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HUGO RADAU

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SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS

TO

GOD NIN-IB

FROM THE

Temple Library of Nippur

BY

HUGO RADAU

Fifteen Plates of Autograph Texts and Six Plates of Halftone Illustrations

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PHILADELPHIA

Published by the Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania

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TO

Eckley Brinton Coxe, Junior

PRESIDENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHÆOLOGY AND FOUNDER OF THE
"ECKLEY BRINTON COXE, JUNIOR, FUND"

Who

**By his liberal support of archæological investigations
and his profound interest in Sumeriological
and Assyriological studies
made the publication of this volume possible**

Gratefully inscribed

PREFACE.

During the winter of 1908–9 Professor Hilprecht assigned to me for publication some 200 and more tablets and fragments from the Temple Library of Nippur. After a preliminary examination of these tablets I informed the Editor that these tablets furnished sufficient material to warrant the issuance of at least four volumes, one with *Enlil*, one with *NIN-IB*, one with *Dumu-zi* and one with "religious historical" inscriptions. Part of the remaining tablets which I could not classify under these four heads I have published in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* under the title "*Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur*," adding to an introduction and a translation of some of the tablets (pp. 374–457) thirty plates of autograph texts and fifteen plates of halftone reproductions.

It was my original intention to publish in this volume about 28 plates in autograph. But as will happen occasionally in connection with difficult cuneiform inscriptions, after a detailed examination and analysis, a scholar will change his mind with regard to this or that particular inscription in question. Several of the tablets which first seemed to me to contain *NIN-IB* texts proved themselves to be *Nergal* compositions, historical texts, etc., while others remained doubtful as to the god addressed in them. Anxious to offer only indisputable *NIN-IB* texts, I excluded all inscriptions in which the name of this deity could not be ascertained with absolute certainty.

The excavations of Nippur, of course, have yielded a good many more NIN-IB texts than here published. But it was the intention of the Editor and the writer to issue at once those texts which had been catalogued and, moreover, were excavated during the earlier expeditions, in order to put before scholars some of the material which furnished the key to the contention of the existence of the now rightly famous Temple Library. The fact, therefore, that only 15 plates of autograph texts are published in this volume does not by any means indicate that the Temple Library of Nippur is exhausted as regards NIN-IB texts.

Variety of texts is what seems to be desired above everything else at present. Shorter volumes following each other in quick succession are demanded. As soon as the variety of the contents of the library has been demonstrated, the Editor and the Publication Committee expect to return to the old method hitherto employed by them.

The inscriptions nos. 1–5 have been translated in the following pages, while

the epical fragments (nos. 6–9) were rendered in Series D, vol. V, fasc. 2, where it was shown that the contents of the Nippur Temple Library are, to a great extent, the same as, or similar to, those of the Ashshurbânapal library, furnishing in many cases the same texts, the *originals*, from which the later copies of the Assyrian king's library were made, either directly or indirectly.

All the texts here published are written in *classical* Sumerian interspersed with so-called *dialectical* forms. The script is that of the Old Babylonian period with a good many forms generally regarded as characteristic of the Neo-Babylonian period, cf. *sum*, *sí(g)*, no. 1, II : 30; IV : 21, with I : 37; II : 7, 32; *dingir*, no. 2 : 3, with *ibid.*, ll. 14, 32, 33, 35, etc. Only once a gloss occurs: no. 1, III : 18, where the dialectical *mu(š)* is glossed by *giš*. The inscriptions belong to the earlier Temple Library of Nippur, which antedates that of Ashshurbânapal by about 2000 years. No. 1 mentions kings *^{d}Gimil-^{d}Sin*, *^{d}Bur-^{d}Sin* and *Dun-gi* of the II. dynasty of Ur.

Through some unforeseen unfortunate circumstances, beyond my power of control, the issuance of this volume was delayed for more than half a year. I have devoted the involuntary leisure thus obtained to a thorough investigation of the calendar and astronomy of the ancient Sumerians; for it is absolutely necessary to have a clear and adequate conception of them, if we desire to understand their religion correctly. It is my intention to publish the results of my researches in a special volume of Series D, entitled "*The Sumerian Calendar,*" which I hope will appear about contemporaneously with the *Dumu-zi* and *Enlil* volumes already in the course of publication.

To my friend and guide, Professor H. V. Hilprecht, whose freely given encouragement, assistance and profound knowledge of the contents of the Temple Library have furnished the inspiration for this volume; to Mrs. Sallie Crozer Hilprecht, my most gracious benefactress, who not only during the last five years has made my sojourn in Philadelphia possible, but who also in many other ways has shown her generosity, kindness and interest in my work, I am as ever deeply grateful. Also to that unknown and unnamed friend of mine, who through Mr. Samuel F. Houston, the late chairman of the Babylonian and General Semitic Section, so effectively helped me during the course of the last summer, I cannot but express my deepest and most heartfelt gratitude. I am especially pleased to be permitted to dedicate this volume to Mr. Eckley Brinton Coxe, Junior, who by his remarkable interest in all things archæological has greatly promoted scientific research in America and by his liberal support of the Babylonian Publications has erected unto himself a lasting monument at the same time making all scholars his grateful debtors.

HUGO RADAU.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., December 15th, 1910.

CONTENTS.

I.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIGION OF THE SUMERIANS FROM THE OLDEST TIMES TILL THE INTRODUCTION OF GOD *NIN-IB* INTO THE SUMERIAN PANTHEON.

1. THE SUMERIAN GODS AND THEIR HUMAN ASPECT.

NIN-IB, the "son (*dumu*)" or "principal son (*dumu-sag*)" and "mighty warrior (*ur-sag kala(g)-ga*)" of the chief god of Nippur, *ᵈEnlil*, though one of the very best known gods, is yet the most mysterious one in the Sumerian theology and religion. This "mysteriousness" extends to his *origin* and *appearance* in the system of the Sumerian theology as well as to his very *nature* and *attributes*. As in every case so in this one, "mysteriousness" surrounds a god with a certain "undefinable something (*me-lám, su-lim,* שכינה)" which fills the worshiper not only with "fear (*ní*)," but also with "love (*ág*)" and "reverence (*i*)," yea, with an "irresistible longing (*ḫe, ga*)" to pierce the vail and to "behold the god from face to face (*igi-bar*)." And after he has pierced the vail and beheld the face of the god, the Sumerian worshiper is simply charmed by the naturalness of the object of his adoration—a naturalness so unsophisticated, so childlike we may almost say, as to command, on this account, even at the present time our highest admiration and, may be, fill us with this god's "awe-inspiring fear (*ní me-lám, ní su-lim-ḫuš*)," "reverence (*i-i*)" and "adoration (*ka-šu-gál, -ma-al, -mar*)."

The more human the god: the more divine his nature, and, *mutatis mutandis*, the more human the system of theology: the more divine its origin. The ancient Sumerians felt that, in order to understand their woes and afflictions, their sufferings and needs, their ambitions and aspirations, their god had to be endowed with all the qualities and frailties of human nature. Only human nature is capable of understanding human nature. To understand and have sympathy with man *God must be man*. For the Sumerians, therefore, God is "man (*galu*[1])."

Man does not speak or think of God except in terms of human language and modes of human thought. The more primitive man is, the simpler and cruder will be his conception of God, and, *vice versa*, the more refined man's thoughts, the more advanced his intelligence, the nobler and more spiritualized will be his ideas

[1] *Creation-Story*, p. 10, note 1; p. 40; *H. A. V.*, p. 418; 14.

about God. But whatever the ultimate picture of God which man may or may not portray in his mind, the process of reasoning is always the same: it is a process from "the known" to "the unknown." The known quantity is "man." Hence all attributes inherent in man—be they good or bad—man will, more or less, ascribe to his god. The Sumerian god appears, therefore, not only as "gracious, loving, pardoning (*šá(g)*)," but also as "angry, furious (*ḫuš, šur*)," yea, even as "inimical and hostile (*ḫúl*)." He can "walk (*gin*)," "ride (*ū*)," "lie down (*na(d)*)" and "sleep (*ù-di-ḫug-ḫug* (or *dib*))," can "speak (*gù-de*)," "eat (*kú*)," "drink (*nag*)," can "rejoice (*ḫul*)," "weep (*er-mal*)" and "make merry (*ezen-gar*)."

Not only, however, did the Sumerians ascribe to their gods all possible human attributes and functions, but they went further: they transferred to the gods even their own *social institutions* and *functions*. Thus it happened that the Sumerian "*divine society*" came to be, in course of time, an *exact reflex* of the "*human society*," being thought of as consisting of "man (*galu*)" and "woman (*sal, nin*)," of "male (*gíš, uš*)" and "female (*sal*)," of "parents" or "father and mother (*ama-a-a*)" and "children (*dumu*)," of "husband (*dam-uš, en*)" and "wife (*dam-sal, nin*)," of "sons (*dumu-uš*)" and "daughters (*dumu-sal*)," of "brothers (*šeš*)" and "sisters (^{sal}*egi, nin*)," of "kings (*lugal*)," "lords (*en*)," "princes (*egi*)," "counselors (*ad-gí-gí*)," "servants (*nita*)" and of all kinds of professions: "*pa-te-sis*," "priests (*šangu*)," "diviners (*máš*)," "smiths (*simug*)," "gardeners (*nu-giš-sar*)," "fishermen (*šu-ḫa*)," "farmers (*engar*)," "bakers (*mu*)," "messengers (*kin-gí-a*)," "musicians (*LUL*)," "rein or bridle holders (^{su}*PA-dib*)," "barbers (*bar-šu-gál*)" and "female hairdressers (*kinda*, ^{sal}*šu-i*)," etc., etc.[1]

In human society man or woman married or was given in marriage, hence the Sumerian god or goddess could and did marry (*ki-uš-dú(g)-šú ḫug-ḫug*), could and did "beget or bear (*tu-ud-da*)" children. It seems that during the earliest period of their social life and institutions the Sumerians reckoned the descent through the mother,[2] hence this practice was transferred to the gods likewise.[3] When descent

[1] For certain professions, etc., in connection with the gods see Michatz, *Götterlisten*, pp. 94ff.

[2] Notice the position of *ama*, "mother," in *ama-a-a*, lit. "mother-father" = "parent," which later on became *a-a ama* (IV. *R.*², 27, no. 4 : 56, 57, see below, p. 6, note 4; IV. *R.*², 57*a* : 34, cf. below p. 7, note 3) = *a-bi(bu) um-mi(mu)*, "father-mother." See also *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 17, note 10, and cf. below, p. 5, note 4.

[3] Cf. the "seven children of ^{d}*Ba-ú*," *Creation-Story*, p. 23, note 6; ^{d}*Nin-Mar*^{ki}, the daughter of ^{d}*Ninâ*, *l.c.*, p. 27, note 9; ^{d}*NIN-IB*, the son (*ilitti*) of ^{d}*Egi*(=*KU*)-*tu-šár*(*šar*) (=$^{d\ sal}$ *KU*$^{e-gi}$-*tum-ma-al*=^{d}*Nin-lil*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 5 : 8), I. *R.*, 29 : 18. Cf. in this connection also the *la-biš na-mur-rat bu-kur* ^{d}*Egi*(=*KU*)-*tum*(!)-*šár*, *K.* 9880 (Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1047). This text is neither a hymn to the Moon-god (Bezold), nor one to Nergal (Böllenrücher, *Nergal*, p. 50 : 3)—though the latter is *per se* possible (*H. A. V.*, p. 428)—but rather one to ^{d}*NIN-IB*. Notice also the name *Ur-Tum-al* (=*Ur-Tu-mal.*) *B. E.*, III, part 1, 88 : 5, 111 : 6 (correct Myhrman, p. 89*a*, *Ur-Ib-al*, and cf. p. 89*b*). For *KU* = *egi* see Br. 10501. From this it would follow that the gloss *e-gi* to *SAL* + *KU* refers only to *KU*. *H. A. V.*, p. 391 : 16 *et passim*, ought to be understood accordingly. Cf. also p. 17, note 3.

came to be reckoned through the father, we find that also this method or custom was in vogue in the "divine society."[1] In like manner it can be shown that the early Sumerians must have practiced polygamy[2] and polyandry,[2] must have permitted the brother to marry his own sister,[3] the son to wed his own mother[4] and the father his own daughter.[5] This apparently explains why a certain goddess may appear sometimes as the "mother," sometimes as the "wife" and at other times as the "sister" of this or that god or why, *vice versa*, a god may be either the "father" or "husband" or "brother" of one and the same goddess.[6]

There is, then, absolutely no doubt that the ancient Sumerians did ascribe to their gods intensely human attributes, functions and institutions and by so doing portrayed faithfully—either consciously or unconsciously—in their theology and religion the earliest civilization and culture of their race. *By studying their theology and religion we ipso facto acquire a knowledge of the history and culture of the Sumerians. The Sumerian gods become in this wise the "revealers" of all history and institutions—divine and human.*

Summing up, we may safely assert that the process in the development of the Sumerian religion was the following:

1. Man—human society.

2. God—divine society. The latter is a reflex of the former. Man, human society are the prototypes; god, divine society their picture: the Sumerians created god in their own image.

3. The gods are the "revealers." *They reveal what man has previously ascribed or transferred to them.* The history of god is the history of man; without man god is non-existent.

4. The difference between the Sumerian and the Old Testament religion is this:

[1] Cf. *^{d}Nin-Mar^{ki}*, the daughter of *^{d}En-lil, H. A. V.*, p. 441, note 5; *^{d}NIN-IB*, the son of *^{d}En-lil*, and see p. 2, note 3.

[2] Cf. for the present *The Monist*, XIII (July, 1903), p. 609; *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 1, note 5, *d* (notice the *hirat* and the *kallat*!); *H. A. V.*, p. 405, note 43; *C. T.*, XXIV, 5 : 13 = 22 : 112, *^{d}Šu-zi-an-na | dam banda^{da}(=kallat!)^{d}En-lil-lá (V. BE-lá)-ge um-me-da(ga-lal = hirat!) ^{d}En-zu-na*(caret)*-ge.* Cf. also *^{d}Bêlit-i-li | dam(=hirat!) An-na-ge; ^{d}Nin-ÙR-SAL-la | dam banda^{da}(= kallat!) An-na-ge, C. T.*, XXIV, 1 : 23, 24 = 20 : 15, 16.

[3] Cf. *Creation-Story*, p. 27, note 1; p. 39, note 2; p. 64, note 2; *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 20 *et passim.*

[4] The wife of *^{d}NIN-IB* is *^{d}Nin-En-lil^{ki}, i.e., ^{d}Nin-lil*, the mistress of Nippur and wife of Enlil, *C. T.*, XXIV. 7 : 12 = 23 : 143*a*; XXV, 45*a* : 4; *B. E.*, Series D, V, fasc. 2, p. 66 : 4. Cf. also below, no. 2 : 35, where *^{d}NIN-IB* is said to marry *^{d}Nin-maḫ* (= *^{d}Be-lit-i-li, C. T.*, XXIV, 12 : 2 = 25 : 75*a*), the wife of the *^{d}Lugal-dingir-ri-e-ne* = *^{d}En-lil, Creation-Story*, p. 19, note 10; *B. E.*, XVII, part 1, p. 40, note. *^{d}Nin-Girsu*, the son of Enlil, marries *^{d}Ba-ú* = *^{d}Nin-lil, Creation-Story*, p. 42.

[5] Cf. the references given above, note 2; *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 2, note 5.

[6] Cf. *Bêl, the Christ*, pp. 1–4 *et passim.*

according to the Old Testament, "man is the image of God," Gen. 1 : 27; according to the Sumerian conception, "god is the image of man."

5. The Pan-Babylonianists, though otherwise quite right in their contention that the gods or the heavens are the revealers of everything, forget, however, that the "revelation" which the gods vouchsafe to man is but a returning of compliments.

2. THE SUMERIAN GODS AND THEIR DIVINE ASPECT.

In order to preserve his influence over the human heart and race, a god must be something more than a mere creature of the human mind: he must possess certain peculiarities, attributes, functions which are not to be found in man or human society—peculiarities and functions which remove him outside of the sphere of human knowledge and experience and put him into a class all by himself.

The Sumerian god, though thought of as being intensely human, is notwithstanding most divine—and this mainly on account of the *apparent contradiction* which the Sumerian mind discovered or ascribed, or thought to discover or ascribe, to the essence of his god's nature. There must be "something" in the nature of a god which the human mind can not, or thinks that it can not, fathom, comprehend, solve. This "something" is "divine"—because "unthinkable," "incomprehensible," "unfathomable," "contradictory."

Among these contradictory conceptions which the early Sumerians had of their gods, two stand out as the most momentous ones: *the androgynous nature of the god* and *his self-existence.*

Though the earliest Sumerians endowed their gods with the power of generation and perpetuation, *i.e.*, considered them to be either "father" and "mother," or "husband" and "wife," or "male" and "female," they yet maintained that they were neither: that they were *genderless.* The god *An*, for instance, the first, foremost and oldest god of the Sumerians, is neither male nor female, but both: he is androgynous, *i.e., he has the power within himself to beget out of his own nature a son* and offspring—*HIMSELF.* He is, so to speak, both the fountain of light and its rays, the thinker and the thought, the subject and the object, the creator and the created, the original (*mummu*[1]) and its picture (*bân kâla*), the source of life and the life itself. This androgynous nature, this *ability to beget out of himself his own ego,* this *self-*

[1] For *mummu* as a name of *Ti-amat* see *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 9, note 6, *mu-um-mu Ti-amat mu-al-li-da-at gi-im-ri-šu-nu. Ti-amat* is also = *NAB;* the ^{d}NAB is the same as ^{d}En-*lil* and is called the *dumu-sag An-na.* ^{d}En-*lil* is also one of the 21 names of the *ama-a-a An-na* (*Bêl, the Christ*, p. 17 : VIII; p. 19 : 8), hence *An-na*, the original, begets himself, his own picture: ^{d}En-*lil.* See *l.c.*, p. 9, note 6; p. 27, note 2, *c.* When the rôle of *An* was usurped by *Ea*, then *Ea* naturally became the *mummu*, *l.c.*, p. 9, note 7; but when "chaos" was considered to be the quantity out of which everything took its origin, then *Ti-amat* = *engur* was identified with *mummu*, *l.c.*, p. 27, note 2, *c.*

existence is inherent in each and every god of the Sumerians. All Sumerian gods are androgynous: father and mother or husband and wife in one person, they appear, therefore, soon as male, soon as female, soon as parent and soon as son; or as both: male *and* female[1] or parent *and* son[2] (daughter[3]).

This "contradiction" in the nature of the Sumerian gods is especially well expressed in connection with the so-called "Seven (*imin-na*)," of whom it is said that they are "neither female nor male,"[4] that they "neither take a wife nor beget a child,"[5] and yet some of these "Seven" are "male" and others "female,"[6] while all are the children of, *i.e.*, of the same nature as, *An*, *Enlil* and *Ereškigal*.[7]

On account of this androgynous nature, the god *An* is termed *ama-a-a* or "mother-father,"[8] *i.e.*, "parent": he was the first parent by whom all the other gods were begotten; he was the "father," "king," and "god of the gods." This "mother-father"-ship was transferred to all gods, more especially to those who played, in the later periods of the Babylonian religion, the rôle of *An*.

According to the several lists extant, there were 21[9] gods who shared with *An* the designation *ama-a-a*. Among these we find, *e.g.*, the ^{d}*É-kur*, *i.e.*, the god of

[1] Cf. here *An* = *Anu* or *ilu* and *An* = *Antum* or *iltum*, and names like ^{d}*NIN-IB*, ^{d}*MAŠ*, ^{d}*Innanna*, ^{d}*SUḪ*, ^{d}*Gù-sìr*, ^{d}*Su-kur*, ^{d}*Da-mu*, ^{d}*Utu*, ^{d}*Íd-^{galu}ŠUB-GÚ*, ^{d}*Galu-rù(lùl)*, ^{d}*La-ta-rak*, ^{d}*Nin-Tin-ter^{ki}*, and see *Creation-Story*, p. 39 : 3; *Bêl, the Christ*, pp. 20–30; *The Monist*, XVI (Oct., 1906), p. 636; *l.c.*, XVII (Jan., 1907), p. 141; *B. E.*, XVII, part 1, pp. 19, note 3; 39, note 1; *H. A. V.*, pp. 402, note 17; 404, note 31; 406, note 45; 415, note 2; 424; 430, *g*. Notice also that the Sumerian language is genderless: *Nin* = *bêlu, bêltu; dumu* = *mâru, mârtu; ad* = *abu, ummu* (cf. *C. T.*, XXV, 10 : 6*b*, ^{d}*En-lil AD u* ^{d}*Nin-lil AD*), etc., etc.

[2] ^{d}*L*, ^{d}*En-kur-kur* = *Enlil* (father) and *NIN-IB* (son); ^{d}*Gù-sìr*, the father, is identified with ^{d}*Ṣir* (or *Saḫan*), the son, *B. E.*, XVII, part 1, p. 20; *Nergal* = ^{d}*Gîr-unú-gal* (father) and ^{d}*Mes-lam-ta-è-a* (son), *H. A. V.*, p. 427, notes 1, 2; ^{d}*Lugal-banda* = *Enlil*, and the *dumu-sag* ^{d}*En-lil-lá-ge*, *H. A. V.*, pp. 416, 417. ^{d}*SUḪ* = father and son, *H. A. V.*, p. 416; cf. also the various genealogies of *Ishtar* and *Nusku* in *Bêl, the Christ*, pp. 1–3.

[3] ^{d}*Su-kur-ru* is either = ^{d}*Nin-lil* (*C. T.*, XXIV, 5 : 9 = 22 : 109) or = daughter of Ea (*dumu nun abzu* = *marat rubê ša apsî*, *B. A.*, V, 619 : 18), *i.e.*, of the god who plays the rôle of Enlil, the "father," the husband of Ninlil, or = ^{d}*Im-gig^{ḫu}* (*i.e.*, Nin-Girsu = NIN-IB, the son of Enlil, cf. the proper name ^{d}*Su-kur-ru-Im-gig^{ḫu}*, *The Monist*, XVII (Jan., 1907) p. 147). See here also the discussion of the trinity of Dêr and Nippur, *B. E.*, XVII, part 1, pp. 19–22; 39, note 1, and cf. the history of ^{d}*SUḪ* in *H. A. V.*, p. 415, note 2. If time and space would permit, it could be shown that the "Father," "Mother," "Son(= Daughter)" in each and every "trinity" of the ancient Sumerians are *one* and the *same* person. For the present the above-given examples will have to suffice.

[4] *C. T.*, XVI, 15 : 37, 38, *ù-sal-nu-méš ù-gíš(=uš)-nu-méš* = *ul zi(zik)-ka-ru šu-nu ul zin-niš-a-ti(tum) šu-nu*. Notice the position of *sal* in the Sumerian line and cf. p. 2, note 2.

[5] *C. T.*, XVI, 15 : 41, *dam-nu-tug-a-méš dumu-nu-tu-ud-da-méš*.

[6] Cf., *e.g.*, names like *lilû* and *lilît*, *ardat lilî*; *labartu*, the *daughter* of *An* (*The Monist*, Jan., 1907, p. 145), who is the same as ^{d}*Ninni* or *Ištar*, the *wife* of *An*, *Enlil*, *Sin*, *Šamaš*, *Anšar*, etc., and *mother* of *Enlil*, *Sin*, etc.

[7] For references see Fossey, *Magie*, pp. 27ff.

[8] The Semitic renders it by *a-bi um-mi*, "father-mother," see above, p. 2, note 2.

[9] *l.c.*, besides *An*, ten other "couples." For a discussion of these lists see *Bêl, the Christ*, pp. 15ff. List I is now published also in *C. T.*, XXIV, 20 : 1–14; list II in *l.c.*, 1 : 1–22; list III, in *l.c.*, 20 : 1–14; to these may now be added as list IV (abridged!), *C. T.*, XXV, 7 : 4–9, where also some interesting variants may be found.

É-kur, ^{d}*En-lil*, and his wife ^{d}*Mà-ra* as the 14th and 15th (or VIII. couple) of the 21 *en ama-a-a An-na-ge*,[1] hence Enlil and his wife are both, *singly* and *separately*, an *ama-a-a*.[2] It is, therefore, quite possible that with Zimmern, *Z. A.*, 1909, p. 364, we have to emend the passage in *C. T.*, XXIV, 4 : 28, to 32-*ám* [*en ama-a-a* ^{d}*En-lil-lá-ge*(-*ne*)] and see in these 32 gods (or 16 couples) not a "*Vorfahrenreihe*[3] *Enlils*," however, as Zimmern wishes, but *an enumeration of all those gods who in the course of time came to be identified with, or who played the rôle of, Enlil*[4] *and Ninlil, the ama-a-a of the gods during the Sumerian period of the Babylonian religion.*

From later inscriptions we know that the chief god of the Assyrian period in the history of the Babylonian religion was the god *Aššur* = *An-šar*.[5] It is, therefore, quite natural, yea, demanded that *An-šar* should have been considered to be an *ama-a-a*[6] like his predecessors, Enlil and *An*, whose place he had usurped.

Complete as the above-mentioned lists might seem, they are by no means exhaustive. There are other gods, not mentioned in the lists given, who were designated by the proud title *ama-a-a*. To give a few examples here, I may be permitted to mention the following:

Gudea addresses to ^{d}*Gà-tùm-dug* a prayer in which we find the following remarkable passage: "A *mother* I have not, thou art my *mother;* a *father* I have not, thou art my *father;* my father, in thy heart thou hast conceived me, giving (hast given) birth to me in the temple.[7]" A most remarkable passage, showing us that even goddesses may be an *am-a*(-*a*), "mother-father."

The ^{d}*En* or "Lord" and ^{d}*Nin* or "Mistress" are both, singly and separately, said to be the "mother-father" of ^{d}*En-lil* and ^{d}*Nin-lil*.[8]

[1] See *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 17, VIII and notes 6, 7.

[2] This, among other things, is the reason why in the Sumerian religion the "wife" of a god shares with her "husband" the *same name*, the *same attributes* and *functions*. Cf. also list II, *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 18, where both "husband" and "wife" are identified, *singly* and *separately*, with ^{d}*Anum u* ^{d}*Antum*!

[3] If *ama-a-a* were = "ancestor," then *An* as the first of the 21 *en ama-a-a An-na-ge* would have to be his own "ancestor"—which is hardly possible.

[4] Cf. also IV. *R.*², 27, no. 4 : 56, 57, *mu-lu lil a-a ama muḫ-na* = ^{d}*Lil-lum* (= *Enlil*, later on *NIN-IB*) *a-bu ummu a-lit-ta-šù;* the fem. *âlitta* (instead of *âlidi*) is chosen because with a composite noun, as which *abu-ummu* is considered here, the apposition takes the gender of the nearer noun. For the position of *ama* cf. above, p. 2, note 2.

[5] See *Bêl, the Christ*, pp. 6ff.

[6] For references see *l.c.*, p. 16, IV; p. 18, V; p. 19, 4.

[7] Cyl. A, 3 : 6–8, *ama nu-tug-me ama-mu ṣi-me, a nu-tug-me a-mu ṣi-me, a-mu ša(g)-ga šu-ba-ni-dù(g) unù-a ni-tu(d)-e.* *Ša(g)-dù(g)* may be taken either in the sense of "to call some one (*cum affectu et effectu*) in one's heart" = "to elect him," or *KA* = *dù(g)* = *nadû*, "to plan, design, form, conceive something in one's heart (= mind)," see also *B. E.*, Series D, V, fasc. 2, p. 52, note 4.

[8] See *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 17, note 10. This shows that ^{d}*En* and ^{d}*Nin* are the same as *An*, the father of Enlil (and Ninlil), *Creation-Story*, pp. 21, 33. In other words, Enlil, the *ama-a-a* during the Sumerian period, has usurped the place of ^{d}*En* = *An*, the "mother-father" of the prehistoric period of the Babylonian religion.

The moon-god of Ur, *dNanna*, is termed both an *a-a*[1] or "father" and an *ama*[2] or "mother," "womb."

Of *Marduk*, the chief god during the Amurritish (Canaanitish) period of the Babylonian religion, it is said: "Lord thou art! like a 'father and a mother' among the [people?] thou existest."[3]

To be an *ama-a-a* includes not only an androgynous nature and the *first* parentship, but it indicates that each and every god thus designated is the "*self-existent*" one, who is all he is "by himself (*ní-ba, ní-te-na*)," "by his own power (*á-bí*)." The god *An* as *ama-a-a* heads, therefore, all the lists of gods and appears *never*[4] as the son of another god. *Enlil*, though generally the "son of *An*" or of "*dEn* and *dNin*,"[5] is yet called "the one who does not know a father,"[6] *i.e.*, "the unbegotten, uncreated, self-existent one." *dNanna*, the god of Ur, is both the "principal son of Enlil"[7] and "the fruit which created itself by its own power."[8] Lastly, *Anšar* or *Aššur*, the foremost god during the Assyrian period, had to become, because he usurped the rôle of, and thus became identified with, *Enlil* and *An*[9]—the chief gods during the Sumerian and prehistoric period—"the one who created himself."[10]

Human, anthropomorphous and anthropopathical were the gods of the ancient Sumerians and yet most divine. Though the divine society was patterned after the human, though both were traced to an original first parent, yet the first god was self-existent, while the first man remained a creature of god. Man receives his life and power from God; God alone is *ner-gál(še-ir-ma-al) ní-te-na*, "powerful by himself," who "causes to dwell the spirit of life (*zi-ša(g)-gál*)" in his creature, "man," and in the "country (*kalam*)" inhabited by his creatures: in the land of Shumer or Babylonia.

[1] IV. *R.*², 9 : 3ff.; *C. T.*, XV. 17 : 2ff. *et passim.*

[2] IV. *R.*², 9 : 24, 25, *ama ḫe nigin-na = ri-i-mu a-lid nap-ḫa-ri*, "womb that gives birth to everything."

[3] IV. *R.*², 57*a* : 34 = King, *B. M. S.*, no. 12 : 4 = Hehn, *B. A.*, V, p. 350 : 34, *EN at-ta-ma kîma a-bi u um-me ina [amêlûti? or ilâni?]mésh ta-ba-áš-ši.* For the position of *um-me = ama* see above, p. 2, note 2.

[4] *I.e.*, during the prehistoric period of the Babylonian religion when he alone was supreme. Later on, during the Amurritish and Assyrian period, *An* does appear sometimes as the son (*ma-ri, ilitti*) of *An-šar*, cf. *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 13, note 6; p. 6, note 5; *K. A. T.*³, p. 351, note 2—passages apparently embodying an endeavor *in majorem Anšari gloriam.*

[5] See p. 6, note 8.

[6] Cf. *A. S. K. T.*, p. 81 : 7, 8 (*Ninrag*, p. 42), where *NIN-IB*, the *son of Enlil*, is called the *dim-mà a-a-nu-zu = tar-bit a-bi ul i-di*, "sprout of 'him who does not know a father,'" *i.e.*, son of "the fatherless," hence the *a-bi ul i-di* is Enlil.

[7] *Dumu-sag dEn-lil-lá, Creation-Story*, p. 22, note 5; *C. T.*, XV, 17 : 5.

[8] *Gi-rin ní-ba mu-un-dím-ma = en-bu ša ina ra-ma-ni-šu ib-ba-nu-u*, IV. *R.*², 9 : 22, 23.

[9] *B. A.*, V, 655 : 23 = *C. T.*, XXIV, 49*b* : 7, *And A-nu-šar* | *dEn-lil.*

[10] *Ba-nu-u ram-ni-šu, Bêl, the Christ*, p. 7.

3. THE SUMERIAN THEOLOGY AND THEOGONY A MICRO- AND MACROCOSMOLOGY AND COSMOGONY.

As soon as the earliest Sumerians had attained to that state of civilization when their mind was prepared to inquire into the more or less abstract question as to the origin of the "world," considered in its twofold aspect: the micro- and macrocosm, we find that they answered this to their satisfaction by again reasoning and arguing from the known to the unknown.

Above we learned that the Sumerians transferred to their "god" and "divine society" everything which originally belonged to "man" and "human society." We learned also that, according to their conception, the first *ama-a-a* of the "divine society" (the reflex of the human) was *An*. Hence the microcosm of the "human society" of the Sumerians, being as it is but their terrestrial habitation, abode, country over which they held sway—their "*sphere of influence*" so to speak—must have had its origin with and in and by this very same first *am-a-a An*. And so it was. The first "mother-father" founded his own house and called it after his name: *É-An(-na)*, "house of An." The *É-An(-na)*, the habitation (*ki-dúr*) of An and his wife, then, is the "first unit" out of which the microcosm developed. When the first parents were blessed with children, becoming a "family" or possibly a "tribe," the *É-An(-na)* increased in size and became a "city": *Unu(g)*^{ki}, *i.e.*, simply "*Abode.*"[1] The "family" or "tribe" finally grew into a "nation" and the "city" into a "country": *kalam*, the microcosm of the Sumerians.

Very soon, however, it was felt necessary that the *kalam* be designated by a *national term* in order to distinguish it from the microcosms which might or might not have developed round about it. The term employed was *Ki-en(in)-gi*, being translated in Semitic either by *mâtu*, *irṣitu*, "country, land" (hence a synonym of *kalam* = *mâtu*, "land"), or by *Šumer* (the biblical שִׁנְעָר). From the latter we derive our designation "Sumerian."

The microcosm of the Sumerians, then, was called either *kalam* or *Ki-en(in)-gi*. The difference between them is the same as that which exists between "Israelite" and "Hebrew," *i.e.*, *kalam* designates *Šumer* from the point of view of the Sumerians. It is the *sacred* term which the Sumerian used when speaking of "*his country*" or of "*his* father*land*," cf. our "My *country* 'tis of thee, sweet *land* of liberty," or the expression "the old *country*," *i.e.*, "the father*land*." *Ki-en(in)-gi*, on the other hand,

[1] In Semitic *U-ru-uk*, *i.e.*, Erech, אֶרֶךְ (Gen. 10 : 10) = the modern Warka.

was used when the land of *Šumer* was to be differentiated from, or was referred to in opposition to, the other countries round about.[1]

Seeing that the microcosm of the Sumerians, their *kalam* or *Ki-en(in)-gi* formed, as it did, the pattern after which the macrocosm was thought to have developed, it is only natural that the original source, the first *ama-a-a* of the latter, should likewise have been sought in, and attributed to, the god *An*. This, no doubt, is the reason why *An* is translated in Semitic by *šamê* and why Hesychius[2] informs us that the *šamê* or Σαυη is ὁ κόσμος Βαβυλώνιος.

Furthermore, just as the first *ama-a-a* of the gods, *An*, was differentiated into "father and mother": *An* + *an* (Semiticized: *Anu* and *Antum*), so *An*, the *šamê* or σαυη, when considered as "husband and wife" or "father and mother," became either *an* + *an* or *an* + *ki*, *i.e.*, *šamê u irṣitim*, οὐρανὸς καὶ γαῖα, "heaven and earth."[3] Here, then, as in the case of the microcosm, we have likewise two expressions for the Sumerian macrocosm, the former (*an* = *šamê*, σαυη) corresponding to the *kalam* and the latter (*an-ki* = *šamê u irṣitim*) to *Ki-en(in)-gi*, or, in other words: *an* is the "*sacred*" or "*religious*" while *an-ki*[4] is the "profane" or "worldly" term for macrocosm. From this it follows that, according to the *earliest* Sumerian conception, the "heaven and earth" (and *not* the *chaos*) were the source out of which everything was evolutionized or begotten (*tu-ud-da*).[5] The "heaven" is the first and great "*Father*," while the "earth" becomes the first "*Mother*": "*Mother-earth*." "Heaven and earth" are the first *ama-a-a*, "mother-father," both being *distinct* and yet *one*.[6]

Lastly, if *an* or *an-ki* be the macrocosm and *kalam* or *Ki-en(in)-gi* the microcosm, both having for their ultimate root or source the god *An*, then the *different stages in the process of development* must be and are *interchangeable* terms, *i.e.*,

$$\underset{\text{(parent)}}{An} = \underset{\text{(temple)}}{É\text{-}An(\text{-}na)} = \underset{\text{(city)}}{Unu(g)^{ki}} = \begin{cases} \text{microcosm} \begin{cases} kalam \\ Ki\text{-}en(in)\text{-}gi \end{cases} \\ \text{(nation)} \\ \text{macrocosm} \begin{cases} an \\ an\text{-}ki \end{cases} \end{cases}$$

all standing for and signifying one and the same thing: the "mother-father" of everything, the god *An*.

[1] Though Thureau Dangin, *S. A. K. I.*, p. 152f., is, no doubt, correct in saying that *kalam* is = *Ki-en-gi*, yet the above-given difference will have to be maintained.

[2] *Bêl, the Christ*, pp. 21, 27.

[3] *L.c.*, pp. 16ff.; 21ff.; 25, *e*; 26, *b* ff. For *an* = *ki* = *Antum* = *irṣitum* see especially *l.c.*, p. 28, *c* and the notes there given.

[4] Cf. here also my remarks about ^{d}*Dur-an-ki*, ^{d}*Dur-an*, *Bêl, the Christ*, pp. 21ff.

[5] Cf. the תולדות of Gen. 1 and *Creation-Story*, p. 9; *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 10.

[6] *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 21 *et passim*.

This observation is of the highest importance for a correct understanding of the Sumerian religion, showing us:

(*a*) That the "*sphere of influence*" of a god, the place where he is supreme, of which he is the "father (*a-a, ab-ba*)" "king (*lugal*)," "lord (*en, nin*)" and "god (*dingir*)" is either a "temple (*é*)," a "city (*-unu(g)*^{ki},[1] -^{ki}[2])," a *micro-* or a *macrocosmic quantity.*

(*b*) That the terms for micro- and macrocosm must be interchangeable, *i.e.*, the god of the *kalam* or *Ki-en(in)-gi* is and must have been, at the same time, the god of the *an* or *an-ki.* To express this somewhat differently we may say, if the microcosm be indeed the prototype after which the macrocosm was patterned, then *kalam* and *an* as well as *Ki-en(in)-gi* and *an-ki* must be *interchangeable* terms. That this is actually the case can still be gathered from the inscriptions. From *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 16, I, 2, we know that *an* is also = *ki, irṣitu*, "earth," but *irṣitu* renders also the Sumerian *Ki-en(in)-gi*,[3] which latter, however, is most generally translated by *mâtu*,[4] "land" = *kalam*, hence *an, šamê*, σαυη, is both = *Ki-en(in)-gi* and = *kalam.* For *Ki-en(in)-gi* = *an-ki* see IV. *R.*², 27, no. 4 : 63, 64: *am-ši ka-nag-gà mas-su(su(d)) Ki-in-gi-ra* = *be-lum* (*i.e., Enlil*, later on *NIN-IB*) *na-piš-ti ma-a-ti mas-su-u šamê*[e] *u irṣitim*^{tim}.[5]

(*c*) That the "name" of each and every god may be expressed either (α) by the *nomen proprium* or (β) by *either one* of his "spheres of influence"[6]; in other words, *the gods of the Sumerians have both a micro- and a macrocosmic significance.*[7]

[1] Cf. *Uru-unu(g)*^{ki} = *Ur; Utu-unu(g)*^{ki} = Larsa.

[2] Cf. *En-lil*^{ki} = *Nibru*^{ki} = Nippur; *NUN* = *rubû* = ^{d}*Ea, NUN*^{ki} = *Eridu*, etc.

[3] *C. T.*, XVI, 12 : 22, 23, *Ki-in-gin*(= *DU*) = *irṣitim*^{tim}.

[4] Brünnow, No. 9678.

[5] Notice here that *ka-nag-gà*(= *kalam-ma*) is parallel with *Ki-in-gi* and cf. the title of *En-ša(g)-kuš-an-na: en Ki-en-gi lugal ka*[*lam-ma*], *E. B. H.*, p. 45 = *S. A. K. I.*, p. 156, 4, *a.* See also Gudea, Cylinder B, 22 : 19, 20, *kalam ú-sal-la ḫe-gál-na(d) Ki-en-gi-šă*(!) *kur-kur igi-bi ḫa-mu-ši-gál*, "may the *country* rest in peace (safety), may towards *Shumer* the (surrounding, non-Babylonian) lands direct (have) their eyes." *Šă* (instead or *rá*) has to be read here because it expresses *direction*, being parallel to the *ši* in *ḫa-mu-ši-gál.* Cf. also *galu-galu-šà* = "one against (*šà* = *áš*) the other," *B. E.*, VI², 11 : 21. *Šă, šà, ši, šú* or *áš, i(e)š, uš* are thus parallel with *ra(i, u)* or *a(i, ù)r.*

[6] Here belong "names of gods" derived

(*a*) From their *temples:* ^{d}*Nin-É-An-na;* ^{d}*Nin-É-gal;* ^{d}*É-kur;* ^{d}*Dur-an(-ki)*, etc.

(*b*) From their *cities:* ^{d}*Nin-Gir-su;* ^{d}*Nin-En-lil*(= *Nibru*)^{ki}, etc.

(*c*) From their *microcosmic spheres:* ^{d}*Lugal-kalam-ma.*

(*d*) From their *macrocosmic spheres:* ^{d}*Lugal-an-ki;* ^{d}*Lugal-abzu;* ^{d}*En-kur-kur;* ^{d}*Kur-gal;* ^{d}*Am-an-ki*, etc.

[7] From this it is evident (*a*) that, *e.g.*, the name of the temple of *An, É-An(-na)*, may be translated either by "house of *An*" or "house of the *šamê*, σαυη, *i.e.*, cosmos" or "house of 'heaven and earth,'" *i.e.*, the house in which the "god of heaven and earth (*Anu* and *Antum*, the later *Ištar, K. B.*, VI¹, p. 128 : 37)" had his dwelling (*mu-šab*); (*b*) that the city where this or that god had his "abode (*unu(g)*)" must likewise have a macrocosmic significance. Hence, not only the *ziggurrat* of *É-An(-na)* came to be called an *É-gi*(*i.e., gi(g)*)*-bār-7* (II. *R.*, 50 : 20, *a, b*), but even *Unu(g)*^{ki}, Erech, acquired names like *Gi-pār-7*^{ki}, *Gi-bār-7*^{ki}, *Gi-pa-ru-7*^{ki}, *Gi-būr-7*^{ki}(see *H. A. V.*, p. 432, note 7) or *Ub-7*^{ki},

But if so, then *the theology of the Sumerians is or becomes ipso facto a micro- and macro-cosmology* and, *mutatis mutandis, their theogony a micro- and macrocosmogony.*[1]

4. THE EPOCHS IN THE HISTORY OF THE BABYLONIAN RELIGION.

When tracing, in the history of the Babylonian religion, the several epochs and their manifold and various characteristics, consisting, it would seem, of the most bewildering transfers of genealogies, names, courts, titles and attributes from one god to another, the historian is constantly brought face to face with some of the most difficult questions. Invariably he has to ask and answer questions like these: "Which of the names, attributes and functions belong to this or that god *originally* and which were, in the course of time, *transferred* to him either from an earlier or a later period of the Babylonian religion?" "What were the underlying principles that made such a transferring possible?" "Did the transferring of attributes to a particular god change that god's nature or did he simply gain a 'new sphere of influence' in addition to the one previously held by him?" "How does it happen that one and the same god or goddess is referred to very often in one and the same inscription as the 'son' or 'daughter' of two and more distinct and separate gods?"[2] Upon an adequate solution of questions like these and hundreds of others similar in scope and character depends, of course, our correct understanding of the religion of Babylonia—a religion which had sufficient strength and power within itself to make itself felt even at our present age.

For a better understanding of the development of this religion it would seem necessary to point out briefly the various epochs in its history. By so doing we may be put into a position both to distinguish between phenomena which belonged to one or the other of these periods and to observe which of these phenomena were transferred backward or forward.

Du-7^{ki}, all of which names convey the idea that *Erech*, the home of *An*, was, in later times, considered to be the great "abode" embracing "seven inclosures" or "spheres of influence" presided over by the god of (1) the heavenly ocean, (2) the terrestrial ocean, (3) heaven and earth, (4) moon, (5) sun, (6) powers of nature, (7) stars. Cf. in this connection the *É-gi(š)dar(= PA; EME-SAL mu(š)-du-ru, mu(š)-dùr* (!Sin-hymn, IV. *R.*², 9 : 34 : *mu-sù-âm*(!) *ṣi-em mu(š)-dùr*(!)), *mi-id-ra*) a temple of ^{d}*Nin-Girsu* at Girsu, which is called the *É-ub-7*, see *E. B. H.*, pp. 61, 63, and especially p. 203, note 16, and cf. the name of the *ziggurrat* of the temple *É-zi-da* of Borsippa: *É-ūr*$^{(mesh)}$*-7-an-ki, i.e.*, "the temple of the 7 'governors' ('rulers,' *ḫâmimu*) of 'heaven and earth(= world),'" and the *ziggurrat* of Eridu (*NUN*^{ki}), *É-ū-7*, 11. *R.*, 50 : 22*a*.

[1] In the Sumerian theogony, therefore, it matters very little whether, *e.g.*, ^{d}*NIN-IB* be called "son of Enlil," or *apil É-šar-ra*, "son of the temple *É-šar-ra*" (*B. E.*, XVII, part 1, p. 39, note 1, below), or whether Marduk be a "son of *Ea*" or the *dumu abzu*, "son of the ocean," or *dumu NUN*^{ki}, "son of Eridu," for the *É-šar-ra* is the "sphere of influence" of Enlil, while the ocean or Eridu is that of *Ea*.

[2] For examples cf. *Bêl, the Christ*, pp. 1–3: *Ishtar*, the daughter of *An, Enlil, Sin, NIN-IB, Aššur; Nusku* is the son of *An, Enlil*, of the *ocean*, of the "*lord of heaven and earth*," of the "*thirtieth day of the month*" and of the temple "*Dur-an-ki*," etc., etc.

King Ḫammurabi, in the opening lines of his famous code,[1] indicates the epochs which preceded that of his time when he states:

"When the sublime *An* (*i.e.*, God), the king of the *ᵈA-nun-na-ki:* *ᵈEn-lil*, the lord of heaven and earth . . . . to *ᵈMarduk* . . . . the *Enlil-ship* over the totality of men had committed . . . . then, etc."

Two points stand out clearly in this passage, viz.:

(*a*) Enlil *committed* the Enlil-ship to Marduk, *i.e.*, he, as Lord *par excellence*, decreed (*šîmu*), when the time was ripe or the circumstances warranted it,[2] that *Marduk* should henceforth exercise the *Enlil-* or *Lord-* and *Ruler-ship* over Babylonia, should play the *rôle of Enlil;*

(*b*) *Enlil*, as the emphatic apposition "the sublime *An*" clearly indicates, had himself usurped his predecessor's name, *i.e.*, at the time when *Enlil* was the *God* and *Lord* κατ' ἐξοχήν, *An* had become a *mere attribute of Enlil.* From this it would follow that two epochs preceded that of Marduk, viz., the *An* and the *Enlil period.*

The oldest inscriptions so far recovered by the several expeditions to Babylonia may safely be assigned to about 4000 B. C.[3] At this time *Enlil* had already displaced *An.* To be quite conservative, we may assign the *An* and the beginning of the *Enlil* epoch to the time before 4000 B. C., the latter lasting till the reign of the I. dynasty of Babylon or about 2232 B. C., when the so-called *Marduk* period was ushered in, which in turn was succeeded by that of *Aššur.* The *An* epoch, therefore, from our present state of knowledge is completely prehistoric; that of Enlil partly prehistoric and partly historic.

According to the evidence at hand, it would seem that all of these epochs, though primarily successive, were yet partly contemporaneous (so that of *Marduk* and *Aššur*) and partly overlapping (so that of *An* and *Enlil* and that of *Enlil, Marduk* and *Aššur*). This conditioned or gave cause to a forward, backward and mutual transfer of the various attributes, functions and names of one god to another. To illustrate this by one or two examples, I may mention that the Sumerian term for macrocosm was originally, as we saw above,[4] *an* or *an-ki.* During the Sumerian

[1] See *The Monist*, October, 1906, pp. 632ff.

[2] Cf. *Bêl, the Christ*, pp. 52, 55; *K. B.*, VI¹, p. 36 : 12, 13, *aš-šu aš-ri ib-na-a ip-ti-qa dan-ni-na be-el mâtâti šumi-šu it-ta-bi a-bi ᵈEn-lil.*

[3] The tendency of our modern historians to completely ignore the testimony of Babylonia's most celebrated archæologist, king Nabonid, is not supported by the tablets of the Older Temple Library of Nippur. I cannot, therefore, accept the rather subjective view of most, if not all, our present-day "historians," who think that their own calculations have a much better foundation in fact than those of Nabonid and who consequently claim, quite subjectively, that the oldest recovered documents of Babylonia do not antedate the year 3000 B. C. Cf. here for the present *B. E.*, Series D, vol. V, fasc. 2, pp. 8–12.

[4] See p. 9.

or *Enlil* period several other terms came to be used, among them also *kur* and *kur-kur*. This term for macrocosm was transferred *backward* to the first god of the world, *An*, who thus came to be designated the "god of the *kur*." *Enlil*, his son, could consequently be termed the "offspring of the *kur*."[1]

Again, when during the Sumerian or *Enlil* epoch the Babylonian theogony came to be systematized, the "world" or "macrocosmos" was considered to consist of "seven spheres of influence," each of which being assigned to one of "the seven great gods," viz., *Anu*, *Bêl*, *Ea*, *Sin*, *Šamaš*, *Rammân*, *Ištar*. This doctrine was likewise transferred backward and made applicable to the *An* epoch. In this way it happened that *É-An-na* and *Erech*, the temple and city of the first god of the "world," *An*, came to be known or was spoken of (during the *Enlil* and later periods) as the *Gi-par-7*(^{ki}).[2]

We may, then, divide the Babylonian religion into the following four epochs:

(*a*) The Prehistoric or *An* Epoch with the god *An* of the temple *É-An*(*-na*) in *Unu*(*g*)^{ki} or *Erech* as its chief god.

(*b*) The Sumerian or *Enlil* Epoch, from about 4000 (and before)–2232 B. C. During this period the Semites invaded Babylonia. Whether these Semites influenced the religion of the Sumerians to any perceptible degree, cannot be made out as yet. The chief god during this period was *Enlil* of the temple *É-kur* at *Nippur*.

(*c*) The Amurritish(Canaanitish)-Babylonian or *Marduk* Epoch, with *Marduk* of the temple *É-sag-íl-la* at *Babylon* as its foremost god.

(*d*) The Assyrian Epoch, with god *An-šar* or *Áš-šur* of the temple *É-šar-ra* at *Aššur* as its chief representative.

From this division it will be gathered that such well-known gods as *Éa* (^{d}*En-ki*), *Sin* (^{d}*En-zu*, ^{d}*Nanna*), *Šamaš* (^{d}*Utu*), *Rammân* (^{d}*IM*), ^{d}*NIN-IB*, etc., *never* played a national or *epochal* rôle in the development of the religion of Babylonia, and this notwithstanding the fact that, *e.g.*, *Sin* and *Šamaš* were during the Sumerian period the chief gods of the national capital Ur and Larsa, respectively. True it is that all of these gods were considered, in their own cities, to be a "father" and "god of gods," but their influence on the nation as a whole was practically imperceptible, in comparison to that of *Enlil*, nay, it seems that, *e.g.*, Ea derived his glory and honor mainly from the fact that he was the "great father" of the "still greater

[1] *R. H.*, p. 130 : 26, *umun ka-nag-gà* ^{d}*Mu-ul-lil a kur-ra* = *be-lum ma-a-tam* ^{d}ditto *ri-ḫu-ut šadî*, *i.e.*, "lord of the country, *Enlil*, offspring of the 'Mountain.'" Notice in this connection that *Enlil* was called ^{d}*Kur-gal* (*Br.* 7414), "the great Mountain"; *kur*, "Mountain" (*H. A. V.*, p. 417γ); ^{d}*É-kur*, "the god of the temple of the 'Mountain (= world)'" and that this last name appears among the "21 of the 'mother-father' *An* (*Bêl, the Christ*, p. 17, VIII)," hence being identified with "^{d}*A-nu* of the totality of heaven and earth (*Bêl, the Christ*, p. 19, 8)."

[2] See p. 10, note 7.

son," Marduk. Marduk playing the rôle of *Enlil*, his father Ea was, as is to be expected, identified with *An;* this, no doubt, is the reason why Ea, though originally ^{d}XL, is yet, at least sometimes, designated by ^{d}LX—the number of *An!*[1] The other gods, though occasionally called "god (king) of heaven and earth," were merely playing, in their respective cities, the rôle of *Enlil: Enlil* was the national god. while they remained, notwithstanding their title, essentially city-gods and "sons" of *Enlil.*

5. THE *AN* OR PREHISTORIC EPOCH IN THE HISTORY OF THE BABYLONIAN RELIGION.

A. The Sources.

The very term "prehistoric" indicates that we have, so far, no inscriptions whatever which were written during, or have come down to us from, this period. The oldest recovered tablets date from about 4000 B. C.[2] At this time the theology of the Babylonians appears already in that state of systematic development as is exhibited in the inscriptions of the kings of the II. dynasty of Ur and in the tablets from the Older Temple Library of Nippur.

When trying to trace the several peculiarities of the *An* period we are obliged, of necessity, to rely upon *incidental references.* These references are to be found partly in the "*oldest historical texts,*" partly in the "*religious inscriptions*" and partly in the so-called "*lists of gods.*" Though the last two classes of texts, as far as published, were written, mostly, during the time of Ashshurbânapal (about 650 B. C.), to whose library they belonged, they nevertheless may be admitted as reliable and authentic sources for a reconstruction of the Babylonian religion during the *An* period, and this the more so as most, if not all, of them are merely copies of tablets written two to three thousand years earlier. This fact becomes now more and more evident as the publication of the contents of the Temple Library of Nippur progresses.[3]

It is of course self-evident that the copies from the library of Ashshurbânapal bear the earmarks of various literary redactions and emendations, showing us that they have been adapted to the several periods in the Babylonian religion. Hence, when making the tablets of the Ashshurbânapal library the basis for a reconstruction of the oldest religious conception of the Babylonians, the historian will have to apply to them the same literary method as is employed by the Old Testament scholar: *the historical critical method.*

[1] Cf. also $^{d}Am\text{-}an\text{-}ki = \acute{E}a$.

[2] See above, p. 12.

[3] See for the present *B. E.*, Series D, vol. 5, fase. 2, pp. 1–14.

The application of this method is, of course, made much easier for the Babylonian scholar than for the Old Testament critic, and this for the simple reason that the Babyloniologist, in many cases at least, has at his disposal the *originals* of the later copies of Ashshurbânapal's library, thus being put into a position to compare them with each other, to observe and note the changes, literary and historical, and to make his deductions accordingly. With these means at hand I shall try, in the following pages, to reconstruct, as briefly as possible, the *An* period, leaving here all later redactions and emendations ("transfers from the later periods to this prehistoric one and *vice versa*") unnoticed. In doing so, many statements might seem, at first glance, to be rather subjective. And so they are. But this is neither the place nor the time to discuss the reasons which prompted me in accepting the one and in rejecting the other statement of the inscriptions. I am, however, prepared to maintain and defend, if necessary, any conclusions reached here, be they subjective or otherwise.

B. *An* the First "Mother-Father."

All the "lists of gods" known to us are invariably headed by the god *An*, a fact betraying that he must have been the first and foremost as well as the oldest god known to the early Babylonians. This is attested to by the "earliest historical inscriptions": whenever *An* is mentioned in company with other gods, such as ^{d}*Enlil* or ^{d}*Enki*, etc., he precedes his companions, so in the inscriptions of *Lugal-zag-gi-si*, Hilprecht, *O. B. I.*, no. 87, col. 1 : 14ff., in those of *Gudea*, St. B, 8 : 44; Cyl. B, 19 : 18; *An-nu-ba-ni-ni*, 1 : 13 (= *E. B. H.*, p. 177); *Dun-gi*, *H. A. V.*, p. 375, note 1; *Rîm-Sin*, *Tonnagel* A, l. 23 (= *S. A. K. I.*, p. 217). If *An* be the first and oldest god it would follow, *ipso facto*, that his temple *É-An-na* together with his city *Unu(g)*^{ki} = *Uruk* or Erech[1] (אֶרֶךְ, see p. 8, note 1) must antedate, in point of time, all other temples and cities of ancient Babylonia. Hence, when we find in the so-called "bilingual creation-story" (written in Neo-Babylonian characters) that *Nippur* and *É-kur*[2] are mentioned before *Erech* and *É-An-na*, we may rest assured that this arrangement is due to a decided *Nippur influence*, *i.e.*, the "bilingual creation-story" must have been composed during a time when *Nippur* and *É-kur* had overshadowed, in point of importance, that of *Erech* and *É-An-na*. In other words, the "bilingual creation-story" dates from the *Enlil* period, having, however, been adapted to fill the requirements of the *Marduk* epoch.

An, the oldest god, was naturally considered to be the first *ama-a-a*[3] or

[1] *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 62 : 5, *Uruk šu-bat* ^{d}*A-nim u* ^{d}*Iš-tar*.

[2] Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 38 : 6, 7.

[3] *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 17 : 14; 19 : 22.

"parent," "mother-father (*abu ummu*)." This term, as we saw above,[1] indicates the androgynous nature of *An*, *i.e.*, it is nothing but a crude and primitive mode of expression calculated to convey a twofold idea, viz.:

(*a*) *That An is "the self-existent one* (ἀγέννετος)*," who is and exists "by himself* (*ní-ba, ní-te-na, á-bí, ina ramâni-šu*)*,"* and

(*b*) *That he is "the self-perpetuating one," who is able to, and did, beget offspring out of his own nature.*

Being such an *ama-a-a*, *An* was, of course, looked upon, quite rightly, as "the *source of everything* that belonged to the heavens above or the earth beneath (*ša kiš-šat AN-KI*[2])":

(*α*) of the *gods*,

(*β*) of the *world*, the macrocosm (*an, an-ki,* σαυη) and microcosm (*kalam, Ki-en-gi*).

When we say that *An* was the source of everything, we must not restrict the "of" to merely an objective meaning. *An* is the god of everything in a subjective and objective sense, *i.e.*, he is both the author of everything ("*ša*" *kiš-šat AN-KI*) and "everything himself (*An* = *šamê* and σαυη ὁ κόσμος Βαβυλώνιος[3])." In other words, *An* is the source or "father"[4] of τὸ πᾶν and τὸ πᾶν himself, and hence the religion of the earliest Babylonians is nothing but a pure and simple pantheism and their theology and theogony but a (micro- and macro-) cosmology and (micro- and macro-) cosmogony.

C. *An* Differentiated.

Very soon, however, as may be gathered from the various "lists of gods" themselves, the early Babylonians differentiated *An* into a "husband" or "father (*a-a*)" and a "wife" or "mother (*ama*)," but still clinging to the idea that husband and wife were and are one, hence

An as { husband (father) / wife (mother) } becomes *An* / *An* or Semiticized { *An-um* (Ἄν-ος) = *il-um* (god, אל), / *An-tum* = *il-tum* (goddess = ^{d}*Ištar*[5]),

and when considered as a (micro-, macro-) cosmic quantity,

An (= *šamê*, σαυη) the { husband (father) / wife (mother) } becomes { *an* (= heaven) / *ki* (= earth) } or in Semitic { *šamê* (= οὐρανός) / *irṣitim* (= γαῖα) } = *kalam* (the country) or *Ki-en-gi* (Shumer).

[1] See pp. 4ff.

[2] *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 19, list III.

[3] *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 21.

[4] Cf. K. 8397 (Bezold, *Catal.*, p. 923), ^{d}*A-nu abu*(= *AD*) *šamê*.

[5] For *An-tum* = ^{d}*Iš-tar* = ^{d}*Bêlit-i-li*, the wife (*dam*) of *An*, see below, p. 18, note 3.

That *An* was the "father (*a-a, ad*)" *par excellence* of all gods may still be gathered from various passages of the cuneiform literature such as IV. *R.*², 56 : 7*b*, ^{d}*A-nim ab*(= *ad*) *ilâni*^{mésh} *rabûti*(= *gal*)^{mésh}. These "great gods" are mostly designated by the term ^{d}*A-nun-na, i.e.*, "the begotten ones (*a* = *rihût*, lit. the outpouring, brood, progeny) of the 'prince (*nun*[1]),'" or more fully, "the ^{d}*Anunna* whom *Anu* has begotten and the ^{d}*Anunna* whom *Antum* has begotten,"[2] or, what is the same, "the ^{d}*Anunna* of (= begotten by, and thus belonging to) heaven (*an-na* = *ša šamê*^{e}) and the ^{d}*Anunna* of earth (*ki-a* = *ša irṣitim*^{tim}),"[3] or simply "gods of heaven and gods of earth."[4] Of these the god *An* is said to be both the "foremost

[1] For *nun* = ^{d}*A-nu* see M. 1724.

[2] ^{d}*A-nun-na An-na*(= ^{d}*A-nim*) *a-ri-a-ne*, ^{d}*A-nun-na ki-a*(= *An-tum*) *a-ri-a-ne*, for references see *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 28, note 1.

[3] See *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 28, note 2, and the references there given. Later on the "^{d}*Anunna of earth*" were termed ^{d}*A-nun-na-ki*, while the "^{d}*Anunna of heaven*" were called ^{d}*I-gi-gi, i.e.*, "princes." *I-gi-gi* I consider to be a contraction of *igi-igi*, and *igi* a phonetic writing of *egi* = *KU* = *rubû* (see p. 2, note 3), syn. of *nun*, hence the ^{d}*I-gi-gi* have also the name ^{d}*Nun-gal*(*-e-ne, -méš*), "the great princes."

[4] *Dìm-me-ir An-na*(= *ša šamê*^{e}) *dìm-me-ir ki-a*(= *ša irṣitim*^{tim}), *R. II.*, 139 : 149; 92 : 21; 135, III, 23. According to these passages and *R. II.*, 87 : 22 (cf. K 4629, rev., Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 516) the "gods of heaven and earth" are divided into

(*a*) "the great gods, 50 in number (*dìm-me-ir gal-gal L-ne-ne*). "Fifty" being the number of *Enlil* (and of his son ^{d}*NIN-IB, C. T.*, XXV, 50*a* : 7; 50*b* : 14), we have to see in this statement a Nippur influence, showing us that during the *Enlil* period the god of *É-kur* was considered (like *An*) to represent or to include in his person "*all* the *fifty* great gods of heaven and earth": therefore is *L* also = *kiš-ša-tum*, V. *R.*, 37, col. II, 16.

(*b*) "the gods of (*i.e.*, who determine) the fates (*dìm-me-ir nam-tar-ra*)," who are said to number seven (*7-ne-ne*). These are "the seven great gods *par excellence*" or "the 7 governors (*ḫâmimu*) of heaven and earth (*ur*(*ūr*)^{mesh}*-7-an-ki*)": *An*, ^{d}*Enlil*, ^{d}*Enki*, ^{d}*Enzu*, ^{d}*Utu*, ^{d}*IM*, ^{d}*Innanna*. They must be separated from the *7-bi*(= ^{d}*Sibitti*), the messengers ($^{gal u}$*kin-gi-a*) of *An* (IV. *R.*², 5 : 27 = *C. T.*, XVI, 19 : 27), whose fates he (*An*) has determined and whom he has given to god *Irra* (= ^{d}*Gi*(*š*)-(*b*)*il-ga-mes* = ^{d}*IM*, etc.) to be his "furious weapons" (see Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 58 : 6f.), but who likewise are called "great gods," K. 157 (Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 41), ^{d}*7-bi ilâni*^{mésh} *rabûti*(= *gal*)^{mésh}. These *7-bi* are nothing but the seven manifestations of "the powers of nature," *i.e.*, they are the "seven sons (weapons) of the god who plays the rôle of the 'Son'" in a given trinity (cf. *Creation-Story*, p. 45, 3; *B. E.*, XVII[1], p. 21, 5; p. 40, note, and the "seven *zìb* of ^{d}*IM*," *C. T.*, XV, 15 : 18.

(*c*) ^{d}*A-nun-na An-na mu-uš-5-bi* = ^{d}*A-nun-na-ki ša šamê*^{e} *5 šu-ši, i.e.*, "the Anunna of heaven (to the number of) 5 soss or (5.60 =)300." Cf. also *R. II.*, p. 142, III, 12, *5-uš* (*i.e.*, = 300) *bár* ^{d}*V. II.*

(*d*) ^{d}*A-nun-na ki-a mu-uš-10-bi* = ^{d}*A-nun-na-ki ša irṣitim*^{tim} *ni-e-ir-šu, i.e.*, "the Anunna of earth (to the number of) 10 soss or (10.60 = 1 *nêr* =) 600." Cf. also *R. II.*, p. 142, III, 12, *60.10*(= *600*) *bár* ^{d}[*A*!]*-nun-na-ki*, and ^{d}*60.10* = ^{d}*A-nun-na-ki*, IV. *R.*², 33 : 46, variant 14 = Br. 10149. What the numbers 300 and 600 stand for is not yet clear. That the number 300 of the "Anunna of heaven," *i.e.*, the ^{d}*I-gi-gi*, cannot be the result of the addition of the "sacred numbers of the gods" (*An* = 60; *Enlil* = 50; *NIN-IB* = 50; *Ea* = 40; *Sin* = 30; *Šamaš* = 20; *Ištar* = 15; *Nergal* = 14 (*sic!* Hommel); *Marduk* = 11; *Gibil* = 10) as Hommel (*Grundriss*², p. 370, note 1) wants, is evident for the following reasons: (1) ^{d}*IM* = 6 is omitted by Hommel; (2) *Marduk's* number is [? +] 10; (3) *Nergal's* number is 16 (!not 14), hence the net result would be + 307 (instead of 300); cf. now *C. T.*, XXV, 50*a*, *b*. Seeing that 60 is also *KU*, which, when read *egi*, has the signification "prince," it may not be impossible that ^{d}*60*×*10*(= ^{d}*Anunnaki*) meant originally "the totality (*10* = *U* = *šù* = *kiššatu*) of the 'princes.'" Furthermore, remembering that the ^{d}*I-gi-gi*, "princes," or ^{d}*Nun-gal*(*-e-ne, -méš*), "great princes," are in fact nothing but the "*Anunna of heaven*," we may see in the writing ^{d}*V.II* the number of 5×120 or 5×60×2=600=^{d}*60*×*10*(=^{d}*A-nun-na-ki*, the "*Anunna* of earth") rather than that of

(*gú-gal*[1])" and the "king (*lugal*[2])."

The wife of *An*, being *one* with her husband, must have, of course, the same *attributes* and *functions*. This is the reason why she, though nothing but a personification of the "*earth(ki)*," is yet said to be the ^{d}*Bêlit-ì-li*,[3] "the mistress of the gods." These gods are, as we saw above,[4] the ^{d}*A-nun-na An-na* and *ki-a a-ri-a-ne*, "the *Anunna* begotten by *Anu* and *An-tum*," *i.e.*, the ^{d}*Igigi* and ^{d}*Anunnaki*[5] or the *totality* of the *gods* of *heaven* and *earth*.

D. ^{d}En-lil the "Son."

a. His Genealogies.—Among the gods, the progeny of *An* and *Ki*, one god stands out with special prominence: the god *Lil*,[6] or, when differentiated into husband and wife, ^{d}*En-lil*,[7] "Mr. *Lil*," and ^{d}*Nin-lil*,[8] "Mrs. *Lil*," the famous god of the temple

"seven." In other words, the ^{d}*V. II* or ^{d}*Igigi* and the ^{d}*A-nun-na-ki* are the same in number. The difference, if there be any, between (60×)5(= 300) and (60×)10(= 600) is, no doubt, the same as in the expression (see Böllenrücher, *Nergal*, p. 34 : 25, 27) *é-5-ta 5-ám(-me) ba-ra-ab(-ba)-è, é-10-ta 10-ám(-me) ba-ra-ab(-ba)-è* "out of the house (of a family) of five (ten) he (the storm) causes to go out five (ten)," *i.e.*, whether the family is *small* (5) or *large* (10), *all* are driven out, hence 5 expresses, like 10, the *totality* (cf. fingers of hands!). Hence, 300(= 60×5) and 600(= 60×10) is the *totality*, be it small (5) or large (10), of the "princes," the progeny of *An*. Being the "father" and "king" of the totality (7 or 600 = *kiššatu*!) of these *Anunna*, *An* is, therefore, himself explained by ^{d}*V. II*, see V. *R.*, 21 : 66*c*, *d*, *An* | ^{d}*V. II*; he being the *i-lum* or "god" *par excellence* is hence also the *igi*, *i.e.*, the *i-lu ša nap-ḫa-ri*, Br. 9271. For other views see Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 587 (the *8 Igigi*(= ^{d}*Za-za*!) and *9 Anunnaki*, which Jensen mentions here, do not exist); Hrozný, *Ninrag*, p. 86f.; Zimmern, *K. A. T.*[3], p. 451f.; Hommel, *Grundriss*[2], pp. 234, 367, 4; 369, 4; 370, 1.

[1] Cf. II. *R.*, 19 : 20 (= Hrozný, *Ninrag*, p. 10, rev. 20), *lugal dìm* (! so, not *rab*! *dìm* is a variant of *dīm* = *rabû*, Br. 1165) *An-na gú-gal dingir-ri-e-ne-ge* = *šár-ru rab-bu* ^{d}*A-nim a-šā-rid ilânimésh*. Cf. *Ninrag*, p. 16 : 15, *An-na dìm*(!) *dingir-ri-e-ne-ge*.

[2] Gudea, Cyl. A, 10 : 12, *An lugal dingir-ri-e-ne-ge;* Shalmanassar, Black Obelisk, obv., l. 2 (cf. *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 28, note 2), ^{d}*A-nu šarri* ^{d}*I-gi-gi ù* ^{d}*A-nun-na-ki;* Code of Ḫammurabi, 1 : 1, *An ṣi-ru-um šarri* ^{d}*A-nun-na-ki* (here, however, this attribute has been transferred to ^{d}*En-lil*, see p. 12). Cf. Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 48 : 27, 28, where "the gods (*ilâni*)" are said to be his (*i.e.*, ^{d}*A-nu-um*'s) "children (*mârê-šu*)." See also *S. A. K. I.*, p. 186f.

[3] *C. T.*, XXIV, 1 : 23 = 20 : 15, ^{d}*Bêlit*(= *NIN*)*-ì-li dam An-na-ge*, being identified in *l.c.*, l. 29 = 20, with *An-tum* ^{d}*Iš-tar*. For the pronunciation ^{d}*Bêlit-ì-li* (and not ^{d}*Nin-zal-li*) see *C. T.*, XXV, 7*d* : 10, ^{d}*Bêlit*(= *NIN*)-*NI*[i]*-li*.

[4] See p. 17, note 2.

[5] Cf. ^{d}*Be-lit* ^{d}*V. II u* ^{d}*A-nun-na-ki*, Craig, *R. T.*, 111, p. V, corrections to vol. I, 34, rev. 6.

[6] The name *lil* is still preserved in the following names:

(*a*) *lilû, ardat lilî, lilû*(= לילית, Is. 34 : 14), see above, p. 5, note 6; (*b*) *mu-lu lil* (phonetic writing for *lil*) = ^{d}*Lil-lum*, who is, according to IV. *R.*[2], 27, no. 4 : 56, the same as ^{d}*Mu-ul-lil* or ^{d}*En-lil* (see also above, p. 6, note 4), but according to *C. T.*, XXV, 12 : 21, ^{d}*Lil-lu* | ditto, *i.e.*, ^{d}*NIN-IB;* (*c*) ^{d}*Lil*, the son of ^{d}*Maḫ*(*-a*) or ^{d}*Nin-maḫ* = ^{d}*Be-lit-ì-li* (the wife of ^{d}*DUN-PA-è*), *C. T.*, XXIV, 13 : 59 = 26 : 107; (*d*) ^{d}*Li-el-lum*, *C. T.*, XV, 1, col. II, 2, 7; ^{d}*Li-lam*, *l.e.*, 2, col. VII, 10; ^{d}*Li-il-li*, *l.e.*, col. VIII, 6; (*e*) *Lil* = ^{d}*Ŭg* (*i.e.*, "the storm"), V. *R.*, 44, col. III, 37*a*, *b*, ^{m}*Me-li-Lil* | ^{m}*Galu-*^{d}*Ŭg*. Cf. also below, pp. 28, note 3; 29, note 1.

[7] For the pronunciation *En-lil* or *Il-lil* (= Ἴλλινος of Damascius, where N is a mistake for Λ: Ἰλλιλ-ος) see *C. T.*, XXIV, 5 : 38–41, ^{d}*En en-lil-lil*, ^{d}*Enil-lil-lil*, ^{d} ditto *L*, ^{d} ditto *SI*.

[8] *C. T.*, XXIV, 5 : 6 = 22 : 107, ^{d}*Nin-lil-li* | ^{d}*Nin-lil dam-bi-sal*.

É-kur at Nippur and his wife. He is "the principal son of heaven"[1] or of *An*,[2] "the god of *É-kur*, the son of the 'prince,'"[3] "the one begotten (*a* = *riḫût*, 'progeny') by" or "the son (*dumu*) of *Ki-in-gi-ra*,"[4] "the begotten one (*a*, *ù-tu-ud-da*) of the bright heaven (or holy *An*),"[5] "the begotten one (*a*)" or "son (*dumu*) of the (world-) mountain (*kur*,[6] *ḫar-sag*)"[7]; *An* is *Enlil's* "beloved father."[8]

b. Enlil's Nature.—The Sumerian *lil* is translated into Semitic by *šâru*, "wind," a synonym of $IM^{i\text{-}mi}$ (see below), or by *zaqîqu*,[9] "wind, storm." Translations such as these ought to have sufficed, it seems to me, to prevent scholars from seeing in ^{d}*En-lil* a god of the "air."[10] That *lil* cannot be taken in the sense of "air" is abundantly demonstrated by the several names and attributes ascribed to ^{d}*En-lil* and still preserved in the inscriptions. Among these names may be mentioned as especially noteworthy the following:

^{d}*Im-ḫar-sag*,[11] "storm of the (world-)mountain (*i.e.*, of *An*)"[12]; the *ziggurrat* of Nippur was called, therefore, *É-im-ḫar-sag*.[13] *Enlil* is the storm that blows from the *north:* ^{d}*Im-si-sá*,[14] and from the *east:* ^{d}*Im-kur-ra*;[15] possibly also that which comes rushing from the south (*im-găl-lu*)[16] and the west (*im-MAR-TU*).[17] In fact, ^{d}*Enlil*

[1] *Creation-Story*, p. 21, *mâr rêštû šamê*^{e} (the "macrocosmic sphere of influence" for the god of that "sphere"!).

[2] ^{d}*NAB dumu-sag An-na*, *R. H.*, pp. 88 : 7; 135, IV, 1. For ^{d}*NAB* = *Enlil* see *C. T.*, XXIV, 39 : 10, ^{d}*NAB* | ditto(= ^{d}*BE*, *i.e.*, *Enlil*, l. 3) | *šā AN-e* and *B. A.*, V, p. 655 : 6, ^{d}*NAB* | ^{d}*En-lil šā AN-*[*e*].

[3] *L.c.*, p. 33, ^{d}*É-kur dumu Nun-na*. For *nun* = ^{d}*A-nu* see p. 17, note 1.

[4] *R. II.*, p. 130 : 24 (28), *umun* ^{d}*Mu-ul-lil-lá a*(*dumu*) *Ki-in-gi-ra* = *be-lum* ^{d}ditto *ri-ḫu-ut*(*ma-ra*) *ma-a-tum*(*tam*). For *Ki-en*(*in*)*-gi* (microcosmic sphere of influence) = *An* see above, pp. 16, 9.

[5] Cf. the proper name ^{d}*En-lil-lá-a-An-azag-ga*, *B. E.*, III, part 1, no. 111 : 8.

[6] *R. H.*, p. 130 : 26 (30), *umun ka-nag-gà* ^{d}*Mu-ul-lil a*(*dumu*) *kur-ra* = *be-lum ma-a-tam* ^{d}ditto *ri-ḫu-ut*(*ma-ri*) *šadî*^{i}(*ša-di-i*). For *An* = *kur* see above, p. 13, note 1.

[7] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 3, (^{d}*En-lil*) *ù-tu-ud-da ḫar-sag-gà*. *Ḫar-sag* (like *kur* of preceding note) is here a *later* name for *An*, having been transferred to him when Enlil had usurped his father's place.

[8] Hilprecht, *O. B. I.*, no. 87, III, 14; ^{d}*En-lil . . . An a-ki-ág-ni nam-R. E. C.* 316-*mu ḫe-na-bi*, "may *Enlil* utter my (*Lugal-zag-gi-si*'s) prayer to *An*, his beloved father."

[9] Cf. also M. 3801, *É* + *lil-lá* = *bît za-qi-qu*. According to Craig, *R. T.*, I, p. 6 : 23, *e-tap-lá za-qi-qu ištu pân* ^{d}*Gišdar bêli-šu la ta-pal-laḫ* ^{m}*AN-ŠAR-DŪ-A*, etc., it is evident that the "Son" of a given trinity (here *Nabû* of the Babylon trinity) may give his answer to a prayer through and by the *za-qi-qu* (cf. the "still small voice" of 1 Kgs.19 : 12).

[10] So, *e.g.*, Zimmern, in *K. A. T.*^{3}, p. 355; Enlil, "*Herr des Windes* (*wol im Sinne von: des Luftreiches*)."

[11] *B. A.*, V, p. 655 : 18.

[12] See above, note 7.

[13] II. *R.*, 50 : 5*a*.

[14] *B. A.*, V, p. 655 : 16. Cf., however, K. 8397 (Bezold, *Catal.*, p. 923), *im-si-sá* ^{d}*Nin-lil EN*(*sic!*) *za-qi-qi*.

[15] *B. A.*, V, p. 655 : 21. Cf. also K, 8397 (Bezold, *l.c.*), *im-kur-ra* ^{d}*En-lil EN gim-ri*. In view of the fact that *kur* is also = *An* (syn. of *ḫar-sag*, see above, notes 6. 7), ^{d}*Im-kur-ra* might possibly have had the original signification "storm of the (world-)mountain."

[16] Cf. K. 8397 (Bezold, *l.c.*), *im-găl-lu* ^{d}*É-a a-bu ilâni*^{mêsh}. Notice in this connection that ^{d}*En-lil-banda*^{da}, ^{d}*Nu-dím-mud*, ^{d}*BE*, ^{d}*XL*, etc., are both ^{d}*É-a* and ^{d}*En-lil*. Cf. also ^{d}*Ŭg-găl-lu* = ^{d}*NIN-IB*, ^{d}*Šamaš*, ^{d}*Nergal*, *H. A. V.*, pp. 422, 428.

[17] Cf. K. 8397 (Bezold, *l.c.*), *im-MAR-TU* ^{d}*A-nu abu* (= *AD*) *šamê*^{e}. Notice that ^{d}*MAR-TU* is also = ^{d}*Kur-gal* = ^{d}*En-lil* = *An*(*AN-*^{d}*MAR-TU*).

is the "storm" *par excellence*, being called $^{d\,\acute{u}\text{-}mu}$[*Ŭg*].[1] That this *ŭg* cannot be taken here in the sense of "day" is evident from *C. T.*, XVI : 20*b* : 40 and from an inscription recently published by Thureau-Dangin, where[2] *ŭg-gì-ra-ra* is rendered by *ri-ḫi-iṣ-ti* ^{d}*IM*, "the rain-storm of *Rammân*." In the latter passage it is parallel (l. 5) with *ANŠU-ra-ra* = *ri-ḫi-iṣ-t*[*um*? or *ri-ḫi-iṣ ANŠU*], *i.e.*, "rain-storm [of *ANŠU*]"[3] and with (l. 6) *úg-ra-ra* = *ra-ḫa-aṣ ri-iḫ-ṣi*, "the storming of (and destruction by) the rain-storm," while in *C. T.*, XVI, *l.c.*, it is followed immediately by $\frac{GU\text{-}GU}{GU\text{-}GU}$ *kír-ḫur-AG-DA-méš* = *te-šu-ú qar-du-te šu-nu*, "mighty destroyers (destructions) they (the 'Seven') are." From this it would follow that *ŭg*, *ANŠU*, *úg*, *ug*—and I may add *ûg*[4]—are names all signifying the "storm" such as *Rammân* is, *i.e.*, the "storm" including the "lightning, thunder, rain and clouds." *Enlil*, however, is not only "the storm," but he *has* "storms" of which he is the *en* or "lord," hence his name ^{d}*En-ŭg-ŭg-ga*,[5] "lord of the storms." From the inscriptions of Gudea we learn that the storms which Enlil *has*[6] were, among others, the *a-ma-ru*[7] or "storm-flood" and the *ŭg-gù-silim*[8] or "roaring-storms."

This result, reached mainly from a consideration of the various names of *Enlil*, can now be corroborated by the inscriptions from the Temple Library of Nippur.

[1] *B. A.*, V, p. 655 : 20. For this reading and emendation cf. on the one hand *C. T.*, XXIV, 47*b* : 14 = 35*b* : 2, ^{d}*Ŭg*^{ug}, *i.e.*, *ûmu*^{mu}, and on the other *C. T.*, XXV, 22 : 35 = 23*a* : 2, ^{d}*Ug* | ^{d}*Ûmu*^{mu}, see below, note 1, to no. 2 = 3, p. 70. Cf. also *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 4, *ŭg á-nun-gál a-a* ^{d}*En-lil-lá*, "greatly powerful storm, father Enlil," and see above, p. 18, note 6, *e*.

[2] A. O. 4489, rev. III, 4 (*R. T.*, XXXII (1910), reprint, p. 2).

[3] For the reading and signification of *ANŠU* (*not* donkey!) see my forthcoming translation of *C. T.*, XV, 15, 16.

[4] This with the *proviso* that King did not misread the sign *úg*(= *gĭr*) for *ûg*(= *ḫe*) in *C. T.*, XXIV, 7 : 9, ^{d}*Lugal-á-kala*(*g*)-*ša*(*g*)-*ûg* = *l.c.*, 23 : 140*b*, [^{d}*Lugal-á-kala*(*g*)-*š*]*a*(*g*)-*ug*, "king of mighty power with the heart of an *ug*(= storm, panther, lion)," *i.e.*, "as fearless as an *ug*"—a name well adapted to describe the mighty and fearless character of ^{d}*NIN-IB* (cf. *l.c.*, 7 : 10 = 23 : 141*b*), the "Son" and god of the powers of nature in the Nippur trinity during the *Enlil* epoch. For the interchange of *ûg* and *ŭg* see also below, p. 70, note 1 to no. 2 = 3.

[5] *B. A.*, V, p. 655 : 2, which name is explained here by ^{d}*En-lil be-lum ip*(*b*)-*še*-[*e*?-*ti*?], "lord of subjugation(?) = destruction(?)," cf. *H. W. B.*, pp. 12*b* and 116*b*. See also below, p. 23, note 7.

[6] At the time of Gudea *Enlil* played the rôle of *An*, while *Nin-Girsu* played that of *Enlil*. *Nin-Girsu*, the "son" and "chief-servant (*ur-sag*)" of *Enlil* is, therefore, in the same sense the "king of the roaring-storms" or "of the storm-flood," during the *Enlil* epoch, as was *Enlil* during the prehistoric period.

[7] Cf. the name of one of the weapons of ^{d}*Nin-Girsu*, Cyl. A, 10 : 2, *lugal a-ma-ru* ^{d}*En-lil-lá igi-ḫuš-a-ni kur-da nu-úl*, "king of the storm-flood of (!) *Enlil*, whose angry eye has no compassion upon the (non-Babylonian) land(s)," and the name of the second of the seven (!though only *six* names are given, yet according to Cyl. A, 29 : 1, there were *seven* statues erected—each statue representing one of the seven powers (sons) of ^{d}*Nin-Girsu*) statues dedicated to ^{d}*Nin-Girsu* and erected in the temple *É-ninnû* at Girsu, Cyl. A, 23 : 14, *lugal a-ma-ru* ^{d}*En-lil-lá gab-šu-gar nu-tug Gù-de-a en* ^{d}*Nin-Gir-su-ge igi-zi*(*d*) *mu-ši-bar*, "the king of the storm-flood of (!) *Enlil*, the one without equal, has turned a gracious eye towards Gudea, the high-priest of *Nin-Girsu*."

[8] Cf. the name of the fourth of the seven (! see preceding note) statues, Cyl. A, 23: 20, *lugal ŭg-gù-silim* ^{d}*En-lil-lá en gab-ri nu-tug Gù-de-a en* ^{d}*Nin-Gir-su-ge ša*(*g*)-*azag-gi ne-pa*(*d*), "the king of the roaring storms of (!) *Enlil*, the one without equal, in his pure heart has chosen Gudea to be the high-priest of *Nin-Girsu*."

Seeing, however, that the "hymns and prayers to Enlil" will be issued shortly in a separate volume, where I shall have occasion to return to this point again, and not wishing to anticipate myself here, I must confine myself to the two Sumerian inscriptions published in *C. T.*, XV, 10 and 11,[1] and to the later copies from the library of Ashshurbânapal.

The very fact that *Enlil* is the god of the "storms," more particularly of "the lightning, thunder, storm, rain and clouds," would, *a priori*, indicate that he must have played a double rôle:

(*α*) one, in which he appears mainly as a *destructive agent*, as the god who hurls his thunderbolts and lightnings against his and his father's enemies, *i.e.*, against all who are not inhabitants of the *kalam* and thus not subservient to him and *An;*

(*β*) the other, in which, as god of rain, he is considered to be *a gracious life-giving and life-sustaining god of verdure*, taking care of his people, of the beasts of the field, the fowls of heaven and the fishes of the sea.

α. Enlil as a Destructive Agent.—*Enlil* is both a god of war and god of peace; a destroyer and protector, defender, restorer, upbuilder; inimical, hostile and most gracious. To enjoy his blessings man must enter into the right relation to him and to his father, *i.e.*, he must acknowledge that *An* is the "Father" and *Enlil* his "Son" whom he has begotten and sent to do his bidding, or—what is the same—man must belong to the right society, assembly, congregation, "land (*kalam*)," in which the will and decisions of *An*, as proclaimed by his "word (*e-ne-em*)," the lord of thunder and lightnings, *Enlil*, are the *suprema lex* to which he must bow and which he must obey.

Furious indeed and one most to be feared is ^{d}*En-lil* as "storm": "storm of terrible strength,"[2] "mighty one, storm of *An*,"[3] "the rushing storm,"[4] "the rusher,"[5] "storm of his 'father-mother' who begot him,"[6] "storm of the glorious *An*, powerful one among the people."[7] When he opens his mouth he sends forth a wildly rushing, roaring and destructive storm:

"That which goeth out of thy mouth (is like something which) causes incomparable destruction.[8]

[1] Which, as I have indicated in the *H. A. V.*, p. 385, note 3, belonged originally to the Temple Library of Nippur.

[2] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 4, *ŭg á-nun-gál.*

[3] *C. T.*, XV, 10 : 18, *e-lum im An-na.*

[4] IV. *R.*², 27, no. 4 : 48, *ŭg al-ṭar = ûmu*^{mu} *da-pi-nu.*

[5] IV. *R.*², 27, no. 4 : 52, ^{d}*DUN-PA-è-a*, lit. "hero who lightens up." For ^{d}*DUN-PA-è* = ^{d}*Da-pi-nu*, see Br. 9875.

[6] IV. *R.*², 27, no. 4 : 56, *mu-lu lil a-a-ama muḫ-na* = ^{d}*Lil-lum a-bu um-mu a-lit-ta-šù.*

[7] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 23, *ug An-azag-ga . . ner-gál ùg-ùg-[g]a.*

[8] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 21,

ka-ta-è-a-zu *sá(g)-gán-nu-di-dam.*

He is termed "steer which causes destruction without its equal."[1] When he lightens in the heavens he spreads awe and fear everywhere, for he is "full of fearful splendor and awe-inspiring fear"[2] and "clothed in frightful fearfulness."[3] A god such as he can, of course, spread terror and destruction everywhere, especially among his, his father's and the *kalam's* enemies:

"Suppressor of the rebellions	of the 'mountain,' inimical towards thee";[4]
"Subduer	of the land, hostile toward thy father";[5]
"The haughty ones	completely thou layest low";[6]
"The hostile lands	thou smitest down";[7]
"The not subservient land	in discomfiture thou scatterest."[8]
"The (non-Babylonian) land like grass thou crushest,	like grain, that is mown down, thou tramplest upon";[9]
"Distress over the (non-Babylonian) land	like a cloud-burst he has rained (V. brought),
"Distress over the (non-Babylonian) land	like a cloud-burst he has brought."[10]

Enlil is neither afraid nor stands in dread of an enemy. A battle undertaken

[1] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 9 *gu(d)-dé sá(g)-gán-nu-di.* Cf. the remarks on *sá(g)-gán-nu-di*, below, note 73 to no. 1, col. III, 17.

[2] IV. *R.*², 27, no. 4 : 48, *su-zi me-lám gùr-ru = ša pu-luḫ-tu mi-lam-mi na-šù-u.*

[3] IV. *R.*², 27, no. 4 : 49 (53), *ní-ḫuš ri-a-bi = šá ra-šub-ba-tam ra-mu-u(ú).*

[4] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 8,

mu-e-te(n) *ḫar-sag gul-la-zu-šú.*

[5] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 7,

sag-ni-mar *ki-bal a-a-zu-šú.*

[6] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 12,

sag-an-ta-ne *ne-íb-ra-ra-ra.*

[7] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 10,

kur-kur ur-a *ne-íb-ni(g)-ni(g)-gi.*

UR-a may also be = *miṭḫariš:* "the (non-Babylonian) lands as one," or "all of them."

[8] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 17 = *B. A.*, V, p. 633 : 22, 23,

kur nu-še-ga *zar-ri-eš (mu-un-)SAL-SAL-e-en*

mâtu la ma-gi-ri *ṣar-ri-iš tu-ma-aṣ-ṣi;*

Cf. *R. H.*, p. 81 : 43, 44,

sag-gi(g)-ga-na ba-an-da-SAL-la = ša ṣal-mat qaq-qa-du ú-ma-az-zu-u, title of *Mullil, l.c.*, l. 39.

[9] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 6,

kur gŭ-dím peš-peš-e *še-dím săg-a su-ub-bu.*

[10] V. *R.*², 52, no. 2, rev. 39–41,

a-še-ir kur-ra *im-dím šek-šek* (V. *im-dím lá-lá*)

ta-ni-ḫi ina ma-a-tim *ki-ma šá-mu-ti ú-šá-az-nin*

a-še-ir kur-ra *im-dím ni-ti(l)*

by him is pursued with unrelenting vigor till it is carried to its victorious end—with him there is no pardon nor retreat:

"The hostile not subservient land— from that land thy breast thou dost not turn.[1]

If his anger is once aroused, there is no one who could induce him to leave or "cool" off:

"The wrath of thy heart, who can appease it?"[2]

Woe unto the man who should venture to stand up against him: his end would surely be at hand! In a battle with *Enlil* no one can come out victoriously but he himself:

"Against thee who can fight victoriously?"[3]
"Mighty one, storm of *An*, who can keep his stand against thee?"[4]

Enlil is indeed a

"fearful lord and mighty warrior of his father."[5]

In his battles against the enemies, the several "powers of nature" are, of course, his weapons,[6] while he himself is "the lord of weapons."[7] By means of these weapons

[1] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 18 = *B. A.*, V, p. 633 : 24, 25,
ki-bal nu-še-ga *ki gáb-nu-gí-gí(ki-bal ni-sun-n[i-en])*.
mât nu-kúr-ti šā la ma-gi-ri *taq-qur tu-uš-pal.*
For *sun* = *sún* = *naqâru* cf. no. 2 = 3 : 19 and below, p. 25, note 1.

[2] *C. T.* XV, 11 : 20 = *B. A.*, V, 633 : 28, 29,
ša(g) íb-ba-zu *a-ba íb-šè-d(i)(še(d))-dé*
ag-ga libbi-ka *man-nu ú-na-aḫ-šù.*

[3] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 22,
za-da a-ba-a *in-na-bal-e.*

[4] *C. T.*, XV, 10 : 18,
e-lum im An-na *a-ba(!) za-da ša-mu-e-da-gál.*

[5] *C. T.*, XV., 11 : 26 = *B. A.*, V, p. 633 : 30, 31,
ù-mu-un(umun) dīm-ma *ur-sag ka[la(g)-ga a-a-na mèn]*
be-lam šur-bu-u *kar-rad a-bi-šà [at-ta!]*

[6] Cf. III. *R.*, 69, no. 3 : 75, *gishḫug dEn-lil*. Cf. Zimmern, *Ritualt.*, no. 27 (pl. XLV), rev., *d gishḫug-sag-L* = *kak-ku reš-tu-ú ša dL*, and *dMé-sag-L* = *taḫâza rabûú šā dEn-lil.*

[7] Craig, *R. T.*, I, 81 : 17, *dEn-lil EN gishḫugmésh;* Cf. above, p. 20, note 5.

he executes the "judgment" of *An*,[1] being called, therefore, "the weapon of An"[2] and "lord, judge of hosts."[3] Among these weapons are to be found the "net" with which *Enlil* encircles the enemy, and, after he has captured and ensnared him, he hurls his "cudgels" or "thunderbolts" against him:

"Ensnaring net — which encircles (overpowers) the hostile land."[4]
"Into the enemy's land — as with a cudgel thou strikest."[5]

The enemy, once ensnared, has no escape:

"From thy right hand — no enemy can escape,"
"From thy left hand — no evil-doer can flee."[6]

Enlil may employ sometimes other means to gain his purpose. He, the "god of rain" and hence of the fertility of the ground, has it in his power to withhold "the life-giving waters"[7] and thus cause a frightful dearth with its accompanying famine. This weapon he may use with equal effect in his chastisements of both friend and foe:

[1] Cf. *C. T.*, XXIV, 2 : 45, *^{d}En-ḫug$^{ḫu-ùg}$*(!) | ditto (*i.e.*, *^{d}Nin-šubur sukal An-na-ge*) *sukal di-ri-a-bi-da-ge* = *suk-kal-lu a-ḫi-iṣ di-e-ni;* l. 46, *^{d}En-ḫug-gà-dib*(!) | ditto. For *^{d}Nin-šubur* cf. *^{d}Lugal-a*(?)*-šubur* = *^{d}En-lil ša áš-bar* (!)-[*ra*] = "*Enlil* of the decisions, judgments," *B. A.*, V, p. 655 : 5 and below, p. 30, note 1. Or should we read *AN*[*e*] (for *áš-bar*, cf. above, p. 19, note 2) and consider this a syn. of *KI* = *irṣitu*, comparing *R. H.*, p. 134, II, 20, 21, *^{d}Ir-r*[*eš ur-sag*] | *gašan*(*sic!*) *subur-ra* = *^{d}E-ri-*[*da*(cf. *l.c.*, p. 86 : 8) *qar* | *-r*]*a-du be-el*(*sic!*) [*ir*]-*ṣi-ti*? In this case *Enlil* = *^{d}Nin-šubur* would be the god of the "underworld(= *supûru*)" where the "judgments" are given. For a similar mistake (*AN* or *dingir*, instead of *áš-bar*) cf. *^{d}Lugal-áš-bar*(King has *dingir*)*-ra*, *C. T.*, XXV, 20*a* : 20*a* (notice the preceding line *^{d}Lugal-eš-bar-ra*!); 20*b* : 8; 21*b* : 4. Cf. also *C. T.*, XXIV, 50*c* : 10, where *AN* is either a mistake for *ar*, or *bar* (= [*ša ana pa*]-*ar*(*bar*)-*ṣi šu-lu-ku*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 13 : 9) or it stands for *ÁŠ-BAR^{ṣi}* = *parṣi*. In any event, we would expect for *^{d}Lugal-dingir-ra* rather a *^{d}Lugal-dingir-ri-e-ne*.

[2] Cf. *C. T.*, XXV, 14 : 25, *$^{d\ gish}$ḫug-An ^{d}L* | *^{d}EN rí-mu ša Dûr*-[ ], here transferred to *^{d}NIN-IB*! A reading *âli-ia* for *rí-mu* is out of question and, on account of the following *ša*, grammatically impossible.

[3] *C. T.*, XV, 10 : 7, *am erín-na di-di.*

[4] IV. *R.*^{2}, 27, no. 4 : 58,

^{sa}šu-uš-gal — *ki-bal-a šù*(*g*)*-šù*(*g*)
šu-ma — *sa-ḫi-ip mât nu-kúr-tim.*

[5] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 9,

kur erim-šú — *^{gi}áš-dū-a-dím sag-ni-si*(*g*)*-si*(*g*)*-gi.*

[6] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 27, [12 : 1] = *B. A.*, V, p. 633 : 32–35,

á-zi(*d*)*-da-zu* — *$^{mu\,lu}$erim nu-i*[*-e*]
ina im-ni-ka — *a-a-bu ul uṣ-ṣi*
(*á-gúb-bu-zu* — *ḫúl-ma-al-la nu-*[*i-e*])
(*ina šu-me-li-ka* — *lim-nu ul i-*[*ṣi*])

[7] Cf. no. 2 = 3 : 1, *a-silim.*

"Lord thou art, thou who hast spread famine everywhere, how long still, till the destruction ceases?"[1]

β. Enlil as Protector and Life-giver.—As furious and destructive *Enlil* may be in his dealings with the enemies as gracious, kind and loving he can be when his own people and country are concerned. He protects his people from hostile invasions by surrounding them and their home with a "high wall" or by becoming for them a "fastness" or "house," the bolts of which he fastens securely so that the hostile hordes can neither climb over or overcome it nor can enter through its gates:

"House full of fearfulness, that overpowereth the enemy;"[2]
"With regard to the (non-Babylonian) lands like a high wall (fastness) thou art for me, yea, like a very bolt thou art."[3]

If his people are in need of rain, he opens the gates of heaven, pulls back its bars, loosens its fastenings, removes its bolts that abundant rains may water their fields—or he may do this to drown and utterly destroy the enemy:

"The gate(s) of heaven thou openedst"
"The bars of heaven thou pulledst back"
"The fastenings of heaven thou loosenedst"
"The bolts of heaven thou removedst."[4]

[1] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 19 = *B. A.*, V, p. 633 : 26, 27,
'en me-en gù(gug) UR-a sí(g)-ga-zu *li-šú nu-sún(-sún)-ne(ni)-en*
be-lum šā su-un-qu mit-ḫa-riš taš-ku-nu *a-di ma-ti la in-[na-qa-ru].*
For *sún* = *sun* = *naqîru* see p. 23, note 1. Here lit.: "How long still, till one be no more in adversity."

[2] IV. *R.*², 27, no. 4 : 61,
é ní-gùr-ru *^{mulu}erim-ma šù(g)-šù(g).*

[3] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 11,
kur-kur bád-gal-bi mà *e si-gar-bi me-en.*
Notice in this connection that *bád-gal* = *bád-maḫ* = *tukultu*, "support" and cf. the proper name *$^{m\ d}$La-ar-ru-šā-du-al* = *$^{m\ d}$En-lil šā-du ú-ṣur*, V. *R.*², 44 : 54*c*. See also note 10 to no. 1, col. I, 4.

[4] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 13–16 = *B. A.*, V, 632 : 14–21,
^{gish}gál an-na-ge(bi) *(a-)ne-ib-gub-gub-bi*
da-la-ti-šú šā-qa-ti *tuš-[ta-]bal-k[i-it]*
^{gish}šu-di-eš an-na-ge(bi) *ne-ib(-bi)-gar(mar)-gar(mar)-ri-ne*
me-di-li-šā *ta-áš-ḫu-uṭ*
^{gish}sag-kul an-na-ge(bi) *in(ba-e)-si-il(-si-il)-li-en*
sik-ku-ri-šā *tu-šal-liṭ*
^{gish}si-gar(mar) an-na-ge(bi) *im(ne)-gid(-gid)-[dé-]en*
ši-ga-ri-šā *tu-na-as-si-[iḫ]*

In this wise *Enlil* becomes both the

"Lord, life(-giving principle) of the 'country,' (life-)sustainer of *Shumer*,"[1]

who "knows,"[2] leads and pastures his people:

"Husbandman, who husbands the people, *Enlil* thou art,"[3]

being called "shepherd of mankind."[4] Gracious husbandman who he is, he takes care of the fields that they produce grass and grain abundantly:

"Father *Enlil*, he who maketh to sprout the grass art thou, who maketh to sprout the grain art thou."[5]

He sustains the life of both man and beast by "enlightening" them with his "glory." In doing so, he does not neglect even the smallest and most insignificant animals—the fish of the sea and the fowls of the air:

"The fish of the sea thou makest to thrive, the birds of heaven thou makest to fly;"[6]
"*Enlil*, thy (fearful) glory enlightens the fish of the sea,
"The birds of heaven, the fish of the sea it filleth."[7]

No wonder, then, that the ancient Babylonians were amazed at *Enlil's* loving

[1] IV. *R.*², 27, no. 4 : 63, 64,
am ši ka-nag-gà *mas-su(su(d)) Ki-in-gi-ra*
be-lum na-piš-ti ma-a-ti *mas-su-u šamê^e u irṣitim^tim.*
Cf. *R. H.*, p. 122 : 18, ^{d}*Mu-ul-lil ši ka-nag-gà.* For *Ki-in-gi* = *šamê u irṣitim* see above, p. 10.

[2] A *nosse cum affectu et effectu*, cf. the proper name ^{m}*ḪU-ùg-zu-'* = $^{m\,d}$*En-lil mu-di-e nîšê^mésh*, V. *R.*², 44 : 45*c*.

[3] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 25,
ùru(or *engar*) [*ù*]-*gā ùru^ru* ^{d}*En-lil* [*me-*]*en.*
For *ù-gā* a reading *ù-găr* = *a-gár* (cf. no. 2 = 3 : 1) = *ugâru*, "field," might likewise be possible; if so, we would have here a Semitism. With the writing *ù-gā* (= *ùg-ga*) cf. *ù-da* = *ud-da*, Thureau-Dangin, *Z. A.*, XV, p. 51, 3.

[4] Cf. here the fourth of the seven great names (*mu^mésh gu(d)-ud^mésh*) of *Enlil: sib sag-gi(g)-ga, C. T.*, XV, 10 : 5; 13 : 6 *et passim*, or *sib na-ò*[*m-sag-gi(g)-ga*] = *ri-'-é-*[*um ṣal-mat qaq-qa-di*], *B. A.*, V, p. 666*a*: 7, 8.

[5] *C. T.*, XV, 10 : 20,
a-a ^{d}*Mu-ul-lil mu-lu gu mă-mă me-en* *mu-lu še mă-mă me-en.*
This reading, it seems to me, is preferable to the other: *mu-lu gu mú-sar . . mu-lu še mú-sar.* For *mú-sar* = *mu-sa-ri-e* see Br. 4362.

[6] *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 24,
kŭ ab mă-šâ-a-mu(*š*) *mušen edín-nu ir*(!)-*ri.*

[7] *C. T.*, XV, 10 : 21, 22,
^{d}*Mu-ul-lil me-lám-zu* *engur-ra kŭ mu-ni-ib-bí-bí*
mušen-e an-na kŭ-e engur-ra *ša*(*g*)-*im-ma-ni-ib-si.*

kindness, protection and support, praising him by exclaiming "who protects (gives support) like *Enlil!*"[1] "*Enlil*, who is like thee!"[2]

γ. *Enlil and His Seven Manifestations.*—It is one of the most remarkable facts in connection with the nature of every god who, at one time or another, played the rôle of the "Son" in a given trinity, that such a god was considered to have "*seven manifestations*" of his powers. The "Son" being always and invariably the "god of the powers of nature," it would follow that his "seven manifestations" were nothing but the personifications of the "seven storms." "Seven" they were, because this number expresses the "fullness, completeness, totality."[3] These "seven manifestations" appear or may appear, either as

(α) "*seven names* (*mu*^{méš})" of the "*Son*"—each one and all of them, singly, severally and collectively express the fullness of the godhead of the "Son"; or as

(β) "*seven sons*" of the "*Son*"—in our case: *Enlil*. A "manifestation" is at the same time an "emanation," something which is caused, produced, brought forth, begotten by the source from which it emanates; or as

(γ) "*seven sons*" of the "*Father*"—in our case: *An*. This follows from α; or as the

(δ) *seven weapons* (*gišḫug*), or the

(ε) *seven messengers* (*kin-gí-a, sukal*) or *servants* (*ur-sag, banda*) of the "*Son*," through whom the "Father" acts, speaks or reveals himself, through whom he gives his commands and executes his ordinances, through whom he punishes the enemies, but guides and leads, protects and guards his people. This is the reason why *Enlil* is called on the one hand *dEn-ŭg-ŭg-ga*,[4] "lord of the (seven) storms" or *EN gišḫug*^{méš},[5] "lord of the (seven) weapons," and on the other *dUg*,[6] "storm (of *An*)" or *d gišḫug-An* "weapon of *An*."[7]

The question now arises, who are the "seven" of the more than 5000 gods

[1] Cf. the proper name *mA-ba-L-da-ri* = *mMan-nu ki-ma dEn-lil ḫa-tin*, V. *R.*², 44 : 42*c*.

[2] Cf. the proper name *mA-ba-L-să* = *m dEn-lil man-nu ma-la-ak*, V. *R.*², 44 : 43*c*, *d*.

[3] Cf. Br. 12205, 7 = *kiššatu*.

[4] See above, p. 20, note 5.

[5] See above, p. 23, note 7.

[6] See above, p. 20, note 1.

[7] Cf. here the *e-ri gišḫug maḫ ša dA-nim*, *C. T.*, XVI, 3 : 87, 6 : 211; 21 : 202, and the *gišBAN*(*qaštu*), "bow" of *Anu*, *K. B.*, VI¹, p. 32 : 5, 6, 8. Notice also that according to V. *R.*², 52, no. 2 : 43, 44*a*, *Enlil* is called the *mu-lu gan-úr* = *ma-aš-ka-ak-ka-lam* and that the *mul gišgan-úr* is the *gišḫug ša dA-é* (or possibly, notwithstanding the preceding *ša*, *An-a-ge*), while in *C. T.*, XXV, 13 : 1, the *mulgan-úr* is identified with *mulLU.BAT gu*(*d*)*-ud* or *dNIN-IB*, see also note 8 to no. 4, rev. 9, 10, below. During the *Enlil* period the *gišḫug-An* or *miṭṭu* (Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 406) became, as is to be expected, the god *NIN-IB* (in Nippur) or *Marduk* (in Eridu), etc. Cf. besides *H. W. B.*, *l.c.*, and *Ninrag*, p. 12 : 29, 30*b*, also *C. T.*, XXV, 14 : 25, *d gišḫug-An-dL* | *dEn rí-mu ša Dûr-*[ ]; IV. *R.*², 34 : 9, 10*c*, *dNIN-IB gišḫug dAššur* and above, p. 17, note 4, *b*.

known to us that designate *Enlil* in his "fullness"? Remembering that we are discussing the so-called "prehistoric period" of the Babylonian religion, we cannot and must not see in gods like *ᵈNIN-IB*, *ᵈU-gur*, etc., such manifestations or "sons" of *Enlil*, and this for the simple reason that these gods were *later* importations into the Sumerian pantheon, having been introduced during the so-called *Enlil* epoch.

Above (p. 21) we saw that *Enlil* as "storm" was called *ᵈDUN-PA-è-a* and *ŭg al-tar*. Both of these names appear in *C. T.*, XXIV, 13 : 42–43 = 25 : 97, as proper names, more particularly as names of the husband of the goddess *ᵈMaḫ* or *ᵈNin-maḫ* (*i.e.*, *ᵈNin-lil*, the wife of *Enlil*).[1] On the basis of this statement, I am prepared to see in the following "seven" gods and sons of *ᵈDUN-PA-è-a* (and *ᵈMaḫ*) the "seven manifestations" of *Enlil* (and *Ninlil*) as "storm" or "Son" (*C. T.*, XXIV, 13 : 55–61 = 26 : 104–118):

1. *ᵈBár-ul-li-gar-ra;*
2. *ᵈPAP-ŠÙ-ŬG-ge-gar-ra*[2] (his wife *ᵈNin-PAP-ŠÙ-ŬG-ge-gar-ra*);
3. *ᵈLíl*[3] (his wife *ᵈNIN-á-dam-azag-ga*);
4. *ᵈLíl-duq-qa-bur;*
5. *ᵈNin-sub-bí-gù-šá(g)*[4];
6. *ᵈÁš-šir* (his wife *ᵈGiš-mur-an-ki*);
7. *ᵈNe-gún* (his wife *ᵈNin-el-lá*).

"*Manifestations*" of *Enlil*, the "Son," are these seven gods. If this be true, then each one and all of them must stand for *Enlil* himself. That this is actually the case is evident—in order to mention only one example here—from the name of the third son, *ᵈLíl*, which is, as we have seen above (p. 18, note 6), nothing but an attribute of *Enlil*, the *mu-lu líl* or *ᵈLíl-lum*. Later on, when *Enlil* had advanced to the rank of "Father" and when the rôle of the "Son" was played by *ᵈNIN-IB*, these very seven gods become, in consequence, the manifestations of *ᵈNIN-IB*, hence we find that (with the possible exception of the first of these seven

[1] Cyl. B, 19 : 20, *ᵈEn-lil-ra ᵈNin-maḫ mu-ni-uš*, "with *En-lil* he (Gudea) caused *Nin-maḫ* to take up her abode."

[2] This god appears also under the following forms: *ᵈPAP-ŠÙ-ŬG-ŠUB-gar-ra*, *ᵈPAP-ŠÙ-ŬG-ŠUB-ge-gar-ra*. Cf. also *ᵈ(ᵉ)NIN-ŠÙ-ŬG-ge-gar-ra* = *ᵈGu-la*, II. *R.*, rev. 59, 30. Notice here that no. 1 and 2, in the list above referred to, are considered to be two names of *one and the same* god; all seven singly, severally and collectively express the nature of the "Son"!

[3] Cf. above, p. 18, note 6.

[4] Here with the office of *utug É-maḫ-ge*. In *C. T.*, XXIV, 47*a* : 18*b*, he is termed *ᵈSub-bí-in*(!)*-gù-šá(g)* and is the fourth of the *5 utug É-gal-maḫ-ge;* in *C. T.*, XXIV, 36 : 47, he appears as the fourth of the *5 utug ᵈGu-l*[*a-ge*] and has the name *ᵈSub-bí-in-gù-ba-šá(g)*, while in *C. T.*, XXIV, 36 : 35, he is called *ᵈSub-bí-in-gù-silim* and is the *utug* of the *É-líl-*[*la-ge*] (= temple of *ᵈNIN-IB*!).

manifestations) all of them were identified with, or became names or manifestations of, *dNIN-IB*.[1]

It would lead me too far were I to show here how these "seven manifestations" may be found again, under the same or different[2] names, in this or that trinity of Sumerian gods; or how they in course of time came to be known under the name "*7-bi*" or *dSibitti*.[3] Suffice it to have drawn the attention of the student to the fact that the "Son" of every Babylonian trinity reveals himself and acts through "*seven*[4] powers, sons, weapons, messengers, servants," of whom he himself is either the "king (*lugal*)," "lord (*en*)" or "chief (*pap, gú-gal, nun, nu*, etc.)."

As the chief (*pap-sukal*), sublime (*sukal-maḫ*) or true messenger (*sukal-zi(d)*)

[1] Cf. (*a*) *C. T.*, XXV, 12 : 12, *dPAP-ŠÙ-ÜG-ge-gar-ra* | ditto (*i.e.*, *dNIN-IB*, l. 1). For his wife cf. passages like II. *R.*, 59, rev. 30, *dGašan-ŠÙ-ÜG-ge-mar-ra* | *dNIN-ŠÙ-ÜG-ge-gar-ra* | *dGu-la*; *C. T.*, XXV, 3 : 44–46, *d* ditto(= *e*) *NIN-ŠÙ-ÜG-ge-gar-ra* | ditto (= *dNin-kar-ra-ag*), here followed by *d* ditto(= *e*) *NIN-á-dam-azag-ga* | ditto; *dGu-la* | ditto.

(*b*) *C. T.*, XXV, 12 : 21, *dLil-lu* | ditto (*i.e.*, *dNIN-IB*, l. 1). For his wife see *sub a*. Cf. also p. 18, note 6.

(*c*) *C. T.*, XXV, 12 : 22, *dAš-šir-*[?-]*gi* | ditto (*i.e.*, *dNIN-IB*, l. 1). Cf. also *C. T.*, XXV, 16 : 23, *dÁš-šir-sig* = *dIM*.

(*d*) *C. T.*, XXV, 12 : 23, *dNe-gún* | ditto (*i.e.*, *dNIN-IB*, l. 1). See also *l.e.*, 13 : 13, *dNe-gún* | *dEN rí-mu ša Nibruki*. This name became later on also that of the "Son" of the Babylon trinity: V. *R.*², 43 : 37*e*, *d* = II. *R.*, 60, no. 2 : 38 (cf. *l.e.*, 59, obv. 61), *dNe-gún* | *dAG* (= *dNabû* and *dNIN-IB*!) *e-muq li-i-ti*.—For his wife cf. II. *R.*, 54, no. 2 : 7 = *l.e.*, 59, obv. 40 (Hommel, *S. L.*, p. 48, l. 41), *dGašan-el-la* | *dNin-el-la* | [*dam*] *dNIN-gún*; hence, *dNe-gún*, = *dNIN-gún*, *i.e.*, *dNí-gún*, here belonging to the court of *An* (Hommel, *l.e.*, l. 27). For the pronunciation *gún* or possibly *sí, sŭ* (from *sin, sun*), but *not dar* (though *dar* is = *li-tu-u*, S^c65), cf. *itu Ezen-dNe-gún(sí, sŭ)-na-ka*, *R. T. C.*, 53, rev. III, 2. The *dNe-gún* has to be differentiated from the *ám dNE-dar* (! = *ḫu-gunû*) | *gašan É-ḫar-ša(b)-ba*, *R. H.*, p. 134, col. I, 39, 40; p. 137, no. IV : 51, 52. For such a difference between *dar* and *gún* (*sí, sŭ*), cf. *R. A.*, VII (1910), p. 108, *nin-an*(!)*-mul-dar-a* and *C. T.*, XXIV, 31 : 70; XXV, 9 : 26, *dNin-mul-gún(sí, sŭ)-a*; *dNin-dar-a* and *dNin-sí(gún)-a*, etc.

(*e*) For *dNin-sub-bí-gù-šá(g)* see p. 28, note 4.

[2] The 2 + 7 great gods and sons (*ilânimêsh rabûtimêsh mârêmêsh*) of *dA-ni* mentioned in III. *R.*, 69, no. 3 : 65–74, are but *dDUN-PA-è-a* and *dMaḫ* (or *dEnlil* and *dNinlil*) and their "seven sons," mentioned above (p. 28), under *different* names, because they play here a *different rôle:* that of *á-sá(g)* = *ašakku*, who smite those who are not in the right relation to *An* with sickness.

[3] Cf. above, p. 17, note 4, and my remarks on the *7 zib* of *dIM* in a forthcoming article.

[4] Here it ought to be noticed that these "seven" may appear also as 2.7. Thus *dMaḫ*, the wife of *dDUN-PA-è-a* (= *Enlil*), is said to have "14 children," see *C. T.*, XXIV, 14 : 12 = 50*e*, I, 14, *14 dumumêsh dMaḫ-a-ge*. Cf. also the "14 children of Nergal (Jensen, *K. B.*, VI¹, p. 76 : 4)"; the "14 children of *dNin-subur* (*C. T.*, XXIV, 2 : 6*b*)," etc. Each of these 7 or 2.7 may again have his own progeny. So, *e.g.*, *dNe-gún*, the *seventh* of the *seven* sons of *dDUN-PA-è-a* and *dMaḫ*, is said to have "8 children (*C. T.*, XXIV, 26 : 114–118)" among whom is to be found as the *first:* *dEgí-an-na* (also = *dNIN-IB* (*Nabû*), *C. T.*, XXIV, 14 : 14); as the *second:* *dEgí-ki-ta* (= *dNIN-IB*, *l.e.*, l. 15); as the *fifth:* *dSa-ḫa-an-gul* ("the destructive serpent," cf. *d sa-ḫa-an ṢIR*, the second of the six *utug É-kur-ra-ge*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 8 : 11 = 23: 5*b*; *dṢIR*, the "Son" of the *Dêr* trinity = *dŠe-ra-aḫ*, the *ra-bi-iṣ É-šar-ra* = *dKA-DI*, *B. E.*, XVII, part 1, p. 20, and *idSa-ḫa-an* = *Purattu*); and as the *eighth:* *dÙr-nun-ta-è* (cf. the *third* of the *seven* children of *Baú: Ùr-é-nun-ta-è-a*, *Creation-Story*, p. 23, note 6).

of his father *An*, *Enlil* was known by the name ^{d}*Lugal-š(s)ubur*[1] or ^{d}*Nin-š(s)ubur*.[2] As such a messenger he was primarily the god who carried out the will or "commands (*me*),"[3] "decisions (*eš-bar*, *áš-bar*),"[4] "judgments (*di*)"[5] of his father, becoming in this wise "the *judge par excellence* of the people (*erin-na di-di*)."[6] He was, there-

[1] *B. A.*, V, p. 655 : 5, ^{d}*Lugal-a*(?, this *a*, as Macmillan already indicated, is, no doubt, a mistake)-*š(s)ubur* | ^{d}*En-lil ša áš*(!)-*bar*(!)-[*ra* or ^{d}*A-nim*]. For the reading *áš-bar* (instead of *dingir-*[*ra*]) see above, p. 24, note 1, and for *š(s)ubur* (instead of *ŠAḪ*) cf. Hrozný, *Z. A.*, XIX, p. 368; Weissbach, *Bab. Miscellen*, Taf. II, col. V, 27, and Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et Contrats*, p. 65.

[2] K 3179 + Sm. 1861, II, 22–24 (*O. L. Z.*, April, 1908, Sp. 184), ^{d}*Nin-šubur sukal-maḫ An-na-ge* = ^{d}*Ì-li-ab-rat suk-kal-lum ṣ*[*i-i-rum*] *ša* ^{d}*A-nim;* cf. Adapa myth, Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 94 (and p. 411): 7, 8 (10), ^{d}*A-nu* [*a-na s*]*u-uk-ka-li-šu* ^{d}*I-la-ab-ra-at i-ša-as-si;* II. *R.*, 59, rev. 23, ^{d}*Umun-šubur* | ^{d}*Nin-šubur* | ^{d}*Pap-sukal* (follows ^{d}*Lugal-banda* = ^{d}*NIN-IB*, ^{d}*Utu*, ^{d}*Enlil*, *H. A. V.*, pp. 416ff.); *C. T.*, XXIV : 40 : 51, 52, ^{d}*Nin-šubur* | ^{d}*Pap-sukal* | *ša* ^{d}*A-nim;* ^{d}*Sukal* | ditto | *ša An-ti; C. T.*, XXIV, 1 : 31 = 20 : 21 (cf. 47 = 21 : 28), ^{d}*Ga*$^{ka-ka}$*-ga* ^{d}*Nin-šubur sukal*(*maḫ*) *An-na-ge*. The "creation epic" was composed during the *Enlil* epoch (later on it was adapted to the *Marduk* period). At this time the rôle of *An* was played by *Enlil* (= *An-šar*, cf. above, p. 7, note 9), hence we find that ^{d}*Ga-ga* (= ^{d}*Nin-šubur*) appears as the messenger (*sukal*) of *An-šar* (= *Enlil*!), Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 12 : 1, 2; being therefore the same as ^{d}*NIN-IB*. This follows also from various other considerations, viz.: (1) ^{d}*Ir-reš* in IV. *R.*, 34, 51*b* (Zimmern, *B. B.*, p. 50, 18) is according to the context ^{d}*NIN-IB;* (2) In *R. H.*, p. 134, II, 20, 21, we find ^{d}*Ir-r*[*eš*(*ri-eš*, *l.c.*, 86 : 8) *ur-sag*] *gašan*(!) *šubur-ra* translated by ^{d}*E-ri-*[*da qar*]*-ra-du be-el*(!) *ir-ṣi-tim*, being preceded by ^{d}*Nin-giš-zi*(*d*)*-da* and followed by *Gašan-tin-dib-ba*. In this passage we have the peculiar phenomenon that ^{d}*Ir-reš* is treated in the Sumerian line as a *feminine* (*gašan*, opp. to *umun*), while the Semitic translation considers him to be a *male* (*be-el*). This agrees exactly with my contentions in *H. A. V.*, p. 424. No wonder, then, that ^{d}*Ga-ga* (= ^{d}*Nin-šubur*) appears likewise as a *female: C. T.*, XXV, 3 : 55 = 29*b* : 3, ^{d}*Ga*$^{ka-ka}$*-ga* | ditto, *i.e.*, = ^{d}*Nin-kar-ra-ag* or ^{d}*Nin-ì-si-in-na* (l. 37 = 21*b* : 13) = [^{d}]ditto(=*e*) *Nin-é-gí-a* (l. 62 = 29*b* : 10) = ^{d} ditto(=*e*) *NIN-ŠÙ-ÚG-ge-gar-ra* (l. 44 = 21*b* : 17; cf. above p. 29, note 1) = [^{d} ditto(=*e*)] *Nin-é-dig-ga* (l. 63 = 29*b*, II, 11)—all of these goddesses are identified in II. *R.*, 59, rev. 28–32, with ^{d}*Gu-la*, and ^{d}*Gu-la* is only another name for ^{d}*Nin-kar-ra-ag*," "the mistress who gives help," "who restores the dead to *life*," *C. T.*, XXV, 3 : 46 = XXIV, 21*b* : 18*a*. Hence, ^{d}*Nin-šubur* (= ^{d}*Ga-ga*) in the rôle of ^{d}*NIN-IB* is "husband and wife" in *one* person: the god of the underworld (*irṣitim*), who has overcome the "winter," produces new life, and by doing so "proclaims the decisions (*êriš*)" of his father ^{d}*Enlil* (= *An*), that the winter or cold is at an end, that the spring and with it new life are at hand, that the earth is to yield up her dead, that plenty is to be restored.

[3] *C. T.*, XXIV, 1 : 34 = 20 : 22 ^{d}(ditto= ^{d}*Ga-ga*, ^{d}*Nin-shubur*) *Me-L-An-na* | ^{d}*Su*[*kal-maḫ An-na*]. In this passage the *Me-L*, "50 commands of *An*," are evidently those of *Enlil* = *An*, hence this name must have originated during the *Enlil* epoch. In other words, the ^{d}*Sukal-maḫ* is here not *Enlil*, but ^{d}*NIN-IB*. According to Zimmern, *Ritualtaf*, no. 27 (pl. XLV), rev. 5, ^{d}*Me-sag-L* | *taḫâzu rabûú ša* ^{d}*En-lil*, we might translate the name given above by "the god of the battle of *Enlil-An*." Against this explanation is, however, *C. T.*, XXIV, 40 : 53, ^{d}*Pap-sukal* (= ^{d}*Nin-šubur*, l. 51) | ditto (= *Pap-sukal*) | *ša pu-ru-si-e*. Cf. also Thureau-Dangin, *R. A.*, VII (1910), p. 108, II, 2, (^{d}*Nidaba*) *me-gal-L šu-dú-a* and see *C. T.*, XXIV, 49*a* : 8 = XXV, 1 : 20, ^{d}*Pap* *pa-ap-su-kal-sukal* | *sukal* ^{d}*Za-*[*g*(*m*)*à-g*(*m*)*à-ge*].

[4] Cf. above, note 1, and *C. T.*, XXIV, 39 : 4–5, where ^{d}*Dur-an-ki* ("the god of the firmament of heaven and earth"), ^{d}*Di-bar*, ^{d}*Maḫ-di-gal* are explained by ^{d}*BE* (= *Bêl*) *ša eš-bar*. Cf. also the second of the two *gu*(*d*)*-dúb* of ^{d}*Nin-šubur:* ^{d}*Eš-bar-An-na*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 2 : 8, and see *C. T.*, XXV, 11 : 17 = 15, III, 7, ^{d}*En-banda*^{da} | ^{d}*NIN-IB ṣa-bit eš-bar ANmésh* and *l.c.*, 18 = 8, ^{d}*Ḫal-ḫal*(*-la*) | ^{d}*NIN-IB nâṣir*(= *šeš*) *eš-bar a-bi* ^{d}*En-lil*.

[5] *C. T.*, XXIV, 2 : 43 = 20 : 27, ^{d}(or *An-*) *šar-gí-a* | ditto (= ^{d}*Nin-šubur*) *sukal di-ri-a-bi-da-ge* = *suk-kal-lu a-ḫi-iṣ di-e-ni*, "who has, holds the judgment." Cf. *C. T.*, XXV, 11 : 11 = 15, III, 1 = XXIV, 40 : 60, ^{d}*NIN-IB ša pi-riš-ti*, but see *H. W. B.*, p. 543*a* and Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 481, for the signification of *pirištu*. See also the *É-sag-áš* = "house of the decisions (*piriští*)," one of the names of the *ziggurrat* of Nippur, II. *R.*, 50 : 6*a*.

[6] Cf. the sixth of the seven great names of *Enlil*, *am erin-na di-di*, "lord, of the hosts the judge," *C. T.*, XV, 10 : 7; 13 : 8; IV. *R.*[2], 28, no. 4, rev. 13; *R. H.*, p. 20 : 6 (no. 13); p. 32 : 8 (no. 14); p. 42 : 9 (no. 21), *et passim*. For ^{d}*NIN-IB* as judge see *H. A. V.*, p. 402, note 17.

fore, a kind of herold, ambassador plenipotentiary, having been endowed with extraordinary powers (*á-gál*)[1] and authority. The emblem of his authority is a "pure or bright scepter (*gišdar azag*)" which he "carries (*lá*)" or "holds in his hands (*šu-dú*)[2]" or "wields (*si-sá*).[3]" He has a scepter and he can give a scepter. All might (*nam-ner-gál*), power (*á*) and authority come from him.[4] What he proclaims upon the command of his father cannot be changed[5] and no one dare oppose.[6] These commands are not by any means arbitrary, but they are the result of careful deliberations during the course of which *Enlil* acts as "counselor (*ad-gí-gí*)."[7] The ordinances thus conceived *Enlil* "executes (*me-šu-dú*)"[8] by his (2×)7 manifestations, his sons,[9] the "powers of nature."[10] *Enlil* in this wise becomes again the

[1] *C. T.*, XXIV, 2 : 41 = 20 : 26, ^{d}(or *An-*)*šarshû-ár-sǎg* | ditto (= ^{d}*Nin-šubur*) *á-gál É-An-na-ge* = *mu-ir É-^{d}A-ni*, "the governor of the house of *An*."

[2] De Clercq, no. 194, ^{d}*Nin-šubur sukal-zi(d) An-na* ^{gish}*gišdar-azag šu-dú*. Cf. the seventh of the eight (!) messengers (^{galu}*kin-gí-a*) of ^{d}*Ma-nun-gal* (= *Enlil*) $^{d\ gish}$ *gi-esh-*[*da*]*PA*, *C. T.*, XXV, 4 : 21 = XXIV, 47*a* : 41*b*.

In later periods this *gišdar* was transferred to each and every god who played the rôle of the "Son":

^{d}*NIN-IB* is called the $^{amelu\ gish}$*Gišdar* ^{d}*En-lil*, *Ninrag*, p. 10 : 22*u*.—The "Son" of the *Eridu* trinity (^{d}*Dumu-zi-abzu* = *Marduk*) had the name ^{d}*Gišdar* (! copy has *giš*)-*lá-abzu*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 16 : 37 = 29 : 87.—^{d}*Utu*, the "Son" of the *Ur* trinity, was called ^{d}*PA*$^{mi-id-ra}$-*šu-dú* | ditto (*i.e.*, ^{d}*Utu*, l. 10) or simply ^{d}*Gišdar*, V. *R.*², 46, no. 1 : 30. This last name was applied also to the "Son" of the *Babylon* trinity, ^{d}*AG* or ^{d}*Nabû*, Br. 5579.

[3] Cf. the name of the first of the two *gu(d)-dúb* of ^{d}*Nin-šubur*: $^{d\ gish}$*Gišdar-si-sá*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 2 : 7.

[4] See Cône of Entemena, V, 19–23, *En-te-me-na pa-te-si ŠIR-LA-BUR*^{ki} *gišdar-sum-ma* ^{d}*En-lil-lá*. Here *gišdar* is apparently a synonym of *á*, cf. the expression *á-sum-ma*, no. 1, l. 37, *passim*.

[5] Cf. the proper name $^{m\ d}$*Nin-šubur-gù-nu-bal-bal* = $^{m\ d}$*Pap-sukal ša iq-bu ul i-ni*, V. *R.*², 44 : 55*c*, *d*.

[6] *C. T.*, XXIV, 2 : 37 = 20 : 24, ^{d}*Gù-ba(-a)-ni* (*An-na-ge*) *nu-kúr-ru* | ^{d}*Nin*[*-šubur*].

[7] *C. T.*, XXIV, 2 : 39 = 20 : 25, ^{d}*Usug*(*-An*)*-gal-la*, "the god of the great bridal-chamber" (see *B. E.*, Series D, V., fasc. 2, p. 34, note 13) | ditto (= ^{d}*Nin-šubur*) *ad-gí-gí An-na-ge* = *ma-lik* ^{d}*A-ni*. Cf. also *C. T.*, XXV, 26*a* : 35. For ^{d}*NIN-IB* as *ad-gí-gí-gal* see no. 1, col. III, 15, and cf. below, p. 35, note 1.

[8] Cf. in this connection the name of *Nusku*, the son of *Enlil*, etc. (*Bêl, the Christ*, p. 2, note 10): ^{d}*Umun-mu*(*š*)-*du-ru* | ^{d}[*En-*]*me-šu-dú* = [^{d}*PA*]-*KU* (cf. II. *R.*, 59, obv. 15) | [*be-el ša parṣê šuklulu*], *R. H.*, p. 134, col. I : 27, 28 = 85 : 33, with Shalmanassar, Black Obelisk, l. 11, ^{d}*PA-KU na-ši* ^{gish}*ḫaṭṭi* (= *PA*) *elli-te*. For *mu*(*š*)-*du-ru* = *gišdar* see above, p. 10, note 7. The name ^{d}*PA-KU* is, therefore, not "*der in den elât des Himmels Sitzende*," but "*der mit dem Scepter* (*PA* = *gišdar*, *mu*(*š*)*dur*) *Investierte* (*KU*)." Husband and wife have the same functions, hence we find that the wife of *Nusku* is called in II. *R.*, 59, obv. 16, ^{d}*Gašan-me-šu-dú* | ^{d}*Nin-me-šu-dú* | ^{d}*Sa-dár-nun-na dam-šù-sal;* with this cf. the attribute (above p. 30, note 3), *me-gal-L šu-dú-a*, ascribed to ^{d}*Nidaba* who in II. *R.*, 36 : 17, is coupled with ^{d}*Gišdar*, hence ^{d}*Nidaba* = ^{d}*Sa-dár-nun-na* = ^{d}*Taš-me-tum*, because they (like their husbands) are the goddesses of writing. See also ^{d}*Me-nigin-šu-dú*, the husband(!) ([*da*]*m-bi-uš*) of [^{d}*Nin-úg*]-*ga*(!) (= ^{d}*Al-la-mu* = ^{d}*Mes-lam-ta-è-a*), *C. T.*, XXIV, 10 : 4 = 23 : 27, and the *É-me-nigin-šu-dú* = ^{d}*É-*^{d}*Nin-sïg*, Pinches, *P. S. B. A.*, 1900, p. 362 : 7. Whether the temple of ^{d}*NIN-IB*, *É-šu-me-du* is a variant of *É-me-šu-dú* is not yet certain, cf. below, note 16 to no. 1.

[9] *C. T.*, XXIV, 2 : 65, *14 dumu*^{mésh} ^{d}*N*[*in-šubur-ge*].

[10] Notice here that ^{d}*IM*, when executing the commands of his father, *Enlil*, *thunders* and *lightens* (see *C. T.*, XV, 16 : 7–9); that the ^{d}*Gišdar* gives his answer to Ashshurbânipal's prayer by means of a *wind* (*zaqîqu*) (see above, p. 19, note 9); that ^{d}*Nin-Girsu* announces the end of the drought by a wind, breeze (*im*). All this would show, it seems to me, that also *Enlil*, in prehistoric times, proclaimed or executed the will of *An* by means of "thunder, lightning, wind." In case such an execution of the commands of *An* demanded the destruction or annihilation of the enemies of the "Father," *Enlil* made use of his "lightning or dagger carrier," ^{d}*Nin-šár*. Cf. ^{d}*Nin-šár gír*-[*lá*] *É-kur-ra-ge* (sphere of influence of

"lightning" or "thunder" or very "voice (*KA, gù*)"[1] of *An*, through whom the "Father" speaks and gives his commands, through whom he reveals his pleasure and displeasure, through whom he enforces obedience to his will and command.

This "bright scepter" is, however, not merely an emblem of authority, power and might, but also a "stylus (*giššdar azag = ḫaṭṭu ellîtu*)" in the hand of *Enlil*, the "scribe" of *An*, by means of which he "writes" the "will" and enters the "decisions" of his father into the great and open book spread out before all mankind: "the book of nature," so that every one, who has eyes to see, may see, or a mind to perceive, may perceive the will of *An*, the God and Lord of all. The writing of this "book of nature" proclaiming the "decisions of *An*" and the "fates of man" is, of course, "the writing of heaven and earth." "Heaven and earth" reveal the will and glory of God—they proclaim the "name of *An* (*mu*(*š*)-*An-na*)." To learn to know and to understand the significance of this "*name of An*," man must look upon earth and towards the sky. In doing so, he will soon discern a twofold writing: "the writing of heaven (*šiṭir šamê*)" and the "writing of earth"—"verdure"; he will find that the former is merely a reflex of the significance of the latter. *Enlil*, being the god of rain, conditions the appearance and disappearance of the verdure, or, what is the same, of the *two seasons:* "summer and winter." But summer and winter form the Sumerian "*year*." Hence, the "name of *An*" which *Enlil* proclaims is nothing but the "heaven and earth (*an-ki*)" as they appear during the course of a "year": *mu*(*š*)-*An-na*. "The name of *An*" is the "year = *šattu*."[2]

The ancient Sumerian year was divided not only into two seasons: summer and winter,[3] but also into *twelve months*. These twelve months had their counter-

Enlil!), *C. T.*, XXIV, 10 : 16ff.; K, 5132 (Bezold, *Catal.*, p. 691); *Gašan-šár me-ri-lá É-kur-ra-ge* = ^{d}*Nin-šár na-aš paṭ-ri ša É-kur*, *R. H.*, pp. 85 : 35; 134, I, 31, 32.

When ^{d}*Nin-Gir-su* played the rôle of the "Son," ^{d}*Nin-šár* became the *gír-lá* ^{d}*Nin-Gir-su*, *Creation-Story*, pp. 23, note 1 ; 44. In Kutha ^{d}*Nin-šár* was closely associated with ^{d}*U-GUR*, Zimmern, *Ritualt.*, no. 27, p. 134 : 8; V. *R.*², 31, no. 2, rev. 29, or with ^{d}*Ìr-ra-gal*, K. 7145 (Bezold, *Catal.*, p. 833). In V. *R.*², 46, no. 1 : 18, the ^{mul}*Nin-šàr* is even identified with ^{d}*U-GUR*, ^{mul}*Nin-šár u* ^{d}*Ìr-ra-gal* | ^{d}*U-GUR u* ^{d}*Ḫar-bi-tum* (cf. also *Z. A.*, I, p. 259, note).

Lastly in *C. T.*, XXIV, 20 : 19 = 1 : 28 (here written ^{d}*Nin*$^{sha-ar}$*BARA*), the ^{d}*Nin-šár* is identified with *An-tum* ^{d}*Iš-tar*, is therefore but a variant of ^{d}*Nin-šar*, wife of ^{d}*En-šar* (= *Enlil*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 4 : 7 = 21 : 72 and = *An*, i.e., 1 : 11 = 20 : 7 = 19, I, 5).

[1] It is to be noted that *gù* is not only "to speak (*šasû, dabâbu*)" or "to command (*qibû, parâsu*)," but also "to thunder (*ragâmu, šagâmu*)." ^{d}*Ga*$^{ka-ka}$*-ga* is probably to be rendered by "the god who is the voice(s) of *An*." Cf. also p. 31, note 6 : ^{d}*Gù-ba*(*-a*)*-ni* (*An-na-ge*) = *Pît pî-šu ša* ^{d}*Anu*. Notice here that later on ^{d}*NIN-IB*, as ^{d}*SUḪ-eriu*, is the god *ša qu-ul-ti*, "of the voice," *C. T.*, XXIV, 41 : 65 = XXV, 12 : 19, and that the [^{d}*Ri*]-*ḫa-nuu* (= "thunderstorm") is the *KA*^{ku}*-lu* ^{d}*Utu*-[*ge*], *i.e.*, "the voice of Shamash," *C. T.*, XXV, 26*a* : 31.

[2] Cf. Br. 1247 and Cyl. B, 3 : 16, *mu*(*š*)-*gibil-An-na* = "new-year."

[3] The *summer* began with the month *Tašrîtu* or *March*, while the *winter* commenced with the month *Nisan* or *September*. For this "assertion" which, as I am very well aware, is in direct opposition to all Assyriologists and modern Astronomers, see my forthcoming "*Sumerian Calendar*."

parts in the heavens. Their heavenly counterparts are the *twelve signs of the zodiac.* Year, seasons, months and signs of the zodiac have each and all their beginning and end, their boundaries or outlines, their pictures or drawings (*giš-mur*)[1]: *Enlil* indicates and proclaims them. There is a meaning and significance to each and all of them: *Enlil* interprets them. This he does by the "fullness of his manifestations" which are the 5 + 2 or "seven" *planets* (*LU-BAT* = *bibbu*).[2] *Enlil* as the ^{d}*Pap-sukal* (= ^{d}*Nin-šubur*) of *An* becomes in this wise the ἑρμηνεὺς κατ' ἐξοχήν; and his 5 + 2 manifestations, the planets, the ἑρμηνεῖς.[3]

The first and foremost of the planets, "the shining (glorious) hero" is ^{d}*DUN-PA-è-a* or ^{d}*Da-pi-nu*—both names of ^{d}*Enlil;*[4] hence ^{d}*Enlil* was the first of the various gods who in the course of time were identified[5] with *Jupiter.*

According to II. *R.*, 48 : 48–54 (= list *a*) and III. *R.*, 57, no. 6 : 65–67*a* (list *b*)[6] —two texts from the library of Ashshurbânapal—the names of the 5 + 2 or seven planets (7 ^{mul}*LU-BAT*^{mésh}) were the following:[7]

			a	*b*
^{d}*En-zu*	Moon	1 ^{d}*A-gŭ*	= ^{d}*XXX*	^{d}*XXX(u)*
^{d}*Utu*	Sun	2 $^{d\,gash\text{-}she\text{-}bi}$*ALAN*	= ^{d}*Utu*	^{d}*Utu*
^{d}*En-lil*	Jupiter	1 ^{d}*Da-pi-nu*	= ^{d}*DUN-PA-è-a*	^{d}*DUN-PA-è*[8]
^{d}*Nin-mah*[9]	Venus	2 $^{d\ zib}$*Zíb*	= ^{d}*DIL-BAT*	^{mul}*DIL-BAT*

[1] For the reading *mur* (instead of *ḫar*) see *H. A. V.*, p. 419, note 3. For the signification of *giš-mur* see the translations of Thureau-Dangin, Gudea, Cyl. A, 5 : 4; 6 : 5; 7 : 6; 13 : 20; 17 : 17; 19 : 20, and notice that the wife of ^{d}*Áš-šir* (= ^{d}*En-lil* or one of his manifestations, p. 28) is according to *C. T.*, XXIV, 26 : 111, the ^{d}*Giš-mur-an-ki. i.e.*, "the goddess of the outlines or drawings of heaven and earth." The "drawings of heaven" are the *twelve signs of the zodiac*, being as such the reflex of "the drawings of earth," *i.e.*, of the earth or its verdure as it appears during the *twelve months.*

[2] II. *R.*, 6 : 4*c*, *d*, *LU-BAT* = *bi-ib-bu;* V. *R.*, 46, no. 1 : 41, ^{mul}*LU-BAT* = *muš-mit bu-lim.*

[3] Cf. Diodor, II, 30, where we are told that the Chaldæans considered the "five" (with Moon and Sun, "seven") planets to be "interpreters," ἑρμηνεῖς.

[4] See above, p. 21, note 5.

[5] For the various and manifold identifications of the several planets with certain gods see my forthcoming book on the "Sumerian Calendar."

[6] Now published in *C. T.*, XXVI, 45 : 19-21. King gives here ^{d} *XL*(instead of ^{d} *XXX*) for *Sin*, the moon.

[7] Cf. Kugler, *Sternkunde*, I, pp. 9ff.; Hommel, *H. A. V.*, pp. 170ff.

[8] In still later lists we find for ^{d}*DUN-PA-è*(*-a*) also ^{d}*Sag-me-gar* or ^{TE}*ŬG* (= *múl-babbar*, μολοβοβαρ).

[9] Not without some very good and definite reasons have I refrained from giving the missing identifications of nos. 3–5; they will be furnished in connection with my discussion of Kugler's *Sternkunde*, I and II, in my forthcoming "*Sumerian Calendar*," parts 1, 2. To state it here, I shall show that Kugler's assertions in his *Sternkunde* and *Im Bannkreis Babels*, as regards the age of the Babylonian astronomy, are at times absolutely erroneous and unwarranted, that his translations of astronomical texts are in many cases full of mistakes and grammatical impossibilities, that his arrangement of the Sumerian months is absolutely wrong and that, therefore, his calculations and deductions therefrom are decidedly unreliable. Though this may appear to be a rather sweeping statement, yet abundant proof will be forthcoming in justification thereof.

3 ^{d}*Lu-lim*	= ^{d}*LU-BAT-SAG-UŠ*	^{mul}*LU-BAT-mul-SAG-UŠ*[1]
4 ^{d}*Bi-ib-bu*	= ^{d}*LU-BAT-GU(D)-UD*	^{d}*LU-BAT-GU(D)-UD*[2]
5 ^{d}*Si-mu-ŭg*	= ^{d}*NI-be-a-nu*	^{ul}*NI-be-a-nu*[3]

These 5 + 2 planets, by their very nature of being the "*interpreters*" of the "name of *An*" or "year (*mu*(*š*)-*An-na*)," are nothing but the "hands" on the "face" of the great "world clock." As the Sumerian "world" consists of "heaven and earth," so the "world clock" must necessarily be one in a twofold aspect: the "terrestrial" and the "heavenly." The "heavenly" is here, as in every case, merely the reflex of the "terrestrial world clock." The "figures" or "numbers" on the "face" of the "terrestrial world clock" are the "*twelve months*"—the month *Nisan* = *September* being the first and the month *Addar* = *August* being the last or twelfth. To these *twelve months* on the "face" of the "terrestrial world clock" correspond *exactly* the "*twelve signs of the zodiac*" on the "face" of the "heavenly world clock" —the sign *KU-MAL* (probably to be read *ḫug-gà*) or *aries* is the first and belongs to the month *Nisan* = *September*, while the sign *zib* or *pisces* is the twelfth, being assigned, therefore, to the month *Addar* = *August*. And because the "figures" on the "face" of the "terrestrial world clock" correspond exactly to those on the "heavenly," therefore, Diodor, II, 30 : 8,[4] records quite correctly that each *month* with its corresponding *sign of the zodiac* was assigned to a certain god. These "twelve gods" of the twelve months—or what is the same—of the twelve signs of the zodiac were called θεοὶ βουλαῖοι,[5] *i. e.*, *consiliarii*, "counselors (*ad-gí-gí*)." *En-lil* as

[1] In later texts ^{d}*Gi*(*n*) or only ^{mul}*SAG-UŠ*.

[2] Later on only ^{mul}*GU(D)-UD*.

[3] Later on only *An*.

[4] Τῶν δὲ τούτων (*i. e.*, the gods of the stars) κυρίους εἶναί φασι δώδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὧν ἑκάστῳ μῆνα καὶ τῶν δώδεκα λεγομένων ζῳδίων ἓν προσνέμουσι.

[5] All Assyriologists—not even Kugler excepted—have failed to recognize, as far as I can see, that the "list of months and their regents," published in IV. *R.*², 33*a*, contains these twelve θεοὶ βουλαῖοι, who were accepted even by the Egyptians, as we learn from the scholion to Apollonios of Rhodos, 4, 262. True it is that Diodor, *l.c.*, mentions likewise these θεοὶ βουλαῖοι, but according to him they are said to represent the 30 bright stars of the twelve signs of the zodiac. This number "30" is here in all probability a mistake for "36." If so, we may see in these 30 (= 36) bright stars of Diodor the 36 stars (three of which being assigned to each month) mentioned in the so-called "Astrolabe of Pinches" (see Pinches, *Academy*, Nov. 4, 1893; Brown, *Researches*, II, p. 46; Hommel, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, p. 458–466; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, I, p. 229, V) and identify them with the 36 stars which *Marduk* is said to have assigned to the twelve months, cf. Jensen, *K. B.*, VI¹, p. 30 : 4, 5,

12 arḫêmésh kakkabêmésh 3 ta-ám uš-zi-iz	*iš-tu ŭ-mi ša šatti uṣ-ṣ[i-ir] u-ṣu-ra-ti;*
"Of the twelve months the stars—three for each—he set up,	According to the times of the year he drew the(ir) signs."

In corroboration of this I may mention here only one example (the others will be discussed fully in my *Sumerian Calendar*, part 2). According to the "Astrolabe of Pinches," the first of the three stars for the month *Šabâṭu* is the ^{mul}*ṇu-muš-da*, which is identified in V. *R.*, 46, no, 1 : 44, with the ^{d}*Ša-gi-mu*, "the thunderer," and in II, *R.*, 49, no. 3,

"God and Lord" (*ᵈA-nim u ᵈEn-lil*) was the first of these twelve "counselors,"[1]—he giving his "counsel" and taking up his "abode (*gǎl = manzazu*)" in the first month and sign: *Nisan-aries* (cf. *ᵈDara-gal = ᵈEnlil, C. T.*, XXIV, 22 : 10).

Astronomically and astrologically considered, *Enlil*[2] is not only a "figure (*giš-mur*)" or "sign" of the zodiac, but also the god who reveals himself in that "sign," the "counselor," θεὸς βουλαῖος, and the "interpreter" of his counsel, the ἑρμηνεύς or the god of the planet *Jupiter*, continually ushering in, proclaiming and interpreting unto man the meaning and significance of the "name of *An*" or "year." *The Sumerian year*, then, as revealed by the twelve signs of the zodiac or the twelve months and interpreted by the 5 + 2 planets or the "fullness" of *Enlil, constitutes the essence of An.* Therefore is *mu*(*š*) or "year" in Sumerian also = *mu*(*š*), *giš, šamû,*[3] "the world" or "heaven and earth": *An;* and therefore is Enlil quite rightly and deservedly termed *ᵈNam-zu*[4] or "*wisdom,*" חכמה. The closer man gets to nature, the wiser he will grow in all things pertaining to God.

As a clock, though it may "go" and have the twelve figures on its face, becomes intelligible to man by means of its "hands" only which "interpret" the significance of the twelve figures by soon pointing to this or that one, thus informing man "what time it is," so the great "world clock" with its twelve signs can dispense its counsel only by means of *its* planets or "interpreters." The planets by standing in, or pointing to, this or that sign of the zodiac *indicate* the "time (*ŭg = ûmu*)" which may be propitious (*du*(*g*)), or not propitious (*nu-du*(*g*), *bar*) for this or that undertaking, they interpret to man the designs or counsels of the gods of the signs of the zodiac, informing him whether good or bad things will happen to him and his country or to his enemies.

The *conditio sine qua non*, then, for a correct understanding of the "will of god"

add.(= Br. 2008), with *ᵈIM*. But according to the list of the θεοὶ βουλαῖοι (IV. *R.*², 33*a* : 10) it is *ᵈIM* the *gú-gal AN-e u KI-tim* who is assigned to the month *AŠ* or *Šabâṭu*. Lastly, the month *Šabâṭu* belongs to the *aquarius*, hence *ᵈIM* or *ᵈRammân* is the *aquarius* who pours down his rain and thunders during the "month of thunder and lightning": the month of July–August (!). From this it follows that the writings *ᵐᵘˡgu* or *ᵐᵘˡgu-la* or *ᵐᵘˡgu-an-na* for *aquarius* are nothing but variants of *gú-gal*. Cf. here the *ᵐᵘˡgu(d)-An-na*, "steer of heaven," the "bright fix-star" for the month *A-a-ru* = *ⁱᵗᵘGu(d)*—to which god *Ea* is assigned—but one of the most common names of *ᵈEa* is *ᵈAm-an-ki*, "steer (= *taurus*, sign for the month *A-a-ru*) of heaven and earth," hence *ᵐᵘˡgu(d)-an-na* = *ᵈAm-an-ki*!

[1] Cf. also above, p. 31, note 7. The god *NIN-IB* is the "counselor" for the "month of sowing," *Du-'-u-zu, i.e.*, December–January, with the sign *cancer*, the time of the winter solstice.

[2] This holds good, of course, of all the other planetary gods.

[3] II. *R.*, 59, rev. 47, *mu*(*š*) | *giš* | *šā-mu-u*.

[4] *C. T.*, XXIV, 22 : 103. In *C. T.*, XV, 10 : 1, 2, this attribute is mentioned even as the first of the "seven great names" of Enlil:

ù-mu-un na-àm-zu ka-nag-[*gù*] — "Lord, wisdom of the 'country,'"
šc-ir-ma-al ní-te-na, — powerful one by himself."

or for the reading of the "heavenly writing (*šiṭir šamê*)" is the "*combination*"[1] of the "hands" or planets with those of the "figures" or signs of the zodiac. Man, by looking towards heaven and by observing these "*combinations*," will soon learn to discern the counsel, will and writing of god (astronomy) and by comparing this heavenly writing with that upon earth, he will be able to interpret it (astrology). The application of the knowledge derived from the heavenly writing to earthly or human conditions constitutes the Sumerian *astronomy* and *astrology*. Both had their roots in prehistoric times, but attained their final development during the time of the II. dynasty of Ur, about 2500 B. C.

But, as is often the case, man, though gazing at the starry heavens, may not be able to discern the handwriting of God, though beholding the glory of nature, may yet be ignorant of the name of his Lord. Unto those who have eyes but do not see, who have ears but do not hear, who have minds but do not perceive, *Enlil* may yet reveal the will and glory and name of God (*An*) by vouchsafing unto them "visions (*máš*)" or "dreams (*máš-gi(g)*, *ma-mú(mu)*, *ma-mú(mu)-da*)," hence his name *ᵈZag-gar-ra* | *ᵈEn-lil ša máš-gi(g)*,[2] *i.e.*, *ᵈZaggar is Enlil* the god of the night visions."

[1] A failure to recognize this all-important requisite has led Kugler and those who follow him to the most extraordinary assertions and bewildering identifications of fixed stars and planets. To mention only one example here, I may be permitted to draw the attention of the reader to Kugler's translation of the first three lines of K. 759 = Th. no. 184. Kugler, *Sternkunde*, II¹, p. 80, reads .

mul ilu Marduk ina rēš šatti innamir(ir)
šattu ša'ātu abšēnu iššir
mul LU-BAT-GUD-UD ina arah Nisanni innamar-ma

and translates:

"—*Der „Stern des ᴳMarduk" ging zu Anfang des Jahres auf: in diesem Jahr wird der Pflanzenwuchs gedeihen. Der Stern Planet GUD.UD erscheint in Monat Nisan wirklich.*"

On the basis of this translation Kugler thinks he has reason to maintain that the "star of god Marduk" is the same as the planet Mercury (*GUD.UD*). This translation, together with the deduction therefrom, is due to the fact that Kugler did not understand the grammatical force of the present tense + *ma* in l. 3. Translate:

Ging (Geht) der „Stern des Gottes Marduk" zu Anfang des Jahres auf, dann wird eben dieses Jahr der Pflanzenwuchs gedeihen, falls der „Planet GUD.UD" im Monat Nisan erscheint.

The "*combination*" is here "*star of Marduk*" + planet *GUD.UD*. According to the "Astrolabe of Pinches" (see above, p. 34, note 5) the "star of Marduk" belongs (as third) to the month *Addar*. Hence, if the "star of Marduk" is late in its appearance, *i.e.*, if it becomes visible in the first month (instead of the twelfth of the preceding year) and at the same time forms a "combination" with the planet *GUD.UD*, then and then only—so the explanation says—it is a propitious New-Year's star. More about this in my *Sumerian Calendar*, part 2.

[2] *B. A.*, V, 655 : 7.—*C. T.*, XXIV, 39 : 11, *An-ᵈZa-qar* | ditto (= *ᵈBE*, *i.e.*, *Enlil*, l. 3) | *ša AN-na-ti* (possibly to be read *sa-na-ti*, a by-form of *šunâti*); *C. T.*, XVIII, 48 : 30*b*, *ᵈZag-gar-ra* | *ilu ša šu-ut-ti*.

At the time of Gudea, the "Son" of the *Girsu* trinity, *ᵈNin-Girsu*, vouchsafed dreams (*ma-mú*, etc.), Cyl. A, 4 : 14f., while *ᵈNinâ* interpreted them, Cyl. A, 2 : 2; 5 : 11, cf. *Creation-Story*, pp. 40ff.

In the *Ur* trinity the *ᵈZa-qar* appears as *messenger* of Sin, King, *Magic*, no. 1 : 25; Perry, *Sin*, p. 15 : 25.

Surely a true, faithful, circumspect "herold," "counselor" and "interpreter" was *Enlil* the "Son" of *An!*

It was my intention to add here under section *d* a short investigation on ^{d}*Enlil* in the rôle of the "true 'Son,'" *i.e.*, ^{d}*Dumu-zi*, *Tammûz*, תמוז, in prehistoric times. In view of the fact, however, that I have in preparation a volume on "Hymns and Prayers to ^{d}*Dumu-zi* from the Temple Library of Nippur," and that for a correct understanding of the Sumerian ^{d}*Dumu-zi-*^{d}*Innanna* (*Tammûz-Ištar*) myth, it is absolutely necessary to have a clear conception of the Sumerian Calendar and Astronomy which contains much material of importance for this question, I decided, upon the advice of the Editor, to omit this chapter here, reserving it for the introduction of my forthcoming volume referred to and another on "The Sumerian Calendar."

To sum up, briefly, the religious conceptions of the Sumerians during the prehistoric period, we may state the following:

The religion of the Sumerians during the prehistoric period was a *pantheism* resting upon a belief in a *triad*. The persons of this triad were: the "Father" *An*, the "Son" ^{d}*Enlil*, the "Mother (and Bride)" *An* (or *Ki*).

Cosmologically considered, these persons represent: the "heaven" (Father), "the powers of nature" (Son), the "earth" (Mother).

Heaven and earth are the first "father-mother" or "parent" from whom everything took its origin, by whom all creatures—gods included—were created, generated, begotten. This "heaven and earth" or "world" acts, speaks and reveals itself by the "Son," the god of "thunder, lightning, rain storm, clouds"; of "verdure" as it appears during the course of the year; of the planets and signs of the zodiac of which he is the first and foremost, the "leader." The "Son" exercises his offices by the "fullness" of his nature: his "seven" sons, powers or manifestations.

As every "function" or "office" exercised by the several members of this triad implies, yea, demands a *special* name, each one of the three persons came to be known by, and was worshiped under, different *names*, *attributes*, etc. Also the

In that of *Sippar* or *Larsa* the "god of dreams" was, of course, the "son" of ^{d}*Utu;* cf. *C. T.*, XXIV, 32 : 110, 111,

^{d}*Za-qar*	|	^{d}*Ma-mú-da-ge*
^{d}ditto *máš-gi(g)*	|	*šu.*

Cf. also King, *Magic*, 1 : 25, and IV. *R.*², 59, no. 2, rev. 24, ^{d}*Ma-mú ilu šá máš-gi(g)*^{mésh}. While in V. *R.*, 70 : 1, 9, 15, the ^{d}*Ma-mú* is apparently a *male* (cf. *l.c.*, l. 1, *EN-ia*, l. 9, *EN-GAL*^{ú}), he appears also as female: *C. T.*, XXIV, 31 : 84, ^{d}*Ma-mú* | *dumu-sal* (= daughter! of) ^{d}*Utu*. This ^{d}*Ma-mú* has to be differentiated from ^{d}*Me-šar*(*ša-ri*, *ša-rum*). Cf. also K. 7814 (Bezold, *Catal.*, p. 876) where ^{d}*Utu*, ^{d}*Za-qar*, ^{d}*Ma-mú-da*, and Craig, *R. T.*, I, p. 56 : 13, where ^{d}*Utu*, ^{d}*A-a*, ^{d}*Bu-ne-ne ù* ^{d}*Ma-mú-*[*da*] are mentioned together.

In the *Kutha* trinity the "god of dreams" was *Nergal*, *C. T.*, XXV, 35*b* : 4 = 36*b*, l. 10 = 37*a* : 7, ^{d}*Lugal-*^{d}*Za-qar* | ditto (= ^{d}*Lugal-edin-na*, l. 8, = Nergal, *H. A. V.*, p. 430). Notice here the name "king of the gods of the dreams" which shows that the "god of dreams" had "(seven) messengers," of whom he was the "king."

"seven manifestations" of the "Son" appear soon under this and soon under that name, according to their various functions and offices.

As soon as the "Son" *^{d}Enlil* had usurped the functions of his "Father," *i.e.*, had himself become the "highest god," by taking upon himself the name *An*, "god" *par excellence*, the prehistoric *triad* became a *trinity*. Henceforth all *triads* known to us are *trinities*, formed and patterned after that of *Erech:*

An	—	*^{d}Enlil*	—	*An*
Father		Son		Mother
Heaven		Powers of nature		Earth.

II.

NIN-IB, THE "SON" OF THE NIPPUR TRINITY DURING THE ENLIL PERIOD AT THE TIME OF THE II. DYNASTY OF UR.

1. *NIN-IB*, ONE OF THE MOST ANCIENT GODS OF THE SUMERIAN PANTHEON.

In order to understand the exact position of ^{d}*NIN-IB* in the Sumerian pantheon and religion, it would seem necessary to discuss here the possible underlying causes which brought about the change from the *An* to the *Enlil* epoch, to point out the several characteristics of the latter, to show how the religious conceptions of the prehistoric period were modified or expanded till finally they came to be systematized, what this system was, how it was transferred to, and may be gathered from, the Sumerian astrology and calendar, how it made itself felt, to what extent it influenced the religious ideas of the Babylonians during the *Marduk* and *Aššur* period and, lastly, whether or not the Sumerian trinity *Enlil, NIN-IB, Ninlil* left any perceptible impress upon the religious conceptions of the later nations, the Hebrews, Christians, etc. Interesting and most important as such a discussion would be, it has to be omitted here on account of lack of space. Reserving a discussion of the *Enlil* epoch for the introduction to *B. E.*, XXVIII, I shall confine myself here to the following:

The religion of the *Enlil* epoch, lasting as it did for more than 2,000 years, underwent, as far as Nippur is concerned, some very marked changes. These changes were, to a great extent at least, the result of the political development of the country. Foreign, non-Babylonian kings invaded the land of Shumer, conquered and subdued its several cities, Nippur among them. Though we know of various invasions of Nippur by hostile hordes, yet, so far at least, there is not a single inscription extant which records that the god *Enlil* ever was "carried away" or "led into captivity" and that, in consequence, Nippur lost its religious supremacy. On the contrary, it seems that the invasion and conquest of Nippur by foreign or domestic enemies consisted solely and exclusively in the invader's and conqueror's submission to the divine rule and supremacy of Nippur's god: inimical and foreign kings gained

supremacy over Nippur by acknowledging *Enlil*'s supremacy as "king of the lands (*lugal kur-kur*)" and "lord of heaven and earth (*lugal an-ki*)" and "king of the gods (*lugal dingir-ri-e-ne*)," by submitting themselves to the gracious scepter of *Enlil* and by asking his permission to grant a resting-place in his temple *É-kur* unto their most favored god. Thus it happened that we find in the Nippur religion all possible Sumerian and foreign gods, who henceforth were considered to be *Enlil*'s sons. The changes in the Nippur religion and trinity, therefore, did not affect *Enlil* and his position, but only and exclusively his "Son." Hence, when tracing the several periods within the so-called *Enlil* period, the names of the several "sons" of *Enlil* have to be our guide. The oldest and most noteworthy "sons" of *Enlil* are *ᵈEn-zu* (*Sin*), the moon, and *ᵈIM* (*Rammân*), the god of thunder, etc. These two sons must have been introduced into, and were absorbed by, the Nippur trinity in *prehistoric times, before the systematization* of the Sumerian religion. Seeing that the trinity of Nippur was patterned after that of Erech, the "Son" of *Enlil* had necessarily to become a god of the powers of nature. *ᵈEn-zu*, therefore, though originally and always the Moon, acquired, as "Son" of *Enlil*, the attributes of the god of the powers of nature, acting and revealing himself through his (4×) *ʔûmu*, "days" and "storms" (see *H. A. V.*, p. 430). After the systematization of the Sumerian religion, every god who was introduced into the temple of Nippur acquired *ipso facto*—no matter what his original nature and significance may have been—the attributes of the "Son" of the prehistoric period, *i.e.*, he became the god of lightning, thunder, storm, rain, clouds, of the vegetation and fertility of the ground, the mouthpiece through whom the "Father" speaks, the defender of the country, the hero, warrior and principal son (*dumu-sag*), etc., of *Enlil*. To these "sons" who were introduced into the Nippur trinity after the systematization of the Sumerian religion, belongs, besides *Nergal*, *Nin-Girsu*, *Nusku*, etc., also *ᵈNIN-IB*.

The name of *ᵈNIN-IB* does not occur, so far, in any of the historical, religious or business documents written before the time of *Dungi*, about 2700 B. C. Up till the time of the kings of the II. dynasty of Ur, *ᵈNIN-IB* is absolutely unknown. On the basis of this fact, I argued in *The Monist*, January, 1907, p. 142, for an Amurritish origin of *ᵈNIN-IB*. Though this *may* be true, yet there are some very strong objections to such a supposition:

1. Seeing that *ᵈNIN-IB* makes his first appearance under the kings of the II. dynasty of Ur, by whom he, in all probability, was introduced into the Nippur religion, we would have to show that these kings were Amurrites. But this is, with the material at hand, absolutely impossible of demonstration.

2. We would have to bring in some *Amurritish* inscriptions to show that

dNIN-IB was known in *Amurru* not only during, but *before* the time of the II. dynasty of Ur. This again is impossible.

3. Surely the fact that *dNIN-IB* is mentioned in the Amarna letters which confessedly were written 1000 years after the time of Dungi, does not *a priori* speak for an Amurritish origin. On the contrary, *dNIN-IB* may have been introduced into *Amurru* by the kings of Ur during their several campaigns against the "Westland"—a view which seems to me much more probable.

These and other reasons lead me to suppose that *dNIN-IB* was *not* of Amurritish origin.

But how did it happen that *dNIN-IB* could play, from the very time of his appearance in the Nippur religion, such an important rôle as to become henceforth *Enlil's* "Son" *par excellence?* In the inscriptions here published the *dNIN-IB* cult is as developed as it ever was. If he were unknown in Nippur before the time of Dungi, *dNIN-IB* would be the veriest *deus ex machina.* This difficulty it is which convinces me that the appearance of *dNIN-IB* in the Nippur religion is due to a "revival" rather than to an "importation." In other words, though he makes, apparently, his first appearance in the Sumerian religion at the time of the kings of Ur, *dNIN-IB* was yet one of the most ancient gods of the Sumerian pantheon. So ancient indeed was he, that his existence and cult, in the course of time, had been neglected and forgotten till it was revived by Dungi and his successors. In corroboration of this supposition I beg to submit the following:

The very first occurrence of *dNIN-IB* in the history of the Sumerian religion is to be found in the date formula for the 13th year of Dungi, *R. T. C.*, 274, rev. 5, which reads: *mu uš É-dNIN-IB ki-ba a-gar.* Thureau-Dangin, *S. A. K. I.*, p. 229 : 2, renders it by: "*Jahr, wo das Fundament des Tempels NIN-IB's gelegt wurde.*"

But "to lay a foundation" is in Sumerian *uš-gar*, Cyl. A, 20 : 26, while *ki-gar* has the meaning of "to make, to build, to erect," see Cyl. A, 3 : 3; 9 : 11; 10 : 16; 27 : 8, etc. This shows us that *uš ki-ba gar* can mean only "to restore the foundation to (!) its place," *i.e.*, *ki-ba gar* = *ana ašri-šu šakânu* is here a variant and synonym of *ki-ba gí* = *ana ašri-šu târu;* cf. also *C. T.*, XV, 13 : 22 = IV. *R.*², 28*, no. 4, rev. 35, 36, where *gar(mar)* = *târu* (Br. 11984; 5822) is parallel with *gí* = *târu* (Br. 6391). Hence, Cyl. A, 11 : 10, *é-mà uš ki-gar-ra-bi-da* is "when the foundations of (for) my temple have been restored" rather than "*wenn die Grundlagen meines Tempels gelegt werden.*" Gudea was a builder at, a restorer of, *É-ninnû.*[1] In view of these difficulties I would prefer to translate the above-given date by "the year,

[1] Cf. also *B. E.*, Series D, V, fasc. 2, p. 16, note 3.

when the foundation of the temple of *ᵈNIN-IB* was (again) restored."[1] But if this translation be correct, then the cult and worship of *NIN-IB* was revived with the restoration of his temple by Dungi! With this view agree admirably also the following considerations:

1. In the prayer for king Gimil-Sin, *ᵈNIN-IB* is asked to decree unto this king a life of long days in order "that the *É-šu-me-du*, (thy) holy dwelling, as of old (*IGI* + *ŠÚ*, not *IGI* + *LU* = *ù*, *šà*!) he beautify," no. 1, col. I : 9 (cf. III : 13). From the restoration of the temple of *ᵈNIN-IB* during the 13th year of Dungi till the time of Gimil-Sin there elapsed a space of 47–54 years, hence the "as of old" can hardly be referred to the time of Dungi, but must signify here as much as "ancient times" "distant past."[2]

2. A comparison of no. 2 with no. 3 will show that these texts, on account of their *several variants*, must go back to much older and common source from which they flowed. The same observation holds true of nos. 7 and 8. But if this be granted, then these texts—and hence also *ᵈNIN-IB*—must have been known long before the time of the kings of the II. dynasty of Ur, see *B. E.*, Series D, V, fasc. 2, p. 9, *β*.

3. *L. c.*, p. 10, *δ*, I have shown that the contents of the epic *lugal-e ŭg me-lám-bi ner-gál* (nos. 6–8) must have been known to Gudea, who confessedly lived *before* Dungi. But if so, *ᵈNIN-IB* must have been known likewise, though, perhaps, he may not have been worshiped with the same fervor as at the time of the kings of Ur, or may have lived only "in remembrance" or "reminiscence."

As soon as his worship had been revived, *ᵈNIN-IB* became instantly one of the most favored and important gods. Henceforth even proper names were formed with *ᵈNIN-IB*, as, *e.g.*, "Servant of *NIN-IB*," *Ur-ᵈNIN-IB*, see *B. E.*, III[1], 145 : 4 (time of Gimil-Sin); *l.c.*, 82 : 5 (time of I-bí-Sin). His worship spread quickly beyond the confines of Nippur and Ur (cf. no. 5, rev. 14), even a king of Isin, *Ur-ᵈNIN-IB*, was named after him.

Seeing that the attributes and functions of *ᵈNIN-IB* are the same as those of *ᵈEnlil* during the prehistoric period, I can dispense with an enumeration of the same

[1] This date, by the way, is identical with that of *R. T. C.*, 271, rev. 3, *mu uš É-ᵈNIN- R. E. C. 366 ki-ba a-gar* (see also *S. A. K. I.*, p. 235, *c*), thus showing that *ᵈNIN-IB* is = *ᵈNIN-R. E. C. 366*. If we knew the pronunciation of *R. E. C. 366*, we might possibly receive a most welcome clue to that of *ᵈNIN-IB*. Cf. also the date formula for the 14th year of Dungi, *R. T. C.*, no. 275, rev. 2, *mu uš É-ᵈNIN-IB uš-sa*, "the year after" (the restoration of) "the foundation of the temple of *NIN-IB*." Besides these two, the name of *NIN-IB* occurs also in the date formula for the 29th year of Dungi, *mu ᵈNIN-IB pa-te-si-gal ᵈEn-lil-lá-ge*, *E. B. II.*, p. 258 : 22.

[2] Here it ought to be noticed that among the various date formulas covering the seven (not nine!) years of Gimil-Sin's reign, there is not to be found a single one which records the beautification or restoration of *NIN-IB's* temple by *Gimil-Sin*. The only temple which Gimil-Sin built was that of *ᵈNIGIN* + *sig* of *Giš-ḪÚ*[ki], see *E. B. II.*, p. 277 : 9. It seems, therefore, that this prayer was not fulfilled.

here. Suffice it to say that *dNIN-IB*, the "Son" and god of the powers of nature, formed henceforth with *dEnlil*, the "Father," and *dNinlil*, the "Mother and Bride," the Nippurian trinity—a trinity which was formed after that of *An-Enlil-An(ki)* and which in turn served as pattern for that of Babylon: *Marduk-Nabû-Ṣarpanitum.*

2. *dNIN-IB*, THE LIFE-GIVER AND PHYSICIAN.

It is well known that *dNIN-IB* and his wife were the special "patron saints" of the Babylonian and Assyrian physicians.[1] Thanks to the rich treasures of the Temple Library of Nippur, I am in the fortunate position to publish under no. 1 an "official prayer for the protection and well-being of Gimil-Sin and Bur-Sin, kings of Ur." "*Official*" is the prayer because (1) it was recited for *kings;* (2) because it must have been used in the Nippurian temple ritual, as is evident from the following liturgical notes:

bar-su(d)-da-ám, col. I : 5.
[ ]-*ba*-[ ], col. I : 15.
[ ]-*ki-gál-bi-im*, cols. I : 29; III : 35; IV : 12, 25, 34.
sa-gi(d)-da-ám, cols. II : 31; III : 22; IV : 10, [32]; cf. no. 5, obv. 4.
[*sa-gar*]-*ra-ám*, col. III : 33.

Unfortunately the meaning of each and all of these notes escapes me. Though I might propose certain "guesses," but seeing that one guess is as good as the other, I prefer to withhold them. The lines, col. III : 34, "my king, who unto Dungi a life of long days, years of plenty as a present has given" and IV : 11, "NIN-IB, Bur-Sin's object of fear and guardian mayest thou be," are to be found between two liturgical notes. They represent in all probability the "opening lines" of prayers which were to be inserted (and recited) at the places indicated. The accompanying liturgical notes may either refer to this or they may contain instructions with regard to prostrations, etc.

It is not yet evident why the prayer for Gimil-Sin should precede that for his father Bur-Sin.

In all the inscriptions of Bur-Sin, so far published, this king's name occurs under the form of *dAMAR-dEn-zu*, while in our prayer it is exclusively written *dBur-dEn-zu* (col. IV : 11, 37), thus showing that *AMAR* has indeed to be read "*bur.*" This writing led me to suppose—see *H. A. V.*, p. 390, note 2—that the Bur-Sin here was the king of Isin, but this view has now, after the joining of the

[1] See *B. E.*, XVII[1], p. IX; *H. A. V.*, p. 423.

several fragments, to be given up. In the future, therefore, it will be very hard, if not impossible, to distinguish between the Bur-Sin of Ur and that of Isin, if these kings occur without any titles.

From Hilprecht, *B. E.*, XX[1], p. 46, 2, we know that king Dungi reigned 58 years. Supposing him to have ascended the throne of Ur when he was 20 years old, he must have reached an age of 78 years. Such an age must have been considered to be extraordinary even at the time of the kings of Ur (about 2500 B. C.), for it is especially remarked that *[d]NIN-IB* has made the life of Dungi to be "a life of long days," col. III : 29, 34.

The tablet recording this prayer is unfortunately greatly mutilated. What has been preserved may be read and translated as follows:

No. 1, Obverse.

C. B. M. 11325 + 11348 + 11362 + 11367.

For photographic reproductions see pls. I, II, nos. 1, 2.

Col. I.

U. E. [*enim-t*]*a* *[d]ELTEG*[1]
By the word of Nidaba (may it prosper.)

1 *ur-sag šù(g)*[2]*-ga gal-li-eš ner-gál* [*nun me*]*-lám*[3]*-ḫuš d*[*ú-dú-a*]
"Hero, weighty one, greatly powerful, prince, endowed with terrible fearfulness,

2 *[d]NIN-IB šù(g)*[2]*-ga mar-(u)rú úg-gal*[4] *sùn-sùn-na* [*kír-ḫur-AG*[5]]
"*NIN-IB*, weighty one, stormflood, great storm, in battles valiant one,

3 *á-gál*[6] *ùg erim ŭr-ra-zu* *úru gul-lu á-da*[*m*[7]*-bi ḫúl-ḫúl*]
"Strong one, who subduest the enemies, destroyest their cities (and) annihilatest their multitudes (inhabitants),

4 *[d]NIN-IB am*[8]*-gal gu(d) si-rum*[9] *bád*[10]*-gal šu-g*[*i*[11]*-gi-a*]
"*NIN-IB*, great mountain-ox, steer of extraordinary strength, 'great wall,' that giveth protection."

5 *bar*[12]*-* *su(d)-* [*da-* *ám*]

6 *a-ma-ru ki-bal-šú ḫu-luḫ-ḫa*[79] *gab-šu-*[*gar nu-tug-a*]
"Stormflood, that causeth trembling in the hostile land, (thou) without equal,

7 *ᵈNIN-IB i*[13]*-igi-šà zu*[14]*-gar gír ūg-gar*	*a-š[é*[15]*-d(i)-da*]
"*NIN-IB*, that he offer *rite* the presents, purify the way,	pour out fresh (?) water,
8 *lugal ᵈGimil-ᵈSin*	*kalam-ma la-[ba-bar-ra-da]*
"That king *Gimil-Sin*	the 'country' do not neglect,
9 *É-šu-me-du*[16] *ki-dúr-azag*	*IGI +ŠÚ galam-[ma-da*]
"That the *Eshumedu*, (thy) holy dwelling,	as of old he beautify,
10 *kisal-maḫ-zu gu(d)-gal udu-gal-e*	*si- [si- da*]
"That thy great court-yards with fat oxen and fat sheep	he make to abound:—
11 *ki lugal-gub-azag-zu*[17]	*šu-ḫa-ra-ni-in-SAR-[SAR]*
"'Thy holy royal throne,	oh, mayest thou bless it,
12 [ᵈ] *Gimil-ᵈSin-na*[17]	*šu-ḫa-ra-ni-in-SAR-[SAR]*
"'*Gimil-Sin*,	oh, mayest thou bless him;
13 [*ᵈNIN-I*]*B ti(l) ŭg-su(d)-du*	*gù-na-[an-de]*
"'*NIN-IB*, a life of long days	decree unto him,
14 [*lugal ᵈGimil*]-*ᵈSin-na ti(l) ŭg-su(d)-d*[*u*]	[*gù-na-an-de*]
"'Unto king *Gimil-Sin*, a life of long days	decree unto him!'"
15 [ ]-	*ba-* [ ]
16 [ ] *á-ni su(d)-su(d)-d*[*u*]	[ ]
["'] his strength to prolong [(or whose might is extended)]	[ ]
17 [*lugal ᵈGimil-ᵈSi*]*n* [ ]	[ ]
"Of king *Gimil-Sin*, [his strength to prolong]	[ ]
18 [ ]	[ ]
19 [ ]	[ ]-*ám*
20 [ ]	[ ]
21 [ ]	[ ]-*ra*
22 [ ]	[ ]-*i*
23 [*lugal*]	[ᵈ]*En-lil-li tu(d)-da*
"[Of the king,]	[ ]born by *Enlil*,
24 [*lugal*]*ᵈGimil-ᵈSin*	*ᵈEn-lil ḫug(?)-gál-la*
"Of king *Gimil-Sin*,	the beloved of *Enlil:*

25 [*bád*[10]*-ga*]*l-a-ni ḫe-me-en* *igi-du(g) ḫu-mu-ni-dŭ*

"'His "great wall" mayest thou be, with gracious eyes mayest thou look upon him;

26 [*lugal* [d]*Gimil-*[d]*Si*]*n bád*[10]*-gal-ni ḫe-me-en.* *igi-du(g) ḫu-mu-ni-dŭ*

"'Of king *Gimil-Sin*, his "great wall" mayest thou be, with gracious eyes mayest thou look upon him!'"

27 [*sa*[18]]- *gi(d)-* *da-* *ám*

28 [*lugal*][d]*Gimil-*[d]*Sin-mu-ùr*[19] *á-zi(d)* [gish]*ḫug*[20]*-a-ni ḫe-me-en*[21]

"Unto my king *Gimil-Sin* the 'right arm' and his 'weapon' mayest thou be!"

29 [ ]*-ki*[22] *gál-* *bi-* *im*

30 [*en*]*LU*[23](?)*TER*[24]*TI(L)-ka galam-ma* *kur-ša(g)-šú du(g)-bar-ri*

"Lord, (thou) who the .... of life beautifiest, in the midst of the 'mountain' greatly makest to shine (glorious),

31 [[d]*NIN*]*-IB gàl*[25]*-maḫ ki-bal-a* *iš galu ra-su-su*[26]

"*NIN-IB*, sublime storm (?warrior?) for the hostile land, of the 'mountain' the overpowerer,

32 [[d]*Lugal-kur-ku*]*r-ra šu-dú* *IGI +DUB-ti(l)*[27] *a-a-na*[28]

"Of the 'king of the lands' the perfect one, support unto his father;

33 [*en LU*[23](?)*TE*]*R*[24]*TI(L)-ka galam-ma* *kur-ša(g)-šú du(g)-bar-ri*

"Lord, (thou) who the ... of life beautifiest, in the midst of the 'mountain' greatly makest to shine (glorious),

34 [[d]*NIN-IB gà*]*l*[25]*-maḫ ki-bal-a* *iš galu ra-su-su*[26]

"*NIN-IB*, sublime storm (?warrior?) for the hostile land, of the 'mountain' the overpowerer,

35 [[d]*Lugal-kur*]*-kur-ra šu-dú* *IGI +*[*DUB-ti(l)*[27] *a*]*-a-na*[28]

"Of the 'king of the lands' the perfect one, support unto his father,

36 [[d]*NIN-IB*] *á-maḫ*[29] [d]*En-lil-lá* *kur* [*ki-bal-a sí(g)-sí(g)-ki*[30]]

"*NIN-IB*, sublime strength of *Enlil*, who layest low the hostile land,

37 [ ]*-zu*[31] *á-sum-ma* [[d]*Nu-nam-ner-ra*[32]]

[ ] endowed with strength by *Nunam-nerra* (= prince of might),

(Rest broken away.)

Col. II.

1 *^{d}Uraš^{33}-azag-dím ušu^{34} su-lim-ma^{35}*	*melam^{36} ni(g)-ḫuš gùr^{37}-[gùr-ra]*
"Like holy *Urash, ushu* of splendor,	full of fearfulness and (of) terribleness,
2 *^{d}NIN-IB me-dú^{38} áš-ša^{39} ba-AG*	*ūr gal-li-eš ner-[gál]*
"*NIN-IB*, who alone executest the ordinances,	governor, greatly powerful;
3 *^{d}NIN-IB ú-si^{40} dingir sĭg-ga*	*kalam-ma ní-šub-šub^{41}-[ba]*
"*NIN-IB*, full of strength, gracious god,	reverenced in fear by Babylonia's people;
4 *^{d}Uraš^{33}-azag-dím ušu^{34} su-lim-ma^{35}*	*melam^{36} ni(g)-ḫuš gùr^{37}-gùr-r[a]*
"Like holy *Urash, ushu* of splendor,	full of fearfulness and (of) terribleness,
5 *lugal-mu maḫ-DI ur-sag-gal*	*gì^{42}-ni-da ner-gál*
"My king, valiant one, great hero,	among heroes (most) powerful one:
6 *^{d}Gimil-^{d}Sin IGI + DUB^{43}-ḫu-mu-un-ti(l)*	*en-en^{44} ^{d}NIN-IB-ra*
"'May *Gimil-Sin* put his trust in (thee),	the lord of lords, in *NIN-IB;*
7 *lugal ^{d}En-lil-li ma-ra^{46}-an-sum-ma*	*a^{45} maškim^{47}-zu ḫe-a*
"'May the king, whom *Enlil* has entrusted unto thee,	oh, may he be thy servant!'
8 *^{d}NIN-IB maḫ-DI ur-sag-gal*	*gì^{42}-ni-da ner-gál*
"*NIN-IB*, valiant one, great hero,	among heroes (most) powerful one:
9 *^{d}Gimil-^{d}Sin IGI + DUB^{43}-ḫu-mu-un-ti(l)*	*en-en^{44} ^{d}NIN-IB-ra*
"'May *Gimil-Sin* put his trust in (thee),	the lord of lords, in *NIN-IB;*
10 [*lugal*]*^{d}En-lil-li ma-ra^{46}-an-sum-ma*	*a^{45}maškim^{47}-zu ḫ[e-a]*
"'May the king, whom *Enlil* has entrusted unto thee,	oh, may be he thy servant!'
11 [*en*] *^{nâ}nini^{48}-a azag su-lim-ma^{35}*	*ūr gal-li-eš [ner-gál]*
"Lord of the *ḫulâlu* stone, holy one, (full) of splendor,	governor, greatly powerful one:
12 [.-.]*-dím á-maḫ-za im-mi-in-túm^{49}-mu-zu*	[*a^{45} maškim^{47}-zu ḫe-a*]
"'Him, whom like a . . . in thy sublime power, lo, thou hast prepared,	oh, let him be thy servant!'

13 [*ŭg-ul*]-*ul*[50]-*šú nam-ti(l)-la-ni* — *en-nu-un igi-im*-[*mi-in-dŭ-a-zu*]

"Him, over whose life in the past — as guard, lo, thou hast watched,

14 [*dingir*[51] *d*Gimil-*d*]*Sin-na azag su-lim-ma*[35] — *ūr gal-li-eš n*[*er-gál*]

"God of *Gimil-Sin*, holy one, (full) of splendor, — governor, greatly powerful one:

15 [.-.-*dí*]*m á-m*[*aḫ-z*]*a i*[*m-mi-in*]-*túm*[49]-*mu-zu* — [*a*[45] *maškim*[47]-*zu ḫe-a*]

"'Him, whom like a . . . in thy sublime power, lo, thou hast prepared, — oh, let him be thy servant!'

16 [*ŭg-ul-ul*[50]-*šú nam-ti(l)-la-ni*] — [*en-nu-u*]*n igi*-[*im-mi-in-dŭ-a-zu*]

"Him, over whose life in the past — as guard, lo, thou hast watched:

17 [*sa*[52]]-*gar-ra-á*[*m šu-ta e gì-silim*] — [ ]

"'Like a faithful one by thy hand, oh, let him prosper!' — [ ]

18 [gish]*epir*[53] *šub-šub*-[*dé*]

To set up jars with drink. . .

19 *d*NIN-I]B

NIN-IB. . .

20 *ṬU*[

21 *u*[*r-sag*

Hero. . .

22 *úg*[4]-[*gal*

Great storm. . .

23 *ŭg*[54]-*gì*-[*ra-ra*

Storm[flood. . .

24 *ur-sag-e*[

Hero. . .

25 *en-e* [*d*N]*IN-IB* [

Lord *NIN-IB* . . .

26 *e ŠUB*[

O, . . .

27 *ká-gal-z*[*u*

thy gate. . .

28 *d*Za-*qar*[55] [

Zaqar. . .

29 *d*Gimil-*d*S[*in*

Gimil-Sin. . .

30 [*en*]*d*NIN-IB [

Lord *NIN-IB*. . .:

31 *sa*[18]- *gi(d)*- — [*da* - *ám*]

32 *e lugal á-sum-ma* [*d*Nu-nam-ner-*ra*[32]] — [*ša(g) a-a-na du(g)-du(g)*]

"O king, endowed with power by *Nunamnerra*, — unto the heart of his father most acceptable one,

33 *en d*NIN-IB *á-g*[*ál*[6] *ùg erim ŭr-ra*] — [*úru gul-gul á-dam*[7]-*bi ḫul-ḫul*]

"Lord *NIN-IB*, strong one, who subduest the enemies, — destroyest their cities (and) annihilatest their multitudes (inhabitants),

34 *en PAP-ŠEŠ An-na* — *á*-[*zi(d)-da d*En-lil-*lá*]

"Lord, foremost of *An*. — right hand of *Enlil*,

35 *en* ^{d}*NIN-IB ma*[*h*-*D*]*I* [*ur-sag-gal*] [*gì*[42]*-ni-da ner-gál*]
"Lord *NIN IB*, valiant one, great hero, among heroes (most) powerful one,

(Rest broken away.)

Reverse.

Col. III.

(Beginning broken away.)

1 *ki-el* ^{d}*Mu*(*š*)[56]*-t*[*in-An-na*] [*dub-zi-šú e gì-in-sar*]
"'Maiden, *Mu*(*š*)*tin-Anna*, into the book of life, oh, inscribe him!

2 *en* ^{d}*NIN-IB lugal-mu* [*á-zi*(*d*)*-da-a-ni-šú e gì-gin*]
"'Lord *NIN-IB*, my king, at his right side, oh, go!

3 ^{d}*Gál*[57]*-alim-ma lugal-mu* [*nam*[58]*-ner-gál gišdar-mah e gì-in-na-sum*]
"'*Gal-alim*, my king, dominion and a sublime scepter, oh, give him!

4 ^{d}*DUN*[59]*-ša*(*g*)*-ga-na lugal-mu* [*zi*[60]*-ša*(*g*)*-gál-la šu-dagal e gì-in-na-dú*(*g*)]
"'*DUN-šagga-na*, my king, with the spirit of life plentifully, oh, fill him!

5 *sa*[52]*-gar-ra-ám šu-ta e gì-silim* [ ]
"'Like a faithful one by thy hand, oh, let him prosper!' [ ]

6 *en nam-ur-sag-gà šu-dú-a* *ki*-[*ág a-a muh- na*]
"Lord, perfect one in heroship, beloved of the father, his begetter,

7 ^{d}*NIN-IB* ^{gish}*kišib*[61] *gišdar-mul dagal-la* [*šu-dŭ*[62]*- a*]
"*NIN-IB*, who the seal (tablet) and the great bright stylus holdest in thy hand,

8 *giš*[63] *mé-AG KU*[64]*-ú-tag-ga* *kur* [*nu*[65]*-še-ga su*(*d*)*-su*(*d*)*-a*]
"Courageous one, warrior, overpowerer, who layest low the not subservient land,

9 *ušu igi*-[*hu*]*š* [*saha*]*n*[34]*-ša*(*g*)*-tur* *ki-bal-a ùh*[66]*-*[*bi dub-dub-ba*]
"*Ushu* of terrible looks, monstrous serpent, who places (pours) her poison into (over) the hostile land,

10 [*en ner-gál ga*]*b-zi*(*g*)[67] *ug zag*[68]*-è-a* *k*[*alam*[69]*-ma su*(*d*)*-su*(*d*)*-a*]
"Lord, powerful one, who turnest the breast (of the enemy), battering storm, who layest low 'the country,'

11 *^{d}NIN-IB nun-gal An*	*e[n] silim-ma [sum-sum-ma]*
"*NIN-IB*, wise one of *An*	lord, who givest blessings:
12 *lugal-mu uru-za éš Nibru^{ki}*	*sal-e-dú[(g)-dú(g)*[70]*]*
" 'My king, of thy city (and of) the house of Nippur,	oh, take care!
13 *É-šu-me-du*[16]	*ki šu-mu-u[n-gí*[70]*]*
" 'The *Eshumedu*	to its place let him restore!
14 *en nam-lugal-e šu-mu-ra*[71]*-ab-dú*	[ ]
" 'Lord, the kingship unto him	[ ]
make perfect!'	[ ]
15 *ad-gí-gí ušumgal kalam-ma-ka*	[ ]
"Counselor, *ushumgal* of the country,	[ ]
16 *^{d}NIN-IB bád*[10]*-gal Nibru^{ki} -a*	[ ]
"*NIN-IB*, great wall unto (around) Nippur,	[ ]
17 *lugal-mu meš*[72] *sá(g)-gán-nu-di*[73]	*ur-s[ag dingir-ri-e-ne-ge]*
"My king, valiant one, destroyer without equal,	hero of the gods,
18 *ug dŭ-gál*[74] *izi mu(š)*(gloss *giš*)*-šu-bar-bar*[75]	*[galu ḫúl-gál izi-ta sī(g)-ga]*
"Destructive storm, lightning fire,	who burnest the wicked,
19 *lugal giš-túg-PI-dagal an-ki-a*	*ú-[sag*[76] *dingir-ri-e-ne-ge]*
"King, wisest one of heaven and earth,	*ú-sag* of the gods,
20 *gišdar-maḫ ùg-e zag-dib*[77]*-ba*	*ki-[bal gul-gul-la]*
"Who holdest a sublime scepter over (thy) the people,	who destroyest the hostile land;
21 *^{d}NIN-IB ^{galu}erim ri-a[ ]*	[ ]
"*NIN-IB*, who subduest the enemies..	[ ]:
22 *sa*[18]*- gi(d)-*	*[da- ám]*
23 *ur-sag en ní-ḫuš gab-zi(g)*[67]*-ga*	[ ]
"Hero, lord of terrible fearfulness, who turnest the breast of the enemy,	[ ]

24 *ᵈNIN-IB ŭg-ḫuš izi-gĭr*[78]*-ra* — *na[m-ner-gál šu-dú-a*]

"*NIN-IB*, terrible storm, consuming fire, — perfect one in strength,

25 *ŭg ḫu-luḫ-ḫa*[79] *sag-DU ki-bal-a* — *ug [gù*[80]*- dŭ- a*]

"Storm, who makest to tremble 'the heads' of the hostile land, — roaring storm,

26 *ušu*[34] *im-ri*[81] *en gab-gí-nu-tug* — *IGI +[DUB-ti(l)*[27] *An-na*]

"*Ushu*, raging storm, lord without equal, — support of *An*,

27 *[luga]l giš-túg-PI-dagal* — *giš lugal-maḫ dingir-[ri-e-ne-ge]*

"King, wisest one, — valiant one, sublime king of the gods,

28 *[ur-sag]-e á-maḫ sum-ma* — *[ᵈNu-nam-ner-ra*[32]]

"Hero, endowed with sublime power — by *Nunamnerra*,

29 *[en ᵈNIN-IB z]i Dun*[82]*-gi-ra* — *[zi*[83] *su(d)-ŭg-gál-la*]

"Lord, *NIN-IB*, who the life of *Dungi* — hast made to be a life of long days,

30 [ ] — *[mu] mu-ni-[pa(d)*]*-dé-[?]*

[ ] — "who hast called him by name:

31 *[en ner-gál ní]-te-na* — *enim ša(g)-gi(n)*[84] *ba-e-ni-[silim*[85]*]*

"'Lord, powerful one by himself, — the prayers of thy beloved one(s), oh, grant them!

32 [*k]ar*[86] — *ᵈNIN-IB ZAG-SAL*[87]

[ ]" 'savior, — *NIN-IB*, glorify (him)!'

33 *[sa*[52]*- gar*]- — *ra*[22]*- ám*

34 *[lugal-mu Du]n-gi-da(l)* — *ti(l) su(d)-ŭg mu(š) nam-ḫe sag-e-eš PA-KAB-D[U-GA*[88]*]*

"My king, who unto *Dungi* — a life of long days, years of plenty as a present hast given;"

35 [ ]*-ki*[22]*- gál-* — *bi- im*

36 [*g]i(?)*[89] — *ᵈNIN-IB- ka- kam*

of *NIN-IB*.

37 *[e]n kur-gal-e tu(d)-da* — *[dumu]-a-ni zag*[90]*-nu-di*

"Lord, begotten one of the 'great mountain,' — his son without equal,

38 *ᵈNIN-IB gal-DI an-ki-a* — *diri(g) ᵈA-nun-na*[91]*-ge-ne*

"*NIN-IB*, exalted one in heaven and upon earth, — foremost one among the *Anunna*,

39 [*en*] *igi-gin*[92] *dingir-ri-e-ne* — *IGI +DUB-ti(l)*[27] *An-na*
"Lord, leader of (among) the gods, — support of *An*,

40 [*si-gù*]*r*[93]*-ru ŭg-dím Ksí(g)A*[94]*-gí-gí* — *sùn-sùn-na kír-ḫur-AG*[95]
"Weighty one of power, roarer like the storm, — in battles valiant one,

41 [^{galu}*kúr-r*]*a am-gal-dím dú-dú*[96] — *bád ki-bal gul-gul*
"Who like a great mountain-ox gorest the enemies, — destroyest the wall of the hostile land,

42 [*sag-gi(g)* ^{d}]*En-lil-lá-ge di-di*[97] — *kur*[98] *šu-ni nu-è*
"Who judgest the people of *Enlil*, — 'mountain,' whose hand nothing escapes,

43 [*á-maḫ sum-ma*] ^{d}*Nu-nam-ner-ra*[99] — *dú(g)-ga-ni ki-bi-šú-gar*
"Endowed with sublime power by *Nunamnerra*, — executor of his commands (ordinances),

44 [*en-e nam*]*-nun-na túm*[100]*-ma* — *na-ri(g) É-kur-ra*
"Lord, fit (prepared) for greatness, — holy one of *Ekur*,

45 *lugal-mu meš*[72] *sá(g)-gán-nu-di*[73] — *giš lugal dingir-ri-e-*[*ne-ge*]
"My king, valiant one, destroyer without equal, — courageous one, king of the gods,

Col. IV.

(Beginning broken away.)

1 [ ] [ ]:

2 [^{d}*Bur-*^{d}*Sin-ra*] — *sag-tab-a-ni ḫe-a*
"'Of *Bur-Sin* — the companion mayest thou be!'

3 [*azag-zu-mu*] — [^{d}*Nin*]*â*[101] *dumu* ^{d}*IM*[102]*-ra-ge*
"'Wise one, — *Ninâ*, child of *IM*, (grant that)

4 [*a-du(g)*[103] *ḫ*]*e-ne-*[*íb-nag-e*] — *ú-du(g) ḫe-ne-íb-kú-e*
"'Life-giving (sweet) water he may drink, — that life-giving (wholesome) food he may eat,

5 [^{d}*Á-nun*]*-gál*[104] *mu-s*[*à-a*] — [*me-ni*] *si-ḫe-im-sá-sá-e*
"'That of *Á-nun-gál*, who has called him, — the commands (ordinances) he may execute,

6 *É-šu-me-du*[16] *ki-dúr ki-ág-gà-ni*[106] — *SAG-UŠ*[107]*-bi ḫe-a*
"'That of *Eshumedu*, his beloved dwelling, — the 'protector' he may be,

7 *PAD-^{d}Innanna-gal-gal-la-ni*[106] *ŭg-šù(g)-uš e*[108]*-[in-gi(n)-n]i* *mu(š)-bar šá*[110]*-nam-ba-an-tùm-mu*

"'That his rich (great) free-will offerings daily he may offer, the revenues not bring to an end,

8 *^{d}Bur-^{d}Sin me-te(n)*[111] *nam-lu[gal-l]a* *ki-ág An-na-ge*

"'That *Bur-Sin's*, the glory (jewel) of royalty, the beloved of *An*,

9 *mu(š)*[112]*-dú(g)-ni nam-ti(l) ni(g)-du(g)-ga* *[KA-zal-la ḫ]a-ba-ni-íb-su(d)-du*

"'Wedlock with a life of pleasures and with delights may be long!'"

10 *sa*[18]*-gi(d)-* *[da]-* *ám*

11 *[d]NIN-IB ^{d}Bur-^{d}Sin-ra ní-tug-ni* *igi-dŭ-a-ni ḫe-a*

"'*NIN-IB*, unto (for) *Bur-Sin* his object of fear, and his guardian mayest thou be!'"

12 [ ]- *ki*[22]- *gál-* *bi-* *im*

13 [^{d}*NIN-IB*] *á-zi(d)-da ^{d}En-lil-lá* *kur ki-bal gul-gul*

"*NIN-IB*, right arm of *Enlil*, destroyer of the hostile land,

14 [^{d}*NIN-IB*] *á-zi(d)-da ^{d}En-lil-lá* *kur ki-bal gul-gul*

"*NIN-IB*, right arm of *Enlil*, destroyer of the hostile land,

15 *lugal zi(g)*[113]*-ga-ni a-ma-ru* *na-me sag*[114]*-nu-sum-mu*

"King, whose attack is the storm-flood— no one escapes it,

16 *^{d}NIN-IB ŭg šur-šâ-a* *erim-e gĭr-ūr-di*[115]

"*NIN-IB*, furious storm, who tramplest the enemies under the feet,

17 *nam-ur-sag-da da-ra*[116] *dúr-dú(g)*[117]*-ga* *šul gab-ri nu-tug-a*

"Clothed with heroship, subjugator, valiant one without equal,

18 *á-maḫ sum-ma ^{d}Nu-nam-ner-ra*[99] *ša(g) a-a-na du(g)-du(g)*

"Endowed with sublime power by *Nunamnerra*, unto the heart of his father most acceptable one,

19 *dú(g)-ga dú(g)-ga GÀL-RU*[118]*-zu* *nam-maḫ gal-gal-la*

"Thou who the ordinances. . . ., as regards sublimity greatest one,

20 [^{d}*NIN-IB dú(g)*]*-ga dú(g)-ga GÀL-RU*[118]*-zu* *nam-maḫ gal-gal-la*

"*NIN-IB*, thou who the ordinances. . ., as regards sublimity greatest one,

21 *ur*[119]*-sag bád kur k]i-bal-a sí(g)-sí(g)-ki* *gú-dū-a gam-gam*
"Hero, who destroyest the wall of the hostile land, puttest down the enemies,

22 [ ]*-gà* *ŭg-dím Ksí(g)A*[94]*-gí-gí*
[ ] "like a storm roarest,

23 [ ] [ ]*-a-ge*

24 [ ] [ ]*-íb*

25 [[ ]*-ki*[22]*-gál-* *bi-*]*im*

26–30 [broken away]

31 [ ]*sig-ta*[ ] [ ]
[ ]below[ ] [ ]

32 [*sa*[52]*-gar-* *ra-* *ám*]

33 [*zi(d)-dé-šú*(?)] *mu-pa(d)-da-zu* *ᵈBu*[*r-ᵈSin ḫe-ti(l)*]
"'Thy truly chosen one, *Bur-Sin*, may he live!'"

34 [ ]- *ki*[22]*-gál-* [*bi-* *im*]

35 [*ur*]*-sag ušu*[34] *zag-dib*[77] [ ]
"Hero, *ushu*, possessor of power, [ ]

36 *ᵈNIN-IB ušu*[34] *zag-dib*[77] [ ]
"*NIN-IB, ushu*, possessor of power, [ ]:

37 *ᵈBur-ᵈSin zi(d)-dé-eš pa(d)-da-zu* [*ti(l) ŭg-su(d) ḫe-ti(l)*]
"'*Bur-Sin*, thy truly chosen one, a life of long days may he live!'"

38 *GÀL*[25] *en-bi-im* *a-da-ab*[120] *ᵈ*[*NIN-IB-kam*]
The . . . . (of) the *adab* to *NIN-IB*.

Notes.

1. This line corresponds, no doubt, to either *R. H.*, p. 47, *Vorderseite*, upper edge: *ina a-mat ᵈGAŠAN-iù liš-lim*, or to the fuller form: *ina a-mat ᵈEN u ᵈGAŠAN-iù liš-lim*, IV. *R.*², 40, no. 2, obv., *R. H.*, p. xv—it is, therefore, an abbreviation of *enim-ta ᵈELTEG ḫe-silim*. In other texts of the Nippur Temple Library we find sometimes, either at the *U. É.* or *L. E.* or the end of a tablet, simply *ᵈELTEG;* cf., *e.g.*, *H. A. V.*, no. 5, U. E. For the interchange of *ELTEG* and *ŠE-ELTEG* cf. Cyl. B, 16 : 14, *ŠU+ŠE-ELTEG* = Cyl. A, 18 : 3, *ŠU-ELTEG* (Price has here likewise *ŠE-ELTEG*) = *ramâku*, and *ŠE-ELTEG-si-è* (*R. T. C.*, 307, rev., I : 12) = *ELTEG-si* = *uḫulu qarnânu*, see now also Thureau-Dangin, *R. A.*, VII, p. 110; hence, *ᵈELTEG* = *ᵈŠE-ELTEG*, *i.e.*, *ᵈNidaba*. Dungi calls himself "*the wise scribe of ᵈELTEG*," *H. A. V.*, p. 375, note 1. For the *ᵈNidaba* as "scribe" cf. the inscriptions published by Scheil, *O. L. Z.*, 1904, Sp. 254f., and Thureau-Dangin, *R. A.*, VII, p. 107. See also the references under *ᵈNidaba* in *S. A. K. I.*, p. 262; *H. A. V.*, pp. 375, note 1; 377, note 1, and cf. Frank, *H. A. V.*, p. 375, note 1.

According to *C. T.*, XXIV, 9 : 31, 32 = 23 : 15, *ᵈNidaba* or *ᵈNidaba-šit* (variant *še* = "N. of numbers") is the wife ([*-dam-bi-sal*]) of *ᵈḪa-NI* (l. 30 = 14). In II. *R.*, 59 : 22–25, *ᵈNidaba* or *ᵈNidaba-gal* (*EME-SAL* = *ᵈGašan-Nidaba(-gal)*) appears as the *gu-za-lá* of *ᵈNin-*[*lil-ge*] and as the wife (*dam-bi-sal*) of *ᵈUmun-ki-di-a* | *ᵈLugal-ki-di-a* | *Ḫa-NI ì-dub-ba a*[*-a*] *ᵈBE-ge*. In *R. H.*, p. 86 : 45 = 91 : 7, 8 = 137 : 62, 63, the *Umun-ki-di-a* is called *ᵈḪa-NI mu-lu*

É-dub(or *kišib*)-*ba* = *be-lum ku-nu-uk-ki*. In Meissner-Rost, *Bauinschriften*, p. 97 : 19, ^{d}*Ḫa-NI* appears as "the god of scribes" and in *C. T.*, XXIV, 9 : 30 = 23 : 13, 14, ^{d}*Ḫa-NI* is called the *IGI+DUB* ^{d}*BE-lá a-a* ^{d}*Nin-lil-lá*. But according to no. 1, col. I, 32, 35; col. III, 26, 39 (cf. *Ninrag*, p. 14 : 25, 28; I. *R.*, 29 : 15), it is ^{d}*NIN-IB* who is the *IGI+DUB*(-*ti*(*l*)) of ^{d}*En-lil;* cf. also *R. H.*, p. 36 : 26, 27, where ^{d}*NIN-IB* is called the *dumu IGI+DUB-ti*(*l*) ^{d}*Kur-gal* = *ma-ru tu-kul-ti* ^{d}ditto. Hence, ^{d}*Ḫa-NI* = ^{d}*NIN-IB*. ^{d}*NIN-IB*, therefore, is called the *kišib-lál* ^{d}*En-lil-lá* = *galu* ^{gish}*gišdar* ^{d}*En-lil*, *Ninrag*, p. 10 : 21 *u;* he has the ^{gish}*kišib gišdar-mul dagal-la*, no. 1, col. III, 7, or the *dub-zi*(*d*) *bizi-azag*, no. 5 : 3, and note 1. As scribe, ^{d}*NIN-IB* is the *na-din* ^{gish}*gišdar u EŠ-BAR ana nap-ḫar kal alâni* (*uru-uru*), I. *R.*, 17 : 4; the *pa-ris purussê ana nîšê apâti*, Jensen, *Kosm.*, p. 470 : 3; the *pa-ris purussê barû têrêt*[*e*], *l.c.*, p. 470 : 10; the ^{d}*En-banda*^{da} who *ṣa-bit EŠ-BAR ANmésh*, *C. T.*, XXV, 11 : 17 = 15, III, 7; the ^{d}*Ḫal-ḫal*(-*la*) who *nâṣir* (= *ŠEŠ*) *EŠ-BAR a-bi* ^{d}*En-lil*, *l.c.*, ll. 18, 19 = 8, 9, the ^{d}*Me-maḫ* who *ḫa-mi-im garzamésh maḫmésh*, *l.c.*, ll. 20, 21 = 10, 11, and the god *šá pi-ris-ti*, *l.c.*, l. 11 = 1.—^{d}*NIN-IB* is both *masc.* and *fem.*, see *H. A. V.*, p. 424; hence, ^{d}*Ḫa-NI* must be likewise a female! ^{d}*Ḫa-NI* may be read ^{d}*Ḫa-lì* and *Ḫa-li*(!) is = ^{d}*Gu-la*, the wife(!) of ^{d}*NIN-IB*, see V. *R.*², 44, col. IV, 34*a*, *b*, ^{m}*Me-li-Ḫa-li* | ^{m}*Galu-*^{d}*Gu-la*. As ^{d}*Gu-la* is = ^{d}*Ba-ú*, the ^{arḫu}*Ḫa-lì-i*, *R. T. C.*, 117, was in all probability the same as the ^{itu}*Ezen-*^{d}*Ba-ú*.

From all this it follows that ^{d}*Gu-la*(= ^{d}*Ḫa-lì* = ^{d}*NIN-IB*) = ^{d}*Nidaba*, that "husband and wife are one, have the same attributes and functions" and that the "Son" of each and every Babylonian trinity is the "scribe," who "enters" the fates, determined by the "Father," into the "book" and later on "declares" them. This "declaring" is done in the "netherworld" (*ki, ubšugina, du*(*l*)-*azag*). The "Son," as "scribe," becomes thus both the "herald" and the "judge" of his Father, hence ^{d}*Lugal-ki-di-a* (= ^{d}*Ḫa-lì*) means "the king who judges (in) the netherworld." In the prehistoric period the rôle of the scribe was played, as we saw above, p. 32, by ^{d}*En-lil*. At the time of Gudea the *nì-in-dub-ba* was ^{d}*Ninâ* (cf. *E. B. H.*, p. 193, I, 3) = ^{d}*Nin-kar-ra-ag*, *i.e.*, the wife of ^{d}*NIN-IB*. *C. T.*, XXV, 3 : 39 (cf. l. 46) or ^{d}*Nin*(*Ereš*)-*dub* (cf. Cyl. A., 6 : 4f.). During the Marduk period the "scribe" was, of course, the *son* of Marduk, ^{d}*Nabû*, cf. *R. H.*, pp. 17, 105, *N. E.*, *ina a-mat* ^{d}*EN u*(= *u explicativum*!) ^{d}*AG liš-lim*.

2. Cf. the phonetic writing, *šu-ug-gà*, no. 4, rev. 3, 4, and *šagan* (for *šù*(*g*)-*gán*!), Br. 8975. Cf. also below, note 73, *sá*(*g*)-*gán*.

3. Or *nun á-ḫuš*, no. 5, rev. 3. An emendation [*nì*] *zag-ḫuš*, "of awe-inspiring fear and terrible strength," might likewise be possible.

4. See also col. II, 22, and cf. *ŭg*(*ug*)-*gal* of *C. T.*, XV, 15 : 8, 9. For *úg-gal* = variant of *ur-maḫ*, see Sargon, Ann., l. 426; cf. p. iv, l. 115. For the interchange of *úg, ug, ŭg*, etc., see above, p. 20, note 4.

5. Emendation on the basis of no. 1, col. III, 40. According to I. *R.*, 17 : 1, (^{d}*NIN-IB*) *ša ina MÉ NU iš-ša-na-nu ti-bu-šu*, we might read here [*sag*(or *nu*)-*gí-a*], "in battles without equal," cf. also II. *R.*, 36 : 21*a*, *sùn-sùn sag-gí-a* = *qab-lu la maḫ-ri*, and no. 5, rev. 5, *á-sùn-s*[*ùn-na-ám*].

6. Generally translated by *mamlu*, *Ninrag*, 6 : 5; I. *R.*, 17 : 5; I. *R.*, 29 : 5. In *B. A.*, V, p. 643 : 2, *á-gál* appears as attribute of *Nergal*, being rendered by ^{d}*mun-tal-ku*, *i.e.*, *muttaliku* = *dâ'iku* (*H. A. V.*, p. 441, note 5; not "sagacious," Macmillan, *l.c.*, p. 584); *Nergal* kills, but he quickens also!

7. Cf. besides Br. 6635; M. 4751; Thureau-Dangin, *J. A.*, 1909, p. 340, note 2, also *C. T.*, XXV, 3 : 45, ^{d}ditto (= *e*) *NIN-á-dam-azag-ga* | ditto (= ^{d}*Nin-kar-ra-ag* or ^{d}*Gu-la*).

8. May be *gú;* cf. ^{d}*NIN-IB* = *gú-gal-lu šum-ru*, I. *R.*, 17 : 4.

9. *Rum* is a variant of *rim*, *rin* = *paqâlu*, Br. 10197. For the interchange of *u* and *i*, cf. *pá-rú* = *pá-rí-in*, no. 4, rev. 3, 4, note 3. For a similar attribute of ^{d}*NIN-IB* see *R. H.*, p. 36 : 28, 29, *umun am si-si* [*rin-rin-na*, thus against M. 2187] = *be-lum* (*sc. rîmu*) *e-mu-qan bu-gu-la*[*-a-ti*] and cf. with passages like *R. H.*, p. 20 : 38, 39; 23 : 21, *á-rin-rin* = *e-mu-qan bu-ug-gu-*[*la-a-ti*], and IV. *R.*², 9 : 19, *si-gûr-gûr-ra*(*gûr* = *rin*!) = *ša qar-ni kab-ba-ru* (cf. note 93).

10. See the attribute of Enlil, p. 25, note 3; of Ištar: *bád-gal* = *dûru rabû*, S. 954, rev. 7, and of Nergal: *bad-maḫ* = *tukultu*, *B. A.*, V, p. 642 : 9, 10. Cf. also expressions like *bád-gal Nibru*^{ki}-*a*, no. 1, col. III, 16; *bád-maḫ-dím* (= *ki-ma du-ur ra-bi-i*) *ùg-ba igi-dŭ*, no. 2 = 3 : 17; *kalam-ta kar-gŭr*, no. 2 = 3 : 31.

11. *Šu-gi*(-*gi*) = *šalâmu* is well known. We may, however, emend *šu-gar-gi*(*gà*)-*u* = *mutir gimillu* and cf. *R. H.*, p. 36 : 30, 31, where, like here, it is in parallelism with *am si-si* [*rin-rin-na*], see above, note 9. Cf. also *B. A.*, V, p. 642 : 5, 6 (Nergal), *SAG-KALA*(*G*) *maḫ ad-a-ni* (= ^{d}*Enlil*) *šu-gar-ra-gà* = *a-ša-ri-du ṣi-i-ru mu-tir gi-mil-lu a-bi-šù*. If the latter emendation be accepted, the *turru gimillu* is "to give protection," "to protect," "to render help," "to save" = *gimillu šakânu* (cf. also *C. T.*, XVI, 19 : 25, 26) rather than "to take vengeance." See also *R. H.*, p. 36 : 38, 39, *šu-maḫ* = *e*-[*mu-qan ṣîrâti*].

12. The *bar* is absolutely certain; a reading *mas-su(d)* = *massû* is out of question. Cf. here *sa-gi(d)-da-ám*, col. I, 19, and note 18.

13. The *i* might possibly belong to ^{d}*NIN-IB;* if so, translate "fearful (*nâ'idu*) *N.*"

14. For *zu* = *zi* = *kêniš* see *H. A. V.*, p. 419, note 9.

15. For the sign *šè* cf. *C. T.*, XII, 11 : 36*c;* it is the same as *a* + *šé*, Cyl. A, 2 : 8, 25; 4 : 6, or as *ŠaÉ*, M. 1926. The sign *še(d)*, Br. 3060, is simply a graphic variant of *a* + *šé-d(i)* or of *ŠaÉ* (= *šè*)-*d(i)*; cf. also the *a-še(d)* of *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 68 : 9. For *šè-d(i)-dé*, variant of *še(d)-dé*, see above, p. 23, note 2 and *C. T.*, XV, 12 : 5. Lastly, cf. *C. T.*, XV, 18 : 36, *i-dé-bar šá(g)-ga-ni šè-nam-ba-e-ga-ga, sír-bar šá(g)-ga-ni ḫu-ub-na-an-ni-bar-ri*, "whose gracious look (lit. 'lifting up of the eyes') gives peace no more, whose gracious voice (lit. 'lifting up of the voice') gives rest no more"; *ḫu-ub* is here a phonetic writing of *KU* = *ḫúb* = *nâḫu*, Br. 10540; hence, a syn. of *šè* = *nâḫu*. For *KU* = *ḫúb* see also below, note 37 to no. 2 = 3 : 35.

16. The very ingenious reading *É-šu-me-rá*, "house of Shumer," proposed by Hrozný, *R. S.*, 1908, reprint, p. 15, is against both the religious conception and the history of the Sumerians. The expression *Shumer* = *Ki-en-gi* is used by the Sumerians in such cases only where it is in opposition to the surrounding lands; the "sacred" term for *Shumer* was always *kalam* (see p. 8). The *kalam* during the Enlil epoch included "*Shumer and Akkad.*" The passages, as *e.g.*, *Ki-en-gi-rá* = *Šumer-ra*, quoted by Hrozný in support of his reading, are grammatically misconstrued or misread or misunderstood, cf. p. 10, note 5. His statement (*l.c.*, p. 16) "*dass der Name Šumeru sumerischer Herkunft ist kann nicht bezweifelt werden*" requires proof. Has also the *KU* in *EME-KU* = *lišân Šumeri* a "Sumerian" value "*šumer*"? *É-šu-me-du* is in "all probability(!)" the "house of him who executes (*šu-du*(= *-dŭ*, *-dú*)) the commands" (*se.* of his father; cf. for this idea, no. 1, col. II, 2; no. 5, obv. 2, etc.). Though we would expect a reading *É-me-šu-du*, if the above-given translation were correct, yet such a transposition of the object is by no means isolated, cf., *e.g.*, the verbal form *ḫe-im-ne-si-si-sá* (for *si-ḫe-im-ne-si-sá*), *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 33 : 17.

17. The royal throne now occupied by *Gimil-Sin*, but given to him by ^{d}*NIN-IB*. The *-zu* (and *-na*, l. 12) is dependent upon the *ra* of the verbal form = *karâbu ana*.

18. Cf. no. 1, col. II, 31; III, 22; IV, 10, 32; no. 5, obv. 4. The *sa-gi(d)-i* = *nipištu*, II. *R.*, 28 : 17*b*, can hardly be compared, seeing that it is mentioned among various other *sa* or "sinews," hence it has nothing to do with the *ni-pi-ši* of IV. *R.*², 23, no. 1, rev., col. IV, 25. Is *sa-gi(d)* the great, long (*gi(d)*) prostration (*sa* = *labânu*)?

19. For *ùr* as postposition cf. *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 70, note 3.

20. Cf. for this reading below, no. 2 = 3 : 35, note 37.

21. This line represents, in all probability, only the *beginning* of a longer and well-known prayer. Cf. next note.

22. This liturgical note follows in all cases upon the "opening line" of a prayer introduced either by *sa-gi(d)-da-ám* (so here and col. IV, 10 | 12; 32 | 34(?)) or by [*sa-gar*]-*ra-ám* (col. III, 33 | 35; IV, 32 | 34). Cf. notes 52, 89.

23. Or is this [^{d}*NIN-I*]*B*?

24. Hardly *sal* + *e*, cf. Cyl. A, 22 : 5. A reading *sal-e-ti-dú(g)* is on account of the *ti* (= *ta*?) and the absence of *-ga* impossible (cf. col. III, 12). If *ter-ti(l)-ka*, "*Lebenshain*," should be correct, then cf. *iṣukištu* with the holy cedar of ^{d}*SUḪ*, which was situated on a mountain and which was the "abode of the gods, the sanctuary of ^{d}*Ir-ni-ni*," see *H. A. V.*, p. 415, note 2.

25. It is well known that *gàl*, *găl*, *găl*(= *uru*, *úru*) interchange not only in these texts, but even in those of the later Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian period, cf. Jensen, *Kosm.*, p. 462. If, therefore, *gàl* = *găl*, then the *găl-an-na* = *man-za-zu ša-qu-u*, the attribute of ^{d}*NIN-IB* (cf. *Ninrag*, p. 40 : 29, 30), might be translated by *meḫû*, (*ûmu*) *irpû ša* (*ištu*) *šamê* and might be taken either as a syn. of *ug An-na*, *C. T.*, XV, 15 : 10, or as a variant of *gâl-* (= *te*)-*lá*. Cf. here also the *GÀL-RU*, col. IV, 19, and the *GÀL en-bi-im*, col. IV, 38, and see *H. W. B.*, p. 585*b* (*kallu*) and p. 330*b* (*kallû*), Jensen, *K. B.*, VI¹, p. 478.

26. *Ra-su-su*, being parallel with *gàl-maḫ*, must denote some kind of action of ^{d}*NIN-IB*, the "terrible storm," with regard to the *iš* or "mountain." I take *ra-su-su* = *šaḫâtu* in the sense of "to bow down (Jensen, *K. B.*, VI¹, p. 399)," "to bend," " to smite down," "to overpower," "to kill." Cf. here the *gab*(*kab*, *káb*)-*gaz kur-ra*(-*ge*); the *mu-lu iš-gaz-ge*, *H. A. V.*, p. 441, note 5, and below, note 98.

27. Cf. col. III, 26, 39, *IGI*+*DUB-ti*(*l*) *An-na; R. II.*, p. 36 : 26, 27, (^{d}*NIN-IB*) *dumu IGI*+*DUB-ti*(*l*) ^{d}*Kur-gal* = *ma-ru tu-kul-ti* ^{d}[ditto]; I. *R.*, 29 : 15, (^{d}*NIN-IB*) *KU-ti AN*^{mésh} *za-ri-e-šù*. Cf. also the weapon of ^{d}*NIN-IB* called ^{d}*IGI*+*DUB-ti*(*l*)-*la*, *Ninrag*, p. 14 : 25, 28, and see col. II, 6, 9.

28. We would expect *za*, yet such peculiarities are by no means strange, cf. especially *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 65, *ner-gál a-a muḫ-na(!* would expect *za!*) *ZAG-SAL-zu(!) maḫ-âm.*

29. Cf. *R. H.*, p. 36 : 24, 25, (^{d}*NIN-IB*) *á-maḫ* ^{d}*Mu-ul-*[*lil-lá*] = *e-mu-qan ṣi-ra-a-tam šā* [^{d}ditto].

30. Emendation according to IV, 21; cf. also IV, 13, 14, *kur ki-bal gul-gul*, and passages like *Ninrag*, p. 8 : 11*u*, *bád ki-bal-a gul-gul; l.c.*, p. 16 : 18, *kur gul-gul-la an-ta; l.c.*, p. 18 : 27, *kur gul-gul*, etc. Cf. also note 65.

31. The traces before *zu* are *not* those of *en*.

32. Cf. cols. II, 32; III, 28; emendation according to IV, 18; or if one prefers, he may supply [^{d}*En-lil-lá*] and cf. no. 4, rev. 5, 6.

33. A clear indication that ^{d}*Uraš* and ^{d}*NIN-IB*, though, later on, used interchangeably (cf. Br. 10479), were *originally* two different gods. The identification of these gods must, therefore, date from a later period than that of the II. dynasty of Ur. This passage proves also that the pronunciation of ^{d}*NIN-IB* cannot have been ^{d}*NIN-uraš*.

34. For *ušu*, a name of ^{d}*NIN-IB*, cf. col. III, 9, 26; IV, 35, 36. ^{d}*NIN-IB* appears also as *ušumgal*, col. III, 15; no. 4, rev., 3, 4; no. 5, rev., 4, and *R. H.*, p. 38 : 11, where *ušumgal* is translated by *ba-áš-mu*, which latter renders also the Sumerian *saḫan* (or *muš*)-*ša*(*g*)-*tur*, cf. col. III, 9, and *H. A. V.*, p. 190*a;* Jensen, *K. B.*, VI,[1] p. 309 (*bašmu* = "*Eidechse, Molch*").

35. The overhanging *ma* demands a reading *su-lim* (not *ši!*)-*ma* = *šalummatu*, and this notwithstanding the fact that the variant has *su-zi* (cf. *zi, ši* = *napištu*). Is *su-lim* a Semitism, or is *šalummatu* derived from the Sumerian *su-lim* (cf. *zal-lum-mu-ú, H. W. B.*, p. 466*b*)? With *su-lim-ma* is closely connected the well-known name of ^{d}*NIN-IB*, viz., ^{d}*KA-lum-ma, C. T.*, XXV, 11 : 22, 23 = 15, III, 12, 13, which ought to be read ^{d}*Sù*(or *Zú*)-*lum-ma* and which characterizes ^{d}*NIN-IB* as the "god of splendor," expressed in the "fruitfulness, fecundity"—whether of plants (*sù-lum-ma* = *su-lup-pu*, "fruit of splendor," "dates"), animals or men. Knowing that in Sumerian *ma, mà, mal, gà, gar, mar* are used interchangeably, it is most likely that the ^{d}*KA*^{zu}-*lum-GAR*^{mar}, who according to *C. T.*, XXV, 33*b*: 16, is identified with ^{d}*É-a*, was originally ^{d}*Utu* or *Shamash* in the rôle of ^{d}*NIN-IB*, cf. *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 26; *H. A. V.*, p. 386, note 2; p. 402, note 17. This is corroborated not only by Craig, *R. T.*, I, p. 52 : 43, where a ^{d}*Zu-lum-mar*(*ma-ru*) is mentioned, but more especially by *C. T.*, XV, 29 : 25, where Ishtar addresses her husband *Tamûz* (= *Shamash* = ^{d}*NIN-IB, H. A. V.*, p. 402, note 17, p. 404, note 31), *gar-ra šeš-mu zu-lum-ma-ra*-[*ab*]-*e-ne nu-ba-ū*, "Up then, my brother, open their 'being bound,' do not depart!" compared with *R. H.*, p. 39 : 1, where ^{d}*NIN-IB* is asked *zú-lum-mar-ra-ab* = *šā šu-ḫa-ru-uš-ki pi-ti*, "what has been caused by thee to be bound, open!" *i.e.*, "may the unfruitful and barren be made by thee to produce, yield fruit, offspring."

36. For *NE* = *melam* see *ní me-lám*, Cyl. B, 21 : 4 = *ní NE* (*i.e.*, *melam*), Cyl. A, 28 : 24, Thureau-Dangin, *Z. A.*, XVIII, 139, note 7. A reading *izi-gar-ḫuš* (cf. III, 18), though *per se* possible, is out of question on account of IV. R.[2], 27, no. 4 : 48, (^{d}*Mu-ul-lil*) [*s*]*u-zi me-lám gùr-ru ŭg al-tar ní-ḫuš ri-a-bi* = *ša pu-luḫ-tu mi-lam-mi na-šù-u û-mu da-pi-nu šā ra-šub-ba-tam ra-mu-u.*

37. *Gùr* either *na-šù-u* (see preceding note) or, so better here, *ma-lu-u*.

38. *Me-dú-AG* = *me-šu-dú*(*dŭ, du*), "to carry out the commands," or *me-ul-ag*, "to execute the ancient commands?"

39. *Áš-ša* I consider to be the phonetic writing for *áš-DU, i.e., áš-šā* = *ediššišu*(*ka*), cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 420, note 9, above.

40. *I.e., ša li'ûtu*(*lîtu*) *ma-lu-u* (cf. *ú* = *li'û* and *ú-lá* = *ulâlu*, "the one without strength," "the weakling," Cyl. A, 9 : 1). A rendering *mudaššû rêtu*, "who makest to abound the pasture (cf. no. 2 = 3 : 28–30)," is on account of the parallelism excluded.

41. Cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 392 : 23, *ka*[*lam-ma n*]*í-te-šub-ba*, "reverenced in fear by Babylonia's people." For *ní* = *ní-te* see *l.c.*, p. 402, note 18.

42. Doubtful! With *gì-ni* = *gi* = *zikaru* cf. *gì-en* = *gi*, etc. = *ardatu, H. A. V.*, p. 397, note 1, below. Or is *NE* = *melam* (cf. above, note 36) and *NI* = *zal* = *barû?* Cf. also *NE* = *išâtu, la'abu, nimêru, urru;* hence "among the fearfully glorious the (most) powerful one" or some such similar signification?

43. For *IGI*+*DUB-ti*(*l*) = *tukultu*, see above, note 27. Here it is a verb = *takâlu eli* (*ina eli, ana* = *ra*). The infix *un*, being reflexive: "*sich verlassen auf*," forbids a rendering "may G.-S., the *abarakku* (or *ittu*), live by the lord of lords, by N."

44. Cf. here the attribute of ^{d}*Nidaba, nin-mu a-nun-gál É-kur-ra a en-en kalam-ma*, "my mistress, powerful

(= *á-nun-gál*) one of *É-kur*, begotten one (*a* = *rihût*) of the 'lord of the lords of the country' (*i.e.*, originally ^{d}*En-lil*, later on ^{d}*NIN-IB!*)," Thureau-Dangin, *R. A.*, VII (1910), p. 107, col. II, 3, 4. For the interchange of *á* and *a* see below, note 104.

45. Here in the sense of *lû*, *H. A. V.*, p. 419, note 5, with the possible pronunciation *ê* = *e* = *lû*, M. 4156 (not *ittu!*) or = *e*, "*wohlan!*", M. 4155.

46. *Ma-ra*, "unto *thee* (*i.e.*, ^{d}*NIN-IB*)," on account of *zu* in *maškim-zu*.

47. *I.e.*, one who constantly waits upon thee, thy chief and foremost servant—a meaning which *rabiṣu* has retained in the Amarna letters, see *H. W. B.*, p. 611*b*, 2.

48. The name for the *ḫulâlu* stone is generally written ^{ná}*ZA-ṬU*, Br. 11804; *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 42; here we have ^{ná}*ZA-ṬU-gunû*. For the interchange of *ṬU* and *ṬU-gunu* (*i.e.*, *mer*) see Thureau-Dangin, *Z. A.*, XVIII, p. 136, note 5, who mentions ^{gish}*ṬU* = ^{gish}*ṬU-gunû* = *pâšu*; ^{gish}*ṬU-UŠ* = ^{gish}*ṬU-gunû-UŠ* = *rid ṣabê* (cf. also *B. E.*, XVII, part 1, p. 49, note 3). [To mention it here, I may state that the sign *ṬU-gunû* is found also in A. W., *Amarna*. no. 41 : 42 (= Kn., p. 474 : 42) *galu méshṬU-gunû* and in *A. W.*, *l.e.*, no. 42 : 15 (= Kn., p. 476 : 15) *galu méshṬU-gunû**ši-ir-ma*, which *ṬU-gunû* (Kn., *Autogr.*, nos. 92, 93) is, of course, the *rid ṣabê* = "driver," or in the language of Rib-Addi, the *širma!*] A reading ^{ná}*ZA-GÚG* (= *R. E. C.*, 463 = Br. 6912) as variant of ^{ná}*ZA+GUL* (for *za+gul=gug* see *R. E. C.*, 473 = Br. 11863) = *sâmtu*, "porphyry" (see no. 6, rev., col II, 1, and *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 22), is out of question.

49. And hence "is fit to be," "is fit for being (*túm* = *šuluku ana*, *Ninrag*, p. 14 : 24, 27; p. 16 : 18, 19) thy servant (*maškim-zu*)." *Túm* = *liqû*, "*gnädig aufnehmen, erhören*," is likewise possible. Cf. also note 100.

50. Emendation doubtful. Cf. *ŭg-ul-lu-a*, "during the other, olden, past days," with *ŭg-dú-rú-a* (thus read *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 38 : 27), "during, for future days"; cf. also *é-ul*, Cyl. B, 2 : 11; *É-ninnû-ul*, Cyl. B, 6 : 2, ^{d}*Bár-ul-li-gar-ra* (p. 28) and ^{d}*En(Nin)-uru-ul-la*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 1 : 20, 21 = 20 : 13 = 19, col. I, 11 = XXV, 23*e* : 6 (here ^{d}*Uru-ul-la* only!) with ^{d}*Du(Da)-rí*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 1 : 12, 13 = 20 : 8 = 19, col. I, 6 = XXV, 7*d* : 6.

51. Some such emendation as "god," "king," "protector," "savior" may be suggested.

52. Cf. col. III, 5. Lit., "like one who makes prostrations," *i.e.*, "like one who bows down to thy will," "like a faithful, obedient, humble one." With *šu-silim* (*DI*) cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 393 : 61, 62 and p. 405, note 39. A translation: "by the hand, oh, lead him," though possible, would have to be rather *šu-ta e gì-in-DI(DU)*. Cf. also col. III : 33.

53. The sign *BI* = *epir* is doubtful. It may be *ga*.

54. See *C. T.*, XV, 15, and above, p. 20.

55. See above, p. 36, note 2.

56. According to the traces visible, this would seem to be the only possible emendation. For further occurrences of *EME-SAL* forms (*Mu(š)-tin* for *Geštin*) in *EME-KU* texts, cf. *e.g.*, l. 18, where the *EME-SAL mu(š)* is glossed by the *EME-KU giš*; *mu(š)-bar*(= *giš-bar*), col. IV, 7; *mu(š)-dú(g)*(= *uš-dú(g)*), col. IV, 9; ^{d}*Mu-ul-lil-lá* (for ^{d}*En-lil-lá*), no. 2 = 3 : 41. For the several variants of ^{d}*Muš-tin-An-na* see Frank, *H. A. V.*, p. 168, note 2; for the meaning of this name, *H. A. V.*, p. 399, note; and for ^{d}*Geštinna*, the "mistress of scribes," *l.e.*, p. 375, note 1.

57. For references see *E. B. H.*, p. 443*a*; *Creation-Story*, pp. 24, 46; *S. A. K. I.*, p. 251; *B. A.*, V, p. 680 : 14; *T. S. A.*, p. liv, and *B. E.*, III, part 1, no. 135 : 26, *Ur-*^{d}*Gál-alim* (! not *in*, correct *l.c.*, pp. 89, 90 accordingly).

58. For emendation cf. Gudea, St. B, 2 : 18.

59. See *E. B. H.*, *l.e.*; *Creation-Story*, *l.c.*; *S. A. K. I.*, p. 247; *T. S. A.*, *l.e.*, Hommel, *Grundriss*[2], p. 251, note 1; Zimmern, *Der babyl. Gott Tamūz*, p. 22, note 2.

60. For emendation cf. Gudea, St. B, 3 : 1.

61. Cf. note 1.

62. Emendation according to *R. A.*, VII (1910), p. 107, col. I, 1, 2, *Nin-an(!)-mul-dar-a dub za-gín šu-dŭ*; cf. also *šu-gál*, no. 5, obv. 3, and *šu-dú(g)*, *R. H.*, p. 60, rev., 1, 2, *úru é kúr-ra šu-ḫúl-dú(g)-ga-mu* = *âlu u bîtu šā ana qa-at nak-ri lim-niš im-ma-lu-ú*.

63. The uppermost wedge of *giš* belongs to the dividing line.

64. For the *ú* in *KU-ú-tag-ga* = *KU-tag-ga* = *mâḫiṣu*, Br. 10596, cf. *ki-KAL* = *ki-ú-KAL* = *nidûtu*, "oasis" (rather than "*Wüste*," Cyl. A, 21 : 24, *H. W. B.*, 450*a*; Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 520). Or the *ú* may be a variant of *ù*, cf. *ú-lu-lu* (*C. T.*, XV, 30 : 16, 17) = *ù-lu-la* (*C. T.*, XV, 27 : 13–15) = *sarru*, or *ú-a-zi* (Langdon, *Babyloniaca*, II, p. 84) = *ù-a-zi-zi* (Cyl. B, 6 : 7; 7 : 8), which *ú* = *ù* may be explained either according to *H. A. V.*, p. 401, note 13, or accord-

ing to *l.c.*, p. 419, note 5. A reading *giš mê-AG-šú ú-tag-ga*, "hero, (who) for the making of battle (is) gloriously adorned (? *tag* = *u-tag* = *zu'unu*, *Ninrag*, p. 38 : 1; *H. W. B.*, p. 249*a*, but cf. Jensen, *K. B.*, VI¹, p. 403)," though possible, is on account of the space between *AG* and *KU* less likely.

65. Cf. the attribute of ^{d}*NIN-IB*, I. *R.*, 17 : 18, *mu-šak-niš la ma-gi-ri*. Among other emendations that might be considered cf. the following: [*kur ki-bal-šú* or ^{galu}*kúr-ra*] *am-gal-dím dú-dú*, col. III, 41; *kur šu-ni nu-è*, col. III, 42, see also note 30.

66. Or according to no. 4, rev. 7, 8, *ùḫ-*[*bi(zu) šur-bi ša-gub-gub-ba*].

67. Also in col. III, 23. Cf. *C. T.*, XV, 17 : 8, where *še-ir-ma-al*(= *ner-gál*) and *gab-zi(g)* are the attributes of Sin (^{d}*Nanna*). Perry, *Sin*, p. 18, note 8, translates *gab-zi(g)* by "*Oeffner des Heranzuges, Anführer*"; Langdon, *S. B. P.*, p. 297, by "to pursue the way," Hommel, *Grundriss*², p. 378, by "entgegentreten," and Vanderburgh, *S. H.*, p. 43, by "to lift up the breast." I prefer to see in *gab-zi(g)* "one of high breast" (cf. *sag-zi(g)* = *šaqû ša rêši*), *i.e.*, "a proud, courageous one," "one whose breast is turned and goes (*zi* = *tebû*, *teḫû*) against the enemy" and by doing so, he "turns back (*zi* = *nî'u*, syn. of *târu*, Jensen, *K. B.*, VI¹, pp. 309, 404, 561) the enemy's breast," hence, *gab-zi(g)* = *mu-ni-'u ir-ti* (cf. Sargon, *mu-ni-'u i-rat* ^{mât}*Ka-ak-mi-e*, Lay. 33 : 9) is a syn. of *gab-gi* = *mu-tir ir-ti*, IV. *R.*², 21, no. 1 (B), rev., 15. Cf. also *zi(g)* = *gi* = *kânu*, *kênu*, *sanâqu*, etc., and *gab-gí nu-tug*, Cyl. A, 14 : 14.

68. *Zag-è* = *naqâpu*. There is only one *naqâpu* (against *H. W. B.*, p. 464), the original meaning of which is "stossen," either with the "horns" (Jensen, *K. B.*, VI¹, p. 577 = נגף, Küchler; cf. note 96) or with a "battering-ram," such as was used by the Babylonians in times of war in order to put holes (*taqqapu* = "*Loch*," Jensen, *l.c.*, p. 529) in a fortification wall; hence, *zag-è* = *naqâpu ša dûri*, Br. 6510 = "to batter a breach, to make a hole, entrance in a wall, through which one may go in and out (*zag-è* = *aṣû*)," syn. of *zamû ša dûri*. If one prefers, he may take *zag-è* in the sense of *è* (*H. A. V.*, p. 405, note 36) = *na-va-a-ru ša û-mi*, *i.e.*, "to *rage*(!)," said of the storm, which rage is expressed by the "*thunder* and *lightning*," hence *ug zag-è-a*, "raging, thundering, lightning, storm"; or *zag-è* may be a variant of *PA* (*i.e.*, *sá(g)*.)-*è* = "glorious," *i.e.*, "lightning one" (see *C. T.*, XV, 15 : 1–6 and cf. ^{d}*DUN-PA-è-a*).

69. Cf. *Ninrag*, p. 8 : 17, 18, *kalam-ma su(d)-su(d)-da* = *ma-a-ta ina sa-pa-ni*, which shows that ^{d}*NIN-IB* may sweep over and bring into misery even the *country of Babylonia* itself; ^{d}*NIN-IB* may be gracious and inimical even to his own people!

70. Owing to the fact that the end of these lines is broken away, it is hard to tell whether they form, as indicated above, the *apodosis* of ll. 1–11, or whether they continue the attributes of ^{d}*NIN-IB*. If taken as attributes we have to emend *sal-e-dú*[*(g)-dú(g)-ga*], *ki šu-mu-u*[*n-gí-a*], and render: "My king, (thou) who in thy city of the house of *Nippur* takest (hast taken) care," "Who the *Eshumedu* hast restored," "lord, (thou) by whom (*ra*) kingship is executed," etc. The absence of an *a* in *šu-mu-ra-ab-dú* would show, however, it seems to me, that this last form at least cannot be that of a relative clause, hence also ll. 11, 12 are in all probability to be emended as given above.

71. If this is the apodosis (cf. preceding note), the *ra* refers to the king *Gimil-Sin*.

72. *Meš* = *zikaru*, being parallel with *ur-sag* (so here) or with *giš* (so l. 45), is a variant or phonetic writing of *mes* = *rubû*, *edlu*, syn. of *giš* = *mu*(š) = *uš*.

73. For the reading of *PA* cf. on the one hand *úg PA*$^{sa-ag}$*-gán* = ditto (*i.e.*, *raḫâṣu ša* [*ri-iḫ-ṣi* or *ri-ḫi-iṣ-ti*, so emend *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 53, note 7, on the basis of *úg-ra-ra* = *ra-ḫa-aṣ ri-iḫ-ṣi*, cf. *C. T.*, XVI, 20*b* : 40, above, p. 20] and the proper name *Bár-sa-gán-nu-di*, *S. A. K. I.*, p. 8, *n*, 3, which Dhorme, *Z. A.*, XXII, p. 291, translates by "*Que le sanctuaire de sa soit sans rival*," adding, "Br. 9539 (*i.e.*, *šanânu*), *pour le sens de sá* (*DI*)." On the other hand cf. the proper name *Meš-sìg* (*R. E. C.*, 464, the sign for "wool")-*gán-nu-di*, which Dhorme, *l.c.*, p. 306, reads *Me-sìg-gan-nu-sá*, and which he renders by "*Que le Me-sìg soit sans rival!*" Adding to these still another proper name, *viz.*, *Meš-PA-nu-di*, *R. J. C.*, 64, f. I, 6 = Dhorme, *l.c.*, p. 306, "*L'ordre du sceptre n'a point de rival*," we may maintain (1) that *PA* may be pronounced either *sá(g)* or *sī(g)*; (2) that *sá(g)-gán* (v. *sá-gán*, *sìg-gan*) is = *sá(g)*, *sī(g)*; cf. for the omission (or addition) of *gán(gan)*, *a-ša(g)* = *a-ša(g)-gan*; *ul-gán* = *úl* (= *šupuk šamê*) etc.; (3) that *sá(g)* (*-gán*) may be translated, either (*a*) by *sapâḫu*, M. 3940 = "*zunichte machen*" (*H. W. B.*, p. 507*b*), "*gewaltsam sprengen, zerstückeln, auflösen, zerstreuen* (Jensen, *K. B.*, VI¹, p. 415); or (*b*) by *raḫâṣu*, "*überschwemmen, niederschmettern, niederwerfen*," *wie es durch einen Wolkenbruch u. dgl. geschieht*, *H. W. B.*, p. 617*b*; or (*c*) by *sakâpu* (*zag-sá(g)-gán*, M. 4650 = *sá(g)-gán*, cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 405, note 36), "*stürzen, zu Boden werfen, niederwerfen in der Schlacht, den Feind schlagen*, *H. W. B.*, p. 498*b*; or (*d*) by *sá(g)* = *sī(g)* = *si-gi* = *sí(g)*—all indicating the *destruction* by the powers of nature: wind, storm, rain, lightning, cf. *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, pp. 46, 47; p. 53, note 7; and below, note 17 to no. 2 = 3 : 18;

note 5, to no. 4, rev., 5, 6, *et passim* or (*e*), if *sá(g)-gán* be a variant of *šagan*(= *šù(g)-gán*, see above, note 2), by "weighty one"; or lastly (*f*), *sá(g)-gán* may be a variant of *saḫan* = *šaḫan* (*i.e.*, *MUŠ*), or of *sag-gán* = *ša-ka-an* = ^{d}*ŪG*.

The *original* signification of *sá(g)-gán* = *sapâḫu* is, however, "to open," then "to open by force," "to tear apart," "to spread asunder," "to scatter about." This original meaning is still evident in passages like *C. T.*, XV, 12 : 21, 22 = IV. *R.*², 28*, no. 4, rev., 63–66 = *R. H.*, p. 122 : 7–18, where we read:

gäl-la-bi ur-e(ri, ra)
[*gäl-la*]-*šu*
"Its (the city's or harem's) maidens
sá(g)-gán-bi
[*sa-ap*]-*ḫu-us-su*
"Its virgins

ám(an)-da-ab-lá(dal)(-e)
kal-bu uš-taq(ta-qal)-lil, (na-ak-ru it(i)-ta-ši)
'the dog (= enemy),' lo, has defiled (the enemy has carried away)
mu(š)-bar-ri(ra) ám(an)-da-ab-lá
bar-ba-ru ú-šaq(ta-qal)-lil
'the wild dog,' lo, has defiled."

The lit. translation is, however, on account of the *da* in the verbal-forms: "*Mit den Mädchen (Jungfrauen) hat 'der schändliche Hund' Unzucht betrieben,*" cf. for this complaint, *H. A. V.*, p. 439 : 8ff. Here then the *sá(g)* (*-gán*) is evidently a variant of *sí(g)-ga* occurring in the well-known *gĭr-sí(g)-ga, i.e.*, "one who opens the *gĭr* = *šêpû*," "a prostitute," cf. the Hammurabi Code, 32 : 50 *passim*. Surely a translation "booty (*gäl-la*)" or "pillage (*sá(g)-gán*)" is inconceivable, because the enemy never *defiles* booty, but is glad to get and to save it—the more the better! *Sa-ap-ḫu-ti* (abstr. for concr.), because parallel with *gäl-la*, is a euphemistic expression for "temple-women" sacred to Ishtar, the *kizrêti* or *ka*[*zrâti*] (thus emend M. 3939, *sá(g)-gán-dú(g)-ga*), women who are there *ana sapâḫi*(= *pitû*) *ur-ši-na;* cf. also *gäl-la* = *ûru* and Jensen, *K. B.*, VI¹, p. 428; *H. W. B.*, p. 131*a*.

With regard to the *-nu-di* three explanations would, *per se*, seem to be possible: (1) In view of such forms as *ŭ-dú(g)-ga* = *ŭ-di* = *ŭ, i.e., barû, amâru;* or *ūr-di* (cf. col. IV, 16) = *ūr* = *ùr, i.e., ṣalâlu, kabâsu*, we might consider *sá(g)-gán-nu-di* to be a variant of *sá(g)-gán-dú(g)* = *sapâḫu*, M. 3942; *C. T.*, XV, 7 : 12; 9 : 23. But against this explanation is the *nu*. The *di* of the "*fuller* forms" is never connected with the simple root by means of an *overhanging vowel*, hence *nu* cannot be here such an overhanging vowel. (2) Or we may see in *nu-di* a variant of *nun-silim* and cf. such expressions as *ŭg-gù-silim ŭg-gù-nun-silim* (*H. A. V.*, p. 405, note 37). If so, *sá(g)-gán-nu-silim* would be "a roaring destroyer," "one who destroys by thunder and lightning." (3) Lastly, we may take *nu-di* in the sense of "one without equal," "one who cannot be compared" = (*ša*) *la iš-ša-na-nu*, reading either *nu-di*, or *nu-sá*, cf. the attribute of ^{d}*NIN-IB: ša ina taḫâzi la iš-ša-na-nu ti-bu-šu*, Ashshurn., I, 1, and see below, note 90. The last two explanations, so it seems to me, are to be preferred. For *sá(g)-gán* cf. also *H. A. V.*, no. 15, col. II, 5; no. 20 : 23; for *sá(g)-gán-nu-di, l.e.*, no. 22, rev., IV, 13; below, col. III, 45, and above, pp. 21, 8; 22, 1. The proper names, quoted above, are *hypocoristica* and attributes of the "Son" of a given Babylonian trinity; the *BAR* is either = *šarru*, "king," or *šâru*, "wind," while the third name might(!) possibly be read *Meš-gišdar-nu-di*, "the hero of the incomparable scepter (sc. has given, etc.)."

74. The suggestion of M. 3025 to read *dŭ-gál* = *napâ*[*lu*] is, no doubt, correct.

75. Notice the gloss *giš* to *mu(š)!* Cf. here the passage occurring in K. 128 : 10 (Jensen, *Kosm.*, p. 470), where ^{d}*NIN-IB* is called ^{d}*Giš-bar munnaḫzu qāmu lim*[*nūti*?], "*angezündetes Feuer, das die B*[*ōsen*] *verbrennt.*" See also notes 36 and 78. From this it follows that ^{d}*NIN-IB*, as regards his nature and attributes, was the same as: (*a*) ^{d}*Giš-bar* = ^{d}*Mu(š)-bar;* (*b*) ^{d}*NE-gi;* (*c*) ^{d}*Ir-ra;* (*d*) ^{d}*Gĭr* or ^{d}*Nergal* (cf. no. 4, rev., 1, 2)—each and all of them being the personified "consuming fire (cf. note 78)" that burns the enemies.

76. Emendation doubtful. If correct, cf. *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 34, notes 11, 13.

77. Cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 432, note 1.

78. ^{d}*NIN-IB* is the ^{d}*Gĭr* (see note 75) who is the "god of lightning (*ša birqi*)," M. 6924, hence either "lightning fire" or "mighty, angry, consuming, terrible fire."

79. Cf. col. III, 25; col. I, 6.

80. Cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 375, note 1; p. 405, note 37 (in both passages the "(= *GIR*)" is to be erased), or either one of the following emendations might be considered: *ŭg* [*BA-nu-ti-la*], "not sparing storm"; *ŭg* [*gab-šu-gar nu-tug-a*], "storm without equal"; *ŭg* [*zag-è-a*], cf. note 68.

81. Either *Zîq šâri* (*C. T.*, XVI, 19 : 35) or according to *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 52, note 2, " furious (then read *mér-ri*) *ushu.*"

82. Notice here the omission of sign *dingir* before *Dun-gi!*

83. For this emendation cf. *C. T.*, XV, 26 : 21, *i-dib-bi é-gal-e na-nam zi su(d)-ŭg-gál na-ù-tu(d)*, Zimmern, *Tamūz*, p. 237 : "*Ihre Klage ist (wie) um einen Palast, worin Langlebigkeit (?) nicht wächst*"; lit., "the complaint is like that of the palace not producing (begetting) one (or something) having the breath of life for long days (*i.e.*, which begets short-lived children). Cf. also col. III, 34.

84. With *ša(g)-gi(n)* = *bibil libbi* cf. *B.E.*, XVII, part 1, p. 144, note 2. See also *C. T.*, XV, 28 : 6; 29 : 6, where ^{d}*Dumu-zi* is called the *ša(g) azag-ga-na An-nim.*

85. See above, note 1.

86. Cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 382, note 1, where the "mistress of Isin," *i.e.*, "the wife of ^{d}*NIN-IB*," has likewise the attribute *kar* = "savior."

87. See *H. A. V.*, p. 385, note 2; p. 393 : 65, 70; *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 65.

88. Seeing that I consider this to be the "opening line (cf. note 22)" of a prayer, I supplied *-ga* = relative clause, thus indicating that this is an attribute of ^{d}*NIN-IB*. If without *-ga*, this would be a "wish" or "imperative": "as a present give!"

89. This line, in all probability, continues the liturgical note of l. 35, for which see above, note 22.

90. For *zag-di* (or *sá*) = *šanânu* see *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 62, note 1, and for *zag-di(sá)* = *di(sá)*, *H. A. V.*, p. 403, note 36. Cf. also above, note 73.

91. Cf. above, p. 17.

92. The attribute *igi-gin*, "leader, first, foremost, etc.," is ascribed to ^{d}*NIN-IB* also in *C. T.*, XXV, 12 : 17; cf. Tallquist, *Namenbuch*, pp. xiv, 269. It is found in connection with all gods who played the rôle of the "Son" and who reveal themselves in their sevenfold power: *kala(g)-ga-7* | *a-lik pa-na*, V. *R.*, 30 : 8.

93. Variant of *si-gûr-gûr* = *ša qarni kabbaru* (see above, note 9) and this figuratively for *ša e-mu-qi ma-lu-u.*

94. Cf. col. IV, 22. The sign *KA* + inserted *sí(g)* I take to be a graphic variant of *KA* + inserted *šit*, Br. 818 (cf. 816!); M. 509, 510; F. 450; Langdon, *Babyloniaca*, II, p. 282 = *šagâmu*. For *šit* = *še* see ^{d}*Nidaba-šit* (variant *še*), above, note 1; and *še* = *se*, *i.e.*, *sí(g)*. It may not be impossible that *Ksí(g)A-gí-gí* is = *KbalagA-gí-gí* (see *H. A. V.*, p. 431 : 8) = *nagâgu*, syn. *šagâmu*, and this the more so as the sign *balag* is practically nothing but *sí(g)*+*sí(g)*, Br. 7008; if so, the doubtful *KA* of Br. 687 is either *Ksí(g)A-* or *KbalagA- gí-gí*.

95. Cf. col. I, 2; *C. T.*, XVI, 19 : 40; *C. T.*, XV, 15; *C. T.*, XV, 16 : 9; *H. A. V.*, no. 5 : 11, *á-kala(g) ug kír-ḫur*, an attribute of ^{d}*Galu-RU* (not *lùl*(!), cf. Br. 1426, $^{ru-u}$*RŬ*(!) | ditto (= *da šá-pu*) *šá diš-*[*pí*]). The name of the god occurring in *C. T.*, XXIV, 7 : 27, according to the parallel passage *C. T.*, XXIV, 35*a* : 7, has to be emended to ^{d}*KA*$^{ki-ri}$ [*-ni(zal?)-?*].

96. *Dú-dú* = *naqâpu*, "to lay low by means of the 'horns (*si*)' which the mountain-ox has," cf. Jensen, *K. B.*, VI^{1}, p. 577; *H. W. B.*, p. 464*a*, and see above, note 68,

97. For ^{d}*NIN-IB* as judge cf. no. 4, rev., 11, 12, and *H. A. V.*, p. 402, note 17; cf. also the sixth of the seven "mighty names" of ^{d}*Enlil: am erín-na di-di*, "lord, judge (*dâ'in dîni*) of the people."

98. Cf. no. 2 = 3 : 21, *kur-da-rí*. A translation: "no mountain (= mighty nation or prince) escapes his hand" might likewise be considered; if so, then cf. above, note 26, and the references there given.

99. Cf. cols. I, 37; III, 28, 32; IV, 18. For ^{d}*Nu-nam-ner* we find sometimes ^{d}*Nun-nam-ner*, cf. Böllenrücher, *Nergal*, p. 15, note 1. According to *C. T.*, XXIV, 5 : 43, ^{d}*Nun-nam-ner* is = ^{d}*En-lil*, hence no. 4, rev., 5, 6, states that ^{d}*NIN-IB* was endowed with strength by ^{d}*En-lil-lá*. Later on, when *Ashshur* played the rôle of *Enlil*, the ^{d}*Nun-nam-mer* became, of course, god *Ashshur*, V. *R.*, 3*a* : 33 (= *K. B.*, II, p. 180), *arah šarri AN*^{mésh} *An-šar AD AN*^{mésh} ^{d}*Nun-nam-ner*. The ^{d}*Nin-ì-si-in-na*(= ^{d}*Gu-la*, the wife of ^{d}*NIN-IB*) is the *é-gí-a en* ^{d}*Nun-nam-ner-ra* = *kal-lat be-li* ^{d}*Nun-nam-ner, i.e.*, "the bride of N.," *B. A.*, V, p. 644 : 1, 5. For the interchange of "bride" and "wife" see *H. A. V.*, p. 405, note 43, and for *nu* = *nun* cf. ^{d}*Nu(nun)-ner*, ^{d}*Ma-nu(nun)-gal*, *á-nu(nun)-gal*, etc.

100. Cf. note 49 and *Ninrag*, p. 16 : 18, 19, where ^{d}*NIN-IB* is said to be *nam-lugal-la túm-ma* = *ša ana šarru-(šár)-u(ru)-ti šu-lu-ku*, "fit for kingship."

101. Here ^{d}*Ninâ* is the daughter of ^{d}*IM*, while in other passages (see *Creation-Story*, pp. 25ff.) she appears as a daughter of ^{d}*En-ki* or of *NUN*^{ki} (= *Eridu*) and as sister of ^{d}*Nin-Gir-su*, ^{d}*Nidaba* and ^{d}*Sirara*^{ki}*-ŠUM-ta.*

102. For the pronunciation of this name see my forthcoming translation of *C. T.*, XV, 15.

103. *A-du(g)* is generally in opposition to *ab-ba*, cf. *šu-ḫa a-du(g)*, "one who fishes in sweet water," opposed to

šu-ḫa ab-ba, "one who fishes in the ocean or salt water." Here, however, *a-du(g)* is rather a syn. of *a-silim* (no. 2 = 3 : 1), "*Wasser des Heils*," "*Lebenswasser*," opposed to *ú-du(g)*, "*Lebensspeise*," cf. *H. A. V.*, no. 4 : 36ff, *ú-nam-ti(l)-la, a-nam-ti(l)-la*.

104. Emendation doubtful. *Á-nun(nu*, see note 99)-*gál* appears as attribute of (*a*) ^{d}*En-lil*, *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 4, *ŭg á-nun-gál a-a* ^{d}*En-lil-lá*, "greatly powerful storm, father *Enlil*"; (*b*) ^{d}*Innanna*, *C. T.*, XV, 8 : 3 = 24 : 11, *ùb*(= *ŠA(G)+ÁB*, variant of *ŠA(G)-ÍB!)-ni-gál(ma-al) á-nu-gál(ma-al) me-en(mèn)*, "the furious one, the greatly powerful one, I am"; (*c*) ^{d}*Nidaba*, *R. A.*, VII (1910), p. 107, II, 3, *nin-mu a-nun-gál É-kur-ra*, "my mistress, greatly powerful one of *Ékur*." For the interchange of *á* and *a* cf. ^{d}*En-á*^{a}*-nun* = ^{d}*Gu-la*, *C. T.*, XXV, 2 : 33 = XXIV, 21*b* : 8. To whom does this attribute refer here? To ^{d}*Enlil* or to *Ninâ?* If to the latter, we ought to emend *me* or *me-zu* and translate: "Greatly powerful one, (thou) who hast called him, thy ordinances, oh, let him execute them!" If one prefers, he may emend [*á-*]*gál* (cf. col. I, 3 and note 6) and refer the whole sentence to ^{d}*NIN-IB*. In this case ^{d}*Bur-*^{d}*Sin* would have been "called by ^{d}*NIN-IB*" whose commands he now executes. This last emendation is in all probability the best, see next two notes.

106. As the *É-šu-me-du* is the Temple and abode of ^{d}*NIN-IB*, the *ni* can refer only to [^{d}*Á-nun*]-*gál*, *i.e.*, to ^{d}*NIN-IB*: *NIN-IB*'s dwelling, the offerings due to *NIN-IB!* The people pray to ^{d}*Ninâ*, l. 3, that she may (*ḫe*) bring it about that the king (^{d}*Bur-*^{d}*Sin*) may be and remain the *SAG-UŠ* of the Temple of ^{d}*NIN-IB*: ^{d}*Ninâ*, evidently, appears here as "mediator" between the people and ^{d}*NIN-IB*—this is, as far as I know, the first occurrence of the Sumerian "*O sanctissima ora pro nobis!*" Cf. here the similar passage in *H. A. V.*, p. 439 : 121, where ^{d}*NIN-Mar*^{ki} asks ^{d}*NIN-IB* to be the mediator between her and ^{d}*Enlil*.

107. ^{d}*Bur-*^{d}*Sin* shall be the *SAG-UŠ* = "protector" of the *É-šu-me-du*, the beloved abode of [^{d}*Á-nun*]-*gál* or ^{d}*NIN-IB*. In the historic inscriptions ^{d}*Bur-*^{d}*Sin* calls himself the *SAG-UŠ É-*^{d}*En-lil-ka(li)*, *E. B. II.*, pp. 269, note 11; 271 : 8; 272 : 8; cf. also *S. A. K. I.*, pp. 196–200. This would show that the *É-šu-me-du* and the *É-*^{d}*En-lil* formed one temple complex, were practically one, hence [^{d}*Á-nun*]-*gál* = ^{d}*Enlil* or ^{d}*NIN-IB!* Cf. here the *É-ninnû* of Nippur, the temple of both, ^{d}*NIN-IB* and ^{d}*Enlil* (then to be read *É-Illil*), *B. E.*, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 41, note 9. For *SAG-UŠ* = "protector" see *E. B. II.*, p. 271, note 8. Thureau-Dangin, *l.c.*, translates "*welcher erhebt das Haupt* (*Beschützer*)." This title, as far as I can see, is claimed by no other king of the II. dynasty of Ur but ^{d}*Bur-*^{d}*Sin*. It was revived, however, by king *Išme-Dagan* of the I. dynasty of Isin, *S. A. K. I.*, p. 206, 5 : 3.

108. Lit. *lû ukîn*. For *e* = *lû* see *H. A. V.*, p. 419, note 5.

109. With this *EME-SAL* form *mu(š)-bar* = *giš-bar* cf. the *ma mu(š)-bar*(= *É-giš-bar*) of *C. T.*, XV, 13 : 17. For the reading *bar* see *H. A. V.*, p. 403, note 28, and for other *EME-SAL* forms in *EME-KU* texts cf. above, note 56.

110. For this emphatic *šá* see *H. A. V.*, p. 401, note 11.

111. Lit. "ornament" = *simâti*, *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 40 : 29. Cf. the title of *Libit-Ištar*, king of Isin, *en me-te(n) Unu(g)* ^{ki}*-ga*, "the lord, the pride of Ereeh," *S. A. K. I.*, p. 204, 3, col. I, 8.

112. *EME-SAL* form for *uš-dú(g)* = *raḫû*, or *giš-dú(g)* = *išari raḫû*, and these the "fuller forms" for *mu(š)* = *uš* = *giš*.

113. Cf. I. *R.*, 17 : 7, (^{d}*NIN-IB*) *ša ti-bi-šu a-bu-bu*.

114. *Sag-sum* = (1) *ḫašû*, "to escape"; cf. col. III, 42. *É-kur a-šar la ḫa-ši-i*(= *ki sag-nu-ṣi-em-mà*) is "*Ékur*, the place without escape (hence parallel with *gi-gùn-na* and *arallu*)," IV. *R.*^{2}, 24, no. 2 : 3, 4; cf. also *C. T.*, IV, 27 (B.^{1} 329) : 6, *a-na SAG amtu ḫi-ša-a-am e-zi-ib*, where *ḫišâm* is not so much "*Zahlungsaufschub*" as "escape, liberation"; *mu-ru-uṣ ḫa-še-e* (= *ḪAR*), "the fleeting sickness"; *û-mu ḫa-šù-ú*(= *ŭg šù-uš-RU*) = "the storm let loose; destructive storm, that brings into misery, darkness," Br. 7955; and *ŭg-šù-uš nu-UB-gi(d)-i* = "storm which (*i*) an escape (*šù-uš*) does not (*nu*) grant *UB-gi(d)*), Br. 7956 = *ûmu la padû* (= *ŭg BA-nu-íl-la*) or "which out of misery does not remove, bring." (2) *Sag-sum* or *sag-sí(g)* = *ḫâšu*, syn. of *alâku* and *dâku*, see note 17 to no. 2 = 3 : 18. (3) *Sag-sum* = *ana širiqti nadânu*, "to give as a present," Cyl. A, 1 : 26.

115. For *di* at the end of words in so-called "fuller forms," cf. above, note 73. *Ūr* I consider to be a variant of *ùr* = *ṣalâlu*, *kabâsu;* for such a change of *ūr* and *ùr* cf. ^{d}*Nun-ūr-*[*ra*], *C. T.*, XXIV, 14 : 40 = 27 : 9*a*, with *Nun-ùr-ra*, *C. T.*, XXV, 48 : 7 (= [^{d}*Nun*]-*nu-ru*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 42 : 114) = ^{d}*É-a*. For *ùr* = *ṣalâlu* = (*sīg*), see *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, p. 46, note 3, and for *sī(g)* = *si-gi* = *sí(g)*, *l.c.*, p. 53 : 7 and below, note 17 to no. 2 = 3 : 18. Hence, *gĭr-ūr-di* is a syn. of *gĭr-si-gi* or *gĭr-sí(g)-sí(g)* = *ana šêpâ asâḫu*, "to east, to trample under the feet, to crush." Notice

also that *ūr* is = *ašâšu* or *hamâmu*, but *ašuštu* is originally "*die Niedergeschlagenheit*" = *tâsuḫtu*, "the being crushed, trampled upon."

116. Cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 431 : 3, *ša(g)-ta nam-ur-sag ní me-lám-da da-ra KU(= egi) sag-g[í-a]*, "endowed with (lit. 'in the heart') heroship, clothed with awe-inspiring fear, prince without equal."

117. *Dúr-dú(g)* = *kipû ša amelu*, which, however, cannot mean "*sich niederlassen, vom Menschen?*", *H. W. D.*, p. 346*b*, but must have here the signification: "to bow down, to cast down, to stretch down, to put down, to put under the yoke, to yoke, to enslave," syn. of *kanâšu* (cf. *gú ki-šú gar* = *kipû ša amelu* and *kanâšu ša amelu*); cf. also *dúr-dú(g)* = *šummânu ša alpi*, "the yoke of the oxen" = *dúr-sĭr-nun-šú-tu(r)*, M. 8096; but the ^{d}*Dúr-sĭr-nun-šú-tu(r)* is ^{d}*NIN-IB*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 7 : 19 = 34*a* : 2, or ^{d}*GÍR ša šum-ma-ni*, *i.e.*, "Nergal of the yoke," *C. T.*, XXIV, 42 : 95 (here with *sir* for *sĭr*), or the *mu-lu ŠE+AMAR-ŠE+AMAR-ra-ge* = *be-lu mar-kas ma-a-tum* (variant *nam(?)-sag kur* = *a-šā-rid ma-a-tum*), *R. H.*, p. 49 : 7–9 (here mentioned between ^{d}*MAR-TU* = ^{d}*A-mur-ru*, ll. 5, 6, and ^{d}*Ḫu-mu-ṣi-ru*, l. 10), thus designating the "Son" as "the one who brings (reduces) everything under the great and extended yoke," who subjects everything (= the whole earth: *markas mâtum*) under his power.

118. Cf. besides the two passages here also *H. A. V.*, no. 8 : 19; no. 13. V, 7; *C. B. M.*, 11168 : 15 (unpublished) and other passages. See also note 25 and below, col. IV, 38.

119. *Z(s)a-b(p)i-in dûr mât nukurti mûsakniš zâ'irê;* cf. no 4, rev., 5, 6, 9, 10.

120. This being the subscription, *a-da-ab* had in all probability the signification "prayer."

3. *NIN-IB*, THE SAVIOR OF BABYLONIA FROM FOES BOTH HISTORICAL AND MYTHICAL.

One of the most interesting and most important inscriptions of the whole Sumerian literature, so far published, is the hymn or epic, published here in two copies, nos. 2 and 3. So celebrated indeed was this hymn that even at the latest times copies were made of it. One of these, a Neo-Babylonian copy with a Semitic translation, written about 2500 years later than the Nippur texts, has fortunately been preserved to us. It is published in *R. H.*, p. 123. Though most fragmentary, I was able, with the help of the tablets from the Temple Library of Nippur, to restore the text of this Neo-Babylonian copy. It begins with l. 13 and ends with l. 35, thus showing that the first twelve and the last six lines are missing. The restoration will be found below, at the bottom of pages 67–70. It seems that the Neo-Babylonian copy goes back directly to our text published under no. 2. Notice that both texts have the same number of Sumerian lines on Obverse and on Reverse. Furthermore, the *ḫi-bi-eš-šù*, *i.e.*, "broken away," occurring in the Neo-Babylonian copy, ll. 23, 24, 25, indicates that the original from which it was copied was mutilated at the end of the lines named, exactly as we find it in no. 2 of the Nippur original, where I tried to emend the reading according to the context.

The very fact that *two* specimens of one of the same text are found in the Temple Library of Nippur speaks well for the character of this Library (cf. *B. E.*, Series D, V, fasc. 2, p. 6), while their several variants would indicate that both must be independent copies of a much older original (see *l.c.*, p. 9, *β*).

The historical background of this hymn is to be sought in the invasion and oppression of Babylonia by the terrible foes from the north, the Guti, Lulubi and Elamites,[1] as the historical inscriptions, preserved in the Temple Library, clearly indicate and the several lamentation songs,[2] bewailing the destruction of the temples and their harems, testify. Repeatedly these hymns refer to the enemies from the north by calling them "dogs (*ur, mu(š)-bar; kalbu, barbaru*)."

Miserable indeed must have been the fate of the Babylonians under the cruel rule and obnoxious yoke of these "dogs," who took advantage of a terrible drought (l. 1) that had befallen Babylonia when invading the land of Shumer, filling it with "desolation as if with darkness" (l. 2), destroying its temples and harems and leading the gods of the several cities away into captivity (l. 3), thus putting an end to the independence of those cities. Not satisfied with this, they forced the Babylonians to do the most menial labors: the making of bricks (l. 4)—exactly as Pharao did with the children of Israel during their sojourn in Egypt. And the only reward the Babylonians received for these most humiliating and degrading labors was—taxes, nothing but taxes (l. 5)!

Just as the children of Israel cried out for help in their days of distress, till the Lord sent unto them a deliverer in the person of Moses, so did the Babylonians a thousand years before them (ll. 6ff.). *ᵈNIN-IB*, the "great hero," "mighty warrior" and "son" of *ᵈEnlil* listens to their prayers (ll. 13, 14), he appears, prepares for battle (l. 15) and leads the Babylonians victoriously against their common foes who are driven out of Babylonia and whose cities are destroyed (l. 19). He alone could accomplish such a complete victory; for is he not he who has conquered the "mighty primeval waters" (l. 20), is he not the "rock of ages," the "eternal, everlasting mountain" against whom even the "waters of hades," the old foe, the dragon, Rahab and Leviathan,[3] the gates of hell cannot prevail (l. 21)?

NIN-IB, however, is more than a savior and deliverer! He "scatters but he gathers also" (l. 22). After the enemy has been overcome, he restores the devas-

[1] See *B. E.*, Series D, V, fasc. 2, p. 61, and the references there given.

[2] Cf. for the present *H. A. V.*, pp. 438ff., and *l.c.*, no. 15, etc.

[3] Cf. here passages like Is. 51 : 9, "Art thou not it that cut Rahab in pieces, that pierced the dragon? Art thou not it which dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep; that made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over?" Ps. 89 : 8ff., "O Lord God of hosts, who is a mighty one, like unto thee, O Jah? . . . . Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces, as one that is slain; Thou hast scattered thine enemies with the arm of thy strength. The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine: The world and the fullness thereof, thou hast founded them." Ps. 74 : 12, "Yet God is my king of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth. Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength: Thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters. Thou brakest the heads of Leviathan in pieces, Thou gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness. Thou didst cleave fountain and flood: Thou driedst up mighty rivers. The day is thine, the night also is thine: Thou hast prepared the light and the sun. Thou hast set all the borders of the earth: Thou hast made summer and winter."

tated land of Babylonia to former and greater beauty; brings order out of chaos, ushers in a new period of peace, happiness and abundance. With the destruction of the enemy a new creation is made possible. He waters the barren and dry fields, adorns them with corn and grass (l. 28) makes them ready for harvest, produces fruit as abundantly as grass (l. 29), yea, heaps up "like mounds" the heaps of grain and corn (l. 30). Surely, he is indeed a mighty deliverer and restorer!

In his work of delivery, salvation and restoration he acts, however, merely as an agent of "the gods" (l. 32), *i.e.*, of his "Father" *ᵈEnlil* (l. 33). To him, then, and to his "Son" is rightfully due all love, adoration and homage (l. 33). The "Father" ordains the salvation and sends his "Son"; the "Son" accomplishes the salvation.

After having accomplished the work of salvation, *NIN-IB* is "reunited" with *ᵈNin-maḫ*. This reuniting with the third person of the Nippurian trinity takes place "on New-Year's day" when "the fates are determined" in the month *Ezen-ᵈDumu-zi* or *Du(l)-azag* (= *Tašrîtu*, March-April) and was considered to be a "marriage" between the "Son" and "Mother" earth. The "Mother" becomes thus the "Bride"[1] (l. 35) and wife of the "true Son,"[1] *i.e.*, of *ᵈNIN-IB*, the *ᵈDumu-zi*[2] of the Nippur trinity.

Lastly, in reward for his victory over the enemy, *ᵈNIN-IB* is exalted into the heavens, receiving henceforth the highest name of, and co-equality with, "God the Lord (*An ᵈEnlil*, ll. 39ff.)."[3]

We see at once that this hymn, as regards the events enumerated, resembles closely the so-called Creation-epic, which likewise praises Marduk as the "savior" who overcame the primeval waters or *Tiâmat*, and who, in consequence of this victory, received the name of "Lord (*ᵈEnlil*)." In fact, there is not a single Babylonian trinity in which the "Son" does not appear as the "savior."

The following is an attempt at rendering this famous, though rather difficult, hymn:

No. 2 = 3.

C. B. M. 9232 = *C. B. M.* 9935.

For photographic reproduction see pls. III, IV, nos. 3–6.

Variants in ( ) are from no. 3. For ll. 13–35 we have a Neo-Babylonian duplicate (with a Semitic translation) which is published in *R. H.*, p. 123, no. 71, and which, though badly mutilated, has been restored with the help of the

[1] Cf. here also *B. E.*, XVII¹, p. 40 : 5, where *ᵈNin-maḫ* appears likewise as the "wife" of *ᵈNIN-IB*.

[2] More about this in my forthcoming volume on "Hymns and Prayers to *ᵈDumu-zi*," *B. E.*, XXX.

[3] Cf. also *B. E.*, Series D, V, p. 61.

tablets here published. The text of *R. H.*, p. 123, together with the restored Semitic translation may be found at the bottom of pages 67–70. Cf. also *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, pp. 24–26.

1 *ŭg*[1]*-bi-a a-silim ki-ta-gin*
When life-giving fountains of water,

a-gár-ra nu-u[m-de-a]
the fields not had watered,

2 *a-ri(-ri) dŭ(-šà)-dŭ-dŭ*[2] *ù*(caret)-*ŭg*(caret)*-zal*[3]*-li-da-dím*
When ravaging enemies as if with darkness,

kur-ra (é-)ri-a ba-ni-íb-íl-a
the land with desolation (destruction) had filled,

3 *dingir kalam-ma*
When the gods of the "country"

ba-láḫ-gi-eš-a
into captivity they had led,

4 *gish*[4]*al* [4] *(gish)dusu*[4]*-bi*
When "pick and shovel"

mu-un-lá-eš-a
they had made us to carry,

5 *ḪAR-ra-ám*
When but taxes,

KU-GÁR[5]*-bi ni-me-a*
they had made to be our wages (reward),

6 *(gú) kalam ḫaš*[6]*-bi-šú*
(Then) on account of (all) the "country's" misery

é galu gù-ba-an-de
the (house's) people cried out (saying):

7 *[d]Idigna nam*[7]*-gu-la ba(-an)-KU*
"The Tigris into desolation is cast,

ŭ-bi nu-ag-e
to navigate it, it is impossible;

8 *ab kar-ri*
"A haven of safety,

galu nu-šár(šar)-e
nobody finds,

9 *ša(g)-gar (galu)ḫúl-a-gar*
"The hungry and the afflicted

nu-šár-e
nobody visits (looks up)!

10 *íd tur-tur-ri šu-luḫ*
"'The rivulets (canals) make precious (to rise),

galu gŭb-bí[8]*-in-ag saḫar nu-mu-da-an-zi-zi-i*
the innocent into the dust, oh, do not cast!

11 *gan zi-ma*[9]*-a nu(-mu-un)-šub-šub-bi*
"'The barren

e[10]*-ag nu-gál-la*
and dry fields,

12 *kur-kur-ri éš-šin-na nu-gub-bu*
"'The lands not growing (standing) with corn

še-bir[11]*-a (R. H., da(l)) i-im-ag*
for harvest, oh, make them ready!'"

13* *en-e giš-túg-PI maḫ*	*im-gub-bi*[12]
The lord, who his gracious ears,	behold, inclines,
14 *ᵈNIN-IB dumu ᵈEn-lil-lá-ge*	*gal-bi ni-gà-gà*
NIN-IB, the son of *Enlil*,	graciously listened
15 *gu-ru-um*[13] *ná kur-ra*	*mi-ni-in-ag*
Heaps of stones in the mountain	he heaped up.
16 *im diri(g)-diri(g)-ga-dím*	*á*[14]*-bí in-sú-sú-e*
He, who like a passing cloud	by his own strength moves about,
17 *bád-maḫ-dím ùg*[15]*-ba*	*igi-ba-ne-in-d[ŭ-e]*
Who like a fastness over his people (country)	keeps guard,
18 *ᵍⁱˢʰBAL*[16] *ki-šar*[17]*-ra*	*mu-ni-in-[ga]r*
A complete change (destruction)	has brought about:
19 *ur-sag-e mu-un-gab*	*uru UR-bi m[u-un-s]ún*
The hero—he has cast down(,)	the cities(,) as one he has (them) destroyed,

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* Here begins *R. H.*, p. 123, obv. 4ff., which may be restored as follows:

(The beginning is broken away.)

13	(*R. H.*, p. 123, obv. 4) *en*(!)*-e giš-túg-[PI maḫ]*	*in-gub*
	(5) *be-lu ú-zu-u[n-šù rabîti]*[ti]	*iš-kun-ma*
14	(6) *ᵈNIN-IB en dumu ᵈEn-lil-lá-ge*(!)	*gal-bi ši*(= adverb(= *iš*), or direction, or mistake for *mi*? cf. l. 15)*-in-gà-gà*
	(7) ᵈditto *be-lum mar* ᵈditto	*ra-bi-iš iš-ta-nak-kan*
15	(8) [*gu*]*-ru-un ná kur-ra*	*mi*(! not *ši*)*-ni-in-gar*
	(9) *gu-ru-un* [*ab*]*-ni ina šadîi*	*ig-[r]u-un*
16	(10) [*im-diri(g)-diri(g)-g*]*a-dím* (cf. IV. *R.*², 9 : 61*a*)	*ní-bi mu-un-sú*
	(11) *ki-ma i[r*(!)*-pi]-e-ti muq-qal-pi-ti*	*ina ram-ni-šù i-šad-di-ḫu*
17	(12) *bád-[maḫ]-dím kalam-ma*	*igi-ba-ni-in-[dŭ-e]*
	(13) *ki-ma du-ur ra-bi-i*	*pa-an ma-a-ti i-[tam-ma-ru]*
18	(14) [ᵍⁱˢʰ]*BAL ki-šar-ra*	*mi-ni-[in-gar]*
	(15) *i-na-an a-di* [*ša-a*]*-ri*	*iš-kun-[ma* ?]
19	(16) *ur-sag mu-un-g[ab]*	*uru UR-a* [*mu-un-sún*]
	(17) *qar-ra-du ik-[mur]*	[*alâni*ᵐᵉˢʰ *mi*]*t*(!)*-ḫa-r*[*iš iq-qur*]

20 *a kala(g)-ga* — *ná*[18] *im-da-a[b]-di*[19]
The "mighty waters" — with stones he has conquered.

21 *ì-ne-šú(a)*[20] *a(e) kur-da-rí*[21]*-šú* — *ki-a nu-um-[bád-bád*[22]*]*
Now, the waters, though from hades, — against the "rock of ages" could not prevail;

22 *ni-bir-bir-a*[23] — *gú-ba-ni-íb(in)-[nigin]*
He it is, who has scattered— — he has also gathered;

23 (*[k]ur-ra*) *[sú(g)*(caret)*-zag](zaḫ*[24]*)-[gâ](ga)-a*[25](caret) — *ba-ni(-íb)-[? =] še-da*[26] (or *id*?)
He it is, who into plains and hills the mountains has turned, — who hast made them to tremble,

24 (*mu-un-ūr-ūr*) — (*[id]Idigna-a i)[m-mi-in-sí(g)*]
Who has made them to shake, — yea, who has cast them into the Tigris!

25 (*ê-gu(d)*) *a-gár-r[a]* — (*i-ni(!)-in)-[de*[27]*]*
With floods the fields, — lo, he has filled (watered, flooded),

26 *ì(!)-ne-šú ŭg-da* — *ni(g)-ki-šar-[ra-ge]*
Now with (scorching) winds (or dryness) — all of them.

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20 (18) *a kala(g)-ga* — *[ná] im-da-a[b(!)-di]*
(19) *me-e dan-nu-[ti]* — *[ina a]b-ni iš-b(p)iṭ* (or *iš-nu(!)-[un]*?)

21 (20) *i-ne-šú a kur-d[a-rí-šú]* — *ki-a nu-un-bád-d[a(?)*]
(21) *i-na-an-na mu-ú(!)* — *iš-tu ir-ṣi-ti a-na šadî*[i] *ul [e]-lu-ú*

22 (22) *ni-bir-bir-ri* — *gú-ba-ni-in-nigin*
(23) *šā ú-šap-pi-[ḫu]* — *up-taḫ-ḫi-ir*

23 (24) *kur-ra sú(g)-zag-[gâ-a]* — *mi-ni-in-*[ḫi-bi-esh-shù]
(25) *šā ina šadî*[i] *ṣi-i[r ba-ma]-a-ti ú-mal-lu-ú* — *[ina šurubbê it-ta-di]*

24 (Rev. 1) *mu-un-ur-ur* — *[[id]Idign]a-šú*[ḫi-bi-esh-shù]
(2) *iḫ-mu-u[m]* — *[a-na* [nâru] *I-d]i-ig-lat it-ta-di*

25 (3) *ê-gu(d) a-[gár-ra]* — *mi-*[ḫi-bi-esh-shù]
(4) *mi-l[a ú-ga]-ri* — *im-ki-ir*

26 (5) *i-ne-[šú ŭg-da]* — *en-ki-šar*
(6) *i-na-[an-na û-ma]* — *a-di šā-a-ri*

27 *lugal kalam-ma en* ^{d}*NIN-IB(-ra)*
In the king of the "country," in the lord *NIN-IB*,

28 *gan-e še gu-nu*[29]*-a*
"The fields with corn and grass

29 *šebir*[30] *saḫar* ^{gish}*sar-ge gurun*[31]
"As plentiful as dust the garden's harvest

30 *gür dù-da(l)(dê)*
"In granaries like 'tells'

31 *en-e kalam-ta*
"The lord, who the land

32 *dingir-ri-e-ne*
"The designs of the gods

33 ^{d}*NIN-IB a-a-ni*[33]
Him, yea, *NIN-IB's* (and his) father

sir-gal[28]*(?)-bi-šú mu-un-ši-ḫ[ul-li-eš]*
with singing and shoutings, in him one must (let us) rejoice (saying):

mi-ni-in-d[ím]
he has adorned,

mi-ni-in-íl
and fruit he has produced,

gú-im-mi-in-gur-gur[31]
the heaps he has heaped up!

kar im-ta-[gŭr-ru]
with a wall, lo, has surrounded:

mur[32]*-bi mu-u[n-s]í(g)*
grandly he has carried out—

lì[34] *ME-UR-ḫ[e]-i-i*[35]
forever one must (let us) reverence!"

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27 (7) *lugal kalam-[ma en* ^{d}*NIN-IB-ra]* — *[sir-gal(?)-bi-š]ú mu-un-ḫul-li-eš*
(8) *šár-r[i mâti be-li* ^{d}*NIN-IB]* — *[ina za-ma-ar ra-bi*(or *e-li*) *]-ti ḫa-du-[ú]*

28 (9) *gan-ni [še gu-nu-a]* — *[š]à(!)-mi-in-[dím]*
(10) *iq(!)-[la* (or *gi(!)-ni-e) ina še-i u qi-e]* — *ú-ban-ni*

29 (11) *[šebir saḫar* ^{gish}*sar-ge gurun]* — *šu-mi-ni-in-[íl]*
(12) *in-[bu u ebûru ša kirê ina turpû']-ti* — *ú-šā-aš-ši*

30 (13) *gür [dù-da(l)]* — *gú-im-mi-in-gar-[gar]*
(14) *[ina ka-ri-e] ti-li* — *ú-gar-ri-in*

31 (15) *[en-e kala]m-ta* — *kar i-[i]m-ta-g[ŭr-ru]*
(16) *[be-lum ša ana(ina?) ma]-a-ti* — *ka-a-ra uš-te-ra-a*

32 (17) *[dingir-ri-e-n]e* — *mur-bi mu-un-si-ig*
(18) *[ša ilâni*^{mésh} *ú-ṣu]r(!)-ta-šu-nu* — *iṭ-ṭi-ib*

33 (19) *[a-a e]n* ^{d}*NIN-IB-ge su(d)-ŭg-bi-šú* — *šu-mi-ni-in-gál-li-eš*
(20) *[a-na abi-š]ù u ana be-lì* ^{d}ditto — *ana ru-ḳi-e-ti [lû?] i-lab-bi-nu-ši*

34 *ŭg-bi-a sal-e É + SAL-a*	*sá-nam-ga*[36]*-[ni-íb]-dú(g)-d[ú(g)*]
At that time in love with the "maiden,"	in love with her he fell—
35 *ᵈNin-maḫ-e ki-uš-dú(g)-ga-ni*	[*ù-nu-mu-un-ši-íb-ḫug-ḫug*[37]]
With *Nin-maḫ* in her (his) bridal-chamber	he had not yet lied down—
36 *KIN-KIN*[38] *dugud-dím bar-ba*	[*e-mi-ni-uš*[39]]
Like a weighty (mighty) ruler (prince) at her side	he now, lo, took up his abode.
37 *i-dib kur né nu-gál-la*	*ba(R. H., bar)-ra-[an-da-í]l*[40]*-i*
"Into lamentation over the 'mountain' which has no strength	do not break out:
38 *(ù)-mu-un (á-maḫ)-a-ni*	*(i)[n- . - . -gar]*
"'The lord's great might,	lo, has brought it about (to pass);
39 *(u)r-sag-gal An-dím*	*íb-(ba)-[ni](na)-da*(caret) *n[u-mu-da-t]e-ga*
"'The great hero, (he is) like *Anu*,	against his wrath none can prevail;
40 *ŭg-šur [d]i-(a-gin)*	*(ùḫ gab-ba)-[ni mu-s]í(g)*
"'Like a furious, rushing tempest	the breath (poison) of his breast sweeps (casts) down;
41 *en ši ᵈMu-ul-lil-lá men*	*sag-e-dú*
"'Lord he is! with *Enlil's* crown	his head, lo, is adorned!

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34 (21) [*ŭg-bi-a sal-e É + SAL*]*-su(d)*	*sá-ù-ga-ni-íb-dú(g)*
(22) [*ina û-mi-šu a-na*] *zin-niš-tum*	*ri-e-mu ik-šú-da-aš-šim-ma*
35 (23) [*ᵈNin-maḫ-e*] *ki(!)-uš(!)-dú(g)-ga-ni*	*ù-nu-mu-un-ši-íb-ḫug-ḫug*
(24) [*eli ᵈBe-lit-ì-lì ina aš-ri*] *ri-ḫu-ti-šù*	*ul i-ṣal-lal*

(The rest is broken away.)

Notes.

1. *UD*, signifying "day," "time," or "storm" (*ûmu*), has to be read *ŭg* or *û*, in *EME-KU*, and *ud*, in *EME-SAL*. Cf. *zag-mu-ŭg* = *zag-muk*, *H. A. V.*, p. 403, note 22, and the phonetic writing *ug-ba* (*i.e.*, *ŭg-ba* or *ŭg-bi-a*; *ŭg* = *enuma* in M. 11054 is originally = *ûma*;) = *i-nu-[ma]* = *ina ûma*, in Hilprecht *O. B. I.*, I², no. 129, obv. II, 12 (see also l. 3). The reading *UD* = *ŭg* in the signification "storm" is apparent from passages like *C. T.*, XXV, 22 : 35–39 = 23*a* : 2–6, *ᵈUg*, *ᵈUg dingir uruᵏⁱ*, *ᵈUg-gù-tab-ba*, *ᵈUg-gù-dŭ-a* (with this name cf. *H. A. V.*, pp. 375, note 1; 405, note 37, where the effaced sign, read *gĭr* = *úg* is rather that of *ug*), *ᵈUG* = *ᵈÛmuᵐᵘ*, M. 2548; *C. T.*, XXV, 22 : 35 = 23*a* : 2 (see above,

p. 20, note 1) compared with *C. T.*, XXIV, 47*b* : 14–16 = 35*b* : 2ff., $^{d}UD^{ug}$, $^{d}UD^{ug}$ *lugal* [*uru*^{ki}], $^{d}UD^{ug}$-*gù-tab-ba* and ^{d}*ŬG-gù-dŭ-a*, Br. 7823, where *ug* (against M. 11065–6 and Michatz, *Götterlisten*, p. 16) is a *gloss* to *UD*. That the sign *ḫe* had likewise the value *ûg* is well known, cf. above, p. 20, note 4. This *ûg* (! or *úg*(?), not *tur* as copy gives) is found likewise as a gloss to *UD*, see ^{d}*ŬG-gù-nun-silim*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 8 : 7 = XXV, 46*d* : 5 (here with variant *šá*(*g*) for *silim*) = [^{d}*UD*]*ûg*(!)-*gù-nun*(!)-[*silim*], *C. T.*, XXIV, 34*a* : 10. King's explanation (*C. T.*, XXIV, p. 18) of this last interchange is, therefore, hardly necessary. Cf. note 11 to my forthcoming *C. T.*, XV, 15. ^{d}*ŬG*, however, when standing for ^{d}*Šamaš*, has the pronunciation of either *Utu*, or [?]-*am-na* or *Šā-maš*, cf. *C. T.*, XXV, 25 : 4–6, [*d*] *ú-túUD* | ^{d}*UD*; [*d* .-*t*]-*am-na UD* | ditto; [*d*] *shā-mash UD* | ditto. But *d ú-túUD* was also ^{d}*A-a šā AN-e*, *C. T.*, XXV, 9 : 16 (cf. also ll. 28–30) and, so it would seem, *Sin*, see *C. T.*, XXV, 27*b* : 4; cf. l. 6, ^{d}*Uk*(*n*)-*ki-en* (= Sin, *C. T.*, XXIV, 18*a* : 12), and l. 7, ^{d}*És-ka-rum* (= Sin, *C. T.*, XXIV, 18*a* : 7)—"Father-Mother-Son" had the *same* name: "*Utu* = luminary, light," see also *H. A. V.*, p. 415, note 2, ^{d}*SUḪ*. Another pronunciation for ^{d}*UD* = ^{d}*Šamaš* seems(!) to have been ^{d}*Babbar*, see Br. 7794, 7795. The difference between *Utu* and *Babbar* is this: the former (*Utu*) is always the Sun-*god*, while the latter is the deified *sun* (whether rising or setting or shining or "sleeping"). The proper name of *V. S.*, VII, no. 32 : 21, cannot be read with Ungnad, *B. A.*, VI, p. 117, ^{d}*Ut-ta-gallu*(?)-*til*, "*der Sonnengott erhält den Menschen am Leben*," but must be transcribed by ^{d}*Ŭg-TA-găl-lu*-^{galu}*BAD* = *ûmu mêḫê dâ'ik* (sc. *nâkirê*, etc.). The *TA* is here not phonetic complement, but = *kattu*, see note 11 to no. 4, below, hence *ŭg-TA-găl-lu* lit. = *ûmu ša katti-šu mêḫû*. The *sun* as *planet* had also the reading ^{d}*Gaššebi*, see II. *R.*, 48 : 49*a*, *b*.

2. A threefold repetition of a sign expresses the greatest intensity; cf., *e.g.*, *C. T.*, XV, 7 : 22 = 24 : 3|5 (the word of God the Lord destroys everything, possessions, wife, child and) *ì nigin-ne*(*na*)-*en ì šù-šù-šù-gì-en*, "the house which it had graciously looked upon and the house which it had most firmly established"; *C. T.*, XV, 15 : 11, (^{d}*IM* = Rammân) *mu-zu kalam-ma mu-un-dú-dú-dú*, "thy name adorneth the land most gloriously" (follows: "thy awe-inspiring fear covereth the land like a garment"); *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 12, (Enlil) *sag-an-ta-ne ne-íb-ra-ra-ra*, "the haughty ones completely thou layest low." Thureau-Dangin, *R. A.*, VII (1910), p. 107, col. II, 3–5, (O *Nidaba*) *nin-mu a-nun-gál É-kur-ra, a en-en kalam-ma, ní-da KA-KA-KA*, "my mistress, mighty one (= *á-nun-gál*) of *Ékur*, sprout (= *riḫût*) of 'the lord of lords of the "country,"' with (by) thy help (*ní* = *á*, cf. note 14, below) are (all kinds of) exorcisms (sc. performed)." The second *ri* in the variant of no. 3, *a-ri-ri*, expresses the plural, analogous to *dingir-gal-gál*, while the *šà* may be explained as emphasizing still more the *dŭ* (see *H. A. V.*, p. 401, note 11), or it may be parallel with *mu-na-zi-zi i-zi* (*H. A. V.*, p. 418, l. 7 and note 5), in which case we would have to read *dŭ-ù-dŭ-dŭ* and translate "the ravaging, yea, fiercely ravaging enemies." Notice that *a-ri*, "enemy," is originally the "raging water," "the primeval ocean, the dragon, the serpent," which has its abode in the *ki*, "earth," *i.e.*, "hades," and which likewise was conquered by NIN-IB, ll. 20, 21.

3. *Ŭg*(*ud, babbar*)-*zal* is used not only of the "beginning of a day (*šad-urru, namâru, namirtu*), month (*C. T.*, XXIV, 45 : 47, *ud-da-zal arḫi*) or year (*C. T.*, *l.c.*, l. 46, *ud-da-zal-li šatti* (= *mu*))," but also of the "going down or darkening of the sun" or the "end of the day," *i.e.*, of "night, darkness" (cf. *ŭg* = *ûmu*, "day" and "storm = *im*," who turns the "bright day into darkness," see *C. T.*, XVI, 19 : 35, in note 11 to forthcoming *C. T.*, XV, 15), cf. *ŭg* (*babbar*)-*zal* = ^{d}*Šamaš ir-ta-bi-šu* (√ *rabû*, from which we have *rîbu*, "extinction (of stars), darkness"), IV. *R.*², 30, no. 2 : 24; *ŭg-zal* = *ûmu iq-ta-ti*, *R. H.*, 54 : 18, 19. The expression *ŭg-zal* in old Babylonian date formulas, as, *e.g.*, *B. E.*, III, part 1, no. 24 : 7, ^{itu}*A pin-dŭ-a ŭg-19 ba-zal* may *per se* be translated either by "early on the 19th day" or "at evening of the 19th day." For certain reasons, left unmentioned here, I prefer the *latter* translation. Furthermore, as the evening or night is the time "to lie down, to go to bed or sleep, to take a rest," *ŭg-zal* has acquired also the last-named significations; cf. *C. T.*, XV, 25 : 15 = K. 41, III, 1, 2, *tu*^{ḫu} *ní-te-a-dím gish*(*mu*(*sh*)) *úr-ra ŭg-ba-e*(earet)-*zal*(! *C. T.*, has *ir*) = *ki-ma su-um-ma-tum p*[*a*]-*ri-it-ti ina gu-šu-ri a-bit*, *i.e.*, "like a frightened dove in a (tree-)trunk I (Ischtar) crouched myself." This very same *a-bit* occurs also in Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 165*b* (*sub* באת), *ina ru-ub-ṣi-ia a-bit ki-i alpi*, "upon my bed I was crouched like an ox." The root of *a-bit* is neither באת (Del., *l.c.*) nor *nabâtu* (Behrens, *L. S. S.*, II¹, p. 104), nor is *nubattu* to be derived from *nabâtu* (Behrens, *l.e.*,) or *nabû* (Jensen, *K. B.*, VI¹, p. 432), but *a-bit*, *nubattu*, "rest," *bîtu*, "house," come from *bâtu* (בית, cf. Arabic *bâta, jabîtu*), pret. *ibit*, pres. *ibât*, *ibittu* (cf. *iṭib; iṭâb, iṭibbu*); *nu-bat-ta ul i-bi-it-tu* (Behrens, *l.e.*) is a circumstantial clause = "without taking any rest, without delay," "*umgehend, unverzüglich*." *Ug-zal* = *bâtu* is, therefore, the same as (*ina nubatti*) *ṣalâlu* = *kuš-šù*, *H. A. V.*, *p.* 405, note 32. For the *ù* see Thureau-Dangin, *Z. A.*, XVII, p. 202, note 1, and for *ŭg-zal* = *zal* cf. the variant to IV. *R.*², 28, no. 4, rev. 45, *ŭg-zal-zal-li-da*(*l*) = *zal-zal-li-da*(*l*) = *uš-tab-ru-u*. As I see now the root of *nubattu* was recognized already by Hommel in *O. L. Z.*, X

(1907), Sp. 482 (*nubattu* = "*Nachtlager, Hochzeit*)," and especially by Johnston, *The Assyrian word nubattu, Harper Memorial Volume* (1908), I, pp. 341ff., with whose conclusions I am in perfect accord.

4. Literally: "when they (the enemies, l. 2) had made us to carry (*ušaššûnaši* = *lâ*) the *allu* and the *dupšikku*" —two instruments or tools used in Babylonia at the performance of the most menial labors: the making of bricks. This expression corresponds to our "to carry pick and shovel." For *allu* cf. also *B. E.*, XVII[1], p. 98; note 1, and for *dupšikku* (mortarbasket?) see, *e.g.*, Cyl. A, 5 : 5; 6 : 6; 18 : 10, 24; 20 : 25, etc. The translation "*Tragpolster*" (Thurean-Dangin) is hardly correct, seeing that Gudea, Ur-Engur and other rulers of ancient Babylonia are pictured, in certain bronze statues, with a *basket* on their head, cf., *e.g.*, the representations given in C. H. W. Johns, *Ur-Engur, passim*.

5. For the "*KU-GÁR* taxes(!)" cf. *B. E.*, XVII[1], p. 123, note 10, and the references there given.

6. *Ḫaš* expresses here the whole miserable "fate," "judgment," "curse," "destruction," "desolation" which the enemies had brought upon the country of Babylonia—according to the different shades of meaning assigned to *ḫaš*, its pronunciation would naturally have to vary.

7. Or (*a*) "a great (*gu-la*) fate (*nam*) is spread over (*KU*), or has befallen the Tigris," or (*b*) "destruction (*nam-gu-la* = *nam-gul-la*, cf. on the one hand [^{d}*Ki*]-*gu-la*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 28 : 82*b* = ^{d}*Ki-gul-la*, *l.c.*, 16 : 31, and on the other *gu-la*, parallel with *ḫúl-la*, *C. T.*, XV, 7 : 10, 11) is spread over," or (*c*) *nam-KU* = *na-àm-KU* = *šaḫluqtu* (here a verb: *ḫalâqu*), *gu-la* = *rabiš:* "greatly, completely is destroyed"—all these translations express apparently the idea that the Tigris, in consequence of the drought (l. 1), has come to be in such a lamentable condition as to render any further attempt at navigating it (*ū* = *rakâbu*) futile. Enemy and nature had combined in their efforts to bring Babylonia (*kalam*, l. 6) into misery (*ḫaš*).

8. For *LI-NE*, probably to be read *gŭb-bí*, with the signification of *la*, cf. *Ninrag*, p. 10 : 19, 20*a*, *gŭb-bí-en*(*in*)-*te-a-da* = *la ṭe-ḫe-e*, "unapproachable." See also *H. A. V.*, no. 16 : 9, *galu gŭb-bí-in-dú*(*g*)-*ga-mu* and *l.c.*, 10 : 22; 12 : 15; 9 : 27ff.

9. *Ma* = *banû* is doubtful, it may be *sí* = *aṣû ša iṣu u ḳanê*, but hardly *ṭu*.

10. Cf. the variant *e* to *a* = *mû* in l. 21 and see *H. A. V.*, p. 440, note 2. The whole line literally translated reads: "*das Feld, welches* (*in Bezug auf*) *Hervorbringung der Fülle* (*sc. von Holz und Gesträuch*) *nichts giebt* (*nicht schön ist*), *welches* (*in Bezug auf*) *Erzeugung des Wassers nichts hat* (*nicht geöffnet ist, gál* = *pitû ša mê*)."

11. I consider *šc-bir* to be the phonetic writing of Br. 8847, which is, according to M., p. 382, note 1, a variant of Br. 978ff. (see also below, l. 29), *cbûru, ḫarbu, dîšu*. But cf. also the *še-bir-bir-ri-da* of Zimmern, *B. B. R.*, no. 27 : 15, and the references there given. It is, however, possible that *bir-a* may signify here a certain *kind* of *še* or "corn" (wheat, barley, etc.) which can be cut, harvested, threshed.

12. The overhanging vowel expresses here a *relative clause;* the variant *in-gub* is correctly rendered by *iškun*.

13. There exist in Sumerian two different words *gu-ru-um*(*n*): (*a*) the one here is a Semitism, *i.e.*, the infinitive II[1] of *garânu* = *qarânu* or *qarâmu* (cf. *baqânu*, *B. E.*, Ser. D, IV, p. 177, = *baqâmu;* *šakânu* = *šakâmu* = *GI*, M. 1424|5), for the signification of which see also *B. E.*, XVII, part 1, p. 97, note 7; (*b*) the other, occurring in *H. A. V.*, p. 418, l. 1, is a phonetic writing of *gurun*(*m*) = *enbu*, its ideogram being found in our inscription l. 29; cf. also *C. T.*, XXIV, 17 : 25, ^{d}*Gurun-a* with the gloss *ša in-bi*. The two signs given by M. 162, 163, wrongly under *BAL*, have to be identified either with Br. 5903 or with 5907. Cf. also *gurun, girin* (Br. 10178, 11155), *gi-rin* (Br. 2525), *gi-rin*(!)-*num*(!) (so against *H. W. B.*, p. 97*b*, and M. 1655–7 (for *LUM* = *num* cf. *da-LUM*)), *gurun* (M. 7904, 892) = *enbu* or *illûru*. Notice also that *qur*(*r*)*un*(*m*) *qarân*(*m*)*u* is in Sumerian = *gurum*(*n*)-*ag, gurun-gar, gú-gur-gur* (so better than *gà-gà*?), *gú-gar-gar*, l. 30. Cf. Code of Ḫammurabi, III, 21, (Ḫammurabi) *mu-ga-ar-ri-im karê* (=*gūr-gūr*) *a-na* ^{d}*Ura*.

14. *Ní* and *á* are both = *emûḳu*, hence *ina ram*(*â*)*ni-šu* = *ina emûḳi-šu*, "by his own *strength, power*." Cf. *á-ba*, Cyl. A, 17 : 27.

15. The variant reads and translates "over the country," hence also the infix *ni* (singular) for *ne* (plural) in the verb *igi-dŭ*.

16. *Inân* (= ^{giš}*BAL*) is a form in *ân* of *enû*, for which see Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 315. This change, destruction was brought about by NIN-IB using his "*hatchet*," hence ^{giš}*BAL* = *pilaḳḳu* and ^{giš}*BAL-gar* is = "to put the hatchet into action" = "*dreinschlagen, zerstören, vernichten*." Hrozný, *Ninrag*, p. 50, translated this line by: "*er richtete seine Augen gegen den Horizont hin*." Cf. also next note and note 5 to no. 4 : 5.

17. Cf. *ni*(*g*)-*ki-šar-ra-ge*, variant *en-ki-šar*, l. 26, and *Ninrag*, p. 10 : 7, 8, ^{d}*A-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne en-šar-ra*

nam-mi-in-tar, "the A., the great gods, are confounded (! *nam-tar* = *arâru*, 'to curse, to confound'; I², passive) in their entirety"; *l.c.*, p. 12 : 11, 12, *lugal-mu ḫar-sag gùd-da ni(g)-ki-šar-ra-ge sag-im-ma-ab-sí(g)*(or *sum*)-[*gi*(or *mu*) *me-en*], "I am the king who (completely) smites to pieces the high mountains in their entirety," thus, I think, has to be translated against Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 275*b*, "*die hohen Berge heben sich eilends davon*," or Hrozný, *l.c.*, "*die hohen Berge eilen bis an den Horizont*," for notice that *ḫâšu* (= *sag-sum* and *sag-si(g)*!) is a synonym of *alâku*, and the *muttallik šadê* is a variant of *dâ'ik šadê*, the well-known attribute of NIN-IB, see *Ninrag*, p. 42 : 7, 8, and *H. A. V.*, p. 441, note 5; notice also that ᵈ*Muntalku* (= *á-gál*), an attribute of both ᵈ*NIN-IB* (above, no. 1, I : 3, *passim*) and ᵈ*Nergal* (*B. A.*, V, p. 583 : 2), is a syn. of *mundaḫṣu*, "warrior." *Sag-sí(g)* becomes thus an equivalent of (*a*) *sag-sī(g)(PA)* = *maḫâṣu ša paštu*, *C. T.*, XII, 42 : 50 (M. 3925!); cf. also *C. T.*, XV, 15 : 13, *za-sī(g)-em-zu-šú kur-gal a-a* ᵈ*Mu-ul-lil sag-im-da-sī(g)-gi*, "by means of thy (Rammân's) thunder(bolt)s it is, that the 'Great Mountain,' the Father Enlil, smites (*sc.* as with a hatchet)"; (*b*) *sag-si(g)-si(g)-gi* (cf. *sag-giš-si(g)* = *nâru*), *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 9 (see above, p. 24, 5), (ᵈ*Mullil*) *kur erim-šú* ᵍⁱ*áš-dū-a-dím sag*(!)*-ni-si(g)-si(g)*(!)*-gi*, "*der du in des Feindes Land wie mit einem Kampfbeil* (*cudgel*) *dreinschlägst*"; (*c*) ᵍⁱˢʰ*BAL-gar*, see preceding note. For the signification of *šâru* cf. besides *H. W. B.*, p. 23*b*, also Thureau-Dangin, *Z. A.*, XVI, p. 355, note 3, and see note 95, to no. 1, col. III, 40. For another *sag-sum* = *ḫašû*, see above, note 114, to no. 1, IV, 15.

18. These "stones" are the "hail-stones" (אלגבישׁ = *Algamêšu*, see *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 54) which NIN-IB and Rammân (*C. T.*, XV, 16 : 2–4) prepare and heap up in the "mountain" (l. 15) and wherewith they smite the enemy.

19. The ideogram for *šabâṭu* (= *šapâṭu*, from which *šipṭu*, Jensen, *K. B.*, VI¹, p. 387) is *gí-gí*, which is also = *dâku;* but *dâku* is = *alâku* = *di*, see note 17; hence *di* = *šab(p)âṭu*. *Di* is also = *dînu*, which is a synonym of *šapâṭu*, *šipṭu* (= *gi*, variant of *gí*!). Seeing that the present of *šabâṭu* is *išabbiṭ* (*H. W. B.*, p. 637*b*), the preterit was in all probability *iš-b(p)iṭ* rather than *iš-b(p)aṭ*.

20. *Ì(i)-ne-šú(a)* = *inanna* introduces here, it seems to me, "*allgemeine Sentenzen*": what NIN-IB *has* done in the *past*, he *can* accomplish in the *present* and *will* repeat in the *future*.

21. The *kur-da-rí*, "mountain of eternity," is NIN-IB himself; cf. ᵈ*Kur-da-ri*(!) = ditto (*i.e.*, ᵈ*NIN-IB*), *C. T.* XXV, 12 : 10, and ᵈ*Kur-da-ru*(!) = ditto (*i.e.*, ᵈ*NIN-IB*), *C. T.*, XXIV, 6 : 37 = 23 : 132*a*. Cf. also *kur šu-ni nu-è*, no. 1, III, 42. The passage here reminds us forcibly of Matt. 16 : 18.

22. *Elû*, "to climb up," is = *ĕ*, while *elû* = *bâd* is "to go, come up" with the intention "to suppress, to annihilate (*kalû*, *nâru*)" and "to kill (*mâtu*)."

23. Seeing that a *relative* clause is expressed in Sumerian either by *-n*, *-a*, or *overhanging vowel*, *ni-bir-bir-a(ri)* stands for *galu* (*in-*)*bir-bir-a(ri)* = *mušappiḫu* = *ša ušappiḫu*; cf. *ni-di-di-in* = "one who roams about," *R. H.*, 81 : 9 = IV. *R.*², 28,* no. 4 : 16; *ni-dib-bi* = "I will rejoice," lit. "I will be one who rejoices," *H. A. V.*, pp. 391 : 17; 393 : 72; Gudea, *gal-ni-gá(ga)-túm-mu* = "ist einer, der sich mit Grösse trägt," Cyl. A, 12 : 20, *passim*. If this be true, we cannot read *ša ušappiḫ* and translate "what he has scattered he has also gathered."

24. For *zaḫ* = *zag* cf. also *zaḫ-ḫi-li* = *zag-ḫi-li*.

25. The Semitic translation has: "(He it is) who has filled into the mountains plains and (?) hills," *i.e.*, he has changed them into, has made them to contain, has reduced them to, plains and hills.

26. The *še(dim?)-da(id?)* on *L. E.* cannot be "40 *da(id)-*," referring to the number of lines, because this tablet has 41 lines. A reading [*im*]*-gid-da* is likewise impossible. Does *še-da*(= *še(d)*, Br. 3063ff., or *šid*, *l.c.*, 5958) represent the phonetic writing of the verb to be supplied at the end of l. 23?

27. It seems that the ideograph for *makâru*, "to water," is still unknown. But as *makâru* is apparently a synonym of *šakû ša mê*, we may supply either one of the following verbs: *de*, *dag*, *dú(g)*, *nag*.

28. Though *gal* is very probable, yet *e* might likewise be possible, in fact *e* would be *grammatically* better; if so, *bi* would have to be taken in the sense of "*and*." For *sir* = *sír* see Zimmern, *Tamūz*, p. 225, note 19. The traces of the Semitic translation, as given in *R. H.*, would point to [*ri-š*]*a-a-ti* or [*ḫi-da*]*-a-ti* rather than to *ra-bi*(or *c-li*)*-ti*. It may not be impossible that the Semitic translation had [*ina ḫi-da-a-ti u ri-š*]*a-a-ti ḫa-du-*[*ú*], though *sir* = *ḫidâti* and *e* = *rišâti* are not yet known, but cf. *e* = *qabû*, synonym(?) of *rêšu*, Br. 5843.

29. For *še gu-nu* cf. *C. T.*, XV, 26 : 14, and the ᵈ*IB-A ki-še-gu-nu-ra* of *R. H.*, p. 29 : 20, *passim*.

30. See note 11.

31. See note 13.

32. For *mur* = *uṣurtu* in the above-given signification see Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 405, and cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 419, note 3.

33. The Sumerian of *R. H.*, reads: "Before the father of the lord NIN-IB for ever one must bow down," which the Semitic translator rendered by: "Before his father and(!) before the lord NIN-IB," etc., but in this case the *-ši* (= *šu*) is apparently a mistake for *-šu-nu*.

34. For *NI* = *ḫ*, construed here adverbially = *ḫ-šú*, cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 401, note 4, end.

35. Cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 391 : 19.

36. With the peculiar infixes *nam-ga*, *ù-ga* cf. the *in-ga* of *C. T.*, XV, 24 : 13, *sá-in-ga-mu-ub-dú(g)*—all three express the idea of "violently, eagerly," "*heftig*" rather than of "not": the love to her seized him violently, he took violent (passionate) love to her.

37. *KU* = *ṣalâlu*, being written in old Babylonian inscriptions with only one wedge inside, had a pronunciation ending in *-g* and *-b*. In *C. T.*, XXIV, 2 : 45, *KU* has a gloss which is generally read *ḫu-un* (so by Br. 10503 and M. 10405), but which ought to be transcribed by *ḫu-ùg* (*EME-KU*) = *ḫúb* (*EME-SAL*). This is corroborated by *R. H.*, 80 : 21 = 92*b*: 29 (for translation see *H. A. V.*, p. 400, l. 21), where *KU* is the variant of *ḫub;* cf. also note 15 to no. 1, col. I, 7. *Ḫug*, *ḫúb* stand for *ku(g)*, *ku(b)*. The literal translation is, of course, *cohabitavit, concubuit.*

38. *KIN-KIN* here = *ūr-ūr* = *ḫâmimu*, *ḫammâmu*, synonym of *šarru*, Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 163. Cf. also *KIN-KIN* = *eldu* (for *eṣdu*), *ūr* = *eṣêdu; KIN* = *pâru* (synonym of *bâ'u*), *ūr-ūr* = *bâ'u*.

39. Thus I would prefer to render seeing that the *e* in *sal-e* and ^{d}*Nin-maḫ-e* may stand for *ana*. That the "bridegroom" hastened to the "bride" is evident from *R. H.*, p. 145 : 8, "he (*i.e.*, Marduk) hastened to the brideship (*i-ḫi-iš ana ḫa-da-aš-šu-tu*)," cf. *Bêl, the Christ*, p. 45. If the *e* were indicative of the nominative here, we would expect verb-forms with *ba-* or *ib-ba-*, showing a "change of subjects." However, if one prefers, he may render:

"At that time the maiden in love — with him she fell,
"*Nin-maḫ*, into her (his) 'bridalchamber' — to him not yet having gone,
"Like a mighty princess — at his side she now lied down."

basing a translation like this upon Gudea, Cyl. B, 19 : 18–21, *An usug-gal-la mu-na-ḫug, An-ra* ^{d}*En-lil im-ma-ni-uš* ^{d}*En-lil-ra,* ^{d}*Nin-maḫ mu-ni-uš*, "he (Gudea, at the time when the wedding festival of ^{d}*Nin-Girsu* and ^{d}*Ba-ú* was celebrated, *i.e.*, on "New-Year's day," which was also the "feast of dedication," or the חנכה of the ancient Sumerians!) made *An* to dwell with him (= *na* = ^{d}Nin-Girsu, l. 17) in the great 'sanctuary,' with *An* he made *Enlil* to take up his abode, with *Enlil* he made *Nin-maḫ* to take up her abode"—a passage showing (1) that the "wife (mother)" goes or is made to go (brought) to the "Son"; (2) that *Nin-maḫ* is both the wife of *Enlil* (so in Cyl. B, and above, p. 28) and of *NIN-IB* (so in our text here and in *B. E.*, XVII, part 1, p. 40 : 5); (3) that the *usag* (cf. *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 34, notes 11, 13; p. 16, note 4) is that part of the temple which contained the "bridal-chamber" (cf. p. 31, note 7), corresponding, therefore, with the later *bît á-ki-ti(it)*, while the (*galu*) *ú-sag(sú(g)*) is the counterpart of the *qadištu* (more about this elsewhere).

40. Thus the traces would be rather than *i-dib* . . . *ṬU-i;* cf., however, *er-ṬU(du, te)* with *i-dib-du-du(di-di, dú(g)-dú(g)*).

4. *NIN-IB*, THE FURIOUS AND DESTRUCTIVE WARRIOR AND GOD OF THE POWERS OF NATURE.

The hymn published under no. 4 consists of double verses, the beginning of which alternates with *lugal-mu*, "my king," and *en* ^{d}*NIN-IB*, "lord *NIN-IB*." This arrangement is, however, broken through in l. 15 (where *lugal-mu* is omitted) and in l. 17 (where we have *en-na* for *lugal-mu*). If a similar irregularity were to occur in the structural arrangement of the psalms, "Old Testament critics" would probably infer that we have before us a corrupted text. Is this axiom applicable

also to our text here? If so, this irregularity would be strongly in favor of my contention (see *B. E.*, Series D, V, fasc. 2, p. 8*c*) that the tablets of the older Temple Library of Nippur represent, in many cases, copies of still older texts.

From the religious point of view two verses of our hymn are of special importance. The one (ll. 11, 12) informs us for the first time that the ancient Sumerians believed even in a "great judgment": "My king, thy judgment is like 'the great judgment' without favor thy decisions are like the decisions of him who is 'not a respecter of persons.'" From later inscriptions we know that the right "to judge" and to possess the *dub nam-tar-ra*, "tablets of fate," were given to the "Son" as a reward for his victory over the enemy. *NIN-IB* did overcome the enemy (no. 2 = 3), hence he appears here quite correctly as "judge." The other (ll. 15ff.) evidently proves that the doctrine "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth" (Matt. 5 : 38) was known to, and practiced by, the inhabitants of ancient Babylonia, cf. also *B. E.*, Series D, V, fasc. 2, p. 40, note 4.

Seeing that the Obverse is too mutilated to warrant a coherent translation, I have confined myself to the Reverse which reads as follows:

No. 4, Reverse.

C. B. M. 11859

For photographic reproduction see *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, pl. XIII, no. 19.

(Beginning of Rev. broken away.)

1 [*lugal-mu*..
My king,..

] [*en-e* ^{d}*Gĭr-ra-dím gi(g)-a gin-gin*[1]]
lord, like *Gĭr* a roamer about at night (thou art);

2 [*en* ^{d}*NIN-IB*..
Lord *NIN-IB*,..

] [*en-e*] ^{d}*Gĭr-ra-dím gi(g)-a gin-gin*[1]
lord, like *Gĭr* a roamer about at night (thou art).

3 [*lugal-m*]*u* ^{d}*Gĭr-ra-dím nam-ur-sag šu-dú*
My king, like *Gĭr* perfect in heroship,

ušumgal šu-ug-ga[2] [*dagal*] *pá-rí-in*[3] *mušen*[4]*-na*
ushumgal, weighty one, extended one, a lier in wait for the "birds" (thou art);

4 [*e*]*n* ^{d}*NIN-IB* ^{d}*Gĭr-ra-dím nam-ur-sag šu-dú*
Lord *NIN-IB*, like *Gĭr* perfect in heroship,

ušumgal šu-ug-ga[2] *dagal pá-rí-in*[3] *mušen*[4]*-na*
ushumgal, weighty one, extended one, a lier in wait for the "birds" (thou art).

5 *[luga]l-mu é ki-bal-šú āg-gā*[5] *sí(g)-sí(g)-ki*
My king, smiter into house of the hostile land (as with a hatchet),

en-gal [d]*En-lil-lá za-e á-sum-ma me-en*
endowed with strength by the great lord *Enlil*, thou art;

6 *en* [d]*NIN-IB é ki-bal-šú āg-gā*[5] *sí(g)-sí(g)-ki*
Lord *NIN-IB*, smiter into the house of the hostile land (as with a hatchet),

en-gal [d]*En-lil-lá za-e á-sum-ma me-en*
endowed with strength by the great lord *Enlil*, thou art.

7 *lugal-mu dù(g)*[6]*-ša(g)-zu ŭg mi-ni-íb-dú(g)-ga-šú*
My king, the utterances of thy heart are (like) the whirlwinds that roar—

saḫan-dím ùḫ-zu šur-bi ša-mu-un-gub[7]
like a serpent furiously thou placest thy poison;

8 *en* [d]*NIN-IB dù(g)*[6]*-ša(g)-zu ŭg mi-ni-íb-dú(g)-ga-šú*
Lord *NIN-IB*, the utterances of thy heart are (like) the whirlwinds that roar—

saḫan-dím ùḫ-zu šur-bi ša-mu-un-gub[7]
like a serpent furiously thou placest thy poison.

9 *[luga]l-mu* [pisan]*ka-è-a ki-ḫúl-a sĭr-ri*
My king, the words of thy mouth cast down the wicked land,

[gish]*é*(or *gan*)*-úr*[8] *é ki-bal sí(g)-sí(g)-ki*[9]
smite to pieces (lay low) the pillars (fences) of the house of the hostile land;

10 *[en]*[d]*NIN-IB* [pisan]*ka-è-a ki-ḫúl-a sĭr-ri*
Lord *NIN-IB*, the words of thy mouth cast down the wicked land,

[gish]*é*(or *gan*)*-úr*[8] *é ki-bal sí(g)-sí(g)-ki*[9]
smite to pieces (lay low) the pillars (fences) of the house of the hostile land.

11 *[lu]gal-mu di-zu di-gal-ám nu-pa(d)-dé*
My king, thy judgment is like "the great judgment" without favor,

dú(g)-zu qib[10] *igi-nu-bar-ri-dam*
thy decisions are like the decisions of him who is "not a respecter of persons";

12 *en* ^{d}*NIN-IB di-zu di-gal-ám nu-pa(d)-dé* *dú(g)-zu qib*[10] *igi-nu-bar-ri-dam*

Lord *NIN-IB*, thy judgment is like "the great judgment" without favor, thy decisions are like the decisions of him who is "not a respecter of persons."

13 *lugal-mu* ^{galu}*erim-ra mu-na-te(n)-na* *TA*[11] ^{sham}*šam-mă*[12]*-dím mu-un-TU*[13] *ár*(?)*-dím mu-un-ṣi*

My king, (when) against the enemies thou goest, their machinations like grass into the wind thou scatterest, like ruins thou layest them low;

14 *en* ^{d}*NIN-IB* ^{galu}*erim-ra mu-na-te(n)-na* *TA*[11] ^{sham}*šam-mă*[12]*-dím mu-un-TU*[13] *ár*(?)*-dím mu-un-ṣi*

Lord *NIN-IB*, (when) against the enemies thou goest, their machinations like grass into the wind thou scatterest, like ruins thou layest them low.

15 (*lugal-mu*) ^{galu}*kúr*[14]*-ra é-a-na* ^{galu}*ḫúl-gál ga-na-nam* *úru-na* ^{galu}*erim ga-na-nam*

My king, unto the house of the enemy an adversary, verily, thou art, unto his city a foe indeed thou art;

16 *en* ^{d}*NIN-IB* ^{galu}*kúr*[14]*-ra é-a-na* ^{galu}*ḫúl-gál ga-na-nam* *úru-na* ^{galu}*erim ga-na-nam*

Lord *NIN-IB*, unto the house of the enemy an adversary, verily, thou art, unto his city a foe indeed thou art.

17 *en-*[*n*]*a nu-še-gà-a-na* ^{galu}*ḫúl-gál ga-na-*[*nam*] [*úru-na* ^{galu}]*erim ga-na-nam*

Lord, unto the not subservient ones an adversary, verily, thou art, unto their city a foe indeed thou art;

18 *en* ^{d}*NIN-IB nu-še-gà-a-na* ^{galu}*ḫúl-*[*gál ga-na-nam*] *úru-na* ^{ga}[^{lu}]*eri*[*m ga-na-nam*]

Lord *NIN-IB*, unto the not subservient ones an adversary, verily, thou art, unto their city a foe indeed thou art.

(Rest broken away.)

Notes.

1. For *mut-tal-lik mu-ši*, the attribute of ^{d}*Gīr-unú-gal*, see Böllenrücher, *Nergal*, p. 25 : 42-3; and for Nergal in the rôle of *NIN-IB* cf. *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, pp. 426ff.; 441, note 5.

2. Phonetic writing for *šù(g)-ga*, see no. 1, col. I, 1, *ur-sag šù(g)-ga*.

3. Cf. Cyl. A, 25 : 6, (the door at the king's entrance) *ḪU-rí-in am-šú igi-íl-íl-dam*, "*wur wie ein . . . . , der erhebt die Augen*" (Thureau-Dangin). *ḪU-rí-in* is apparently composed of *ḪU* = "bird" and *rí-in* (a phonetic writing for *rim, rin;* cf. *rin-rin* = *ṣâdu*, Br. 10342-3), "to hunt," signifying originally "the fowler." Later on it was used also (*a*) for "any one who is intent upon, is looking out, lying in wait for something" (cf. *pa-rím* = *rabiṣu*, and for interchange of *m* and *n*, Fossey, *H. A. V.*, p. 116, 31), being as such a variant and synonym of *ḪU*$^{pa-a}$*-rú* = *mûdû* and *kapdu*," *sinnend, trachtend, nachstellend, speciell wohl auch Vogelsteller*," Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 346*b*; (*b*) for "hunter" in general, who is eagerly looking for game, so in Cyl. A, 25 : 6, quoted above, which ought to be translated: "the door was (as eagerly looking for the king to enter) as (is) the hunter who has his eyes continually fixed upon the mountain-ox." In *C. T.*, XXIV, 17, col. IV, 43, follow the *5-ám* (*sic!*) *ḪU-rú-ge* upon the *5-ám* ^{d}*šu-ḫa-ge* or "fishermen" (l. 35). From this it follows that *ḪU-rí-in* = *ḪU-rin* = *ḪU-rú* = *pá-rí-in* = *pa-rím* = *pá-rú*, *i.e.*, *rú* stands either for original *rum, run*, or *rí-in* is contracted out of *rí* (abbreviated from *rim, rin*) = *rú* + the relative (*i*)*n*. If the latter explanation be accepted, then cf. for this interchange of *rí* and *rú: da-rí* = *dú-rú*, "(future) eternity"; but if the former be preferred, we may compare here the ^{gish}*pa-rum-ḫu*, ^{gish}*pu-rum-ḫu*—apparently Sumerian loanwords signifying originally "the weapon (*giš*) of him who is intent upon (*pa-rum*) the killing of birds (*ḫu*)," later on any kind of "javelin" or "dart" thrown by hand or by means of the bow and used for killing big game. Cf. *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, part 2, p. 54, note 8.

4. Both literally (NIN-IB as the god of the hunt) and figuratively, cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 399.

5. This seems to me the most probable reading. *Āg*, the *gunû* of *gin* = *pâšu*, is translated in Assyrian by *agû*, a syn. of *pâšu*, for which see Br. 6949.6961|2, and Jensen, *K. B.*, VI^{1}, p. 459. For *gā* = *gunû* of *gù, mà*, cf. *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, p. 432, note 4. *Sí(g)* = *sapânu* is a variant and syn. of *sī(g)* = *maḫâṣu ša pašti*, see no. 2 : 18, note 17. *Sí(g)*, here with *šú*, is construed in l. 19 with the simple accusative. If one prefers, he may read either *mer-mā*, variant of *mér-mà*, with gloss *rīḫamun* = *ašamšutu*, or *mer-kár*, *i.e.*, "the encircling (*lamû*) or lightning (*nabâṭu ša ûmi*) storm" and *sí(g)-sí(g)-ki* = *urru ša šâri* or *šâru* (sic! not *ešêru*, M. 2954; cf. Jensen, *K. B.*, VI^{1}, p. 469), "to storm, to blow hard," translating "blower into the house of the hostile land with (like) a destructive (encircling, lightning) storm." The overhanging vowels at the end of the verbal forms of this and the following lines (7, 13) denote a relative clause, hence literally: "thou art he who, etc., and thou canst do it, because thou art the one who is endowed with strength by (! therefore *lá*, not *li*) Enlil." Whatever translation be accepted the idea remains the same: NIN-IB is the destroyer of the hostile lands; the destruction he brings about by means of either his "storm" or his "hatchet" = lightning! Cf. here the various representations of the Babylonian god of lightning (= Rammân, NIN-IB, Nin-Girsu, etc.) with a hatchet (*ḫaṣinnu* = *ŠÀ-KA-DU*) in his hand, see Zimmern in *Z. A.*, XIII, 302f. to Hilprecht, *B. E.*, I, nos. 75 + 136 + 137. Notice also such attributes of NIN-IB as *a-ma-ru ki-bal-šú ḫu-luḫ-ḫa gab-šu-gar nu-tug-a*, no. 1, col. I, 6, and ^{d}*NIN-IB á-zi(d)-da* ^{d}*En-lil-lá kur ki-bal gul-gul*, no. 1, col. IV, 13, 14, and cf. note 16 to no. 2 : 18, ^{gish}*BAL-gar*, and *C. T.*, XV, 15 : 13.

6. For *ŠÚ* = *dù(g)*, *dū*, cf. *zag-du* = *zag-dū* (*R. H.*, 99 : 48) = *šûpû* and *AD-GE* = *ad-dū*(!)*-pi*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 42 : 131 = XXV, 48 : 13 (cf. also Meissner, *O. L. Z.*, 1909, Sp, 204), hence *ŠÚ* = *túg*, *dù(g)*, *dū*, and this a variant *dú(g)*; cf. *dú(g)* = *tamû* and *dù(g)* = *tumû*, therefore also *dù(g)-ša(g)* "words, utterances of the heart" parallel to ^{pisan}*ka-è-a* = *ṣît pi*.

7. Or *gub* may be taken as a variant of *dub*, cf. *úḫ-dub* = *imtu tabâku*, Böllenrücher, *Nergal*, p. 34 : 30, 31. For the interchange of *g* and *d* see Fossey, *H. A. V.*, p. 111, 13, and for the signification of *ša*, *l.c.*, p. 401, note 11. A translation "which furiously places its poison" is out of question; this would have to be *ša-mu-un-gub-ba*, and then the *zu* in *ùḫ-zu* would be unaccounted for.

8. ^{gish}*é-úr* (thus M. 4453 to be emended?) = *rugbu*, Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 620*a*, = ?; Jensen, *K. B.*, VI^{1}, p. 488, "*hat mit dem Söller etwas zu thun.*" For *é* we might(!) read *gan*. If so, then cf. for ^{gish}*gan-úr*, K. 56, II, 5, 6 (= *A. S. K. T.*, p. 73), ^{gish}*gan-úr mu-sar-a-ta ba-ab-úr-ra* = *gan-na-tam šik-kát mu-sa-ri-e ú-ša-ak-ka-ak* "*er umzäunt den Garten mit einem Staket* (? *eigentlich Beetzaun*), so Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 656*b*. Meissner, no. 2018 (on the basis of Br. 3192) reads for *gan-na-tam šik-kát* = *i-na ma-ḳad ;* cf. also V. *R.*^{2}, 52, 43*a*, ^{d}*Mu-ul-lil mu-lu gan-úr*[ ]

= ^{d} ditto *ma-aš-ka-ak-ka-tam* (Langdon, *S. B. P.*, p. 215, "Enlil of husbandry" adding in note 2 : "For the root *šakâku* *v. P. S. B. A.*, 1908) and *Hammurabi, Code*, XXXVIII, 16–20, *šum-ma* ^{gish}*apin-KU-KIN, ù lu* ^{gish}*gan-úr iš-ta-ri-iq*, III *šiḳil kaspi, i-na-ad-di-in*, translated by Harper, *l.c.*, p. 91, "if a man steal a watering-bucket or a harrow, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver." In *C. T.*, XXV, 13 : 1, the ^{mul}*gan-úr* is identified with ^{mul}*LU-BAT gu(d)-ud* (*i.e.*, = ^{d}*NIN-IB*), while in V. *R.*, 46, no. 1 : 25, the $^{mul\ gish}$*gan-úr* is the ^{gish}*ḫug*(= *kakku*) *ša* ^{d}*A-é* (or perhaps better *An-a-ge*?) *ša ina libbi-šu abzu ŭ* (or *igi* + *gan*). As both, *é-úr* and *gan-úr*, consist of *é*, "house," or *gan*, "field," + *úr*, "beam," the *é-úr* was in all probability a "house supported or surrounded by beams," a "house resting on pillars or which is fenced in" and *gan-úr* = "a field fenced in," a "fold," syn. of *šupurru*, etc. On *šakâku* see, besides the passages quoted, also Delitzsch, *A. W.*, 15; *Z. A.*, V, 15 (*ûmu ša i-ša-ku-ka* = *ŭg EBUR-šú*), and *C. T.*, VI, 28 : 12*a*, where *maškakatum* is found among instruments for the purpose of *šakâku*.

9. See note 5.

10. A Semitism! Cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 382, note 1, ll. 11ff., where Sumerian words are likewise expressed, in the parallelism, by their Semitic equivalents. The *igi-bar*, "to lift up the countenance," renders here exactly the προσωπολήπτης of Acts 10 : 34.

11. For *TA* = *kattu* (√כוּן) see Böllenrücher, *Nergal*, p. 38, who translates it by "*Gestalt*," while Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, pp. 207*b*, 722*a*, renders it by "*äussere Erscheinung, Äusseres, Wuchs* o. ä." But in view of the fact that *TA* is also = *aṣâru*, *H. W. B.*, p. 122*a*, and this = צור, *l.c.*, p. 309*a*, Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 405, I prefer to see in *kattu* "*das im Kopfe oder mit dem Munde oder mit der Hand Gebildete, Gezeichnete, Festgesetzte*," "plans, machinations, conspiracies, designs, actions, deeds, ways, etc." Hence *C. T.*, XV, 11 : 1, ^{d}*En-lil*(?) *sá-mar-mar mu-lu TA-zu mu-un-zu* ought to be translated: "Enlil, counselor, can anyone comprehend (*lamâdu*) thy ways (thoughts, intentions, designs, purposes, etc., as expressed by thy counsel)? Cf. Romans, 11 : 33, O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and *his ways past tracing out*." See also the proper name ^{d}*Ŭg-TA-găl-lu-*^{galu}*til*, note 1 to no. 2 = 3.

12. See *H. A. V.*, p. 382, note 1; p. 403, note 25.

13. This sign is neither *SAR* = *mă* = *ušêṣi*, "vertreiben," nor (*u*)*rú* (*R. E. C.*, 220) = *šubtu*, *šabâtu* (for which see Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 533; Zimmern, *L. S. S.*, II[1], p. 69, note 1), *abûbu*, but clearly *tu* = *târu*, being used, *e.g.*, in *R. H.*, p. 80 : 29–35 (cf. also *l.c.*, p. 81 : 39–44) in connection with certain parts of the harem or temple of which it is said that *lil-lá ám-ma-ni-in-TU* = *ana za-ḳi-ḳi it-tur*, hence *TU* = "to hand over (sc. to the wind), to scatter." In view of the fact, however, that (1) *TU-TU* is also a variant of *KU-KU* (*i.e.*, *ḫug*, *ḫúb*), cf. *gašan me-en ni-di-di-in šà-nu-TU-TU* (V. *ḫúb-ḫúb*), "mistress I am, the one who roams about, the never resting one I am," *R. H.*, p. 81 : 9 = IV. *R.*[2], 28,* no. 4 : 16, and that (2) *KU* = *ḫúb* = *ṣalâlu* is a variant of *ḫub*, see *H. A. V.*, p. 400, l. 21, and (3) that *TU* here is parallel to *ṣi* = *natû*, "*spalten, entzweihauen*," Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 342, we may translate "his (the enemy's) machinations like grass thou cuttest down, like ruins thou layest them low."

14. Cf. *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 40, note 4.

5. *NIN-IB*, THE INTERCESSOR AND MEDIATOR.

No. 5 represents a prayer (in form of a hymn) to ^{d}*NIN-IB* to intercede with his father (rev. l. 16f.) for the restoration of Nippur, of its temples and of the cities Kesh, Ur, Larak, Kullab, Zababu, etc. Cf. also *H. A. V.*, pp. 436 and 439 : 17, where likewise "the exalted one," *i.e.*, ^{d}*NIN-IB*, is asked to lift up his eyes to his father ^{d}*Enlil* and to recite before him the ancient hymn: "My city is destroyed in weeping I cry." The fact, furthermore, that our hymn here was found and recited in the temple of Nippur demonstrates anew our contention that *É-kur* was the central sanctuary of Babylonia during the *Enlil* period of the Sumerian religion (see *H. A. V.*, pp. 412, 434, *C*).

This rather badly mutilated hymn might be emended and read as follows:

No. 5, Obverse.

C. B. M., 11179.

For photographic reproduction see pl. V, nos. 7, 8.

(Beginning broken away.)

1 [ ]

2 *ᵈNIN-IB me nun-na* [*šu-zi-dú-a-zu*]
NIN-IB, thou who the commands of (for) "the exalted one (prince)" rightly executest:

3 *dub-zi(d)* *bizi*[1]*-aza*[*g šu-za gál-la(dŭ-a) me-en*]
The holy tablet, the sacred stylus in thy hand thou holdest.

4 *sa*[2]*-* *gi(d)-* [*da-* *ám*]
(All humbly) kneeling(?) (and saying:)

5 *uru nun-e*[3] *ba-gar-ra* [*me nun-na šu-zi-dú-a-zu*]
"The city, O prince, restore it again, thou who the commands of 'the exalted one' rightly executest;

6 *éš abzu*[4] *nun-e ba-gar-ra* *me nu*[*n-na šu-zi-dú-a-zu*]
"The house of the (molten) sea, O prince, restore it again, thou who the commands of 'the exalted one' rightly executest;

7 *éš Nibru*[ki] [*nun-e ba-gar-ra me*]
"The house of *Nippur*, O prince, restore it again, thou who the commands, etc.;

8 *é ᵈEn-lil-lá* *n*[*un-e ba-gar-ra me*]
"The temple of *Enlil*, O prince, restore it again, thou who the commands, etc.;

9 *é ᵈNin-lil-lá* *n*[*un-e ba-gar-ra me*]
"The temple of *Ninlil*, O prince, restore it again, thou who the commands, etc.;

10 *É-šu-me-du* *nu*[*n-e ba-gar-ra me*]
"The *Eshumedu*, O prince, restore it again, thou who the commands, etc.;

11 *du(l) Sag-áš*[5]*-a* *nu*[*n-e ba-gar-ra me*]
"The 'abode where the fates are determined,' O prince, restore it again, thou who the commands, etc.;

12 *é Keš*$^{ki\,6}$*-a* — *nun-[e ba-gar-ra me]*
"The temple of *Kesh*, — O prince, restore it again, thou who the commands, etc.;

13 *é Urí*^{ki} *-e* — *nun-[e ba-gar-ra me]*
"The temple of *Ur*, — O prince, restore it again, thou who the commands, etc.;

14 *é Larag*^{7} — *nun-e [ba-gar-ra me]*
"The temple of *Larak*, — O prince, restore it again, thou who the commands, etc.;

15 *é Kullaba*$^{ki\,8}$ — *nun-e [ba-gar-ra me]*
"The temple of *Kullab*, — O prince, restore it again, thou who the commands, etc.;

16 *é ki-Zababu*$^{ki\,9}$ — *nun-e [ba-gar-ra me]*
"The temple of (the land of) *Zababu*, — O prince, restore it again, thou who the commands, etc.,

17 *é*(?)[ ]
"The temple of...

18 *uru*[ ]
"The city...

(End broken away.)

No. 5, Reverse.

(Beginning broken away.)

1, 2 [ ]

3 *á An*^{10} *nun á-ḫuš*^{11}[
"Arm (strength) of *An*, prince of terrible power...

4 *gù-zi(g)-de-a* — ^{d}*Dagal-[ušum]gal-[An-na*^{12}*]*
"Furiously roaring one, — *Dagal-ushumgal-Anna,*

5 *ug*^{13} *an-ša(g)-ta* — *á- sùn-s[ùn*^{14}*-na-ám]*
"Storm out of heaven, — of glorious (mighty) power,

6 *me*^{15} *dib-dib-a-zu* — *diš-zu maḫ- [ám]*
"Thou who holdest (keepest) the commands: — thou alone art exalted;

7 ^{d}*NIN-IB ùg* (or *kalam*) *dib-dib-a* — *galu-ša(g) galu-maḫ-[ám* (or *me-en*) *]*
"NIN-IB, thou who holdest (keepest) the people (country): — among men thou art exalted;

8 *kalam(ùg)*[16] *dib-a* — *za-e lugal-bi-*[*ám* (or *me-en*)]
"Thou who holdest the country (people): — thou art its (their) king,

9 *ša(g)-túm-ša(g)-túm-ma* — *kalam zag-ṣi*[17]*-bi-*[*ám*(or *me-en*)]
"Of the fields — (and) of the country—their beautifier thou art.

10 *en-gal* — *nam-lugal-e ḫe-silim-*[*ma*]
"Great lord, — the kingship, oh, bless it;

11 *ur-sag* ^{d}*NIN-IB* — *ša(g)-kuš*[18] *uru-na*[19]*-kam-*[*ám*(or *me-en*)]
Hero, *NIN-IB*, — be thou the judge in its city!

12 *šabar* (or *siḳḳa-bar*[20]) *zi(g)-durun-na* — *kab*[21]*-bi- á*[*m*]
"Of the (wild) mountain-goat, which dwells in heights, — the overpowerer thou art,

13 *maš*[22]*-dím* ^{sham}*BÚR*[23]*-ta* — *zi(g)*[24]*-bi- á*[*m*]
"Like a gazelle out of the *BUR* — thou frightenst it away;

14 *ninda LIT*(or *áb*)*-bi* ^{d}*Nanna* — *s*[*al-dú(g)- bi-ám*]
"Of the young oxen and cows of *Sin* — the caretaker thou art.

15 *dú(g) a-a muḫ-na-šú* — [*giš-PI-túg-ám*]
"He who upon the words of the father, his begetter, — listeneth,

16 *lugal É-kur-šú* — *di-*[*di- in*]
To the king of *Ékur* — went:

17 *e*(?)-[. — .]-*UL-UL-šú* — [ ]
To...

(Rest broken away.)

Notes.

1. This sign, being neither *ad* nor *dub* nor *ṣi*, I would like to identify with *R. E. C.*, 429 = Br. 6007ff. For the reading *bizi* cf. *C. T.*, XXIV, 48, col. II, 17*b*, ^{d}*Nin-DUBBISAG*, which appears in the parallel passage, *C. T.*, XXV, 27*c*, 8 as $^{d\,ni}$*NIN bi-zibi-sig* [nothing wanting!], one of the 13(? !) children of ^{d}*Nin-Mar*^{ki}. For *sig* = *zi* cf. also *C. T.*, XXIV, 12 : 28, ^{d}*Sig*^{sa}*(ga)lu* + *gal* with the parallel text, *C. T.*, XXIV, 25 : 89*b*, ^{d}*Zi-gu-la*. This *bizi*, being here in opposition to *dub*, was in all probability the "stylus" used by the *dub-šár* or "scribe"; cf. ^{d}*Dubbisag* and ^{d}*Gišdar*, both = ^{d}*Nabû* (p. 31, note 2) who as "Son" of the Babylon trinity has the same attributes as ^{d}*NIN-IB*, the "Son" of the Nippur trinity, hence NIN-IB = the god of the "tablet writing," of the "stylus," and of the *É-dub*, *B. A.*, V, p. 634 : 13, and *B. E.*, XVII, part 1, p. 93. See also *H. A. V.*, p. 372, note 1, for the several goddesses (= various names of the wife of NIN-IB) who figure in the Babylonian religion as "scribe." Cf. note 1 to no. 1, U. E.

2. See note 18 to no. 1, col. I, 27.

3. A reading *uru nun e-ba-gar-ra* is grammatically likewise possible, taking *e* in the sense of "*wohlan!*" cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 419, note 5. The construction in both cases is : "as regards the city, O prince, mayest thou be he who (*ra*) rebuilds (restores) it."

4. Thus better than *éš-zu éš*, "thy house, the house." This passage shows that there existed an *abzu* in the temple of Nippur also. The temple of Nippur being the prototype after which all the other temples were built or named (*H. A. V.*, p. 413), it follows that such an *abzu* had to be found in Lagash (for references see *E. B. H.*, pp. 64, note 4; 66–69; 114; *S. A. K. I.*, p. 241), in Ur (*E. B. H.*, p. 270) in Jerusalem (the "molten sea") and in all other cities whose religion was influenced by that of Babylonia.

5. Another name of the *du(l)-azag*, the place where, on New Year's day, the fates were determined by the "Son" of a given Babylonian trinity after he had overcome the "enemy," cf. *Bêl, the Christ*, pp. 47ff. The "Son," therefore, is called ^{d}*En(Lugal)-du(l)-azag*. According to II. *R.*, 50 : 6*a*, the *É-sag-áš, i.e., bît pirišti, bît šimâti* was one of the names of the Nippurian *ziggurrat*.

6. Quite frequently mentioned in the tablets from the Nippur Temple Library, cf., *e.g.*, *H. A. V.*, no. 8 : 9.

7. Cf. *H. A. V.*, no. 14, rev. 22, ^{d}*Áš-te* (= "the one to be desired," the wife of NIN-IB and "Easter-bride") *ga-ša-an Larag-ga min*. Sometimes *Larag* has the phonetic complement *ak*, so in *R. H.*, 80 : 12, *passim*. Cf. also the *É-Áš-te, R. H., l.c.*, and *É-Áš-tú, R. H.*, p. 94 : 30, the temple of Larak.

8. See *H. A. V.*, p. 416, *a* and notes 1–3.

9. The pronunciation of this group of signs is still doubtful. According to *C. T.*, XXV, 27*a*, 15, $^{d\,shu\text{-}ba}$*ZA-SUḪ* (*i.e.*, Shamash(!) in the rôle of NIN-IB), we may read *Šu-b(a)-unû*^{ki}; according to *C. T.*, XXV, 3 : 65 = 29*b*, col. II, 13, a reading *Ḫal-bi-li-unû*^{ki} may be suggested. In Br. 11748 our signs have the pronunciation *Za-ba-bu;* in *C. T.*, XXV, 50*a*, col. II, 16, compared with Br. 11749, that of *Su-nu* (see now also Meissner, *O. L. Z.*, Mai, 1909, Sp. 204). Cf. also Zimmern, *Z. A.*, III (1888), p. 97; *Tamūz*, p. 233, who reads *Ḫallab*, and Hommel, *Grundriss*,[2] pp. 386, 391.

10. Thus I prefer to read on account of the parallelism, instead of ^{d}*Nun* = Ea. A reading *An-na* is excluded.

11. Cf. no. 1, col. I, 1. The sign *ḫuš* is not quite clear. *Ug* or *úg* = *labbu* might likewise be considered; if so, then cf. *Ninrag*, p. 16 : 13, 14, *sag úg-ga* = *zi-im la-bi*, and *l.c.*, p. 40 : 4, *zag úg-ga* = *e-muḳ la-bi*.

12. For this reading cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 404, note 31, against Zimmern, *Sum-babyl. Tamūzlieder*, p. 213, 20, and *Der babyl. Gott Tamūz*, p. 7, note 4, where the passages invoked by this scholar prove just the opposite, for *C. T.*, XXIV, 32 : 113, $^{d\,\text{ditto}}$*NÉ-DAGAL* has apparently to be read ^{d}*Su-mu-qa-an* (= ditto, cf. l. 112*b*) *rapšâti*, signifying the ^{d}*Gĭr* (l. 112*a*, cf. $^{su\text{-}mu\text{-}ug\text{-}ga\ d}$*Gĭr*, Pinches, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 143 (81 8 30, 25, rev. I) l. 7), *i.e.*, the god *Mes-lam-ta-è-a* as the "god of extended, wide, comprehensive powers (*emuqân, emuqâ*) or vast armies (cf. יהוה צבאות), etc." If the above-given explanation be correct, we would have here another direct proof that NIN-IB was the ^{d}*Dumu-zi* of the Nippur trinity, being called (like Tamûz) not only ^{d}*Da-mu*, but also ^{d}*Dagal-ušumgal-An-na*.

13. For the sign *ug* (sometimes used as a phonetic writing for *ŭg* or *úg*, cf. no 2=3 : 1, note 1), see *C. T.*, XV, 15 : 9, where ^{d}*IM* is said to ride (*ū*) upon the *ug-gal-la* (parallel to *ŭg*, l. 7, and *ŭg-gal-la*, l. 8) and where he is called the *ug An-na*, l. 10, and *ug-banda*^{da}, l. 29.

14. All signs effaced. The following readings might likewise be considered: *da* (or *á*)-*dagal-tug-ám*, "of extended strength." *Á-ÙR šá(g)-tug-ám*, "(lion, *ug* = *úg*, out of heaven) adorned with (having) well-formed limbs," cf. *H. A. V.*, pp. 432, 434.

15. Cf. here such names as ^{d}*Me-maḫ* = ^{d}*NIN-IB ḫa-mi-im* (syn. of *aḫâzu* = *dib*) *GARZA*^{mésh}*MAḪ*^{mésh}, *C. T.*, XXV, 11 : 20, 21 = 15, col. III, 10, 11; ^{d}*En-banda*^{da} (see *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, p. 417, *a*) = ^{d}*NIN-IB ṣa-bit* (also = *dib*) *EŠ-BAR AN*^{mésh}, *l.c.*, 11 : 17 = 15, col. III, 7; ^{d}*Ḫal-ḫal-la*(caret) = ^{d}*NIN-IB nâṣir* (= *ŠEŠ*) *EŠ-BAR a-bi* ^{d}*En-lil, l.c.*, 11 : 18, 19 = 15, col. III, 8, 9. In view of the fact, however, that *me* is also = *dûtu*, and this parallel to *inbu*, Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 448, and that *dib-dib* is translated by *duššû*, a rendering "thou who makest to abound (makest glorious) the fruits" might likewise be possible. In this case ll. 6–9 would describe the god NIN-IB as the "god of vegetation," cf. *Ninrag*, p. 42 : 19, 20, *UR-bi mu-ni in-sù-eš šam nam-lugal-la-bi-šú* = *mit-ḫa-riš šumi-šù im-bu-u šam-mu ana šár-ru-ti-šù-nu*.

16. NIN-IB is the king (*lugal*) of the *kalam, i.e.*, of Babylonia as a whole or of "Shumer and Akkad."

17. *Zag* either = *ṭâbiš*, or *zag-ṣi* = *ṣi* (*H. A. V.*, p. 405, note 36) = *šûpû*, "to make glorious, to beautify." Cf. here also *C. T.*, XXIV, 14 : 10, 11 = 50*c*, 12, 13, ^{d}*Ama-ner-an-na, ama ša(g)-túm è-a-bi* = *um-mu ša ina kir-bi(be)-ti(te) šu-pat(pa-at)*, "who arises gloriously over the fields."

18. Either "counselor" or "judge" = *muštâlu*, cf. Jensen, *K. B.*, VI[1], p. 531; *B. E.*, XVII, part 1, p. 26, note 4. For NIN-IB as "judge" cf. no. 4, rev. 11, 12, and *H. A. V.*, p. 402, note 17. See also no. 10, rev. 4.

19. The *nam-lugal* of l. 10 is personified, *i.e.*, it stands here for *lugal*, having, therefore, the suffix *na* instead of *ba*(= *bi-a*).

20. Cf. Böllenrücher, *Nergal*, p. 44 : 37, 38, where ^{d}*Mes-lam-ta-è-a*, *i.e.*, Nergal as "Son" is addressed *siḳḳa sag-6 ḫar-sag-gà mu-un-dig* = *šu-ma ina ša-di-i ta-na-ar* V. *tuš-mit*. NIN-IB's power can and does reach the most daring, unapproachable (*zi*(*g*) = *eliš*, thus better than *nadru*) and circumspect mountain-goat (the 6 heads signify here the circumspectness, the power to look towards the four directions of the compass and above and below).

21. Sign doubtful. It may be *káb*, *i.e.*, *kab-gunû* = *ṣalâlu*, *kamâru*, *dâku*, or *tin* = *ḫaiâṭu*, or *kin* = *eṣêdu*.

22. Cf. the *maš-gĩr*, "swift gazelle," in Cyl. B, 4 : 18 (Thureau-Dangin, *MAŠ-ANŠU* = "*Vieh*").

23. See *H. A. V.*, p. 392 : 30. ^{gish}*BÚR* is simply a variant of ^{gish}*KISAL* = ^{gish}*būr*, Cyl. B, 3 : 19, and has nothing to do with *ḫašḫuru* (against Zimmern, *Z. A.*, XIV, p. 389; Thureau-Dangin, *S. A. K. I.*, p. 124). Cf. here also the *É-MI-KISAL-7* = *É-gĩ-būr-7* (variant of *É-gĩ-pár-7*, etc.), *H. A. V.*, p. 432, note 7.

24. *Zi*(*g*) here either = אזל, "to turn something away from (*ta*), to chase, drive it out of (*ta*) something" or = *dikû*, "to scare, to frighten." For the idea cf. also *A. S. K. T.*, p. 71 : 13, 14, *maš-gak ne-íb-šár-ri* = *ṣa-bi-ta ú-kaš-ša-ad* (pursues), *NAM-ṢAB-a ab-zi*(*g*)-*zi*(*g*) = *e-ri-ba i-di-ik-ki*. Notice here the contrast in the nature of NIN-IB: he chases away or frightens, but also takes care!

III.

DESCRIPTION OF TABLETS.

Abbreviations.

C. B. M., *Catalogue of the Babylonian Museum*, University of Pennsylvania, prepared by Professor H. V. Hilprecht; **cf.**, confer; **col(s).**, column(s); **Exp.**, Expedition; **f.**, following page; **ff.**, following pages; **fragm(s).**, fragment(s); **inscr.**, inscription; **l**, line; **ll.**, lines; **L. E.**, Left Edge; **Lo. E.**, Lower Edge; **no(s).**, number(s); **O.**, obverse; **p.**, page; **Pl(s).**, Plate(s); **pp.**, pages; **R.**, Reverse; **IV. R.**, *Rawlinson*, vol. IV; **R. E.**, Right Edge; **R. H.**, Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen;* **U. E.**, Upper Edge; **Vol(s).**, Volume(s).

Measurements are given in centimeters, *width* × *length* (*height*) × *thickness*. Whenever the tablet (or fragment) varies in size, the largest measurement is given.

A. Autograph Reproductions.

Text.	Plate.	C. B. M.	Description.
1	1, 2	11325 + 11348 + 11362 + 11367	To *C. B. M.* 11325, the lower middle part of a dark brown tablet, consisting of several fragments which have been glued together, I was able to add (*a*) *C. B. M.* 11367, the lower middle part of O., col. I, (*b*) *C. B. M.* 11348, the upper part of O., col. II, and (*c*) *C. B. M.* 11362, the upper part of O., col. I. This last fragment, though not joining to either the upper part of O., col. II (*C. B. M.* 11348), or the lower part of O., col. I (*C. B. M.* 11325 + 11367), is yet a part of this inscription: contents, writing, clay and the occurrence of *Gimil-Sin* and *Bur-Sin* prove this conclusively. All fragments are baked and ruled, some lighter (*C. B. M.* 11362, 11325), others darker in color, with occasional black spots on them (*C. B. M.* 11367, 11348). The fact that the R. of 11348 is considerably lighter in color than its O., that it is better preserved and that the writing on it is not as crowded as that of the rest of the tablets, makes it appear, on the photographic reproduction (pl. II, no. 2, lower right corner), as if this fragment were not a part of the inscription. The fragment joins, however, perfectly; contents, script, etc., demonstrate that it belongs to *C. B. M.* 11325. The registration mark of Prof. R. F. Harper, Ni. 6-2-16-80, is to be found on *C. B. M.* 11348. When complete, this tablet was one of the most interesting and important ones of the Temple Library of Nippur, representing, as it does, a *prayer*, addressed to ^{d}*NIN-IB*, the "lord of life," for the prolongation of the life of ^{d}*Gimil-*^{d}*Sin* and his son(!) ^{d}*Bur* (*sic!* not *Amar*)-^{d}*Sin*, kings of Ur, hence it was written at about 2600 B. C. The many liturgical notes occurring on this tablet would show that this prayer was *publicly* used in the Temple of Nippur as a kind of "*official prayer*." It has two columns on O. and two on R. At the end of R., col. IV, is a double line, with end of col. not inscribed. $13^{5} \times 19 \times 3^{5}$. Inscription, 1 (U. E.) + 37 (col. I) + 35 (col. II) + 45 (col. III) + 38 (col. IV) = 156 ll. All fragments come from "Tablet Hill," being excavated during the I. Exp. Photographic reproduction, pls. I, II, nos. 1, 2. For transcription and translation see pp. 44–54.
2	3, 4	9232	Baked, cracked, glued together, O. dark, R. lighter and greatly mutilated. Line at the end of R., the lower part of which is not inscribed. L. 24 of R. broken away.

Text.	Plate.	C. B. M.	Description.
			This inscription is a duplicate of no. 3 and of the fragmentary Neo-Babylonian copy published in *R. II.*, p. 123 (no. 71), l. 4 of which corresponds to l. 13 of our tablet here. $7 \times 14 \times 3^3$. Inscription, 23 (O. with part (?) of l. 23 on Lo. E.) + 18 (R.) = 41 ll. "Tablet Hill." II. Exp. Photographic reproduction, pl. III, nos. 3. 4. Transcription and translation, pp. 66ff. Cf. also *B. E.*, Series D., vol. V, fasc. 2, pp. 24–26.
3	5, 6	9935	Dark brown, baked, cracked, glued together. End of ll. on O. and R. broken away. Line at end of R. Duplicate of no. 2, *q. v.* $6^3 \times 11 \times 3$. Inscription, 20(O.) + 21 (R.) = 41 ll. "Tablet Hill." II. Exp. Photographic reproduction, pl. IV, nos. 5, 6. Transcription and translation, pp. 66ff.
4	7, 8	11859	Light brown, baked, crumbling. Upper and lower part as well as nearly the whole of O. broken away. Ruled. Script crowded. Blank space between R., l. 4 and l. 5. $6^5 \times 12 \times 3$. Inscription, 20 (O.) + 18 (R.) = 38 ll. "Tablet Hill." II. Exp. Photographic reproduction of R. in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, pl. XIII, no. 19. For transcription and translation of R. see pp. 75ff.
5	9	11179	Middle part of a baked tablet. Beginning and end of tablet as well as the end of all ll. on O. and R. broken away. Cracked, crumbling, ruled. $6^5 \times 6^6 \times 3^2$. Inscription, 18 (O.) + 17 (R.) = 35 ll. Tablet bears the registration mark of Prof. R. F. Harper, Ni. 24–2–16–80. "Tablet Hill." I. Exp. Photographic reproduction, pl. V, nos. 7, 8. Transcription and translation, pp. 80ff.
6	10	2347	Lower right-hand fragment of an originally rather large tablet, containing 4 cols. each on O. and on R. The portion of O. preserved represents cols. II, III of the complete tablet, while the R. has part of cols. V, VI, VII intact. Baked, ruled. R. somewhat lighter than O. The R., col. II, is to be continued, after a break of 6 lines, by no. 8, col. II. The tablet, therefore, had about 63 full lines to each col., and measured, originally, about $25 \times 20 \times 5$. Rev., col. II, 18ff. (+ no. 8, col. II, 1–4) = no. 7 : 1–13; rev., col. III, 1–8 = no. 7 : 52–59. The inscription, as far as preserved, represents parts of VI., VII., X., XI. tablet of the celebrated epic *lugal-e ŭg me-lám-bi ner-gál*. $7^5 \times 8^2 \times 4^5$. Inscription, 14 (O. I) + 15 (O. II) + 4 (R. I) + 19 (R. II) + 8 (R. III) = 60 ll. "Tablet Hill." I. Exp. Cf. on the whole, *B. E.*, Series D, vol. V, fasc. 2, pp. 6, 7, 14, 22. Photographic reproduction, *l.c.*, pl. I, nos. 1, 2. Transcription and translation of R. II, 5–17, *l.c.*, pp. 31ff.; for rev. III, 1–8, see *l.c.*, p 48.
7	11, 12	11087	Half-baked, dark brown, ruled, glued together, cracked. Upper left and both right corners are broken away. Ll. 1–13 = no. 6, rev., II, 18f. + (after a space of 6 ll.) no. 8, II, 1–4; ll. 52–59 = no. 6, rev., III. A duplicate of this inscription from the Library of Ashshurbânapal, purporting to be the XI. tablet of the celebrated epic *lugal-e ŭg me-lám-bi ner-gál*, is published in IV. *R.*², 13, no. 1 (here with a Semitic translation), l. 1 of which corresponds to no. 7 : 14. $6^5 \times 13 \times 2^5$. Inscription, 30 (O.) + 31 (R.) = 61 ll. "Tablet Hill." II. Exp. Photographic reproduction in *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, pls. III, IV, nos. 4, 5. Transcription and translation of ll. 14–29, *l.c.*, pp. 34ff.; of ll. 38–46, *l.c.*, pp. 42ff.; of ll. 47–end, *l.c.*, pp. 48ff. Cf. on the whole, *l.c.*, pp. 6, 7, 13, 14, 22.
8	13	1837 + 1839	Two fragments, joined, representing the lower middle part of R. of an originally rather large clay tablet, containing at least 4 cols. each on O. and R. Baked, dark, many signs chipped off, O. completely broken out. R., col. II, after a break of 6 lines,

Text.	Plate.	C. B. M.	Description.
			continues no. 6, rev. col. II, which see. (No. 6, rev., col. II, 18f. + 6 lines missing +) col. II, 1–4 = no. 7 : 1–13; col. II, 5ff. = no. 7 : 14ff.; col. III, 1ff. = *V. A. Th.* 251 (Abel-Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 60), a Neo-Babylonian copy (with a Semitic translation) of the XII. tablet of the great epic *lugal-e ŭg me-lám-bi ner-gál*. These two fragments contain, therefore, parts of the X., XI., XII., XIII. tablet of the epic just mentioned. $12 \times 7^5 \times 2^5$. Inscription, 6 (col. II) + 14 (col. III) + 15 (col. III) + 11 (col. IV) = 46 ll. "Collection *H. V. H.*," bought by Prof. Hilprecht in Hillah and Bagdad, 1889, and afterwards presented by him to the University of Pennsylvania. This collection was said by the Arabs to have come from Abû Habba. Hilprecht doubted this statement and entered in the *C. B. M.* under date of Oct. 24, 1902: "possibly or even probably some of these specimens came from Nippur." As the two fragments, 1837 and 1839, here discussed, belong without any doubt to tablet no. 6, it follows that Hilprecht was quite correct in his "suspicion." These fragments, though *bought*, do belong to the Nippur finds, and evidently were stolen by the excavating Arabs from the trenches of Nippur. Photographic reproduction, *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, pl. II, no. 3. Transcription and translation of col. II, 5ff., *l.c.*, pp. 34ff., of col. III, 1–6, *l.c.*, pp. 56ff.
9	13	13301	Upper left-hand fragment of an originally rather large tablet. Beginning, right-hand and lower part of inscription broken away. Baked, light brown, ruled, cracked. O., ll. 1ff. are a duplicate of K. 2864 (from the library of Ashshurbânapal) = Hrozný, *Ninrag*, Taf. I, and p. 6 : 15ff., being part of the I. tablet of the celebrated epic *An-dím dím-ma*. R., ll. 1ff. correspond to Rm. 117, obv., l. 15f. and K. 2829, rev., l. 1f. (both from the library of Ashshurbânapal) = Hrozný, *Ninrag*, *Taf.* IX, *Taf.* VIII and p. 18 : 16ff., constituting part of the VI. tablet of the same epic; see *B. E.*, Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, pp. 61–64. Inscription, 13 (O.) + 14 (R.) = 27 ll. "Tablet Hill." IV. Exp. Photographic reproduction, *B. E.*, *l.c.*, pl. V, nos. 6, 7. Transcription and translation, *ibidem*, pp. 64–72.
10	14	2237	Upper part of light brown, baked fragment. Ruled. Cracked. Beginning and end of ll. on O. and R. broken away. Line at end of R., the lower part of which is not inscribed. Ll. on R. slanting upward. $6^5 \times 5^3 \times 3$. Inscription, 9 (O.) + 6 (R.) = 15 ll. "Tablet Hill." I. Exp. Photographic reproduction, pl. VI, nos. 11, 12.
11	14	13103	Lower part of half-baked tablet. Crumbling, cracked, ruled. O. greatly multilated. End of all ll. broken away. O. light, R. darker. $6^3 \times 7^3 \times 3^6$. Inscription, 12 (O.) + 10 (R.) = 22 ll. "Tablet Hill." II. Exp. Photographic reproduction, pl. V, nos. 9, 10.
12	15	12701	Lower left-hand part of an originally rather large tablet. Baked, dark with occasional black spots. Upper, lower and right-hand part broken off. $3^3 \times 5^5 \times 2^8$. Inscription, 9 (O.) + 9 (R.) + 1 (L. E.) = 19 ll. "Tablet Hill." II. Exp. Photographic reproduction, pl. VI, nos. 15, 16.
13	15	2205	Lower part of dark brown, baked tablet. Left- and right-hand part as well as the upper portion of tablet broken away. Only the upper part of R. is inscribed. At end of R. a double line, followed by the colophon [*er šem-m*]*a* ^{d}*NIN-IB*-[*kam*], *i.e.*, "lamentation-song to NIN-IB." $3^5 \times 5^5 \times 2^8$. Inscription, 13 (O.) + 8 (R.) = 21 ll. "Tablet Hill." I. Exp. Photographic reproduction, pl. VI, nos. 13, 14.

B. Photographic (Halftone) Reproductions.

Halftone.	Plate.		C. B. M.	Description.
1, 2	I, II	O. and R. of official prayer to god NIN-IB for the prolongation of the life of *Gimil-Sin* and *Bur-Sin*, kings of the II. dynasty of Ur, about 2600 B. C.	11325 + 11348 + 11362 + 11367	Cf. description of text no. 1.
3, 4	III	O. and R. of hymn in praise of god NIN-IB, the savior of Babylonia from the oppressive yoke of the enemies. Duplicate of text no. 3 and *R. II.*, p. 123.	9232	Cf. description of text no. 2.
5, 6	IV	O. and R. of hymn in praise of god NIN-IB, the savior of Babylonia from the oppressive yoke of the enemies. Duplicate of text no. 2 and *R. II.*, p. 123.	9935	Cf. description of text no. 3.
7, 8	V	O. and R. of prayer to god NIN-IB for the restoration of the several temples of Nippur, Kesh, Ur, Larak and Kullab and for the protection of the kingship.	11179	Cf. description of text no. 5.
9, 10	V	O. and R. of hymn praising the warlike character and mighty deeds of god NIN-IB.	13103	Cf. description of text no. 11.
11, 12	VI	O. and R. of fragments of hymns and prayers to god NIN-IB, among them a "lamentation-song" (nos. 15, 16).	2237	Cf. description of text no. 10.
13, 14			2205	Cf. description of text no. 13.
15, 16			12701	Cf. description of text no. 12.

C. Numbers of the Catalogue of the Babylonian Museum (Prepared by Prof. H. V. Hilprecht).

C. B. M.	Text.	Plate.	C. B. M.	Text.	Plate.	C. B. M.	Text.	Plate.
1800			**9000**			11362, 11367	1	1, 2
1837	8	13	9232	2	3, 4	11859	4	7, 8
1839	8	13	9935	3	5, 6	**12000**		
2000			**11000**			12701	12	15
2205	13	15	11087	7	11, 12	**13000**		
2237	10	14	11179	5	9	13103	11	14
2347	6	10	11325, 11348	1	1, 2	13301	9	13

89

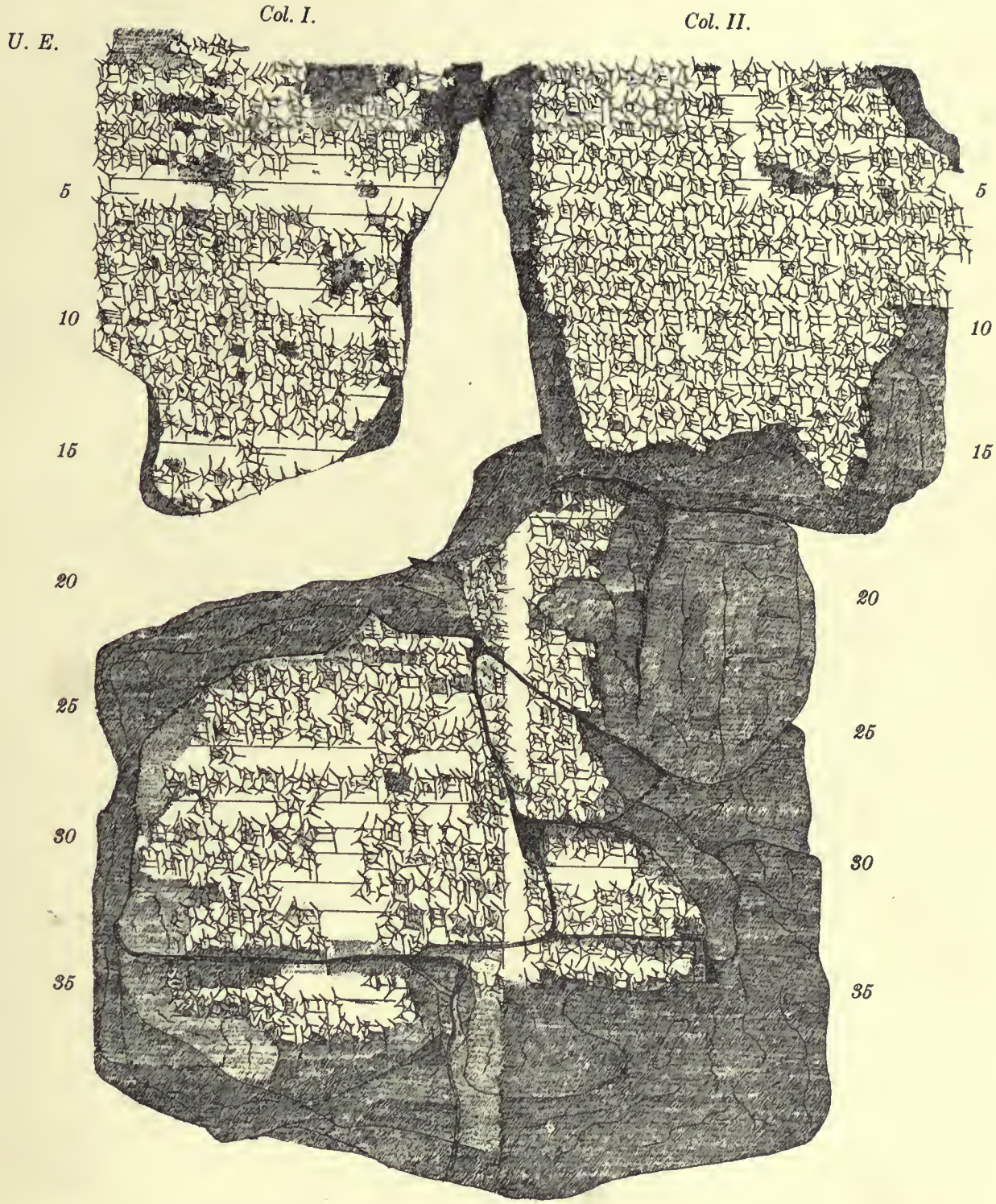
CUNEIFORM TEXTS

92

1

Obverse.

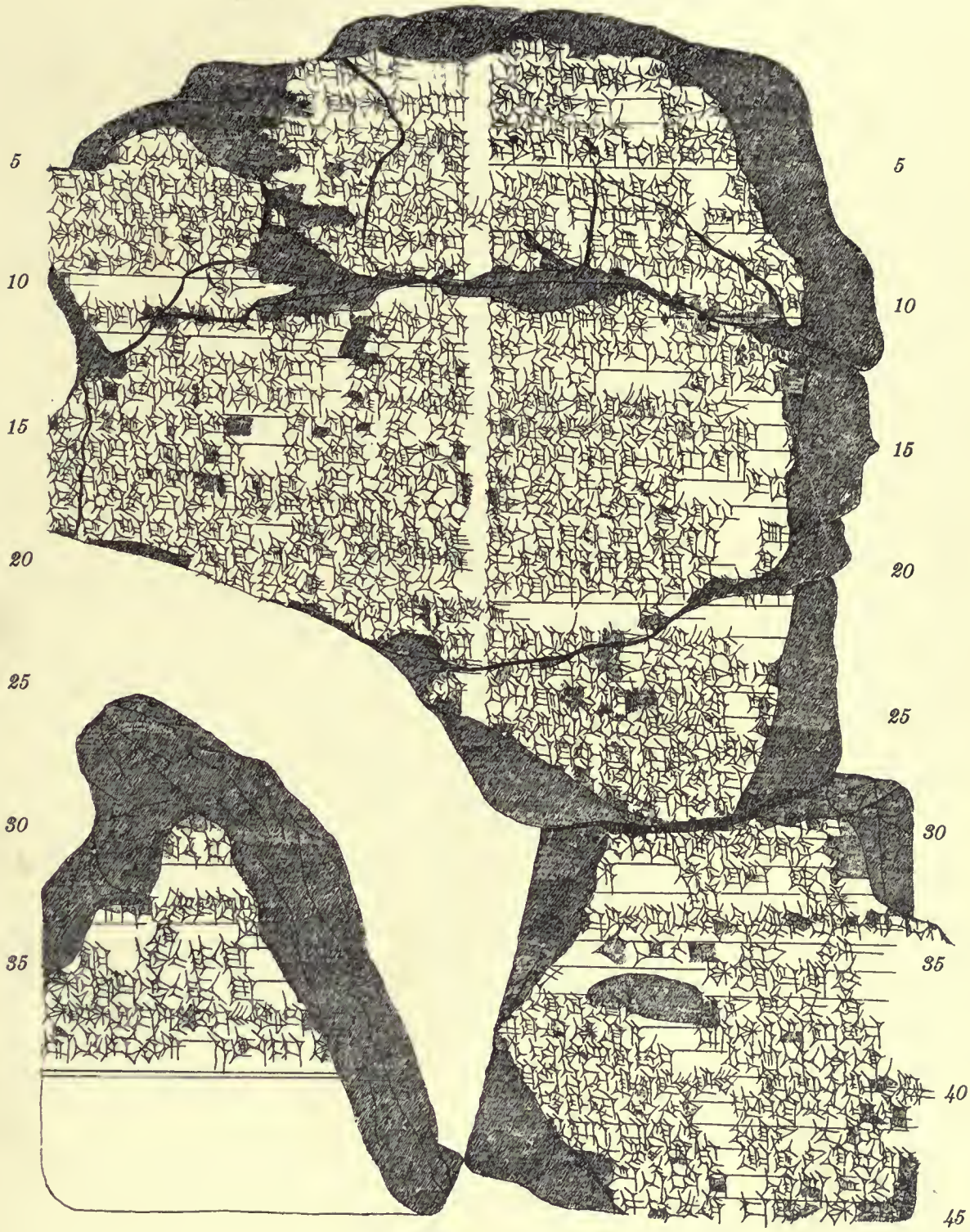
Pl. 1



1

Reverse.

Col. IV. Col. III.



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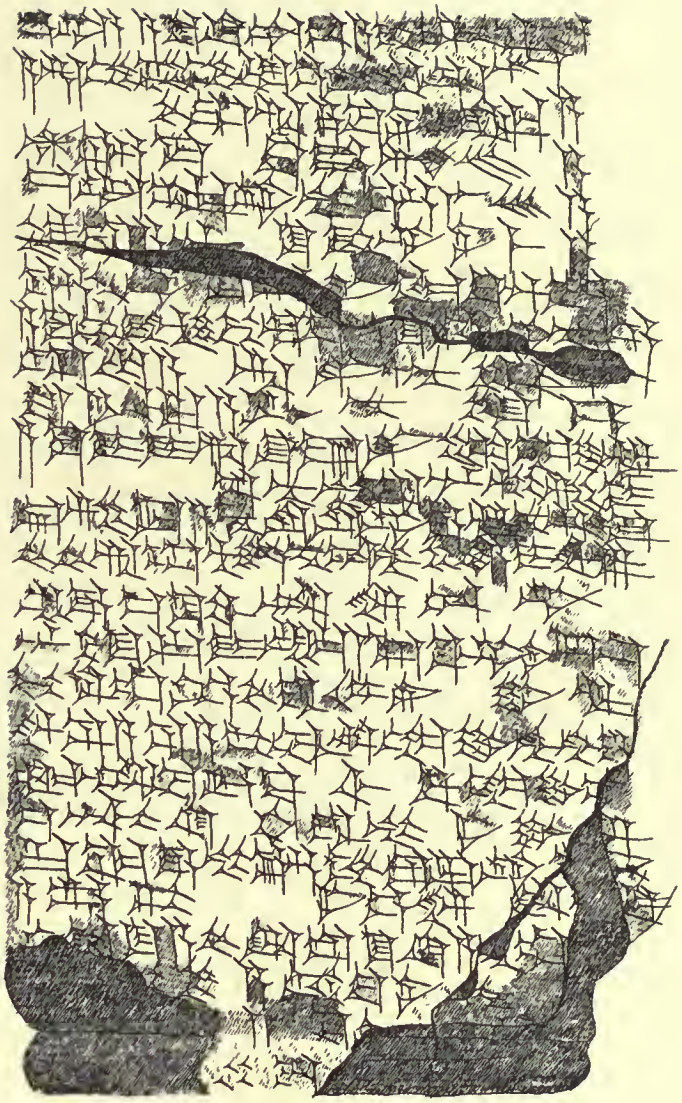

5

10

15

20

Lo. E.

2

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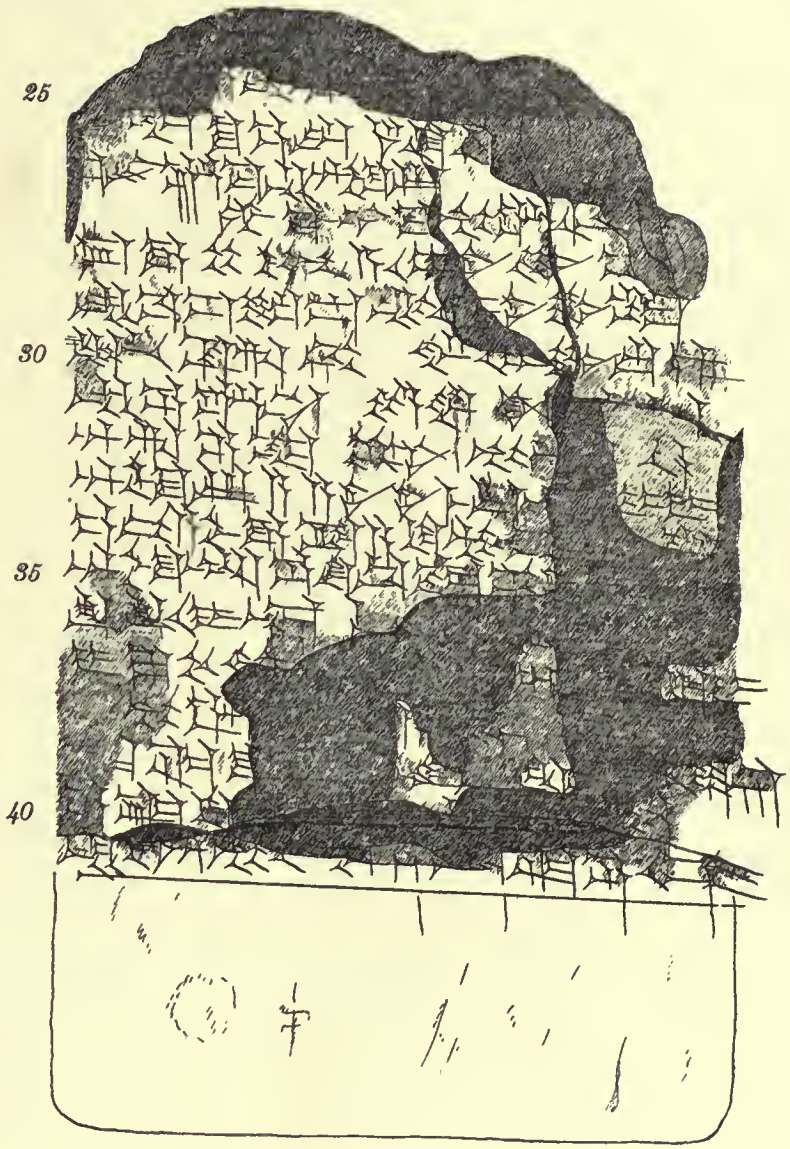


3

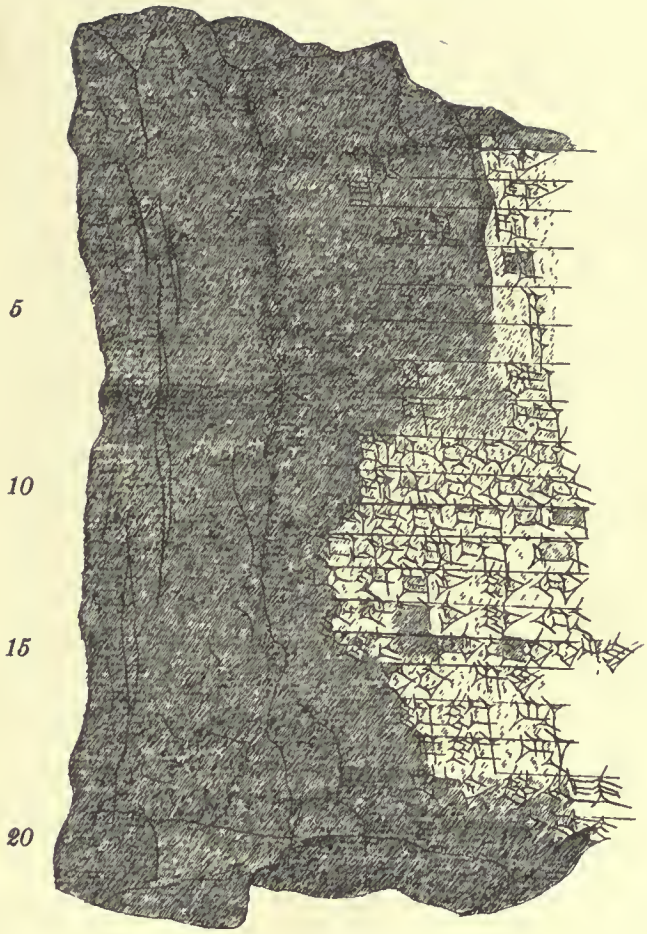
Obverse.

3

Reverse.

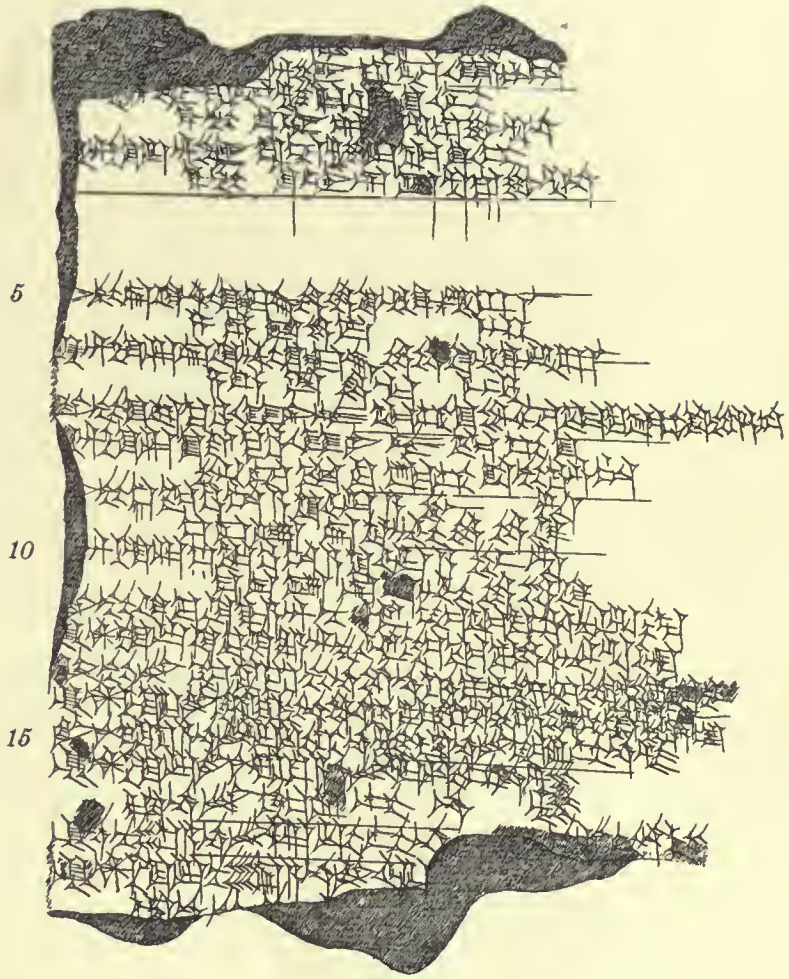
4

Obverse.



4

Reverse.



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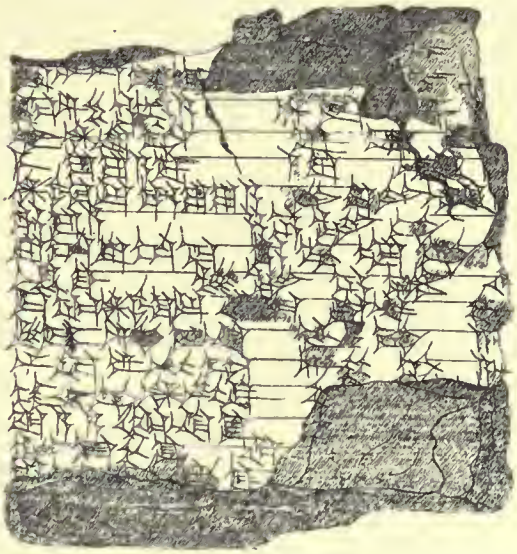

6

Obverse.

Reverse.

7

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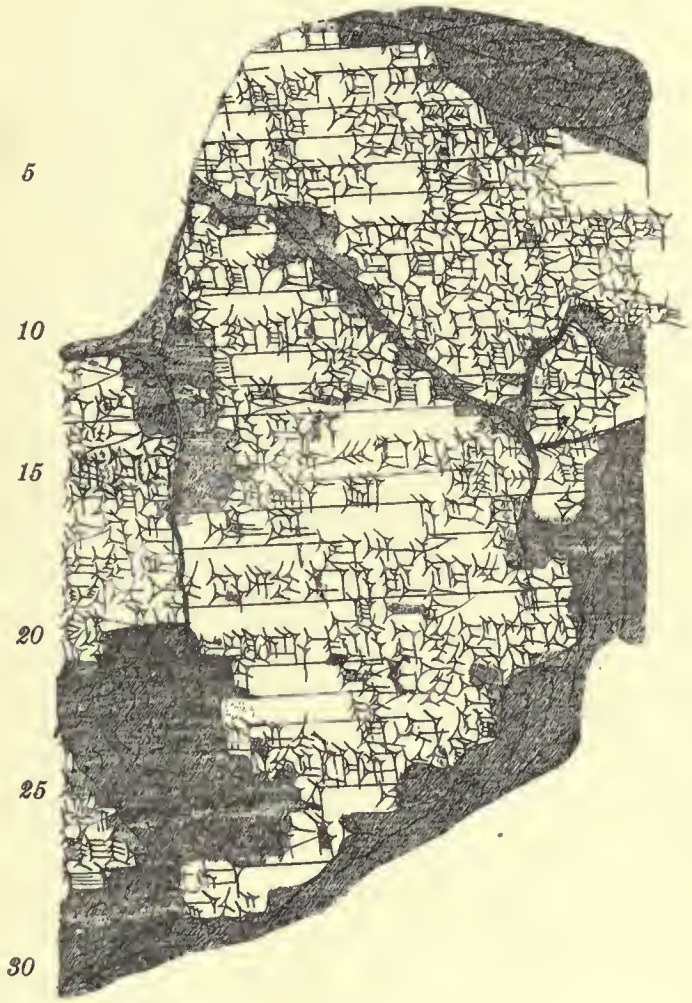

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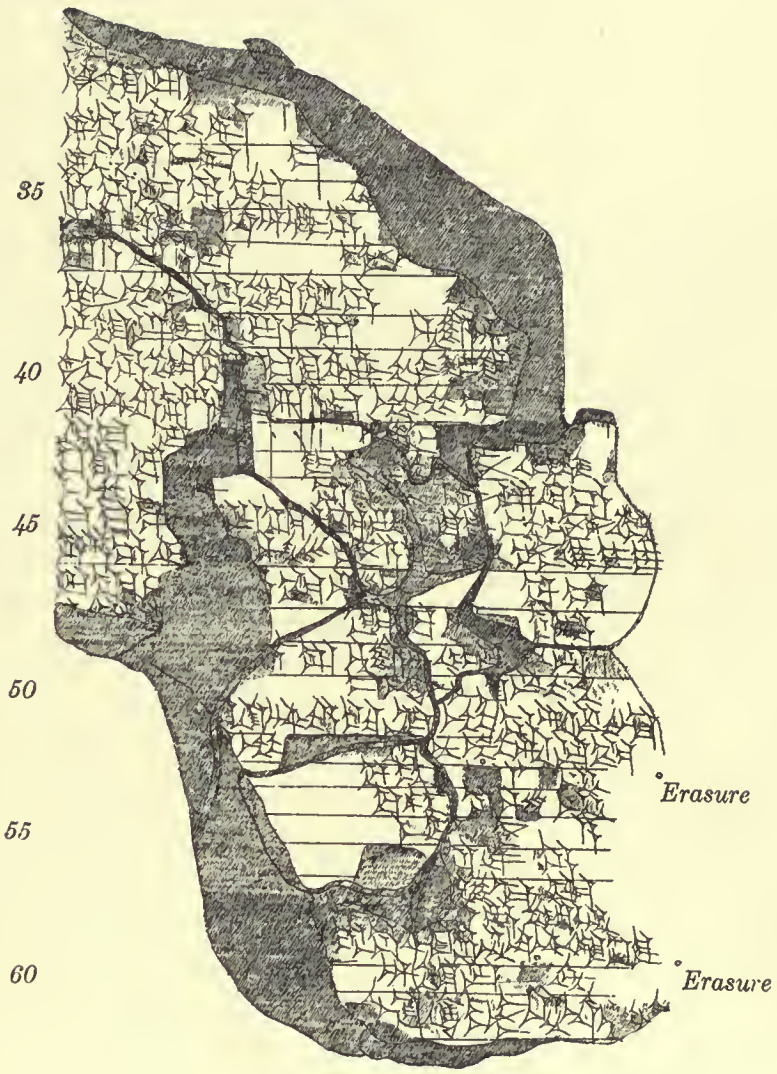
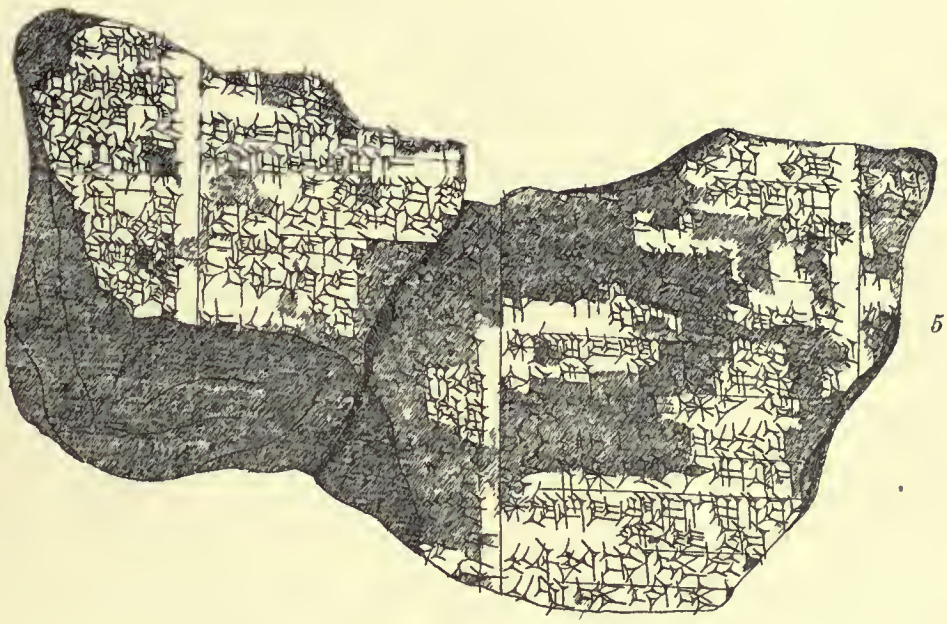
Reverse.



8

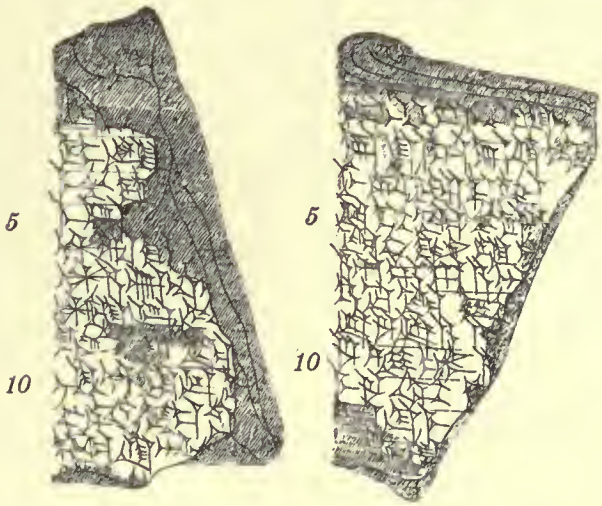
Reverse.

Col. IV. Col. III. Col. II. Col. I.



9

Obverse. Reverse.



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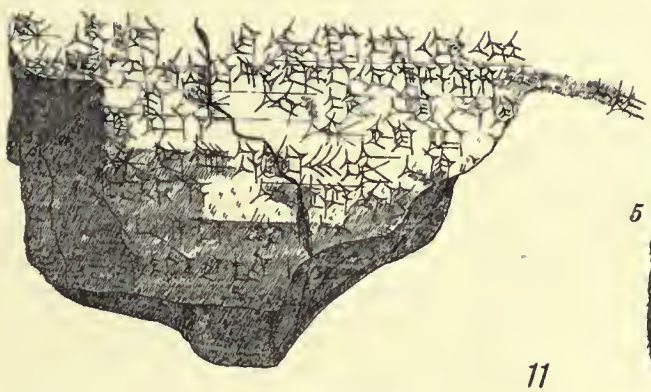

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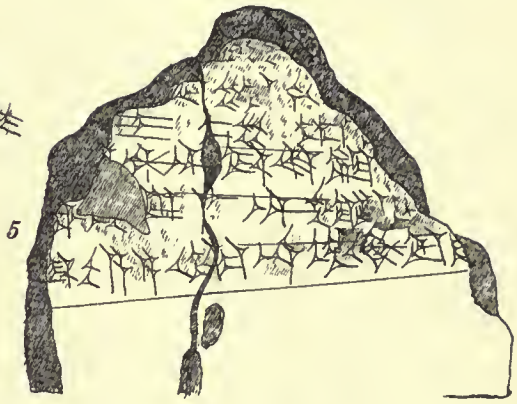
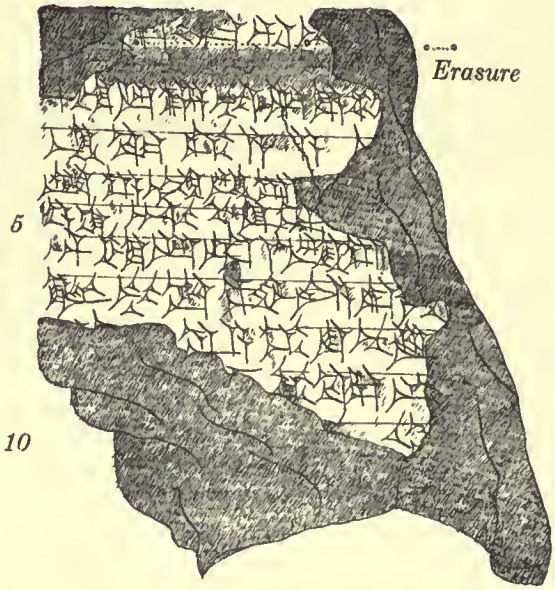


11

Obverse.

Reverse.

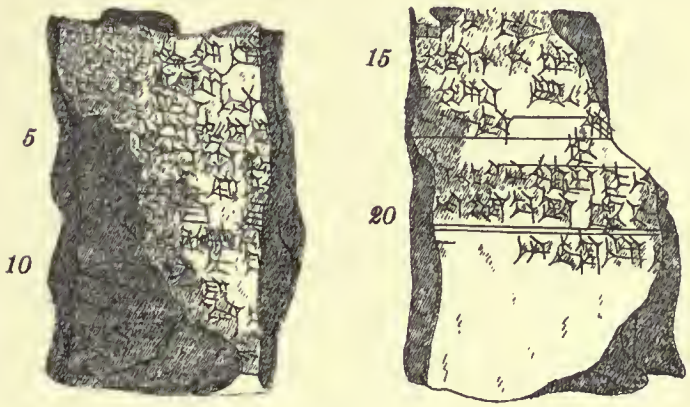


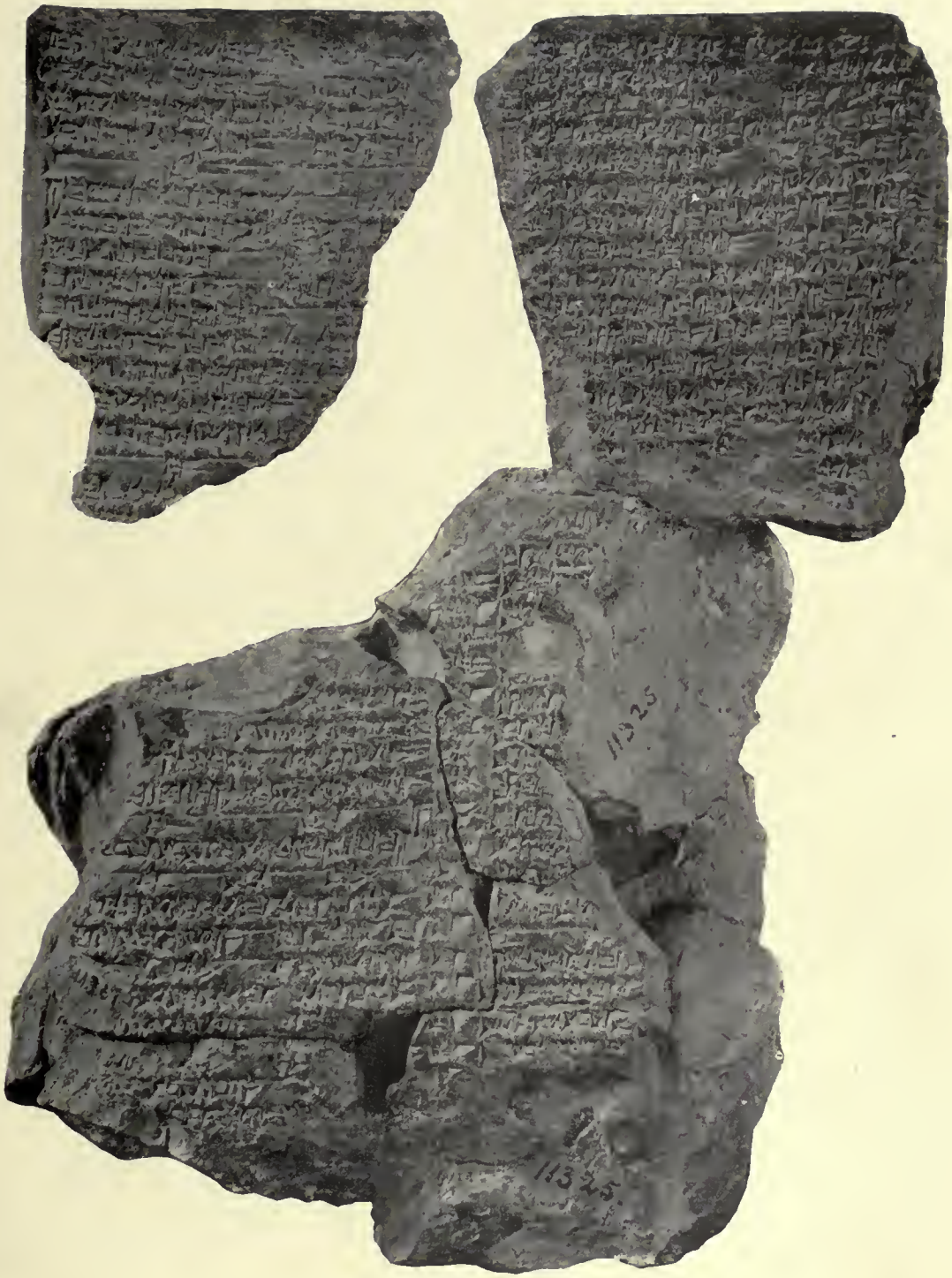
12

Obverse. Reverse.

13

Obverse. Reverse.

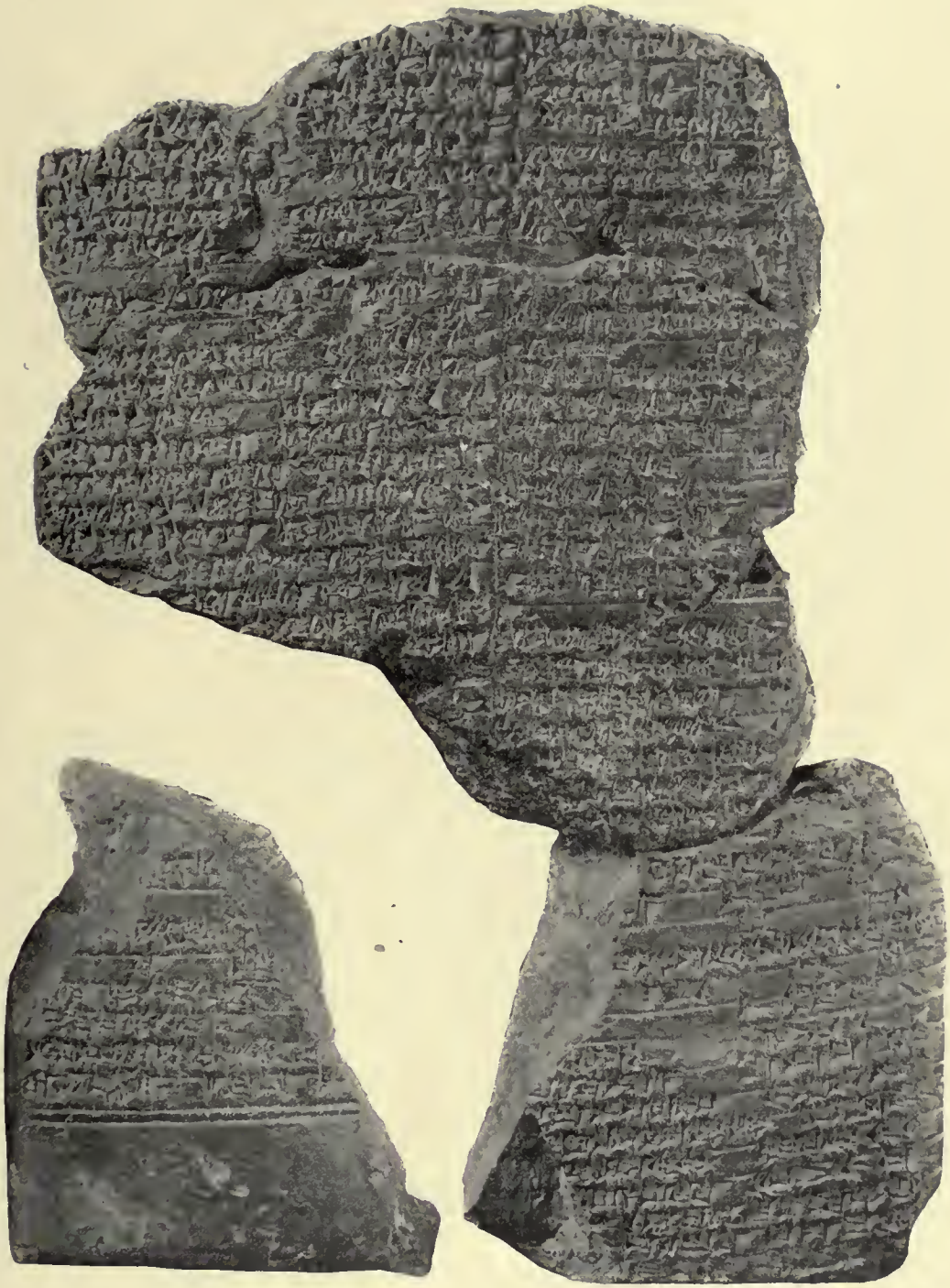




1

1. OBVERSE OF AUTOGRAPH TEXT No. 1

OFFICIAL PRAYER TO GOD NIN-IB FOR THE PROLONGATION OF THE LIFE OF GIMIL-SIN AND BUR-SIN, KINGS OF THE SECOND DYNASTY OF UR.



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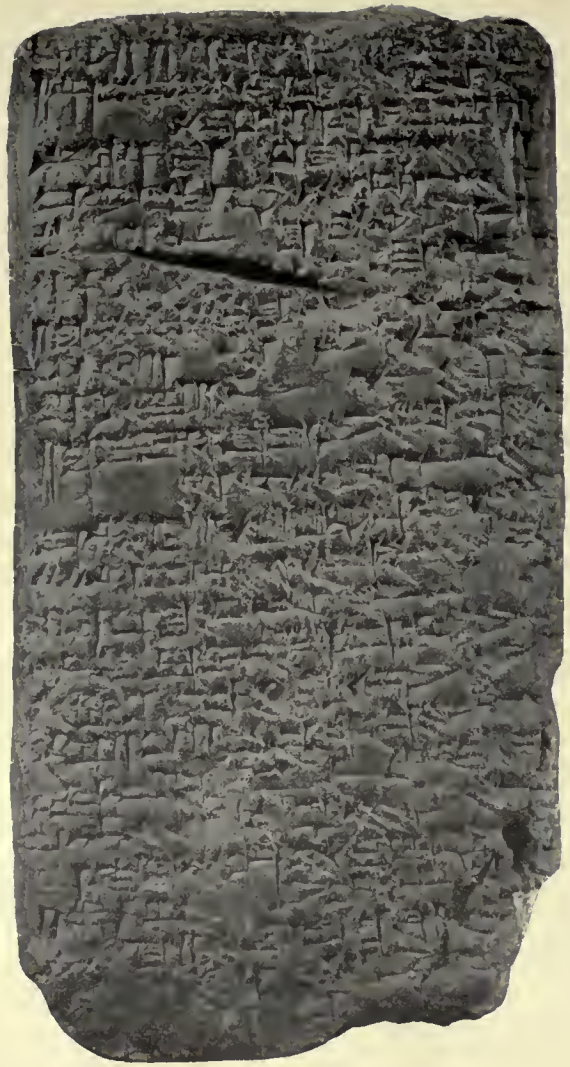
2. REVERSE OF AUTOGRAPH TEXT No. 1

OFFICIAL PRAYER TO GOO NIN-IB FOR THE PROLONGATION OF THE LIFE OF GIMIL-SIN AND BUR-SIN, KINGS OF THE SECONO DYNASTY OF UR.



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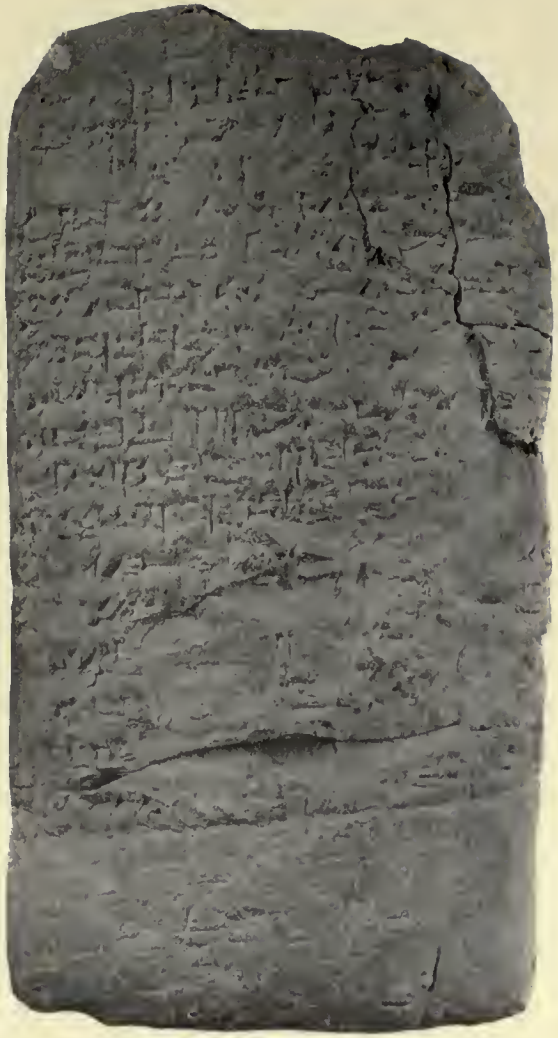

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3, 4. OBVERSE AND REVERSE OF AUTOGRAPH TEXT No. 2

HYMN IN PRAISE OF GOD NIN-IB, BABYLONIA'S SAVIOR FROM THE OPPRESSIVE YOKE OF THE ENEMIES.
(DUPLICATE OF AUTOGRAPH TEXT No. 3 AND REISNER, HYMNEN, P. 123)

5 6

5, 6. OBVERSE AND REVERSE OF AUTOGRAPH TEXT No. 3

HYMN IN PRAISE OF GOD NIN-IB, BABYLONIA'S SAVIOR FROM THE OPPRESSIVE YOKE OF THE ENEMIES.
(DUPLICATE OF AUTOGRAPH TEXT No. 2 AND REISNER, HYMNEN, P. 123)

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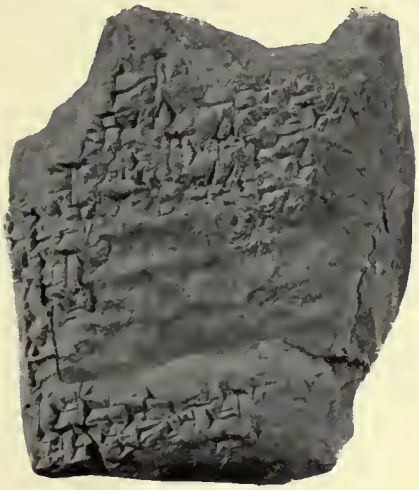

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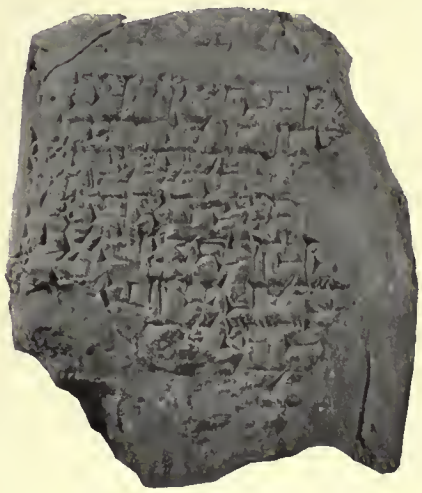
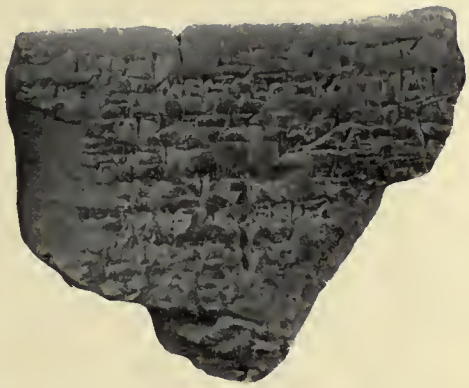


10

7, 8. OBVERSE AND REVERSE OF AUTOGRAPH TEXT No. 5
9, 10. OBVERSE AND REVERSE OF AUTOGRAPH TEXT No. 11

7, 8. PRAYER TO GOD NIN-IB FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE SEVERAL TEMPLES OF NIPPUR, KESH, UR, LARAK AND KULLAB AND FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE KINGSHIP.

9, 10. HYMN PRAISING THE WARLIKE CHARACTER AND MIGHTY DEEDS OF GOD NIN-IB.



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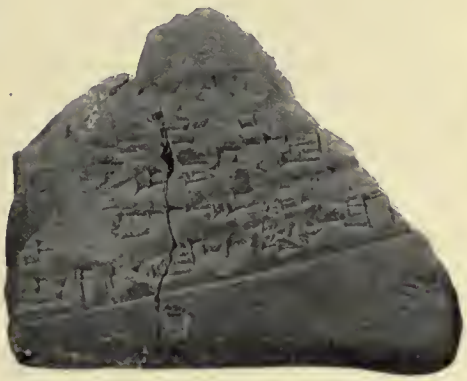

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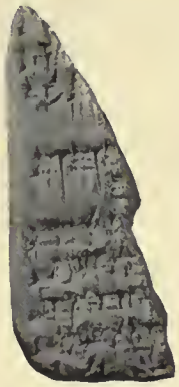

16

11, 12. OBVERSE AND REVERSE OF AUTOGRAPH TEXT No. 10
13, 14. OBVERSE AND REVERSE OF AUTOGRAPH TEXT No. 13
15, 16. OBVERSE AND REVERSE OF AUTOGRAPH TEXT No. 12

FRAGMENTS OF HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO GOD NIN-IB, AMONG THEM A LAMENTATION SONG (Nos. 13, 14).

a3

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