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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

PHILADELPHIA

Published by the Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania

1911
TO

Eckley Brinton Coxe, Junior

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

Who

By his liberal support of archaeological 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 "religion 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 Ashshurbânânapal 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, si(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 *ma(s)* is glossed by *giš*. The inscriptions belong to the earlier Temple
Library of Nippur, which antedates that of Ashshurbânânapal by about 2000 years.
No. 1 mentions kings *Gimil-Sin, Bur-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 *Entil* volumes already in
the course of publication.

To my friend and guide, Professor H. V. Hilprecht, whose freely given encour-
agement, 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 archaeological 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.**
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I.


1. THE SUMERIAN GODS AND THEIR HUMAN ASPECT.

NIN-IB, the “son (dumu)” or “principal son (dumu-sag)” and “mighty warrior (ur-sag kala(q)-ga)” of the chief god of Nippur, “Enil, 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-lâm, su-lim, נָּשָׁכֶה)” which fills the worshiper not only with “fear (ni),” but also with “love (âq)” and “reverence (î),” yea, with an “irresistible longing (he, ga)” to pierce the vail and to “behold the god from face to face (i-gi-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 (ni me-lâm, ni su-lim-hus),” “reverence (î-î)” and “adoration (ka-šu-gâl, -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 (galû).”

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 (ḫ̀ul)." He can "walk (gin)," "ride (u)," "lie down (na(d))" and "sleep (u-di-hug-hug (or dib))," can "speak (gu-de)," "eat (kú)," "drink (naq)," can "rejoice (hul)," "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 exactly reflex of the "human society," being thought of as consisting of "man (gašu)" and "woman (saš, nin)," of "male (giš, ušš)" and "female (saš)," of "parents" or "father and mother (ama-a-a)" and "children (dumu)," of "husband (dam-uš, en)" and "wife (dam-saš, nin)," of "sons (dumu-uš)" and "daughters (dumu-saš)," of "brothers (šeš)" and "sisters (šeš, nin)," of "kings (lugal)," "lords (en)," "princes (egi)," "counselors (ad-gi-gi)," "servants (nīla)" and of all kinds of professions: "pa-te-siš," "priests (šangu)," "diviners (māš)," "smiths (simug)," "gardeners (nu-giš-sar)," "fishermen (šu-ya)," "farmers (enkar)," "bakers (mu)," "messengers (κin-gi-a)," "musicians (ULU)," "rein or bridle holders (PA-dib)," "barbers (bar-šu-gal)" and "female hairdressers (kinda, ššu-i)," etc., etc.

In human society man or woman married or was given in marriage, hence the Sumerian god or goddess could and did marry (ki-uš-diš(g)-šu ḫuš-ḫuq), could and did "beget or bear (tu-uš-da)" children. It seems that during the earliest period of their social life and institutions the Sumerians reckoned the descent through the mother, hence this practice was transferred to the gods likewise. 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 became a-a ama (IV. R, 27, no. 4: 56, 57, see below, p. 6, note 4; IV. R, 57a: 3, see below, p. 7, note 3) = a-bi(μu) um-mi(μu), "father-mother." See also Bēl, the Christ, p. 17, note 10, and cf. below, p. 5, note 4.
3 Cf. the "seven children of ḫa-nu," Creation-Story, p. 20, note 6; ḫi-nu-MAkur, the daughter of ḫi-nu, Lc. p. 27, note 9; ḫi-NIN-IB, the son (illitu) of ḫe-gi(=KU)-tu-ba₂₅(rar) (= ḫe-sal KU₂₅=gi-tam-ma₂₅-al=ḫi-NIN-ib, C. T., XXIV, 5: 8), I. R., 29: 18. Cf. in this connection also the ḫu-bi₃₅ na-mur-ra₂₅ bu₂₅-ka₂₅ ḫe-gi(=KU)-tam(?)-ba₂₅, K. 9680 (Bezd, Catalogue, p. 1047). This text is neither a hymn to the Moon-god (Bezd), nor one to Nergal (Böllmann, Nergal, p. 50: 3)—though the latter is per se possible (H. J. V., p. 428)—but rather one to ḫi-NIN-IB. Notice also the name Ur-Tu₂₅-ai₃₅ (=Ur-Tu₂₅-mla₂₅). B. E., III, part 1, 85: 5, 111: 6 (correct Myhniian, p. 852, Ur-īb-mla, and cf. p. 996). For KU = egi see Br. 10501. From this it would follow that the gloss e-gi to S.ÅL + KU refers only to KU, H. A., V, p. 391: 10 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."7 In like manner it can be shown that the early Sumerians must have practiced polygamy2 and polyandry,3 must have permitted the brother to marry his own sister,4 the son to wed his own mother5 and the father his own daughter.6 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:

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1 Cf. *Nin-Mardik*, the daughter of *En-lil*, H. A. V., p. 441, note 5; *NIN-IB*, the son of *En-lil*, and see p. 2, note 3.


3 Cf. Creation-Story, p. 27, note 1; p. 39, note 2; p. 61, note 2; *Bil, the Christ*, p. 20 et passim.


5 Cf. the references given above, note 2; *Bil, the Christ*, p. 2, note 5.

6 Cf. *Bil, 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) and its picture (bān kāla), the source of life and the life itself. This androgynous nature, this ability to beget out of himself his own ego, this self-

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1 For mummu as a name of Ti-amat see Bel, the Christ, p. 9, note 6, mummu Ti-amat mum-ul-da-a-gi-im-mi-ri-su-ua. Ti-amat is also = NAB; the NAB is the same as =En-lil and is called the damu-sag An-ni. =En-lil is also one of the 21 names of the ana-a-a An-na (Bel, the Christ, p. 17: VIII; p. 19 : 8), hence An-na, the original, begets himself, his own picture: =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, i.e., 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, i.e., 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, as male, as female, as parent and as son; or as both: male and female or parent and son (daughter).  

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," that they "neither take a wife nor beget a child," and yet some of these "Seven" are "male" and others "female," while all are the children of, i.e., of the same nature as, An, Enlil and Ereshkigal.  

On account of this androgynous nature, the god An is termed ama-a-a or "mother-father," 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 gods who shared with An the designation ama-a-a. Among these we find, e.g., the damkur, i.e., the god of

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1. Cf. here An = Ana or ilu and Ana = Anum or ilum, and names like NIN-IB, ANAS, ANAmana, SUH, GAN-sir, SUB-U, SUB-MA, SUB-GU, SAGU, and see Creation-Story, p. 39: 3; Bel, the Christ, pp. 20-30; The Monist, XVI (Oct., 1906), p. 636; L., 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 = belu, bittu; dumu = maru, marua; ad = akku, ummu (cf. C. T., XXV, 10: 66; damkur AD and damkur AD), etc., etc.

2. 4. En-kur-kur = Enlil (father) and NIN-IB (son); GAN-sir, the father, is identified with Sir (or salam), the son, B. E., XVII, part 1, p. 20; Nergal = GAN-su-gal (father) and Mes-kam-ta-ta (son), H. A. V., p. 427, notes 1, 2; Legal-benatu = Enil, and the duum-sorg EN-lil-ba-ge, H. A. V., p. 416, 417. SUH = father and son, H. A. V., p. 416; cf. also the various genealogies of Ishtar and Nusku in Bel, the Christ, pp. 1-3.

3. 4. Su-kur-ru is either = NIN-IL-IB (C. T., XXIV, 5: 9 = 22: 109) or = daughter of Ea (dumu nuna abzu = maru rapi is apatu, B. E., V., 619: 18), i.e., of the god who plays the rôle of Enlil, the "father," the husband of Ninlil, or = IN-gig-gig (i.e., Nin-Gisn = NIN-IB, the son of Enil, cf. the proper name Su-kur-ru-Isa-gig, The Monist, XVII (Jan., 1907) p. 147). See here also the discussion of the trinity of Der and Nippur, B. E., XVII, part 1, pp. 19-22; 30, note 1, and cf. the history of SUH 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.


6. Cf., e.g., names like mise and misu, a-ardat isiu; labartu, the daughter of An (The Monist, Jan., 1907, p. 145), who is the same as NISU or Ishtar, the wife of An, Enlil, Sin, Samas, Anub, etc., and mother of Enil, Sin, etc.

7. For references see Fossey, Magie, pp. 27ff.

8. The Sumerian renders it by ab ilum-mu, "father-mother," see above, p. 2, note 2.

9. I.e., besides An, ten other "couples." For a discussion of these lists see Bel, 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.
The Sumerian goddess Enlil and his wife An-nas established an influential position for Ada-sar, also known as An-šar. This is best illustrated by the 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?" A most remarkable passage, showing us that even goddess may be an ama-a-a, "mother-father.”

The “En” or “Lord” and “Nin” or “Mistress” are both, singly and separately, said to be the “mother-father” of “En-lil and "Nin-lil."

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1. See Bel, 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, Bel, the Christ, p. 18, where both “husband” and “wife” are identified, singly and separately, with "An" and "intum!"
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, 37, 27, no. 4: 45, 57, ama-a-a ama amu muk-ku = du-a-num = du-a-num. ( = Enlil, later on NIN-1B) a-bu amu a-li-ta-dú: the fem. álùta (instead of álùta) is chosen because with a composite noun, as which abu-amma 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 Bel, the Christ, pp. 6ff.
6. For references see e.g., p. 16, IV; 18, V; 19, 4.
7. Cyl. A, 3: 6-8, ama mu-ba-ke ama-am a-e, a mu-ba-ke a-e, ama sa-ga šu-ba-ri-dú(g) úni-a ni-ta(3). sa-ga-dú(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 = da(g) = ma-da, “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 Bel, the Christ, p. 17, note 10. This shows that “En” and “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 “En = An, the “mother-father” of the prehistoric period of the Babylonian religion.
The moon-god of Ur, "Nanna, is termed both an a-a or "father" and an ama 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."1

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 (ni-he, ni-te-na)," "by his own power (a-bi)." The god An as ama-a-a heads, therefore, all the lists of gods and appears never as the son of another god. Enlil, though generally the "son of An" or of "En and Ninn," is yet called "the one who does not know a father," i.e., "the unbegotten, uncreated, self-existent one." 4 Nanna, the god of Ur, is both the "principal son of Enlil" and "the fruit which created itself by its own power."5 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— the chief gods during the Sumerian and prehistoric period— "the one who created himself."6

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-gâl(še-ir-ma-al) ni-te-na, "powerful by himself," who "causes to dwell the spirit of life (zi-ša[g]-gâl)" in his creature, "man," and in the "country (kalam)" inhabited by his creatures: in the land of Shumer or Babylonia.

1 IV. R.7, 9:3ff.; C. T., XV, 17:2ff. et passim.
2 IV. R.7, 9:24, 23, ama he nigin-na = ri-i-mu a-lid nap-ša-ri, "womb that gives birth to everything."
3 IV. R.7, 57a: 34 = King, B. M. 8., no. 12: 1 = Hehn, B. A., V, p. 350: 34, EN at-la ma kiina a-bi u um-me ina [anildi? or ilâni?]lilis ta-la-dâki. 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 (mo-ri, ilũtû) of Anšar, cf. Bil, the Christ, p. 15, note 6; p. 6, note 5; K. A. T., p. 351, note 2—passages apparently embodying an endeavor in majorem Antilari gloriam.
5 See p. 6, note 8.
6 Cf. A. S. K. T., p. 81:7, 8 (Ninag, p. 42), where NIN-IR, the son of Enlil, is called the dim-mù a-a-na-za = tar-bit a-bi ul id-di, "sprout of 'him who does not know a father,'" i.e., son of "the fatherless," hence the a-bi ul id-di is Enlil.
7 Dumu-ány 4En-lil-ba, Creation-Story, p. 22, note 5; C. T., XV, 17:5.
10 Ba-șu-nu ra-ni-ba, Bil, 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: Ê-An(-na), "house of An." The Ê-An(-na), the habitation (ki-dür) 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 Ê-An(-na) increased in size and became a "city": Unu(y)št, i.e., simply "Abode." 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 mātu, iršatu, "country, land" (hence a synonym of kalam = mātu, "land"), or by Sumer (the biblical מָרָן). 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 Sumer 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 fatherland," cf. our "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty," or the expression "the old country," i.e., "the fatherland." Ki-en(in)-gi, on the other hand,

\[1\] In Semitic U-rú-ak, i.e., Ezech. 728 (Gen. 10:10) = the modern Warka.
was used when the land of Sumer 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 šamē and why Hesychius² informs us that the šamē or Σαμή is ὁ κόσμος Βαβυλώνος.

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 šamē or σαμή, when considered as "husband and wife" or "father and mother," became either an + an or an + ki, i.e., šamē u irtītim, οὐράνιος 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 = šamē, σαμή) corresponding to the kalam and the latter (an-ki = šamē u irtītim) to Ki-en(in)-gi, or, in other words: an is the "sacred" or "religious" while an-ki 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).⁴ 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.⁵

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.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{An} & \quad \text{E-An(-na)} & \quad \text{Unu(y)ki} & \quad \text{microcosm} \\
\text{parent} & \quad \text{temple} & \quad \text{city} & \quad \text{Kalam} \quad \text{Ki-en(in)-gi} \\
\text{macrocosm} & \quad \text{an} & \quad \text{an-ki} & \quad \text{nation}
\end{align*}
\]

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

¹Though Thurau Dungan, 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.
²Bîl, the Christ, pp. 21, 27.
³I.e., pp. 16f.; 21ff.; 25, e; 26, b ff. For an = ki = Antum = irtim see especially I.e., p. 28, e and the notes there given.
⁴Cf. here also my remarks about Êdur-an-ki, Êdur-an, Bîl, the Christ, pp. 21ff.
⁵Cf. the הַרְדָּךְ of Gen. 1 and Creation-Story, p. 9; Bîl, the Christ, p. 10.
⁶Bîl, 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 (ê)," a "city (-unu(g), kis)," 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, išitu, "earth," but išitu renders also the Sumerian Ki-en(in)-gi,\(^3\) which latter, however, is most generally translated by mātu, "land" = kalam, hence an, šamē, saur, is both = Ki-en(in)-gi and = kalam. For Ki-en(in)-gi = an-ki see IV. R., 27, no. 4 : 63, 64: am-ši ka-nag-gâ mas-su(su(d)) Ki-in-gi-ra = be-lum (i.e., Enlil, later on NIN-JB) na-piš-ti ma-a-ti mas-su-u šamē u iššitu\(^\text{im}^\text{m^m}^m\).

(c) That the "name" of each and every god may be expressed either (a) by the nomen proprium or (b) by either one of his "spheres of influence"\(^7\); in other words, the gods of the Sumerians have both a micro- and a macrocosmic significance.\(^8\)

\(^1\) Cf. Uru-anu(g)\(^2^\) = Ur; Utu-unn(g)\(^2^\) = Larsa.
\(^2\) Cf. En-ni\(^2^\) = Nippur; NUN = rubâ = dEn, NU\(^2\) = Kedu, etc.
\(^3\) C. T., XVI, 12 : 22, 23, Ki-in-gi (=DU) = iššitu\(^\text{im}^\text{m^m}^m\).
\(^4\) Brünnnow, No. 9678.
\(^5\) Notice here that ka-nag-gâ ( = kalam-na) is parallel to Ki-en-gi and cf. the title of En-ia(g)-kuš-an-na: en Ki-en-gi lagal kašam-na. E. B. II., p. 45 = S. A. K. I., p. 156, 4, a. See also Gudea, Cylinder B, 22 : 19, 20, kalam si-sal-tu he-gal-na(d) Ki-en-gâ iššitu iššitu, "may the country rest in peace (safety), may towards Sumer the (surrounding, non-Babylonian) lands direct (have) their eyes." Šâ (instead or rd) has to be read here because it expresses direction, being parallel to the ki in ha-mu-ši-gal. Cf. also galu-gal-tu = "one against (hi = di) the other," R. E., VP, 11 : 21. Šâ, šâ, ki, šâ or di, i(e), an are thus parallel with ra(i, u) or a(i, u).
\(^6\) Here belong "names of gods" derived

(a) From their temples: dNin-É-An-na; dNin-É-gal; dÉ-kur; dDur-an-ki, etc.

(b) From their cities: dNin-Gir-an; dNin-En-il(i) = Nippur\(^2^\), etc.

(c) From their microcosmic spheres: dLugal-kašam-na.

(d) From their macrocosmic spheres: dLugal-an-ki; dLugal-abzu; dEn-kur-kur; dKur-gal; dAm-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 šamē, sun, i.e., cosmos" or "house of heaven and earth," i.e., the house in which the "god of heaven and earth (An and Anum, the later Ishtar, K. B., VII, p. 128 : 37)" had his dwelling (mu-bāb); (b) that the city where this or that god had his "abode (mū(g))" must likewise have a macrocosmic significance. Hence, not only the zigurat of É-An-na came to be called an E-šu (i.e., gi(g) -bār-7 (II, R., 50 : 20, a, b), but even Uru-gâ\(^2^)

Erech, acquired names like Gi-pār-7\(^2^), Gi-bār-7\(^2^), Gi-pa-an-7\(^2^), Gi-bār-7\(^2^\)(see II. A. V., p. 432, note 7) or Uba-7\(^2^).
But if so, then the theology of the Sumerians is or becomes ipso facto a micro- and macrocosmology and, mutatis mutandis, their theogony a micro- and macrocosmography.

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 transitions 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?" 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.
King Hammurabi, in the opening lines of his famous code, indicates the epochs which preceded that of his time when he states:

"When the sublime An (i.e., God), the king of the 4A-nun-na-ki: 4En-lil, the lord of heaven and earth . . . . to 4Marduk . . . . 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 (šimu), when the time was ripe or the circumstances warranted it, 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 xατε' εξοχάτε, 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. 632 ff.
2 Cf. Bel, the Christ, pp. 52, 53; K. B., VI, p. 36 : 12, 13, aššu aš-ri ib-na-a ip-ti-qa dani-ni-ua be-el mātāti šami-šu it-ta-bi a-bi 4En-lil.
3 The tendency of our modern historians to completely ignore the testimony of Babylonia's most celebrated archaeologist, 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.'s 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."

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, Bel, Ea, Sin, Samaš, Rammu, Ištar. This doctrine was likewise transferred backward and made applicable to the An epoch. In this way it happened that Ė-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 Ė-An-na(na) in Uru(y)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 Ė-kur at Nippur.

(c) The Amurritic (Canaanitic)-Babylonian or Marduk Epoch, with Marduk of the temple Ė-saq-il-la at Babylon as its foremost god.

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

From this division it will be gathered that such well-known gods as Ea (Ēn-ki), Sin (Ēn-zi, Ēnanna), Samaš (Ētu), Rimmel (ĒIM), 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 Samaš 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-ling-gal Ėn-ul-âl kur-ru = bed-lum ma-a-tum ēditto ri-kku-at šadîl, i.e., "lord of the country, Enlil, offspring of the 'Mountain.'" Notice in this connection that Enlil was called Kur-gal (Br. 7414), "the great Mountain"; kur, "Mountain" (H. A. V., p. 417), Ėkur, "the god of the temple of the 'Mountain ( = world)'", and that this last name appears among the "21 of the 'mother-father' An (Bel, the Christ, p. 17, VIII), hence being identified with "Anu of the totality of heaven and earth (Bel, 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! $^h$ 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 RELIGIÓN.

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 Ashshurbanánapal (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 Ashshurbánalap 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 Ashshurbánalap 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-an-ki = Ên.

$^2$ See above, p. 12.

FROM THE TEMPLE LIBRARY OF NIPPUR

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 Babylonologist, in many cases at least, has at his disposal the originals of the later copies of Ashshurbānīpal’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 Ḫenlil or ḪEnki, 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; Rim-Sin, Tonmagel 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 E-An-na together with his city Unu(q)11 = Uruk or Erech1 (𒈗𒈗, 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 E-kur2 are mentioned before Erech and E-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 E-kur had overshadowed, in point of importance, that of Erech and E-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-a3 or

1 K. B., VI, p. 62 : 5, Uruk 𒃬-灞 𒀜-.nextInt 𒅕-灞.
2 Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 38 : 6, 7.
3 Bōl, the Christ, p. 17 : 14, 19 : 22.
"parent," "mother-father (abu ummu)." This term, as we saw above, 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 (άγεννενος)," who is and exists "by himself (ni-ba, ni-te-na, á-bi, 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 kîš-sat AN-KI)":

(a) of the gods,

(b) of the world, the macrocosm (an, an-ki, σαυς) and microcosm (kalam, Ki-en-qi).

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" kîš-sat AN-KI) and "everything himself (An = šamē and σαυς ò κόσμος Βαβυλόνιος")." In other words, An is the source or "father" of τὸ πάν and τὸ πάν 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) becomes An-um ("Ar-uq) = il-um (god, Ēē),} or Semiticized

{wife (mother) An-tum = il-tum (goddess = Ēhtar").}

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

An (= šamē, σαυς) the

husband (father) becomes An (= heaven) šamē (= ʾēṣparē) = kalam (the country) or Ki-en-qi (Shumer).
That Anu 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.?, 56:7b, dAn-nun-ab(-ad), ilāni\textsuperscript{mêsh} rabûti( = gal\textsuperscript{mêsh}). These "great gods" are mostly designated by the term dAn-nun-na, i.e., "the begotten ones (a = riḫût, lit. the outpouring, brood, progeny) of the 'prince (num')," or more fully, "the dAnunna whom Anu has begotten and the dAnunna whom Antum has begotten;" or, what is the same, "the dAnunna of (= begotten by, and thus belonging to) heaven (an-na = ša šamēr) and the dAnunna of earth (ki-a = ša ursitūlim)," or simply "gods of heaven and gods of earth." Of these the god An is said to be both the "foremost

1 For nun = dAn-na see M. 1724.
2 dAn-nun-na An-na( = dAn-nim) a-ri-a-ne, dAn-nun-na ki-a( = An-tum) a-ri-a-ne, for references see Bil, the Christ, p. 28, note 1.
3 See Bil, the Christ, p. 28, note 2, and the references there given. Later on the "dAnunna of earth" were termed dAn-nun-na-kī, i.e., "the Anunna of heaven" were called dI-gi-gi, i.e., "princes." I-gi-gi I consider to be a contraction of i-gi-igi, and i-gi a phonetic writing of egi = KU = rubû (see p. 2, note 3), syn. of nun, hence the dI-gi-gi have also the name dNun-gal(e-ne, -mēš), "the great princes.
4 Dim-me-ir An-na( = ša kenē) Dim-me-ir ki-a( = ša ursitūlim), R. II., 130:110; 92:21; 135, III, 23.
According to these passages and R. II., 87:22 (cf. K 4629, rev., Bezd, Cat., p. 516) the "gods of heaven and earth" are divided into

(a) "the great gods, 50 in number (Dim-me-ir gal-gal L-me-ne). "Fifty" being the number of Enlil (and of his son dNIN-IB, C. T., XXV, 506:7; 506:14), we have to see in this statement a Nippur influence, showing us that during the Enlil period the god of E-kur was considered (like Anu) to represent or to include in his person "all the fifty great gods of heaven and earth": therefore L also = kiš-in-tum, V. R., 31, col. II, 16.

(b) "the gods of (i.e., who determine) the fates (Dim-me-ir num-tar-ra)," who are said to number seven (7-ne-ne). These are "the seven great gods par excellence" or "the 7 governors (hammu) of heaven and earth (ur(ur)mêsh-7-an-kī)": An, dEnlil, dEnki, dEnun, dUtu, dIM, dAnunna. They must be separated from the 7-bīl (= Sibīlītu), the messengers (gal\textsuperscript{mêsh}-gal-a) of An (IV. R.?, 5:27 = C. T., XVI, 19:27), whose fates he (An) has determined and whom he has given to god Inna (= dI-gī-dī) and igī-ga-nes (= IM, etc.) to be his "furious weapons" (see Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 53:6, but who likewise are called "great gods," K. 157 (Bezdol, Cat., p. 41), dI-bī ilānimêš rabûti( = gal\textsuperscript{mêsh}). These 7-bī 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, p. 21, 5; p. 40, note, and the seven zīl of C. T., XV, 15:18.

d) dAn-nun-na An-na mu-ul-s-bī = dAn-nun-na ki-a ša šamēr šu-bi, i.e., the dAnunna of heaven (to the number of) 5 oss or (5.60 = 300)." Cf. also R. II., p. 142, III, 12, šu-bi (i.e., = 300) br d4 V. II.

(d) dAn-nun-na ki-a nu-ul-60-bī = dAn-nun-na ki-a ša ursitūlimmēš nī-e-ir-šu, i.e., "the Anunna of earth (to the number of) 10 oss or (10.60 = 1 nēr = 600)." Cf. also R. II., p. 142, III, 12, 60.10( = 600) br d4 A\textsuperscript{3}dAn-nun-na-ki, and 60.10 = dAn-nun-na-ki, IV. R.?, 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 dI-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; Sīna = 30; Šamaš = 20; Ištar = 15; Nergal = 14 (sic! Hommel); Marduk = 11; Gībbûl = 10) as Hommel (Grundrii, p. 370, note 1) wants, is evident for the following reasons: (1) d4 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, 50a, b. Seeing that 60 is also KU, which, when read egi, has the signification "prince," it may not be impossible that d60 \times 10 = dAnunna-ki, meant originally the totality (10 = U = ša = kištate) of the 'princes.' Furthermore, remembering that the dI-gi-gi, "princes," or dNun-gal(e-ne, -mēš), "great princes" are in fact nothing but the "Anunna of heaven," we may see in the writing d4 V. II the number of 5 \times 120 or 5 \times 60 \times 2 = 600 = d60 \times 10 = dAn-nun-na-ki, the "Anunna of earth") rather than that of
(gi-gal') and the "king (lugal')."

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\(\text{Bēlit-h-lī,}^2\) "the mistress of the gods."

These gods are, as we saw above, the d\(\text{An-nu-na An-na and Ki-a a-rī-a-ne,}\) "the Anūnna begotten by Anu and An-tum," i.e., the d\(\text{Igigi and Anunnaki}\) or the totality of the gods of heaven and earth.

D. d\(\text{En-līl the "Son."}\)

a. His Genealogies.—Among the gods, the progeny of An and Ki, one god stands out with special prominence: the god Lid, or, when differentiated into husband and wife, d\(\text{En-līl,}\) "Mr. Lid," and d\(\text{Nil-līl,}\) "Mrs. Lid," the famous god of the temple

\("seven.) In other words, the d\(V, II\) or d\(Igigi\) and the d\(\text{An-nu-na-ki}\) are the same in number. The difference, if there be any, between \((60 \times 5) = 300\) and \((60 \times 10 = 600)\) is, no doubt, the same as in the expression (see Böllenhüffer, Nergal, p. 34: 25, 27) d\(\text{ib-ru 5-ām(-me) ba-ra-ab(-he)-i, c-10-ta 10-ām(-me) ba-ra-ab(-he)-ē}\) "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 hand). Hence, \((300 = 60 \times 5)\) and \((600 = 60 \times 10)\) 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 (1 or 600 = kūššaltar) of these gods, An, is, therefore, himself explained by d\(V, II\), see V, R., 21: 60c, d, An | \(dV, II;\) he being the i-lum or "god" per excellence is hence also the i-gi, i.e., the i-lum ki nap-ha-ri, Br. 9271. For other views see Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 587 (the i-gi = d\(\text{Zu-nūt}\)) and 9 Anunnaki, which Jensen mentions here, do not exist! Hroznyy, Ninay, p. 56f.; Zimmern, K. A. T., p. 45f.; Hommel, "Güdräiss", pp. 234, 307, 4; 369, 4, 370, 1.

1 Cf. II, R., 19: 20 (= Hrozny, Ninay, p. 10, rev. 20), lugal dim (i so, not rab dim is a variant of dim = rabā, Br. 1105) d\(\text{An-na gi-gal dingir-ri-e-ne-ge = šēr-ru rab-hu}\); d\(\text{An-nu a-lār-id ilūminich.}\) Cf. Ninay, p. 16: 15, An-na dim(!) dingir-ri-e-ne-ge.

2 Gudea, Cyl. A, 10: 12, An lugal dingir-ri-e-ne-ge; Shabnammar, Black Obelisk, obv., 1, 2 (cf. Bēl, the Christ, p. 28, note 2), d\(\text{An-nu barri d-gi-gi u An-nu-na-ki;\) Code of} fürmuuni, 1: 1, An šī-ru barri d\(\text{An-nu-na-ki (here, however, this attribute has been transferred to d\(\text{En-līl,\) see p. 12).}\) Cf. Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 48: 27, 28, where "the gods (ilūmin)" are said to be his (i.e., d\(\text{An-nu-na's}\) "children (mārē-ša)."

3 C. T., XXV, 1: 23 = 20: 15, d\(\text{Bēlit = (NIN)-līl} dom An-ān-gē, being identified in L., I, 29 = 20, with An-tum d\(\text{Ilim-tar.}\) For the pronunciation d\(\text{Bēlit-li (and not d\(\text{Zin-zal-li}}\) see C. T., XXV, 7d: 10, d\(\text{Bēlī(t = (NIN)-Nīt-lī).}\)

4 See p. 17, note 2.

5 Cf. d\(\text{Belit,} d\(\text{V, II}} u d\(\text{An-nu-na-ki, Craig, R. T., 111, p. V, corrections to vol. I, 34, rev. 6.}\)

6 The name līl is still preserved in the following names:

(a) d\(\text{līl, ardā līl, līlit (= Sb)y, Is. 34: 14), see above, p. 5, note 6; (b) mu-tu līl (phonetic writing for līl) = d\(\text{Līl-um, who is, according to IV, R.}, 27, no. 4, 56, the same as d\(\text{Mu-šul-li or En-līl (see also above, p. 6, note 4), but according to C. T., XXV, 12: 21, d\(\text{Līl-um dūto, i.e., d\(\text{NIN-IB;}\) (c) d\(\text{Līl, the son of d\(\text{Mēš}(a) or d\(\text{Nīn-mēš} = d\(\text{Belit-li (the wife of (DUN-P3-ā), C. T., XXIV, 13: 59 = 26: 107; (d) d\(\text{Līl-tum, C. T., XXV, 1, col. II, 2, 7; (d) Līl-lum, col. VII, 10; d\(\text{Līl-li, l.c., col. VIII, 6; (c) Līl = d\(\text{Iy (i.e., 'the storm'), V, R.}, 44, col. III, 37a, b, d\(\text{Me-li-Līl | 5Gott-d Iy.}\) Cf. also below, pp. 28, note 3; 29, note 1.}

7 For the pronunciation En-līl or Hl-līl ( = 15\(\text{Zikkur of Damascus, where N is a mistake for A: (DUB-oc) see C. T., XXIV, 5: 38-41, d\(\text{Hl-nīl-līl, d\(\text{Hl-nīl-līl, dīto līl, dīto SI.}\)

8 C. T., XXIV, 5: 6 = 22: 107, d\(\text{Nīn-līl-līl | 5Nīn-līl dam-bi-sal.}\)
É-kur at Nippur and his wife. He is "the principal son of heaven" or of An, "the god of É-kur, the son of the 'prince',"72 "the one begotten (a = rihût, 'progeny') by" or "the son (dumu) of Ki-in-gi-ra,"73 "the begotten one (a, u-tu-ud-da) of the bright heaven (or holy An),"74 "the begotten one (a)" or "son (dumu) of the (world-) mountain (kur, šar-sag)"; An is Enlil's "beloved father."78

b. Enlil's Nature.—The Sumerian šar-ul is translated into Semitic by šâru, "wind," a synonym of IM ^mi (see below), or by zaqiqu, "wind, storm." Translations such as these ought to have sufficed, it seems to me, to prevent scholars from seeing in an-lul a god of the "air."79 That šar-ul cannot be taken in the sense of "air" is abundantly demonstrated by the several names and attributes ascribed to En-lil and still preserved in the inscriptions. Among these names may be mentioned as especially noteworthy the following:

"Im-lul-sag,"10 "storm of the (world-)mountain (i.e., of An)"11; the ziggurat of Nippur was called, therefore, É-im-har-sag.12 Enlil is the storm that blows from the north: "Im-si-sât,"14 and from the east: "Im-kur-ra,"15 possibly also that which comes rushing from the south (im-gâl-lu)16 and the west (im-MAR-TU).17 In fact, An-lul

1 Creation-Story, p. 21, môr râ'âš humû (the "macrocosmic sphere of influence" for the god of that sphere). 2 NAB dumu-sag An- na, R. H., pp. 88 : 7; 135, IV, 1. For NAB = Enlil see C. T., XXIV, 39 : 10, NAB | ditto ( = BE, i.e., Enlil, I. 3) | 6 ^ An-e and B. A., V, p. 655 : 6, NAB | 6 ^ En-lil dî An-[n].
3 L.c., p. 33, 6 ^ É-kur dumu Nun- na. For nun = ^A-nu see p. 17, note 1.
5 Cf. the proper name 6 ^ En-lil-dâ-a-An-sag-qa, B. E., III, part 1, no. 111 : 8.
6 Cf. also M. 5801, 6 ^ + il-lil = bit za-qi-qi. According to Craig, R. T., I, p. 6 : 23, çap-lâ za-qi-qi 6 ^ bit za-qi-qi. It is evident that the "Son" of a given deity (here Naba of the Babylonian trinity) may give his answer to a prayer through and by the za-qi-qi (cf. the "still small voice" of 1 Kgs. 19 : 12).
7 So, e.g., Zimmerm, in K. A. T. 3, p. 355; Enlil, "Herr des Windes (wot im Sinne von: des Luftreiches)."
8 C. T., XV, 11 : 3, (6 ^ En-lil) u-tu-ud-da har-sag-qa. Har-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.
9 Hülpecht, O. R. L., no. 87, III, 14; "En-lil ... An a-kì-di-ni nom-R, E. C, 316-umu ke-na-bi, "may Enlil utter my (Luget-sag-qi's) prayer to An, his beloved father."
10 Cf. also M. 5801, 6 ^ + il-lil = bit za-qi-qi. According to Craig, R. T., I, p. 6 : 23, çap-lâ za-qi-qi 6 ^ bit za-qi-qi. It is evident that the "Son" of a given deity (here Naba of the Babylonian trinity) may give his answer to a prayer through and by the za-qi-qi (cf. the "still small voice" of 1 Kgs. 19 : 12).
11 So, e.g., Zimmerm, in K. A. T. 3, p. 355; Enlil, "Herr des Windes (wot im Sinne von: des Luftreiches)."
13 See above, note 7.
14 R. H., 50 : 5a.
16 B. A., V, p. 655 : 21. Cf. also K. S. 897 (Bezold, i.e.), im-kur-ra ^ En-lil EN ki-ru. In view of the fact that kur is also = An (syn. of har-sag, see above, note 6. 7), "Im-kur-ra might possibly have had the original signification "storm of the (world-)mountain.""
17 Cf. K. S. 897 (Bezold, i.e.), im-MAR-TU ^A-nu abu ( = A1) 64umû. Notice in this connection that ^En-lil-bandadâ, ^Nu-din-mu, ^BE, ^Xl, etc., are both ^É-a and ^En-lil. Cf. also ^Ug-gâl-lu = ^NIN-tE, ^Sama-ad, ^Nergal, H. A. V., pp. 422, 428.
18 Cf. K. S. 897 (Bezold, i.e.), im-MAR-TU ^A-nu abu ( = A1) 64umû. Notice that ^MAR-TU is also = ^Kur-gâl = ^En-lil = ^AN-tE-MAR-TU."
is the "storm" par excellence, being called d-ša-ma[Uug]. That this Uug cannot be taken here in the sense of "day" is evident from C. T., XVI : 20b : 40 and from an inscription recently published by Thureau-Dangin, where2 Uug-gi-ra-ra is rendered by ri-siš-ti dIM, "the rain-storm of Rammān." In the latter passage it is parallel (l. 5) with ANŠU-ra-ra = ri-siš-ti [um or ri-siš ANŠU], i.e., "rain-storm [of ANŠU]." and with (l. 6) Uug-ra-ra = ra-ha-ši ri-šiš, "the storming of (and destruction by) the rain-storm," while in C. T., XVI, l.c., it is followed immediately by GU-GU GU-GU kir-hur-AG-DA-mēš = te-šu-ū qar-du-te šu-nu, "mighty destroyers (destructions) they (the 'Seven') are." From this it would follow that Uug, ANŠU, Uug, Uug—and I may add Uug—are names all signifying the "storm" such as Rammān 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 En-ša-ša-ga, "lord of the storms." From the inscriptions of Gudea we learn that the storms which Enlil has were, among others, the a-ma-ru or "storm-flood" and the Uug-gi-sätû as 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, 47b : 14 = 35b : 2, dUug, i.e., ūnuma, and on the other C. T., XXV, 22 : 35 = 23a : 2, dUug (ūnuma), see below, note 1, to no. 2 = 3, p. 70. Cf. also C. T., XV, 11 : 4, ūg-ša-nun-giš a-a En-lil-lē, "greatly powerful storm, father Enlil," and see above, p. 18, note 6, e.


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 ūg ( = ĝir) for ūg ( = ḫe) in C. T., XXIV, 7 : 9, dLugal-ša-kala(g)-ša(g)-ug = i.e., 23 : 1464, dLugal-ša-kala(g)-ša(g)-ug,"king of mighty power with the heart of an Uug( = storm, panther, lion)," i.e., "as fearless as an Uug"—a name well adapted to describe the mighty and fearless character of 4NIN-IB (cf. l.c., 7 : 10 = 13 : 11b), the "Son" and god of the powers of nature in the Nippur triad during the Enlil epoch. For the interchange of ūg and ūg see also below, p. 70, note 1 to no. 2 = 3.

5 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 "the storm-flood," during the Enlil epoch, as was Enlil during the prehistoric period.

6 Cf. the name of one of the weapons of 4Nin-Girsu, Cyl. A, 10 : 2, lugal a-ma-ru 4En-lil-ta iği-haš-a-ni kur-da nu-ši, "king of the storm-flood of (1) 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) Enlil-ta—a-sag a-ni kur-da nu-ši, "one without equal, who has turned a gracious eye towards Gudea, the high-priest of Nin-Girsu;" 4Nin-Girsu-ta iği-zi(di) mu-ši-bar, "the king of the storm-flood of (1) Enlil, the one without equal, has turned a gracious eye towards Gudea, 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, and to the later copies from the library of Ashshurbanapal.

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:

(a) 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;

(b) 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.

a. Enlil as a Destructive Agent.—Enlil is both a god of war and god of peace; a destroyer and protector, defender, restorer, upbuilder; imimical, 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 supreme lex to which he must bow and which he must obey.

Furious indeed and one most to be feared is "En-lil as "storm": "storm of
terrible strength," "mighty one, storm of An," "the rushing storm," "the rusher," "storm of his 'father-mother' who begot him," "storm of the glorious An, powerful one among the people." 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."

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, šg a-nun-gal.
3 C. T., XV, 10:18, e-lum im An-na.
4 IV. R', 27, no. 4:48, šg al-lur = šmu[m] da-pi-nu.
5 IV. R', 27, no. 4:52, "DUN-PA-I-a, lit. "hero who lightens up," for DUN-PA-I-a = Da-pi-nu, see Br. 9875.
6 IV. R', 27, no. 4:56, mu-lu li-a-ama muh-na = id[k][l]um a-bu um-mu a-li-ta-šu.
8 C. T., XV, 11:21, ka-ta-ê-a-2u.
He is termed “steer which causes destruction without its equal.” When he lightens in the heavens he spreads awe and fear everywhere, for he is “full of fearful splendor and awe-inspiring fear” and “clothed in frightful fearfulness.” 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”,

“Subduer of the land, hostile toward thy father”,

“The haughty ones completely thou layest low”,

“The hostile lands thou smitest down”,

“The not subservient land in discomfiture thou scatterest.”

“The (non-Babylonian) land like grass every one, that is mown down, thou tramplest upon”,

“Distress over the (non-Babylonian) land like a cloud-burst he has brought (V. brought),

“Distress over the (non-Babylonian) land like a cloud-burst he has brought.”

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

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?"

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?"

"Mighty one, storm of An, who can keep his stand against thee?"

Enlil is indeed a

"fearful lord and mighty warrior of his father."

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

möt ni-kúr-ti ša la ma-gi-ri
For sun = sín = naqṣu cf. no. 2 = 3 : 19 and below, p. 25, note 1.

ša(g) ša-ba-zu
ag-ga tibbi-ka

3 C. T., XV, 11 : 22,
za-da a-be-a

4 C. T., XV, 10 : 18,
šum im An-na

5 C. T., XV, 11 : 26 = B. A., V, p. 633 : 30, 31,
ù-mu-un(unnun) àm-un
be-lum šur-bu-u


7 Craig, R. T., I, 81 : 17, dEn-lil EN sīkīm-mis; Cf. above, p. 20, note 5.
he executes the "judgment" of An, being called, therefore, "the weapon of An" and "lord, judge of hosts." 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."

"Into the enemy's hand as with a cudgel thou strikest."

The enemy, once ensnared, has no escape:

"From thy right hand no enemy can escape,"

"From thy left hand no evil-doer can flee."

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" 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:


ki-bal-a zâ(g)-tâ(g)
sa-ḫi-ḫu môt nu-kâr-tim.

u'âš-dû-a-dim sag-ni-sî(g)-si(g)-gi.

2 d-zi(d)-da-zu
ina im-ni-ka
(â-gib-bu-zu
(ina lu-me-li-ka
24 SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO NIN-IB

1 C. T., XV, 10 : 7, am crîm-na di-di.

2 C. T., XXIV, 14 : 25, d[î]hug-An d[L] | "EN ri-mu ša Dâr[,] here transferred to dNIN-IB! A reading di-la for ri-mu is out of question and, on account of the following ša, grammatically impossible.

3 C. T., XV, 11 : 9, kur crîm-ši/"
"Lord thou art, thou who hast spread famine everywhere,

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?"?
"With regard to the (non-Babylonian) lands like a high wall (fastness) thou art for me,

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 gis(gu) UR-a zi(g)-ga-zi
be-lum ba en-un-qu uš-ša-riš tuš-ka-nu
For sün = sun = nay'tu see p. 23, note 1. Here lit.: "How long still, till one be no more in adversity."

2 IV. R.1. 27, no. 4: 61, e ni-gar-ru
\textsuperscript{m}ul\textsuperscript{u} erim-ma šu(g)-ša(g).

3 C. T., XV, 11: 11, kur-kur báš-gal-bi mà
Notice in this connection that báš-gal = báš-mah = tukultu, "support" and cf. the proper name \textsuperscript{m}4Le-ar-ru-bá-du-al
= \textsuperscript{m}4En-liš kás-du ša-par, V. R.4, 44: 54c. See also note 10 to no. 1, col. I, 4.

du-lu-li-ba ša-ge(li)
šiššu-di-eš an-na-ge(bi)
me-di-li-ba
šiššu-an-ku-an-na-ge(bi)
siššu-sa-ri-ba
šiššu-gur(mar) an-na-ge(bi)
ša-gi-li-ba
\textsuperscript{(a)-meš-gal-ge-bi}
ta-il-[ša]-ša-ša-ba-li
\textsuperscript{ne-ši(g)-gur(mar)-gur(mar)-ri-ne}
ta-iš-šu-ug
\textsuperscript{in(ba-e)-ni-il(si-il)-li-en}
\textsuperscript{ša-ša-ša-ša}
\textsuperscript{im(ne)-gur(gur)-di-en}
\textsuperscript{tu-ma-ša-ša-ba-li}
In this wise Enlil becomes both the

"Lord, life(-giving principle) of the (life-)sustainer of Shumer,"¹

'country,' who "knows," leads and pastures his people:

"Husbandman, who husbands the people, Enlil thou art,"²

being called "shepherd of mankind."³ 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,

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,

"Enlil, thy (fearful) glory enlightens the fish of the sea,

"The birds of heaven, the fish of the sea it filleth."

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

¹ IV, R.², 27, no. 4 : 63, 64, 63, 64, 65

² C. T., XV, 11 : 25.

³ Of. here the fourth of the seven great names (mu'mesh gu(d)-admesh) of Enlil: sib sag-gi(g)-ga, C. T., XV, 10 : 5; 13 : 6 et passim, or sib na-l[mu-sag-gi(g)-ga] = ri[,...]um pal-mat qaq-ga-di], B. A., V, p. 666a-7, 8.

⁴ C. T., XV, 10 : 20, a-a dMu-ul-lil mu-la gu mā-mā me-en

This reading, it seems to me, is preferable to the other: mu-la gu mu-sar . . mu-la gu mā-sar. For mā-sar = mu-sa-ri-e see Br. 4302.
kindness, protection and support, praising him by exclaiming "who protects (gives support) like Enlil?" "Enlil, who is like thee!"

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." These "seven manifestations" appear or may appear, either as

(a) "seven names (mu'isk)" 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

(h) seven weapons (išk'huq), or the

(e) seven messengers (kin-qi-a, sukal) or servants (ur-saq, banula) 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 "En-úg-úg-ga," "lord of the (seven) storms" or EN išk'huq'misk, "lord of the (seven) weapons," and on the other "Ug," "storm (of An)" or išk'huq-Án "weapon of An."

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

1 Cf. the proper name "A-aba-L-da-ri = "Mu-an-ka-ma d'En-lil hu-tin, V. R.3, 44 : 42v.
2 Cf. the proper name "A-aba-L-a = d'En-lil man-nu ma-la-ak, V. R.3, 44 : 43c, d.
3 Cf. Br. 12205, 7 = kiššatum.
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 išk'huq maš 4A-nin, C. T., XVI, 3 : 87, 6 ; 211 ; 21 : 202, and the išk'huq BAN (qâitu), "bow" of Anu, K. B., VI, p. 32 : 5, 6, 8. Notice also that according to V. R.3, 52, no. 2 : 43, 44a, Enlil is called the mu-Lu gan-úr = mu-ar-ba-ak-ba-um and that the mu išk'huq gan-úr is the išk'huq in A-š (or possibly, notwithstanding the preceding ša, An-age), while in C. T., XXV, 13 : 1, the mu'gan-úr is identified with mu'LU.RAT gu(š)-ud or d'NIN-IB, see also note 8 to no. 4, rev. 19, 10, below. During the Enlil period the išk'huq-An or mištu (Dilitzsch, 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 Ninug, p. 12 : 29, 306, also C. T., XXV, 14 : 23, d išk'huq-Án-šL, d'En-ri-mu-ša Dür[ ], IV. R.3, 34 : 9, 10, d'NIN-IB išk'huq dÁššur 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 $^u$ug 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 $^dMah$ or $^dNin-mah$ (i.e., $^dNin-lil$, the wife of Enlil). On the basis of this statement, I am prepared to see in the following “seven” gods and sons of $^dDUN-PA-è-a$ (and $^dMah$) the “seven manifestations” of Enlil (and Ninlil) as “storm” or “Son” (C. T., XXIV, 13 : 55–61 = 26 : 104–118):

1. $^dBàr-ul-li-gar-ra$;
2. $^dPAP-ŠÙ-UG-ge-gar-ra$ (his wife $^dNin-PAP-ŠÙ-UG-ge-gar-ra$);
3. $^dLil$ (his wife $^dNIN-á-dam-azag-ga$);
4. $^dLîl-duq-qa-bur$;
5. $^dNin-sub-bî-gù-šá(y)$$^4$;
6. $^dÅš-sîr$ (his wife $^dGîš-mur-an-ki$);
7. $^dNe-ğûn$ (his wife $^dNin-cl-lá$).

“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, $^dLil$, which is, as we have seen above (p. 18, note 6), nothing but an attribute of Enlil, the mu-lu lil or $^dLil-lum$. 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 : 29, $^dEn-lil-ra$ $^dNin-mah$ mu-nî-nê, “with En-lil be (Gudea) caused Nin-mah to take up her abode.”

$^2$ This god appears also under the following forms: $^dPAP-ŠÙ-UG-SUB-ge-gar-ra$, $^dPAP-ŠÙ-UG-SUB-ge-gar-ra$, Cf. also $^dNIN-ŠÙ-UG-ge-gar-ra = ^dGû-da$, H. 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 $É$-mah-ge. In C. T., XXIV, 47a : 18b, he is termed $^dSub-bî-in(3)-gù-šá(y)$$^4$ and is the fourth of the $^dutug$ $É$-gat-mah-ge; in C. T., XXIV, 36 : 47, he appears as the fourth of the $^dutug$ $^dGî$-[in-ge] and has the name $^dSub-bî-in-ğù-šá(y)$$^4$, while in C. T., XXIV, 36 : 35, he is called $^dSub-bî-in-ğû-silim and is the utug of the $É$-[il]-la-ge] ( = temple of $^dNIN-IB$).
manifestations) all of them were identified with, or became names or manifestations of, "NIN-IB."

It would lead me too far were I to show here how these "seven manifestations" may be found again, under the same or different 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 "Sibitti." 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" powers, sons, weapons, messengers, servants," of whom he himself is either the "king (lugal)," "lord (en)" or "chief (pap, gû-gal, nun, nu, etc.)."

As the chief (pap-sukal), sublilme (sukal-maḫ) or true messenger (sukal-zī[d])


(b) C. T., XXV, 12:21, dLitlu | 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, dAlšîr[{t}-gi] | ditto (i.e., dNIN-IB, l. 1). Cf. also C. T., XXV, 16:23, dAlšîr-sûg = dIM.

(d) C. T., XXV, 12:23, dNin-gûn | ditto (i.e., dNIN-IB, l. 1). See also le., 13:13, dNûn | dEN ri-mu ša Nibirā. This name became later on also that of the "Son" of the Babylonian trinity: V. R., 43:37e, d = II. R., 60, no. 2:38 (cf. e. le., 59, obv. 61), dNin-gûn | dAG ( = dNabû and dNIN-IB!) c-muq li-li.—For his wife cf. II. R., 54, no. 2:7 = i.e., 59, obv. 40 (Hommel, S. L., p. 48, l. 41), dGššu-du | dNin-du [šum] dNIN-ûn; hence, dNin-ûn, = dNin-gûn, i.e., dNin-gûn, here belonging to the court of An (Hommel, le., 1. 27). For the pronunciation gûn or possibly sî, sî (from sîn, sun), but not dar (though dar is = li-tu-a, S965), cf. V7Ezen-dNin-gûnu(s, sî)m-pl, R. T. C., 53, rev. III, 2. The dNin-gûn has to be differentiated from the dNin-sâul ( = lu-gûnû) | gašu-EN-lar-[š}(ba), R. H., p. 134, col. I, 39, 40; p. 137, no. IV: 51, 52. For such a difference between dar and gûn (sî, sî), cf. R. A., VII (1910), p. 108, nin-an(l)-mu-l-dar-a and C. T., XXIV, 31:70; XXV, 9:26, dNin-mul-gûn(sî, sî)-a; dNin-slur-a and dNin-ši-gûn(sî)-a, etc.

(e) For dNin-sîn-dár-gûn(dîg) see p. 28, note 4.

2 The 2 + 7 great gods and sons (lînîmînḫ, rehûôtîmînḫ muṟûmînḫ) of dA-ni mentioned in III. R., 60, no. 3:65-74, are but dDUN-PA-ê-a and dMaḫ (or dEnûl and dNinûl) and their "seven sons," mentioned above (p. 28), under different names, because they play here a different rôle: that of d-šû(dî) = ašâkku, whom to 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 zîb of dIM in a forthcoming article.

4 Here it ought to be noted, that these "seven" may appear also as 2.7. Thus dMaḫ, the wife of dDUN-PA-ê-a (= Enûl), is said to have "14 children," see C. T., XXIV, 14:2 = 50e, I, 14, 14 dumûmînḫ dMaḫ-û-ge. Cf. also the "14 children of Nergal (Jensen, K. B., VP, p. 76:4)"; the "14 children of dNin-subur (C. T., XXIV, 2:66)," etc. Each of these 7 or 2.7 may again have his own progeny. So, e.g., dNin-gûn, the seventh of the seven sons of dDUN-PA-ê-a and dMaḫ, is said to have "8 children" (C. T., XXIV, 26:114-118) among whom is to be found as the first: dEgli-an-na (also = dNIN-IB (Nabû). C. T., XXIV, 11:1) as the second: dEgli-lat ( = dNIN-IB, le., 1.15); as the third: dSa-ba-an-gal ("the destructive serpent," cf. dSa-ba-an-SIR, the second of the six ušu-EN-lar-ro, C. T., XXIV, 8:2 = 23:6b; dSIR, the "Son" of the Dûr trinity = dŠe-ra-ûh, the ra-bi-šk EN-lar-ro = dKA-DI, B. E., XVII, part 1, p. 20, and dSa-ba-an = Purtallu); and as the eighth: dÚr-nun-ta-û (cf. the third of the seven children of Barû: Úr-ê-nun-ta-û, Creation-Story, p. 23, note 6).
of his father An, Enlil was known by the name $^{1}$Lugal-$\acute{e}$, or $^{2}$Nin-$\acute{e}$.$^{3}$ As such a messenger he was primarily the god who carried out the will or "commands (me)," $^{11}$ "decisions (ē-$\acute{e}$, är-$\acute{e}$-bar)," $^{14}$ "judgments (di)" $^{15}$ of his father, becoming in this wise "the judge par excellence of the people (erin-na di-di)." $^{16}$ He was there-

$^{1}$ B. A., V., p. 655: 5, $^{2}$Lugal-$\acute{e}$, this, as Macmillan already indicated, is, no doubt, a mistake-$\acute{e}$ atubur | $^{3}$En-ālī $\acute{e}$ $\acute{e}$ $\acute{e}$| $^{4}$A-nūm, i.e., $^{5}$A-nūm. For the reading ē-$\acute{e}$-bar (instead of $^{6}$disin-$\acute{e}$-[ra]) see above, p. 24, note 1, and for $^{7}$a-[ubur (instead of $^{8}$A-š[N}) cf. Hrozny, Z. A., XIX, p. 368; Weissbach, Bab. Miscellen, Taf. II, col. V, 27, and Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats, p. 65.

B. K. 3719 + Sm. 1861, II, 22-24 (O. L. Z., April, 1908, Sp. 184), $^{9}$Nin-$\acute{a}$-ubur sukak-ma $^{10}$An-na-ge = $^{11}$I-$\acute{a}$-ab-ru $^{12}$suk-kal-lum [i-[i]-rum] $^{13}$A-nūm; cf. Adapa myth, Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 94 (and 411), 7, 8, 10), $^{14}$A-nūm [$^{15}$A-nūm $^{16}$A-nūm] $^{17}$A-nūm $^{18}$A-nūm. For the reading ē-$\acute{e}$-bar (instead of $^{19}$disin-[ra]) see above, p. 24, note 1, and for $^{20}$a-[ubur (instead of $^{21}$A-š[N]) cf. Hrozny, Z. A., XIX, p. 368; Weissbach, Bab. Miscellen, Taf. II, col. V, 27, and Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats, p. 65.

$^{2}$ K. 3719 + Sm. 1861, II, 22-24 (O. L. Z., April, 1908, Sp. 184), $^{3}$Nin-$\acute{a}$-ubur sukak-ma $^{4}$An-na-ge = $^{5}$I-$\acute{a}$-ab-ru $^{6}$suk-kal-lum [i-[i]-rum] $^{7}$A-nūm; cf. Adapa myth, Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 94 (and 411), 7, 8, 10), $^{8}$A-nūm [$^{9}$A-nūm $^{10}$A-nūm] $^{11}$A-nūm $^{12}$A-nūm. For the reading ē-$\acute{e}$-bar (instead of $^{13}$disin-[ra]) see above, p. 24, note 1, and for $^{14}$a-[ubur (instead of $^{15}$A-š[N]) cf. Hrozny, Z. A., XIX, p. 368; Weissbach, Bab. Miscellen, Taf. II, col. V, 27, and Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats, p. 65.

$^{3}$ K. 3719 + Sm. 1861, II, 22-24 (O. L. Z., April, 1908, Sp. 184), $^{4}$Nin-$\acute{a}$-ubur sukak-ma $^{5}$An-na-ge = $^{6}$I-$\acute{a}$-ab-ru $^{7}$suk-kal-lum [i-[i]-rum] $^{8}$A-nūm; cf. Adapa myth, Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 94 (and 411), 7, 8, 10), $^{9}$A-nūm [$^{10}$A-nūm $^{11}$A-nūm] $^{12}$A-nūm $^{13}$A-nūm. For the reading ē-$\acute{e}$-bar (instead of $^{14}$disin-[ra]) see above, p. 24, note 1, and for $^{15}$a-[ubur (instead of $^{16}$A-š[N]) cf. Hrozny, Z. A., XIX, p. 368; Weissbach, Bab. Miscellen, Taf. II, col. V, 27, and Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats, p. 65.
fore, a kind of herold, ambassador plenipotentiary, having been endowed with extraordinary powers (ā-ğall) and authority. The emblem of his authority is a “pure or bright scepter (ašiḫ-gišdar azaq)” which he “carries (lī)” or “holds in his hands (ša-ti-li)” or “wields (ši-sū).” He has a scepter and he can give a scepter. All might (nam-ner-gall), power (ā) and authority come from him. What he proclaims upon the command of his father cannot be changed and no one dare oppose. 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 (al-qi-gi).”

The ordinances thus conceived Enlil “executes (me-šu-di)” by his (2x)7 manifestations, his sons, the “powers of nature.”


In later periods this gīdār was transferred to each and every god who played the role of the “Son”: d NIN-IB is called the anēnu ašiḫ-Gīdār d En-lil, Ninurta, p. 10 : 22a. —The “Son” of the Enlil trinity (d Dumuzi-atau = Marduk) had the name Gīdār (! copy has gūd)-še-azanu, C. T., XXIV, 16 : 37 = 29 : 87. —d Utu, the “Son” of the Utu trinity, was called d PA-me-šu-šu-dā (ditto (i.e., d Utu, 1 : 10) or simply d Gīdār, V. R., 46, no. 1 : 30. This last name was applied also to the “Son” of the Babylon trinity, d AQ or d Nabû, Br. 5579.


4. Cf. the proper name d Nis-šu-bur-gū-nu-lam-la in d Pā-pa-sukal šu is-bu ul i-ni, V. R., 44 : 55c, d.


7. Cf. in this connection the name of Nusku, the son of Enlil, etc. (Bel, the Cretan, p. 2, note 10): d Umun-ma(š)-du-ru = d En-mer-su-da = d PA-KU (cf. ll. 21, 59, obs. 15) [be-šu pa-rē šutubu] R. H., p. 131, col. 1 : 27, 28 = 85 : 33, with Shalmanassar, Black Obelisk, 11, 1, d PA-KU mu-zi ašiḫ-ḫatit ( = P A) ellen-te. For mu-šu-ṣu-ru = gīdār see above, p. 10; note 7. The name d PA-KU is, therefore, not “der in den elō des Himmels Sitzende,” but “der mit dem Szepter (PA = gīdār, mu(š)du) investierte (KU).” Husband and wife have the same functions, hence we find that the wife of Nusku is called in II. R., 59, obs. 16, d Gashon-me-su-da = d Nis-me-su-da = d Sa-da-nun-su-dam-šu-si; with this cf. the attribute (above p. 30, note 3), me-pu-lu-sa-dā-a, ascribed to Nisnāšu who in II. R., 30 : 17, is coupled with Gīdār, hence d Nisnāšu = d Sa-da-nun-su = d Tāku-me-tum, because they (like their husbands) are the goddesses of writing. See also d Me-nigiu-nu-su-da, the husband (!) (dām-bi-ir u) of d Nis-šu-bur ( = d An-na-ge) = d Mē-la-[a-lia]-a), C. T., XXIV, 10 : 4 = 23 : 27, and the E-me-ne-su-su-da = d E,-d Nis-sīg, Finches, P. S. B. A., 1900, p. 362 : 7. Whether the temple of d NIN-IB, Ėša-me-su-da is a variant of E,-d Nis-šu-bur is not yet certain, cf., below, note 16 to no. 1.

8. C. T., XXIV, 2 : 6b, 14 d umun-ma(š) d Nis-šu-bur-ge.

9. Notice here that d IM, when executing the commands of his father, Enlil, thunder and lightning (see C. T., XXV, 16 : 7-9); that the Gīdār gives his answer to Ashur-šarrūnišipal’s prayer by means of a wind (zaqīq) (see above, p. 19, note 9); that d Nis-Girīna announces the end of the drought by a wind, breeze (aṭu). 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 Nis-šu-bur. Cf. “d Nis-šu-bur dir-li d Ėšu-me-su-ge (sphere of influence of
"lightning" or "thunder" or very "voice (KA, gû)" 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 (qiddar azag = ḫâṭṭu elligu)" 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 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 (šitir šamēṭ)" 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 = šatu."  

The ancient Sumerian year was divided not only into two seasons: summer and winter, but also into twelve months. These twelve months had their counterpart—Enlil), C. T., XXIV, 10 : 16ff.; K, 5132 (Bezold, Catal., p. 931); Gāban-lār meri-lār Ėd-an-ur-ra = 3Nin-lār ma-aš poq-ti ša Ė-kur, R, II., pp. 85 : 35; 134, 1, 31, 32.

When 3Nin-Gir-su played the role of the "Son," 3Nin-lār became the gur-lār 3Nin-Gir-su, Creation-Story, pp. 23, note 1 ; 44. In Kūta 3Nin-lār was closely associated with 3U-GUR, Zimmern, Rituals, no. 27, p. 134 : 8; V. R?, 31, no. 2, rev. 29, or with 3Ir-ra-gel, K. 7145 (Bezold, Catal., p. 833). In V. R?, 46, no. 1 : 18, the mu(š)Nin-lār is even identified with 3U-GUR, mu(š)Nin-lār = 3Ir-ra-gel | 3U-GUR = 3Ir-ra-bi-lum (cf. also Z. A., I, p. 250, note).

Lastly in C. T., XXIV, 29 : 19 = 1 : 28 (here written 3Nin-kā-arBARA), the 3Nin-lār is identified with An-tum 3Ir-lār, is therefore but a variant of 3Nin-lār, wife of 3En-lār (= Enlil, C. T., XXIV, 4 : 7 = 21 : 72 and = An, i.e., 1 : 11 = 20 : 7 = 19, 1, 5).

1 It is to be noted that gû is not only "to speak (bū, dabāba)" or "to command (qibb, purānu)," but also "to thunder (raγmâna, badūmə".), 3Gîkaš-sa-ga is probably to be rendered "the god who is the voice(s) of An." Cf. also p. 31, note 6 : 3Gîš-la-an(ni) (An-na-ga) = Pit pī-šu ša Anu. Notice here that later on 3Nin-lār, as 3SUH-šin, is the god ša qa-ut-li, "of the voice," C. T., XXIV, 41 : 65 = XXV, 12 : 19, and that the [3R]kā-nu-num ( = "thunder-storm") is the K.1 kā-tu 3U-gel, i.e., "the voice of Shumash," C. T., XXV, 26o : 31.


3 The summer began with the month Tāṣūštītu or March, while the winter commenced with the month Ninum 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): 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). Enlil as the "Pap-sukal (= Nin-subur) of An becomes in this wise the ḫurruʾxarʾi ḫuḫuʾnu; and his 5 + 2 manifestations, the planets, the ḫurruʾxarʾi.  

The first and foremost of the planets, "the shining (glorious) hero" is DUN-PA-ē-a or Da-pi-nu—both names of Enlil; hence Enlil was the first of the various gods who in the course of time were identified with Jupiter.

According to II. R., 48 : 48–54 (= list a) and III. R., 57, no. 6 : 65–67a (list b)—two texts from the library of Ashurbandān—many of the 5 + 2 or seven planets (7mul LU-BATmul) were the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4En-zi</td>
<td>4XXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4Ulu</td>
<td>4XXX(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4En-lil</td>
<td>4DUN-PA-ē-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4Nin-mahb</td>
<td>4DUN-PA-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4Nin-mah</td>
<td>4DIL-BAT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 For the reading mur (instead of ḫar) see H. A. V., p. 419, note 3. For the signification of giš-mur see the translation of Thureau-Dangin, Gudea, Cyl. A, 5:4; 6:3; 7:6; 12:20; 17:17; 19:20, and notice that the wife of dAš-kir (= 4En-lil or one of his manifestations, p. 28) is according to C. T., XXIV, 26:111, the "Giiš-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.


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


6 In still later lists we find for DUX-PA-ē(-a) also Sag-me-gar or TRUG (= mul-babbar, mul-ba-ba-šar).

7 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, 1 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 therefore are decidedly unreliable. Though this may appear to be a rather sweeping statement, yet abundant proof will be forthcoming in justification thereof.
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO NIN-IB

3 4Lu-im = 4LU-BAT-SAG-US
4 4Bi-ib-bu = 4LU-BAT-GU(D)-UD
5 4Si-mu-aq = 4NI-be-a-mu

These 5 + 2 planets, by their very nature of being the "interpreters" of the "name of An" or "year (mu(s)-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 huq-ga) 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, 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 Sei ol-bokdaw, i.e., consiliarii, "counselors (ad-gi-gi)." En-lil as

1 In later texts 4Gil(n) or only mu(SAG-US.
2 Later on only mu(GU(D)-UD.
3 Later on only An.
4 The de toto... (i.e., the gods of the stars) keres is the gods of the stars of the influence on the heavens, and the influence of the heavens on the stars.

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., 33a, contains these twelve ol-bokdaw, who were accepted even by the Egyptians, as we learn from the scholiion to Apollonios of Rhodos, 4, 262. True it is that Diodor, i.e., mentions likewise these ol-bokdaw, 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," 1, 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., VI, p. 30:4, 5.

12 arghinek kahahensek 3 ta-an us-zi-iz is-tu u-mi de batti us-gi-inu u-su-mu-lu;
"Of the twelve months the stars—three for each—belong to the year he drew the signs,"

set up.

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 Sabu is the mu4mu4-mu4-da, which is identified in V. R., 46, no. 1:44, with the 4Sa-gi-mu, "the thunderer," and in II. R., 49, no. 3,
"God and Lord" ("A-nim u 'En-lil) was the first of these twelve "counselors,"—he giving his "counsel" and taking up his "abode (gāl = manzazu)" in the first month and sign: Nisan-aries (cf. "Dara-gal = 'Enlil, C. T., XXIV, 22 : 10).

Astronomically and astrologically considered, 'Enlil is not only a "figure (giš-mur)" or "sign" of the zodiac, but also the god who reveals himself in that "sign," the "counselor," Seš ōušaios, and the "interpreter" of his counsel, the ēguzevις 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, šamū, "the world" or "heaven and earth": An; and therefore is 'Enlil quite rightly and deservedly termed "Nam-zu" or "wisdom," נפתל. 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 (ūg-ūmu)" which may be propitious (du(ɡ) ), or not propitious (nu-du(ɡ), 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"

adlib. (Br. 2003), with 4IM. But according to the list of the ṣerai ṣamūlu (IV. R.2, 33x : 10) it is 4IM the giš-gal AN=Nu u KI-lu who is assigned to the month AS or Šabītu. Lastly, the month Šabītu belongs to the aquarius, hence 4IM or 4Ramāmā 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 mulun or mulu-ša or mulu-an-na for aquarius are nothing but variants of giš-gal. Cf. here the mulu(š)-An-na, "steer of heaven," the "bright fixed star" for the month A-a-ru = išGu(š)—to which god Ea is assigned—but one of the most common names of Ea is 4Am-an-ki, "steer ( = taurus, sign for the month A-a-ru) of heaven and earth," hence: mulu(š)-an-na = 4Am-an-ki!

1 Cf. also above, p. 31, note 7. The god NIN-I'R is the "counselor" for the "month of sowing," Du-šu-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 IV. R. 50, rev. 47, mu(š) | giš | ša-mu-š.

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:

u-mu-an na-im-zu ka-nag[giš]
"Lord, wisdom of the 'country,'

be-ir-ma-al ni-te-na,
"powerful one by himself."
or for the reading of the "heavenly writing (šēṭir šamē") is the "combination"n 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 (māš̂)" or "dreams (māš̂-gi(g), ma-mū(mu), ma-mū(mū)-da)," hence his name "Zaggar-ra | 4En-lil ša māš̂-gi(g)," i.e., "Zaggar 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. 739 = Th. no. 181. Kugler, Sternkunde, II, p. 80, reads  

\[\text{multu Marduḫ ina ráṣi šetti ināmīr(iy)}\]
\[\text{št̂atu ša'in adēnu šākûr} \]
\[\text{mulU-BAT-GUD-UD ina arāb Nisanni ināmmar-ma} \]

and translates:

"—Der "Stern des Gottes Marduk" ging zu Anfang des Jahres auf; in diesem Jahr wird der Pflanzenwechsel gedeihen, Der Stern Planet GUD.UD erscheint in Monat Nisann 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:

\[\text{Ging (Gehl) der "Stern des Gottes Marduk" zu Anfang des Jahres auf, dann wird eben dieses Jahr der Pflanzenwechsel gedeihen, falls der "Planet GUD.UD" im Monat Nisann erscheint.} \]

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 Adhar. 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, 635 : 7.—C. T., XXIV, 39 : 11, An-\text{4Za-qr} | ditto ( = 4BE, i.e., Enlil, l. 3) | ša AN-na-āti (possibly to be read sa-na-āti, a by-form of kidnāti); C. T., XVIII, 48 : 30b, 4Zag-gar-ra | ša ša šu-ú-ti. 

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

In the Ur trinity the 4Za-qr 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 Enlil in the rôle of the "true 'Son,'" i.e., Dumu-zi, Tammûz, in prehistoric times. In view of the fact, however, that I have in preparation a volume on "Hymns and Prayers to Dumu-zi from the Temple Library of Nippur," and that for a correct understanding of the Sumerian Dumu-zi-Inanna (Tammûz-Istar) 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" Enlil, the "Mother (and Bride)" An (or Kî).

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 Larra the "god of dreams" was, of course, the "son" of Utu; cf. C. T., XXIV, 32:110, 111,

\[ \text{"Zu-gar"} \quad \text{"Ma-mâ-dug"} \]

\[ \text{ditto māš-gi(y)} \quad \text{"lu."} \]

Cf. also King, Magic, 1:25, and IV. R., 50, no. 2, rev. 24. This Ma-mâ is apparently a male (cf. i.e., 1.1, EN-ia, 1.9, EN-GAL), but appears also as female: C. T., XXIV, 31:84, Ma-mâ | damu-ešal (= daughter) of Utu. This Ma-mâ has to be differentiated from Ma-šar (ša-ŠI, ša-rum). Cf. also K. 7814 (Bodel, Cune, p. 876) where Utu, Zu-gar, Ma-mâ-da, and Cirig, R. T., I, p. 56:13, where Utu, A-a, Bu-ne-ne u Ma-mâ-[du] are mentioned together.

In the Kutha triinity the "god of dreams" was Nergal, C. T., XXV, 335:4 = 335, 1.10 = 37a:7, Lugal-Zu-ger | ditto ( = Lugal-edin-nu, I.8, = Nergal, II. 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" "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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An</th>
<th>&quot;Enlil</th>
<th>An</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heaven</td>
<td>Powers of nature</td>
<td>Earth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II.


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

In order to understand the exact position of "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 kür-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 Ê-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 4En-zu (Sin), the moon, and 4IM (Rammân), the god of thunder, etc. These two sons must have been introduced into, and were absorbed by, the Nippur trinity in pre-historic 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. 4En-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 (4X) 7ûmu, “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 jacto—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 mouth-piece through whom the “Father” speaks, the defender of the country, the hero, warrior and principal son (dumu-say), 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 4NIN-IB.

The name of 4NIN-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, 4NIN-IB is absolutely unknown. On the basis of this fact, I argued in The Monist, January, 1907, p. 142, for an Amurritic origin of 4NIN-IB. Though this may be true, yet there are some very strong objections to such a supposition:

1. Seeing that 4NIN-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 Amurritic inscriptions to show that
3. Surely the fact that *NIN-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, *NIN-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 *NIN-IB* was *not* of Amurritish origin.

But how did it happen that *NIN-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 *NIN-IB* cult is as developed as it ever was. If he were unknown in Nippur before the time of Dungi, *NIN-IB* would be the veriest *deus ex machina*. This difficulty it is which convinces me that the appearance of *NIN-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, *NIN-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 *NIN-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-*NIN-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 šakānu* is here a variant and synonym of *ki-ba gi = ana ašri-šu tāru*; cf. also C. T., XV, 13:22 = IV. R.², 28*, no. 4, rev. 35, 36, where *gar*(mar) = tāru (Br. 11984; 5822) is parallel with *gi = tāru* (Br. 6391). Hence, Cyl. A, 11:10, *ē-mā 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-ninnā*.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 "NIN-IB was (again) restored." 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, "NIN-IB" is asked to decree unto this king a life of long days in order "that the Šu-me-du, (thy) holy dwelling, as of old (IGL + SŪ, not IGL + LU = uth, šal) he beautify," no. 1, col. I : 9 (cf. III : 13). From the restoration of the temple of "NIN-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" or "distant past."

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 "NIN-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 uth me-lám-bi ner-gal (nos. 6-8) must have been known to Gudea, who confessedly lived before Dungi. But if so, "NIN-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, "NIN-IB" became instantly one of the most favored and important gods. Henceforth even proper names were formed with "NIN-IB", as, e.g., "Servant of NIN-IB," Ur-"NIN-IB", see B. E., III, 145 : 4 (time of Gimil-Sin); l.c., 82 : 5 (time of I-bi-Sin). His worship spread quickly beyond the confines of Nippur and Ur (cf. no. 5, rev. 14), even a king of Išin, Ur-"NIN-IB", was named after him.

Seeing that the attributes and functions of "NIN-IB" are the same as those of "Enlil" during the prehistoric period, I can dispense with an enumeration of the same

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1 This date, by the way, is identical with that of R. T. C., 271, rev. 3, mu uš E-ŠIN- R. E. C. 306 ki-ša a-qar (see also S. A. K. L., p. 235, c) thus showing that "NIN-IB" is = "NIN-R. E. C. 306. If we knew the pronunciation of R. E. C. 366, we might possibly receive a most welcome clue to that of "NIN-IB." Cf. also the date formula for the 14th year of Dungi, R. T. C., no. 275, rev. 2, mu uš E-ŠIN-IB uš-an, "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 "NIN-IB pa-te-an-gal "En-lil-düge, E. B. II., p. 238 : 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 "NIGIN + šiš of Gis-šUš, see E. B. II., p. 277 : 9. It seems, therefore, that this prayer was not fulfilled.
here. Suffice it to say that "NIN-IB, the "Son" and god of the powers of nature, formed henceforth with "Enlil, the "Father," and "Ninlil, 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-Sarpanitum.

2. "NIN-IB, THE LIFE-GIVER AND PHYSICIAN.

It is well known that "NIN-IB and his wife were the special "patron saints" of the Babylonian and Assyrian physicians. 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:

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

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 "AMAR-En-zu, while in our prayer it is exclusively written "Bur-En-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

\[1\text{See B. E., XVII, p. IX; B. A. V., p. 423.}\]
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', 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 "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. R. M. 11325 + 11348 + 11362 + 11367.

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

Col. I.

U. E. [enim-ta] "ELTEG"

By the word of Nidaba (may it prosper.)

1 ur-saq šù(g)²-ga gal-li-eš ner-gal
   "Hero, weighty one, greatly powerful,
2 "NIN-IB šù(g)²-ga ma-r(u)rù ūg-gal
   "NIN-IB, weighty one, stormflood, great storm,
3 ā-gál* ūg èrim ùr-ra-zu
   "Strong one, who subdueth the enemies,
4 "NIN-IB am²-gal gu(d) si-rum³
   "NIN-IB, great mountain-ox, steer of extraordinary strength,
5 bar²- su(d)-
6 a-ma-ru ki-bal-šù šu-tū-lum-lúm³
FROM THE TEMPLE LIBRARY OF NIPPUK

7 "NIN-IB 

"NIN-IB, that he offer rite the presents, purify the way,

8 lugal "Gimil-Sin

"That king Gimil-Sin

9 Ešu-me-duk ki-dúr-azag

"That the Eshumedu, (thy) holy dwelling,

10 kisal-mah-zu gu(d)-gal udu-gal-e

"That thy great court-yards with fat oxen and fat sheep

11 ki lugal-gub-azag-zu

"Thy holy royal throne,

12 ["Gimil-Sin-na"

"Gimil-Sin,

13 ["NIN-l]B ti(l) ug-su(d)-du

"NIN-IB, a life of long days

14 lugal "Gimil-Sin-na ti(l) ug-su(d)-

[du]

"Unto king Gimil-Sin, a life of long days
decree unto him!

15 [ ]

16 [ ] á-ni su(d)-su(d)-d[u]

[ ]

[ ] his strength to prolong

[ ]

( or whose might is extended )

17 [lugal "Gimil-Sin"

"Of king Gimil-Sin, [his strength
to prolong]

18 [ ]

19 [ ]

20 [ ]

21 [ ]

22 [ ]

23 [lugal

"Of the king,

24 [lugal]"Gimil-Sin

"Of king Gimil-Sin,
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO NIN-IB

25 [bád₄-gal]-a-ni he-me-en
   "'His 'great wall' mayest thou be, with gracious eyes mayest thou look
   igi-du(g) hu-mu-ni-du
   upon him;
   "Of king Gimil-Sin, his 'great
   wall' mayest thou be,
   with gracious eyes mayest thou look
   upon him!'"

25 [sa]₅⁶- gi(d)-
dá- ám

26 [lugal] "Gimil-'Si)n bád₄-gal-ni he-
   me-en.
   'Unto my king Gimil-Sin the 'right
   arm'
   'Lord, (thou) who the ... of life
   beautifiest,
   in the midst of the 'mountain' greatly
   makest to shine (glorious),
   'NIN-IB, sublime storm (?)war-
   rior?) for the hostile land,
   of the 'mountain' the overpоеwerer,
   "Of the 'king of the lands' the
   perfect one,
   support unto his father;
   'Lord, (thou) who the ... of life
   beautifiest,
   in the midst of the 'mountain' greatly
   makest to shine (glorious),
   'NIN-IB, sublime storm (?)war-
   rior?) for the hostile land,
   of the 'mountain' the overpоеwerer,
   "Of the 'king of the lands' the
   perfect one,
   support unto his father;
   'NIN-IB, sublimestrength of Enlil,
   who layest low the hostile land,
   endowed with strength by Nunam-
   nerra ( = prince of might),
   (Rest broken away.)

37 [zu₄] á-sum-ma [''Nu-nam-nor-ra'']
FROM THE TEMPLE LIBRARY OF NIPPU  

Col. II.

1 "Uraš-azag-dim usu su-lim-ma
   "Like holy Uraš, ushu of splendor, melam\textsuperscript{t} ni(g)-luš ġür\textsuperscript{t}-[ğür-ra]
   full of fearfulness and (of) terribleness,
   ūr gal-li-eš ner-[ğál] governor, greatly powerful;

2 NIN-IB me-dū\textsuperscript{a} āš-ša\textsuperscript{w} ba-AG
   "NIN-IB, who alone executest the ordinances, kalam-
   ma ni-şub-şub\textsuperscript{t}-[ba]
   reverenced in fear by Babylonia's people;

3 NIN-IB ú-st\textsuperscript{w} dinging sűg-ga
   "NIN-IB, full of strength, gracious god, melam\textsuperscript{t} ni(g)-luš ġür\textsuperscript{t}-gür-[ğál]
   full of fearfulness and (of) terribleness,
   ġür\textsuperscript{t}-ni-da ner-gál among heroes (most) powerful one:

4 "Uraš-azag-dim usu su-lim-ma
   "Like holy Uraš, ushu of splendor, en-en\textsuperscript{t} NIN-IB-ra
   kalam-ma ni-şub-şub\textsuperscript{t}-[ba]
   reverenced in fear by Babylonia's people;

5 lugal-mu maḫ-DI ur-sag-gal
   "My king, valiant one, great hero, en-en\textsuperscript{t} NIN-IB-ra
   ak\textsuperscript{t} maškim	extsuperscript{t}-zu he-a oh, may he be thy servant!

6 Gimil-\textsuperscript{4}Sin IGI + DUB\textsuperscript{a}-hu-ma-un-ti(l)
   "May Gimil-Sin put his trust in the lord of lords, in NIN-IB;

7 lugal En-lil-li ma-ra\textsuperscript{a}-an-sum-ma
   "May the king, whom Enlil has entrusted unto thee, en-en\textsuperscript{t} NIN-IB-ra
   ak\textsuperscript{t} maškim	extsuperscript{t}-zu he-a oh, may he be thy servant!

8 NIN-IB maḫ-DI ur-sag-gal
   "NIN-IB, valiant one, great hero, en-en\textsuperscript{t} NIN-IB-ra
   ġür\textsuperscript{t}-ni-da ner-gál among heroes (most) powerful one:

9 Gimil-\textsuperscript{4}Sin IGI + DUB\textsuperscript{a}-hu-ma-un-ti(l)
   "May Gimil-Sin put his trust in the lord of lords, in NIN-IB;

10 lugal\textsuperscript{a} En-lil-li ma-ra\textsuperscript{a}-an-sum-ma
   "May the king, whom Enlil has entrusted unto thee, en-en\textsuperscript{t} NIN-IB-ra
   ak\textsuperscript{t} maškim	extsuperscript{t}-zu he-a oh, may he be thy servant!

11 [en] \textsuperscript{a} nini\textsuperscript{t}-a azag su-lim-ma
   "Lord of the hulâlu stone, holy one, ġür\textsuperscript{t}-ni-da ner-gál governor, greatly powerful one:
   (full) of splendor,

12 [.-.] dim ā-maḫ-za im-mi-in-tum\textsuperscript{a}-mu-zu
   "Him, whom like a . . . in thy sublime power, lo, thou hast prepared,
   ak\textsuperscript{t} maškim	extsuperscript{t}-zu he-a oh, let him be thy servant!'
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO NIN-IB

13 [ūg-ult]-ult-šū nam-ti(l)-la-ni
   "Him, over whose life in the past
14 [dingir" Gimil-"]Sin-na azay su-lim-
   ma³²
   "God of Gimil-Sin, holy one, (full)
15 [. . .di]m ā-[m[t]-z][a][m-mi-in]-tūm³³-
   nu-zu
   "Him, whom like a... in thy sublime power, lo, thou hast prepared,
16 [ūg-ul-ul]-šū nam-ti(l)-la-ni
   "Him, over whose life in the past
17 [sa³⁴]-gar-ra-ā[ ]m šu-ta e ǧi-silim
   "Like a faithful one by thy hand, 
oh, let him be thy servant!
18 eš-epir³³ sub-šub-[dë]
   To set up jars with drink...
19 "NIN-IB
   NIN-IB...
20 T[U]l
21 u[r]-sag
   Hero...
22 ūg³-[gal
   Great storm...
23 ūg³-[gi]-[ra-ra
   Storm[flood...
24 ur-sag-e
   Hero...
25 [da -  ] am]
26 e SUB[ ]
27 kā-gal-z[u
   thy gate...
28 "Za-qar³³ [ ]
29 "Gimil-"S[īn
   Gimil-Sin...
30 [en] "NIN-IB [ ]
   Lord NIN-IB...:
31 sa³²-
   gi( )-
32 e lugal ā-sum-pa ["Nu-nam-ner-ra³³]
   "O king, endowed with power by
   Nunamnerra,
33 en "NIN-IB ā-[dē] ūg erim ār-ra]
   "Lord NIN-IB, strong one, who
   subduest the enemies,
34 en PAP-ŠES An-na
   "Lord, foremost of An.
FROM THE TEMPLE LIBRARY OF NIPPU 49

35 en "NIN-IB ma[ł-D]I [ur-sag-gal] [gị₃-ni-da ner-gal]
"Lord NIN IB, valiant one, great among heroes (most) powerful one, hero,
(Rest broken away.)

Reverse.

Col. III.

(Beginning broken away.)

1 ki-el "Mu(š)^₄-[in-An-na]
"Maiden, Mu(š)tin-Anna,
2 en "NIN-IB lugal-mu
"Lord NIN-IB, my king,
3 "Gal-alim ma lugal-mu
"Gal-alim, my king,
4 "DUN^₃-ša(g)-ga-na lugal-mu
"DUN-šagga-na, my king,
5 sa₃*gar-ra-um šu-ta e giš-šilim
"Like a faithful one by thy hand, oh, let him prosper!
6 en nam-ur-sag-ga šu-dū-a
"Lord, perfect one in heroship,
7 "NIN-IB šeš kišib^₄₁ gišdar-mul dagal-la
"NIN-IB, who the seal (tablet) and the great bright stylus
8 giš₃₃ mé-AG KU₃*-ú-tag-ga
"Courageous one, warrior, over-powerer,
9 ušu igung[-ku]₃ [saḫa]n₃*-ša(g)-tur
"Ushu of terrible looks, monstrous serpent,
10 [en ner-gal ga]b-zì(g)^₇ ug zag^₇-₃-a
"Lord, powerful one, who turnest the breast (of the enemy), battering storm,
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO NIN-IB

11 "NIN-IB nun-gal An
e[n] silim-ma [sum-sum-ma]
Lord, who givest blessings:

12 lugal-mu uru-za ʾes Nibru
sab-dū[(y)-dū(g)]78
Oh, take care!

13 Šu-me-du18
ki šu-mu-u[n-gi78]
"The Eshumedu
To its place let him restore!

14 en nam-lugal-e šu-mu-ra11-ab-dū
"Lord, the kingship unto him
[ ]
make perfect!

15 ad-gi-yi ušumgal kalam-ma-ka
[ ]
"Counselor, ušumgal of the coun-
try,

16 "NIN-IB bādš-gal Nibru
[NIN-IB, great wall unto (around)]

17 lugal-mu meš72 só(g)-gān-nu-di73
"My king, valiant one, destroyer
ur-[ag dingir-ri-e-ne-ge]
without equal,

18 uš dū-gâš14 izi mu(š)(gloss giš)-šu-
[galu ṭūl-yāl izi-ta sī(g)-ya]
bar-bar71
Destructive storm, lightning fire,
who burnest the wicked,

19 lugal giš-tūq-PI-dagal an-ki-a
ū-[ag78 dingir-ri-e-ne-ge]
"King, wisest one of heaven and
[ ]
earth,

20 gišdar-maḥ ūg-e zag-dīb77-ba
ki-[bal gud-gul-la]
"Who holdest a sublime scepter
ki-[bal gud-gul-la]
who destroyest the hostile land;

21 "NIN-IB ešu-erim ri-a[ ]
[NIN-IB, who subduest the en-
emies...]

22 sa19—
[da-

23 ur-sag en ni-ḫuš gab-zi(g)71-ya
[ ]
"Hero, lord of terrible fearfulness,
who turnest the breast of the enemy,
FROM THE TEMPLE LIBRARY OF NIPPU

24 "NIN-IB ūg-huš izi-gir"-ra
"NIN-IB, terrible storm, consuming fire,
25 ūg hu-lu-ha sag-DU ki-bal-a
"Storm, who makest to tremble the heads of the hostile land,
26 ušu im-rē en gab-gi-nu-tug
"Ušu, raging storm, lord without equal,
27 [lugal] giš-tūg-Pl-dagal
"King, wisest one,
28 [ur-saq]-e ă-maḫ sum-na
"Hero, endowed with sublime power
29 [en "NIN-IB z]i Dun"-gi-ra
"Lord, NIN-IB, who the life of Dungi
30 [ ] [mu] mu-"[pa(d )]-dé-[
"who hast called him by name:
31 [en ner-gāl ni-te-na
"Lord, powerful one by himself,
32 [ k]arš
[ ] "savior,
33 [saš-] gar
34 [lugal-mu Du]n-gi-da(l)
"My king, who unto Dungi
35 [ ]-kiš- gāl-
36 [ g]i(?)
37 [en kur-gal-e tu(d)-da
"Lord, begotten one of the 'great mountain,'
38 "NIN-IB gal-DI an-ki-a
"NIN-IB, exalted one in heaven and upon earth,
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO NIN-IB

39 [en] igi-gin\textsuperscript{22} dingir-ri-e-ne
   "Lord, leader of (among) the gods,

40 [si-gù]\textsuperscript{r2} ru ūg-dīm Ksi(y)\textsuperscript{A4}-gi-gi
   "Weighty one of power, roarer like
   the storm,

41 [\textit{kùr}-r\textit{a} am-gal-dīm ē-gū\textsuperscript{t2}
   "Who like a great mountain-ox
   gorest the enemies,

42 [sag-gi(g)]\textsuperscript{d} En-li-lā-ge di-dī\textsuperscript{t2}
   "Who judgest the people of Enlīl,

43 [\textit{ā-mah} sum-\textit{ma}] \textit{Nu-nam-ner-ra}\textsuperscript{g2}
   "Endowed with sublime power by
   Nunamnerra,

44 [\textit{en-e nam}-nun-na tum\textsuperscript{10}-ma
   "Lord, fit (prepared) for greatness,

45 lugal-mu ma\textsuperscript{t2} sâ(g)-gān-nu-di\textsuperscript{t2}
   "My king, valiant one, destroyer
   without equal,

Col. IV.

(Beginning broken away.)

1 [\textit{Bur-Si}n-ra]
   "Of \textit{Bur-Sin}

2 [azag-zu-\textit{mu}]
   "Wise one,

3 [a-du\textit{g-(y)}\textsuperscript{g2}
   \textit{le-ne-[i]b-nag-e]
   "Life-giving (sweet) water he may
   drink,

5 [\textit{Á-nun}-gā\textsuperscript{h2} mu-[a-\textit{a}]
   "That of \textit{Á-nun-gāl}, who has called
   him,

6 Ë\textit{šu-me-du}\textsuperscript{e} ki-\textit{dúr} ki-ûg-gâ-ni\textsuperscript{t2}
   "That of Eshumedu, his beloved
   dwelling,

IGI + DUB-\textit{ti(l)}\textsuperscript{t2} An-na
   support of An,

sū-sū-na kīr-\textit{kur}-\textit{AG}\textsuperscript{g3}
   in battles valiant one,

bād ki-bal gul-gul
   destroyest the wall of the hostile land,

kur\textsuperscript{g8} šu-ni nu-è
   'mountain,' whose hand nothing escapes,

dū(g)-ga-\textit{ni ki-bi-šū-gar}
   executor of his commands (ordinances),

na-\textit{ri}(g) \textit{É-kur-ra}
   holy one of Ekur,

giš lugal dingir-ri-e-[\textit{ne}-ge]
   courageous one, king of the gods,
That his rich (great) free-will offerings daily he may offer,

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

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

[NIN-IB] unto (for) Bur-Sin his object of fear,

King, whose attack is the storm-flood—

who tramplest the enemies under the feet,

Clothed with heroism, subjigator,

Endowed with sublime power by Nunamnerra,

Thou who the ordinances . . . .

as regards sublimity greatest one,

as regards sublimity greatest one,
21 ur^sag bâd kur k[i]-bal-a sī(g)-sī(g)-ki gu-dû-a gam-gam
   'Hero, who destroyest the wall of
       the hostile land,  
22 [ ]-gâ [ā-g-dim Ksī(g) ₃₃-gi-gî  
23 [ ] [ ] 'like a storm roarest,  
24 [ ] [ ]  
25 [ ]-kî^2-gâl- [bi-  
26-30 [ ] broken away  
31 [ ] [ ] [sig-ta[  
32 [sa^2-gâr- ra-  
33 [zi(d)-dē-šû(?) ] mu-pa(d)-da-zu [Bu[r-^Sin ₃₃-ti(l)  
   "Thy truly chosen one,  
34 [ ] [ ] [ki^2-gâl- [bi-  
35 [ur]-sag ušû^a zag-dib^a  
   'Hero, ushu, possessor of power,  
36 ^NIN-IB ušû^a zag-dib^a  
   'NIN-IB, ushu, possessor of power,  
37 ^Bur-^Sin zi(d)-dē-eš pa(d)-da-zu [ti(l) ᵄû-su(d) ^he-ti(l)  
   'Bur-Sin, thy truly chosen one,  
38 GÂ'î^a en-bi-im a-da-ab^a [NIN-IB-kam] (of the adab to NIN-IB.  
   The . . . .

Notes.


According to C. T., XXIV, 9: 31, 32 = 23: 15, ^Nidaba or ^Nidaba-sîit (variant sek = "N. of numbers") is the wife ([dam-bi-sâl] of ^Da-^Nî (l. 31 = 14). In i. R., 59: 22-25, ^Nidabo or ^Nidaba-gal (EME-SAL = ^GAŠAN-^Nîdaba-gal) appears as the gu-su-lû of ^Nin-[lit-ge] and as the wife (dam-bi-sâl) of ^Ummûn-ki-di-a | ^Lugal-ki-di-a | ^Da-^Nî-lu-dâ-ba a[-n] ^BE-ge. In R. H., p. 86: 45 = 91: 7, 8 = 137: 62, 63, the Ummûn-ki-di-a is called ^Da-^Nî mu-du
É-dub(or kištib)-la = be-lum ku-uu-uk-ki.

In Meissner-Rost, *Basisschriften*, p. 97 : 19, "Ha-NI appears as "the god of scribes" and in C. T., XXIV, 9 : 30 = 23 : 13, 14, "Ha-NI is called the IG1 + DUB "BE-lá a-a "Nin-lil-bá. But according to no. 1, col. 1, 32 : 35, col. 33, 26 : 39 (cf. Ninrâ, p. 14 : 25 ; 28 ; I. R., 29 : 15), it is "NIN-IB who is the IG1 + DUB(ītō) of "En-lil; cf. also R., H., p. 36 : 26, 27, where "NIN-IB is called the dannu IG1 + DUB(ītō) "Kar-gal = mutu tu-ulul-ti dittu. Hence, "Ha-NI = "NIN-IB. "NIN-IB, therefore, is called the kištib-lá "En-lil-bá = gulu etsi kištib "En-lil, Ninrâ, p. 10 : 21 u; he has the ékki kištib gis-dar-nu dagilu, no. 1, col. III, 7, or the dab-zu-dí bazi-azag, no. 5 : 3, and note 1. As scribe, "NIN-IB is the mu-di-nu épibyédar u ES-BAR ana nappur kol alidi (uru-aru), I. R., 17 : 4; the par-ris parussu a nišç apitu, Jensen, Kosm, p. 470 : 3; the par-ri parussu bárâ tiri(e)tu, etc., p. 470 : 10; the "En-banda(a) who en-bú ES-BAR AN-ni khí, C. T., XXV, 11 : 17 = 15, III, 7; the "Hal-kiot(a) who nišç (IS) ES-BAR a-bi "En-lil, i.e., II, 18, 19 = 8, 9, the "Me-anâ who ba-mi-im garzanišu maqânu, etc., II, 20, 21 = 10, 11, and the god šá par-ri-ti, etc., i.e., I, 11 = 12. "NIN-IB is both masu. and fem., see H. A. V., p. 421; hence, "Ha-NI must be likewise a female! "Ha-NI may be read "Ha-lú and "Ha-šti(ī) is = Gulu, the wife(ī) of "NIN-IB, see V. R., 44, col. IV, 34a, b, "Me-ši-ti-ši-ši = Gala-Gulu. From all this it follows that "Gulu-la (= "Ha-lú = "NIN-IB) = "Nidula, 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, abbugina, du[l]-a[nu]). The "Son", as "scribe," becomes thus both the "herald" and the "judge" of his Father and "fuyl-gi-dí-a (= "Ha-lú) means "the king who judged in the netherworld." In the prehistoric period the role of the scribe was, as we saw above, p. 32, by "En-lil. At the time of Gudea the nù-in-dub-ke was "Ninâ (cf. E. B. H., p. 193, 1, 3 = "Nin-kar-ra-ag, i.e., the wife of "NIN-IB, C. T., XXV, 3 : 39 (cf. I. 46) or "Nin(Ere)-bab (cf. Cyl. A., 6 : 4f). During the Marudi period the "scribe" was, of course, the son of Marduk, "Nabâd, cf. R. H., pp. 17, 103, N. E., ins a-nu, 4 "EN u (= u expletivum) = A2 UU-dim.

2. Cf. the phonetic writing, lu-ug-gi, no. 4, rev. 3, 4, and Bagān (for šug(g)-gān), Br. 8975. Cf. also below, note 73, šug(g)-gān.


4. See also col. III, 22, and cf. šug(g)-uš-gal of C. T., XV, 15 : 8, 9. For šug-gal = variant of ur-maḫ, see Sargonic, Amm., l. 246; cf. p. iv, l. 115. For the interchange of šug, ag, šug, etc., see above, p. 20, note 4.

5. Enunciation on the basis of no. 1, col. III, 40. According to I. R., 17 : 1, ("NIN-IB) ša ina MÉ NU šà-la-ma-anu ti-ba-su, we might read here [aš(g)[or nu]-ši-ga], "in battles without equal," cf. also H. R., 30 : 21a, sin-sin šag-gi-a = gaš-ti la maḫ-er, and no. 4, rev. 5, ša-šu [...].

6. Generally translated by momlu, Ninrâ, 6 : 5; I. R., 17 : 5; I. R., 29 : 5. In R. A., V., p. 643 : 2, d-gal appears as attribute of Nergal, being rendered by d-mun-tu-ku, i.e., muttaliku = dé-luku (H. A. V., p. 441, note 5; not "sagacious," Macmillan, etc., p. 381; Nergal kills, or he quickens also!


11. Su-qi(gi) = šakānu is well known. We may, however, emend šu-gar-gi(gi)-i = mātiš gimillu and cf. R. H., p. 36 : 30, 31, where, like here, it is in parallelism with um si-si [rin-rin-um], see above, note 9. Cf. also R. A., V., p. 642 : 5, 6 (Nergal), SAG-KAL-3(A) maḫ ad-a-ni (= "Enlîl) šu-gar-gi(gi) = a-šaqš-iš ši-iri mu-tir gi-millu a-bi-lu. If the latter enunciation be accepted, the tettu gimillu is "to give protection," "to protect," "to render help," "to save" = gimillu šakânu (cf. also R. H., p. 25 : 19, 25, 26) rather than "to take vengeance." See also R. H., p. 36 : 38, 39, šu-maḫ = e[m-mu-qa pérîti].
12. The bar is absolutely certain; a reading man-su(d) = massā (not dā'ītu) N.

13. For $zi = z[i = k[i = k[i see II. A. V., p. 419, note 9.


15. The i might possibly belong to $NIN-IB; if so, translate "fearful (not dā'ītu) N."

16. The very ingenious reading $E-su-me-ra, "house of Shumer," proposed by Hrozny, 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 Early period included "Shumer and Akkad." The passages, as e.g., Ki-en-gi-ra = Shumer-ra, quoted by Hrozny in support of his reading, are grammatically misconstrued or misread or misunderstood, cf. p. 10, note 5. His statement (i.e., p. 16) "dass der Name Sumeru numerischer Kenntnis ist kann nicht bezeiehnt werden" requires proof. Has the KU in EME-KU = $iṣum Sumeri a "Sumerian" value "Sumer"? $E-su-me-ra is in "all probability(!)" the "house of him who executes (su-du= ($dīt, $dīt) the commands" (sic, of his father; cf. for this idea, no. 1, col. II, 2; no. 5, obv. 2, ctc.). Though we would expect a reading $E-su-me-ra, if the above-given translation were correct, yet such a transposition of the object is by no means isolated, e.g., the verbal form ke-im-ne-si-āt (for si-ke-im-ne-āt), 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 $NIN-IB. The $zu (and -nu, l. 12) is dependent upon the ra of the verbal form = karām ana.

18. Cf. no. 1, col. II, 31; III, 22; IV, 10, 32; no. 5, obv. 4. The sa-qu(d)-i = nippātu, II. R., 28: 175, can hardly be compared, seeing that it is mentioned among various other sa or "snouns; hence it has nothing to do with the ni-pi-ši of IV. R., 23, no. 1, rev., col. IV, 25. Is sa-qu(di) the great, long (qu(d)) prostration (su = labānū)?


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-qu(di)-da-am (so here and col. IV, 10 | 12; 32 | 34(?) or by [sa-gar] ra-am (col. III, 33 | 35; IV, 32 | 34). Cf. notes 52, 59.

23. Or is this $NIN-IB?

24. Hardly sal = e, cf. Cyl. A, 22: 5. A reading sal-e-di(?) is on account of the ti (= ta?) and the absence of -ga impossible (cf. col. III, 12). If ter-ti-lu(-ka), "Lebenshain," should be correct, then cf. šubātu with the holy cedar of $SUAI, which was situated on a mountain and which was the "abode of the gods, the sanctuary of $It-ni-ni," see II. A. V., p. 415, note 2.

25. It is well known that gāl, gāl, gāl(= uru, šuru) 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, gāl = gāl, then the gāl-an-na = mansu-su la-gu-su, the attribute of $NIN-IB (cf. Ninurta, p. 40: 29, 30), might be translated by meši, (šum) iṣpu ša (šedu) šapé and might be taken either as a syn. of ṣur An-ana, Cyl. A. T., XV, 15: 10, or as a variant of gāl- (še)-ša. Cf. here the GAL-RU, col. IV, 19, and the GAL en-bi-ša, col. IV, 38, and see B. E., p. 5856 (kalbu) and p. 3306 (kulūš), Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 478.

26. Ra-su-su, being parallel with gāl-maḥ, must denote some kind of action of $NIN-IB, the terrible storm, with regard to the ti or "mountain." I take ra-su-su = šaḫšitu in the sense of "to bow down (Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 399), "to bend," "to smite down," "to overpower," "to kill." Cf. here the gāb(laba, kāb)-gaz kur-ra(-ge); the mu-lu tā-gaz-ge, H. A. V., p. 441, note 5, and below, note 98.

FORM THE TEMPLE LIBRARY OF NIPPU

28. We would expect za, yet such peculiarities are by no means strange, cf. especially B. E., Scr. I, vol. V, p. 65, ncr-fu a-a mu-qa(n) (I would expect za) ZAG-SAL-zu(!) mu-haš-
30. Embaddunum according to IV, 21; cf. also IV, 13, 14, kur ki-bi6 gal-gal, and passages like Ninbug, p. 8: 11n, bid kül-ta gal-gal; i.e., p. 16: 18, kur gal-gal-la an-ta; i.e., p. 18: 27, kur gal-gal, etc. Cf. also note 65.
31. The traces before za are not those of en.
32. Cf. cols. II, 31; III, 28; embaddunum according to IV, 18; or if one prefers, be may supply [dšu-ül-līš] and cf. no. 4, rev. 5, 6.
33. A clear indication that dUrâš and NIN-IB, though, later on, used interchangeably (cf. ib.). 10179, were 'originally' two different gods. The identification of these two gods must, therefore, date from a later period than that of the II. dynasty of Ur. This passage proves also that the pronunciation of NIN-IB cannot have been dUrâš.
34. For ūtu, a name of NIN-IB, cf. col. III, 9, 20; IV, 35, 36. NIN-IB appears also as wšumgal, col. III, 15; no. 4, revs. 3, 4; no. 5, revs. 4, 5, and R. H., p. 38: 11, where wšumgal is transliterated by ba-aš-mu, which latter renders also the Sumerian salgan (or maš)-i-ša-l(i)-ma, cf. col. III, 9, and H. A. V., p. 666; Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 309 (bašnu = "Eideckhe, Melch").
35. The overhanging ma demands a reading su-līm (not lī-lī-ma = šalammātu, and this notwithstanding the fact that the variant has su-zi (cf. zi, ši = napištah). Is su-līm a Semitic, or is šalammātu derived from the Sumerian su-līm (cf. šalum-ma-nu, II, W. B., p. 466)? With su-līm-ma is closely connected the well-known name of NIN-IB, viz., KA-lum-ma, C. T., XXV, 11: 22, 23 = 15, III, 12, 13, which ought to be read šaša (or Zš)-lum-ma and which characterizes NIN-IB as the "god of splendor," expressed in the "fruitfulness, fecundity"—whether of plants (su-līm-ma = su-līm-pu, "fruit of splendor," "dates"), animals or men. Knowing that in Sumerian ma, māš, gāš, gar, mar are used interchangeably, it is most likely that the KAšššum-GAR-gur, who according to C. T., XXV, 35: 16, is identified with šE-a, was originally ūtu or Shanash in the role of NIN-IB, cf. Bāl, the Christ, p. 20; H. A. V., p. 386, no. 2: 402, note 17. This is corroborated not only by Craig, R. T., I, p. 52: 43, where a Zu-lum-mar(ma-rā) is mentioned, but more especially by C. T., XV, 29: 23, where Ishtar addresses her husband Tamišt ( = Shanash = NIN-IB, H. A. V., p. 402, note 17, p. 404, note 31), gar-ra šašša mu-du-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 NIN-IB is asked zu-lum-mar-ra-ab = ša su-ba-ša-aš-su, "what has been caused by thee to be bound, open!" i.e., "may the unfruitful and barren be made thee to produce, yield fruit, offshoot."
36. For NE = melum see ni me-lam, Cyl. I, 21: 4 = ni NE (i.e., melum), Cyl. A, 28: 24, Thureau-Dangin, Z. A., XVIII, 130, note 7. A reading iš-gur-baš (cf. III, 18), though, per se possible, is out of question on account of IV. P. 27, no. 4: 48, (Müüu-ül-līš) ša-zi me-lam gur-rū ag ul-tor ni-ša śi-rū ša pu-baš-ta ni-lam-ni na-biš-a dum-de-piu ša ra-so-ba-tum lam. "It is impossible to demolish the temple, either because of its strength, or because of its weakness", he said, "perhaps the king will not have been able to send aid to his city-tower."
37. Gar either na-biša (see preceding note) or, so better here, ma-ta-ša.
38. Me-dā-AG = me-šu-dāa (dā diu), "to carry out the commands," or me-ul-ag, "to execute the ancient commands?"
39. Aššuša I consider to be the phonetic rendering of du-DU, i.e., diš-ba = diššin(i)-ka, cf. H. A. V., p. 420, note 9, above.
40. Hence, ša ša-biša (lit.) ma-ta-šu (cf. naša lištā ši-ta), "the one without strength," "the weakling," cf. A. 9: 1). A rendering mudāšša, who makes to abound the pasture (cf. no. 2: 3: 28-30), is on account of the parallelism excluded.
42. Doubtful! With gā-ni = gi = sikaru cf. gâ-ge = gi, etc. = ardatu, H. A. V., p. 397, note 1, below. Or is NE = melum (cf. above, note 36) and Nl = zul = barâ? Cf. also NE = ilâ-tu, la-tu, nimêru, urru; hence among the fearfully glorious the (most) powerful one? or some such similar signification?
43. For HOI-DUB-ši(l) = tukulta, see above, note 27. Here it is a verb = tukultu or tukultu (i.e., see above, note 27). The suffix melum, being reflexive: "self verlaesen und," forbids a rendering "may G-S, the abarakku (or tita), live by the lord of lords, by N."
44. Cf. here the attribute of Nidaba, NInu a-nun-gal Ḫer-ra a en-en kalam-ma, "my mistrees, powerful.
Here in the sense of lā, H. A. V., p. 419, note 5, with the possible pronunciation ʾē = e = lā, M. 4156 (not "tilt") or = ʾē, "wohlhart!", M. 4155.

46. Ma-ra, "unto thee (i.e., "4NI-IB,"") on account of zu in maakim-zu.

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

48. The name for the ḫublu stone is generally written 4NZA-TU, Br. 11894; B. E., Ser. D, vol. V, face. 2, p. 42; here we have 4NZA-TU-gunu. For the interchange of TU and TU-gunu (i.e., mer) see Thureau-Dangin, Z. A., XVII, p. 136, note 5, who mentions ʾibšTU = ʾibšTU-gunu = pštu; ʾibšTU-US = ʾibšTU-gunu-US = rid šabê (cf. also B. E., XVII, part 1, p. 49, note 3). To mention it here, I may state that the sign TU-gunu is found also in A. W., Anunnak, no. 41: 42 (= Kn., p. 474: 42) guš minšTU-gunu and in A. W., T., nos. 42: 15 (= Kn., p. 476: 15) guš minšTU-gunušši-ši-ra-ma, which TU-gunu (Kn., Autogr., nos. 92, 93) is, of course, the rid šabê = "driver," or in the language of Rib-Addî, the šarran). A reading 4NZA-GUG (for za-gul-gug) see R. E. C., 473 = Br. 11863 = šamtu, "porphyry" (see no. 6, rev., col. II, 1, and B. E., Ser. D, vol. V, face. 2, p. 22), is out of question.

49. And hence "is fit to be," "is fit for being (šum = šubûk ana, Ninrâq, p. 14: 24, 27; p. 16: 115, 19), thy servant (maakim-zu)." Šum = šuq, "gründig aufgenommen, erörtern," is likewise possible. Cf. also note 100.


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


53. The sign BI = epîr 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 EMES-AL forms (Mu-ti-in for Gétna) in EMES-KU texts, cf. e.g., 1, 18, where the EMES-SAL mu-ga is glossed by the EMES-KU giš; mu-ga-bar ( = giš-bar), col. IV, 7; mu-ga-di(g) ( = ni-dû(g)), col. IV, 9; ʾMu-ul-di (for ʾEn-nil-dû), no. 2 = 3 = 41. For the several variants of ʾMiš-lin-An-na see Frank, H. A. V., p. 168, note 2; for the meaning of this name, H. A. V., p. 396, note 1; and for ʾGétna, the "mistress of scribes," l.c., p. 375, note 1.


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


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

64. For the ṣ in KU-iq-qa = KU-qa = maḫîn, Br. 10396, cf. ki-KAL = ki-ṣ-KAL = nisšitu, "onions" (rather than "Waste," Cyl. A, 21: 24, H. W. F., 450a; Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 520). Or the ṣ may be a variant of ṣ, cf. šu-lu-la (C. T., XV, 30: 10, 17) = šu-šu-la (C. T., XV, 27: 13-15) = šarru, or šu-azzi (Langdon, Babylonica, II, p. 84) = ʾu-az-ziš (Cyl. B, 6: 7: 7: 8), which ṣ = ṣ 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 ġiš mē-AG-da ʾa-ta-qa, “hero, (who) for the making of battle (is) gloriously adorned (ʁa-ga = u-ta-ga = ṣuṭuwa), Nirgqi, p. 38: 1; H. W. B., p. 249a, but cf. Jensen, K. B., Vi, p. 403),” though possible, is on account of the space between AG and KU less likely.

65. Cf. the attribute of ḌIN-IB, I. R., 17: 18, ma-šak-niš lā ma-qi-ri. Among other emendations that might be considered cf. the following: [kur iš-bal-ha or stāl-ur-raš] am-ga-ul-dim dā-di, col. III, 41; kər ša-ni ma-ri, col. III, 42, see also note 30.

66. Or according to no. 4, rev. 7, 8, ʿāḫ-[iš]-bi ša-ga-gub-gaš-

67. Also in col. III, 23. Cf. C. T., XV, 17: 8, where še-er-šu-er( = ni-er-šu) and gub-zi(g) are the attributes of Sin (4Naana). Perry, Sin, p. 18, note 8, translates gub-zi(g) by “Oeffner des Herrnages, Anführer”; Langdon, S. B. P., p. 297, by “to pursue the way,” Hommel, Grundrisse, p. 375, by “entgegenreten,” and Vanderburgh, S. H. E., p. 43, by “to lift up the breast.” I prefer to see in gub-zi(g) “one of high breast” (cf. zaq-zi(g) = ṣaqā ša rēšī), i.e., “a proud, courageous one,” “one whose breast is turned and goes (zi = teba, tēhā) against the enemy” and by doing so, he “turns back (zi = nišu, syn. of tēru), Jensen, K. B., VP, pp. 309, 404, 561) the enemy’s breast,” hence, gab-zi(g) = ma-ši-nu-i īr-ti (cf. Sargon, muši-nu i-rat maš-Ka-ak-mi-e, Lay. 33: 9) is a syn. of gab-zi = mu-šir i-di, IV. R. 21, no. 1 (B), rev. 15.

68. Zag-i = nāqipu. There is only one nāqipu (against H. W. B., p. 464), the original meaning of which is “stosser,” either with the “horns” (Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 577 = 21, 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 (nāqipu = “Löch,” Jensen, i.e., p. 529) in a fortification wall; hence, zog-i = nāqipu ša dāri, Br. 6510 = “to batter a breach, to make a hole, entrance in a wall, through which one may go in and out (zog-i = ʾaseṯ),” syn. of zamā ša dāri. If one prefers, he may take zag-i in the sense of ʾe (H. A. V., p. 405, note 36) = ma-na-ar-šu ša ʾi-ni, i.e., “to rage(沸腾),” said of the storm, which rage is expressed by the “thunder and lightning,” hence uq zag-i-a, “raging, thundering, lightning, storm”; or zag-i may be a variant of PA (i.e., ša(g)-i), “‘glorious,” i.e., “lightning one” (see C. T., XV, 15: 1–6 and cf. 4DUN-PA-i-n-u).

69. Cf. Nirāq, p. 8: 17, 18, kalama-ma ni(d)-ni(l)-da = ma-ša-ta sa-pa-ni, which shows that 4NIN-IB may sweep over and bring into misery even the country of Babylionia itself; 4NIN-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 B. 1–11, or whether they continue the attributes of 4NIN-IB. If taken as attributes we have to emend sal-e-dag(d)-gā(d)-gā, ki šu-mu-ši-na(g-i)-a, and render: “My king, (theu) who in thy city of the house of Nippur takest (last taken) care,” “Who the Esagila hast restored,” “lord, (thou) by whom (ra) kingship is executed,” etc. The absence of an a in šu-mu-ša-ab-du would show, however, it seems to me, that this last form at least cannot be that of a relative clause, hence also B. 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. Mēš = zikanu, being parallel with ur-sag (so here) or with ġiš (so l. 45), is a variant or phonetic writing of mes = ruḫu, edlu, syn. of ġiš = mašu( = uk).
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO NIN-IB

note 5, to no. 4, rev. 5, 6, et passim or (c), if s(ā)g(-gān) be a variant of ṣēgan (= ṣāg(-gān), see above, note 2), by "weighty one"; or lastly (d), s(ā)g(-gān) may be a variant of ṣēban = ṣēban (i.e., MUS), or of neg-gān = ša-ka-an =  götür.

The original signification of s(ā)g(-gān) = sapāḫu 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., 28*, no. 4, rev., 63-66 = R. H., p. 122 : 7-18, where we read:

gāl-la-ri ur-e(ri), ra

[giš]-lu

"Its (the city's or harem's) maidens

s(ā)g(-gān)-bi

[na-ap]-bi

"Its virgins

dm(an)-a-ša-lā(dol)(-e)

kal-bu wa-lāq(a-qal)-lāl, (nu-ab-ru ilt(ī)-ta-lī)

the dog (= enemy), lo, has defiled (the enemy has carried away

mu(ḥ)-bar-ri(ra) dm(an)-a-ša-lā

ba(ρ)-ba-ru u-lāq(a-qal)-līl

"the wild dog," lo, has defiled."

The lit. translation is, however, on account of the da in the verbal-forms: "Mit den Mädchen (Jungfruaten) hat 'der schändliche Hund' Unzucht betrieben," cf. for this complaint, H. A. V., p. 439 : 8ff. Here then the s(ā)g(-gān) is evidently a variant of s(ā)g(-gān) occurring in the well-known gīr-s(ā)g(-gān), i.e., "one who opens the gīr = képlu, "a prostitute," cf. the Ḥammurabi Code, 32 : 50 passim. Surely a translation "booty (gāl-la)" or "pillage (s(ā)g(-gān))" is incomprehensive, because the enemy never defiles booty, but is glad to get and to save it—the more the better! Sa-um-[hi] (abstr. for coner.), because parallel with gīl-la, is a euphemistic expression for "temple-women" sacred to Ishtar, the kišriti or kašriti(s) (thus emend M. 3939, s(ā)g(-gān)-di(g)-ga), women who are there ana sapāḫu = piṭā ur-ši-na; cf. also gāl-la = šur and Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 428; H. W., B., p. 131a.

With regard to the -nu-di three explanations would, per se, seem to be possible: (1) In view of such forms as ša-di(g)-ga = ša-di = ša, i.e., barā, amēru, or ša-di (cf. col. IV, 16) = ša = ša, i.e., šalātu, kūšu, we might consider s(ā)g(-gān)-nu-di to be a variant of s(ā)g(-gān)-di(g) = səpalū, 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 šu-ga-silim šu-ga-nun-silim (H. A. V., p. 405, note 37). If so, s(ā)g(-gān)-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 ša-nu-nu, reading either nu-di, or nu-si, cf. the attribute of 4NIN-IB: ša ina taḫūzi la ša-nu-nu ša-bi-šu, Ashshum., I, 1, and see below, note 90. The last two explanations, so it seems to us, are to be preferred. For s(ā)g(-gān) cf. also H. A. V., no. 15, col. II, 5; no. 20 : 23; for s(ā)g(-gān)-nu-di, i.e. no. 22, rev., IV, 13; below, col. III, 45, and above, pp. 21, 8; 22, 1. The proper names, quoted above, are hyponymic and attributes of the "Son" of a given Babylonian trinity; the BAR is either = baru, "king," or šaru, "wind," while the name suggestion might (?) possibly be read Meš-gilšar-nu-di, "the hero of the incomparable scepter (sc. has given, etc.)."

74. The suggestion of M. 3025 to read dā-gāl = nāp[a]lu is, no doubt, correct.

75. Notice the gloss gāš to muši? Cf. here the passage occurring in K. 128 : 10 (Jensen, Kosm., p. 470), where 4NIN-IB is called 4Gil-bar munnumu šamu ināt[t], "angezündetes Feuer, das die [B][accus] verbrennt." See also notes 36 and 78. From this it follows that 4NIN-IB, as regards its nature and attributes, was the same as: (a) Gilš-

bar = Muši-bar; (b) NE-gi; (c) Ir-ra; (d) Gîr or Nergal (cf. no. 4, rev., 1, 2)—each and all of them being the personified "consuming fire (cf. note 78)" that burns the enemies.


78. 4NIN-IB is the 4Gîr (see note 75) who is the "god of lightning (in birq)," M. 6924, hence either "lightning fire" or "mighty, angry, consuming, terrible fire."


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: šu [BA-nu-ša-la], "not sparing storm"; šu [gab-ša-gar ma-un-ga]-a, "storm without equal"; šu [zag-e]-a. cf. note 68.

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82. Notice here the omission of sign dingir before Dun-gi.
83. For this emendation cf. C. T., XV, 26: 21, i-tu-ib-i-ge na-nam zu su(d)-ag-gal na-atu(d), Zimmern, Tomasz, p. 237: "Ihre Klage ist (wie) um einen Palast, vorin 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 begots short-lived children)." Cf. also col. III, 34.
84. With ka(g)-gi(n) = bibil llibbi cf. B.E., XVII, part 1, p. 144, note 2. See also C. T., XV, 28: 6; 29: 6, where Duma(z)-zi is called the ša(g) aṣu-ga-na An-ni(m). See above, note 1.
88. Seeing that I consider this to be the "opening line (cf. note 22)" of a prayer, I supplied ges = relative clause, thus indicating that this is an attribute of DUN-IB. If without ges, this would be a "wish" or "imperative": "as a present gift!"
89. This line, in all probability, continues the liturgical note of l. 35, for which see above, note 22.
91. Cf. above, p. 17.
92. The attribute igs-gin, "leader, first, foremost, etc.," is ascribed to DUN-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 role of the "Son" and who reveal themselves in their sevenfold power: kalā(g)-ge-te ša-lik pa-na, V. R., 30: 18.
93. Cf. col. IV, 22, the sign KA + inserted ša(g) I take to be a graphic variant of KA + inserted šu, Br. 818 (cf. 810); M. 509, 510; F. 450: Langdon, Babylonians, II, p. 282 = šagāmu. For šat = ša see Dinsaba-šat (variant šā), above, note 1; and ša = še, i.e., ša(g). It may not be impossible that KA(g)-gi(g) = Kkalā(g)-gi(g) (see II, A. V., p. 431: 8) = nā(g)šu, syn. šagāmu, and this the more so as the sign babāq is practically nothing but ša(g) + ša(g), Br. 7008; if so, the doubtful KA of Br. 687 is either Kkalā(g)-gi(g) or Kkalā(g)-gi(g).
95. Cf. col. I, 2; C. T., XVI, 19: 40; C. T., XV, 15; C. T., XV, 16: 9; II. A. V., no. 5: 11, i-kala(g) ug kūr-bur, an attribute of D Galū-ru (not šat!), cf. Br. 1426, rev-a-RU (!) | diš ( = da ši-pu) ša diš [pil]. The name of the god occurring in C. T., XXIV, 7: 27, according to the parallel passage C. T., XXIV, 35: 7, has to be emended to D kūr-bur [ni(zat)-ti].
96. Dūdūl = našpu, "to lay low by means of the 'horns' (ša) which the mountain-ox has," cf. Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 577; H. W. B., p. 404a, and see above, note 68.
97. For DUN-IB as judge cf. no. 4, rev. 11, 12, and II. A. V., p. 402, note 17; cf. also the sixth of the seven "mighty names" of D Enlil: om erim-nu-di, "lord, judge (ša in dim) of the people." 98. Cf. no. 2 = 3: 21, kur-du-er. 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.
100. Cf. note 49 and Ninag, p. 16, 18, 19, where D NUN-IB is said to be nam-tugal-lu šum-ru = ša ana karra-(k)ar-(u)-ti ša-lu-ka, "fit for kingship."
101. Here D NIN is in the daughter of D IM, while in other passages (see Creation-Story, pp. 25ff.) she appears as a daughter of D Enki or of DUN-ni = Eridu and as sister of D NIN-gür-su, D NIDABA and D SIRRĀR-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-la, cf. ša-ša a-du(g), "one who fishes in sweet water," opposed to
SUMERIAN AND "6kur, = can
Hence, = 18. 26. 7
6-kur Br. also 36 ff, 17. 11, 8; 8; 7
cf "NIN-IB)
Or It 46, 3, 99x111
gir-UT-di of Siri-qi
mu-ru-us uh
This one however, "NIN-IB.
"O here (nu) (2)
SA(fi)+AB, 3
Su-lu-lu
11; =
vol. 271
the sanclissima
en
me-te(n)
A. =
Hi udu{g)
Lit.
A.
109.
110.
111.
112. EME-SAL form for uš-dig = raḫū, or ǧiš-dig = išši raḫū, and these the "fuller forms" for mu(3) = uš = ǧiš.
114. Sag-sum = (1) haššu, "to escape;" cf. col. III, 42. "6kur ašar la ḥaššu = ki sag-na-qi-em-nā) is "6kur, the place without escape (hence parallel with gi-giš-ni and arulu)," IV, R., 24, no. 2; 3; 4; cf. also C. T., IV, 27 (B. 329) : 6, a-na SAG antu ḫaššu-3-an e-zi-ib, where ḫaššu is not so much "Zahlungsaufschub" as "escape, liberation;" mu-ru-ús ḥaššu = ( ḫaššu=UB-giš)-i = "storm which (i) an escape (ūš-aš) does not (nu) grant UB-giš(a)," Br. 7956; and ḫaššu-3-3-3 UB-giš(a) = "storm which (i) an escape (ūš-aš) does not (nu) grant UB-giš(b)," Br. 7956 = išši la pušša ( = 6ši BA-uv-dša) or "which out of misery does not remove, brings;" (2) Sag-sum or sag-ši-gi = ḫaššu, syn. of alšuq and alšuq, see note 17 to no. 2 = 3 : 18. (3) Sag-sum = ana ši-riši wam-tu, "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 79. Ūr I consider to be a variant of ʿar = galālu, kabānu; for such a change of ʿar and ʿar cf. dNum-ʿar-[ra]. C. T., XXIV, 14 : 40 = 27 : 9a, with Num-ār-ra, C. T., XXV, 48 : 7 ( = dNum-ār-ra, C. T., XXV, 42 : 114) = 6-Ea. For ʿar = galālu = (šiš), see B. E., Ser. D, vol. V, p. 46, note 3, and for alšuq = sī-ši = sī(g), i.e., p. 53 : 7 and below, note 17 to no. 2 = 3 : 18. Hence, gir-ārdi is a syn. of giš-ši-gi or gir-ši(g)-ši(g) = ana ši-riši wam-tu, "to cast, to trample under the feet, to crush." Notice
also that är is = aššu or kamānu, but asuktu is originally "die Niedergeschlagenheit" = tāsuḫu, "the being crushed, trampled upon."

116. Cf. II, A. V., p. 431 : 3, ša(g)-la nam-ur-sag ni me-lām-da du-ra KU( = epi) sug-g[i-a]. "endowed with (lit. 'in the heart') heroism, clothed with awe-inspiring fear, prince without equal."

117. Dār-dā(g) = kipā ša amelu, which, however, cannot mean "sich niederlassen, vom Mensehen?", II, W. D., p. 3469, 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 kanāšu (cf. gā ki-šā ger = kipā ša amelu and kanāšu ša amelu); cf. also dār-dā(g) = šummānu ša alpi, "the yoke of the oxen" = dār-sīr-nun-šāt(u(r), M. 8096; but the dār-sīr-nun-šī-tu(r) is ^NIN-IB, C. T., XXIV, 7 : 19 = 34a : 2, or ^GIR ša šum-ma-ni, i.e., "Nergal of the yoke," C. T., XXIV, 42 : 95 (here with sīr for šīr), or the nu-lu SE+AMAR-SE+AMAR-ra-ge = be-šu mar-kas ma-a-tum (variant nam(I)-sag kur = a-ba-rid ma-a-tum), R. H., p. 49 : 7–9 (here mentioned between ^MAR-TU = ^A-mur-ru, ll. 5, 6, and ^Hu-mu-si-su, 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: mar-kas mātum) under his power.

118. Cf. besides the two passages here also II, A. V., no. 8 : 19; no. 13, V, 7; C. B. M., 11618 : 15 (unpublished) and other passages. See also note 25 and below, col. IV, 38.

119. Z(es)-a-b(+p)-in dār māt nukarti mānaknī šūʾirē; cf. no 4, rev., 5, 6, 9, 10.

120. This being the subscription, a-da-ah 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 hi-bi-ēš-šu, 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, as the historical inscriptions, preserved in the Temple Library, clearly indicate and the several lamentation songs, 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($)-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 Pharaos 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.). "NIN-IB, the "great hero," "mighty warrior" and "son" of "Enlil 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, 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-

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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. 43ff., and L., 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, liek 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 fulness 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 didst dry 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" 4Enlil (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 4Nin-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-4Dumu-zi or Du(l)-azag (= Tašritu, March-April) and was considered to be a "marriage" between the "Son" and "Mother" earth. The "Mother" becomes thus the "Bride" (l. 35) and wife of the "true Son," i.e., of 4NIN-IB, the 4Dumu-zi of the Nippur trinity.

Lastly, in reward for his victory over the enemy, 4NIN-IB is exalted into the heavens, receiving henceforth the highest name of, and co-equality with, "God the Lord (An 4Enlil, ll. 39ff.)".

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 (4Enlil)." 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., XVII, p. 40 : 5, where 4Nin-maḫ appears likewise as the "wife" of 4NIN-IB.
2 More about this in my forthcoming volume on "Hymns and Prayers to 4Dumu-zi," B. E., XXX.
3 Cf. also B. E., Series D, V., p. 61.
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO NIN-IB


1. *ug-bi-a a-sil-im ki-la-gin*
   When life-giving fountains of water,
   *a-gár-ra nu-[m-de-a]*
   the fields not had watered,

2. *a-ri(-ri) dū(-šū)-dū-di šuc(-cett)-
   ū(caret)-*
   *kur-ra (ē-)ri-a ba-ni-ēb-il-a*
   When ravaging enemies as if with darkness,
   the land with desolation (destruction) had filled,

3. *dingir kalam-ma*
   When the gods of the "country"
   *ba-lūḫ-gi-ēš-a*
   into captivity they had led,

4. *ušu-ē-bi*
   When "pick and shovel"
   *mu-un-lā-ēš-a*
   they had made us to carry,

5. *HAR-ra-ām*
   When but taxes,
   *KU-Ĝ.ÎRā-bi ni-me-a*
   they had made to be our wages (reward),

6. *(gū) kalam haš-bi-šū*
   Then) on account of (all) the "country's" misery
   *ē galu giū-ba-an-de*
   the (house's) people cried out (saying):

7. *I②gīna nam-ya-la ba(-an)-KU*
   "The Tigris into desolation is cast,
   *ū-bi nu-ag-e*
   to navigate it, it is impossible;

8. *ab kar-ri*
   "A haven of safety,
   *galu nu-šār(šar)-e*
   nobody finds,

9. *ša(g)-gar (om)bāl-a-gar*
   "The hungry and the afflicted
   *nu-šār-e*
   nobody visits (looks up)!

10. *išt kur-tur-ri šu-lūḫ*
    "The rivulets (canals) make precious (to rise),
    *galu gūb-bi'-(i)-aq sahar nu-mu-da-an-zi-
    zi-i*
    the innocent into the dust, oh, do not cast!

11. *gan zi-ma₂-a nu(-mu-un)-šub-šub-bi*
    "The barren
    *ē⁰-ag nu-gāl-lā*
    and dry fields,

12. *kur-kur-ri ēš-šin-na nu-ub-bi*
    ""The lands not growing (standing) with corn
    *ześ-bi'₂-a (R. H., da(l)) i-im-ag*
    for harvest, oh, make them ready!"
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R

13* en-e giš-tug-PI mah
The lord, who his gracious ears,

14 dNIN-IB dumu dEn-lil-lá-ge
NIN-IB, the son of Enlil,

15 gu-ru-um ná kur-ra
Heaps of stones in the mountain

16 im diri(g)-diri(g)-ga-dim
He, who like a passing cloud

17 bás-mah-dim igtí-ba
Who like a fastness over his people

18 gisik BAL* ki-šar-ra
A complete change (destruction)

19 ur-sag-e mu-un-gab
The hero—he has cast down(.)

* 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-tug-
im-gub

14 (R. H., p. 123, obv. 4) en(!)-e giš-tug-

15 (R. H., p. 123, obv. 4) en(!)-e giš-tug-

16 (R. H., p. 123, obv. 4) en(!)-e giš-tug-

17 (R. H., p. 123, obv. 4) en(!)-e giš-tug-
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20 a kala(g)-ga
The "mighty waters"

21 i-ne-šú(a) a(e) kur-da-r[p]-šú
Now, the waters, though from hades,

22 ni-bir-bir-a
He it is, who has scattered—

23 (k)ur-ra [sú(y)(caret)-zag](zah^z)-[gā](ga)-a^2(caret)
He it is, who into plains and hills the mountains has turned,

24 (mu-un-úr-úr)
Who has made them to shake,

25 (é-gu[d]) a-gár-[r[a]
With floods the fields,

26 ṣ(1)-ne-šú ūg-da
Now with (scorching) winds (or dryness)

ki-a nu-un-[bád-bád]
against the "rock of ages" could not prevail;
gū-ba-ni-ib[í-níng]
he has also gathered;
ba-ni(-ib){?=] śe-da^2 (or ì?)}
who hast made them to tremble,

(ì?Idigna-a i)[m-mi-in-sí(y)]
yea, who has cast them into the Tigris!
(i-nì(?!)-iin){dé^z}
lo, he has filled (watered, flooded),
ni(y)-ki-šar-[ra-gc]
all of them.

20 (18) a kala(g)-ga
(19) me-e dan-nu-[li]

21 (20) i-ne-šú a kur-][aire]-sú]
(21) i-na-an-na mu-ú(l)

22 (22) ni-bir-bir-ri
(23) šā ī-šap-pi-[hu]

23 (24) kur-ra sú(y)-zag-[gā-a]
(25) šā [ina šadi] ši-[r {ba-ma]-a-ti
ū-mal-lu-ú

24 (Rev. 1) mu-un-úr-úr
(2) ih-mu-u[m]

25 (3) é-gu[d] a-[gár-ra]
(4) mi-[a {á-ga]-ri

26 (5) i-ne-[šú ūg-da]
(6) i-na-[an-na ú-ma]
In the king of the "country," in the lord NIN-IB,

The fields with corn and grass

As plentiful as dust the garden's harvest

In granaries like 'tells'

The lord, who the land

The designs of the gods

Him, yea, NIN-IB's (and his) father
34 ug-bi-a sal-e E + SAL-a
   At that time in love with the
   "maiden,"
sa-nam-ga-[ni-tb]-di(š)-d[l{š-g}]
in love with her he fell—
35 "Nin-maḫ-e ki-uš-dū(g)-ga-ni
   With Nin-maḫ in her (his) bridal-
   chamber
[ù-nu-mu-un-ši-ib-hug-hug⁰⁷]
   he had not yet lied down—
36 KIN-KIN as dugud-dīm bar-ba
   Like a weighty (mighty) ruler
   (prince) at her side
[e-mi-ni-uš³⁹]
   he now, lo, took up his abode.

37 i-dib kur né nu-gāl-la
   "Into lamentation over the 'mount-
   tain' which has no strength
ba(R. H., bar)-ra-[an-da-š]⁰⁰-i
   do not break out:
   (i)[n- . . . -gar]
   lo, has brought it about (to pass);
(ù)-mu-un (ù-maḫ)-a-ni
   "The lord's great might,
   ib-(ba)-[ni](na)-da(caret) n[u-nu-da]-l[e]-ga
   against his wrath none can prevail;
38 (ù)-mu-un (ù-maḫ)-a-ni
   "The lord's great might,
   (ù)[a]n-ša-[n]-ma
   "The great hero, (he is) like Anu,

39 (ù)-mu-un An-dim
   "The great hero, (he is) like Anu,
   (ù)[u]-[la]-la
   "Like a furious, rushing tempest
   (casts) down;
   (ù)[u]-[la]-la

40 ūg-šur [d][-a-qin]
   "Like a furious, rushing tempest
   (casts) down;
   saq-e-dū
   his head, lo, is adorned!

41 en ši "Mu-ul-lil-lā men
   "Lord he is! with Enlil's crown
   ba(R. H., bar)-ra-[an-da-š]⁰⁰-i
   do not break out:
   (i)[n- . . . -gar]
   lo, has brought it about (to pass);
(en ši "Mu-ul-lil-lā men
   "Lord he is! with Enlil's crown
   ba(R. H., bar)-ra-[an-da-š]⁰⁰-i
   do not break out:
   (i)[n- . . . -gar]
   lo, has brought it about (to pass);
   (ù)-mu-un (ù-maḫ)-a-ni
   "The lord's great might,
   ib-(ba)-[ni](na)-da(caret) n[u-nu-da]-l[e]-ga
   against his wrath none can prevail;
   (ù)[a]n-ša-[n]-ma
   "The great hero, (he is) like Anu,
   (ù)[u]-[la]-la
   "Like a furious, rushing tempest
   (casts) down;
   (ù)[u]-[la]-la

Notes.
1. UD, signifying "day," "time," or "storm" (šumu), has to be read šg or ú, in EME-KU, and ud, in EME-SAL.
   Ci. zag-še₃g = zag-šu₃k, H. A. V., p. 403, note 22, and the phonetic writing ug-še₃ (i.e., šg-še₃ or šg-bi-a; šg = enuma in
   M. 11054 is originally = šmu; = i-ru-[ma] = ina šma; in Hilprecht O. B. I., I', no. 129, obv. II, 12 (see also l. 3).
   The reading UD = šg in the signification "storm" is apparent from passages like C. T., XXV, 22 : 35-39 = 23a : 2-6, 
   ⁴UG, ⁴Ug dingir ura₃k, ⁴Ug-šu₃-tab-ba, ⁴Ug-šu₃-d₃-a (with this name cf. H. A. V., pp. 375, note 1; 405, note 37, where
   the effaced sign, read sgr = šg is rather that of ug), ⁴UG = ⁴šmu₃, M. 2548; C. T., XXV, 22 : 35 = 23a : 2 (see above,
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p. 20, note 1) compared with C. T., XXIV, 47b: 14-16 = 35b: 2ff., 4\(UD\)\(na\), 4\(UD\)\(na\) lapal [ar-ra], 4\(UD\)\(na\) qa-tab-ba and 4\(UG\)-qā-dā-a, Br. 7523, where us (against M. 11065-6 and Michel, Göttertaten, p. 10) is a gloss to UD. That the sign he had likewise the value us is well known, cf. above, p. 20, note 4. This us (1 or us, not as copy gives) is found likewise as a gloss to UD, see 4\(UG\)-us-nun-silim, C. T., XXIV, 8:7 = XXV, 46d:5 (here with variant is(ly) for silim) = 4\(UD\)\(na\)(0)-us-nun(m)-silim), C. T., XXIV, 34a:10. King’s explanation (C. T., XXIV, p. 18) of this last interchange, is, therefore, hardly necessary. Cf. note 11 to my foregoing C. T., XV, 15. 4\(UG\), however, when standing for 4\(Sama\), has the pronunciation of either Utu, or 4\(Sama\)-na or 4\(Sama\)-ma, cf. C. T., XXV, 25:4-6, 4\(UD\)\(na\) 4\(UD\); 4\(UD\)\(na\) UTU UD (ditto); [a\(ud\)-na\(ud\) UD (ditto). But du-du-UD was also 4\(UD\)\(na\) kā AN-er, etc., C. T., XXV, 9:16 (cf. also II, 28-30) and, so it would seem, Sin, see C. T., XXV, 27b:4; cf. I, 6, 4\(UD\)\(na\)-ki-en (= Sin, C. T., XXV, 18a:12), and I, 7, 4\(ES\)-ka-rum (= Sin, C. T., XXIV, 18a:7)—“Father-Mother-Son” had the same name: “Utu = luminary, light,” see also II, A. V., p. 415, note 2. 4\(UG\) 4\(UG\). Another pronunciation for 4\(UD\) = 4\(Sama\) seems to have been 4\(Bab\)ler, see Br. 7794, 7755. The difference between Utu and Babber 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., VII, no. 32:21, cannot be read with Ungnad, B. A., VI, no. 117, 4\(UD\)-ta-gall(?)-il, “der Sonnenegg erhöht den Menschen am Leben,” but must be transcribed as 4\(UG\)-TA-gall-la-BAD = umu mi-eš dīšik (se, nәkit, etc.). The TA is here non phonetic complement, but = kalatu, see note 11 to no. 4, below, hence 4\(UG\)-TA-gall-la lit. = umu ša bāt-ilšu mi-eš. The sun as planet had also the reading 4\(UG\)-šēšē, see H. R., 48:40a, b.

2. A threefold repetition of a sign expresses the greatest intensity; cf., e.g., C. T., XV, 7:22 = 24:35 (the word of God the Lord destroys everything, possessions, wife, child and) 4\(UD\)-ne-ne-en = 4\(UG\)-ne-ne-en = 4\(UG\)-ne-ne-en, “the house which it had gracefully looked upon 4\(UG\) and the house which it had most firmly established”; C. T., XV, 15:11, 4\(EM\) = 4\(UG\)-ni-en nu-su kalum ma uu-an-ta-dā, “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-te ne-ud-ra-ra-ra, “the haughty ones completely thy lawest low.” Thureau-Dangin, R. A., VII (1910), p. 107, col. II, 3-5, (O Ninbi) nin-mu a-nun-gal 4\(UG\)-ku-ra, a en-en kalum ma, ni-ta KA-KA-KA, “my mistress, mighty one (= a-nun-gal) of 4\(UG\), sprout (= rūm) of the ‘lord of lords of the country,’” (by) thy help (ni = 4\(UG\), cf. note 14, below) are (all kinds of) exorcisms (se, performed).” The second ri in the variant of no. 3, a-ri-ri, expresses the plural, analogous to diri-gal-gal, while the bī may be explained as emphasizing still more the dā (see H. A. V., p. 401, note 11), or it may be paralleled with nu-na-zi-lal bī-zi (H. A. V., p. 418,1.7 and note 5), in which case we only have to read dī-ā-dā-bāl and translate “the navigating, yeo, fiercely navigating 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 XI-NIN-ALI, II, 20, 21.

3. 4\(UG\)-a, babbar-zal is used not only of the “beginning of a day (4\(UG\)-nu-ru, nom-um, nom-virta), month (C. T., XXIV, 45:47, ud-bar-zal urki) or year (C. T., i.e., I, 46, ud-bar-zal-li bīti (= mai),)” but also of the “going down or darkening of the sun” or the “end of the day,” i.e., of “night, darkness,” (cf. 4\(UG\) = 4\(UG\)-na, “day” and 4\(UG\)-a, “storm = im,” who turns the “bright day into darkness,” see C. T., XVI, 19:35, in note 11 to forticomning C. T., XV, 15), cf. 4\(UG\)-a (babbar)-zal = 4\(Sama\) ir-te-bī-lu (y) “bābī, from which we have rūn, “extinction of stars,” darkness”), IV, R. II, 26, (2.24; 4\(UG\)-a = umu 4\(UG\)-te-lī, H. R., 51:18, 19. The expression 4\(UG\)-a zul in Old Babylonian date formulas, as, e.g., B. E., III, part 1, no. 24:7, 4\(UG\)-a zul may per se be translated either as “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,” 4\(UG\)-a zul has acquired also the last named significations, i.e., “he is in bed, is asleep,” cf. C. T., XV, 25:15 = K. 41, III, I, 2, 4\(UG\)-a-dī-lim šim(m) ur-sa 4\(UG\)-a (4\(UG\)-a) zul, i.e., “like a frightened dove in a (tree-)trunk I (ishtar) crooked myself.” This very same a-bit occurs also in Delitzsch, H. W., p. 1655 (sub 4\(UG\)), ina ru-bar-aš-ša a-bit ki-er alū, “upon my bed I was crouched like an ox.” The root of a-bit is neither 4\(UG\) (Del., i.e.) nor nabatā (Behrens, L. S. S., II, p. 104), nor is nabattā to be derived from nabatā (Behrens, i.e.) or nubatā (Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 432), but a-bit, nabatā, “rest,” bita, “house,” come from bita (4\(UG\)), i.e., Arabic bita, nubatā), pret. bitamu, bita, etc. 4\(UG\)-a bita, nubatā al a-bit-tu (Behrens, i.e.) is a circumstantial clause “the one who is not taking any rest, without delay,” “unmuyked, unwearying.” 4\(UG\)-zet = bita is, therefore, the same as (ina nabata) bita = kuš-bī, H. A. V., p. 405, note 32. For the see Thureau-Dangin, Z. A., XVII, p. 292, note 1, and for 4\(UG\)-a = zul, cf. the variant to IV, R. II, 28, no. 4, rev. 45, 4\(UG\)-a zul bita(l) = zul bita-lu(l) = ša-ša-lu-ru. As I see now the root of nabatā was recognized already by Hommel in O. L. Z., X
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(1907), Sp. 482 (nubattu = "Nachholger, Hochzeit"), and especially by Johnston, The Assyrian word nubattu, Harper Memorial Volume (1908), 1, pp. 341ff., with whose conclusions I am in perfect accord.

4. Literally: "when they (the enemies, l. 2) had made us to carry (nudhdisti = l) the altus and the duplikku"—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 altus cf. also H. E., XVII, p. 98; note 1, and for duplikku (mortarbasket?) see, e.g., Cyl. A. 5:5; 6:6; 18:10, 24; 20:25, etc. The translation "Tragpolver" (Thureau-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, e.g., the representations given in C. H. W. Johns, Ur-Engur, passim.

5. For the "KU-GAR taxes(?)" cf. B. E., XVII, p. 123, note 10, and the references there given.

6. Haša 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 haša, 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 ["Ki-gu-la, C. T., XXIV, 28 : 826 = "]Ki-gul-la, l.c., 10 : 31, and on the other gu-la, parallel with hu-li, C. T., XV, 7 : 10, 11) is spread over," or (c) nam-KU = na-im-KU = sahingtu (here a verb: haliq̄a), gu-la = rubû: "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 (a = ruštu) futile. Enemy and nature had combined in their efforts to bring Babylonia (lama, l. 6) into misery (haša).


9. Ma = banā is doubtful, it may be si = asī la iṣu u kanī, but hardly fu.

10. Cf. the variant e to a as in l. 21 and see H. A. V., p. 440, note 2. The whole line literally translated reads: "das Feld, welches (in Bezug auf) Herrschaft über die Fülle (ς. von Holz und Geschäft) nicht erhält (nicht schön ist), welches (in Bezug auf) Erzeugung des Wassers nicht hat (nicht geöffnet ist, gül = pitā la mā)."

11. I consider ke-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), car.o, kar.su, dū.su. But cf. also the ke-bir-bir-rida of Zimmern, H. B. R., no. 27 : 15, and the references there given. It is, however, possible that bir-ani may signify here a certain kind of "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 šibun.

13. There exist in Sumerian two different words gu-ra-un-m(α): (a) the one here is a Semiticism, i.e., the infinitive H̄ of garunma = garunμ or garonμ (cf. baqinμ, H. E., Ser, D, IV, p. 177 = baqinμ; šakmu = šakmu = GI, M. 1424[5]), for the signification of which see also H. E., XVII, part 1, p. 97, note 7; (b) the other, occurring in H. A. V., p. 118, l. 1, is a phonetic writing of garun(m) = eabu, its ideogram being found in our inscription l. 29; cf. also C. T., XXIV, 17:25, dGu-rum-a with the gloss la-in-bi. The two signs given by M. 162, 163, wrongly under BALi, have to be identified either with Br. 5903 or with 5907. Also cf. garun, girin (Br. 10178, 11155), girin(!)-num(?) (so against H. W. B., p. 976, and M. 1655-7 (for LUM = num cf. da-LUM)), (gurin) (M. 7904, 892) = enbu or illāru. Notice also that qur(r)un(m) garun(m) is in Sumerian = garum(n)-un, garun-gar, ga-gar-gur (so better than gi-gub), gi-gar-gur, l. 30. Cf. Code of Hammurabi, III, 21, (Hammurabi) mu-gur-ra-im karā (=gi-gar-gur) a-na 4Ura.

14. "Ni and 4 are both = emāku, hence ina ram(α)ni--su = ina emāki-su, "by his own strength, power." Cf. ā-br, 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-dā.

16. Ina = (wul)b.l. is a form in an of enā, for which see Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 315. This change, destruction was brought about by NIN-IB using his "hatchets," hence wulb.l = pilhikku and wulb.l-gar is = "to put the hatchet into action" = "drücken, zerstören, errichten." Hrozny, Ninrāg, p. 56, translated this line by: "er richtete seine Augen gegen den Horizont hin." Cf. also next note and note 5 to no. 4 : 5.

nam-mi-in-tar, "the A., the great gods, are confounded (! nam-tar = araru, 'to curse, to confound'; P, passive) in their entirety"; i.e., p. 12: 11, 12, hagal-mu kar-sug gid-ul-ni(g)-ki-lar-ra-ga sug-im-ma-ab-ul(s)(or sum)-[gi](or mu) me-en,
"I am the king who (completely) pieces the high mountains in their entirety," thus, I think, has to be translated against Delliteh, H. W. B., p. 275b, "die hohen Berge heben sich eiteln davon," or Hrouny, i.e., "die hohen Berge eilen bis an den Horizont," for notice that hóku (= sag-sum and sag-si(g)) is a synonym of álóku, and the mutualistic kadé is a variant of dä’ik kadé, the well-known attribute of NIN-IB, see Ninmug, p. 42: 7, 8, and H. A. V., p. 411, note 5; notice also that Dmantuku (= d-gdi), an attribute of both DIN-IB (above, no. 1, 1: 3, passim) and Dnergal (B. A., V, p. 533: 2), is a synonym of mundahyu, "warrior." Sag-si(g) becomes thus an equivalent of (a) sag-si(g)(PA) = mašašu in paštu, C. T., XII, 42: 50 (M. 3925); cf. also C. T., XV, 15: 13, ze-si(g)-em-su-kak kur-gal a-a DUM-ul-tiš sag-im-da-aši(g)-gi, "by means of thy (Rammân's) thunderbolts it is, that the 'Great Mountain,' the Father Enil, smites (sc. as with a hatchet)"); (b) saq-si(g)-si(g)-gi (cf. saq-gis-si(g) = nár, C. T., XV, 11: 9 (see above, p. 24, 5), ("Multius kur erim-tā ṭat-tā-a-tim sag-lu-si(g)-si(g)-gi(l)-gi, "der du in den Feinen Land wie mit einem Kampfheil (cudgel) dreinschlägt"; (c) ciš BAL-par, see preceding note. For the signification of sûru cf. besides H. W. B., p. 236, also Thureau-Dangin, Z. A., XVI, 355, note 3, and see note 95, to no. 1, col. III, 40. For another sag-sum = baššu, see above, note 114, to no. 1, IV, 15.

18. These "stones" are the "hail-stones" (ša'gim = Algamēt, see B. E., Ser. D, vol. V, fasc. 2, p. 54) which NIN-IB and Rammân (C. T., XV, 16 : 2-1) prepare and heap up in the "mountain" (l. 13) and wherewith they smite the enemy.

19. The ideogram for šabātu (= šapatu, from which šipitu, Jensation, K. B., VI, p. 387) is gi-gi, which is also dāku; but dāku is = šalatu = di, see note 17; hence di = šab(p)ātu. Di is also di'nu, which is a synonym of šapatu, šiptu (= gi, variant of gi'l). Seeing that the present of šabātu is šikštibit (H. W. B., p. 637b), the preterit was in all probability ši-b(p)if rather than ši-b(p)at.

20. Ī(n)-ne-ša(tu) = inanna introduces here, it seems to me, "allgemeine Sentenzen": what NIN-IB has done in the past, he can accomplish in the present and the future.


22. Eštā, "to climb up," is ī, while eštā = bād la "to go, come up" with the intention "to suppress, to annihilate (kātā, nāru)" and "to kill (mātu)."

23. Seeing that a relative clause is expressed in Sumerian either by -ni, -a, or overhanging vowel, ni-bīr-bā(r)i(r) stands for (in)-bīr-ba(r)i(r) = màšippitu = ša wàppipitu; cf. ni-dī-dī-in = "one who roams about," R. H., 81: 9 = IV, R. 2, 28, * no. 4: 16; ni-dī-bi = "I will rejoice," lit. "I will be one who rejoices," H. A. V., pp. 391: 17; 393: 72; Gudea, gol-ni-gi(g)-tam-mu = "ist einer, der sich mit Grösse trägt," Cyl. A, 12: 20, passim. If this be true, we cannot render ša wàppipitu and translate "what he has scattered he has also gathered."

24. For zuh = saq cf. also zuh-bi-li = saq-bi-li.

25. The Semitic translation has: ("He it is) who has lass filled into the mountains plains and (?) hills," i.e., he has changed them into, has made them to, has reduced them to, plains and hills.

26. The ke(dim?)-da(?)-di(l) on L. E. cannot be "40 da(l)-di(l)," referring to the number of lines, because this tablet has 41 lines. A reading [im]'gul-da is likewise impossible. Does ke-da(l) = ke(d), Br. 30633f., or bi(l), i.e., 3958) represent the phonetic writing of the verb to be supplied at the end of l. 23? 27. It seems that the ideograph for makûru, "to water," is still unknown. But as makûru is apparently a synonym of šaika in meš, we may supply either one of the following verbs: de, dag, dā(g), saq.

28. Though gīl 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 sīr = sīr see Zimmern, Tamuz, p. 225, note 19. The traces of the Semitic translation, as given in R. H., would point to [ri]-ša-u-ti or [ši]-da-u-ti rather than to ra-bi(u) (or ci=ti). It may not be impossible that the Semitic translation had ša'na ši-da-u-ti u riša-u-ti ša-da-u-ti, though sīr = šišatā and e = šišatā are not yet known, but cf. e = gāšu, synonymy(2) of rēšu, Br. 5843.


30. See note 11.

31. See note 13.
32. For *mur* = *ugurta* in the above-given signification see Jensen, K., B., VI, 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* = *lī*, construed here adverbially = *lī-šū*, cf. H. A. V., p. 401, note 4, end.


36. With the peculiar infixes *nam-ga*, *a-ga* cf. the *in-ga* of C. T., XV, 24 : 13, *šē-ša-nu-ub-dû(g)—all three express the idea of "violently, eagerly" "eagerness" rather than of "not!" the love to her seized him violently, he took violent (passionate) love to her.

37. *KU* = *gallū*, 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 *hû-un* (so by Ir. 10503 and M. 10405), but which ought to be transcribed by *hu-ág* (*EME-KU*) = *hû*b (*EME-SUL*). This is corroborated by R., H., 80 : 21 = 928 : 29 (for translation see H. A. V., p. 400, l. 21), where *KU* is the variant of *hû*b; cf. also note 15 to no. 1, col. 1, 7. *Hu-ág, hû*b stand for *ku(g), ku(b)*. The literal translation is, of course, *cohabitation, concubinage*.

38. *KIN-KIN* here = *šir-šir* = *hûshunu, hawadumunu*, synonym of *surru*, Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 163. Cf. also *KIN-KIN* = *edū* (for *esūu*), *šir* = *esūd*; *KIN* = *piru* (synonym of *bû*i), *šir-šir* = *bû*i.

39. Thus I would prefer to render seeing that the *e* in sal-é and *d*Nim-mah-e may stand for *ana*. That the "bridegroom" hastened to the "bride" is evident from R., H., p. 145 : 8, "he (i.e., Manlûk) hastened to the brideship (i-ki-iš ana *la-da-nah-i-ta)," cf. *Bâl*, 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-mah*, into her (his) 'bridalchamber' to him not yet having gone, "Like a mighty princess at his side she now lay down."

basing a translation like this upon Gudea, CyL B., 19 : 18–21, An *ušug-gal-la mu-na-hug, An-ra* *EUn-lil im-nu-ni-šak* *En-un-ra, *Nin-mah mu-ni-šak, "he (Gudea, at the time when the wedding festival of *d*Nin-Girsu and *d*Ba-û was celebrated, i.e., on "New-Year's day," which was also the "feast of dedication," or the *nezîm* of the ancient Sumerians!) made An to dwell with him (= *nu* = *Nin-Girsu, l. 17) in the great 'sanctuary,' with An he made Enlil to take up his abode, with Enlil he made Nin-mah 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-mah* 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 l, p. 40 : 5); (3) that the *ušug* (cf. B., E., Scr. 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 *bit a-ki-i-ti(0),* while the *gallû* *u-šug(šu(g)*) is the counterpart of the *qadišu* (more about this elsewhere).

40. Thus the traces would be rather than *i-dû* . . . *TU-i*; cf., however, *er-TU(du, to) with i-dû-di- du-di(ši, dû(g)-dû(g)).


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, fase. 2, p. 8c) 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.

For photographic reproduction see Hilprecht Anniversary Volume, pl. XIII, no. 19.

1 [lugal-mu..] My king,.. [en-e ʿGīr-ra-dīm gī(g)-a gīn-gīn'] lord, like Gūr a roamer about at night (thou art);  
2 [en "NIN-IB..] Lord NIN-IB,.. [en-e] ʿGīr-ra-dīm gī(g)-a gīn-gīn' lord, like Gūr a roamer about at night (thou art).  
3 [lugal-m]u ʿGīr-ra-dīm nam-ur-saγ ṣu-dū ušumgal šu-ug-ga2 [dagal] pā-ri-in3 mušen'-na My king, like Gūr perfect in hero-ship, ušumgal, weighty one, extended one, a lier in wait for the “birds” (thou art);  
5 [lugal]-mu é ki-bal-šú ág-gâši(g)-si(g)-ki
My king, smiter into house of the
hostile land (as with a hatchet),

en-gal ⁴En-lil-lá za-e á-sum-ma me-en
endowed with strength by the great
lord Enlil, thou art;

6 en ⁴NIN-IB é ki-bal-šú ág-gâši(g)-si(g)-ki
Lord NIN-IB, smiter into the house
of the hostile land (as with a
hatchet),

en-gal ⁴En-lil-lá za-e á-sum-ma me-en
endowed with strength by the great
lord Enlil, thou art.

7 lugal-mu dû(g)-ša(g)-zu úg mi-ni-tib-
dû(g)-ga-šû
My king, the utterances of thy heart
are (like) the whirlwinds that
roar—

sahan-dim ûb-zu šur-bi ša-mu-un-gub'
like a serpent furiously thou placest
thy poison;

8 en ⁴NIN-IB dû(g)-ša(g)-zu úg mi-ni-
tib-dû(g)-ga-šû
Lord NIN-IB, the utterances of thy
heart are (like) the whirlwinds that
roar—

sahan-dim ûb-zu šur-bi ša-mu-un-gub'
like a serpent furiously thou placest
thy poison.

9 [lugal]-mu pisanka-é-a ki-hûl-a sîr-ri
My king, the words of thy mouth
cast down the wicked land,

ṣiṣhē(or gan)-ûrš é ki-bal si(g)-si(g)-ki
smite to pieces (lay low) the pillars
(fences) of the house of the hostile
land;

10 [en]⁴NIN-IB pisanka-é-a ki-hûl-a sîr-ri
Lord NIN-IB, the words of thy
mouth cast down the wicked land,

ṣiṣhē(or gan)-ûrš é ki-bal si(g)-si(g)-ki
smite to pieces (lay low) the pillars
(fences) of the house of the hostile
land.

11 [lugal-mu di-zu di-gal-ām nu-pa(d)-dé
My king, thy judgment is like
"the great judgment" without
favor,

dû(g)-zu qibš iги-nu-bar-ri-dam
thy decisions are like the decisions of
him who is "not a respecter of
persons";
12 en *NIN-IB di-zu di-gal-ám nu-pa(d)-dé

Lord *NIN-IB, thy judgment is like "the great judgment" without favor,
dá(zu) qib* iɡi-nu-bar-ri-dam
thy decisions are like the decisions of him who is "not a respecter of persons."

13 lugal-mu qa[lu]merim-ra mu-na-te(n)-na

My king, (when) against the enemies thou goest,

14 en *NIN-IB qa[lu]merim-ra mu-na-te(n)-na

Lord *NIN-IB, (when) against the enemies thou goest,

15 (lugal-mu) qa[lu]kú(r)-ra é-a-na qa[lu]húł-gal
ga-na-nam

My king, unto the house of the enemy an adversary, verily, thou art,
úru-na qa[lu]merim ga-na-nam
unto his city a foe indeed thou art;

16 en *NIN-IB qa[lu]kú(r)-ra é-a-na qa[lu]húł-gal ga-na-nam

Lord *NIN-IB, unto the house of the enemy an adversary, verily, thou art,
úru-na qa[lu]merim ga-na-nam
unto his city a foe indeed thou art.

17 en-[n]a nu-še-ga-a-na qa[lu]húł-gal ga-na-nam

Lord, unto the not subservient ones an adversary, verily, thou art, [úru-na qa[lu]merim ga-na-nam]
unto their city a foe indeed thou art;

18 en *NIN-IB nu-še-ga-a-na qa[lu]húł-gal ga-na-nam

Lord *NIN-IB, unto the not subservient ones an adversary, verily, thou art, [úru-na qa[lu]merim ga-na-nam]
unto their city a foe indeed thou art.

(Rest broken away.)
Notes.

1. For *mut-tal-šik mu-ši*, the attribute of *Šīr-uni-gal*, see Böllenhuber, *Nergal*, p. 25:42-3; and for *Nergal* in the rôle of *NIN-IB* cf. *Haliprecht Anniversary Volume*, pp. 426ff.; 441, note 5.

2. Phonetic writing for *šša(g)-ga*, see no. 1, col. I, 1, *ur-sag šša(g)-ga*.

3. Cf. Cyl. A, 25:6; (the door at the king's entrance) *HU-ri-in am-ša igi-il-šam-dam*, "[war wie ein . . . , der erhöht die Augen*]" (Thureau-Dangin). *HU-ri-in* is apparently composed of *HU* = "bird" and *ri-in* (a phonetic writing for *rīm*, *rin*; cf. *rin-ta* = *pādu*, 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. *po-rin* = *rābišu*, and for interchange of *m* and *n*, Fossey, *H. A. V.*, p. 116, 31), being as such a variant and synonym of *HU-ru-ri-ša* = *mādā* and *kapši*, "stirmend, treuhend, nachstehend, speziell wohl auch Vogelstreher;" Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 346b; (b) for "hunter" in general, who is generally 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 (b) the hunter who has his eyes continually fixed upon the mountain-oak." In C. T., XXIV, 17, col. IV, 43, follow the šα *[sic!]* *HU-ri-ge* upon the šα *[sic!]* *ṣ̌u-ša*-ge or "fisheermen" (l. 35). From this it follows also 6 cf. *K. = therefore 42-3; out or *ša*, *ṣ̌a*, 116, 13 and *NIN-IB* as the goddess of the hunt) and figuratively, cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 369.


5. This seems to me the most probable reading. *Aš*, the *ša*-name of *gin* = *pāšu*, is translated in Assyrian by *ašu*, a syn. of *pāšu*, for which see Br. 6019,6021, and Jensen, *K. B.*, VI, p. 459. For *gin = *ša*-name of *pāšu,* cf. Haliprecht *Anniversary Volume*, p. 432, note 4. *Ši(g)* = *šapliš* is a variant and syn. of *ši(g)* = *māššuša in pašti,* see no. 2:18, note 17. *Ši(g)*, here with *ša*, is construed in the latter with the simple accusative. If one prefers, he may read either *mer-mā,* variant of *mer-šā,* with gloss *rihamun* = *ša-amātu,* or *mer-kār,* i.e., "the encircling (lanā) or lightning (*nibušu šā ūmi*) storm" and *ši(g)-ši(g)-ki* = *uru ša šāri or šāri* (*šē*! not *ēšeru,* M. 2594; cf. Jensen, *K. B.*, VI, p. 460), "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 must do it, because thou art the one who is endowed with strength by (it therefore *ša*, not *šī*) 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 representatives of the Babylonian god of lightning (= Ramman, NIN-IB, Nin-Giru, etc.) with a hatchet (*šaplišku = ŠA-KA-DU*) in his hand, see Zimmern in *Z. A.*, XIII, 302f. to Haliprecht, *B. E.*, I, nos. 75 + 136 + 137. Notice also such attributes of NIN-IB as a *ma-ru ku-bāl-sā ku-ša-baša gab-ša-gar ma-ta-šu-a,* no. 1, col. I, 6, and *NIN-IB ā-zi(d)-du* *Enlil-latā kā bi-tal gab-gal*, no. 1, col. IV, 13, 14, and cf. note 16 to no. 2:18, *šāh HAL-gar,* and C. T., XV, 15:13.

6. For *ŠU = dā(g)*, *ša*, cf. *zag-du = zaq-dā* (R. H., 99:48) = *šāpā and AD-GE = ad-du(-)pi,* C. T., XXIV, 42:133 = XXV, 48:13 (cf. also Meissner, *O. L. Z.*, 1909, Sp. 204), hence *ŠU = šūg, dā(g), šā,* and this a variant *dā(g)*; cf. *šā(g) = lanā* and *dā(g) = lanū,* therefore also *dā(g)-ša(g) *words, utterances of the heart* parallel to *šānḫu-ša(g)-a* = *šīt pi.*

7. Or *gub* may be taken as a variant of *dub,* cf. *šā-dub = inša tabiku,* Böllenhuber, *Nergal*, p. 31:30, 31. For the interchange of *g* and *d* see Fossey, *H. A. V.*, p. 111, 13, and for the signification of *ša,* i.e., p. 401, note 11. A translation "which furiously places its poison" is out of question; this would have to be *lu-mu-un-gab-ba,* and then the *šu* in *šū*-*cu* would be unaccounted for.

FROM THE TEMPLE LIBRARY OF NIPPUUR

5. NIN-JB, THE INTERCESSOR AND MEDIATOR.

No. 5 represents a prayer (in form of a hymn) to NIN-JB 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., NIN-JB, is asked to lift up his eyes to his father 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 E-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:

\[ \text{dito mu-\textasciitilde{k}u-kak} \]

\[ \text{mu-\textasciitilde{k}u-tam} \]

\[ \text{Enlil of husbandry} \]

adding in note 2: "For the root šakāku v. P. S. B. A., 1908) and Hammurabi, Code, XXXVIII, 16-20, šumma geškipin-KU-KIN, a lu gešguam-ur ši-ta-riaq. III šikīl kaššu, i-na-ad-di-šu, 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 mašša-um-ur is identified with maššaLU-BAT gu(du)-ud (i.e., NIN-JB), while in V. R., 40, no. 1 : 25, the mašša-um-ur is the šeštu = šakāku lu A-aš (or perhaps better An-a-ge?) ša ina lābbādi šu a (or iga + gan). As both, e-ur and gan-ur, consist of e, "house," or gan, "field," + ār, "beam," the ē-ur was in all probability a "house supported or surrounded by beams," a "house resting on pillars or which is fenced in" and gan-ur = "a field fenced in," a "field," sym. of šurumu, etc. On šakāku see, besides the passages quoted, also Delitzsch, A. W., 15; Z. A., V, 15 (šumu ša i-ša-ka-ša = ša EBUR-šu), and C. T., VI, 28 : 12a, where mašša-katākum is found among instruments for the purpose of šakāku.

9. See note 5.

10. A Semitism! Cf. H. A. V., p. 382, note 1, ll. 11 ff., where Sumerian words are likewise expressed, in the parallelism, by their Semitic equivalents. The igi-ur, "to lift up the countenance," renders here exactly the προσωπηκός of Acts 10 : 34.

11. For TA = katu (y' = y2) see Bolltenrichter, Nergel, p. 38, who translates it by "Gedächt," while Delitzsch, H. W. B., pp. 207b, 722a, renders it by "äußere Erscheinung, Äussere, Wuchsa o. a." But in view of the fact that TA is also = eqāru, H. W. B., p. 129a, and this is y3, I. c., p. 309a, Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 405, I prefer to see in katu "das im Kopfe oder mit dem Munde oder mit der Hand Gebildete, Gezeichnete, Formgesetzt," "plans, machinations, conspiracies, designs, actions, deeds, ways, etc." Hence C. T., XV, 11 : 1, En-lil (?) ša-mar-mar mašša TA-zu mašša-zu ought to be translated: "Enlil, counselor, can anyone comprehend (lamāšu) 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 "Ub-TA-ga-tu,(I)thul, note 1 to no. 2 = 3.


13. This sign is neither SÂR = mā = ušaki, "vertreiben," nor (u)ra (R. E. C., 220) = šabtu, šabatu (for which see Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 533; Zimmerli, L. S. S., II, p. 69, note 1), abātu, but clearly tu = tānu, being used, e.g., in R. H., p. 80 : 29-35 (cf. also I. c., p. 81 : 39-44) in connection with certain parts of the harem or temple of which it is said that šeštu ša-ma-ur-TU = ana zu-ki-ki it-tar, 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., ḫuḫ, Ḫub), cf. gaššan me-ru ni-di-di-in šu-ruTU-TU (V. ḫuḫ-ḫuḫ), "mistress I am, the one who roams about, the never resting one I am," R. H., p. 81 : 9 = IV. R², 28, no. 4 : 16, and that (2) KU = Ḫub = galālu is a variant of Ḫub, see H. A. V., p. 400, l. 21, and (3) that TU here is parallel to gi = nātu, "spalten, entweichauben," Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 342, we may translate "his (the enemy's) machinations like grass thou cuttest down, like ruins thou layest them low."


5. NIN-JB, THE INTERCESSOR AND MEDIATOR.

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This rather badly mutilated hymn might be emended and read as follows:
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO NIN-IB

No. 5, Obverse.
C. B. M., 11179.

For photographic reproduction see pl. V, nos. 7, 8.

(Beginning broken away.)

1 [ ]

2 "NIN-IB me nun-na
   NIN-IB, thou who the commands
   of (for) "the exalted one (prince)"

3 dub-zi(d)
   The holy tablet,

4 sa'-
   gi(d)-
   (All humbly) kneeling(?)

5 uru nun-e ba-gar-ra
   "The city, O prince, restore it again,

6 es abzu nun-e ba-gar-ra
   "The house of the (molten) sea,
   O prince, restore it again,

7 es Nibrus
   "The house of Nippur,

8 es En-lil-lá
   "The temple of Enlil,

9 es Nin-lil-lá
   "The temple of Ninlil,

10 É-šu-me-du
   "The Eshumedu,

11 du(l) Sag-âš-a
   "The 'abode where the fates are
determined,'
12 é Keški-a
   "The temple of Kesh,

13 é Urški-e
   "The temple of Ur,

14 é Laraḱ
   "The temple of Larak,

15 é Kullabaki-s
   "The temple of Kullab,

16 é ki-Zababuaki-s
   "The temple of (the land of) Zababu,

17 é(?)[
   "The temple of...

18 uru[
   "The city...

(End broken away.)

No. 5, Reverse.

(Beginning broken away.)

1, 2 [ ]

3 á An₁₀ nun á-buš́n
   "Arm (strength) of An, prince of
terrible power...

4 gu-zi(g)-de-a
   "Furiously roaring one,

5 ug₁³ an-ša(g)-ta
   "Storm out of heaven,

6 me₃ dib-dib-a-zu
   "Thou who holdest (keepest) the
commands:

7 "NIN-IB ug (or kalam) dib-dib-a
   "NIN-IB, thou who holdest (keep-
est) the people (country):

   nun-[e ba-gar-ra me ]
   O prince, restore it again, thou who the
   commands, etc.;

   nun-[e ba-gar-ra me ]
   O prince, restore it again, thou who the
   commands, etc.;

   nun-e [ba-gar-ra me ]
   O prince, restore it again, thou who the
   commands, etc.;

   nun-e [ba-gar-ra me ]
   O prince, restore it again, thou who the
   commands, etc.;

   nun-e [ba-gar-ra me ]
   O prince, restore it again, thou who the
   commands, etc.;

   nun-e [ba-gar-ra me ]
   O prince, restore it again, thou who the
   commands, etc.,

   Dagal-[ušum]gal-[An-na₁²]
   Dagal-ushumgal-Anna,

   á-     sîn-s[ûn₁⁴-na-ám]
   of glorious (mighty) power,

   dîš-zu mah-     [ám ]
   thou alone art exalted;

   galu-ša(g) galu-mah-[ám (or me-en) ]
   among men thou art exalted;
8 kalam(uq)u^ 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-si^bi-[ám (or me-en) ]
   "Of the fields
   (and) of the country—their beautifier
   thou art.
10 en-gal nam-lugal-e le-silim-[ma]
   "Great lord,
11 ur-saq ^dBIN-IB
   Hero, ^BIN-IB,
   the kingship, oh, bless it;
12 šabar (or sikka-bar^a) zi(g)-durun-na ša(g)-kuš^* uru-na*^kam-[ám (or me-en) ]
   "Of the (wild) mountain-goat,
   which dwells in heights,
   be thou the judge in its city!
   the overprower thou art,
13 maš'-dim šam-BUR^2-ša zi(g)-bi- á[m ]
   "Like a gazelle out of the BUR
thou frightenst it away;
14 ninda LI$T$(or åb)-bi *Nanna š[a]-dù(g)- bi-ám
   "Of the young oxen and cows of Sin
   the caretaker thou art.
15 dù(g) a-a muh-na-šú [giš-PI-túg-ám ]
   "He who upon the words of the
   father, his begetter,
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 åd nor åb nor ši, I would like to identify with R. E. C., 429 = Br. 6007â. For the reading åbzi cf. C. T., XXIV, 48, col. II, 17b, ^ĐIN-DUBBISâG, which appears in the parallel passage, C. T., XXV, 27c, 8 as ^âIN bi-zibî-sig [nothing wanting!], one of the 13(?!) children of ^ĐIN-Mašî. For šig = ši cf. also C. T., XXIV, 12 : 28, ši₃[š][u] + šil with the parallel text, C. T., XXIV, 25 : 896, ZI-gu-šâ. This åbzi, being here in opposition to åb, was in all probability the ‘‘stilus’’ used by the åb-lûr or ‘‘scribe’’; cf. ^Đubbasâ and ^Gîškar, both = ^Đabû (p. 31, note 2) who as ‘‘son’’ of the Babylonian trinity has the same attributes as ^ĐIN-IB, the ‘‘son’’ of the Nippur trinity, hence ^ĐIN-IB = the god of the ‘‘tablet writing,’’ of the ‘‘stilus,’’ and of the É-dub, B. A., V, p. 634 : 13, and B. E., XVII, part 1, p. 93. See also II. A. I., p. 372, note 1, for the several goddesses (= various names of the wife of ^ĐIN-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 mnu nam e-bau-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 (ru) rebuilds (restores) it."

4. Thus better than ëli-za ëli, "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. II., 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 da(l) zaaz, the place where, on New Year's day, the fates were determined by the "Son" of a given Babylonian trinity after he had brought the "enemy," cf. Bit, the Christ, pp. 47ff. The "Son," therefore, is called En(Lagal)-da(l) zaaz. According to H., R., 50: 60, the E-sug-dâ, i.e., bit piriktêt, bit šumâti was one of the names of the Nippurian zigurrat.

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, Aǜk-te (= "the one to be desired," the wife of NIN-IB and "Easter-bridge") ga-la-an Larag-za mēn. Sometimes Larag has the phonetic complement ak, so in H., II., 50 : 12, passim. Cf. also the Š-E-āk-te, R. II., i.e., and Š-E-āk-te, R. II., 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, 279, 15, ak-bi-za-SUR (i.e., Shumash!) in the role of NIN-IB, we may read Sū-b(-)-nāμku; according to C. T., XXV, 3 : 65 = 296, col. II, 13, a reading Hal-bīl-šumki may be suggested. In Br. 11748 our signs have the pronunciation Zu-ba-la; in C. T., XXV, 50, col. II, 16, compared with Br. 11748, that of Šu-mu (see now also Meissner, O. L. Z., Mai, 1909, Sp. 204). Cf. also Zimmerm., Z. A., III (1888), p. 97; Tamûz, p. 233, who reads Gililab, and Hommel, Grandrian, pp. 380, 391.

10. Thus I prefer to read on account of the parallelism, instead of Dānu = En. A reading An-na is excluded.

11. Cf. no. 1, col. I, 1. The sign ša in is not quite clear. Ug or âg = labû might likewise be considered; if so, then cf. Ninâg, p. 16 : 13, 14, sog âg-ša = zi-im lo-št, and l.c., p. 40 : 4, sog âg-ša = e-muk lo-št.

12. For this reading cf. H. A. V., p. 404, note 31, against Zimmermann, Sam-bayil, Tanahzadi, p. 213, 20, and Der babyl. Gott Tamûz, p. 7, note 4, where the passages invoked by this scholar prove just the opposite, for C. T., XXIV, 32 : 113, En(NÉ)-DAGAL has apparently to be read Sū-mu-pa-an (= ditto, cf. l. 112) nāμmu, signifying the NIN (l. 112), cf. Šu-mu-pa-ga-dâr, Pinches, J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 143 (81 8 30, rev. l. 7), i.e., the god Mes-lam-ta-ê-a as the "god of extended, wide, comprehensive powers (enmu, enmu) or vast armies (cf. lit. nāmu, nāmu)." If the above-given explanation be correct, we would have here another direct proof that NIN-IB was the "Dumuzi of the Nippur trinity, being called (like Tamûz) not only Da-ru, but also Du-nu, An-ru.

13. For the sign âg (sometimes used as a phonetic writing for âg or âg, cf. no 2 = 3 : 1, note 1), see C. T., XV, 15 : 9, where DâM is said to ride (ê) upon the âg-gal-la (parallel to âg, l. 1, and âg-gal-la, l. 8) and where he is called the âg An-na, l. 10, and âg-bënda-da, l. 29.

14. All signs effaced. The following readings might likewise be considered: dâ (or d)-dagal-tug-dam,"of extended strength," Â-Rû ši(g)-tug-dam, "lion, ug = ši(g), out of heaven) adored with (having) well-formed limbs," cf. H. A. V., pp. 482, 434.

15. Cf. here such names as Me-muḫ = NIN-IB qa-mi-im (sym. of ak-kur ṣib = dib) GARZAM, MAMEŠ, C. T., XXV, 11 : 20, 21 = 15, col. III, 10, 11; En-bënda-da (see Hilprecht Anniversary Volume, p. 417, a) = NIN-IB ga-bi (also = dib) ES-BAR ANMAŠ, i.e., 11 : 17 = 15, col. III, 7; al-Lul-lul-(cartel) = NIN-IB ṣib (see SES) ES-BAR a-bi En-bE, l.c., 11 : 18, 19 = 14, 15, col. III, 8. In view of the fact, however, that me is also = dâtu, and this parallel to inûa, Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 43, and that dib-dîb is translated by dûlû, a rendering "thou who maketh to abound (maketh glorious) the fruits" might likewise be possible. In this case l. 6-9 would describe the god NIN-IB as the "god of vegetation," cf. Ninâg, p. 42 : 19, 20, UR-bî mu-ni in-su-êl là nam-âlag-lu-bi-â = mit-ešeši śumû-â im-âu lam-mu ana šâr-ra-ti-šû-ânu.

16. NIN-IB is the king (lugal) of the kalûm, i.e., of Babylonia as a whole or of "Shumer and Akkad."

17. Zag either = šēhu, or zû-ša = ša (H. A. V., p. 405, note 36) = šubû, "to make glorious, to beautify." Cf. here also C. T., XXIV, 14 : 10, 11 = 50c, 12, 13, "An-na-er-an-na, ana ša(g)-tûm i-â-bi = um-mu ina kir-bi(he)-ti(he) šu-pal(ja-at), "who arises gloriously over the fields."

19. The nam-lugal of 1. 10 is personified, i.e., it stands here for lugal, having, therefore, the suffix na instead of ba( = bi-a).

20. Cf. Bollenrücher, Nergal, p. 44: 37, 38, where dMes-lam-te-ê-a, i.e., Nergal as "Son" is addressed slikku sug-ê šar-sug-ga mu-un-dig = šu-ma ina ša-di-i ta-na-ar V, tuš-mîl. NIN-IB's power can and does reach the most daring, unapproachable (zi(g) = dilâ, 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 kéb, i.e., kab-geqû = qalâtu, kamâru, dûku, or tin = ḫatîpu, or kin = eqîdu.


24. Zi(g) here either = N2, "to turn something away from (to), to chase, drive it out of (to) something" or = diû, "to scare, to frighten." For the idea cf. also A. S. K. T., p. 71: 13, 14, maš-geq ne-êb-bûr-ri = ga-bi-to u-kab-ba-ad (pursues), NAM-ŠAB-a ab-zî(g)-zi(g) = e-ri-ba i-di-i-kî. 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; I., following page; ff., following pages; fragm(s)., fragment(s); inscr., inscription; I., line; II., lines; L. E., Left Edge; L. 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 \times length (height) \times thickness. Whenever the tablet (or fragment) varies in size, the largest measurement is given.

A. AUTOGRAPH REPRODUCTIONS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text.</th>
<th>Plate.</th>
<th>C. B. M.</th>
<th>Description.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>11325</td>
<td>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 Bar-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, Xi. 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 4NIN-IB, the &quot;lord of life,&quot; for the prolongation of the life of 4Gimil-4Sin and his son(!) 4Bar (sic! not Amur)-4Sin, 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 &quot;official prayer.&quot; 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° \times 19 \times 3°. Inscription, 1 (U. E.) + 37 (col. I) + 35 (col. II) + 45 (col. III) + 38 (col. IV) = 156 ll. All fragments come from &quot;Tablet Hill,&quot; being excavated during the I. Exp. Photographic reproduction, pls. I, II, nos. 1, 2. For transcription and translation see pp. 44-54.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11348</td>
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<td>11362</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3, 4</td>
<td>9232</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 5, 6 9935


4 7, 8 11859


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" × 6" × 3". Inscription, 18 (O.) + 17 (R.) = 35 ll. Tablet bears the registration mark of Prof. R. F. Harper, Ni. 24–2–16–50. "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 × 29 × 5. Revs., col. II, 18ff. (+ no. 8, col. II, 1–4) = no. 7: 1–13; revs., col. III, 1–8 = no. 7: 32–59. The inscription, as far as preserved, represents parts of VI, VII, X, XI, tablet of the celebrated epic *lugal-e ąg me-lám-bi ner-gall*, 7" × 8" × 4". Inscription, 14 (O.) + 15 (O.) + 4 (R.) + 19 (R.) + 8 (R. III) = 60 ll. "Tablet Hill." I. Exp. Cf. on the whole, *R. E.,* Series D, vol. V, fasc. 2, pp. 6, 7, 14, 22. Photographic reproduction, i.e., pl. I, nos. 1, 2. Transcription and translation of R. II, 5–17, i.e., pp. 31ff.; for rev. III, 1–8, see i.e., p. 48.

7 11, 12 10187

Half-baked, dark brown, ruled, glued together, cracked. Upper left and both right corners are broken away. ll. 1–13 = no. 6, rev., II, 18ff. (after a space of 6 ll.) no. 8, II, 1–4; ll. 32–39 = no. 6, rev., III. A duplicate of this inscription from the Library of Ashurubânanpal, purporting to be the XI. tablet of the celebrated epic *lugal-e ąg me-lám-bi ner-gall*, is published in IV, *R.*, 13, no. 1 (here with a Semitic translation), l. 1 of which corresponds to no. 7: 14. 6" × 13 × 2". 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, i.e., pp. 34ff.; of ll. 38–46, i.e., pp. 42ff.; of ll. 47–end, i.e., pp. 48ff. Cf. on the whole, i.e., pp. 6, 7, 13, 14, 22.

8 13 1837 +

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,
DESCRIPTION.

9
13
13301

10
14
2237
Upper part of light brown, baked fragment. Ruled. Cracked. Beginning and end of II. on O. and R. broken away. Line at end of R., the lower part of which is not inscribed. I. on R. slanting upward. 6' × 3' × 3'. Inscription, 9 (O.) + 6 (R.) = 15 ll. "Tablet Hill." I. Exp. Photographic reproduction, pl. VI, nos. 11, 12.

11
14
13103

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' × 5' × 2'. Inscription, 9 (O.) + 9 (R.) + 1 (L.) = 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 kum-ma] NIN-IB-[kum], i.e., "lamentation-song to NIN-IB," 3' × 5' × 2'. Inscription, 13 (O.) + 8 (R.) = 21 ll. "Tablet Hill." I. Exp. Photographic reproduction, pl. VI, nos. 13, 14.
### B. Photographic (Halftone) Reproductions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Half-Tone</th>
<th>Plate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>I, II</td>
<td>O. and R. of official prayer to god NIN-IB for the prolongation of the life of Gilu-Sin and Sur-Sin, kings of the 2nd dynasty of Ur, about 2600 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, 4</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5, 6</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 8</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 10</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>O. and R. of hymn praising the warlike character and mighty deeds of god NIN-IB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 12</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>O. and R. of fragments of hymns and prayers to god NIN-IB, among them &quot;lamentation-song&quot; (nos. 15, 16).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13, 14</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Cf. description of text no. 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15, 16</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Cf. description of text no. 12.</td>
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### C. Numbers of the Catalogue of the Babylonian Museum (Prepared by Prof. H. V. Hilprecht).

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<td>5, 6</td>
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<td>11087</td>
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<tr>
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<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>11362</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Cf. description of text no. 1.

Cf. description of text no. 3.

Cf. description of text no. 5.

Cf. description of text no. 11.

Cf. description of text no. 10.

Cf. description of text no. 13.

Cf. description of text no. 12.
CUNEIFORM
TEXTS
Reverse.
Obverse.
Reverse.
Reverse.
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.
OFFICIAL PRAYER TO GOD NIN-IB FOR THE PROLONATION OF THE LIFE OF GIMIL-SIN AND BUR-SIN, KINGS OF THE SECOND DYNASTY OF UR.
HYMN IN PRAISE OF GOD NIN-IH, BABYLONIA'S SAVIOR FROM THE OPPRESSIVE YOKE OF THE ENEMIES. (DUPLICATE OF AUTOGRAPH TEXT NO. 2 AND REISNER, HYMNEN, P. 123)
7. 8. OVERSE AND REVERSE OF AUTOGRAPH TEXT NO. 11

9, 10. OVERSE 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.
FRAGMENTS OF HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO GOD NIN-IB, AMONG THEM A LAMENTATION SONG (NOS. 13, 14).
THE BABYLONIAN EXPEDITION
OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
EDITED BY
D. V. HILPRECHT.

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