. RADAU, gür.

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".

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 $d\dot{u}$, cf. Bab. IV 27.

3. Var. SBH. 123 rev. 13.

- 37. i-lu kùr gĭr-nu-gál-la-ba
- 38. *ù-mu-un à-mah-a-ni*.....
- 39. ur-sag-gal an-dim ib-ba-na
- 40. ud(?) súr-di ara uh duh-ba
- 41. en ^d·mu-ul-lil-lá men sag-e dú
- 37. Wailing in the land where no foot was [has ceased].
- 38. The lord his might.....
- 39. The hero renowned like heaven...
- 40.
- 41. The lord Enlil adorned his head with a crown.

ш

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

Edin. 09.405-33

- 1. igi ád-gĭr igi lù-găl ád-gĭr
- 2. igi galu nig-húl-dím-ma ád-gĭr
- 3. an-e ba-tegimir nu-šeg-šeg ki-bateg ú-bil nu mă-di
- 4. gud-dé ba-teg sab-bi im-duh
- 5. é-tùr-ri ba-teg ga-tab-ba-bi-im nutah
- 6. amas-su ba-teg gùn-bi im -lam
- 7. băr-ra ba-teg á-kalag uku mu-[un]an-sar
- 8. ki-el-ra ba-teg túg mu-un-an-kar
- 9. mes-r \bar{u} (?) i-(?) mu-nu-sig kib-lal mu-un-si-il
- 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. The eye ad-gir, the eye a man has..
- 2. The eye afflicting man with evil, the ad-gir.
- 3. Unto heaven it approached and the storms sent no rain; unto earth it approached and the fresh verdure sprang not forth.
- 4. Unto the oxen it approached, and their herdsman was undone.
- 5. Unto the stalls it approached, and milk.... was no longer plentiful.
- 6. Unto the sheepfolds it approached and its production
- 7. Unto the homes (of men) it approached and vigor of men it restrained.
- 8. Unto the maiden it approached and seized away her robes.
- 9. Unto the strong man..... severed.
- 10. Marduk beheld it.
- 11. What I know thou also knowest.

1. So the text. Not ME.

12. *imin a-še ummar-ri egir giš-gaz-kam*

- 13. imin a-še ummar-ri egir dāg HAR²kam
- 14. já-ta u-me-ni-šár
- 15. ka-ta ù-me-ni-sìr
- 16. nam-šub-ta
- 17. tig galu-gig-ra ù-mu-ni-lál-[e]
- 18. d. nin-tin-dìg-ga-gi ù-mu-ni-láh
- 19. d.? -mu-dub-ra tab-ba-ri mu-....
- 20. ^d·gu-nu-ra giš má-ni nun-mu-ú....
- 21. tù én é-sīr-ru

- 12. Seven vases of meal-water behind the.....
- 13. Seven vases of meal-water behind the grinding stones.
- 14. With oil mix.
- 15. Upon (his) face apply.
- 16. As thou sayest the curse,
- 17. (Thy) neck toward the sick man raise.
- 18. May the queen who gives life to the dead purge him.
- 20. May Gunura her boat.....
- 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 harlot of Lumina¹ (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 ($lil\bar{u}$) 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 $lil\bar{u}$, called the *lilītu*, a Semitic feminine formation of $lil\bar{u}$ and translated into Sumerian by sal-lil-lá (Maklu I 138). The word rapidly displaced the earlier ardat lili 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

In Bab. IV 188, col. II 1, this harlot is called the 'hand of Ishtar'.
 Bab. IV, 189.

latter the Sumerian word ki-el ud-da-kár-ra, or maid of darkness¹. The connection of lilitu 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	1.	The sacred maid stands in the street.
	-el kár-lil ^d 'innina durun-bád (?) gub-ba	2.	The maid harlot of Innina stands on the wall.
ál	o-šár-ra-ám áb-šár-ra-ám	3.	Fatted cow, fatted cow is she.
· áb	sal-la šar ^d innina kam		Fatted ⁶ cow of Innina is she.
5. é-1	nun-maḥ ^d ·enki-ga-gu ki-eldúr-a-ni		Maiden who in the house of the mighty prince of Eridu dwells,
gis	šar ab-a dú-gùr-ru-ám ³	6.	Like the verdant garden bearing seemliness she is.
na	nd 4-ni dím uru-sag-aga-ám ⁵	7.	Her bed like is made in the holy city.
sil	bedin-na an-dûl-? ám	8.	Shepherdess of the plain, protection of is she.
di	m mu-un-igi-lal dím šag-kenag- -kam (?)	9.	The limbs (of a man) she looked upon; limbs of one beloved are they.
10. šu	mu-un-igi-lal su sag-kenag-kam	10.	The hand (of a man) she looked upon; hand of one beloved is it.
gĭ	r mu-un-igi-lal gĭr šag-kenag-kam	11.	The foot (of a man) she looked upon; the foot of one beloved is it.
giš	i-lu azag-ga-gám (?) gú-za-in-na	12.	At the holy threshhold, of lazuli,

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. XV 18 rev. 6; BA. V 680, 7.
- 3. Cf. Gud. Cyl. B 16, 15.
- 5. Gula is mother of *urú-sag-gà*, SBH. 93, 4; cf. 12, 11.
- 4. For this sign v. CT. VIII 34 B 12.
- 6. For *šar* in the sense of 'fat', cf. IV R 20, 26.

AN-AL ki-i-dúr ĕ-ne-ni

šag kenag pàr-pàr-ri-ne

šag kenag IB i-i-ri-ne
 šag kenag an-ta imi-duh-dim meš-ša
kalag a-gi-dim hen-ra-ra

^a·asar-lù-dug-e igi im-ma-an-sĭg a-a-ni ^d·en-ki-ra ć-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 ub¹-te-dúg a-na ib-bi-en-na-bi nu-zu a-na bani-ib-gí-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-abtaḥ-e

25. ^d·asar-lù-dug a-na nu-zu a-na a-raab-tah-e nig-ni-zu-a-a-mu ù²za-e in-ga³-e-zu

iá áb azag-ga ga áb-šilam- ma 4

iá áb-a iá áb-làh dib

iá ALAN-sig-sig 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. $\S40 d$). 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 = ramû.

egir-mà kàs¹ hu-mu-ni-su-bi tù én-é-sir-ri 33. Behind me the wandering demon may one cause to perish.

Curse. Incantation of the house of light.

v

HYMN TO THE MOON GOD

Edin. 09.405-32.

1.	lugal gud igi ha 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	 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 [°] amaš-agag-gagà	6 ox of the sacred stall
	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-gí-gí-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.
	$g_{\bar{1}\bar{5}}$ ur-sig nitah ban-nata	13. Vigorous one, hero beneficent
	lugal-mà bar-ma li-li dìm	14. Oh my ruler at my side
	dumu uri-(ki)-ma me- en	15. Child of Ur art thou.
	gar dumu lal-? lugal-mà	16 my ruler
	šab ad-da galu-zid ma-an- da	17. Shepherd, father, thou who life hast
	ki-zí-ma ad-da- mà	given (?),
19.	galu nam-mü-dúg (?) ab ri	18 my father.
		19. Thou who creative power
20.	lugal-mu zu	20. Oh my king \ldots thy.
	. For kàs = lāsimu, a demon, v. CT I 34, 219.	2. An animal, in K.117,32 (Bab. II, pl. II) between <i>immeru</i> sheep and <i>aribu</i> raven.

HYMN TO TAMMUZ AND INNINA

VI

Edin. 09.405-27

Obv.

1.	ur-sag kur-ra ne 1-zu ŝi-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 earth thy strength surpasses.
5.	me-gal-ga-al di-ne-ir ² 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 mah mi-en SAL + KU-zu	9 mighty god art thou; thy
	e-ri-da ⁴ su-ĥa	sister in begetting.
10.	dingir mah mi-en SAL +	10 mighty god art thou; thy
	KU-zu e-ri-da su-ha	sister in begetting.
11.	MAL-LIL-ki-gà dū-zi me-en	11 thou art.
12.	di-ne- ri- ni	12 his god.
	[za?]-e an-ki-a ni-ir- mà-al	13. Thou in heaven and earth art heroic.

1. Possibly a var. of $n \dot{e} = emuku$.

2. For dingit > dimit > dinit, a case of assimilation of m to the dental n, \S 55a).

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, " conqueror of the hostile land "(IV R. 26 n° 4, 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, Šamaš, 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° 4, 57.

14 zu KU-ùr KU-ùr ¹ igi-zid di- da ² šar-di	14 a kindly eye upon the suffer- ing cast (?).
15zu KU-ùr igi-zid di-da šar-di	15 a kindly eye upon the suffer- ing cast (?).
16bi-a zi-ga ù-dib-ba-ra teg-a	16, unto the bound draw nigh.
47kár 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-dím já-ga šu-mu-un-á-te	19. Grown up in thou hast received.

20-22 me-en etc.

١

Rev.

.

- 17 --

1	
2	,
3 ne-za-ra	3 unto thee.
4 anzu	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-	7called, the sheep stalls
la.	thou makest glad.
8 tu-ùr lù-gal-mu mu-zu hi-pad-	8
di	will proclaim.
9 du-da ki bu- bu- a 10 in du-du-da ki-bal ùr-ru- ri	 9to go, to the nether world hasten. 10to 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	13. In sorrow the sister entered, she the
14. mu-ud-na ka-ša-an-na-ka KU nu-	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 <i>agu</i> , 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.
2. $(1, 0)$ 1. $(20, 1)$	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
- 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 $ur\dot{u} \, \dot{a}m$ -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 $g\dot{u}$ -de-de, likewise an Ištar liturgy, edited in SBP no. III. The liturgy edina \dot{u} -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 worked³. It is highly probable that the references to Tammuz in this fragment are merely accidental and worked into a longer liturgy concerning the devastation of Erech and the wrath of Ištar.

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

1. For sega, § 50.

3. See ZIMMERN, Tamūz Lieder 249.

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

7.	<i>ninLU nin AH</i>	7.	
8.	kullabal-ne-in-dúr mè-	8.	K
	ne mu-tin unu-(ki)-[ga mèn]		
9.	i-he-li ¹ ar-da-tum		
· .	[uriki ana-ku]		•
10.	é a-ra-li-gà al-[ne-in-dúr mè-ne]	10.	The tem
	é dúr-sàb-ba-gà al		E-dursa
42.	bád-gur gur-ki²-gà al	12.	The
13.	é zíd-ka-nag ³ -gà-gà al		E-zidkai
	unu-(ki)-ga na-mèn unu-(ki)-ga na-	14.	Of Erec
	mèn mu-tin mèn me-e unu-ki-		maid
	ga-na [mèn]		
15.	ša (uruki) ana-ku ša (uruki)		
	ana-ku ar-da-tum ana-ku ša		
	(uruki) [anaku]		
16.	unu-(ki) gà-gí-a-bi mèn mu-tin	16.	Of Ereck
	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 Kulla
	mèn ù (?)-er dé		maid
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-	2 0.	My tem
	tin mèn me-e unu-(ki)-ga na-[mèn]		made
21.	bi-ti ana ri-bi-ti lu-ú-hat-ti ⁵ ar-da-		Erech
	tum ana-ku u-ru-ka-[ti ana-ku]		
2 2.	kùr kullab-ka-áš ne-ib-lal mu-tin	22.	The lar
	na-mèn ⁶ me-e		unhol
2 3.	da-ma in-tu-ud-da-ma mu-tin	23.	who
	na-mèn ma		

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.

- 8.Kullab I rule, maid of Erech am I.
 - The temple of Aralu I rule.

. . .

- 1. E-dursabba I rule(.)
- 2. The.... of Badgurgur I rule.
- 13. E-zidkanagga I rule.

.

- 4. Of Erech am I, of Erech am I, a maid am I, of Erech am I.
- 6. Of Erech its bride am I, maid am I...
 - Of Kullab its begetting mother am I, maid am I.....
-). My temple as a public square I have made unholy, maid am I, of Erech am I.
- 2. The land of Kullab I have made unholy, maid am I.
- 3. ...who bore him... maid am I...

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 $lal = hat \hat{u}$, v. KNUDTZON, Gebete II 34.

6. namèn is apparently a strengthened form of men.

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
24ù (?) di-šu 🏹 ar-da-tum ana-ku	
25tu-ud-da-ma mu-tin mèn	25who bore him
$26. \ldots \dot{u} - li - di - su \ldots$	
27in-tu-ud-da 28mà-mà	27who bore him
	<u> </u>
Rev. 1 <i>li</i>	Rev.
$1. \ldots i \dots i \dots i \dots $	
3 . d ·gibil-ga-meš umun ki-ga-[ge]	3. Gilgameš lord of the earth
4. be-el ir-și-ti	
5. u-mu-zi-da ¹ me-ir-si si-di-ta	5. Umuzida in the boundary of Girsu
6. ina li-mi-it gi-ir-si-e	,
7. ^d ·dumu-zi ki šeš-a-na-ta mu-tin	7. Tammuz with his(?) brother, a
mèn	maid am I
8. it-ti at-hi-e-šu ²	
9. šeš-mu mu-lu am-dím nad-a-ra mu-	9. For my brother, who reclines like a
tin mèn ù-nu-mu-un-da-tug 10. ana a-hi-ĭa ŝa ki-ma ri-mi ir-bi-	wild ox, I the maiden am restless.
su : ir-ri-du-ú ³ : ar-da-tum anaku	•
ul a-șal-lal.	
11. ^d dumu-zi mu-lu am-dim nad-a-ra	11. For Tammuz, who reclines like a
mu-tin mèn ù	wild ox, I the maiden am restless.
12. sag šangu-šangu na-sag ⁴ zabar-ra	12. Unto the chiefest of the priests offer-
mu-tin mèn nu-uš mu-un-da-ab	ing of incense I the maiden give.
sĭg	
13. anšu-na ⁵ tu dib-ba-na mu-tín mèn nu	13. Unto I the maiden give.
. men nu	
14. a e-la-[lu si]-be ta an-aga kalag-e ta	14. Alas in wailing the shepherd, what
an-aga	has he done? the hero, what has
	he done?
15. ina lal-[la-ar]ti ri-é-um mi-na-a	
i-pu-uš id-lum mi-na-a a (sic)!	
1. A title of Tammuz in SBP. 304,15;	3. For the <i>niph</i> al of $rad\hat{u}$ in the sense
300, 6.	of lie down (of horses) v. CT.XV 50a 34
2. For athû brother v. KNUDTZON,	ina şibitti aibi irriddû, in the prison of
Amarna p. 64, 65 at-ha-nu,, " we are	the enemy they shall lie down.
brothers " and the abstract formation	4. Var. of ne-sag.
athûtu "brotherhood ", ibid 64. Other	5. Confirms Meissner, SAI. 3394.
references in Muss-Arnolt 129 a.	

- 20 ---

40 + [X mu šid-bi duppu] 10-kam urú ám-ma-ir-ra-bi¹ gab-ri[.....] kima labiri ša!ir-ma [barîm duppu iddina.....

.

Forty are its lines. Tenth tablet of the series urú-ám-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. KING'S edition page 32, line 85 ff. The text was first published and translated by SAVCE 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-gál lù è-ne catalogued in the native lists in IV R. 54 a30 has been put together from K. 4956 and REISNER, SBH. no. 74. A third 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 *eršem-ma*, an ending characteristic of the last tablets of series, cf. SBP. XII. SBH. no. 74 also ends with a psalm, and the library note, "Its original is in the house of Belišunu. (....) Tablet of Belapaliddin son of Eabalatsuikbi son of Sinibni, Babylon month of Addar, tenth day ", which would also indicate the end of the series. K. 9315 is closely allied to tablet one of the series $g\bar{u}$ -ud-nim kùr-ra, SBP. 226, and probably belongs to the first tablet. K. 9315 1. 7 é-ninnū gives the correct reading for SBH. 36, 7, not BIR as REISNER copied. Line 11 has the name of the temple é-me-ŭr-[ŭr] thus not agreeing with SBH. 36, 14 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 lų in line one and another version of the heading occurs viz. nir-gál ū è-ne; translated by etillum (bêlum) šakû šûpû. We have, therefore, of this Ninib series only the beginning of the first tablet (K, 9315) and the beginning and the end of the last (6th?) tablet.

Tab. VI. Obv.

1. nir-gál lù è-ne [uku-ni]¹ mu-lu tazu mu-un-zu²

- 2. e-til-lum³ ha-'-it ni-ši-šu kat-tuk man-nu i-lam-mad
- 3. elim-ma nir-gál mulu è-ne mu-lu..

4. elima ur-sag-gal umun

- [nmun sig d·mu-]ul-5. ur-sag-gal lilli
- 6. elim-ma]da-na $q\dot{a}^4$ 7. ur-sag-gal]-alne⁵ ſ
- gi8. elim-ma $[\ldots]gi [\ldots] US-BUR^6$

]-

i

- 9. ur-saq-qal
- 10. elim-ma

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 ! lord, light of 5. Great champion, Enlil!danaga! 6. Honoured one, 7. Great champion,
- 8. Honoured one 9. 10 etc.

Rev.

. [That thy soul] repose may they say
. [That thy soul] repose may they say
unto thee.
. [That thy heart] repose may he say
to thee.
. A psalm to Ninib.
. 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-mahah-hu-u (sic) for imahhû.

5. Var. Sem. ... ku imahharum.

6. Var. Sem. gas-ga (sic !)-șu

7. This line does not appear on SBH. no. 74.

8. Evidently a liturgical note, not a catchline.

K. 9257 unilingual variant of SBP. VIII rev. 18-49, a liturgy to Nergal. Line 6 has the variant $g\dot{u}$ for gud SBP. VIII rev. 28 and, a for \dot{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. samé elûti.

XI

K. 8644, fragment of an Ištar liturgy

XII

K. 4215, fragment of a liturgy.

XIII

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

XIV

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

XV

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

Obv.

é

é

é

é

- 1. gašan....
- 2. gašan ma-gi-a...
- 3. d.nannar dsin...
- **4.** gašan an-na....
- 5. umun har-sag-gà
- -6. ^d·šu-zi-an-na
- 7. gašan din-dib-ba
- 8. gašan í-si-in-(ki)-na

Rev.

- 1.ki-ta.....
 2. ...kalag dirig-ga
 3. ...ki-ta ba-tu-ra a-ta
 4. ...za-e lugal
 5.TUL šu má ad ta ba-tu-ra
 6. [šag zu] (li-nu-uħ) bar-zu
 - [šag zu] (li-nu-uh) bar-zu-heta- ne
 - (ka-bat-ta-ka lip-šaħ)
- 7. ane dé-em-e-túg-e
- 8. [\$a-mu-] ú li-ni-iḥ-ḥu-ka

é

é

9. ú-?¹ é-kùr-ra

10. *é-kùr-ra*

9. $[\ldots]^{d} mu$	-] ul-lil	šag-zu	ĥе-	en-
•				túg
10ša-du et	il ra-bi	u-ti ¹ li	b-ha-h	ka li-
		•	[nu]	ı−uĥ]
11. [é-kùr-]ra š	ă-ba-ni	ga-an	túg	bar-
		ra-ni g	ya-[an	-túg]
12. é-kùr lik	-ba-ka	li-nu-ı	ıh ka	-bat-
		ta-[ka	a li-nu	u-uh]
13 é šă-	ba-ni	ga-[a	nn-	tug]

14. ... d ·mu-ul-lil šag-zu he-en-[túg] 15. ...du-ú-ku d · \mathfrak{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 liturgy 'ud-dalm gatle-de-as, "Like a storm he calls" and is entered in the official catalogue IV R. 53 I 27. A Neo-Babylonian copy of this series existed written upon smaller tablets. REISNER, SBH no. 41 is a duplicate of column one of K 24 and the first line preserved on that tablet is line 15 of K. 24 I. The catchline of SBH, 41 agrees with the opening line of K. 24 col. II. Evidently the Assyrian redaction contained on each tablet four tablets of the Babylonian; the same calculation being made for tablet one of the Assyrian copy, SBH, 41 is tablet five of the Babylonian copy. It is highly probable that K. 5029 (no. XIII) belongs to the first tablet of the Assyrian copy. For a duplicate of col. I 1-7 v. K. 8473, 19-23.

The series belongs to that class of 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^{\pm}. 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-ga-1. Alas, rage there is and glory there is ! na-nam. 2. ina sir-hi² nu-uq-qa-tum-ma³ ir-nittum-ma³ 3. e-ne-em ^d·gu-la ib-ba ù-na-nam 3. The word of Heaven truly is rage. 4. e-ne-em d·mu-ul-lil-lá ib 4. The word of Enlil truly is rage. 5. The word of the far-famed hero truly 5. e-ne-em ur-sag-gal ib is rage. 6. e-ne-em mah d'immer-ra 6. The mighty word of Immer ib truly is rage. 7. e-ne-em d-ud-qù-de 4 ib 7. The word of the god of the crying storm truly is rage. 8. e-ne-em d·ud-gù-ra-ra 5 ib 8. The word of the god of the wailing storm truly is rage. an-na tub 6 ki ba-siq 9. na-ăm-bi-šú 9. Because of it the heavens tremble and the earth quakes. 10. ane ba-túb-túb ki ba-sīg-sīg 10. The heavens are made to tremble, the earth to quake. 11. The sun-god at the horizon sets in 11. d·babbar an-ùr-ra nad⁷ ba-dadarkness. 12. d.nannar d.nusku suh-ba-an-12. Nannar god of the new moon is da-ni-ib-ga extinguished. 13. ud-gal an-ta u-ka ba-an-de-e 13. The great storm on high speeds. 14. ud-hul-ma-al-la-e ka-nag-gà su-su-14. The evil storm overflows the ug(?)land. 15. iš-su kùr-kur-ra áš ba-ni-15. Devastation in the lands it has ib-dib brought.

1. Published by CRAIG, RT. pls 19-21, where obverse and reverse are confused.

For balag-di == ina sirhi as an exclamation, cf. SBP. 132, 17. sirhu probably has the technical sense of "song on a lyre" as sigû, "song on a flute".
 ma apparently translates the emphatic endings unanam and ingananam.

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

âmu śasů, "the crying storm".
 For *gù-ra* = *šasů*, v. SAI. 455 and for *gù-ra-ra*, SBP. 314, rev. 3.

6. Read tub = rabu; Sum. Gram. 248, not tub.

7. For nad = salālu, to disappear, cf. babbar-nad-ám = bubbulu IVR. 23a 4.

`4

16.	gi-li bar ¹ -tul-bi-ta	ba-da-	16. The marsh-lands in their full beauty
		an- śa ² -ra	it has dried up.
17.	UBUR PA-še-bi-ta	ba-da-an-su ³	17. The harvest in its season it has
			flooded.
18.	é gi-dim-bi-ta	ba-da-an-sìr 4.	18. The temple in its court it has
			laid waste.
19:	uru ⁵ ken-úr-bi-ta	ba-da-an-nad	19. The city upon her foundation it
			has made to sleep (in silence).
20.	ka-nag ki-mar-ra 6	bi-ta ba-	20. The land in its habitations is
	U		brought to perdition.
21.	é ^ī -tùr áb-bi-ta		21. The stall of its cows is
		dúg	despoiled.
22.	amaš-a e-zi-bi-ta	0	22. The pen of its sheep it
		an-gid	has plundered.
2 3.	é-a gŭd-ki-sĭg-ga 8-t	0	23. The house of its family it
	``````````````````````````````````````	an- ir	has pillaged.

- 26 -

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*,  $\S$  150 a).

2. \$a-ra = ubbulu, to carry; cf. \$ar = \$utabulu SAI. 6128. Correct my reading kar SBP. 260 and Bab. III 188.

3. Var. súg.

4. Read sir also in SBH. 73, 7. The value  $sir = ab\bar{a}tu$  "seize" is otherwise unknown.

5. Br. 951. Var. úru.

6. Var. ki-gal. The Semitic for ki-mar is subtu hence  $bir \hat{u}tu = ki$ -gal is a synonym of subtu.  $bir \hat{u}tu$  cannot mean "well", Del. HW. 164, cf. SBP. 261, n. 5.  $bir \hat{u}tu$ has rather the meaning "plain" "habitable land".

7. Var. omits(?).

8. This passage restores the var. 1. 17 and shews that  $g\ddot{u}d$ -ki- $s\ddot{i}g$ -ga = kinnu"family" as well as "kinnu" nest.

Note also in V R. 42 a 62 f, that gudkisig = 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  $g \ddot{u} d$ -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".

24. ù-ma-dúg 1 a-ma-ru ba-an-úr
25. ki-tul-lá-ba an-da-gí²- eš-a a-gĕ-e mu-un-na-dú-dú ³.
26. mu-lu ú ù-muš [. . . . ]
27. urú é-a-bi-ta [. . . . . ]

(Here insert after a break of about ten lines 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-sit-ti-ša ina mata-a-ti i-ša-ba ⁵ 3. NIN-RI[®] na-am erim-mà-ni-šú kúrkùr-ra 4. d·me-dim-šá 7 dam a.immerra-ga mèn 5. iluśa-la al-ti iluadad ana-ku. d·múš-har-an-ki 8-ge 6. gašán gu-la 7. be-el-tum ra-bi-tum ilat muharan-ki ana-ku 8. ^d·šu-zabar-azag gašan é-nun-na-ge 9. ilatsa-la be-lit é-nú-un-ni ana-ku

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 ùma-da gid-da, "That the lord might devastate with wrath (*irnitti*) the hostile land whose mountains are high."

2. For dag = ašābu, cf. Sum. Gram. p. 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 *sâbu* not *sâpu*, cf. SBP. 239 n. 7.

- 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. Thecity 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.

6. A tittle of Innini, SBH. 81, 5; 82, 31. Here the title refers to Shala.

7. Dialectic for medim-šág = binātidamķāti, "goddess of sound limbs", CT. XXV 20, 23.

8. Var. of  $d \cdot gis \cdot har - an - ki$ , consort of  $d \cdot as - sir$ , CT, XXIV 26, 111, and, since as - sir 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 ·šuba-nun-na-ge
11.	mar-ti bi-ti	^{ilat} šu-ba-nu-na ana-ku
12.	nu-nunuz si-si	d me-nun-e-si-ge
13.	i-sar-tum	· ^{ilat} menunesi ana-ku
14.	^{d.} <i>gal</i>	ad gi-gi
15.	iluyy	ma-lik
16.	ri-im-mu-	un

## Rev. Col. III.

1.	é sukkal TE (?)
·2.	é dúg-áš-bar
. 3.	é-da-a nig-bu šub-bu
4.	é mu-uš-šú é šugbar
5.	bit mušlu bit kak-ki
6.	$\acute{e}$ $dim$ - $me$ - $[ir$ ]
7.	<i>é-zíd nun-dím an</i> []
8.	bit zid gaš-ri ša šami-e []
9.	umun še-ir-ma-al-la
	be-li $e-til-[lu]$
11.	$\acute{e}\ldots\ldots$ ka $\ldots$ si-ig-ga-bi ba
12,	barpl. mu-har-bi barieš
13.	pár-șu-šupár-šu-ú ú-șu-ra-
	[ti-su]
14.	ezenbi šu nu-ra []
45.	i-sin-nu rab-bu-tum ul ti []
16.	garza KAL la-bien si-sa []
17.	ne-šúšù-ba gab-ru

## Rev. Col. IV.

gašan e-ne.....
 [dam?] šág-ga.....
 aś-[śa?]-tum(?) [damkatu?...]
 śe-ib é-bàr-[ra....]
 i-na li-bit [ébarra....]
 na-ăm zi-ib-ba....
 śim-ta ta-ab-[ta....]

10. Daughter of the temple, Shubanuna am I.

12. The upright Menunesi am I. "

Rev. Col. III.

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

Rev. Col. IV.

The end of this column contains a list of temples mostly those of Adad for whom Shala wails.

8	uru du-du-a	
9	. ālu e-pi-ša	
10	. nibru-(ki) dū-dū-a	<i>uru</i>
11	, é-kùr dū-dū-a	uru
12	. é-[ken-úr] ¹ dū-dū-a	uru,
13.	é-nam-ti-la dū-dū-a	<i>uru</i>
14.	zimbir-(ki) dū-dū-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	<i>uru</i>
19.	é-zi-da dū-dū-a	<i>uru</i>
20.	é-maḥ-ti-la dū-dū-a	<i>uru</i>
21	. é-temen-an-ki dū-dū-a	<i>uru</i>
22	é-dár-an-na dū-dū-a	<i>uru</i>
23.	. še-ib é-ud-gal-gal-la dū-dū-a	uru
<b>24</b>	. éš é-nam-tar dū-dū-a	<i>uru</i>
25	. eš é-pad-da dū-dū-a	ara
<b>26</b> .	éš é-bàr-ta-áš dū-dū-a	<i>uru</i>
27	éš é-ĥen-dun-na [°] dŭ-dū-a	<i>uru</i>
	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	

28. nu-nunuz si-sá dumu immerra-ge³
29. šanu-ú nis-hu ud-dam gù-de-deáš nu al-tíl
30. ki-ma la-bi-ri-šù šă-tar-ma bara-a-[am]
31. mat il¤ašur-banī-aplu šar kiš-

šati šar mat aššur-(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* (?) (= *šigû kibiri*) 1. 4, may be compared with the headline of a list of *eršemma*'s IV R. 53 col. III 4. *ki-gub* not only means 'grave', but is often employed for interring the dead. The colophon of

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

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. Asurbanipal is the one employed at the end of liturgical compositions and has been translated from a complete copy in SBP. 179. Line 14 has *mahazi* instead of *mahari*; *mahāzu* ' reception, acceptance ', from *ahāzu*, 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**.  $[\ldots e-lum-e \ na-\breve{a}m] \ hul-a- [\check{s}\check{u}]$ 

3. [umun-e ^d·mu-ul-lil-li] lil-lá-da ni-ba-|an-tur]

4. [bêlu ^{ilu} enlil] ana za-ki-ki [ú-tir-ru]

5. [mu-lu ka-nag-da ba-an-da-]gur-raºlil-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 mah]-a su-pi-el-lá ba-[ab-dúg]

10.  $[\acute{e}-ma \ im-ta-\acute{e}-]a \ bar-ta-ni-\acute{s}\acute{u}...$ 

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. [é-kùr kùr....ra....a-] mu a-še-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  $[zu-ab \ pi-e]l-la-am$ , 'The apsu defiled ', IV R. 53 I 1. Of the catchline for the next tablet only ud... za-e is preserved. Partly translated by JASTROW, *Religion* pt. 8, p. 54².

1. erim-ma erim-ma : é ³ : é erim-ma é-	1. Oh sanctuary, sanctuary of the faith-
erim-ma é-zi-da	ful temple.
2. [i-šit-]tim i-šit-tum i-šit-tum	
bîtu ki-e-nu	
3. erim-ma erim-ma uku-zu ma-a-a	3. Oh sanctuary, sanctuary, thy peo-
ni-lăh-cš	ple where have they taken them?

. t. 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 !

	<u> </u>
4. [išittim] i-šit-tum ni-šu-ka iš-šal-la	e-ka-a
<b>5</b> . é-zi-dé é ^d ·am-an-ki	ge 5. Oh faithful temple, temple of the Wild-ox of Heaven and Earth ³ .
6. é-zi-dé é ^d dam-gal-nun	
7. é-zi-dé é ^d ·asar-lu-[dug	
8. é-zi-dé é ^d ·PAP-nun-an	-ki 8. Oh faithful temple, temple of Zar panit.
9. é-zi-dé é ^d ·sukkal-mah-a	im 9. Oh faithful temple, temple of the great messenger.
10. é-zi-dé é ^d ·mu-zi-ib-ba-	sà 10. Oh faithful temple, temple of him
	proclaimed of blessed name ⁵ .
11. é-zi-dé é ^d ·ìd-ge	11. Oh faithful temple, temple of the river goddess.
12. é-zi-dé é ^d ·ninā- ge	12. Oh faithful temple, temple of Ninā
13. $\acute{e}$ -zi-d $\acute{e}$ $\acute{e}$ $\acute{a}$ ·ára-1 ge	13. Oh faithful temple, temple of Ara
14. uku tūr-tūr-zu uku gal 15. ni-šu-ka și-hi-ru-tu d	people the great ones, i-šu-ka
	a-bu-ti
16. tūr-tūr : şi-ih-hi-ru-tu-ka : e dúg-ga : ? ? ka : zu sid?	-su-ta- 16. Thy little ones 17. Thy great ones [have gone] the way
17. gal-gal : ra-bu-[tu]-ka-ma° ri-ta sĭg-a : ša ḥar-ra-an s	(:) me- of the mountain 6?
18 mu : a-me-lu ? ? á-	
	ra
19 áš-ru-ka nig-ga AN kab	
20 aš-šu-ki : lá K-sa-A ² -	
21 šù (?) șu-ka ? zi-iķ-ni	nu
22. $S[U + KAR(?)[zu] SU(?) + tur lil-li$	KAR- 22. Thy female kids cripples
23. u-ni-(?)-ķi-ka lil-la as	$\mathfrak{s}(?)\ldots$

- Cf. MEISSNER, SAI. 10964.
   So read and see CT. XIX 26, 13.

- 4. Damkina.
- 3. Ea.
- 5. Nebo.
  - 6. Cf. SBP. 33, 24.

24. únu-za mùś ¹ sal-dug- ga- ge 25. šu-bat-ka ša el-li-iš ku-un-na-aat

- 26. šuba zagin-na ăm-šár-šár-ra-ge 27. ina šu-be-i u uk-ni-i ra-aķ-ķaat
- 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 sir-zu-bi la-ha-gub li-zu balag-di sir-[nu-dúg?]³
- 32. ka-lu-ú mu-di-e șir-hi-ka : zi-im-me-ri-ka : ša șir-hi mu-die șir-hi-šu 4
- 33. balag-e su(?)-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 aj-iš⁵ it-taš-[lal]
- 35. uku-zu ma-a-a ni-läh-eš me [la-bagub] ir-ra [la-ha-gub] li-zu
- 36. ni-šu-ka e-ka-a iš-šal-la aį-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.

ana-ku??

40. a-šar iš-šal-la a-sa-hu-ur a-sa-hu-ur

41. ám-nigin-e-en (ki)¹ ir-ra ám nigine-en me-en 42. a-sa-hu-ur a-sar is-sal-la asahur

#### Reverse.

- 1. [eg....]e....
- 2. ša e-ki 🔹 ina i-ki it-ta-ad-di
- 3.  $p\dot{a}$ -ra-mu² pà-ra ba-šub
- 4. sa pal-gi ina pal-gi it-ta-an-[di]
- 5. ú-sú gín-na-mu ba-túm
- 6. ša ana i-și-ja ka-li-ku it-ta-áš-lal
- 7. a-šú gin-na-mu batúm
- ša ana me-e ka-li-ku it-ta-áš-lal 8.
- 9. ú ila-ila-mu... ila ba- túm
- 10. za-bil i-și.... is-ta-lal
- 11. za-bil i-si... ... it-taš-lal
- 12. a ila-ila-mu.... ila ba-túm
- za-bil me-e [.... iš]ta-lal 13.
- 14.  $ur \, su \, zu \, (?) \dots ba-an \dots$
- **15.** ka-la-bi ša ud.....
- **16.** : kal-bi ša ut-ni...di...
- 17. ur śu....
- 18. ka-[la-bi ša...] ana nak-ra The catch-line is ud...za-e.
- littum issima irtabiş ašriš

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

#### 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.....



## XX

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

## XXI.

Rm. 2,292. Fragment of a liturgy. Contains the phrase ki-a mu-un-sig, "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.

Babylonian Liturgies.

# 5

## 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 <u>co</u>lophon 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,  $\acute{e}-n\acute{i}-te-en-d\acute{u}g$  (so read in SBP. 62,7) see UNGNAD in BA.VI pt. 3 p. 25, date of the  $30^{th}$  year of Ammizaduga. For  $\acute{e}-mud-k\dot{u}r$ -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 [de]-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).

## · 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.

## XXXIX

K. 11045. Possibly fragment of a hymn. A few phrases are legible :  $k\dot{u}r$ -ru-da, the foe; nu-se-ga the disobedient;  $\bar{u}r$ -dim de-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-ulgu-ulal-ma-ma¹
- 2. [mu-]lu gin-na-ta al-gu-ul gu-ul al
  - ma-ma
- 3. [mu-] lu gin-na-ta al-gu-ul gu-ul al-ma-ma
- 4.  $[al-s\dot{u}-s\dot{u}-d\dot{e}] du-mu-mu nu-us ma$ an-zi-em-ma²
- 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-<del>an-</del> zi-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 ^{urud}šin-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]

For ma == šarāhu, v. PSBA. 1910,
 p. 166.

2. Cf. CT. XVI 11, 65; 13, 60.

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

- 11. ne-kur e imi-ba dīm-ma-mu du-mumu nu
   [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 išiļu mārī luman]
- 13. gi gub-gub-ba i-dé-bar-bar-ri-mu du-mu-mu nu [ša ina kan mandāti umandidu mári 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, Kultieder 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 N° 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. _ 38 _

2. .... of morning light. 2. . . . . . *ág-ud-zal-ge* zi-bu-ù 3. .... be propitious. 3. . . . . . 4. d·mu-ul-lil šag-sú-du¹ e-ne ág-zi-4. Enlil of unsearchable heart, lord of da-ge justice. 5. e-lum tig-ki-ma-al ăm-di-di² 5. Mighty one, when thou settest thy neck thou hastenest forward. 6. A crouching wild-ox art thou, bull 6. am ná-a³ gud-dé sīg-gan-nu-di ⁴ that institutes destruction. 7. d·mu-ul-lil dam-kar-ra ki-daga-ra⁵ 7. Enlil herdsman of the vast earth. 8. Lord that clotheth⁷ his people, record-*8. ù-mu-un mu erín-na-ni sag-ma-al ki6 er of the earth. 9. Lord that maketh abound oil for his 9. ù-mu-un zal erín-a-ni⁸ ga-ra-ám ⁹ da-ma-la people, milk for the newly begotten¹⁰. 10. ù-mu-un ki-dúr-a-ni urú ir¹¹-ir 10. Lord whose abode is the vast city of weeping¹². 11. In whose chamber oracles are inter-11. ki-ná-a-ni á-ág-gà-e gal-zu¹³ preted. 12. Father Enlil in (thy) city, in Nip-12. a-a ^dmu-ul-lil urú-ta nibru-(ki)-ta pur, 13. In Ekur the temple of (thy) heart's 13. é-kùr-ri é šag-gi-pad-da-ta choice, 14. gi-gun-na¹⁴ gišimmar-šim ^{giš}erin-14. In the great dark chamber of odotous palmand cedar. na-ta 12 ga-NUNUZ-ám. So then the phonetic 4. Zim. No. 8, 3 sír-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  $mu = lab\bar{a} \delta u$ , v. Sum. Gr. 228. ZIMMERN, AO. XIII 8, " der da beruft (?) seine Mannen ".

8. CT XV 10, 12 rin-na.

9. Zim. No 818 ka-ra-ám. CT XV 10,

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 = pašaru, v. CT XVIII, 30, 13.

14. For gigunā, part of the temple, v. VAB. IV 239 Anm.

15šeš- $d\bar{u}$ -a-ka šeš- $mul$ -la(?)-[ta]	15. In the
16si-ra é ŭ-di- [ta]	16. In the house of vision.
17. [é] gi-dim-dim ¹ i-dé nu bar-ri-[ta]	17. In the house kan urulli, where eye sees not.
18lu $\acute{e}^{d} \cdot babbar nu-zu-[ta]^2$	18. In the house which sunlight knows not.
19malų dug-li-dŭ-dŭ ³ [-ta]	19. In the great, bestowing prospe- rity.
20e, ki ág-el-la- [ta]	20. In the place of purity.
21e kun-sag-gà $4-e^{-1}$	21. In the
22a $g^{i\bar{s}}ik-ku-igi-lal-$ [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-mah-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 = l.13; l. 8 f. restore: --

15. [er-ra] a-še-ir-ra mu-na-dúr-ru-ne-eš

[ina bikit] tanihi napalsuhu-ši.

1. MYHRMAN 81 47 [é] gi-dim-dim é idé [nu-bar-ri]. Since bit kan urulli is here defined as the "house unseen", or "dark, mysterious house" (cf. SBP. 248, 5), it would be natural to connect urullu with aralu. For the spelling urulu v. SCHEIL, ZA X 209, in a list kamarru, sétu, "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. [^{su}ùb nu-šed]¹-de balag nu te-en te-en
[la upassah-ši uppu la] unâh-ši 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 nà-ăm é-a-na nu-mu-un-ši-tůg*, "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 śangamaß abzu-ge. SBH. 132, 47 has falsely igi for u-bar, cf. 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.

#### $\mathbf{LIX}$

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,  $[er \ 5e^{-}]ma \ ^d \cdot en-li-la-ge$ , called  $[lugal]nam-ta-e \ lugal nam-ta-e,$  a title entered in the official list IV R. 53 d3. The colophon has the note 14 ki-du-dup¹ which enables us to restore IV R. 53d1,  $er-5em-map^{1} \ ki-du-dup^{1}$ , and proves that the word  $kidud\bar{u}$  (a loan-word) means, "song, psalm, liturgy". The word has been erroneously translated "temple, shrine", etc. The correct meaning is seen in namburbū lumun parși arni kidudê u suluțhi, "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.

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## 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  $g\dot{a}(l)-gi-a = gag\dot{u} > mag\dot{u}$ , 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  $g\dot{u}$ -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-še-ir gig-ta*. K. 10666 (no. 62) ll. 2-7 forms a duplicate to ll. 59-64.

We might perhaps assign this tablet to the series aser gig-ta, but the difficulty is that it actually has the title *immal gù-de-de* translated into Semitic. The two series nimal  $g\dot{u}$ -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-la ¹ gù-dé-dúg ki-bi ba- da-nad	1. The cow wailed and in her place lay down.
2.	gù-dé-de ni-ma-al-la gù-de-de ki-bi	2. She wailed, the cow wailed and in her place she lay down.
3.	ág û-me-ta-gim [ki]-bi	3. Like a woman in child birth (?) [wailing] in her place she lay down.
4.	mu-gíg an-na na- ge	4. Virgin of heaven [queen of].
5.	kùr-sun-sun [gašan é-an-na-] ge	5. She that smites the mountains queen of Eanna.
6.	an al-dúb-ba [gašan é gè-par-r]a- ge	6. The heavens she shakes queen of <i>giparu</i> .
7.	ki sīg-ga [gašan é-an-ki-] a-ge	7. The earth she causes to quake, queen of Eanki.
8.	^d ·lil-lá en-na ² [gašan tūr-dāg liliz]	8. Lillanna queen of sheep-folds(?).
	ama é-a [d·da-da-nu-nunuz] šág-ga	9. Mother of temples Dada the holy woman child bearing.
10.	d-na-na-a [KAK-sag-é-a]- ge ³	10. Nana
11.	ud e-ne-em[an-na ma-ra i-ir-a-] mu	11. The spirit, the word of heaven was brought to me,
12.	e-ne-em [ ^d ·mu-ul-lil-lá ma-ra i-ir- a- mu]	12. The spirit, the word of Enlil was brought to me,
13.	$e-ne-em \begin{bmatrix} d & \dots & ma-ra & i-ir-a & mu \end{bmatrix}$	13. The spirit the word of
14.	e-ne-em [ ^d · ma-ra i-ir-a-] mu	14. The spirit, the word of was brought to me,
15.	e-ne-em [ ^d ·ma-ra i-ir-a-] mu	15. The spirit, the word of was brought to me,
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

silam, also written  $\rightarrow \iiint \langle \langle \mathbf{F} \rangle \rangle$  S^b 134 so that there can be little doubt about the sign.

2. Variant of *lil-lá-an-na*, SBH. 132, 33.

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

**16**.  $\acute{e}$ -mâ¹ [mu-ši-in-gin- na-] mu² 17. har-ra-[an kùr-ra³ mu-ši-in-turra-]mu 18. giš⁴má..... [mu-ši-in-gín-na-]mu 19. g^{iš 4}má.... [mu-ši-in- us-sa-]mu 20. mu-lu [.... a mu-si-in-tur-ra-]mu 21. ní-gír la?..... ⁵ 22. šu-nu-lah-ha-ni ma-[šu mu-ši-inir-ra-mu 23. mu-lu su-e-sir-mal i-ni-in-tur-ra-] mu⁶ 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 mu27. ur-ri-bi mu-lu su-e-sir [mal-la-ni E + SAL-mà ni-in-tur]⁹ 28. ur-ri-bi šu-nu-lah-ha-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-muda-teg 32. túg-mu mu-da-an-kar dam-a-ni mu-ni-in-túg 33. ur-ri-bi dāg zagin¹³ mu-da-an-sil dumu-ni mu-ni-in-lal 34. ki-gub-ba-bi ám-gūg-[e-ne] 35. gim-ma ní-mà-sú¹⁴ ki ám-ši-in-kinkin 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

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.
- So for me myself he sought in the shrines¹⁴.

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.

- vowel harmony. Cf. SBH. no. 83, obv. 41.
  - 8. Var. ga-ša-an-mèn (so read).

- 36. ud-ba-a imi-ba-teg šu¹-è-ta [na-è]
- 37. é-màba-an-ùl-e-en ingar-mà ²[ba-abhuluh-ha]
- 38. tu-(hu) imi-teg-a-gim múš-úr-ra udba-ir
- **39.** su-din-(hu) dal-la-gim [di-]dé [algīr-gīr-ri-e]n
- 40. é-mà mušen-gim im-ma-r[a-andal-e-en] 41. [urú-]mà mušen-gim im-ma-r[a-an-
- 41. [urú-]mà mušen-gim im-ma-r[a-andal-e-en]
- 42. [é-]mà egir-mà gù-mu-un-[de-de-e]
- 43. [gašan-]mèn urú-mà egir-mà gù 4
- 44. [me-e] ć-mà é-mu nu-mèn a-gim in-na-a-de ³
- 45. [me-]e urú-ma urú-mu nu-mèna-gim me-e É+SALmaE+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-ma⁴ da-im-mi-indúg i-si-iš-bima-a ma-un-da-ra⁵gi
- 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 hird 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 ".
  - 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 ušanâš-anni, III^{II} of nâšu, to shake, tremble. K. 41 has clearly zi-gi which is a preferable reading for  $\sqrt{sig}$ , "to crush". For gi = nâšu cf. CT.XII 29 obv. 22b, rev. 14 b, gi = na[-a-su~?]. Cf. SAI. 10289(?).

49. sal-egi E + S. la ni-zu	AL-zu a-gim ni-gul-	49. Oh lady as in thy chamber thou didst perish, do thou even so make him ashamed.
50. ní-zu mu-lu ků	ur-ra a-gim-mu-un- [na]-zi-em	50. Thou thyself the foe even so wilt requite.
51. gašan kúr-ra-ra	4 4	51. Oh queen the foe even so thou wilt requite.
52. me-e ni-mu nu mu-un-pi-el	-mu-un-pi-el a-a-mu	52. " I myself didst not cause the shame; my father caused the shame.
*	al-e mu-un-pi-el a-a- mu	53. The lord great god caused the shame; my father caused the shame.
54. umun kùr-kùr-	-ra mu-un-pi-el_a-a- mu	54. The lord of the lands caused the shame; my father, etc.
55. umun dúg-ga z	si-da mu-un-pi-el a-a- mu	55. The lord of unerring word caused the shame; my father, etc.
	-di-bi-mèn nu-kuš-ù- a me li [e-a ²]	56. Where once I hastened not, I sor- rowed not, now I shall be glad.
57. a í-dé-ba šag-r a i-dé-ba ur	nu a i-dé-ba šag-mu ³ -ba lú-lú ⁴	57. How long before her, how long before her shall my heart be cast in gloom?
59. mu-gíg an-na	gašan an-na-ge	59. Oh virgin of heaven queen of hea- ven.
60. kùr sun-sun	gašan é-an-na-ge	60. Theu that shatterest the mountains, queen of Eanna.
61. an al-dúb-ba	gašan é-gè-par-ge	61. That makest heaven to tremble, queen of the dark chamber.
62. ki-sīg-ga	gašan-é-an-ki-ge	62. That makest the earth to quake, queen of Eanki.
63. d·lil-la-en-na	gašan é[tùr-]dāg- ga(?)-a-ge	63. Lillanna queen of Eturdaggā. 64. That lovest the temple, Oh Dada
64. dagal é-a	d·[da-]da nu-nunuz	sacred woman child-begetting.
	ság-ga	

- 46 —

1. K. 6881 has for lines 49-51 mu-lu ....mu-un-na-zí-em : lù.... 3. ur' = dimtu, derivative of  $\sqrt{er} = bak\hat{u}$ .

2. Cf. CT. XV 24, 14 ud-ba me li-e-a. SBH. 54 rev. 5 has a Sem. translation; [ašar ?] ûme-šu ša idîlu balu innahu anaku ûmu šū inim-[mir].

r

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 ·na-[na-a?] é-a-ge
	šag (?)ra-mu
3.	d
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

## LXXII

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

Line 13 has ud-da for ud-du. 17 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**. e-[(?) . . . . . . . ] 16. e-ne-[....]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-bisšú 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-bi² 19. That which was should not have been. 20. uku tür-tür 20. The little ones of the people have na-ăm-tag-ga nu-mano sin. al 21. ud ma-al-la-aga³ ud ma-al-la-aga 21. A day of desolation, a day of desoud me-te-a nu-ma-al lation; a day of seemliness it is not.

1. mu-lu  $\dot{u}$ , lit. = amelu le'u " the mighty man ".

2. Cf. Gud. Cyl. A IV 23.

3. A var. of gilliema = sahluktu.

	8 —
	8 —
22úh-ha-a dubbin mušen eri-in-na ¹	22venomous, claw of the Erin bird.
23šă-tùr-ra mu-lu-ra an-zi-	0,
em 24 mu-lu-ra nu è-ne	(?)
<b>A</b> *	24 man allows not to escape.
<u>0</u>	25 goes up (?) 26-27 ?
· · ·	20-21!
27ge me- [a] 28. i-de te-en-bi-ta ha nu-è-n[e?]	28 From before his grass the fish
	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 pos- sessed.
31. udu-zib-ba ² 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.
e 34. ki-a hul-ma-al-la e-zi a-nag	34. In the evil earth the drinking
$\begin{array}{cccc} 0 1 . & 1 . . . . . . . .$	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 Anu who?
38. ^d ·mu-ul-lil-lá mu-lu	
39. d·am-an-ki mu-lu	
40. d.asar-lù-dug mu-lu	
41. d·en-bi-lu-lu mu-lu	
42. d-sukkal-mah-ám mu-lu	42. Oh great messenger who?
	43. Oh thou named of good name who?
44. umun ^d ·sá-kud mah-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-	1. As for thy word who comprehends
un-zu	thy form ?

1. The same bird in Gud. Cyl. A 25, 6; B 5, 4.

2. Cf. Cyl. A 25, 9.

.

2. elim-ma nir-gál galu è-ne mu-lu

2. Honored one and majestic, guide of the people, who?

- 3. mu-lu šă-ba-na mu-un-zu-a ¹ umun a-ra-zu dé-ra-a[b-bi] 4. mu-lu šă-ab-ba-na mu-un-zu-a ara-zu thee. 5. să-ab e-lum-e mu-un-zu-a a-ra-zu 6. šáb d. qu-la mu-un-zu-a a-ra-zu 7. šáb kůr-gal a-a d·mu-ul-lil mu-unzu-a a-ra-zu 8. śáb d. am-an-ki mu-un-zu-a a-ra-zu etc. 9. šáb d-asar-lù-dug mu-un-zu-a a-razu10. šáb ^d·en-bi-lu-lu mu-un-zu-a a-razu11. [sab] d·mu-zi-ib-ba-sà-a mu-un-zu-a a-ra-zu 12. [šab umun d·] di-kud mah-ám muun-zu-a a-ra-zu 13. [šáb ur-sa]g-gal mu-un-zu-a a-razu14. [ $\dot{s}\dot{a}b$ ....] $ge^2mu$ -un-zu-a a-ra-zu15. [.....ba]lag er-ra ud-dé ba-ra-è a-ra-zu 16.  $[\ldots]-a-ge$ a-ra-zu **17**. [... nun]-ki-ge a-ra-zu 18. [....] a-ge a-ra-zu **19**. [....] na-ge a-ra-zu 19. ..... intercession, etc.
  - 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
  - 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.
  - 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.

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4. Cf. SBH. 45, 13 = SBP. 124, 13.

2. Cf. SBH. 44, 14.

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<b>20</b> . []-na-ge a-ra-zu	20 intercession, etc.
<b>21</b> . $[\ldots, ]$ <i>ra</i> $(?)$ <i>a-ra-zu</i>	21 intercession, etc.
22. []-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-tun ² an-na gašan ì-si-in-(ki-)ge	24. sagtun of he aven, queen of Isin inter-
a-ra-zu	cession, etc.
25. ^d ·nusku 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 é-kùr-ra-ge a-ra-zu	26. Kalkalaga, great watchman of Ekur,
	intercession, etc.
27. nubanda mah ^a ·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-	28. The divine servant of Sin, prince of
ra-zu	prophecy, intercession, etc.
29 zu-na an šub-bi-en dé-ra-ab-bi	29 of heaven may petition speak,
a-ra-zu	intercession speak to thee.
30. [še-ib nıp]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-
32. [śe-ib zim]bir-ki é-bàr-na a-ra-zu	cession, etc. 32. In the walls of Sippar, in his Ebarra, intercession, etc.
33. [še]-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	34. In Esagila, in his Barsippa, interces-
a-ra-zu	sion, 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. [é-dár]-an-na na a-ra-zu	37. In his Edaranna, intercession, etc.
$38. \ [\acute{e}-nam-bi]-\acute{e}-zi-da^4 \ na \qquad a-ra-zu$	38. In Enambi, in his faithful house,
39. [é-ur-me-imin-]an-ki-na a-ra-uz	intercession, etc.
39. [e-ur-me-imin-]an-ki-na a-ra-uz	39. In his E-urme-imin-anki, interces-
	sion, etc.

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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. [é-sìr-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. $[g\dot{u}-d\ddot{u}-a-(ki)]$ $\acute{e}-mes-lam-n$	ia a-ra-zu	43. In Cutha, in his Emeslam, inter- cession. etc.
	44. [é]-i-dé-d·a-nu-um- na	a-ra-zu	44. In his E-ide-Anu, intercession, etc.
Ś	<b>45</b> . /////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-bi	a-ra-zu	46. Mercy (?) may he speak to thee, intercession, etc.
	47. gi-gi dé-ra-ab-bi	a-ra-zu	47. "Repent", may he speak to
	U U		thee, intercession, etc.

[er-śem-ma] ^d·en-lil-lá-

[A psalm on the flute] to Enlil.

## LXXIV

ge

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  $a-d\acute{u}g-ga$  is translated by *sanàtim*, submerged.  $a-d\acute{u}g$  means "to pour or sprinkle" in IV R. 25 a 34, su azag-ga-ne-ne a sal-zid mu-ni-in-d\acute{u}g-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 ša nakrum u šanů¹, [The city] which was demolished and submerged. For šanů " be submerged ", see ZIMMERN in GGA. 1898, 826; BOISSIER, Choix II 47, 6 šubatsu ištanâ, " its abode is submerged ". Perhaps in CT. IV 29 C 3 ši-ni-am(?).

## LXXXI

K. 9381. Fragment of a litany.

## LXXXII

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

## LXXXIII

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

## LXXXIV

K. 11689. Beginning of an Ištar liturgy  $ur\dot{u}$ -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 Ištar (?) liturgy.

## LXXXIX

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

## XC

Rm. 539. Possibly an incantation.

1. Cf. SBH. 54 obv. 23.

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

Obv.

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

# Obv.

1.	kùr-gal ^d ·en-lil-da šu-di-a	1.	By the great mountain Enlil she
2.	durun-azag ka-zal-la ki-dúr-a nig-	2.	was taken by the hand (?). In the sacred abode of festivity, in
	duº-duº-a		the resting place luxuriant,
3.	bara ^d ·nin-tud bara dúr-a- ni	3.	In the shrine of Nintud, in the shrine where she sits;"
4.	išib-mah azag-gi ga-ám-me-te kalag	4.	I, the great enchanter, the holy
.,	dib-a		(enchanter), will do what is seem-
			$\mathbf{ly}$ (?)
5.	nam-en nam-lugal d·en-lil-šú [gál-] ¹	5.	By the priestly power, by the royal
	la	•	power of Enlil
6;	^d ·nin-tud ka-zal-la-kia	6.	Nintud in festivity
7.	$\dots^{d}$ ·nin-tud $\dots$ ni	7.	Nintud
	Rev.		Rev.
4	$\dots \dots \dot{u}$ -tu-da	4	(she) bore.
	ka-sīl gar-ra		creating festivity.
1.1.1.1.1	[kùr-gal] ^d .en-lil-da šu- di-a		By the great mountain Enlil she
J.	[nur-yai]en-in-ua su- ui-a	υ,	was taken by the hand (?)
4.	[áb am]ar-bi-ta ka-sīl mu-na-ab- bi	4.	Because of the cows and their calves of joy she spoke.
			4 V I

1. Restored from K. 7787.

- 5. ....  $d \cdot nin-tud-ri^{\dagger} i-lu-bi-ta mu-un$ na-an-d $\bar{u}$  (?)-a
- 6. ....  $d \cdot nin-tud nin-mah$  keš- (ki)-a
- 7. kùr-gal ^d·en-lil-da šu- di-a
- 8. ^d·nin-tud áb-amar-bi ta ka-sīl muna-ab-bi
  9. dagal ^d·nin-tud nin-maḥ 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.

а

## 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.

## С

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.

## CII

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.

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  $Z\bar{u}$  and  $Arab\bar{u}$ .

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

K. 5036. Fragment of a myth concerning Ninib. Notice lines 3 and 3. -

3.  $g^{i\xi}KI$ -GU 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

- 56 -

K. 9618. Part of a penitential psalm, er-sag tug-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.

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 Ištar.

## 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 litany of intercession.

8

Babylonian Liturgies.

4. mua-se-ir-ra gīn a-se-ir-ra

5. sal-la a-še-ir-ra dumu a-še-ir-ra

6. mu-lu šă-ba an-na mu-un-zu-a

· · · · · · ·

7. mu-lu šă-ba an-na mu-un-zu-a

8. šáb ^d·e-lum-c e-la-lu

9. šáb^d·gu-la mu-un

10. šáb ^d·mu-ul-lil-lá e

11. šáb kùr-gal a-a d·mu-ul-lil-lá mu-un

e

mu-un

12. šáb [^d·am-an-ki] e 13. [sáb ^d·asar-]lù-dug mu-un

14. .....

**15**.....**16**-18?

**19.** [..... *dé*]-*ra*-*ab*-*bi* 

4. The strong man weeps, the maiden weeps.

5. Women weep and children weep.
6. May he that knows the heart of Anu (intercede).

7. May he that knows the heart of Anu (intercede).

8. The heart of the mighty one is full of woe.

9. He that knows the heart of the great god (intercede).

10. The heart of Enlil is full of woe.
11. He that knows the heart of the Great Mountain, father Enlil (intercede), etc., etc.

## CXXXVIII

K. 3482. Duplicate of CXXXIX.

# CXXXIX

V

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. $[\ldots, 1]$ er-šag túg- $[mal]$	1? psalms of penance.
2. [me-e] sá-kud-ta me-e	2. I unto judgment, I
3ma-ra ha-ma-da-túg-mal	3 for me may he utter psalms
	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-[un-ra- ab-ir]	5. I unto my lord tears will bring.
6. 4 er-šáb túg-mal bar	6. Four psalms of penance
7. me-e dìm-me-ir-mu a-na-ám mu-ni	7. As for me, my god, what shall [paci- fy?]

4. Only a figure missing, giving the number of lines in the psalm.

8.	sul dìm-me-ir-bar-bi nu (?) să-ab- hul	8. The god heroic whose soul is not evil-minded
9	gi-bil-lá gùr-ru kùr-sú-du	9. Bearing a torch, the far-away land
10.	ki-dúr ud-du-e-ta an-šáb dib-	10. In the abode where the blazing
	$ba-\check{s}\acute{a}b-ba^{1}\ldots\ldots$	sun arises in the heavens, sorrow of heart
11.	umun dìm-me-ir-mu bara azag-ga	11. Unto the lord, my god, who dwells
	durun-a-ra er-ra	in the bright chamber, tears [I bring].
12.	me-e dìm-me-ir-mu imi-da ² ba-an-	12. I unto thee, my god, with fear will
	na-ab-[bi?]	speak.
13.	me-e dim-me-ir-mu sir-ri-eš ga-an-	13. I unto thee, my god, with mournful
	na-ab-[bi?]	song will speak.
14.	me-e dìm-me-ir-mu a-ra-zu-ga-an-	14. I unto thee, my god, prayers of inter-
	na-ab-bi	cession will say.
15.	me-e dìm-me-ir-mu er-ra ³ mu-un-	15. I unto thee, my god, tears will bring.
	ra-ab- ir	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
16.	me-e dìm-me-ir-mu sá-kud ga-an-	16. I unto my god, unto judgment enter.
	na-ab-tur	
17.	me-e dingir-mu mu-e-ši-in-gín túg4- mu ga-an-na-ab-úr	17. I unto my god, do come ; my gar- ments I remove.
18.	ma ma-al-la-šú sahar-ra ba- da-	18. Upon me prostrate, earth is scattered.
	túq	io. oponino prestrato, car in is station da.
19.	umun dim-me-ir-mu bara-azag-ga-	19. Unto the lord, my gody him that
	durun-a-ra er-ra šab-ne-du in-ùr	sits in the bright chamber, tears and sighing I bring.
20.	šáb dím-me-ir-mu ki-bi-šú ha-ma-	20. May the heart of my god return to
	gi-gi	its place.
21.	dim-me-ir-mu me-na-šú har-	21my god how long his soul
	[ <i>bi</i> ] <i>a</i> - <i>ba be en</i>	
22	dingir lù-găl-lu he	· · · · · · · · · · · ·
	nir-da ad-sa	
<b>-O</b> .	·····	

-- 59 ---

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.

Var. ki-dúr ud-ud lag-a-ge d·bab Var. er-da me....
 Variant has túg-mu, etc., on a sepa Cf. me-da = puluhtu, SBP. 4, 7. rate line.

### CXXXX

- 60 ---

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 Tammuz¹ are the gods who watch the sacred "tree of life", in that subterranean sea². In MYHRMAN, No 6, 1. 2 Tammuz has the title ^d·babbar, 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, ¹ 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.

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

The Adapa legend represents Tammuz and Gišzida³ 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, 15; 312, 5; etc. Evidently in these Tammuz hymns not two gods "Tammuz child of Ningišzida (= Umungišzida)" are intended, but the liturgy simply addresses Tammuz under another title 4. Tammuz belongs to the group of deities connected with the sun in so far as he is a god of vegetation, and with the Ea group in so far as he descends into the nether sea and dwells in the abyss (Dumuzi-abzu). Shamash is par excellence the god of justice, and Nergal, the aspect of the sun in the lower world, appears to have passed judgment upon the souls of the dead. In Zim Kult*lieder*, No 26, obv. I. 16 Tammuz is called *ummuna tarri*, 'lord of judgment. Probably this power of inquisition attributed to the gods of light is derived from the revealing power of light which searches into the secrets of all things. The name dumu-zi-da itself means, "just child", whence we infer that in his original character he 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.

3. gis-zi-da certainly identical with umun-gis-zi-da, nin-gis-zi-da, u-mu-zi-da(see above, p. 20, l. 5), means probably "faithfulness", kittu. gis-zi-da is a nounformation from the root  $zid = k\hat{a}nu$  and the abstract prefix gis, v. Sum. Gr. § 151. Also cf. gis-lal = tukumtu, "binding, battle," from  $lal = kam\hat{u}$ . 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 (= mêšaru), 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-

^{4.} SBP.168-9.

^{2.} SBP.158-160.

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-muh-na tūr-tūr-ra-ka šu-am-mu-un-di-en-na.

10.  $t\bar{u}r$ - $t\bar{u}r$  dagal-muh-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  $\hat{u}$ -ta- $\hat{a}m$  ki  $\hat{u}$ -ta- $\hat{a}m$ , " 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	1not is scattered (?)
2 šurim-ma nu ki-šub ¹ -na-mu	$2. \ldots$ the ewes $\ldots$ not.
3. im da-an-ag-gu-la šu-nu-gur-ra-	3 the great, which is not purged.
mu	
4. ne-im-mar ne-im-mar ² i-si-iš ud	4. She that lightens, she that lightens,
mu-un-zal <u>3</u>	with lament by day is overfull.
5. akkil di-e dumu-sal kullab-(ki)	5. With sighing she goes, the daughter
	of Kullab.
${f 6}$ . ù $r$ $(?)$ maš an-na nín šubur-ra 4	6. Wailing for the heavenly brother,
	lord of the earth.
C	

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 =  $nid\hat{a}tu$ , desert land, POEBEL, BE.VI 2, 12.

2. ne-im-mar l take for  $ne-gar = n\hat{u}ru$ , an epithet of l star 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 Tamūz 715.

•	
7. ùr(?) ¹ maš azag šuhub zagin-na- mu	7. Wailing(?) for the holy brother, my radiant <i>šuhub</i> .
8,.? e-ne-em šág-šág-ga-mu	8my 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-	11. Oh my exalted one, when thou
g dé	risest, when thou risest.
12. e-lum-ma-mu ùr dagal muḥ-na-mu	12. Oh my exalted one, when to the
zi-ga-zu-dé	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-ya	14. When to thy mother, the queen of
	heaven thou risest.
15. e-lum-ma-mu a-ba d·uta-ám za-e	15. Oh my exalted one, who is Sha-
d·uta- ám	mash? thou art Shamash.
16. e-lum-ma-mu a-ba ^d ·nannar za-e	16. Oh my exalted one, who is Nannar?
d•nannar-ám	thou art Nannar.
17. za-e é-gal-la	17. Thou in the palace.
18. éš é-an-na uru	18. In the abode of Eanna, in the city
19. éš é-an-na	19. In the abode of Eanna
20. azag ^d ·innina-ge	10. Holy Innini
21. anna dumu	21 ?
22. azag ^d ·innina-ge dug-li	22. Holy Innini with abundance
23. nín šubur-ra	23. Lord in the lower world
24. an-na il-la	24. To heaven lifted up
25. [nín]-śubur-[ra	25. Lord in the lower world ² .
N. A., L.	

# 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 (l. 5).

### CXXXXVIII

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

#### CXXXXIX

Rm. 514. Neo-Babylonian fragment of a penitential psalm, eri-zu-su ha-ma-seddé « 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  $g\dot{e}$ -parimin, written  $g\dot{e}$ -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 IV R 53a 31. The obverse is a duplicate of REISNER, SBH. no. 12 as far as line nineteen. The few lines preserved on the reverse are a duplicate of SBH. no. 12 rev. 5-9.

# Obv.

<ol> <li>a¹-ū šă-ba-mal [kùr al-]gul- gul] asu</li> <li>ža-du ri-tu-šu ša [ina]šadi-i [u- [-ab-bit]]</li> </ol>	1. The lofty one, furious (?), who in his shattered the mountain.
$[a-\bar{u}\ldots\ldots\ldots]^2$	
3. e-ne-em $\begin{bmatrix} d & gu-la \end{bmatrix}$ 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-ib-ba-sà a ⁴	5. The word of him named with good name, the lofty one, furious, who in hisshattered 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. e-ne-em an-śú an-im ⁵ -dúb-ba-ni,	7. The word which stills the heavens on high.
8. a-ma-tum ša e-liš ša-me-e ú-rab-	
bu	
9. c-ne-em ki-šú ki al- sīg-ga- ni	9. The word which causes the earth beneath to shudder,
10. e-ne-em ù-ma-ni-ta mu-un-da-an- dúg-ga-ni	10. The word which in his glory he spoke,
<ol> <li>Correct U to A in my text, lines</li> <li>3.11.</li> <li>This line is omitted in SBH. No.12.</li> <li>Lines 3.4 are clearly a late insertion since, they do not appear on K.</li> </ol>	<ul> <li>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.</li> <li>5. Var. al.</li> </ul>
3238.	

Babylonian Liturgies.

9

11. a-ma-tum ša ina ir-nit-ti-šu ik-	
bu-ú	
12. a ^d pap- nun-an-ki-ge mu-un-da- an-da <u>h</u> -a-ni	The form which Zarpanit magnified,
13. [is ?]-rat ¹ sa ^{ilu} zar-pa-ni-tum	
uş-şi-pu	
[14. e-nc-em ù-ma-ni-ta mu-un-da-an- dúg-ga-ni]	[The word which he in his glory spoke] ² ,
15. d·mu-zi-ib-ba-sà mu-un-da-an-dah- a-na	And which he, named with a good name, magnified.
16. ma-da da-ma-al-la a mu-un-[dúg]	Waters have flooded the wide land.
17. ma-a-tum ra-pa-aš-tum me-e u- ša-ne-e ³	
18. mé-a na-ăm-lù-găl-lu śu'-ba-an-	18 Up who is bottle dianages of bout
mar kùral-gul-gul	18. He who in battle-disposes of hosts, has shattered the mountain.
19. ina ta-ha-zi um-ma-na-a-ti ana ga- ti ú-ma-al šadi-i [u-]ab-bit	
20. edin-na gub-ba edin šag-sú-ga-	When he walked in the fields, the
mu	fields became pale (with hoar- frost).
21. și-ra-am ina a-la-ki-su și-rim	
pu-[șu-] ⁵ um-mā	a V V Variant
22. edin-na ki-gub-hu gīn sal- sal- la	22. In the fields where he walks, the maiden who gives birth,
23. și-ra-am a-sar ü-lak-ti-šu ar-da-ti uș-[șa-at?] ⁶	
24. kaskal-dubbin-na ù-ne-kur ù-ne- sĭg-ga	24. On the highway he oppressed, he smote.
25. ina har-ra-ni ip-rik-ma is-pu-un	Sinote.
26. ama-hen-na en-nun-mà-bi [é-mu?]	26. The begetting mother from her
	shelter he caused to go up.
27. um-ma a-lit-ti ana ma-aṣ-ṣar-ti	
ú-še-[si ?]	
1. This is the most probable restora-	5. şu omitted. Cf. JENSEN KB.VI 284,
tion.	
2. Not in K. 3238.	47. For the adjective $pus\hat{u}$ , white, v.
3. Cf. IV R. 28 * No. 4 rev. 35.	VAB.IV 154,32; 158 VII 5.
••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	6. $ussu$ , perm. from $mas\hat{u}$ , be wide,

— 66 —

4. K. 3238 su-sú, which is evidently original.

6. ușșu, perm. from mașû, be wide, conceive. Cf. S^d 281 di-im = maşû and

 $dim = ban \hat{u}$  (passim).

	A state of the second se	
	<b>— 6</b>	7 —
28.	gud dur-dur (?)-ru-na-ma nu-un- nam-ga-NE-[GAR-DU?] ¹	
29.		The oxen which repose he lets no rise.
30.	ama-hen-na en-nun-mà-bi [è- mu ?]	30. The begetting mother from he shelter he caused to go up.
31.	a-ū a-a? ru na-nam kùr al-gul-gul	31. The lofty one shattered th mountain.
<b>32</b> .	e-ne-em ^d ·mu-zí-ib-ba-sá kùr	32. The word of him, named with goo name, shattered the mountain.
<b>3</b> 3.	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-ķu-ú) kùr al- gul-gul	34. The lofty one, — when he bellowed he shattered the mountain.
35.		
<b>36</b> .	[a-ū] K-šid-A-a-ni-ta kùr	36. The lofty one, — when he bellowed he shattered the mountain.
37.	[ ^d ·mu-zí-]ib-ba-sá K-śid-A-gi-ni-ta [kùr]	37. He named of good name, — when H bellowed, he shattered the mountain.
38.	[ ⁴ ·šid-rú-]ki- šár-ra ^a K-šid-A-gi- [ni-ta kùr]	38. The Recorder of the Universe, - when he bellowed, he shattere the mountain.
39. 	K-sid-A-gi-[mi-ta-kùr]	39. The
		mountain.
	Re	۲ <b>۷.</b>
2.	BAD tin-tir-[ki]	
	ri šă-ab-ba-na é-sag-[ila]	3in his heart Est gila
4.	[e-ne-]em šă-ab-mà-ge ù-li-[li? mu- un-dùg?]	4. The words of my, heart in woe speak ?]
5.	e-ne-em é-i-ul-lu-mà [ú (?)]	5. The words of my « house of lament ? [in woe I speak ?]
6.	šă-ab-mà mu-un-ná-a să-ab-mà mu- un[]	6. In my heart I am at rest, in m

1. Cf. SAI. 3176.

<u> </u>		
<ol> <li>ina lib-bi-ía a-na-lu ina lib-bi-ja</li> <li>mu-lu šă-ab-mà nu-me-a mu-lu ur nu è-a-[mu]</li> <li>išten i-lu¹ ba-lum lib-bi-ja man-ma- an ul [uşi]</li> </ol>	8. Any god without my knowledg goes not forth ; no, not one.	
10. kalag-kalag-ga šu-dú-mà ki-bal-a	10. The hero, perfect in might, shatter	
gur-gur-[mu]	ing the hostile land,	
11. id-lu ša da-na-na šuk-lu-lu mu-ab-		
bit mat nu-kur-ti		
12. [ur-sag ^d ·mu-zi-ib-ba-ná kalag- kalag-ga : umun ^d ·en-zag ²	The strong god named of good name hero perfect in strength: The lord Nebo of Dilmun	
13. [ ^d ·ag] dumu nun-na kalag-kalag-ga :	13. Nebo son of the prince ³ , hero per- fect in strength.	
dumu-nitah é-sag-ila kalag-kalag- ga	Heir of Esagila, hero perfect ir strength.	
4. [umun ^{d.} en-]bad ⁱ é-zi-da kalag-kalag-	14. Lord, divine master of the wall of	
ga : dumu šu-mar-gi a-a-[ni-ge]	Ezida, hero perfect in strength : The son avenger of his father.	
15. d·šid-rú-šár-ra kalag-kalag-ga: din- gir sag tin-tir-(ki) kalag-kalag-ya :	15. Recorder of the Universe, hero per- fect in strength.	
	Chiefest god of Babylon, hero perfect in strength.	
6. ^d ·ab-ú umun gu-la kalag-kalag-ga: šu-maḥ am- na- ge	16. Divine $Ab-u^5$ , mighty lord, hero, etc. Vast strength of heaven.	
7. igi-gál-bád-si-ab-ba-[ki]kalag-kalag-	17. Wise one of Barsippa, hero, etc.	
ga : iskim-til ^d ·kùr-gal kalag-kalag- ga	Prophet of life (?) ⁶ , god of the great mountain, hero, etc.	
8. dumu-nitah áš-du ^d ·marduk-kam	Only heir of Marduk, hero, etc.	
kalag-kalag-ga :	True son, wailer ⁷ , hero, etc.	
dumu-zid sìr-a kalag-kalag-ga	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
5 J J -		

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 amêlu 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^deri-e kalag kalagga: è¹ maḥ kalag-kalag-ga
- 20. umun enim ^d·bar-bar-ra kalag-kalagga : dúg-ga-ni ka-zal kalag-kalag-ga
- 21.....mà é-engur-ra kalag-kalag-ga : umun á-ba gur-gur-ra kalag-kalag-ga
- 22. an-gim lib²-ba-mu kalag-kalag-ga: ki-gim sīg-ga-mu³ kalag-kalag-ga
- 23. . `mar-ur* ki-ga-mu kalag-kalag-gabe-lí a-bu-bu te-bu-ú
- 24.[á-] ùr ság-ság-ga-mu kalag-kalagga : sa meš-ri-e-ti dam-ka
- 25.[și-ib] lib-ba-mu kalag-kalag-ga : bi-ir-ka ma-a-ri
- 26.[u-]ma di-di a-na kalag-kalag-ga : ka-šid ir-nit-te a-bi-šu
- 27....em enem-ma-da nu-mu-un-dapad-da kalag-kalag-ga
- 28.....*tu-ra*
- 29.....igi-nigin-na kalag-kalag-ga
- 30....it-ta-na-as-ha-ar

- 19. Abundance of the land, great (son) of Zarpanit, hero, etc. Great psalmist, hero, etc.
- 20. Lord of the word of Shamash, hero, etc.
  - Whose speech brings gladness, hero, etc.
- 21.....of the house of the sea, hero, etc.
  - Lord, whose hand wards off (the foe), hero, etc.
- 22. Like heaven he is made surpassing, Like the earth he is established, hero, etc.
- 23.....who sends a deluge, hero, etc.
- 24. He whose limbs are sound, hero, etc.
- 25. He whose knees hasten, hero, etc.
- 26. He that attains unto the glory of his father, hero, eteriat
- 27. ... by a word which is not revealed, hero, etc.

## CLIX

K. 8384. Fragment of a liturgy to Marduk.

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

2. kima šamê šûtuk : v. Sum. Gr., § 48.

3. kima irșitim ritî.

# 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. T=6 is a variant of no. 73 rev. 23-8.

#### CLXIV

K. 3288. Beginning of a section of a Sin liturgy,  $\acute{e}-t\bar{u}r$  ki  $\acute{a}b$ -udu, "The fold, place for cattle." Here  $\acute{a}b$ -udu is translated by *la-a-tum* cows, with which cf. SBP. 338, 23.

#### CLXV

K. 3462. An incantation and ritual.

#### CLXVI

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

### **CLXVII**

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

## - CLXVIII

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

1. dim-me-[ir mah adab KU-ra]¹ **2.** é ki-[sĭg-ga-ge (é ki-sĭg-ga) ba-hul] 3. d·su-kur-[ru tūr nun zu-ab (ma-rat rubî) KU-ra] 4. še-ib i-si-in-(ki) ba-hul 5. gašan sag tu-mu an-na KU-ra 6. éš é-an-na ba-hul 7. mu-gĭ-ib qašan an-na KU-ra 8. gašan an-na na-ăm urú-na-šú? ba-hul 9. nin qašan an-na KU-ra 10. akkil³ ki-azag-ga⁴ ba-hul 11. nin qašan ^d·subur⁵-ra KU-ra 12. é tuk-mes-kúr-ra ba-hul 13. nin-tud-ūr-ra® KU-ra 14. kes-(ki) ur-šáb-ba⁷ ba-hul 15. gašan an-na hallab-(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-ga⁹ ba-hul 19. dul-ur d ba-ú KU-ra 20. e-sil sir-sir-ra ba-hul 21. d.é-?e-sil-sir-ra KU-ra 22. edin-bar¹⁰ šir-bur-la-(ki)-a ba-hul 23. ab-ba d·zi-ib-zi-ib KU-ra ba-hul 24. é.... sug-ga 25. nab dumu sag an-na KU-ra 26. gal gú-en-na-gà ba-hul 27. nin-mah gú-en-na KU-ra 28. dúr-é a-dúg¹¹ ba-hul 29. gašan-mu gašan gu-la¹² KU-ra 30. še-ib sirar-(ki) ba-hul

1. K. 2004 and 3001 have  $d\dot{u}r$ -ra, but SBH. 118 obv.  $g\dot{u}$ -de-in-ra = ina šašê-šu, "When he (she) cries out ".

2. Glossed illuu-bar-(ki) aš-šum áli-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.
- 154, 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 ^d ·ninā	KU-ra
32.	dumu-zid UZ-da-gà	ba-ħul
33.	dīm-u-ḥu IŠ igi-duḥ	KU-ra
34.	é-ib-gal	· ba-hul
35.	d.ašnan d.azag-sud	KU-ra
36.	é(?)-gi-pad-da	ba-hul
37.	gašan é-zi-da-mu	KU-ra
38.	é-mar-a	ba-hul

Rev.

[Several lines are broken away.]

1má	
2. $SAL + KU d dumu-zi zu-ab$	'KU-ra
3. ma ki-nad ūr-šă-ba 1	ba-hul
4. šagan lal lù kar-kar	KU-ra
5. éş é-dúg-ga	ba-hul
6. alad mu-lu urú	KU-ra
7. é bara-si-ga	ba-hul
8. nin-dar-ra-na	KU-ra
9. éš-é-kar-ra	ba-hut
10. gašan-mu gašan banda ²	KU-ra
11. <i>áb-ki</i> úr	ba-ḥul
12. $\dot{u}$ -gúl AD(?)-AD(?)-ib dumu an-na ³	KU-ra
13. éš é-hal-hal-la	ba-hul
14. é-da-zu za-ab-ba	KU-ra
15. é-bara-sir-ra	ba-hul
16. ama ^d ·dam-gal-nun-na	KU-ra
17. éš gú-ab-ba ⁴	ba-hul
18. azag gašan mar-(ki) 5	KU-ra
<b>19</b> . $\vec{e}$ (?)?- $ra$	ba-hul
<b>20</b> gašan-an-an	KU-ra
21. tūr-sag ub-ba ⁶	ba-hul
22. ama-mu din ⁷ -an-na	KU-ra
23nu-gal	ba-hul
24. gašannu PA-bi	KU-ra
24. es é-UD-KIB-NUN-(ki) ⁸	ba- <u>h</u> ul

Corresponds to line 35 of SBP. 26.
 Glossed nin banda.
 L 12 = 36 in SBP. 26, which has
 L ine 38 in SBP. 26.
 Glossed ana šu-bat. Line 39 in SBP.
 Glossed ana šu-bat. Line 39 in SBP.
 U-li-li urú (?)-mar?-ra(!).
 Line 17 = 37 in SBP. 26.
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 Cf. SBP. 28, 41.

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## CLXXIX

K. 5040. Fragment of an intercession.

## CLXXX

K. 6173. A liturgy to .... and Marduk. The catchline has ..., har-ra-an kùr-kùrra 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 <math>duhbur-bur-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. 31, 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, *cn-zu sá-mar-mar*. The fourth tablet is preserved in fragmentary condition in SBH. no. 28. With the opening line of K. 4630, *umun nammunsubben*, "Oh lord thou wilt not reject me ", compare the title of a series IV R. 53*b*, 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.

### DT. 67 Obv. (A.S.K.T., no. 17).

2.	ra-gab	e-n]e-em gi-na	[gi-na-mu]	2-3.	The	messenger	establisher	of	the
----	--------	----------------	------------	------	-----	-----------	-------------	----	-----

- 3.  $[ra-ak-bu-\dot{u}]$  mu-kin a-ma-[tim]
- 4. [ra-gab utul] mu mu-lu akkil-ge 4-5. The messenger of my counsel, he
- 5. [ra-ak-bu]-ú ša te-e-mi 1

of sorrow.

word.

4. *fêmu* 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 dis- graced.
7. [ar-da-tum (?)] am-tum ik-ki-ba	
e-ta-kal	
8. [ki-el-]e ama-na-ăm-tag-ga ág-gig ne-aga-a	8-9. The maid, Mother of Sin, has dis graced.
9. [ar-da]-tum amanamtagga ik-ki- ba i-te-pu-us	
10. [ama-]na-ăm-tag-ga na-ăm-tar gig-ga-ge 11. amanamtagga si-ma-tu ša mar-sa	10-11. The Mother of Sin, fate o disease.
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-şa pa-nu ša dim-tam dul-lu-hu ²	face with tears,
14. ^{giš} gu-za azag-ga dúr-mar-ám	14-15. On the clean stool sat.
15. ina ku-us-si-i el-li-tim u-šib	
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. mús-ba-ab-dúg-ga ³ in-ga-an-zu	18-19. Man she taught the desire o
19. i-ša-ri ri-ha-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	
22. ga-nu ga-ni-lah-en ga-ni-lah-en	22-23. Oh come let us go to it, let
23. al-kam i ni-il-lak-šu i ni-il-lak-	us go to it.
šu	
24. me-en-ne urú-šú ga-ni-lah-en 25. 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, le
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)-šù ga	30. Unto walled Hallablet us go
31. har-sag-kalam-ma ⁴ -šú ga	31. Unto Harsagkalamma let us go
32. é-tùr-kalam-maʿi-šú ga	32. Unto Eturkalamma let us go.
1. Read in not lugal.	ab-dú-dú — ana puhhur, Šamašumukin,

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Read in not lugal.
 Cf. SBH. no. 27 rev. 6.

ab-dú-dú = ana puḥḥur, Samašumukin, Bilingual 9.

3. The finite form *ba-ab-dúg* 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.	•
	🍎 ana âli ana âli 👘 ana li-bit-	)-š $\dot{u}$	unto
2		i-lu walled Babylon (let us go) ra 3-4. Against the command of the	
	ana a-wa-at ^{iltu} Ištar iķ-bu-ú	÷	-

5. ki-el ama na-ăm-tag-ga sahar-hubba-ba-zid¹

12.

14.

20.

- 6. ar-da-tum amanamtagga ina e-pi-ri it-ta-bal-kit
- 7. i-dé mu-un-ši-in-bar i-dé dīg-a-ge
- 8. ip-pa-li-is-si-ma nap-lu-us mutim-ma
- 9. gašán-e gù-ba-an-de-e gù na-ămtag-ga sú-ga²-ám
- 10. be-el-tum is-si-ma sa-si-e ar-niim-ma
- death.

7-8. She beheld her with a look of

5-6. The maid, Mother of Sin, covered with dust, has transgressed.

she

- 9-10. The queen wailed with a loud wail of revenge for sin.
- 11. sig sak-ki-na-ge mu-ni-in-dib . 11-12. By the forelock of her hair ina pa-ni-a-at pir-ti-ša seized her. is-bat-si 13. ki-el ama-na-ăm-tag-ga 13-14. The maid, Mother of Sin, bád-ùr-ta atthe ba-šub wall's foundations was hurled. ar-da-tum amanamtagga ina li-it du-ri it-tan-di 15. sàb-ba sibir-ra-a-na 15-16. May the shepherd with his staff dé-mu-ungí-gi slay her. 16. ri-e-ú ina ši-bir-ri-šu li-duk-ši 17. labar-e me-zi-a-na dé 17-18. May the psalmist with his mesū 18. ká-lù-u ina me-și-e-su slay her. 19. duk-ka-bur ^{duk}gŭr-ra-na dé 19-20. May the paharu⁶ with his
- pa-ha-ru ina zar-ba-bi³-šu vessel the *zarbabū* slay her. 21. ?....lá-ra me-ri⁴ ba-da-ra-na dé 21-22. May the .... with sword and 22. ....lá-ru-u ina pat-ri u hat-tar-ri 5 knife (?) slay her.

1. So the Semitic (*ittabalkit*) has read KU, from zig, to rush.

for the insect zirbabu. Apparently the words zirbabu and zarbabū are connected.

2. sú-ga is not translated in Semitic. According to II R, 30 a 10, the translation should be sasê arni sakú-ma.

3. Var. zarbabē. The Sumerian ideogram on K. 5188 is kisi, the ordinary sign 4. Var. me-ri-a.

5. Or patarri (?).

6. The accepted translation of *paharu* is « potter », but this is uncertain.

	— 8	0 —
23.	[mu-na-d]úg la-me-a-bi ù e-la-lu	23-24. What said she to her with tear
24.	[mi]-na-a ¹ iķ-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	25-26. The heart of the lady restrain not moaning
26.	ša ru-ba-tum lib-ba-ša da-ma- ma ul i-kal-la ²	
27.	šă-ab gašan an-na-ge ta-me-a-bi ³	27. The heart of the queen of heave what (said it unto her, etc.)
<b>28</b> .	sal-egi-ri šáb-ba-a-ni še-du	28. The heart of the lady restrains no moaning
29.	ta me-a-bi nu me-a-bi	29-30. That which was should no
30.		have been
	ud-dé mu-un-na-ab-ir-ra-šú	31-32. On the day when the
	[ûmiša]nam ub-la-as-ši	brought to her
	gig-e mu-un-na-ab-zal-la- a-šú	33-34. On the night when with she was satiated,
	[mūši ša] uš-ta-ba-ra-ši	
	šab-ba-ni	<b>35</b> . Her heart
30.	mu-uš-túg-pi (?)	36. Her ear
	K. 5188 + 8481 Rev.	
	ù	
-	in-nin	
	<i>he-im</i>	
	^d ·innini	
	dingir ní-du in	
	a ùma	
	$\dots UD NI mu \dots$	
	$a \dots ge TAR azag-ga \dots$	
	na\$AB pár-ra ir su ib-ba bur-ra	
	tug nam-nin-ni na-ăm te-di-ik be-lu-tim	
	$su \dots na-ni zu-zu \dots$	
	su na-ni zu-zu i-dé-ni dúb-bi zi	
	i-ni-ša c-ki-a	
10.	<i>i-ni-od U-ni-d</i>	

1. Cf. no 73, obv. 19.

1. Cf. no 73, obv. 13. 2. Cf. SBH. no. 36, obv. 15-16.

3. Var. has lines 27. 28 as one line.

•

**19.** .... giš-pár-ra.....

- **20.** .... *ti* a-na me-ir-tu.....
- **21**. .... *bi-zi-da-ni*....
- 22. .. ki-a-am ša .....
- 23. nu mega(?)-a (a in .... ka-li-e)é... gar bi....
- 24. ....la(-[e?]-li-ša ga-tim el-li-tim) zt-em-má (in-na-din?).....
- **25.** .... (...tim ša be-lum ki-nu) šuè-ba (ik-ru¹.....)
- 26. .....(....be-el ki-na-a-tim) šu-nein-è-ba (ik-ru.....)...
- 27. .....(....i-lum be-lum) su-ne-inè-ba.....
- **28**. .....(....li-ka en-ni-na) amaš-a (ana su-pu-ri....)...

### CLXXXXV

81 -

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 land³. 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.

Babylonian Liturgies.

11

^{4.} 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 sukkalan-	. 1.	My lord, breath of life of the land
2	na é-an-na dagal ^d nin-subur mudur	2	messenger of Anu, In wide E-anna, oh Ninsubur, caus
	zagin šu-ù-me-ti		me to seize a sceptre of lapis lazul
3.	igi an-na / igi im-me-dib- dib-bi 1	3.	Before Anu thou shall proceed
4.	an-ni an-šag-ta sag-e-eš mu- ni-in-sàg	4.	[This] shall Anu in heaven's centrigrant.
5.	den-lil-li nam-e-eš mu-ni-in-tar	5.	[This] shall Enlil decree as fate.
	surim-zid síl ság-ság úz-zid más		The faithful ewe nourish her lam
	ság-šág		the faithful goat nourish her kie
7.	ama gan zid-dím dumu šág- šág-ga	7.	The faithful mother nourish he child.
8.	tùr hu-mu-'u-da-dŭ amaš hu-mu-	8.	Let the folds be built, the stal
	'u-da-sīg	0.	be erected.
9.	a-za amaš nigin (?)-na-	9.	Thy the stalls
	<i>za</i>		·····
10.	an		
	ní-gal i-ši kàr igi-bar giš	11.	Splendour
			~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
		12	
12.	? ne ba-bi-ir bar BAD		- 
12.	? ne ba-bi-ir bar BAD an-ni ki-e ní-bi ba	13.	Heaven and earth of themselves as
12.	? ne ba-bi-ir bar BAD an-ni ki-e ní-bi ba	13.	
12. 13.	? ne ba-bi-ir bar BAD an-ni ki-e ní-bi ba	13.	Heaven and earth of themselves as
12. 13. 14.	? ne ba-bi-ir bar BAD an-ni ki-e ní-bi ba	13.	Heaven and earth of themselves and [shaken, when thou speakest ?].
12. 13. 14. 15.	? ne ba-bi-ir bar BAD an-ni ki-e ní-bi ba - šáb-ba-tuk-a	13. 14. 15.	Heaven and earth of themselves an [shaken, when thou speakest ?]. ?? Hero, oxlike, restoring the banquets who like a cow [is compassionate
<ol> <li>12.</li> <li>13.</li> <li>14.</li> <li>15.</li> <li>16.</li> </ol>	? ne ba-bi-ir bar BAD an-ni ki-e ní-bi ba šáb-ba-tuk-a ur-sag am bur-gur-gur áb-gim in	13. 14. 15. 16.	Heaven and earth of themselves an [shaken_when thou speakest ?]. ?? Hero, oxlike, restoring the banquets who like a cow [is compassionate Thy terrible name of itself th
12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17.	? ne ba-bi-ir bar BAD an-ni ki-e ní-bi ba śáb-ba-tuk-a ur-sag am bur-gur-gur áb-gim in mu-ruš-zu ní-ba zi-kin?	13. 14. 15. 16. 17.	<ul> <li>Heaven and earth of themselves an</li> <li>[shaken, when thou speakest ?].</li> <li>??</li> <li>Hero, oxlike, restoring the banquets who like a cow [is compassionat.</li> <li>Thy terrible name of itself the soul (?)</li> <li>Like a mighty man thou crushes disobedience.</li> <li>The foreign lands thou subduest ; or</li> </ul>
12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18.	? ne ba-bi-ir bar BAD an-ni ki-e ní-bi ba šáb-ba-tuk-a ur-sag am bur-gur-gur áb-gim in mu-ruš-zu ní-ba zi-kin? kalag-gim nam-ki-bal šub-šub-bu	13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18.	<ul> <li>Heaven and earth of themselves and '[shaken, when thou speakest ?].</li> <li>??</li> <li>Hero, oxlike, restoring the banquets who like a cow [is compassionated the region of itself the soul (?)</li> <li>Like a mighty man thou crushes disobedience.</li> <li>The foreign lands thou subduest; of the regions their bar thou art.</li> <li>In the house of Meslam when tho</li> </ul>
12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19.	? ne ba-bi-ir bar BAD an-ni ki-e ní-bi ba šáb-ba-tuk-a ur-sag am bur-gur-gur áb-gim in mu-ruš-zu ní-ba zi-kin? kalag-gim nam-ki-bal šub-šub-bu kùr-gar ib-ba si-gar-bi me-en	13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19.	<ul> <li>Heaven and earth of themselves and [shaken, when thou speakest ?].</li> <li>??</li> <li>Hero, oxlike, restoring the banquets who like a cow [is compassionate.</li> <li>Thy terrible name of itself the soul (?)</li> <li>Like a mighty man thou crushes disobedience.</li> <li>The foreign lands thou subduest ; of the regions their bar thou art.</li> <li>In the house of Meslam when tho sittest,</li> <li>There is rejoicing, gladness of hear</li> </ul>
<ol> <li>12.</li> <li>13.</li> <li>14.</li> <li>15.</li> <li>16.</li> <li>17.</li> <li>18.</li> <li>19.</li> <li>20.</li> </ol>	? ne ba-bi-ir bar BAD an-ni ki-e ní-bi ba šáb-ba-tuk-a ur-sag am bur-gur-gur áb-gim in mu-ruš-zu ni-ba zi-kin? kalag-gim nam-ki-bal šub-šub-bu kàr-gar ib-ba si-gar-bi me-en é-mes-lam za-e dúr-a-zu-dé hul-hul-li šag-igi-kar súg me-li	<ol> <li>13.</li> <li>14.</li> <li>15.</li> <li>16.</li> <li>17.</li> <li>18.</li> <li>19.</li> <li>20.</li> </ol>	<ul> <li>Heaven and earth of themselves at [shaken, when thou speakest ?].</li> <li>??</li> <li>Hero, oxlike, restoring the banquet who like a cow [is compassionat. Thy terrible name of itself the soul (?)</li> <li>Like a mighty man thou crushed disobedience.</li> <li>The foreign lands thou subduest; of the regions their bar thou art.</li> <li>In the house of Meslam when tho sittest,</li> <li>There is rejoicing, gladness of hear fulness of joy.</li> </ul>
<ol> <li>12.</li> <li>13.</li> <li>14.</li> <li>15.</li> <li>16.</li> <li>17.</li> <li>18.</li> <li>19.</li> <li>20.</li> </ol>	? ne ba-bi-ir bar BAD an-ni ki-e ní-bi ba šáb-ba-tuk-a ur-sag am bur-gur-gur áb-gim in ur-sag am bur-gur-gur áb-gim in ku-ruš-zu ni-ba zi-kin? kalag-gim nam-ki-bal šub-šub-bu kùr-gar ib-ba si-gar-bi me-en é-mes-lam za-e dúr-a-zu-dé	<ol> <li>13.</li> <li>14.</li> <li>15.</li> <li>16.</li> <li>17.</li> <li>18.</li> <li>19.</li> <li>20.</li> </ol>	<ul> <li>Heaven and earth of themselves a</li> <li>[shaken, when thou speakest ?].</li> <li>? ?</li> <li>Hero, oxlike, restoring the banquet who like a cow [is compassionat Thy terrible name of itself the soul (?)</li> <li>Like a mighty man thou crushe disobedience.</li> <li>The foreign lands thou subduest ; the regions their bar thou art.</li> <li>In the house of Meslam when tho sittest,</li> <li>There is rejoicing, gladness of hear</li> </ul>

	• *
22 bar SUD-a SUD-ma-ám	$22. \ldots (?)$
23 nam-kal-gál-zu an ab-ba-ta-	23. [Thou of Cutha?] thy power Anu (?)
è-a	from the nether sea has caused
	to arise.
24e nigin igi-im-mi-nigin	24 seest all things.
25. [ dné-unu]-gal nam-kal-gál-zu sá-	25. Nergal, thy power brings unrest.
/ bal-e	
<b>26</b> ki-gal-bi igi-im-ma -an-ág	26 in his vast land ¹ surveys thee.
27. nam-ur-sag-zu uku-e im-mi-zu-me	27. Thy power the people know.
28. a-a-zu den-lil-li ki-gal-bi igi im-ma-	28. Thy father Enlil in the vast land
, an-ág	surveys thee.
29. nam-ur-sag-zu uku-e im-mi-zu	29. Thy power the people know.
30. ur-sag uku-e sil-sil dingir-kùr-ra	30. Oh heroic one, guide the people, god
nigin	of the world, all of it.
31. ki-bal-e PEŚ ba-ni-áš	31. The rebellious
32. dné-unu-gal uku-e sil-sil dingir kùr-	32. Nergal, guide the people, god of the
ra nigin	world, all of it.
33. šag (?) dib-ba-zu tú-ur-bi-šú (?)	33. Thine angry heart (?) ² hostilely evil
hul	[may not inspire (?)]
34. an-gub-na sá-bal-da nu-um	34. Oh angub ³ of Heaven (?), unrest
	shall not $[be (?)]$ .
35. dné-unu-gal šag (?)-dib-ba tú-ur-bi	35. Nergal, (thine) angry heart hostilely
	[evil may not inspire $(?)$ ].
-	· Chance & W water
36. dū sir	36. dū-sir.
37. ur-sag nigin šár (?)-ra maš	37. Heroic one of the whole world (?)
38. AL igi im-ši	38
<b>39</b> . <i>BAD</i>	39
<b>40</b> . <i>UD</i>	40
41 . unum-e da-gub-bi-mèn an-gub me-e	41. Oh lord, dagub thou art, angub
	thou
<b>42.</b> ki-el ga-ša-an an-na	42. (May) the maiden queen of heaven

- 43. ga-ša-an-mèn migin túg (?) mu-mèn dé-im dúg-e
- (speak repose to thy heart). 43. A queen thou art, turn (unto me), my ... thou art, mayest thou say,

1. kigal refers here to the under-world.

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2. The text in 1. 35 has clearly KI(?).

3. an-gub-na, perhaps for angubbana

and for an-gub as a title of gods, v. CT. XXIV 24, 67; XXV 6, 15.

**44**. **šag** dé-im-túg-e bar dé-im-túg-e

- 44. "Let the heart repose", let the soul repose".
- 45. dim-mē¹-ir ^da-nun-na kin (?)-gà-e dé-en-túg-e
  46. nin-e a-maškim-e² a-ki³ BAD(?) ba ni-in-gar
- 45. May the gods, the Anunakki, the messengers (?) repose.
- 46. The lord⁶ the..... water of the earth..... has restored.

47. sir (?)⁴
48. (Edge) ^dné-unu-gal-kş-kam.

47. A song48. 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 kisub of the composition (Sum. Gram., p. 197, 21) that kisub 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."

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. 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  $\dot{s}\dot{u}$  (not  $t\dot{u}g$ ?) employed in the phrase  $\dot{S}\dot{U}$ -mal.

6. nin masculine, as in line 1.

•

Obverse.

- 1. *j*á dùg..... e....
- 2.
- 3. nam-ursag 1-e....
- 4. d·gu-la gi $\ldots$ .
- 5. d.en-lil d.nin-lil-bi mu-na....
- 6. nig-šu síl-la (?)-bi igi.....
- 7. mu-ta-an² ab-es sag-li....
- 8. gal-zu ù-li-bad-du gub-bi.....
- 9. ... šu-pi-el šu-mah....
- 10. d.en-lil d.nin-lil-bi d.nin-si-in-(na 3....
- 11. .... ki.. mn-na

#### Reverse.

12. en ^d·né-unu-gal-ra la-da é-da.....

13. den-lil denin-lil-bi mu-na-an-sum-mu....

14. en-gal kur-ra-ka mi-ni-in-tu-ri.....

15. giš-ma silig ^h-ga sag-bi-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

**19**. *ù-mu-tu*⁵ *uğ-ùr* ? ? *me-gim igi... ra...* 

20. kùr nibru-(ki)-šú nu-um-ši-ni-ib-gál-la-iš

21. kur ki utu-suš utu nu-gál-ba an-bil ti-ir šu-ni...

22. ki-(?)-en-gi lal-bi *ni-gur-gùr*....

- 23. uku sag-gig-ga *ŭg-ga*....
- nam-ab-ba 24. zi-ba nigin si-si

25. gir-bi šu-silim dingir-ra-ni gù-de-a zi šu..... silim

26. garza gil-sa-a da-eri kùr-šú šu.....

27. d. né 6-unu-gal lugal utu-šuš...

28. 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-si-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 né, according to the syllabars belongs to the sign PIRIK, later confused with GIR. The reading né must be considered extremely doubtful, and has been introduced to explain the late form nergal.

29. nam-bi-šú yal-uku⁴ 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-aga² mu-ni-gar

32. ki-šub ^d·innina 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 *kisub*, 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.

- 2. Probably for ki-aga =  $r\hat{a}mu$ .
- 3. Sic! without dingir.
- 4. Cf. also nos. 102 and 107.

^{1.} For this title see DE GENOUILLAC, TSA., p. xxviii.

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 Kišof Zamama, whose temple bears the name Ekišibba. 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, 21². According to a tablet published by DR. PINCHES in PSBA., 4944, pl. XI, Ninlil or Bélit 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-gi-ra for ki-en-gi-ra in this Prism. Kelti would be for Kesti, in which case Kes and Kestu 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 halafi, "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
<b>1</b> . [nam]-ta-ab-è	1. [Nintud from] has sent forth.
2. $[\ldots na]m$ -ta-ab-è	2. [Mother Nintud from] has sent forth.
<b>3</b> ?-la é-dug ib (?)-ta-ab-è	3. [] has sent forth.
4umun kùr-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.
gùr	
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..... bi 9. .... *ab*bi 10. ..... qubbi 10. ..... stood. 11. ... bi-ta ? da im-ma- an- sur 11. ..... from its.... with.... he poured out. 12. .... mà-mà ? UD al-mà- mà 12. .... builded.... builded. 13. ... kalam-mà-bi ansu-kùr surub-13. .... their land the horse of Shubak 1 ruppak. 14. ..... tal kalam-mà-bi anšu-kùr 14. .... the dark-headed people their šurubbak land the horse of Shurruppak. 15. .....da mă-a an-da gú-lá-a 15. [In....] grew up, with heaven it rivalled. **16**. . . . . . . da m**ă-a** 16. [In....] grew up, in the mountain kùr-ra sagilabi lifted its head. 17. .....-a har-sag-gim sig-17. ..... as the mountains ga gleaming. 18. [én-HAR-(ki)]-gim rib-ba 18. As EN-HAR a form let man bear. galu ši-in- ga- antúm-mu 19. [ur-sag-] bi ^Aáš-šir-gi-gim rib-19. Their strong one like Ninib in ba form. 20. ...ama ší- ingaanù- $20. \ldots a$  mother may beget. tud 21. [nin-bi]^d· nin-tud-gim rib-ba-21. Their lady like Nintud in form a-2 (shall be) ra22. a-ba  $duh^3$ in-22. Who the wailing shall begin? er- muni-**23**.  $[ki-sub]^4$  gú $kam^5$ àš- a-23. A prayer Section one. 24.[... keš]-(ki) dug- ga- $d\bar{u}$ -a 24. .... in Keš well builded. 25. .... in En-HAR-ki dug-ki well 25. .... én-HAR-(ki) dug-ki dug-ga- du-a builded.

26. .... nun-gim an-na dirig-ga26. .... like.... in heaven passing.27. ....  $azag-gim-[rib]si-ri-a-[ge?]^6$ 27. .... like the holy in form beautiful.28. .... na-gim $tal-k\dot{u}r-28$ . .... like.... lighting humanity. $k\dot{u}r-ra$ 

Cf. RADAU, Miscel., no. 17, 10.
 Var. omits.
 Lines 21+22 form one line on Var.
 Var. has=YYYY for his in hangeim. For

4. Var. has for ki-sub passim. For  $e = kab\hat{u}$  v. Sum Gr. 212. Const.

1575 has a liturgical note é ^dnannar, 'prayer to Nannar'.

5. Var. é ¥kam-ma, 'first prayer'.
6. a is last sign on Var.

	- 89 -	-
29 gim ki-a-ta $t$ sur-		like which beneath is pour ed out.
30gimmur-du ninda-ib-gi	m gù- 30.	like, whose wail, like the
31 bi-ta libiš kalam-ma		reed-(flute), is loud-voiced. from its the hearts of the people.
32 bi-ta zid ki-en-gi-ra ²	32.	in e people. from its the soul of life in Sumer.
33 ligir-gal an-e ³ us-	sa 33.	Anu.
34 da-gal an-e ³ us- se	34.	great following Anu.
35gal an-e us- sa		great following Anu.
$36. \ldots lal \qquad us-[sa]^4$		····· great Ionowing And
Col. II		Col. II
1 bad an-ki	·	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		heaven and earth
		the nether-sea
3 dingir $ki$ š- $(ki)$		god of Kiš
4. d.en-lil-li zag		Enlil
5. $ama \stackrel{d}{\cdots}nin-tud e^{s}-bar(?)\dots$		Mother Nintud decision
6. $\acute{e}$ keš-(ki) na		Temple of Keš
7. én-HAR- (ki)-gim rib-ba gau [in-ga-an-tún	n-mu]	Like <i>EN</i> — <i>HAR</i> a form may man bear.
8. ur-sag-bi d·áš-šir-[gi-gim rib		Their strong one like Ninib in form.
9ama ši-in- ga- an-i		a mother may beget.
10. nin-bi ^d ·nin-tud-gím rib-ba- ba] er [mu-ni-in		Their lady like Nintud in form (shall be). Who the wailing shall begin?
$11. \qquad g\acute{u}-min-kam$	11.	
12. é an-šú gām-du ki-šú		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, beneath is.
15. é an-šú ki-šú gĭr(?)	15.	The temple above is, beneath is.
1. So Var. clearly.	3.	Var. an-ni.
2. Cf. RADAU, Miscel., no. 16, 4.	4.	Here ends Col. 1 of Var.

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16.	ká an-šú gim lil ki-šú gĭr(?) a	16.	The gates above like are fixed beneath are.
17.	é an-šú muš-gim síg-ga ki-šú ud- gim a-e	17.	The temple above like a dragor blazes, beneath like the Sun
18.	é an-šú ud-gim è-a ki-šú nannar- gim ??	18.	The temple above like the Sun arises beneath like the Moon
19.	é an-šú kùr-ra ki-šú idim- ma	19.	The temple above like a mountain is beneath a cavern is.
20.	é an-ki êš gu-?-bi na- nam	20.	The temple above in heaven and eart thrice is.
21.	én-HAR-gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga- an-túm-mu	21.	Like EN-HAR may man a forr bear.
22.	[ur- s]ag-bi ^d ·áš-šir-gí-ba ri½-ba (?)- [a- ra?]	22.	Their strong one like Ninib in form
23.	ama ši-in-ga- an- ù- tud	23.	May a mother beget.
24.	[nin-bi] ^d ·nin-tud-[gím] rib-ba-ra a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duh	24.	Their lady like Nintud in form sha be. Who the wailing shall begin
25.	êš- kam- ma ¹	25.	Section third.
26.	[eri] in-ga-ám uru in-ga-ám šag-ga a-ba-a mu-un-[?]		Behold the city, the habitations to behold ! Who therein sha [dwell?].
27.	é keš-(ki) eri in-ga-ám šag-ga a-ba a-mu	27.	The temple of Keš (and) the city see Who therein shall [dwell?]
28.	šag-ga-a ur-sag ur-sag-e-ne si-mu- un-[na-ab-sá?]	28.	Therein their heroic ones it will direc aright (?).
29.	eš-bar-kin-dúg-ga-šu ? mu-un ?		To herald decision it will
30.	é-e ² gud udu gud-ám ma-ge	30.	The temple the oxen and sheep like one ox
31.	erin-e ib-ba-a (?) an sukal . sukal	31.	The cedars messengers divine
32.	é-e gud šár-ra-ám al	32.	The temple the oxen, all of them shall
33.	é-e udu šár-ra-ám al	33.	The temple the sheep, all of them shall
34.	giš-ma-? ne-gùn ^{giš} má dingir li	34.	Withwood the boat of the go [he made ?]
35.	giś-KUdingir kar	35.	With uskarinu-wood the of god

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# Col. III.

Col. 111.	Col. 111.
1. giš A-TUD-GAB-LIŠ dingir	1. With sarbatu-wood the of god
<b>2.</b> har-sag-da an-da sîg	2. In the mountains on high shining.
3. én-HAR-(ki)-gim rib-ba  galu śi-in-	3. Like $EN$ - $HAR$ - $(ki)$ a form may man
$ga-an-t\dot{u}m-mu$ ].	bear.
4. ur-sag-bi ^d ·áś-sir-[gi-]gim rib-ba]	4. Their strong one like Ninib in form,
5 $[ama \ si-in-]ga-mu-[t\hat{u}m-mu]$	5 may the mother beget.
	6. Their lady like Nintud in form.
6. [nin-bi ^d nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra a-ba er-mu-ni-in-duħ].	Who the wailing shall begin ?
	who the wanning shart begin :
7. [ki-šub gù-lam-kam-ma]	7. A prayer. Fourth section.
8. é	8. The temple
9. é la ur	9. The temple
10sag- ga-a ur-sag-ur-sag-e-ne si-	10. Therein their heroic ones it shall
mu-[un-na-ab-sá?]	direct aright.
11. anin-har-sag-gàusumgal-a an-na ki	11. Ninharsag, regent in heaven and
im-m[i]	earth
12. dingir-nin-tud ama-gal-la tud-tud	12. Nintud, great mother, she who causes
mu- $un$	begetting
13. dšul-sīg-è-a pa-te-si-ge nam-en mu.	13. Šulsig-è-a the patesi with lordship
Jer	en[dowed ?].
14gi ur-sag-gà és mu	$14 \cdot [Nini]b$ , the heroic, in the abode
15. ^d dim-me ligir gal-ám ¹ edin-na-an ²	[installed.?].
<i>mu-um</i>	15. The demon Dimme, great regent in
	the plains
16. é siķķa lulim ³ gùn-ám	16. The house of the wild goats and the
<i>j</i>	sturdy sheep altogether
17. én-HAR-(ki)-ga4-gim rib-ba galu ši-	17. Like EN-HAR may man bear the
in-ga-an-[túm-mu]	form.
18. $ur$ -sag-bi ^d áš-šir-gi ⁵ -gim [rib- ba]	18. Their strong one like Ninib in form,
<b>19.</b> $gis^6$ ama $si-in-ga-an-[\dot{u}-tud]$	19. A man may a mother beget.
20. nin-bidnin-tud-gim[rib-ba-ra-ba er-	20. Their lady like Nintud in form (may
mu-ni-in duh]	be). Who the wailing shall begin?
21. gù ⁷ já- 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. <i>la.</i>	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.
4. Var. gá.	7. Var. é.

# Col. III.

- .. of god...
- gh shining.
- rm may man
- nib in form,

- eget.
- in form. begin ?

<b>2</b> 3	. 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.	lands, it has been placed.
	[én-HAR-ga-gim rīb-ba galu ši-in- ga-an túm-mu]	30. [Like EN-HAR-ki may man bear the form].
31	ga an tam ma] . [ur-sag-bi ^d áš-šir-gi-gim rib- ba]	31. [Their strong one like Ninib in form,]
32	. [ ama śi-in-ga-an ù-tud]	32. [ May a mother beget].
	Col IV	Col IV
1.	. [nin-bi] ^d nin-tud-gim rib-baa-ba[er- mu-ni-in-duḫ	1. Their lady like Nintud in form (may be). Who the wailing shall begin? ¹
	. gù āš- kam- ma e-duº-bi sa ki e-duº-bi	2. Section sixth. The seventh section is too badly damaged to yield a connected sense.
6	bi-an ^d a-nun-na é an-name-en	The refrain at the end agrees with that of the preceding sections.
	an-mu-un-gub	•
	túg-lal nam mu-un-lal. e umum ^d en ne	
	e amam en ne e-a ŭr mu-un-gub	
	<b>a šu-bi-š</b> ú azág-ga-ám dū-dū-ge(?)	
	e-nun e-ne gù-túg-ám.	
	a-ni ge šag mu-ni sīg-gi-ne.	
	ge gig-ga gig-ga-ne.	
	gig mi-ni ib-za	
	dug ka-zal-bi al-dug	
	é-dug ka-zal-ir-bi al-dug	
	ni-bi a-mu-un-durun	
	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	

4. 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. 

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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 dig-am ....., not otherwise known.

1 ga-an-dúg mu-lu	1 I cry, " who ".
<b>2</b> $bi$ (?) ga-an-dúg mu-lu	2 I cry, " who ".
<ul> <li>3. [á-gim] ga-an-dúg a-ba ba-ra-è-e a[šub-bi]</li> <li>4. a-ki-ni lul-si man-nu uş-şa a-hu-lap ša na-du-u</li> </ul>	3. This will I cry, "Who shall escape? How long ! he that is cast out."
5. urú-zi-mu ga-an-dúg a	5. Oh my faithful city! I cry, "Who shall escape? How long! he that is cast out."
6. é-an-na ub¹ imin ga-an-dúg a	6. Oh Eanna of the seven regions ² ! I cry, "Who shall escape? How long! he that is cast out."
7. har-sag kalam-ma ub imin ga-an- dúg a	8
8. è-tùr-kalam-ma ub imin ga-an-dúg-a	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  $\acute{e}$ -PA. Unless we infer that in each of these cases the name of the temple includes the tower for which no separate name existed, the reference cannot be made to apply to the stages of the tower. The precise cosmological and architectural implication of the seven ub remains unknown. Note that in the earliest reference to  $\acute{e}$ -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. 9. gi-in-bi¹ gub-ba gi-in-bi nu [gub-bi]

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]
- 9. He whose maid stood forth for him;his maid now stands not forth.
- 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.

I.....

12.  $me-e \ ur-ri \ gin^3$   $me-e \ ...$  12. I am become a foe sal-su nis-hu dúg-ám...

# 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 Tammuzanin 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.

0.51.	
2. $ma_{5}$	
3	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
<b>4</b> . ama kala-a-ka (?)	4. The mother of the hero

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-

vices of private penance.

3. The same catch-line occurs in SBH. 50,32 but the section preceding this line in SBH. 50 does not agree with K. 2759. Compare CT. XV 24, 9 urú-mà ur-ri gin "To my city I am become hostile".

6.	ăm-mul ama hen-mèn ¹ [áb amar-ra gù- nam-me i-dé-zu gar-ra-ám-ma áb amar ² -ra gù [-nu-gí-gí [i-dé-zu gar-ra-ám-ma]	<ul> <li>5. The cattle (?)</li> <li>6. "A mother thou art. The cow for the calf moans not; oh give heed.</li> <li>7. The cow for the calf [lowed not.] [Oh give heed.]</li> </ul>
9.	ar-hu ana bu-[ri] fu-mu-zu li-[bi-ir-ranu-mu-ra-ab- și-du]	9. Thy child [the <i>gallu</i> demon will not give up to thee].
	ma-ra-ki ù-mu-un si-ga³[nu-mu-ra-ab-și-du]	11. The lord of destruction [will not yield him to thee].
12. 13.	be-el na-aš-pan-[ti] ù-mu-un gi-[gi nu-mu-ra-ab-și-du]	13. The slaying lord ⁷ [will not yield him up to thee].
	be-lum da-i-[ku ?] ⁴ ama kala- a-ka edin-na[] ⁵	15. The mother of the hero in the plain [unto the lord came?]
16.	um-mi id-li ina și-[ri]	
	<i>a-ra-li-ka</i> edin-na ⁶	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 șir-hi gal-lu-ú	Chaine V V Value
	Re	<b>9.</b>
1.	li-bi-ir-ri ù-mu-un si-ga ma-da te [mu-un-dî-a]	1 . "Oh gallū ⁸ lord of devastation, why [hast thou destroyed] him from me?
2.	gal-lu-ú be-el na-as-pan-ti mi-[na-	

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1. VAT. 611 omnits. 2. K. 6849, mar.

3. So A S K T. 118 rev. 1 and K. 6849,9. HAUPT'S text has here, ₩ i. e., *nig-[si-ga ?]*. VAT. 611, *si-ge*.

am tušalpitanni]

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4. K. 6849, omits ll. 13 f. VAT. 611, d $\dot{u}g$ -ge. For the  $d\bar{a}iku$  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  $gall\bar{u}$  appears as the

3. me-ir-si gú id zimbir-(ki)-ge ma-da [le mu-un-dî-a]

4. ina gi-ir-si-e¹ ša a-ah pu-rat-ti [minamiati tušalpitanni]
5. ùr-mu in-bad dam-[ma-mu]

- 6. su-ni ip-te-ma mu-[ti]
- 7. și-ib-mu in-baddumu-[mu]8. bir-ki-ia ip-te-mama-[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 *Bèlit-sêri* to Hades, andguards the gates of hell, 312,12.

In SCHEIL [+ ZIMMERN], Tammuz, Obs. II, Tammuz has seven  $gall\bar{u}$  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  $gall\bar{u}$ 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·damušág-ga umun me-ir-si(g) = [ilu Tammuz] damka bêl gir-su-[u], SBH. 86 rev. 14 + 134 b 28 f. = SBP. 160,44. In line 5 page 20 of this volume we have the same god referred to as Umun-mu-zida, i.e., Ningišzida 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, "stormeloud", Br. 8414, and duhhudu sa mirsi following duhhudu ša šamni, "to make oil abundant", in K. 4339 rev. 16 [CT. 12,

50]. Here *mirsu* evidently refers to some beneficent element in nature. Further, perhaps here  $m\bar{i}r$ -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-girsê "lord of the flood", referring in any case to a deity of vegetation who sends fresh waters, and in this aspect connected with the Ea group. For Ningirsu placed in the Eridu pantheon, v. CT. 25, 16, 43 =29, 93. References to Tammuz who perishes in the floods are, SBP. 312,10 and 334,1 ff. The latter passage justifies the supposition that in the ceremony an image of Tammuz was cast upon the river in a little boat.

2. Cf. ZIMMERN, K.-L., no. 1, rev. I, a-me^d dumu-zi-diab-dib-dib, "The flood has seized away Tammuz".

9. ù li-bi-ir ¹ -ra ma-da	te mu-[un-	9. A	nd thou oh gai	llū-demo	on, why [hast
	$d\hat{i}$ -a].		thou destroy	ed him]	from me?
10. u gal-lu-ú ja-ti	mi-n[am				
	tušalpitanni		• .		•
11. ká li-bi-ir-ra-ka ga-an	-gub a mu	11. 7	At the gate	of the	gallū-demon
	U C		verily I will	place m	yself"
12. ina ba-ab gal-li-e lu-	•uš [?] -ziz		· ·	•	0

# 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.

$6.\ldotska$ -nag-gà-ge ta ³	$6.\ldots$ of the land 4 how long?
7. mu-mu mu-ud-na-zu ta	7. mu-mu thy husband how long ?
8. nin-ri dam sib-ba ta	8. Oh queen wife of the shepherd, how long ?
9. dam-ma-ra ⁵ gig-ga-ba ta	9. Oh amorous wife, how long?
<b>10</b> . dingir dumu și-ir-tūr-ra-ge ⁵ ta	10. Divine son of Sirtur, how long?
11. $\bar{u}$ ⁷ si-ib-ba-ge ga si-ib-ba-[ge]	11. Pure food, pure milk.
12. sàb-ba $\bar{u}$ și-ib-ba-ge ga $k\bar{u}$ -k $\bar{u}$ -da- [ge]	12. Oh shepherd, pure food, sweet ⁹ milk.
13. u-me-a-am ^d ·dumu-zi ne-šu ⁸ dúg-ga lăg-lăg-ga	13. Let be ¹⁰ . Tammuz, how long, pure words (?)

- 1. Vide ZK, II, 281.
- 2. Or uz (?)
   3. Read ta-[śú].
- 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-šu = 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.

13

14. sáb-ba ne-ta¹ ní-gùr²-ata-šú mu-lu in-kúr(?)

15. d. dumu-zi-ta ní-gùr-a ta-sù

16.  $\bar{u}$ -gur-ru-a  $\bar{u}$  la-ba-da kum³ ta-šu

17. ga gùr-ru-a ga la-ba-da-úm ta-šú

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. Thou that liftest thyself up, thou that liftest thyself up...

**3**. *e-si qim kin*..... 4. *silam-gim*.....

1. ní-gùr-ru-a ní-gùr-[ru-a.....

2. gud-gim sí-ni-šú....

- 5. elim-ma.....
- 6. *sib*.....
  - CCI

This dialogue between Tammuz and Ininni is published by Dr. DAVID W. MYHR-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 Bélit-séri⁴, 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 ní-gùr-ru. Cf. rev. 1.

3. For kumin the sense of eat, v. Boissier, DA. 21,12; — šumma ina murșišu ipallah itebbî uššab akala ikkal mê išattî kusapa ikassap buri-šu ilkî imât, "If in his illness he fears, gets up and sitsdown, eats foot, drinks water, breaks

bread and takes his bowl, he will die". The line was transliterated by VIROL-LEAUD in Bab. 114,23]. Here kusapa ikassap is written PAD-KUM. The text has KUM + SE, 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, Kultlieder p. 4 b 19 f.

SCHEIL.  $\begin{cases}
16. \dot{u} \quad nu-me-a \quad \dot{u} \quad ba-an-da-kur. Where food was not, food is eaten. \\
17. a \quad nu-me-a \quad a-ba-an-da-nag. Where water was not, water is drunk.
\end{cases}$ 

ZIM.  $\begin{cases} 19. \ \bar{u} \ nu-me-en-na \ \bar{u} \ ba-an-da-bal-a. Where food was not, food is stored. \\ 20. ga \ nu-me-en-na \ ga \ ba-an-da-gaz. Where milk was not, milk is drunk. \end{cases}$ 4. Sum. gesten-anna > musten-anna > mu-ti-an-na, SBP. 154, n. 3; ZIMMERN,

Der Babyl. Gott Tamûz, p. 9. 5. Probably also in SCHEIL, II, 20.

1. bal-e SAL-KU-ma ¹ (-ni na-mu ² -e)	1. Uttering a discourse ⁶ his sister was.
<b>2</b> . d. babbar ³ dam-ma- $[ni(?)]e$	2. To the god of sunlight, her consort, she was (speaking),
<b>3</b> . in-nin gu-šar-ra ⁴ dug-li gùr-ru	<ul> <li>3. The heavenly queen ⁷ who brings the verdure in abundance,</li> </ul>
4. ª·innina gu-šar-ra dug-li gùr-ru	4. Innina who brings the verdure in abundance.
<b>5</b> . še-?-gi-na dug-li ma	5. « The sprouting things (?) abun- dance where
<b>6</b> . damah dug-lia	6. [His] consortwho abundance [bestows ?]
7. d-inninamah dug-lia	7. Innina
8	8 to my [consort?]
9. in-nin gu-sar-ra ga-mu-ra-gin	9. «Oh heavenly queen, the verdure I will restore for thee.
10. ^d ·innina gu-šar-ra ga-mu-ra- gin	10. Oh Innina, the verdure I will restore to thee.
11. šeš ⁵ gu-šar-ra ma-i-ra-ta	11. « Oh brother, the verdure, where is it taken ? ⁸
12. a-ba-a ma-c-ri-a a-[ba-a] ma-i- ra-ta	12. Who has taken, who has taken ?

Cf. ZIMMERN, Sum. Kultlieder, 3 a 1 ff.
 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. 47. His argument based upon K. 474 is, however, vitiated by the fact that K 474 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. 416. 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 gu-sà-ra =  $z\bar{a}r\hat{u}$ , 'begetter' Rm. 604,6 and Del. H. W. 263 a, to which add PSBA. 1912, p. 71, 1. 2, za-ri-ilani.

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 gašan anna. ZIMMERN, Der Babyl. Gott Tamūz, p. 16, on the basis of SBP. 84, 22 gašan a-na-a = ilu ištar šakât, interprets "the lofty goddess". But for ana = šamû (a noun) cf. Sum. Gram., 89, n. 4, ininna-ka-ge, a form which proves innina to be a construct compound.

8. For *i-ra=babalu*, '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	13. The plants from me who has taken? »
$\begin{bmatrix} 14. SAL + KU - mu \ ri - a - bi \\ ra - gin \end{bmatrix}$	(14. « My sister, that which is taken, I restore to thee.
15. d·innini ri-a-bi [ga-mu- ra-gín]	15. Oh Innini, that which is taken, I re- store to thee. »
16. šeš ri-a-bi-a ma i- ra- ta	16. « Oh brother, that which is taken, where is it transported ?
17. a-ba-a ma-ab-til-til a-ba-a ma-ab- til-til	17. Who has made an end thereof, who has made an end thereof?
18. gu-bi ma- a- ra a-ba-a [ma-ab- til-til]	(18. The plants for me who has caused to perish? »
$\begin{cases} 19. SAL + KU - mu \ til - a - bi \\ ra - gin \end{cases} ga - mu - ra - gin$	19. « My sister, that which perished, I will restore to thee.
20. ^d ·innini tíl-a-bi ga-mu-ra-gín	20. Ininna, that which perished, I will restore to thee. »
21. šeš tíl-a-bi-a ma-i-ra-ta	21. « Oh brother, that which perished, where is it gone ?
22. a-ba-[a ma-]ab-tab-bi ¹ a-ba-a ma-ab-tab-bi	22. Who has taken, who has taken?
23. gu-[bi ma-a-ra] a-ba-a ma-ab-bi- bi	23. The plants from me who has sundered ? »
$\left\{ \begin{array}{ccc} 24. & SAL+KU-mu \ tab-ba-bi \ ga-mu-ra \\ gin \end{array} \right.$	24. « My sister, that which is taken, I will restore to thee.
25. ^d ·innıni tab-ba-bi ga-mu-ra-gin	25. Innini, that which is sundered, I will restore to thee. »
26. šeš tab-ba-bi-a ma i-ra- ta 27. a-ba-a [ma-ab-zi-]zi a-ba-a ma-	26. Oh brother, that which is taken, where is it transported ?
ab-zi-zi	27. Who has felled, who has felled?
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	28. The plants for me who has felled ?
$\left\{\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllll$	29. « My sister, that which is fallen, I will restore to thee.
(30. ^d innini zí-a-hi ga-mu-ra-gín	30. Innini, that which is fallen, I will restore to thee ».

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1. For tab, see Sum. Gr. 245.

2. Below this sign the scribe adds en. It is probable that this gloss indicates that zi is for zi-en < zi-em < sig = sapānu, v. Sum. Gram., p. 257 zem. m > n would be a case of partial assimilation of m to the dental sibilant z (or ş), v. § 55 a.

(31.	šeš zi-a-bi-a ma i-ra-ta	31. « Oh brother, the fallen where
)20	a ha awa ah tag taga ha awa tag	are they transported ?
<b>3</b> 4.	a-ba-a ma-ab-tag-tag a-ba-a ma-tag-	32. Who has crushed, who has crushed ?
0	tag	
133.	gu-hi ma-a-ra a-ha-a ma-tag-tag	33. The plants for me who has crushed ? »
(34.	SAL+-KU-mu tag-a-bi ga-mu-ra-	(34. « My sister, that which is crushed,
} .	gin	I will restore to thee.
(35.	^d ·innini tag-a-bi ga-mu-ra-gin	35. Ininni, that which is crushed, I will
		restore to thee. »
$\binom{36}{}$	šeš tag-a-bi-a ma i-ra-ta	36. Oh brother, the crushed, where are they gone ?
37.	a-ba-a ma gurŭn-gurŭn! a-ba-a	37. Who has garnered, who has
{ ¹	ma-gurŭn-gurŭn	garnered ?
38.	gu-bi ma-a-ra a-ba-a ma-	38. The plants from me who has
1	gurŭn-gurŭn	garnered ?
(39.	SAL+KU-mu gurŭn-na-bi ga-	(39. « My sister, that which is garner-
}	mu-ra-gin	ed, I will restore to thee.
(40.	^d ·inninį gurŭn-na-bi ga-mu-ra-gin	40. Innini, that which is garnered, I will restore to thce. »
41.	šeš gurŭn-na-bi-a ma i-ra-ta	41. « Oh brother, that which has been garnered, where is it transported?
42.	a-ba-a mu-da-an-nad a-ba-a mu-	42. Whom shall I embrace, whom
	da-an-nad ²	shall I embrace ?
43.	za-ra hen-da-an-nad hen-da-	43. Thee I would embrace, yea I
	an-nad ²	would embrace.
44.	za-ra nitahlam ³ -[mu] hen-da- an-nad	44. Thee, oh my husband, I would embrace.
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

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1. The phonetic value of the sign ILending 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 US-SAL-DAM = gitlam, nitahlam < gitlam represents a hitherto undocumented phonetic change n > gor the reverse process of  $g > n \S 51$ . The change was probably produced by partial assimilation n to h.

	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	-		
<b>4</b> 5.	^a dagal-usumgal ¹ -an			vould
4.6	Jun 139 draw 131 [13]	an-nad		race.
40.	ku-li² ^d ·en-lil-[lá-ge]	hen-da- <b>an-</b> nad		vould prace.
47	šag-zi-ta-è-a	hen-da-an-nad		n ⁵ , l
48.	a bara-ga rí-a ³	<i>ḫen−da-an−nad</i>	48. He whom the father in the chamber did create, I v	holy
49.	ni-gi-en mu-lu šă-ab lu šă	mal-kam' mu- i-ab mal-kam 4	49. Return, oh lord, create the waters, oh lord, create the	risen

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1. ušum is written with the hieratic form of im (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", Śurpu 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 BAU-DISSIN, 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 castingof coffined images of Adonis and Osiris upon the waters, and the throwing of the Adonis gardens into the sea (v. BAUDISSIN, op. cit., 188). Note also that Istar, in her descent to Arallu in quest of Tammuz crosses the « shining river », Bab. IV 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.

50. mu-lu šă-ab-mu sîg 1-mi-in- dúg-ga-ám	50. Oh lord my heart thou wilt rejoice.
54. al nu-ag-ám gûr dub-dub-ba-an	51. The spade labors not, the gra- naries shall be heaped.
52. še- gà nun-e sá-dùg dúg-ga-ám	52. Oh gracious prince, the regular offer-
<b>20</b>	ings command.
53. mu-un-kàr še-ir ² gûr šár-ra-ám	53. Possessions multiply (?), the grana- ries enrich.
54. sab-c ab(?) súg-súg ³ -ga-ám	54. Oh shepherd, the springing verdure (?) irrigate ».

55. bal-bal-e diininna-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

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of (1-, i.e. E(1-2. Uncertain.

3. So photograph.

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No. 10. Line 7 read zi for nam. Although the duplicates, SBH. 17 rev. 4; 20, 30; 23,14, have bur-NAM-sar, yet bur-zi-sar is clearly the correct reading. K. 4638 (No. 185) is an interlinear duplicate of lines 6-8 = SBP. 86, 27-32, and this text has also zi, bur-zi(g) is translated by naptanu šaķûtu in K. 4638, and by naptanu šaķû in SBP. 86,31. For  $zig = \frac{1}{2} \frac{1$ 

bur-zi sar-ra d·gibil ab-gal-la-ra

naptan šakû ¹ ana šuhmutu ^{ilu}gibil 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-u. SBP. 124,28 read ba-\$u-u. Line 6 probably hen-\$ed-dé. Line 10. \$a-du-u ra-bu-u ilu enlil. Line 12, before é-kur read ana (?) or bit (?); cf. SBP. 426,35. (13)... ra-ge. (15)... \$a-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  $d\bar{u}m$ , 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 šaķûti, 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....  $d \cdot gu-la-din-dig-ga$ . 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-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 é-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. 4-3. 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..., [nin]-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-naan-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  $k\dot{u}r$ -me read  $s\bar{s}g$  (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 gú-gú-ru. The interpretation p. 55 is uncertain.

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

**137.** Line 5 for sal-la read dam.

139. Line 6 for bar read dingir. Line 16 for tur read 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  $nin-zi-da \ ^d\cdot gasan ni-ná-a-(ki)$ , with 210,11,  $nin-zi-da \ gasan-mu \ ^d\cdot na-na-a$ . So read also 114,31 and 258,20. See also 106, 13,  $nin-zi-da \ :[rubâtum \ kittum] : gasan \ [^d\cdot na-na-a] : \ bel-el-tu \ ^{ilu}$ [Y-a. Also,  $nin-gu-la \ gasan-mu \ ^d\cdot na-na$ , SBH. 59,47 : K. 5457 rev. 13. Ninā is the virgin goddess, consort of Tammuz in the pantheon of Eridu, SBP. 162,23-25, corresponding to Innini and Tammuz in the Nippur pantheon, SBP. 152,19 f. Throughout Babylonian religion the goddess Nanā and Innini are usually kept apart, though both represent the same theological aspect. Nanā constantly follows Nebo and Tašmetum, who belong to the Eridu pantheon ; v. SBP. 210,11 ; 258,20; 114,34; 106,13.

Babylonian Liturgies.

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. $[ub-\acute{e}bi]$ -sag ¹ $ub-c$ ba-da-ab- gam ²	10. Without he cried (?), within he humiliated.
11. [da-ebi]-sag ¹ da-e ba-da-ab- gam ²	11. Within he cried (?), within he humiliated.
12. [si-dúg-ga gù-bi-de] ŭr-na ³ ba-e si-si ⁴	12. In the cavern he cried, and its roof fell in.
13. [PA-síg-gù-bi-de] múr-gú ⁵ bar - ⁶ ra	13. In the he cried, and the bulwark was broken.
14. [sìg-gù-gar-ra ur-bi [gú-mi-ni-in- mar ⁷	14. The brick wall is fallen; straight- way he crushed it.
15. [dam-ta nu-ar] i-dé-mu-un-ma-ma	15.
16. [dumu-ta nu-ar] i-dé-mu-un-kar- kar ⁸	16.
17 i-lu mu-un-na-ab-bi	17in woe he spoke.
18 <i>i-lu mu-un-na-ab-bi</i> ⁹	18 in woe he spoke.
19. [é-sag-di tùb-ba] ni-ib ¹⁰ -dar- dar	<b>19.</b> The sanctuary?
20. [uru-ba kaskal-a-šú (?) mu-un-]	20.
mar	Carlos V Vertica

151. Duplicate of IV R. 53 r. III 1-5.

157. Read K. 6503.

158. In line one ZIMMERN would supply before kur, a-ma-ru na-nam, and in line two before *sadi-i*, a-bu-um-ma. The idea would then be, "Lofty one, furious (?), who a deluge is ; he has shattered the mountain".

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

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-maSBP. 10, 13. mu-na-an-gin RA. 9, 112, 25 = mu-na-gin, Gud. Cyl. 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. gù.

8. Var. kár.

9. Lines 17 f. are omitted on the variant. Cf. SBP. 66, 24.

- 6. Var. bar (so read ? Zim. sur !).
- 7. Var. gù-mi-ni-ib-gar.
- 10. Var. mi-ni-ib.

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. GRAY, Šamaš 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. 75 l. 3, read amar not gu. Suppress note 1; also RA. 9,6 n. 8¹.

Translate, "Of the stalls, the young cattle I give to drink"; see RA. 9.6 n. 9. The whole of tablet 186 belongs after line 10 p. 74.

Rev. 16-26 is a duplicate of CT. XV 7,7-17 (SBP. p. 10)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	7. The spirit is the word of Anu, and the word of Enlil.
17 (8). ud-dé šăb-ib-ba d· gu-la-ri	8. The spirit of the angry heart of
	Anu,
18 (9). ud-dé šă-ab-hul-ma-al-la d·mu- ul-lil-lă-ge ³	9. The spirit of the evilly-disposed heart of Enlil,
$19(10)$ . $ag^4$ $e-zi-mu$ ba-ab-gul-la-	10. All of my consecrated temples has
$ri^5$	destroyed ;
20(11). ág urú-zi-mu ba-ab-hul-la-ri	
21(12). na-ăm-tar ág-é-mu sīg-gan ne ⁱ - in-dúg-ga-ri	12. Fate has afflicted all my temples with calamity ⁷ .
22(13). an-šú ni-zig nu-mu-un ⁶ -da-ma-	
ma	strained $(?)^8$

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-šă-a² mu-ub-rig

In Rev. 6 read perhaps [nin-gu-] la gašan-mu^d·na-na-a.

BEZOLD, Catalogue under K. 2786, indicated the connection of K. 2786 and 2881. 170. Read 1. 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.  $m\dot{a}\dot{s}-\dot{s}ub-ba-\dot{s}\dot{u}$ ,  $dumu-sub-ba-\dot{s}\dot{u}$ ,  $mu-ud-na-\dot{s}ub-ba-\dot{s}\dot{u}$ ,  $\dot{c}-\dot{h}ul-a-\dot{s}\dot{u}$ , "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 l. 4 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.	П

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-ḫul-] ⁶ la-bi er-ra?gig-ud mu- ni-ib-zal-e ⁷	3. For the desolated temple with tears night (?) and day I am surfeited.
<ol> <li>Var. omits.</li> <li>Var. tar-a (!).</li> <li>Var. A ni-gar-nu-mu</li> <li>Var. B i-gál nu-mu-da-zi-zi.</li> <li>me-ni-ib-zal-zal. IV R. 24 No. 3,20</li> </ol>	<ol> <li>4. Cf. SBH. 97,78 and Nos. 54, 58,</li> <li>120, ki-šú[dé-en-gí-gí] and 202.</li> <li>5. Vide SBP. 185 n. 10.</li> <li>6. Restorations uncertain.</li> <li>6. mu-un-zal-li, K. 3931,7. The element</li> </ol>

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

<ul> <li>For my consecrated temple, the brick house of my Ekur,</li> <li>For the abode of the house of life.</li> <li>For my consecrated temple, the brick house of Sippar,</li> </ul>
<ol> <li>For the abode of the house of life.</li> <li>For my consecrated temple, the brick house of Sippar,</li> </ol>
house of Sippar,
7. The temple of judgment of the land.
3. For my consecrated temple, the brick house of Babylon,
9. The abode of the temple, fold of the land.
). For my consecrated temple, the brick house of Barsippa ¹ ,
1. The abode of the house of life,
2. And the abode Edaranna.
3. For my consecrated temple, the brick house of Erech,
4. The temple of the seven dark cham- bers.

- 109 ---

1. For the change d > r in bad-si-ab = barsip, v. Sievers, Phonetik § 777.

2. Eanna, temple of Erech, is here described as having seven datk 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. 50 a 20 é-gè-pār-imin = ziggurratum uruk. [For DAK = bar, v. Br. 5222].

The name of the stage tower of Erech occurs as  $g\dot{e}$ -par-imin an-[na-ge?], SBH. 100, 34;  $\dot{e}$ -g $\dot{e}$ -par-[imin], No. 62,4;  $\dot{e}$ -g $\dot{e}$ -par-imin-bi, No. 156,1.  $\dot{e}$ -g $\dot{e}$ -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.  $g\dot{e}$ -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. 4 f.,  $\dot{e}$ -an-na  $\dot{s}u$ -ub-ba- $\dot{s}\dot{u}$ , 'for Eanna prostrated';  $g\dot{e}$ -parimin  $\dot{s}u$ -ub-ba- $\dot{s}\dot{u}$ , 'for Geparimin prostrated'. On the general use of the word v. SBP. 240. Tammuz is said to depart from the  $\dot{e}$ -g $\dot{e}$ -par, by which the ziggurat in Erech is certainly meant, SBP. 306, 41;  $g\dot{e}$ -par-ta ba-ra- $\dot{e}$ -a, 'From the secret chamber he has gone', Zim, K.-L. 35 r. I 10. See also K.-L. 26 II 15. It is possible that the word occurs in MESSERSCHMET, 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).

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Obv		П	I.
(DD)	•	11	

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1. [urú-a-dúg-ga a] gí- a- [bi]	1. The city submerged, how long until her recompense?
2. [nibru-(ki)? a-dúg-ga] é ¹ -ta mar-ra bi	2. Nippur (?) submerged, in the waters inundated.
3. [urú a-dúg-ga] a-gí- a-bi	3. Oh city submerged ! how long until her recompense ?
4. [uruk(ki) a-dúg-]ya ć-ta mar-ra-bi	4. Erech submerged, in the waters inundated ² .
5. [urúa ki-us-sa bi	5. The city which in was found- ed.
6. [urú] na- ăm-bi nu tar-ri-da- bi	6. The city for which such fate was not decreed.
7, [urumu-ul-lil-lá ba- ùl- la-bi	7. The city which Enlil directed.
8. urú umun-na li-li ne-in-tar-ra-hi	8. The city whose lord governed it.
9. urú ^{d.} mu-ul-lil-lá duº-mă-mu	9. The city against which Enlil insti- tuted (?) hostility,
10. an-ni sak-ki-gid- da- bi	10. Which Anu smote,
11. en ^d ·nu-dim-mud-da šag-dib-ba-bi	11. Which the high priest Ea was wroth against.
12. urú na-ăm-tar gig-ga im-ma-dū-a	12. The city which Fate with sorrow filled (?)
13. urú ^{giš} KU sag-gà ba-zi-ga	13. The city which held its weapons above all,
14. urú ^{giš} KU-ta la-ba-ra šub-ba-[bi]	14. The city where the psalmist perished with the weapon,
15. urú ki-el-bi nu- hul- lu-[bi]	15. The city whose maidens are unhappy,
16. urú kalag-bi nu- li- bi	16. The city whose men rejoice not,
17. urú mé say-yà gab-ri ³ a	17. The city which in battle was fore- most to oppose,
18. urú mé-e ba-gul- gul- la	18. The city which in battle was anni- hilated,
19. urú mu-bi tu-ra gi-bi tu-ra	<ol> <li>The city whose strong men are dis- tressed, whose females are dis- tressed.</li> </ol>

Lines 20-28 are identical with no. 71, 1-8 p. 43.

i. 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-sag tug-mal] to Enlil of the same kind as the lament to Ninlil, SBP. 256-9. The obverse begins with the seven mighty names of Enlil, which are all translated into Semitic '. Extracts of the text were given by HAUPT. ASKT. 181. See also BEZOLD, Catalogue, 693.

### Obv. 1. [ni-tuk ma-ra su-] gi-ba-an-si-ib 1. [Oh honoured one], take me by the hand. [ašaridu jaši] ga-ti sa-bat 3. [Oh exalted and honoured one], yet 3. [elim-ma ni-tuk me-]na-sú how long? [kabtu ašaridu a-]di ma-tim 5. [Oh lord of lands], yet how long? 5. [u-mu-un_kùr-kùr-ra-ge_mc-] na-šú [bêl mātāti] a-di ma-tim 7. [Lord of faithful word], yet how 7. [u-mu-un dúg-ga zi-da] me-na-šú long? [bêlum ša kibîti kitti] a-di ma-tim 9. [Father of the Land], yet how long? 9. [a-a ka-nag-ga] me-na-šú [bêl mātim] a-di ma-tim 11. [Shepherd of the dark-headed peo-11. [sib sag-gig-ga] me-na-šú ple yet how long 2 **12**. [re'u]sal-mat kak-ka-di a-di ma-tim 13. Thou of self-created vision, yet how 13. i-[dé-dŭ ní-] te-na me-na-šú long? [ša barî ina] ra-ma-ni-šu a-di ma-tim 15. Hero who directs his host, yet how 15. am [erin-na sá-sá] me-na-šú long? [kardumuštešir um-]ma-ni-šu a-di ma-tim 17. ù-[lul-la] dúr-dúr me-na-šú 17. He that quiets the strength of rebellion, how long? ša a-lal² sir-ra-a-ti³ sal-lu⁴a-dima-tim 19. umun nibru-(ki)-a me-na-šú 19. Oh lord of Nippur, how long? be-el ni-ip-pú-ria-di ma-tim

4. See especially SBP. 292.

2.

4.

6.

8.

**10**.

14.

16.

18.

20.

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*.

21 umun mc-na-šú ur-ri kala-ga	21oh lord, how long shall the
ma-da-zu til-e	mighty foe make an end of thy city?
<ul> <li>22be-lum a-di ma-tim nak- ru dan-nu ig-da-mar mat-ka</li> <li>23ka-nag-zu ha-lam-ma-</li> </ul>	23destroys thy Land.
ge 24ri (?) ù-ḥal-laḥ ma-at-ka 25sud uku ma-da-zu bir-	25of a distant country has scat-
26. [ma-]tim ruķ-ti ni-ši ma-ti-ka ù-sap-pi-iḥ	tered the people of thy land.
27	27 the habitation he caused to
28ima-ha-zu ú-šad-me-im	lament.
29 bir- bir 30 ú-sap-pi-ili	29he has scattered.
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

R	è	v	

Tic	ΣΨ.
1. [ ^{ilu} marduk bêl bâbili] ik- ri-bi	4. [May Marduk lord of Babylon] intercossion (speak).
2. [ ^d ·pap-nun-an-] ki-ge a-ra-zu 3. [ ^{ila} zar-pa-] ni-tum teș-li-ti	2. [May Zarpanit] a prayer (utter).
4. [ ^d ·mu-și-]ib-ba-sà-a zūr-zūr ¹ 5.   ^{ila} na-]bi-um ik-ri- bi	4. May Nebo intercession (speak).
6. [dumu-sag] ^d ·uraš-a a-ra-zu 7. [mar-tum reš-ti-tum ^{ilu} uraš-a tes- li-ti	6. May the firstborn daughter of Ninib a prayer (speak).
8. nin-zi-dé gašan gù-ur-a-sĭg-ga-ge · zŭr- zūr [?] 9. ru-ba-tum kit-tum ^{ilu} taš-me-tum ik-ri-bi	8. May the righteous princess intercession (utter).
10. nin-gu-la gaš-an-mu ^d ·na-na-a a-ra- zu	10. May the great princess, my lady Nana, a prayer utter.
11. ru-ba-tum rabí-tum be-el-tum ^{ilu} na-na-a tes-li-ti	
	(a) A set of the se

Reading uncertain, v. Sum. Gram. 259.
 Vide SBP. 258 n. 6.

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12. aa-ugu 1-zu d·en-ki d·nin-ki zūr-zūr	12.	May the father, thy and mistress of th cession (utter).
13. a-bu a-lid-ka ilu Enki ilu Ninki? ik-ri-bi		
14. nitlam kenag-zu ama-gal ^d ·nin-lil a-ra-zu	14.	May thy beloved sp mother Ninlil, a pr
15. hi-ir-tum na-ram-ta-ka um-mu rabî-tum ^{ilu} ninlil tes-li-ti		
16. sukkal-mah-zu gal-ukkin ³ nusku- ge zūr-zūr	16.	May thy great m herald Nusku, interc
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- bi	18.	''Behold me faithfully
<ol> <li>[kîniš naplisinni] lik-bu-ka</li> <li>[gú-zu-zi gur-mu-un-ši-ib] dé ra- ab-bi</li> </ol>	20.	"Turn thy neck unto r
21. [kišadka kîniš ⁵ suhiranni] lik-bu- ka		
22. [šag-zu dé-en-na-tug-mal]dé-ra-ab- bi	22.	"Thy heart repose",
<ul> <li>23. [libba ka linûħ] liħ-bu-ka</li> <li>24. [bar-zu dé-en-na-šed-dé] dé-ra-ab-</li> </ul>	24.	"Thy soul be at rest",
bi 25. [kabattaka lipšah] lik-bu-ka		н 1997 - Салан Салан Салан (1997) 1997 - Салан Салан (1997)
26. [šag-zu šag-ama tu-ud-da-gim] ki ha-ma-gi-gi	26.	Thy heart like the heat ting mother, return
27. [libbaka kima lib ummi ālit]-tum aš-ri-šu [litûr]		

begetter, lord e earth, inter-

ouse, the great ayer (utter).

- essenger, the ession (speak).
- ", may he say to thee.
- me faithfully", etc.
- etc.
- etc.
- art of a begetn to its place.

1. For the reading of MUH as ugu = alidu, v. PSBA. 1911, p. 85, l. 25, u-gu-ani = 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 fathermother 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 IFING is mutta'ir (KING, Magic, 6,20) for muuta'ir.

5. No. 193,5 has rîšu, 'head'.

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15

28.	[ama tu-ud-da a-a tu-ud-da-gim]ki	28. Like a
	ha-ma-gi-gi	fatl
29.	[kima ummi ālitti abi ālídi ašrišu	
	litûr] ¹	

28. Like a begetting-mother, a begetting father, return to its place.

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 singlecolumn 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.XV11 = 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 *eršemma* from an Enlil series.

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

1. am-galù-na gub-ba gig-ga ba- me	1. The great wild ox, who stands [aloft ?], pondered thereon in
	sorrow.
2. [ri-i-mu ra]-bu-u ša[ša-ķiš?i-]za-az-	
zu mar-și-is id-bu(?)-bu-us (?)	3. Upon the Beneficent city the great
3. uru-și-ib-[ba] am-gal ù-na gub-ba	wild ox, who stands [aloft?], pon-
gig	dered in sorrow.
4. éš-mah 1 am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig	4. Upon Ešmah the great wild ox, etc.
5. éš-sìr am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig	5. Upon the chamber of psalmody, etc.
6. habur-(ki) ² am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig	6. Upon Shubaru the great wild ox, etc.
7. [tin-]tir-(ki) am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig	7. Upon Babylon, etc.
8. [é-sag-ila] am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig	8. Upon Esagila, etc.

1. Damgalnunna is mother of es-mah, IVR.  $24^*$  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 hnt in which the incantations of Eridu were performed are called es-mah = bit seri, "house of the field", CT. 17,4,19 and ASKT. 104, 9 (usurat bit seri ana sutesuri). Since the god Shamash, as a god of purification held an important position in these magic rituals, he has the title^d es-mah, "god of the house in the field", CT. 24, 31, 65; 25, 27, 4; 25, 25, 26. es-mah in ZIMMERN, Neujahrfest 140,2 probably means "ritual house in the plain". ZIMMERN identifies e-es-mah with e-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 = subaru, apparently a quarter of Eridu and has no connection with the land Subartu. habur > sabur > subar (cf. Sum. Gr. § 40 b and ki-gab = sa-ba, CT.XV 11, 18 = ZIM. K. L. No. 2 rev. I 39) may of course not be possible, but the reading habur 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 = Šu'ara, we have to do either with an Eridu Habur or a mythological Habur (Šubar) 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 > Šubaru > Šu'aru of Eridu. Against ZIMMERN and my previous conclusion in Drehem ibid., I now regard any connection between Šubaru of Eridu and Subartu (never Subaru, only gentilic subarū, v. UNGNAD, BA.VI pt. 5 p. 19) of the Mitanni as wholly excluded.

9. [bad-si]-ab-ba[ki]am-galù-nagub- ba gig	9. Upon Barsippa, etc.
10. [é-zi-] da am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig	10. Upon Ezida, etc.
11. [é-mah-]ti-la am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig	11. Upon Emahtila, etc.
12. [é-temen-]an-ki am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig	12. Upon Etemenanki, etc.
13. é-dár-an-na am-gal ù-na gub-ba gig	13. Upon Edaranna, etc.
14. še-ib urú și-ib-ba-(ki)ba-gul-la-ta tin-tir-ki ¹ nu-um-me	14. The brick-walls of the Beneficent City have been demolished and <i>Tintir</i> is not.
15. é- ^d ·am-an-ki ba-gul-la-ta é-sir nu- um-me 16. é- ^d ·asar-lù-dug ba-pi-el-la-ta é-sag-	15. The temple of Ea has been de- molished and the house of psalm- ody is not.
ila nu-um-me 17. urú și-ib-ba-(ki) ub-da-tab-tab ba	16. The temple of Marduk has been humiliated, Esagila is not.
im-kùr-gĭr[gùr-ru-?] 18. tin-tir(ki)bi-šú	17. The Beneficent City of the four regions
Rev	

A. . . . .

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*****	the second se
1. ana ri	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
2. kùr-gal	2. Great mountain
3. $ki-bal[gir?]$	3. The hostile land
4. d·a-nun-na dingir gal-gal-e-ne[kašu-	4. The Anunnaki and the great gods ²
mu-ra-an-mar-ri-e-ne]	[bow down before thee?]
5. ur-sag á-mah ^d ·en-ki-ge sag-nu-mu-	5. Hero, vast might of Ea, whom none
ni- $ib$ - $[gi$ - $a$ ?]	rival (?).
6. a-a-zu ^d ·en-ki-ge ù-śi-in-gu ³ á-bi	6. Thy father Ea may send thee; his
ù-mu-un-da-an-gŭr	commission may he entrust to thee.
7. a-bu-ka ^{ilu} Ea i-šap-pár-ka ú-mà-	•
'ir-ka-ma	
8. dúg-ga ^d ·en-ki-ge kal-kalag ù-mu-	By the command of Ea mayest thou
un-ši-in-du	go with esteem.

W. Viniet

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.

2. i. e., the Igigi.

3. Cf. gin, to send, Sum. Gr. 216.

9. ina ki-bit ^{ilu}Ea na-'-diš tal-lak¹

- 10. bar-bi in-ág-tuk-a a-ba e-ne-gín : bád-bine-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-şab-bit
- enim abzu im-dir-ám⁴ an-šéš: ina a-matap-si-i ša kima ú-pi-e ša-pa-at
- 13. gišmes-gim (?) in-sir-ri muš muš + a-na
  - giš-i-dim-me-sil-e-ne ki-ma me-e-su i-na-sa-ah šur-šu

uš ma-riț

14.

- 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-úh-ki nu-me-a ki-a ba-an-gul-la
- 17. ina ba-lu la-a-i-ra-a-nu⁷ kib-ri ú-tab-ba-bi-bit (sic !)⁸

- Her suburbs are possessed, who inhabits them ?? 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 extirpated⁶.
- 15. Since the canal is gone the flood overflows.
- 16. Since the clay is gone the shore is destroyed.
- 4. REISNER'S copy na-' BAR ta-lak-UD (sic!).

2. Transcription and translation wholly uncertain.

- 3. Uncertain, gi < gil (?).
- 4. The text has  $\dot{a}m$ -im-dir (!).

5. Jensen first suggested the meaning "dark, obscure" for the verb šapů (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 šéš, 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 nûru ša ina gizilli našû ša-pu, "If a light which one carries upon a torch goes out (?) (or smokes and becomes dark?)".

6. The transcription and translation are conjectural. One may read uš-ma-rit (lak, *šid*). The subject I take to be *âlu* "city". For marāțu, rub, polish, see ZIM. Rt. p. 150,15. marțak, 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 tumarraț, "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. TIT. See on this passage, HOMMEL Grundriss 254, and HOLMA, Körperteile 8.

8. Cf. utatabbit, SBH. 6, 8;  $II^2/2$  of abātu.

18.	umun-e urú-ni-a na-ăm-și-ib-baan- tar-ri	18. The lord who decreed a good fate for his city.
19.	tar-ri be-lu ša âli-šu šim-tu ța-ab-bi (sic !) i-še-mu	for his city.

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20. nis-hi ribu-u en-zu sá-mar-mar nu-al-tíl a-na zamar nishi gitti

24. Bêl-apil-iddin apil sa Ea-balat-su-ikbî apil Nannar-ibni : katâ

22. Ea-balat-su-ikbî [māri-šu kalû şihru] ili-šu¹ Bâbili arah atar addar ûmu 10 sattu 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).

seemly
no in the forest of odorous
rs 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 קלל, Arabic malila,

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- 6. me abzu šu-el-la gub-ba šu-luh karkar [gub-ba]
- 7. me zi-dé-eš¹ bar-ra he-dú tin-tir-(ki) dul-[la-hi]
- 8. ša par-și ki-nu-tim ana nap-lusi as-mu șu-lul ba-ab-ilâni
- 9. ur-sag zag-è maḥ tin-tir-(ki) u-di-da gub-ba
- kar-ra-du a-ša-ri-duşi-i-rušaina ba-bi-lim ana tab-ra-ti izza-zu
   elim-ma dug-li šig² abzu šag-ga³ ésaq-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 Babylon.
- 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.  $\forall z mallel$ , 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 *u* me-li-il (imperative), "dance and play." CT. 16,44,101, the evil spirits on the mountain of sunrise *im-ma-ni-di-eš* = *immalillu*: since *di* means both "speak", and "go", one can be in doubt here, but line 99 has *iltanas*sumu, "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 (*kaštu*) which *im-me-lil*, BOTSSIER, Choix II,10. BOTSSIER finds here a Semitic root  $\forall z$  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 dúg 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. šag var. of šág = damku, v. Sum. Gr. 235. The Semitic translator gives two versions of šag, viz. kirib and ellu !

4. So the Sumerian line.

-14.	ša e-mu-ki pu-un-gu-lu ziķ-na el-
	li-tam zak-nu ¹
15.	[sib?]dumu nun abzu šita-na ² dun ³
	gal-zu
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-šú tu-ud-da
19.	as-mu

- 15. Lord, son of the prince of the sea, who understands the digging of water-sources.
- [About half of this column, ending tablet 5, is lost]

## Tablet VI4. Obv.

1. [u-mu nam-mu-]un-sub-bi-en mu nam-mu-un-sub-bi-en

 [be-lum la ta-]nam-da-an-ni be-lum la ta-nam-da-an-ni
 [umun^{d.}]am-an-ki nam-mu-un-šubbi-en

4. [umun] d.asar-lù-dug nam

5. [umun]^d·en-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.
- 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 Judge⁶, 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.

- 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. iluSakudmaham 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 = dajanu siru is also employed of Shamash of Sippar, as in VAB.IV 164,1, since both are solar

11.	umun	é-zi-da	n	am	
12.	umun	é-maḥ-ti-la		nam	,

13. umun é-te-me-an-ki nam

- 14. umun é-dár-an-na nam
- 11. Oh lord of Ezida, not, etc.
- 12. Oh lord of Emahtila, not, etc.
  - 13. Oh lord of Etemeanki, not, etc.
  - 14. Oh lord of Edaranna, not, etc.

## Priest

- 15. mu-lu er-mar-ra gin nam
- 16. ša-kin tak ¹-ri-bi ana-ku²
- 17. mu-lu zūr-zūr-ra gin nam
- 18. ša ik-ri-bi ana-ku
- 19. mu-lu a-ra-zu gín
- 20. ša te-es-li-ti⁴ ana-ku
- 15. He that renders petition am I³. Thou wilt not cast me down.
- 17. One of prayer I am. Thou, etc.
- 19. One of intercession I am. Thou, etc.

## Penitent.

nam

21. a-a tu-ud-da gin nam

21. A father who has begotten I am ⁵. Thou wilt not cast me down.

22. a-bi a-li-di⁶ ana-ku

23. li tukundi⁷ túg-mal nam

24. a-di sur-ri nu-ha

23. Soon repose! Thou wilt not, etc.

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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 ^d·Sakud and ^d·Sakudmah are identical is proven by SBH.57,1 sa-kud and 57,3 sa-kud-mah. Titles of this solar Ninuraš of Isin as Sakud in CT.25,16 ff. and 24,38. In the passage above [as in SBH.41,11] he is probably identified with Marduk. His temple at Isin is 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.

Babylonian Liturgies.

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25. me-na ¹ ù-mu-un bé ² -gi-en nam	25. How long ⁴ oh lord of righteous- ness(?) Thou wilt not, etc.
26. a-di ma-ti be-el ki-na-a-ti ³	
27. ib-si me-na-šú nam ma-și a-di ma-ti	27. It is enough; how long? Thou, etc.
28. nam-mu-un-šub-bi-en e-ne-ra ga- an-[na-ab-dúg]	28. "Thou wilt not reject me", unto him I will say.
29. la ta-na-da-an-ni ana ša-a-šu lu- [uķ-bi	
30. sir-ri nu-ti-li ba-ni-[ib gaz?]	30. Sighing without end has [brought me low.]
31. și-ri-iți la ka-te-e ur-[ri-da-an-ni?]	
<b>32.</b> er sīg-gan nu-di ba-ni- $[-ib]$ <b>33.</b> bi-ki-ti la ku-us-su-pi (?)	32. Weeping without diminishing
•••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	•••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••
/R	ev.
1. [i-] dé- [zid bar-mu-un-ši-ib dé-ra- ab-]bi	1. "Behold me faithfully", I will say to thee.
2. ki-niš [nap-lis-an-ni lu-uķ-bi-]ka	
Pri	est.
3. gú-zu [zid gur-mu-un-ši-ib dé]	3. <u>"Turn thy neck unto him in faith-</u> fulness", I will say to thee.
4. ri-ši-[ka ki-niš suhhir-šu lu-uk- bi-]ka	, ,
5. šag-zu dé-[en-na-túg-e dé]	5. "May thy heart repose", I will say to thee.
6. bar-zu dé-[en-na-túg-e dé]	<ul><li>6. "May thy mind repose", I will say to thee.</li></ul>
	· .

V. Sum. Gr. p. 177; cf. SBP. 288,11; me-nam, ZIM. K. L., 2 b 23.
 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. kînati 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).

	šag-zu šag ama-[tu-ud-da-gim ki- bi-šů ha-]ma-gi-gi	<ul> <li>7. Thy heart like the heart of a beget- ting-mother may return to its place.</li> <li>8. As a basetting methon as a baset</li> </ul>	
8. ama tu-ud-da a-[a tu-ud-da-gim ki- bi-šú ḫa]¹	8. As a begetting-mother, as a beget ting-father, to its place may i return.		
	er-šem-ma [ ^{d.} asar]-lù-dug-ge er-šem-ma [en-zu] sá-mar-mar	<ul><li>9. Psalm on the flute to Marduk.</li><li>10. Psalm on the flute for the series, "Knowing lord, giver of counsel.</li></ul>	
11.	umun še-ir-ma-al-la an-ki a-[ba ta-] zu mu-un-zu	11. Oh lord, glorified in heaven and earth, who comprehends thy form?	
12.	šiššu nis-hu en-zu sá-mar-mar al-til	12. Sixth extract of, "The knowing lord, giver of counsel". It is the end.	
13.	kima labiri-šu šă-țir-ma ba-a-ri	13. Like the original it has been writ- ten and collated.	
14.	é-gal ^{ila} ašur-bani-apli šar kiššati šar mat aššur-(ki)	14. Palace of Asurbanipal, king of domi- nions, king of Assyria,	
15.	mar ^{ilu} ašur-ahi-iddina šar kiššati šar mat aššur-(ki)	15. son_of Asarhaddon, king of domi- nions, king of Assyria,	
16.	liplipi ^{ilu} Sin-ahê-erîb šar kiššati sar mat aššur-(ki)	16. grandson of Senecherib, king of dominions, king of Assyria,	
17.	[ša] a-na ^{ilu} Marduk ^{ilat} Zar-pa-ni- tum tak-lu	17. who puts his trust in Marduk and Zarpanit,	
18.	[nir-]gal-zu nu-ri ^{ilu} nabu ša dup- šarrûti	18. the wise, light of Nebo of letters.	

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The ersemma 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-tùg-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	2. I to the land might - Induce the
<ol> <li>me-e ^d·sá-kud-mah me-e</li> <li>ana-ku ana be-lum da-jā-ni si-ri</li> </ol>	3. I to the lord, mighty Judge, etc.
Y	
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 🏋	
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 🅅	44 T (- (), 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1,
	11. I to the lord of Esagila, etc.
<ul> <li>42. ana-ku ana be-lum e-sagila</li> <li>13. me-e umun kiš-(ki) me-e</li> </ul>	13. I to the lord of Kish, etc.
14. ana-ku ana be-lum ki-ši 🏻 🍸	
15. me-e umun é-kisib-ba me-e ³	15. I unto the lord of Ekišibba, etc.
16. ana-ku ana é-kišibba 🍸	
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 umun é-ŭ-nir-ki-dúr-mah ¹	19. I unto the lord of Eunirkidurmah,
20.	me-e	etc.
20.		
91	mah II	A Lunta the land of Electory at
	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 🍸	99 I made the least of the terms is at
	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 ć-gú-dŭ-a-(ki)	
	The second s	• • • • •
	me-e umun é-mes-lam me-e	25. I unto the lord of E-meslam, etc.
26.	ana-ku ana be-lum é-meslam	
	me-e umun á-[dil-bad-] (ki) me-e	27. 1 unto the lord of Dilbat 2 , etc.
20.	ana-ku ana be-lum [dil-]bad- (ki)	
ົດມ	Υ	
	me-e umun é-i-bé-d-a-nu-um me-e	29. 1 unto the lord of E-ibe-Anu, etc.
30.		
31.	^d ·sá–kud e-ne-em še-ga-ge me-e	31. Unto the Judge whose word is beneficent, etc.
<b>32</b> .	ana da-jā-ní ša ma-ag-rat a-mat-	Coming Vol Ve march
	su 🍸	and the second sec
33.	^d ·sá-kud kùr-kùr nigin-na me-e	33. Unto the Judge of all lands I (will pray).
34.	ana da-jā-ni ša nap-ḥar mātāti 🅅	
	Prie	est.
35.	er-im-šéš-šéš i-si ³ nu-gà-gà	35. He weeps and ceases not to begin again.
36.	i-bak-ki it-hu-sa ⁴ ul i-kal-la	- <del>0</del>

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1. Ziggurat of Kish, BR. 9358. The sign *nir* is replaced by  $\dot{u}r$  in SBH.40, 13 and 36, 17, but *nir* is correct, see the date formula of the  $22^{nd}$  year of Samsuiluna "Ziggurat of the mighty abode".

2. i.e., Uraša a form of Nin-uraša at Dilbat.

3. So traces by REISNER.

4. I² of ahazu. The form is omitted in the lexicons; cf. IV R. 27 a 38. The Sem. translation is not literal.

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## Penitent.

37. i-dé-mu er-ra in-si-si-gi(?)

38. *i-ni-jā bi-ki-tum ú-ma-al-la*¹

- 39. ki-nad gíg-ù-na-ge a-še-ir sig-ga
- 39. In repose at the darkest ² hour of night, sighing fills me.

37. My eyes fill with tears.

- 40. ina ma-kā-al mu-ši ta-ni-ķi úmal-la-an-ni
  41. er-ra a-še-ir-ra : bi-ki-tim u ta-ni-
- hi : mu-ni-ib-sa³ : uš-har-ar-anni : si
- 41. Weeping and sighing have brought me to silence.

### Priest.

- 42. He that renders petition am I; turn thy neck unto him.
- r-su bar- 44. He that renders prayer am I: faithi-ib fully behold him.

  - 48. May my god, lord of prayer, prayer to thee speak.
  - 50. May mother Innini, lady of inter-. cession, to thee intercession speak.

1. Piel of inner condition, v. BROCKELMANN, op. cit., p. 509.

2. šat můši. Note  $\dot{u}$ -na a noun from ana with  $\dot{u}$  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 tam for gin and renders, "As for him who brings the petition submitted". Here the official psalmist begins the intercession.

5. Cf. ASKT. 123, 7; 121, 3 and SBP. 258, 9.

- 42. mu-lu er-mar-ra gin gù-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 gín 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-ra-

ge 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 bêlit tesliti] tes-lit-tam lik-bi-ka

	- 12	27 —	
52.	^d ·en-lil zūr-zūr dé: ik-ri-bi li <u>k</u> -bi-ka	52.	prayer to thee speak.
	R	ev.	
	a-ra-zu dé-ra-ab-bi	1.	intercession may speak to thee.
	ša é: zūr-zūr dé	3.	prayer may speak to thee.
4.	^d ·pap-sukal: a-ra-zu dé	4.	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 ha-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 ḫa-ma-gi-gi	8.	Like a begetting-mother and a beget- ting-father may it return to its place.
9.	[kima ummia-] 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-13. With intercession and prayer I will sed-dé 14. [ina tak-rib-]ium u te-is-li-tum libba-šu ú-na-ah 15. [ur-sag]¹ d·asar-lù-dug umun dìm-

me-ir-e-ne gín

15. Heroic (?) Marduk, lord of the gods art thou.

appease his heart.

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-	
ša-a i-pàr-ra-as	
19. [umun-mu?] gú-zu mu-un-ši-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. $[sag-zu de-en-sed-de]^3 E + SAL tuk-ba-ne$	21. May thy heart be at rest; have mercy upon him.
22. [libbi-ka linúħ] ri-e-mu ri-ši-šu	
<b>23.</b> [] <i>i-dé-zid</i> ⁴ <i>bar-mu</i> -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 <i>devsatation</i> has overthrown, whom uncanny powers have laid low,
26. [šulputu] ⁶ ú-šal-pi-tu di-mi-ta [ukanni-šu] 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. [śa] za-'-ru-ku ina idi-[ka] ú-su-[u]	Land M. M. Walder
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 aį-bi u-suķ	
31 uku-bi sá-ba-ab	31. <i>Him among</i> his people make prosperous.
32 ni-ši-šu šul-lim	<b>r r</b>

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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-si-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 mu- un-gi ¹	33. The wicked man who bring trouble from the land turn
34. [amelu raggu mušši-] ² iš-ka ina māti ³ te-ir	
35. [nam-nir-]ri-za kùr-kùr-ra hen-i-i	35. And I will extol thy <i>lordship</i> : the lands.
36. [be-lu] ut ⁴ -ti-ka [ina] ma-ta-a-ti lut-ta-'id	<b>x</b>
37. [dìm-me-ir-mu] mu-lu zūr-zūr-ra- ge zūr-zūr-ra dé-ra-ab-bi	37. See obv. 48.
38. [ama ^d ·innini-mu] mu-lu a-ra-zu a-ra-zu	38. See obv. 50.
39. [d·amurre]mu-lu ḥar-sag-gà-ge zūr- zūr-ra	39. May Adad lord of the mounta prayer to thee speak.
40. ^{d.} gú-bar-ra gašan gú-edin-na-ge a- ra-zu	40. May Gubarru ⁵ lady of the hil tercession to thee speak.
41. ^d ·am ⁶ -an-ki am urú-și-ib-ba-ge zūr- zūr-ra	41. May the Ram of Heaven and ram of the Beneficent Ci prayer to thee speak.
42. ama éš-maḥ d·dam-gal-nun-na-ge a-ra-zu	42. May the mother of the vast Far-famed spouse of the Pr intercession to thee speak.
43. sal-dumu dam kenag-zu ^d ·pap-nun- an-ki-ge a-ra-zu	43. May the daughter, thy b spouse Zarpanit, a prayer t speak.
44. sukkal-zid ^d ·mu-și-ib-ba-sà-a a-ra- zú	44. May the faithful messenger, I with a good name, interc

- 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, Asrat with Adonis and Gestinanna with Tammuz.

6. Text am-a-an sic!

7. Ea of Eridu.

8. Damkina, consort of Ea.

Babylonian Liturgies.

s thee away.

among

- ains, a
- ls, in-
- Earth, ty⁷, a
- abode, rince ⁸,
- eloved to thee
- Named ession speak.

17

45. é-gi-a dumu-sag d·uraš-azūr-zūr-ra	45. May the bride, the first daughter of
	Uraša, a prayer speak.
46. nin-zi-da gašan gù-ur-a-sĭg-ga-ge ¹ a-ra-zu	46. May the faithful lady, queen Tashme- tum, intercession speak.
47. nin-gu-la gašar-mu ^d ·na-na-zūr-	47. May the great princess, my queen
zūr-ra	Nanā, a prayer speak.
48. umun ^d ·sa-kud-maḥ-ám na	48. May Sakkut the mighty, the of
nun ²-na-ge a-ra-zu	the Prince, intercession speak.
49. i-dé-zu bar-mu-un-ši-ib dé-ra-ab-bi	49. "May thine eyes look upon him", I
•••	will say to thee.
50. gů-zu [gi]-mu-un-si-ib dé : šag-zu [dé-]túg-mal dé	50. Turn thy neck unto him; may thy heart be at rest, etc.
51. bar-zu dé-en-sed-dé dé	51. May thy mind be at peace, etc.
52. šag-zu ama tu-ud-da-gim ki-bi-šú	52. Thy heart like the heart of a beget-
ha-ma-gi	ting-mother return to its place.
53. ama tu-ud-da a-a tu-ud-da-gim ki-	53. Like a begetting-mother, like a be-
bi-šú	getting-father, return to its place

54. er-šag-túg-mal d-marduk-kam

54. Penitential psalm to Marduk.

 $\mathbf{of}$ 

4

1. See p. 112,8.

:

2. If nun-na here refers to Ea, as is probable, then Sakkut, like Marduk, belongs الأ حنيت to the Ea pantheon. 1 Lenderti .

# INDEX

Temples, Gods and their Titles.

a-a kanagga, father of the Land, 111; 9.
ab-ba, title of Sibşib, 72, 23.
áb-sal-la-šár, title of the Harlot, 13, 4.
áb-šár-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 different from ^d·Kalag, q. v. The sign alád [Br. 6230] does not appear before the Assyrian Sargonids, and has the meaning šêdu, 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. ^d·alad-lamma, means a protecting god in 89, a divine courtier who stands before Ishtar, CBAIG 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 d-alád and d-lamma are female attendants of Istar and clearly indicate two similar types. Since Ishtar was herself originally a patroness of flocks and was called the "horned" goddess, it seems probable that 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; 465; 56 r.22; 1903; 151; 56 r.8; 116,15; 120,3.

am-gal, great wild ox, Marduk, 115,1 ff.

an-gub, title of Nergal, 83,34.

^d Anu, 82,3 f.; 110,10; 89,33; 186 r. 11;

^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-gĭr-nun-na, 121 3.

^d·Asarludug, Marduk, 31,7; 37 4; 190 4; 56 r. 9. 26; 48,40; 49,9; 116,16.

^d·Áś-im-ür-(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, 24,18 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- $\dot{u}r$  (= bêl namraşit) 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  $en > em = as\hat{a}$ , v. IV R. 21* 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-*im-ür*, means probably, ' god of the first ascending light.' RADAU, ibid. 420 reads as-gu-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·Ašširgi, Ninib, 88,19; 89,8; 90,22; 91,4. 18; 92,21.

 $a-\bar{u}$ , 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; bab-ilani, 119, 8.

Badgurgur(ki), city; centre of the Tammuz and Innini cult, 19 n. 2.

Barsippa, 50,31; 82 10; 109,10; 117,3; 120; 125; 29,18; 27 15; 68,47; 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, 467; 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  $24 \doteq b 23$ .

Dilbat, 125,27.

^d·Dimme, 91, 15.

d-Dim-muk- nun-na (tarkul nunna), 68 3.

 $D\bar{i}m-u(hu), 73,33.$ 

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.

dumu-mah, Shamash, 72 40. 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', Nanā, 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-mah, 'great scribe', Innini, 18,6. This title ordinarily applies to the sister of Tammuz, Gestinanna, Bélit-séri.

Dúr-é-a-dug (šu-pa-at ì-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 486,40, 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-san 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-dúg-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-gí-a, bride, probably to be read gà-gí-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-du-[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* ^{ilu}a-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  $< ib\hat{e}$ .

*E-ib-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.

 $\acute{e}$ -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: 486 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.

12-magar, nouse of the boat, tempte of 5hi m O1, 104

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 Kiš, 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; MEEK No. 11,24.

^d·En-bi-lu-lu, Marduk, 56 r. 10; 37 5; 104 1; 119 4; 190 5; 69 8; 48,44; 49,10.

E-ninnū, 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; 130 9; 8,14; 11,41; 37 44 1; 82,5; 83,28; 85,5. 40. 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, 1594.

^d·Erie, Zarpanit, 69,18.

erin, a bird, 48,22.

*E-sagila*, 'house of the lifting of the head', temple of Marduk in Babylon, **105**4; **125**; **126**; **136**4; **186** r. 7; **193**6; 50,34; **82**9; **167**1; 29,17; 124,11; **69**9; 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-šamah, 'house of the great womb', a temple of Innini where Ninib also was worshipped, 910.

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.

*éš-mah*, great chamber : Damkina mother of, **56** r. 23;115, n. 1; 129,42. Ea lord of, **150**. *éš-sir*, chamber of psalmody, 115,5.

E-su-me-rá, temple of Ninuraš at Nippur. The pronunciation of the last syllabe as rá is uncertain.

*E-temenanki*, 'house of the *temēnu* 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-amaš-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**; **156** 2; 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-ŭr-me-an-ki, 26 4.

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-zíd-kanag-gà-gà, temple at Kullab, 19,13.

gà-gi-a, bride; title of Innini, 19,16. See é-gi-a.

gallū, 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 ša 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.

gašan-azag, '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 156.

gašan é-zi-da, title of a goddess, 73,37.

gašan ma-dig-ga, Gula, 101 10.

gašan ma-gí-a, Nisaba, 152; 344.

gašan Nibru-ki, queen of Nippur, 92 8; 49,17.

^d·gašán-šar, 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-uru-azag-(ki), queen of the holy city, Bau, 101 5.

gè-pàr-imin, seven dark chambers, 156 1.

gigunna, gigunū, 38,14.

Gilgamish, 20,3.

gipadda, reed hut, 73,36.

Girsu-ki-a, called city of Innini, 72,16.

 $g\dot{u}$ -ab-ba, 'shore of the sea',  $\dot{es}$ -guabba, a title of a temple of Damgalnunna, 73, 17. gud-da- $\ddot{u}$ -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.

gú-en-na, part of a temple, 72,26; cf. Gud. Cyl. B. 16,17.

d. Gula, 'the great god', title of Anu, 947; 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.

 $g\dot{u}$ -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-SUH-UNU-ki, i. e., ZA-SUH of Erech. Written also ZA-→ ♥I-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 *sédu* and *lamassu*, the former is Semitic and the latter possibly a loan-word from *lamas*. Both in Sumerian and Semitic ^d·*kal*, *lama*, *alad*, *sédu*, *lamassu*, do not designate a particular god but a protecting angel, perhaps originally a bull deity. Note the title of Ramman, *ilula-ma-az-zu*, 'the divine guardian', CT.25,16,6. The *sédu* and *lamassu* (AN-KAL) appear as special but vague titles among eighteen messengers (?), *amelu ķi*[*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. *ekallati*; Semitic regards objects made by craftsmen as feminine. When the statue represents a woman or female animal the ideogram is preceded by SAL, as Asarh V 52, but v. KING, *Annals* 164, 25 *AN-KAL-at*, i.e., *lamasat* ilatIstar. ^d kalag mulu uru, 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', Hamman (?), 73,4. Compare the " region of Karkar", in SAK. 40,22. If this interpretation be correct it follows that the city of Ramman IM-ki is to be read Karkar. Cf. 51 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 T. 3; 50,31, 83 S. 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-ge, CT. 24, 24, 62.
  - The name of this Ninlil chapel first appears in ancient texts as ki-úr ki-gal, i.e.,
    "Kenur the vast abyss", a cosmological reference to Ekur as the symbol of the ower world, see SBP.292,42; 24,72; 52,5. An unpublished text calls ki-úr the palace of the queen of Hades. The word itself means duruššu, "building", and has been explained by nírib irsitim, "place where men enter into the lower world", II R. 48 e 9. More often é-ki-úr and é-nam-ti-la chapels of Ninlil and Enlil are written together in one line ki-ùr é-nam-ti-la as SBP. 108, 2; Bab. II 155,23; SBP.238,5; SBH.95,10; 133,57. ki-úr-ra is employed for the chapel without any further additions in PSBA. 1911, 87,5.
- Keš, Keš and Upi (Opis), twin city on the Tigris opposite Sippar. Keš is generally written EN-ŠAR+GAD-ki, Br. 10857 and Opis UH-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.

kin-giš-gi, craftsman (?), Sin, 3,24.

Kis, city east of Babylon, modern Ahimer, 89,3; 51,41; 124,13.

^d·Kišag, 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; 53,4 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. 47; 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) ninen-na-ge, queen of incantation, SAK. 26 g 18.

lillū, a demon of the winds, 17,15.

lugal-ab-a, 101 9.

lugal-gud, mighty king, Sin, 15,1.

^d·ma-gal-e-ne, 209 6.

ma-gi-a, perhaps identical with  $g\dot{a}$ -gi-a > gagû, convent. Compare the title of Gula, ^d·nin-gà-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-gia; also 92 9; 15 2; 49,18. CR. RT.19,8; here it follows Nisaba, as in 88 5 + 34 4. Like gà-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. mugig, 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; 58,10 f.; 74,5; 107,16; 94 8; 34 2; 37; 105 2; 110, 7.9; 24,14; 25, 4; 38,4. Heroic names, p. 38. Derived from *mulu-lil* < *galu-lil*, '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·*Muşibbasā*, '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 ^{ilu}Marduk, '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 ^d·urù-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-dū, 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 ^{ilu}Nâru-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; N1K. 187; RTC. 53, etc. A form of Ninuraš.
- iluNergal, ^d né-unu-gal, see 85 n. 6; 83,25. 32.35; 84,48; 85,12. Liturgy to, 10.
- ni-gab  $(d\check{a})$ , watchman  $(at\check{a})$ , 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.

- 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; 85,5.10.13.28; 113,14; 130 10.
- nin-mah, Innini, 72,27; SBP.470,8. 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-ūr-ra, 72,3.
- nin-zi-da, 'faithful queen', generally Nanā, SBP. 210,11; 162,23 (Ninā); 106,13; 56 r. 16; 97,8; 204 9.
  - 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; **137** 3; **186** 7; r. 2; 111,19; 50,30; **83** 4.
- nir-gál, the majestic; Enlil, 49,2. nir-gál-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 writing¹ 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 dupsarmaħ.
  - 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==)* (Y) CT. 24,23, 13. The former title probably means, 'Scribe of the granaries'', and

d. Ningišzida, 20,5.

^{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,  $(GI\tilde{S}-H\tilde{U}-ki)$ , 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.

^a·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 sîru rabis 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;1288;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.

ila Ramman (d immer), liturgy to, 13; 25,6; 27 4.

'Great son of Anu', 133. 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, ZIN. 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·Šenirda, a title of the goddess Aja, wife of Shamash, ^d·še-[nir-da] CT. 24, 31, 67^b + 25, 25, 31, but usually ^d·šē-nir-da 25, 9, 27; SBH. 137,79; Zin. K.L. No. 11 rev. III 3. The original was clearly ^d·šú-nir-da as the variant ^d·šú-nir-da, SAI. 5196 shows. The most ancient writing has šú, TSA. 70 obv. I; Nik. 3 obv. IV, etc. She is explained as umun šul-mi-a, SBP. 137,79; en-šul-mé-ra, Zin. 41 r. III 3. This title means bêlit kuradat tahazi, queen-heroine of battle. Aja is a personification of light, perhaps of the sun's light and as such a special form of Innini who, as a goddess of light, developed into a war-goddess. šul-mi-a is also a title of Innini, SBH. 97,46. The word šu-nir-da¹ is probably an augmented form of šu-nir, as si-im and si-im-da a musical instrument. This word passed into Semitic by metathesis as šurinnu, šurinu 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·šú-nir-da should mean 'goddess of battle'' unless šunir be the name of a weapon, although the general meaning 'emblem, seems preferable in most cases. 77 2.

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 (paķid kiššati) 'overseer of the universe', Nebo; 65,6; 67,33; 67,37. Written also šid-rú-šár 68,15; SBH. 28,15.

sid-rú-umun-ki-sar-ra, overseer, lord of the universe, SBH. 7,10.

^d·sig-šu-dú, 'adorned with splendour', Nusku, 101, 1; SBP. 154,33.

4.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 surinu = masrahu, 'instrument which causes wailing?', or 'place of wailing?'. The passage may refer to the chapel of a temple where the surinu 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-MÁ-NINĀ-(ki), 72,30. Ordinarily, UD-MÁ-NINĀ-ŠIR-(ki), SBH. 22,59; Br. 7852. The temple in Sirara is E-UD-MÁ-NINĀ-(ki)-TAG dedicated to Ninā, SAK. 86,1 III 1.
- Note also the phrase ^d ninā SAL+KU dingtr UD-MÁ-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-MA-NINĀ-TAG-(ki), SBP. 284,6, for which ZIM. K.L. 2 r. II 18 has si-ra-ra. The 'lord of Sirara', SBP. 84,1 is probably Ningirsu. Probably a section of Lagash.

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.

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-sīg-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.

^d.Śu-za-bar-azag, 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.³ 88 V 25-7¹. 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; 1245; 125; 1328; 136 r. 3; 29,16; 2713; 68,15; 79,1; 186 11; r. 6; 1935; 115,7; 124,9.

tù-mah, 'great magician', Marduk, 85,5; CT. 25, 40,14; 24,37,98.

4. The name of the third ship id-da-nir-gál (ship of) the majestic river, is obscure.

su-pad-e, title of Tammuz, 16,2.

^d·Šuruppak, 72,3; 88, 13.14,

tu-mu-mu, my son, Tammuz, 160 5.

tūr-sag, first daughter, 73,21.

ub-lil, chamber, shrine, 101 10.

ud-gù-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, 114, 5.

umun harsagga, 'lord of mountains', Shamash, 92 r.3; Ninlil, 15 5.

umun-kalag-a-ge, 927; 49,46; SBH. 132,26.

d-umun-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-amaš-azag, 'Lord of the holy sheepfolds', 101 4; SBP. 154,36.

umun-si-gal, 92 7; 49,16; SBH. 132,26.

umun ^{d.}uraš-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.  $\tilde{S}E\tilde{S}$ -UNU-ki, 15,15; **164** 6; **116**; **156** 4.  $\tilde{S}E\tilde{S}$ -d. EN-KI, 5,66.

^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 uddazalû, '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 iluNabû, the god of wisdom, CT. 25, 11, 12. uraš then takes on the meaning 'prophesy', barû, CT. 18, 49, 36. It is clear from the preceding citations that d'nin-uraš and d'uraš 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 ², 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 duraša 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 Anu¹; 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, Ningišzida, 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 sa is-sik ikribi, 'Anu of the possession of reverence'3, 'Anu to whom reverence belongs', an explanation which has apparently nothing to do with the fundamental idea of *uraš*. From references made to Uraša of Dilbat it is clear that he is distinct from Anu, and I doubt whether in texts other than theological, we have any right to translate ^d IB by Anu⁴. 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.

4. 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 Enšar and Ninšar, etc., remained abstract conceptions.

3. CT. 24,19,2.

4. The southern gate of Babylon looking toward Dilbat was called the gate of ila U-ra-aš, VAB. IV 180,20, otherwise written "gate of ilaIB", 186,22; 162,28. It is, therefore, certain that  $d \cdot IB$  in these inscriptions is to be read Uraš not Anu, as I have done, 74,31; 92,46, etc. See GAUTIER l. c., 3.

type, and in the liturgies Uraš is often the god of Dilbat who usurped his father Anu in the possession of the temple Ibe-Anu. The word is most often written *uraša* and *urašara*, and we have one example of *nin-uraša-ra*, SBP. 208,17. It is highly probable that the title was originally *urašara*.

Tashmet is constantly called 'the bride, first-born daughter of Uraš'; ^d uraš-a-ra, 56,12; ^d uraš-a, SBP. 60,9; 56 r. 29; 168,3; 112,6; SBH. 65 r. 13; Here Uraša of Dilbat is probably intended.

Hymn to Uraša gašru buķur ^{ilu}Enlil, Zim. Rt. 26 III 49⁺.

^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; urú-^d·en-zu-na, SBP. 26,10. Read Ur-Sin-na.

Uršaba, the sleeping-chamber  $\bar{u}r$ -š $\check{a}$ -ba, a chapel where the sister of Tammuz was worshipped, 3,3. Temple of Nintud in Keš, 72, 14;  $\acute{e}$ - $\check{u}r$ - $\check{s}ab$ -ba, SBP. 156,39. Usually read *Har*- $\check{s}aba$  but see p. 72 n. 7. The words *har*- $\check{s}\check{a}$ -ba, with gloss *hár* on the first sign, are explained by *kabitti libbi*, 'thoughts of the heart', SBH. 9,116. *har*, *hur* > $\check{u}r$ , all mean *kabittu*. 'Temple of meditation''.

ur-sag, hero, title of Ramman, 176 3; 13 3; Marduk, 69 7; 119,9; Zamama, 92 3.

ur-sag-gal, Nin-uraša, 22,4.5. 7; 56 r. 20. Enlil, 49,13, ur-sag-gal-e-ne, 85 4.

*urú-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. 24.

urú-și-ib-ba, the good city, Eridu, 1503; 1542; 123+; 1244; 1286; 16,14.

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, utuk-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, Nir (CLAY reads 1 for 1 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 gig-ta, p. 42, 71; see also 105, 71. a urú-mu im-me, 189. é abzu-ta, 103 6. en-zu så-mar-mar, 240; 103 4; 192; CT. 15,11; ZIM. K.L. 2 r. 23. é-tur ki áb-udu, 164 1. gakkul-ám ma-al-šù, 103 18; IV R. 53 I 57. See also SBP. 42,60. gü-ud-nim kur-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 gù-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-síg-ga ná-a, 103 3 and p. 105.  $\dots$  bara azag-ga, 103 5. .....er i-si-iš 103 7. .....é-kùr-ra, 103 8; IV R. 53 I 25. .....ù-ki-ja mu-kalag-ga-mu, 103 11. .....i gud-gul elum gud-gul, 103. .....ma-al-śù, 103 14. .....cn-lil-là-ge, 103 16. 

CATCH-LINES.

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.

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116	. 18	82-3-23,5220,	49
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227		83-1-18,486	17
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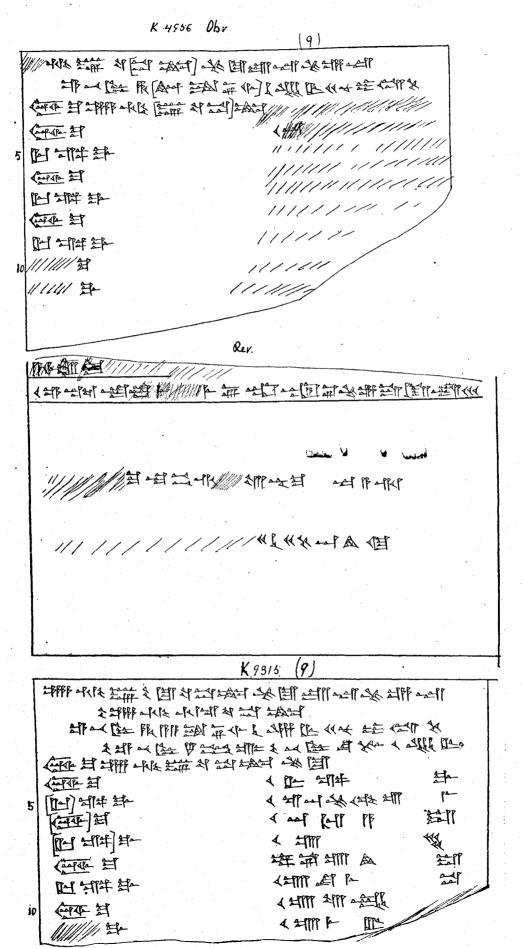
## VIII

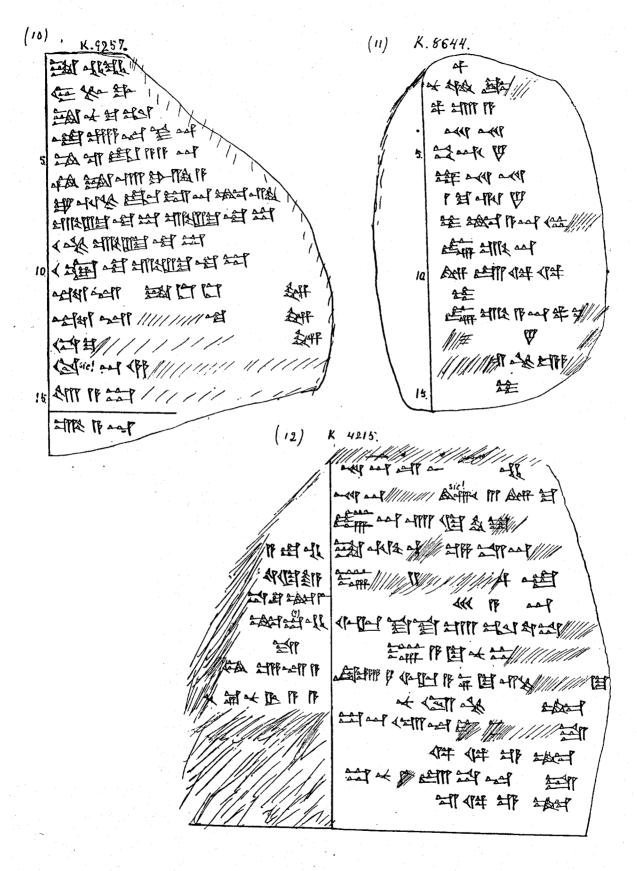
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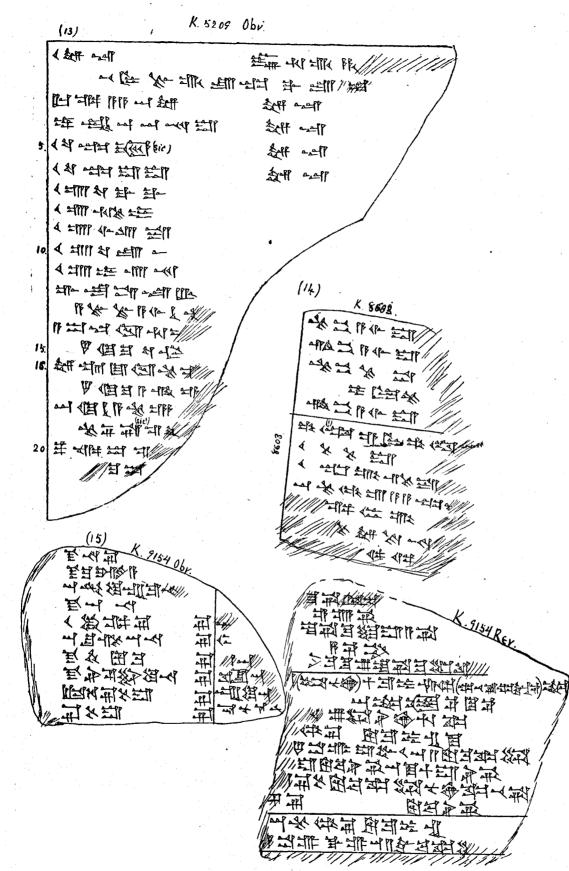
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LANGDON, LITURGIES.

PL. XIII



	PL. XIV
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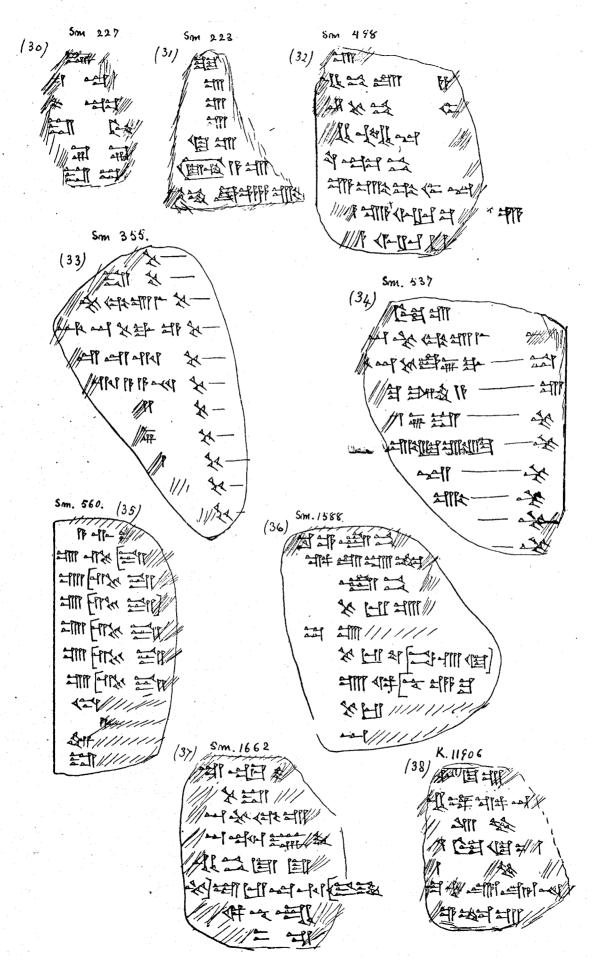
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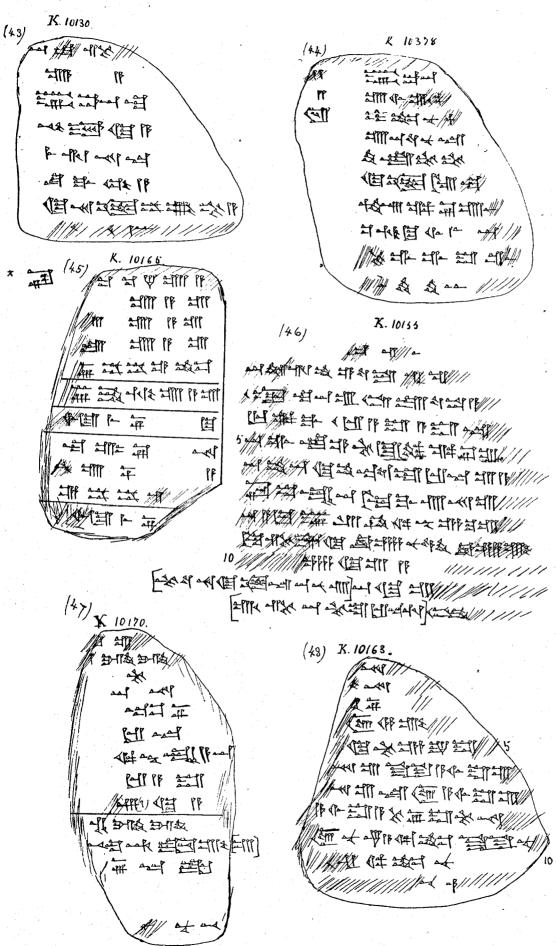


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LANGDON, LITURGIES.

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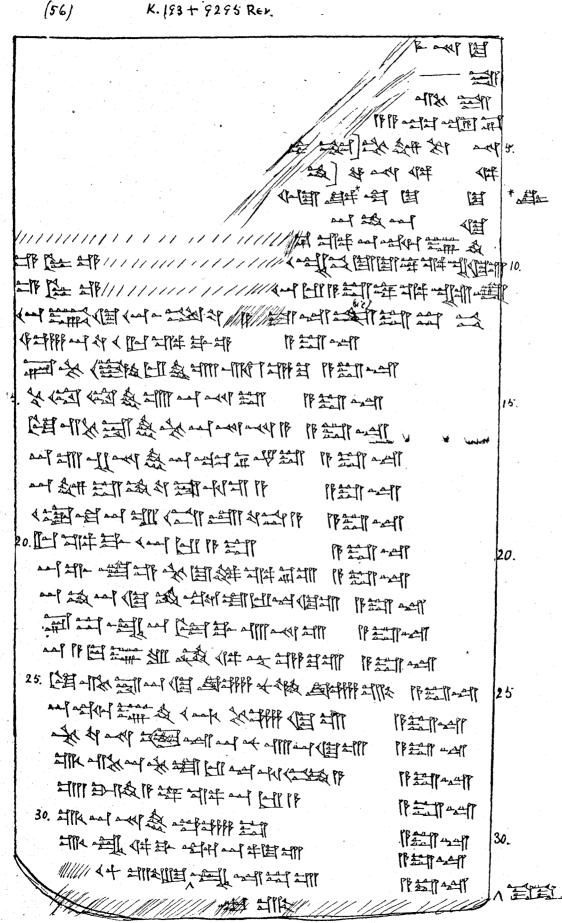
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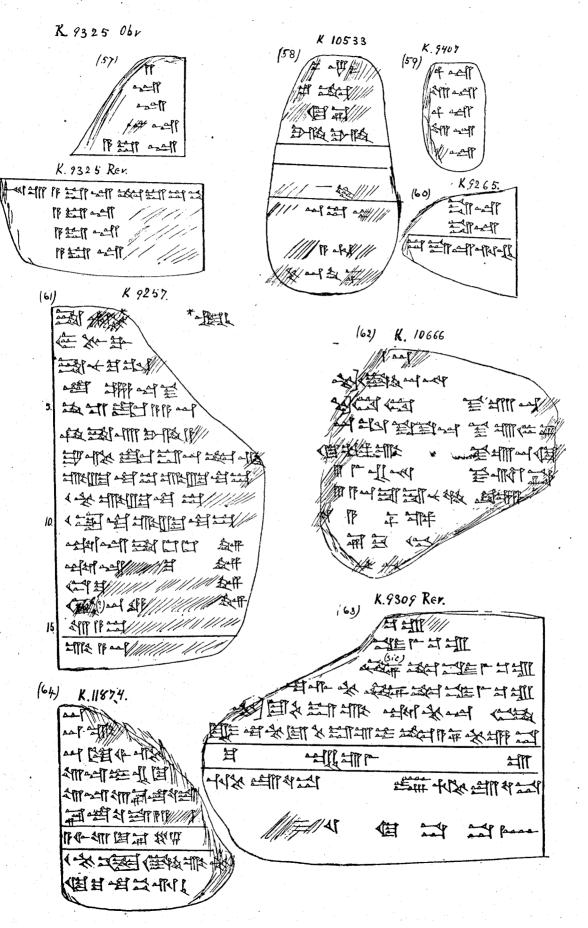
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PL. XXIII

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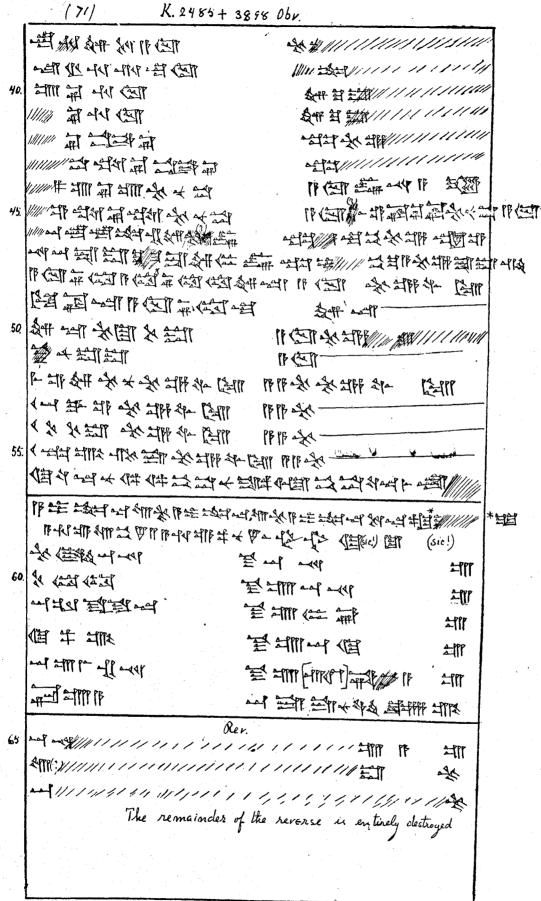
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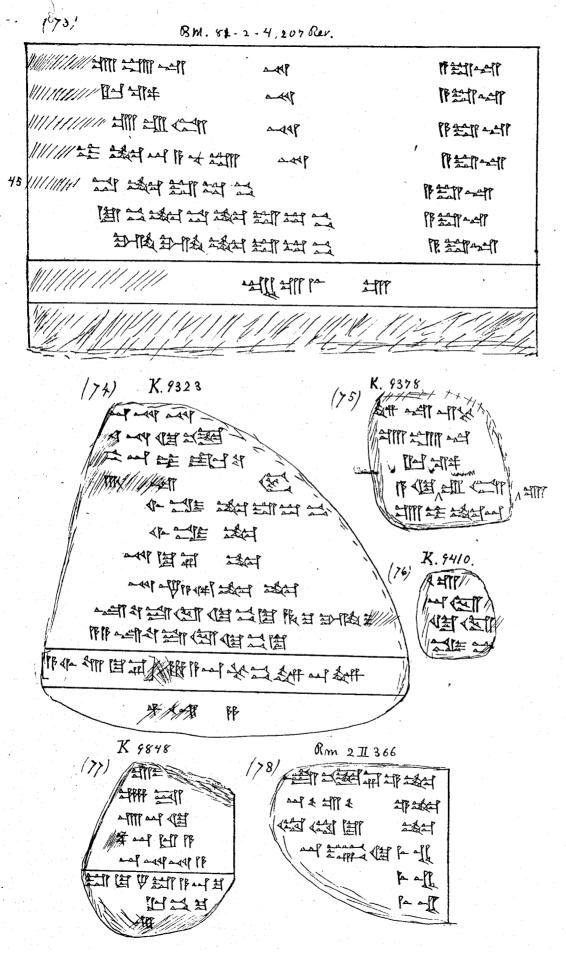
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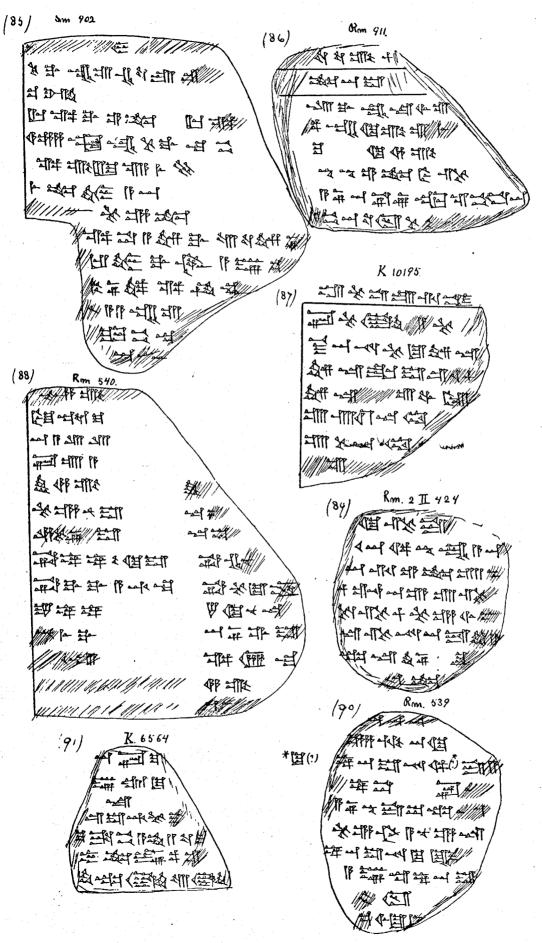
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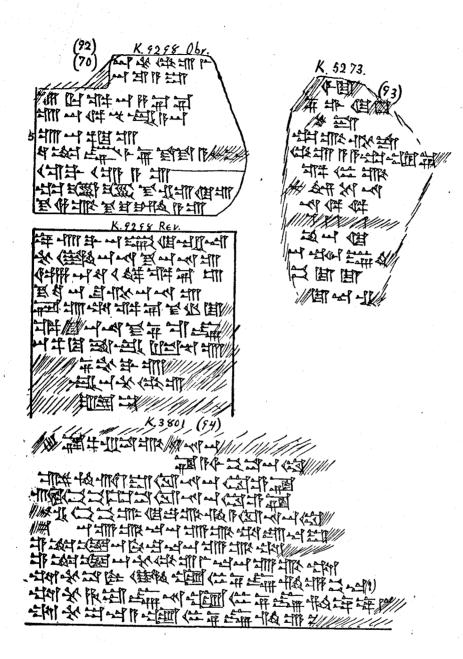
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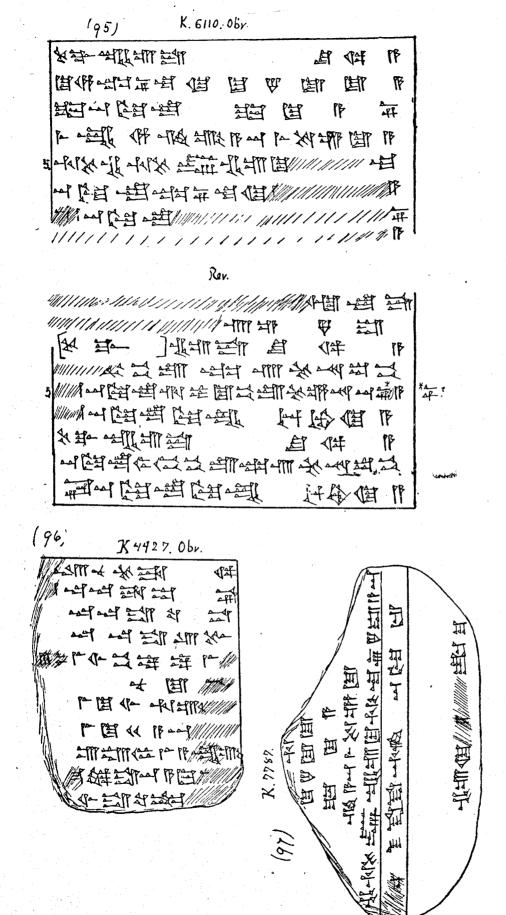


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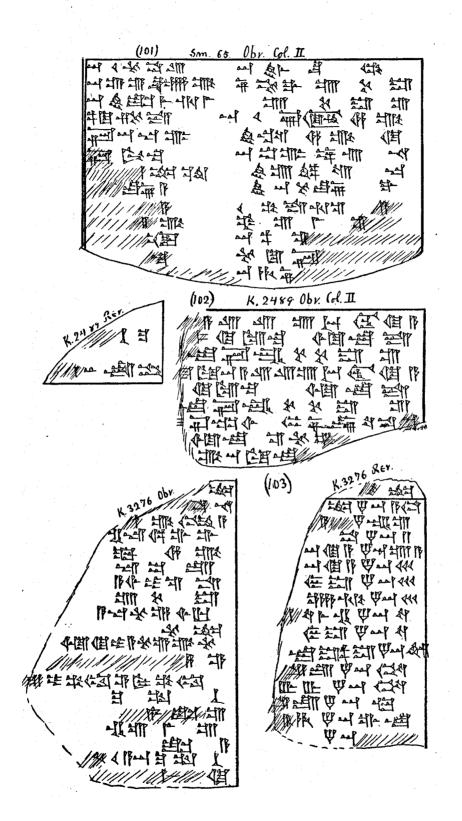


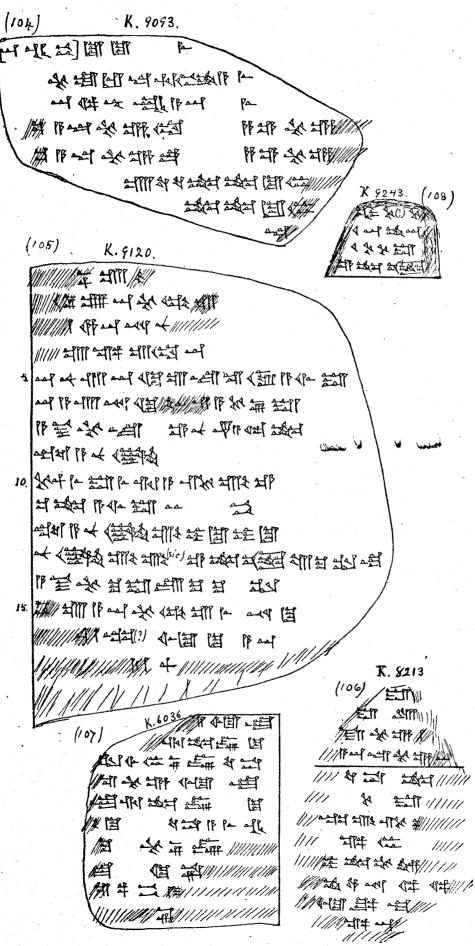




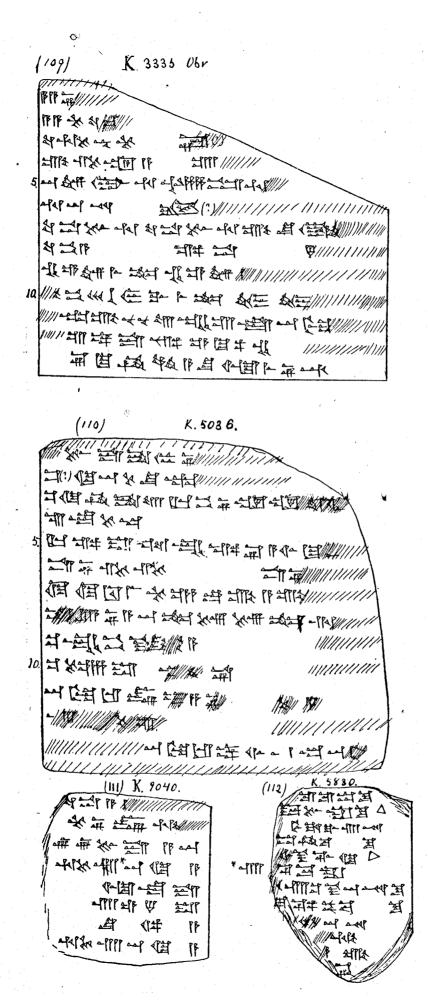
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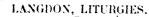
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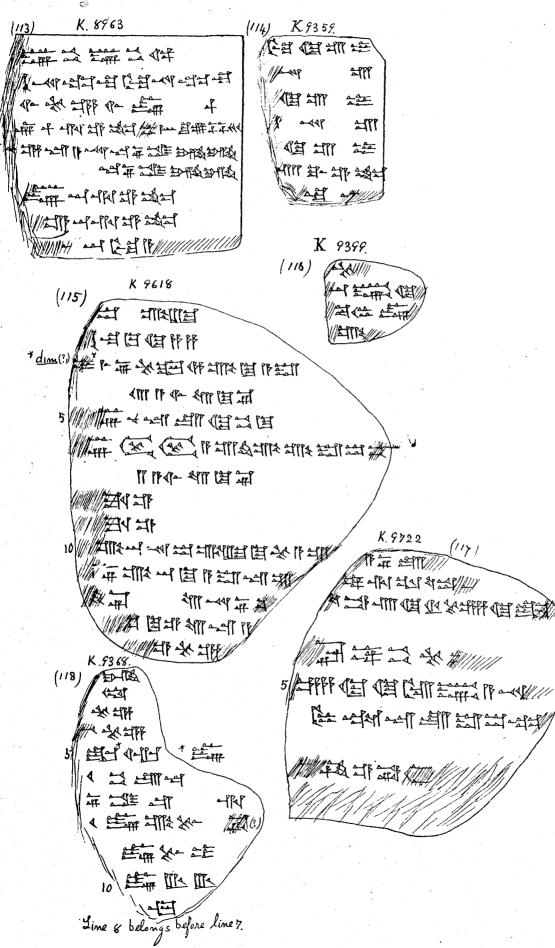


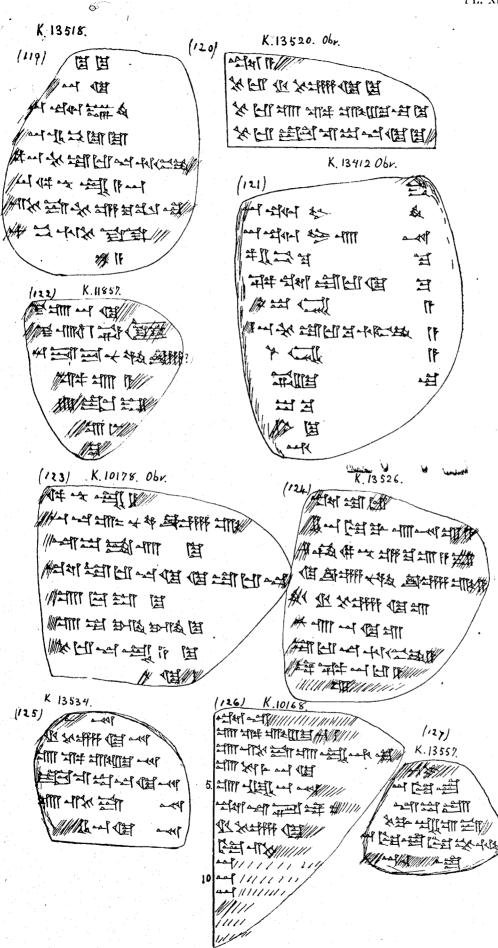
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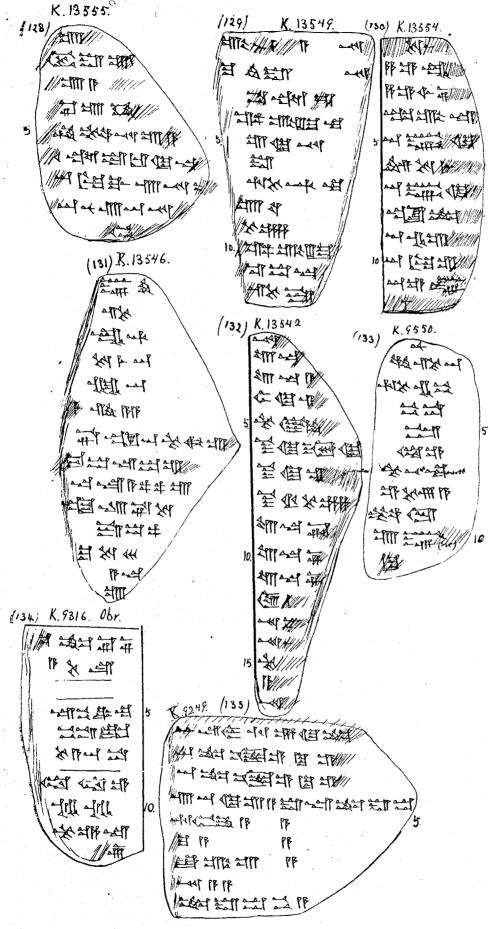


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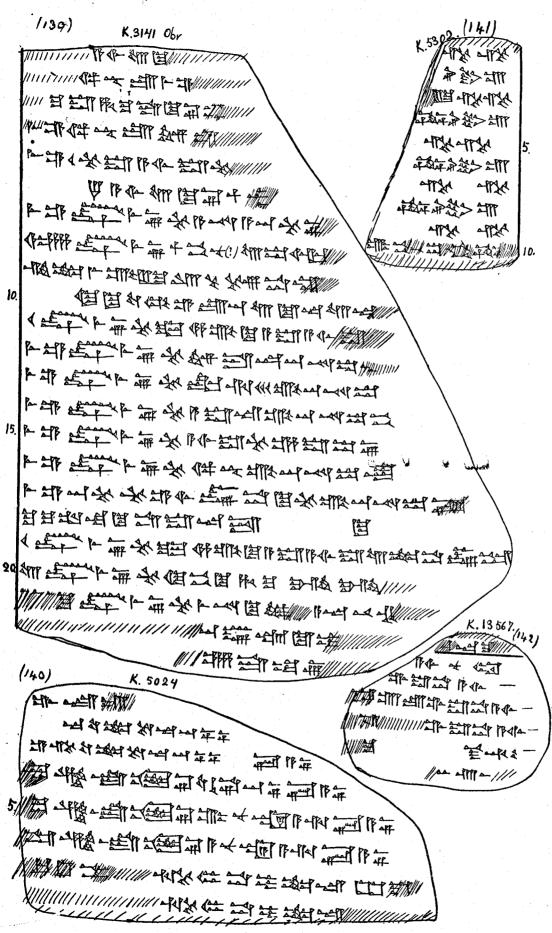
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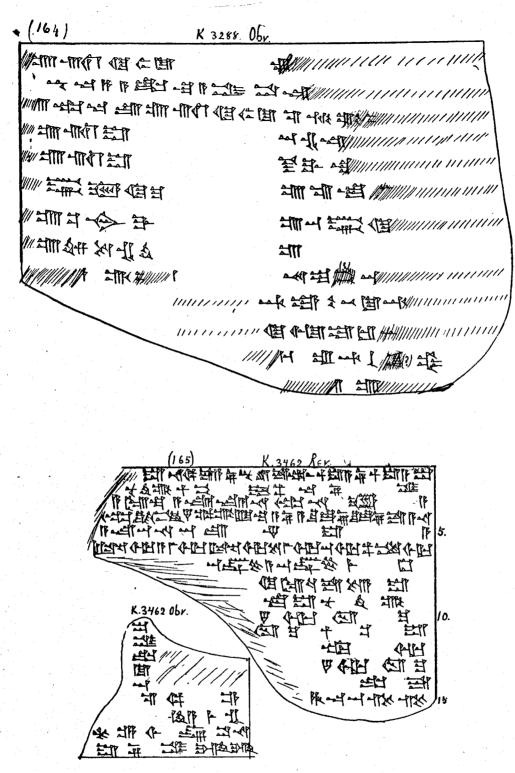
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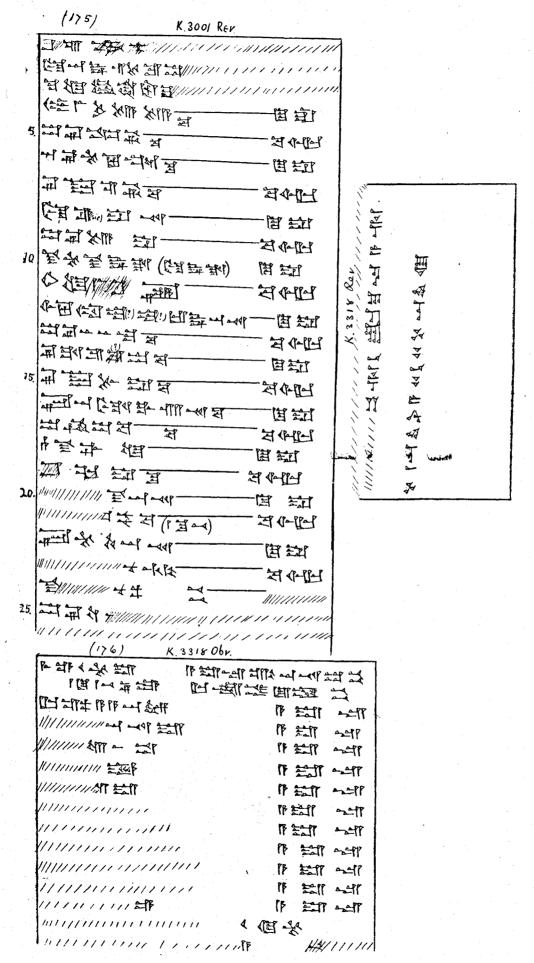
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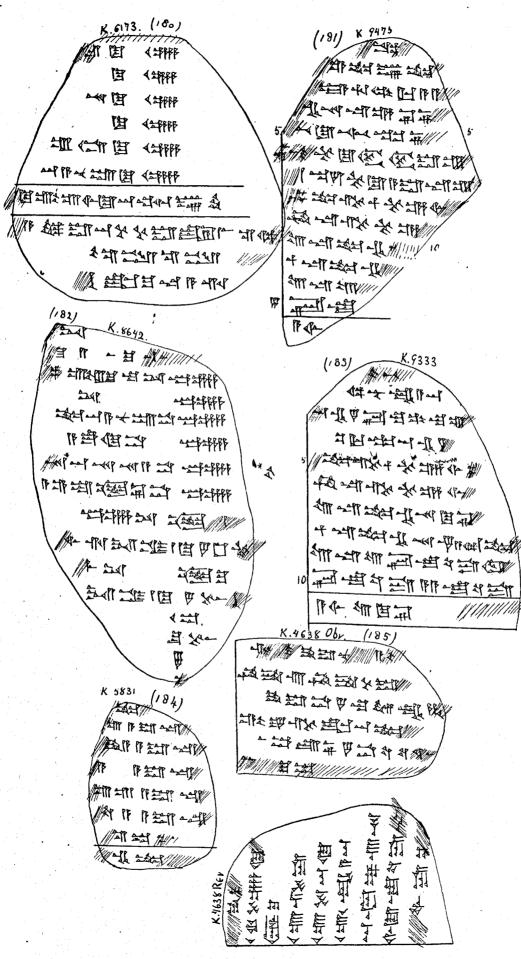
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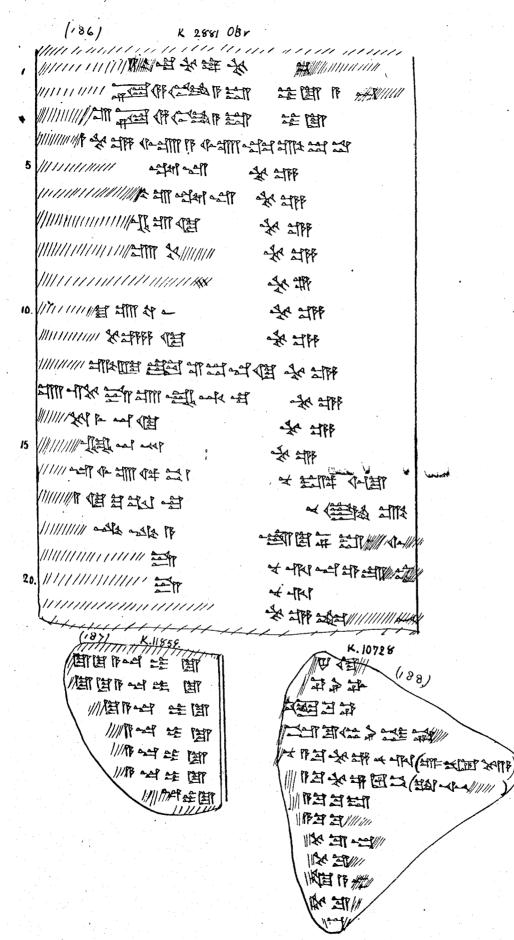
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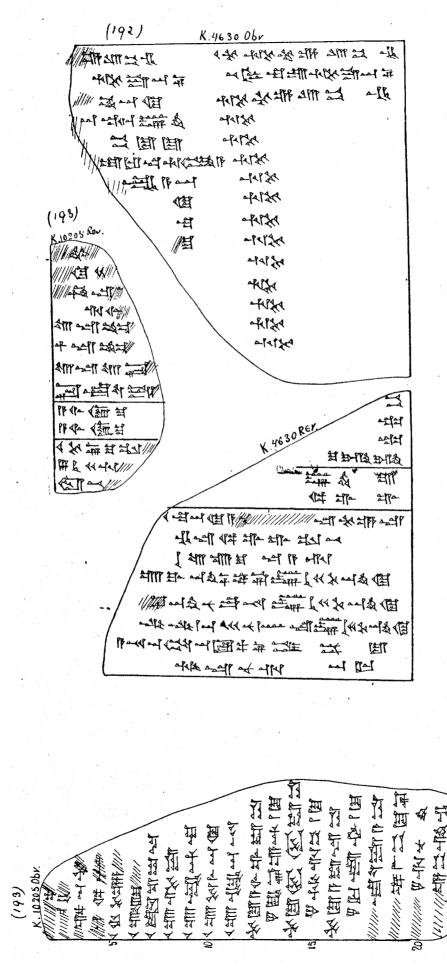


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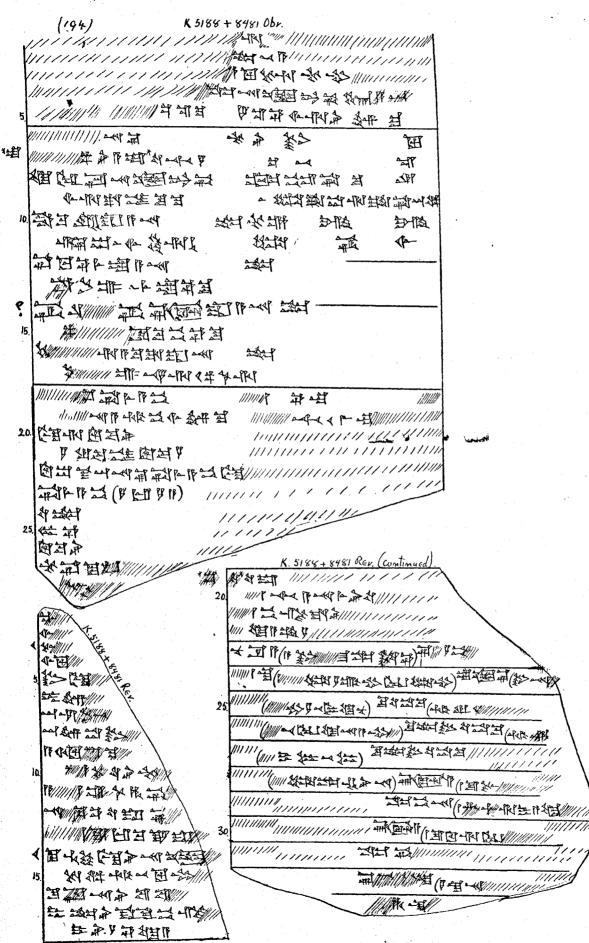


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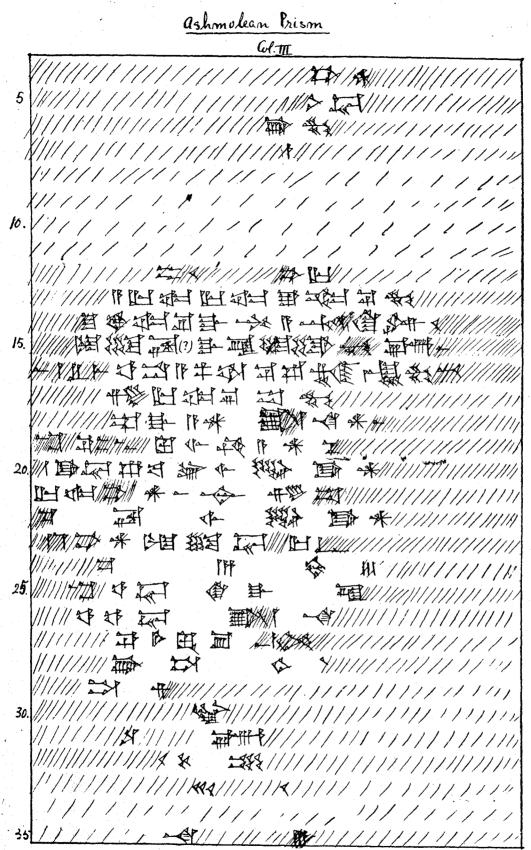
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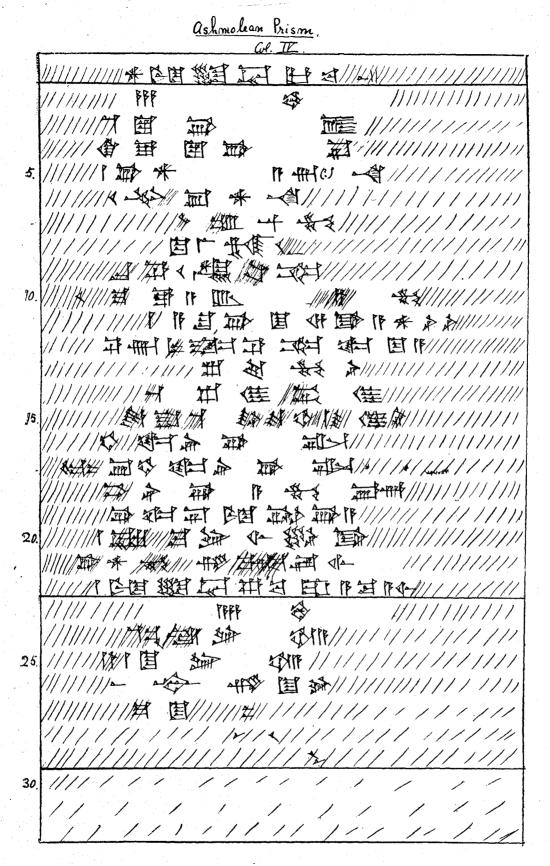
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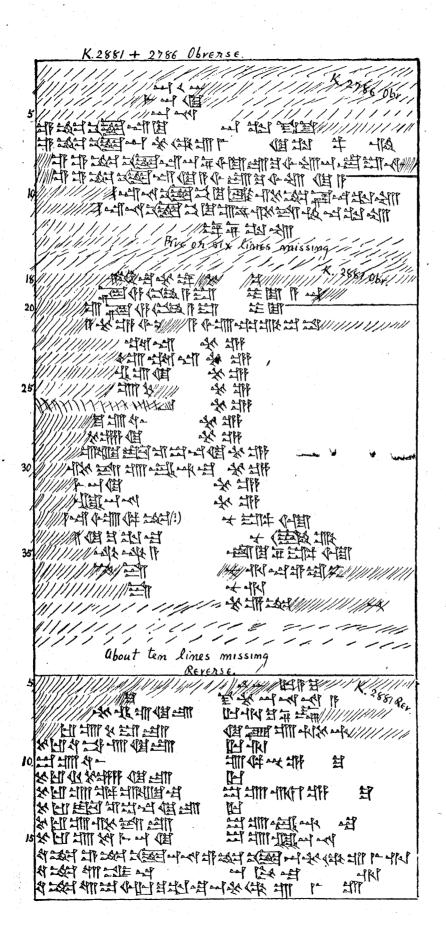
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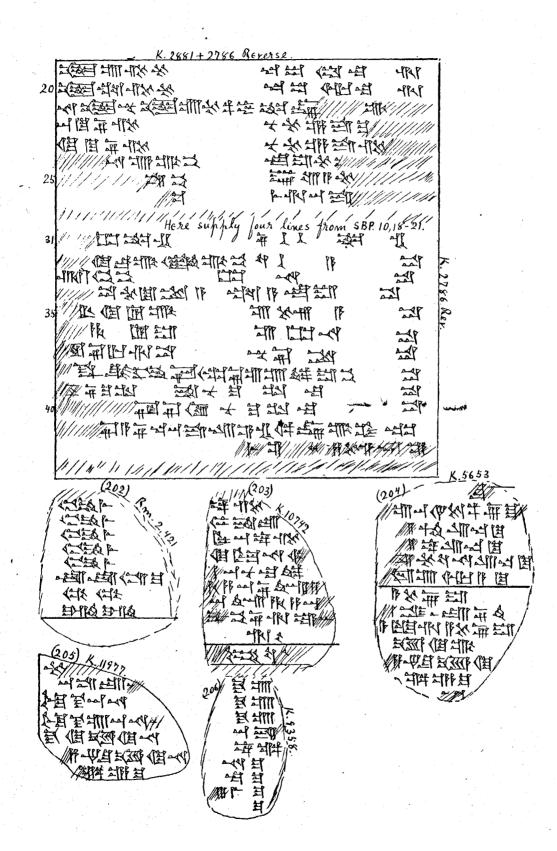
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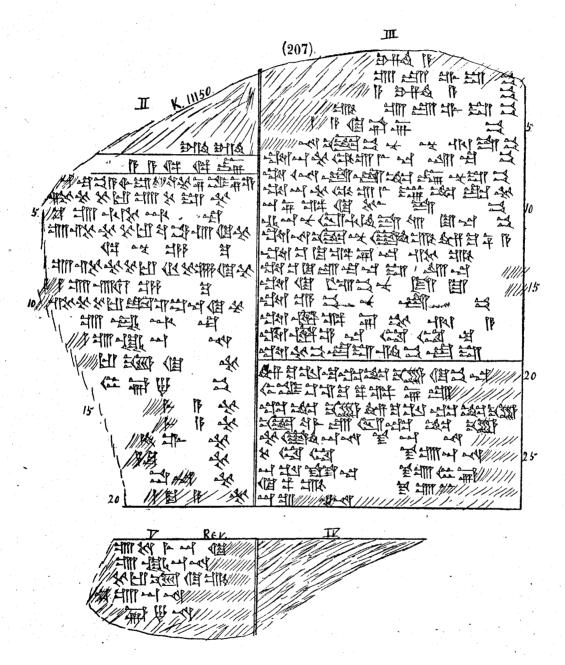


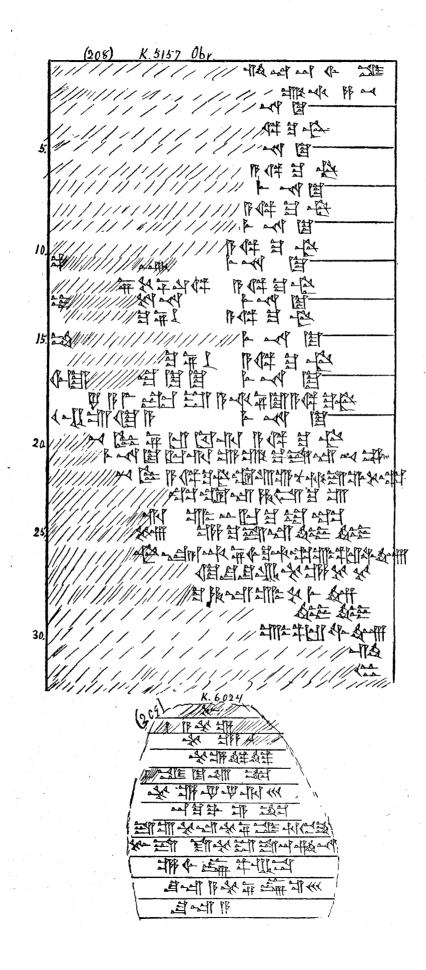
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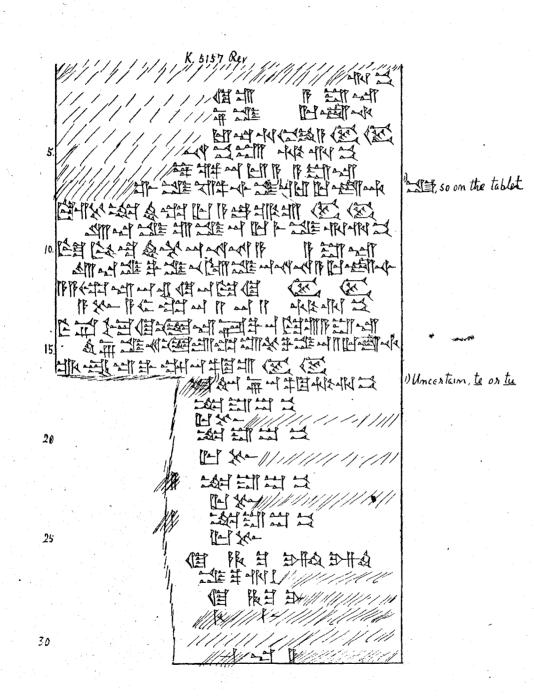












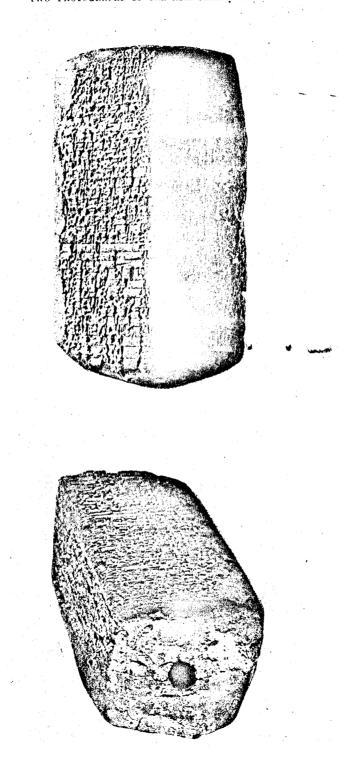
10 1.7 read -11 for -PNTS No. 13 L 21 # No. 14 1. 6 12 No. 16 Col I 18 last sign is # (Zimmern) 201 6 the for ist No. 25 1 4 of revense and for ant No. 27 1 1 at and 22; 2.2 al and they; I.4 NAM at end doubtful; l. 10 last sign / 2 14 readings should all be shaded. No. 28 & 1 one or two signs gone before 1; l 2 ad - lum No. 3 l. 7 for the read the No. 37 l 1 read and the above l 1 yet to be seen 1981. No. 38 l'2 read # ETT - 1 Mar 1 1 read IT for at No. 47 L. 11 first sign Et, at the end all is legible No. 51 & 2 read off 1.2 MRT for Per; 1 15 suppress and No 62 1 4 at and 讲; 1 8 nead 年 for 年, 1.9 MT # 2 11/ No 63 1 5 STT for STR El 2 last sign, Will is all that can be seen; 1.3 =; 1.4 after a read at # # St II - 20-gim No. 68 l. 1 read -1/# 21; before me in lines 2-4 read and; Il 4f. at End and Ant Hant, l. 6 after le read Art M; l & read and ste read and and antital a lo read a maning to 14 lat and and still to be seen; I 6 at beginning to 15 1.3 and In Alt Mo. 77 1 5 at beginning & still to be seen No. 78 for and read any Me. so 1 10 att for and last 15 ATT No. 84 obr. 1 after sak read and; 13 2 21 14 At ends of ll. 4 ff 2 is visible, 1 4 of the 19-14 for is -21, l. 7 suppress Art; 1 8/11/11 Eday, after 1 8 still to be seen l.g. 11111 - 10.86 1 6 before and 1-KIX No. 87 1.1 after tum 200 1. 5 after 24 With Est strate No 88 17 Stad mill 21 etc 2 8 at end read 1. sat and 2 1 + Hall No. 89 1. 3 at and 14, 14 and for 4; 15. at and si- 200, 16 after ma read 2 Tap ra ATT for all; & 8/ MAR 201. No. 90 & 3 di is certain; & 6 other for ale; & 8 = TP for TP No 51 & 4 after no read With 1. 5 after a read Soft stant M. No. 96 ll. 7 and 8 10: ); 1 8 20 for 14, 19 att for sitt, and at the end there is i for three or more signs No. 97 1 6 read this Elistance and in the colophion nipru ke kuna and & ete il 10 read 11/1/1/ 27 The 20 The Soft We etc and d. 20 after 12 read at 10 105 l 4 after sag read attrations is for and an a start for the sag read attration in the sage of t 16 E A, I 11 of a mu hur ru. No. 110/3 ( for E; I. 4 & Marta ta All andret and soft & [1], 16 signs all so; I 11 after so; I 11 after the No. 113 l. 4 perhaps and te mes; II- for =III= No.121 l. 1 2nd; between lines & and 9 a line has been omitted; the only sign the is all at the and, Mill is visible at the left edge. No.122 l 2 (III-12) No.129 l. 5 Hill No.131 l to read for all. No. 133 1. 3 all is uncertain, perhaps It; 1.4 read 2 21, for line 11, which is ormitted, read * APPATTALIN No. 135 / 1 read + and in the Mr of the Al 1 for and read at the K 9316 has a use which reads



32 1.5 read 医甜 a- Se-is- ra. No 142 1.6 read gasam 41 411. No 140 1 1 4 for the For No. 143 see the cription. No 146 1.6 国际研研 (1, say _ cs; 1.7 at beginning read art 1, 11. 17, read and for the No. 143 see the 1.11 for all read to . No. 158 ll. 1.3. II read It for 4, 1.16 art 15 the first sign to be restored No. 161 l 15 1.11 for all read to . No. 158 ll. 1.3. II read It for 4, 1.16 art 15 the first sign to be restored No. 161 l 15 1.11 for all read to . No. 158 ll. 1.3. II read It for 4, 1.16 art 15 the first sign to be restored No. 161 l 15 1.11 for all read to . No. 162 l. 7 before to insert II No. 163 l. 11 after the read (the first sign to be restored No. 161 l 15 1.15 Marth 1. No. 162 l. 7 before to insert II No. 163 l. 11 after the read (the first sign to be restored No. 161 l 15 1.15 Marth 1.16 . No. 162 l. 7 before to insert II No. 163 l. 11 after the read (the first sign to be restored No. 161 l 15 1.15 Marth 1.16 . No. 162 l. 7 before to insert II No. 163 l. 11 after the read (the first sign to be restored No. 161 l 15 1.15 Marth 1.16 . No. 162 l. 7 before to insert II No. 163 l. 11 after the read (the first sign to be restored No. 161 l 15 1.16 Marth 1.16 . No. 188 l. 1 he the for all l 15 1.16 Marth 1.16 . No. 188 l. 1 he the form of the log of the set of the form of the log of the set of the form the set of the form the set of the form the set of th PHOTOGRAPHS OF OBV. AND REV. OF Nº. 1.







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