

Bennett, Elizabeth Anne A study of Babylonian scholarship applied in the exploration of the meaning of divine and sacred names, as particularly exemplified in a syncretistic hymn to the goddess Gula /. PhD thesis. SOAS University of London. <http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/26488>

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this thesis, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given e.g. AUTHOR (year of submission) "Full thesis title", name of the School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination.

*A study of Babylonian scholarship applied in the exploration of the meaning of divine and sacred names, as particularly exemplified in a syncretistic hymn to the goddess Gula.*

ELIZABETH ANNE BENNETT

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2017

Department of Languages and Cultures of the Near and  
Middle East  
SOAS, University of London

***Abstract:***

In ancient Mesopotamian belief, a name expressed the very being of its bearer; understanding the name was critical to understanding the essential nature and character of the being. The explanation of names of deities and sacred places was central to scholarly religious thought, evidenced by the quantity and variety of the surviving textual record in which such names, usually Sumerian but sometimes Akkadian, are recorded and explained. Babylonian scholars explained the straightforward, obvious meaning of a sacred name. They perceived also that names might have unobvious, hidden meaning and developed sophisticated interpretive methods, using an etymological approach, to explore and reveal such hidden meaning. The exploration of hidden meaning is a hallmark of Babylonian scholarship from the second millennium onwards.

The study outlines the intellectual background in which Babylonian scholarship applied to explain sacred names has its roots (Chapter 2). It presents the ancient evidence which expressly demonstrates the connection between names and the epithets and attributes applied to them. Chapter 3 examines the techniques by which the ancient scholars explained the meaning of sacred names. It analyses and illustrates the many sophisticated methods by which they interpreted and revealed hidden meaning. The study uses for this purpose a substantial corpus of texts, comprising religious lists and expository works from the second and first millennium and Standard Babylonian religious and literary compositions, including the important exposition of Marduk's fifty names in *Enūma eliš* VI and VII. Chapters 4 and 5 present a critical edition of a substantial Standard Babylonian composition, largely unpublished to date, which appears to be a hymn to the healing goddess in which many sacred names are interpreted. Chapter 6 examines the use of these interpretive techniques and methods in this composition.

## Table of Contents

Preface and acknowledgements	5
1 Introduction	6
2 Babylonian speculative scholarship	8
2.1 Intellectual background	
2.2 Sacred names and religious thought	
2.3 Sacred names and speculative scholarship	
2.4 Ancient evidence	
2.5 Modern scholarship	
2.6 Text Corpus	
3 Speculative scholarship in the text corpus	32
3.1 The speculative techniques	
3.2 The speculative methods	
4 The Gula hymn	137
4.1 The texts	
4.2 The overlap	
4.3 Context and nature of the composition	
4.4 Date	
5 The Gula hymn: Critical edition	144
5.1 The Manuscripts	
5.2 Table of Manuscripts	
5.3 Transliteration of Composite Text	
5.4 Critical Apparatus	
5.5 Translation	
5.6 Notes	
6 Babylonian speculative scholarship in the Gula hymn	295
6.1 Analysis	
6.2 Encoded names	
6.3 Speculative techniques and methods	
7 Conclusion	327
Bibliographical and other abbreviations	329
Bibliography	

**Appendix:** Cuneiform copies from *Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert*, (eds. A.R.George and J.Taniguchi, forthcoming) Nos. 63-68 (8 plates)

### *Preface and acknowledgements*

The syncretistic Gula hymn presented in this study was identified as a single composition by the late Professor W.G.Lambert, uniting texts published by Ebeling (*KAR 109+343*) and text in tablets in the collection of the British Museum, for the most part previously unpublished. Lambert identified further previously unidentified duplicates in the British Museum and made cuneiform copies of all the identified tablets which contain the composition in the British Museum's collection. Presentation of this Gula hymn would not have been possible but for Lambert's work. I am very grateful to Professor A.R.George for this insight as to Lambert's identification of the composition and for making available to me copies of Lambert's unpublished cuneiform copies, his draft transliterations and critical apparatus and collation notes on *KAR 109+343* from Lambert's folios. Lambert's cuneiform copies have been collated and transliterations and critical apparatus reworked for this study. I thank George and Junko Taniguchi for allowing me to use the pre-publication copies of Lambert's cuneiform copies contained in the Appendix to this study. The kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum to study and publish objects in their keeping is acknowledged.

Quotations from Akkadian texts are given in transcription. The interpretive decisions made in the transcription are mine, and may not always be those the editors of the works would have made. Minor typographical errors and old readings in Akkadian texts used have been adjusted. All translations given are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

Finally, I would like to thank Andrew George for his support throughout.

Elizabeth Bennett

September 2017

## Chapter 1 Introduction

In ancient Mesopotamian belief, a name expressed the very being of its bearer; understanding the name was critical to understanding the essential nature and character of the being. The explanation of names of deities and sacred places was central to scholarly religious thought, evidenced by the quantity and variety of the surviving textual record in which such names, usually Sumerian but sometimes Akkadian, are recorded and explained. Babylonian scholars explained the straightforward, obvious meaning of a sacred name. They perceived also that names might have unobvious, hidden meaning and developed sophisticated interpretive methods, using an etymological approach, to explore and reveal such hidden meaning. The exploration of hidden meaning is a hallmark of Babylonian scholarship from the second millennium onwards.

This study presents the speculative techniques and methods of Babylonian scholarship used to explain the meaning of divine and sacred names. The study examines the use of speculative techniques and methods in a substantial corpus of texts, which includes a syncretistic hymn to the goddess Gula, (termed in this study the “Gula hymn”). The Gula hymn is an important Standard Babylonian hymn in which the healing goddess is praised under many names, and in many places. The work has been known as separate compositions, largely unpublished, but was identified by the late Professor W.G.Lambert as a single composition. Lambert (1997, p.74) implicitly referred to this single composition without explanation in notes on an unrelated composition, but the identification of the work as a single composition has passed unnoticed in scholarly literature. This study presents a critical edition of the composition, in most part for the first time.

The following research questions are addressed in this study:

- *Which works display Babylonian scholarship which uses an etymological approach to explain divine and sacred names, to form a corpus of texts on which the study may be based?* **Section 2.6** presents the works which form the text corpus used in this study.
- *What are the techniques and methods used by Babylonian scholars in their exploration of the meaning of the names of their deities and their sacred places,*

*as evidenced by the identified text corpus?* This is examined and analysed in **chapter 3**, for the text corpus, other than the Gula hymn.

- *What are the speculative techniques and methods used in the Gula hymn? Are any speculative techniques or methods or other interpretive features revealed in the Gula hymn which do not appear, or are unusual, in the text corpus?*

**Chapter 6** examines speculative scholarship in the Gula hymn.

As its starting point, this study outlines the intellectual background in which Babylonian scholarly explanation of sacred names has its roots (**chapter 2**). Ancient evidence which expressly demonstrates the connection between names and the epithets and attributes applied to them is given (**section 2.4**) and the text corpus is presented (**section 2.6**). **Chapter 3** examines the techniques by which the ancient scholars explained the meaning of sacred names; it analyses and illustrates in detail the many sophisticated methods by which they interpreted and revealed hidden meaning, using the text corpus (other than the Gula hymn itself) for this purpose. **Chapters 4 and 5** present a critical edition of the Gula hymn, a scholarly work in which many sacred names are interpreted. **Chapter 6** examines the use of the interpretive techniques and methods of Babylonian scholarship in the Gula hymn. **Chapter 7** notes conclusions that may be drawn from the findings of the study, with particular focus on the Gula hymn itself. Bibliographical and other abbreviations follow chapter 7.

This study focuses on the specific research outlined above, as well as presenting the Gula hymn. It is not a general study of the techniques and methods used by Babylonian scholars in their pursuit of meaning, which is evidenced most conspicuously in the lexical tradition and text commentaries. These have recently been examined authoritatively by Veldhuis (2014) and Frahm (2011), respectively. It is not a general study of the healing goddess and the corpus of compositions pertaining to her, for which see Böck (2014); nor is it a theological study of the healing goddess or the many deities and their temples and sanctuaries referred to in the Gula hymn. Likewise, although the composition is of the type usually termed a “syncretistic hymn”, the question of syncretism in relation to the healing goddess has recently been examined by Westenholz (Asher-Greve and Westenholz, 2013) and is beyond the scope of this study.

## Chapter 2 Babylonian speculative scholarship

This chapter describes the intellectual background in which Babylonian speculative scholarship applied in the explanation of divine and sacred names (together “sacred names”) has its roots (**section 2.1**). The significance of sacred names in religious thought is explained (**section 2.2**). The application of speculative scholarship to sacred names is described and the terminology used in this study given (**section 2.3**). Ancient evidence for the speculative explanation of sacred names is presented and the practice in the Old Babylonian period briefly discussed (**section 2.4**). Modern scholarship is reviewed (**section 2.5**). The text corpus used in this study is detailed (**section 2.6**).

### 2.1 Intellectual background

Divine and sacred names in Babylonian religious and explanatory works are a signal aspect of Mesopotamian bilingual culture. Deities were known by Sumerian and Akkadian names; their shrines and temples bore Sumerian names, as well as Akkadian designations (see George, *Topog.Texts*, p.72). An overview of this bilingual culture and the Babylonian learning and literature which flowered from it was given by von Soden (1960). In this bilingual environment three intellectual activities developed in which the explanation of sacred names has its roots: the lexical tradition, bilingual translations and the omen tradition. These similarly informed the commentary tradition. Frahm (2011, pp.12-23) has provided a useful overview of these three fields. Those aspects of these fields which inform the practice of explaining sacred names are highlighted below. The commentary tradition is then briefly discussed.

#### *Lexical tradition*

Of foremost significance for the practice of explaining sacred names is the lexical tradition, now the subject of a full study by Veldhuis (2014). Comprising lists of words and signs which organized and preserved knowledge, dating from earliest days of writing in Mesopotamia, the genre developed considerably in the Old Babylonian period and onwards through the second millennium. Bilingual lists emerged; unilingual Sumerian lists were perhaps treated as bilingual in use (Veldhuis, 2014, p.151). Lists and their use (see Veldhuis, 2014, p.202) imparted knowledge of Sumerian and its writing system. This bilingualism permitted the explanation of Sumerian sacred names in Akkadian, by equations learnt by heart and recorded in such lists.

Lexical lists provided sources which supported translation of Sumerian words. Their organisation and content is equally important. Lexical lists exhibit a way of thinking replicated in explanatory techniques and methods used to explain sacred names. Lists may be thematic or contain passages with a common word or grammatical element (see, for example, an extract from the Old Babylonian bilingual list *Lu-azlag* (*MSL* XII), Veldhuis, 2014, p.163). In such works, the association of related words, ideas and themes evidenced in expositions of sacred names has roots.

Acrographic lists grouped together entries sharing the same initial sign in the Sumerian entry. Thus a single sign, with its different readings, produced a cluster of entirely different Akkadian words, as illustrated by an extract from the word list *Izi I* (*MSL* XIII) on an Old Babylonian school tablet where *hur* is understood as *hur*, *mur*, *ur<sub>5</sub>*, *àra* and *kín* (Veldhuis, 2014, pp.167-168). Such lists exhibit the same methods deployed in the interpretation of sacred names, where a single sign and its different readings are exploited to convey different meanings (**section 3.2.12**).

Some lists, such as *Erimhus* (*MSL* XVII), a bilingual group vocabulary first attested in the Middle Babylonian period, are structured semantically, with related entries giving synonyms or near-synonyms and Akkadian equivalences that are not always straightforward translations of the Sumerian. *Nabnitu* (*MSL* XVI), a bilingual compilation dating from the same period, contains Akkadian words which are related etymologically or phonologically. Tinney (1989) noted that those features which are employed in organisational principles underlying the bilingual vocabulary *Antagal* (*MSL* XVII), known principally from Neo-Assyrian Nineveh, identified in *MSL* XVII pp.135-142 (thematic and phonological associations, near-homonyms and polysemes) are manifested also in the practice of explaining sacred names etymologically. The diverse thinking which informs the compilation of many lexical lists is replicated in the intellectual approach to sacred names.

Excerpts from another late Old Babylonian acrographic list (Veldhuis, 2014, p.169) display interpretive methods found in compositions interpreting sacred names. Here, as Veldhuis explained, the sign *ad* is interpreted as a syllable and as the divine marker; *a*, syllabically and as a logogram; different Akkadian words translate the same Sumerian phrase; alternative parsing of the Sumerian grammar, indicated by glosses, gives

different meanings. These interpretive strategies have parallels in the methods described in **section 3.2**. Lexical lists also exhibit a blurring of distinction between similar consonants (so, *MSL XVI* pp.34-35 for sequences in *Nabnītu* with phonetically similar consonants). Glosses exhibit flexible understanding of vowels (so, *MSL XIV* p.11, replaced vowels in *Proto-Ea*). These practices inform the flexible treatment of consonants and vowels for interpretive purposes (**sections 3.2.16-3.2.17, 3.2.19.3-3.2.19.4**). Lexical lists contain material of more speculative nature. The sign list *Diri* (*MSL XV*) and the speculative generation of new forms of Sumerian in grammatical lists (*MSL IV*), all from the Old Babylonian period exemplify this (Veldhuis, 2014, pp.182-187, 198-199; see **section 2.4.5**).

George, *Topog.Texts*, p.74 observed that the general format of explanatory texts which set Sumerian names and Akkadian interpretations in corresponding columns demonstrates their reliance on the lexical tradition.

### ***Bilingual translations***

Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual texts evidence translation strategies deployed also in explaining sacred names. Translations from Sumerian to Akkadian were often straightforward word-for-word renderings (Lambert, 1999). Free translation or freer rendering of the Sumerian text might also occur, rendering the text more idiomatic, familiar or relevant in the Akkadian environment (Maul, 1997; Lambert, 1999). Meaning derived from alternative reading of the Sumerian text was conveyed (Frahm, 2011, p.18). These approaches are paralleled in the scholarly interpretation of names.

### ***Omen tradition***

Divination in Mesopotamia was an important activity. Three aspects of this vast subject particularly relevant to the practice of explaining sacred names are briefly mentioned here: the formulation of omen texts; the importance of cuneiform writing; the intellectual nature of the activity.

Omen texts paired portents with predictions: an observation, framed as a conditional clause (“protasis”), and an outcome (“apodosis”). Apodoses were formulated from their protases using analogy, allusion, symbolic association, homophony, paronomasia and etymological speculation, (noted by Starr (1983), George (2010), amongst others;

illustrated by Noegel, 2007, pp.11-18). Like techniques and tools were deployed to explore meaning in sacred names (**chapter 3**).

Cuneiform writing had enormous significance. Mesopotamians conceived their world in terms of writing that might be understood, as many modern scholars have observed. In extispicy and in predictions from physiognomy, marks were understood as cuneiform signs for interpretation (George, 2010; Frahm, 2010, 2011). The importance of the writing system in the understanding of names was emphasised by Bottéro (1977, pp.26-27; 1992, pp.97-100). The written name realised its bearer; from it, the bearer's nature might be apprehended. The meaning of the signs which expressed the name was explored by Babylonian scholars to arrive at an understanding of the being.

Omen texts and compositions which explore sacred names share intellectual common ground. Scholars such as Koch (2005), Veldhuis (2006) and George (2013) have stressed the academic nature of omen texts, seeing their value as a window on ancient abstract thought: texts in which “one may speculate about the meaning of things” (Veldhuis, 2006, p.493). Omen texts explored overt and hidden relationships between ominous portents (often theoretical) and predictions. The exploration of hidden meaning is a hallmark of Babylonian scholarship (see further, George, 2013, p.xix) which characterises scholarly explanation of sacred names.

### ***Commentary texts***

Commentary texts too arose from the cultural and intellectual milieu in which the practice of explaining sacred names and the speculative techniques and methods used to do so developed. Although commentaries are not attested until the first millennium, the interpretive techniques and methods used (see Frahm, 2011, pp.59-85) have much in common with those described in this study. Commentarists used etymological means to give speculative interpretations, as highlighted by Durand (1979, p.168ff) and George (1991). Frahm (2011, p.72) noted the application of this analysis to divine names. Commentaries also explained their base texts by synonyms, paraphrase and other means, and gave alternative explanations, all apparently equally valid (Frahm, 2011, pp.40, 59-85). All these are paralleled in scholarly techniques and methods for explaining sacred names. The commentary on Marduk's names in *Enūma eliš* VII sought to demonstrate connections between Marduk's names and the text itself, in somewhat different form (for its very few passages in conventional commentarial form, see Bottéro, 1977, p.15

fn34). The expository and interlinear texts noted in **section 2.4** in essence belong to this tradition. The text corpus includes these works.

In addition to the shared repertoire of interpretive techniques and methods, common to commentaries and works explaining sacred names is the deductive reasoning which pervades Babylonian scholarship. One thing may be explained as another through some common intermediary, as noted by Bottéro (1977, pp.23-24) and many others. Thus, by a succession of correspondences, the first element is equated with the last:  $A=B$ ,  $B=C$ , therefore  $A=C$ . By this means, one part of a text or name may be explained as something quite different. The interpretation of a name through homophonous and other readings (**section 3.2.13**) is underpinned by such deductive reasoning.

## **2.2 Sacred names and religious thought**

The explanation of names of deities and sacred places is central to scholarly religious thought, as it appears in the preserved written record. Explanatory God Lists record and explain names of deities and topographical lists their temples shrines and cities. Such names and their explanations are embedded in other compositions. Paramount amongst these is the exposition of Marduk's fifty names in *Enūma eliš* VI-VII, but sacred names with their explanations occur in hymns, prayers and religious compositions, as exemplified in the text corpus, and in literary compositions (for the narrative *Erra* see Bottéro, 1978, pp.159-161; Tinney, 1989), text commentaries and scholarly works (see Frahm, 2011, p.72). This central position is explained by the Mesopotamian belief that a name represented the very being of its bearer, "a hypostasis of the person" (Lambert, 1982, p.210). To understand a divine name was to understand the god. A deity might have several names or epithets. Explaining these was critical to the understanding of divine nature. The written name itself expressed the bearer's nature, to be decoded. Likewise, the character of sacred places had to be understood.

The quantity and breadth of the surviving textual record attests to the importance attached to the explanation of sacred names in religious thought.

### 2.3 Sacred names and speculative scholarship

In this bilingual culture, Sumerian sacred names were explained in Akkadian by straightforward translation and by free rendering (**sections 3.1.1-3.1.2**). Babylonian scholars developed a third interpretive technique which divided names into parts for interpretation, exploiting the potential of the cuneiform writing system, with its homophones, alternative readings and syllabary; to these they applied an etymological approach, using the many different meanings these isolated components might have in the bilingual tradition to interpret the name. Ancient evidence for this interpretive technique is presented in **section 2.4**.

Modern scholars have approached this third explanatory technique *ad hoc* to particular texts. No consistent terminology for the technique is applied in the secondary literature, presented in **section 2.5**. “Etymology”, “etymologising” (Lambert, 2013, p.161), “artificial philology” (Livingstone, 1986, p.50) and “speculative etymology” (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.73) are all used as labels to describe interpretation drawn from components of a name. Frahm (2011, p.70) distinguished between “etymology” (providing synonyms and homonyms) and “etymography” (using cuneiform’s different readings), acknowledging the distinction is often impractical. Lambert (1954-1956, p.311) noted that the explanatory technique is paralleled in the midrashim of rabbinical scholarship, termed *notarikon*. Lambert’s observation related to the methods of commentary texts but applies equally to explanations of names. Cavigneaux (1987) took further the discussion of similarity between Babylonian explanatory techniques and Jewish midrash. Some scholars have adopted the terms midrash or *notarikon* in discussing explanatory techniques relating to names in Akkadian writings (Hurowitz, 2000, 2010 and others).

Translation and free rendering explain the patent meaning of a name; the third interpretive technique explains its latent or hidden meaning. All three techniques enquire into and explore meaning; consequently, in this study, all are termed “speculative” (*speculari*: to enquire, look at). All, too, are etymological, founded on correspondent meanings of the name’s content. The third technique seeks to interpret parts of a name by various methods. “Speculative interpretation” appropriately summarises this interpretive technique and is the term used in this study for this

scholarly activity. These techniques and methods of speculative scholarship are examined in **chapter 3**.

## **2.4 Ancient evidence**

The connection between sacred names and epithets or descriptions which follow them might be obvious to modern scholars equipped with lexical lists and bilingual texts without further guidance from the ancients. However, in their desire to elucidate and record the meaning of sacred names, ancient scholars produced works which expressly demonstrate the connection between names and the epithets and attributes applied to them. These works simultaneously evidence the scholars' endeavour to explain the meaning of names, both obvious and hidden, and the way in which they did so. They demonstrate, often explicitly, that meaning was found through etymological means by equating parts of names with Akkadian words and by exploiting the cuneiform writing system. These works are especially valuable for the light they shed on the speculative interpretation of the latent, unobvious meaning of names. Thus the primary source material provides clear authority as to the scholarly practice of interpretation of names from which the techniques and methods of speculative scholarship can be deduced.

This ancient authority is given by expository texts, explanatory works and commentary texts. The text corpus includes the most important of these. Certain Akkadian expressions also evidence explanatory practices. These are examined in turn. A brief discussion of the evidence for speculative interpretation in the Old Babylonian period concludes this section.

### **2.4.1 Expository texts**

The Babylonian expository text edited by Livingstone (1986) as the *Weapon Name Exposition* supplies a clear exposition of the Babylonian scholar's interpretation of the meaning of the names he treats and how he arrived at this. Here "in each of nine sections the Sumerian name of a god or divine weapon is paired with an Akkadian interpretation which is semantically appropriate but not the true meaning of the Sumerian. The technique of interpretation is explained in lists of lexical equivalences quoted in the individual sections. Disregarding the true meaning of the Sumerian names, the composer equated their component words or syllables with Akkadian words, "some

of which (equations) are valid and some artificial” (Livingstone 1986, p.58). The speculative interpretation of the name of Ninurta’s weapon <sup>d.giš</sup>tukul-sag-50 “Fifty-headed weapon” (Livingstone’s translation) illustrates how the scholar explicitly demonstrated how the Akkadian interpretation was derived:

<sup>d.giš</sup>tukul-sag-50 *kakku rēštû ša Enlil*

<sup>giš</sup>tukul *kakku*

sag *rēštû*

50 *Enlil* (Weapon Name Exposition 13-16)

Tukul-sag-50 (Fifty-headed weapon) Prime weapon of Enlil

tukul weapon

sag prime

50 (Enlil’s divine number) Enlil

Seven other expositions follow the same pattern; an eighth name (l.25), patently similar to the preceding name, is not explained. The last name Lisi(<sup>d</sup>li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>) has three separate interpretations, each explained in this format (ll.36-42). Although not all of the scholar’s intentions are clear, in most cases the justification for the interpretation can be followed (Livingstone, 1986, p.60).

Another expository text demonstrates that Zababa’s epithet “Lord of the Lands” is given by his name (for etymological explanation see Lambert, 1989, pp.201-218):

<sup>d</sup>za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> *bēl(en) mātāti(kur-kur) ina šumēšu q[abi]*

za *bēlu* ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> *mātā[tum]* (Smith College text 110 (S 3) 1-2)

Zababa “Lord of the Lands”, so s[aid] by his name

za “Lord” ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> “Lands”

The scribe of another Babylonian work makes plain in his writing the etymological link between divine name and epithet. Logograms used to write the epithets repeat elements of the divine name, explicitly showing how the explanatory description derives from the name:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Translation</i>
<sup>d</sup> zi-sum-ma	<i>nādinat(sum)<sup>at</sup> napišti(zi)</i> <i>Anim</i>	who gives Anu life
<sup>d</sup> šu-zi-an-na	<i>gāmilat(šu-gar)<sup>at</sup> napišti(zi)</i> <i>Anim</i>	who spares the life of Anu
<sup>d</sup> kù-sù	<i>ša mē<sup>meš</sup> ellūti(kù)<sup>meš</sup></i> <i>idû(zu)<sup>ú</sup></i>	who knows pure water

(Kettledrum Ritual, 10-12 extracts)

Writing kù zu (1.12), the scribe clearly signals that zu, which may also be read sú, interprets sù of Kusu(<sup>d</sup>kù-sù), demonstrating that this element of the divine name is interpreted through a homophone (sú), understood with another reading of that sign (**section 3.2.13**).

Another expository work explains why Sîn is called “Lord of Decisions” with an exposition which, although not based on etymology, makes the reason clear by logographic writing:

[<sup>d</sup>S]în(30) bēl(en) purussê(eš-bar) e-šú 30 2 e-ni be-el

Sîn is “Lord of Decisions (en-eš-bar)”. eš is 30; 2 is -ēni, which is also lord (en)

(i-NAM-giš-ḥur-an-ki-a, extract; Livingstone’s translation)

The scholar’s reasoned explanation is supplemented by eš-bar (*purussû*) “decision”. This logographic writing includes the sign which writes Sîn’s divine number 30(eš) and hence his name. Derivation of epithet from name is thus explicitly demonstrated.

#### **2.4.2 Explanatory works**

Six explanatory works provide unequivocal ancient evidence as to the scholarly interpretation of names:

E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5

Assyrian Temple List, *BTT* 20 §4 174-175

*Tintir I 5-7*

Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 7'-8',12'-13'

Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19

Marduk Name List K 2107+

In these, ancient scholars revealed their scholarly practices by means of interlinear explanations or expositions of names in contrived orthographies, or both. Amongst these, the E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5, provides outstanding authority that, for the ancients, a name might have both obvious and hidden meaning and as to the speculative techniques and methods by which such meaning could be explored and uncovered. It is described first here.

The E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5, interprets é-sag-íl in fourteen different ways. ll.1-2 translate é-sag-íl straightforwardly. The scholar then recasts the writing of é-sag-íl using contrived orthographies for his Akkadian interpretation, supplying an explanation for each which equates readings from the recast name with words in the interpretation (ll.3-30). ll.31-34 interpret èš-gú-zi, its synonymous name, also with interlinear explanation. The contrived writings demonstrate how the scholar arrived at his Akkadian interpretations; the interlinear explanations justify them lexically (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.75). As George commented, the interpretations are fanciful, and considerable ingenuity and learning are evident.

Although much reconstructed (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.75), *BTT* 5 nevertheless provides clear evidence as to the interpretive techniques and methods used. The extraordinary exposition explicitly demonstrates by its inventive orthography how a name might be treated. The orthography exploits the versatility of the cuneiform system, using alternative syllabification and signs with homophonous or near-homophonous readings. The interlinear explanations demonstrate the etymological nature of the Akkadian interpretation and evidence how elements of the contrived writing may be understood in the exploration of meaning. The scholar even amplifies his commentary by noting a homophone:

[é-sa<sub>4</sub>-an-gí]l *bītu nibīt Anim u Enlil*

[sa<sub>4</sub> *nibīt*]u an <sup>d</sup>anum gíl(KUR<sub>4</sub>) : kur <sup>d</sup>enlil (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 29- 30; reading [é-sa<sub>4</sub>-an-gí]l, not [é-sa<sub>4</sub>-an-gi]l)

House called by name by Anu and Enlil

[sa<sub>4</sub> namin]g an Anu gíl(KUR<sub>4</sub>) kur = Enlil

gíl, read as kur<sub>4</sub>, is *kabtu* “important, honoured”, a well-attested epithet of Enlil. The scholar adds the homophone kur “mountain”, which regularly signifies Enlil (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.388). Together, the creative writings and the handling of the elements of the contrived spellings permit the scholarly methods to be analysed and described. **Section 3.2** draws on this composition extensively.

A list of Assyrian temples supplies further explicit evidence. Two interpretations of é-sa-bad are given:

é-sa-bad *bīt petât uzni* House of She of the Open Ear

é: *bētu* sa: *našāru* bad: *qubūru bīt nāšir qubūru* (Assyrian Temple List, *BTT* 20 §4 174-175)

é: House sa: watch over bad: grave House which watches over the grave

The first interpretation appears to be conventional (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.331; **section 6.1** 1.89’); the second is explained by correspondences, like explanations in the E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5. sa as *našāru* appears to be known only here; bad as *qubūru* probably relies on the association of the sign BAD with death (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.464; **section 3.2.3**). Hence the explanation yields evidence of both etymological and wider interpretive practices.

Some explanatory lists contain multiple explanations for the same name (so, *Tintir* I 1-3 *tin-tir*<sup>ki</sup>; Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 11’-16’ é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub>). This clearly points to the Akkadian explanations being derived from the Sumerian name in different ways.

Those expositions which deploy contrived orthography in names comprise evidence from the ancients as to their interpretive practices, even where, unlike the E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5, no commentary is given. Babylon’s name Šuanna is interpreted in *Tintir* I 4-7. The key to the Akkadian interpretations in ll.5-7 is given by contrived spellings of Šuanna(šu-an-na<sup>ki</sup>) as si-an-na<sup>ki</sup>, sa-an-na<sup>ki</sup> and sa<sub>4</sub>-an-na<sup>ki</sup>. The explicit variation of the name’s first syllable gives the composer’s justification for the

interpretations, etymologically derived from the contrived spellings (George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.243-245).

So too unorthodox spellings of *é-kiš-nu-gál* as *é-kéš-d<sup>d</sup>nun-gal* and *é-ká-èš-nun-gal* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 12'-13') explicitly demonstrate the scholar's realisation of *é-kiš-nu-gál* for etymological interpretation. In the same work contrived writings of <sup>giš</sup>*kiri*<sub>6</sub>-*maḥ* as *ṛki-irṛ-rù-maḥ* and *ki-ér-ṛmaḥ* (7'-8') evidence the scholar's interpretive intentions and methods, although the Akkadian interpretations are substantially missing.

Another list of Nippur's temples provides further ancient authority, with other explicitly contrived orthographies by which the scholarly intentions are made clear. Here *é-kur* is perhaps written *é-ku-ú-ru* (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 1' [*é-ku-ú*]-*ru*). *é-ki-ùr*(2'-4'), perhaps read *é-ki-uru*<sub>12</sub> (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.452), is also written [*é*]-*ki-ur*<sub>4</sub>(5'), *ṛé-ki-ú-ru*(6'-8') and *ṛé-ki-u-ru*(9'-10'). As George, *Topog.Texts*, p.163 noted, "in both cases the ceremonial name is written in each line in a way that is clearly intended to show how the Sumerian has been broken down phonetically for analysis".

The explanatory list of Marduk's names presented by Lambert (2013, p.154) provides invaluable evidence as to the ancients' interpretive techniques and methods. Some names are straightforwardly translated:

<sup>d</sup>*lugal-en-an-ki-a bēl ilānī ša šamē u eršetim šar ilānī ša šamē u eršetim* (Marduk Name List 19)

Lord of the gods of heaven and earth, King of the gods of heaven and earth

Others are more freely rendered. <sup>d</sup>*zi-ukkin* (*zi* "life" *ukkin* "assembly", interpreted as the divine assembly) is *napšat napḥar ilānī* "Life of all the gods" (29).

Some names are interpreted more than once. *Lugalšuan*<sup>d</sup>(*lugal-šu-an-na*), restored by Lambert, is variously described (9-18, 9-12 fragmentary). The god is repeatedly termed *bēlu* "lord" (13-17, rarely used in other lines), clearly translating *lugal*. Akkadian interpretations, set together, expose their obvious derivation from <sup>d</sup>*lugal-šu-an-na*. Il.13-16 illustrate:

<i>bēlum ā[šir šamē]<sup>e</sup> u eršetim</i>	Lord who [supervises heaven] and earth
<i>bēlum āšir ilānī</i>	Lord who supervises the gods
<i>bēlum gāmil ilānī</i>	Lord who shows favour to the gods
<i>bēlum ša emūqāšu šaqâ</i>	Lord whose strength is pre-eminent

*bēlu* is lugal; *gamālu* and *emūqu* correspond to *šu* (CAD G 21, E 157), and *ašāru šú* (see **section 3.2.14**); *šamû* and *šaqû*, an (CAD Š/II 16 *šaqû*), *ilu dingir(an)*. The repetitious exposition is itself evidence of the ancients' intentions.

Closely similar names with their closely similar explanations in consecutive lines explicitly reveal the etymological basis of the Akkadian interpretation. So, Šazu-Suḥrim and Šazu-Suḥgurim:

<sup>d</sup> suḥ- <sup>min</sup> rim	<i>muballû ayyābī</i>	He who destroys the enemy
<sup>d</sup> [suḥ-g]ú- <sup>min</sup> rim	<i>muballû naphar ayyābī</i>	He who destroys all the enemy (31-32 extract)

gú differentiates the names, *naphar* the descriptions. gú would obviously account for *napharu* “totality”, even absent ample lexical evidence (CAD N/I 292; suḥ is *bullû ša napištim Antagal VIII 176 MSL XVII p.175*; <sup>ri-im</sup>lagab *ayyābu Ea I 39 MSL XIV p.178*). Likewise ll.34-35, though broken.

Particularly rich evidence of scholarly methods is provided by the exposition of the name Tutu(<sup>d</sup>tu-tu). Artificial writing “gives explicit indications of the technique used” (Lambert, 2013, p.161). Tutu is rendered as <sup>d</sup>du<sub>11</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>, <sup>d</sup>tu<sub>6</sub>-tu<sub>6</sub>, <sup>d</sup>dù-ṭu, <sup>d</sup>du-du (ll.22-25) and <sup>d</sup>tu<sub>6</sub>-kù (l.27). The exposition clearly shows how the ancients might understand a name so as to derive meaning from it. The contrived orthography evidences how consonants might be interchanged within a group and homophones freely implied in exploring a name's hidden meaning. The writings make plain that the Akkadian descriptions have an etymological basis.

### 2.4.3 Commentary texts

The commentary on the exposition of Marduk's names in *Enūma eliš* VII presented by Bottéro (1977) and Lambert (2013, pp.139-142, 167-168) is key evidence for the

ancients' approach to sacred names. It probably originated in Babylon (Lambert, 2013, p.139). Lambert's designation "Commentary II" is adopted throughout this study.

Commentary II does not explain words and phrases from its subject like most commentaries. It presents readings and equates them with Akkadian words from the text of *Enūma eliš* VII, with only rare further explanation (see Bottéro, 1977, p.15 fn34). Its clear purpose was, in Lambert's (2013, p.167) description, "to explain every word and particle as derived from the names upon which they follow". Commentary II is unequivocal authority that ancient scholars interpreted and explored the meaning of names; and did so through etymological means by equating parts of names with Akkadian words. It provides valuable evidence as to what is permissible in this endeavour. Changes of vowels and consonants and approaches to syllabification are evidenced in the exposition. Readings "with no genuine orthographic or phonetic connection" (Lambert, 2013, p.167) were deployed in the explanation. Commentary II also supplies supposed correspondences not otherwise, or rarely, attested elsewhere.

Commentary II's explanations may not always express what was intended as the text was developed, as illustrated by different analyses provided by Lambert (2013, pp.488-489). As Foster (2005, p.437) observed, it exemplifies the approach of a learned Mesopotamian reader to the composition. It provides authoritative ancient evidence for the scholarly interpretation of names.

Other commentaries explain names in the same manner. A commentary on the composition now known as the Babylonian Theodicy explained the identity and nature of the birth goddess, explicit in her name Mame(<sup>d</sup>ma-me): ma *banû*(dù)" "create", me *nišû*(un)<sup>meš</sup> "people" (Babylonian Theodicy Commentary 21; ed. Oshima, 2014, p.445; Frahm, 2011, p.72). Lambert (2013, p.161) noted that isolated examples of the same kind occur throughout Babylonian text commentaries, attesting to the ancients' practice.

#### **2.4.4 Akkadian expressions**

Babylonian scholars deployed certain expressions which expressly signalled that a description was understood to be etymologically derived from the name itself. Most common is *kīma šumīšūma* (*šumīšāma*) "as his(her) name says". Two straightforward examples illustrate:

<sup>d</sup>a-šá-ru ša kīma šumīšūma išuru ilānī šīmāti (*Enūma eliš* VII 122)

Ašāru, who, as his name says, mustered the gods of destinies

The composer interprets the divine name as *ašāru* “to muster” and expressly points to the supposed etymology. The Gula hymn presented in **chapter 5** points to the commonly supposed etymology of Zarpanītum (*zēru* “seed” *banū* “create”) which expresses her very nature:

Zarpanītum ša kīma šumīšāma banāt zēri [ .. ap]āti (Gula Hymn 21)

Zarpanītum, who, as her name says, creates the seed [ . . ] of the teeming peoples

A different, but evidently similar, phrase is used in *Enūma eliš*: *kīma binūtīšūma* (*binūtu* “form”). The phrase appears to relate to the name, rather than the god, but name and god are one in Babylonian thought (Lambert, 2013, p.482):

ša kīma binūtīšūma ikšīru kalū ilānī abūti (*Enūma eliš* VI 152)

Who, in accordance with his manifestation, restored all the ruined gods

Manifested as Asalluḫi-Namtila(<sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḫi <sup>d</sup>nam-ti-la), nam-ti-la “life” is interpreted through *kašāru* “restore”.

Gabbay (2016, pp.91-92) noted like phrases in the commentary tradition. These phrases evidence the ancients’ interpretive practices.

#### **2.4.5 Old Babylonian period**

Speculative interpretation of the type evidenced above, characteristic of the works examined in this study, is evidently well-established in scholarship in the second millennium. Lambert (2013, p.440) thought the sophisticated etymology of *Enūma eliš* VI-VII was the product of the Middle Babylonian period. Scholars such as Bottéro (1992, p.97), Cavigneaux (1987, p.247) and Selz (2002, p.647) have suggested that this explanatory technique is very ancient indeed (“(possibly) as old as the script”, so Bottéro). The view that it “had its roots in Old Babylonian scholarship” (Veldhuis, 2014, p.220) is supported by evidence from the lexical and omen traditions. Veldhuis (2014,

p.219) pointed to the “meaning-making” of Old Babylonian grammatical lists which speculatively derived forms (Veldhuis, 2014, pp.194-199) and in omen compendia. Veldhuis (2014, pp.220-222, 294-296) highlighted as the “most important and spectacular example of speculative philology in the Old Babylonian period” the association between Syllable Alphabet A and a creation myth (see Cavigneaux and Jaques, 2010; differently Lambert, 2013, pp.350-360).

Another extraordinary work from the Old Babylonian period is a bilingual composition, “the Scholars of Uruk” (George, 2009, pp.78-112). Here the Akkadian text was converted into academic Sumerian, using translation techniques typically applied in the speculative interpretation of Sumerian, as George demonstrated.

Examenstext A, a bilingual work known from the Old Babylonian period of the type often termed Edubba literature, is commonly cited as referring to the practice of speculative interpretation (so, Maul, 1999, p.14; George, 2009, p.106ff.; Frahm, 2011, p.107). Maul and George singled out one line which appears specifically to allude to this:

eme-gi<sub>7</sub> a-na ì-zu níg-dul-bi ur<sub>5</sub>-ra bur-ra i-zu-u

*ina šumeri mala tāhuzu katimtašu kīam šeṭ[â] tīdê* (Examenstext A, Sjöberg, 1975a 140:13)

Do you know how to unravel the hidden meaning of all the Sumerian you have learnt?

Scant evidence of the exploration of hidden meaning in sacred names in compositions from the Old Babylonian period has been identified by scholars to date (and note Lambert’s conviction that sophisticated etymologising which characterises *Enūma eliš* VI-VII is “not found in Old Babylonian texts at all” (Lambert, 2013, p.444)). An obvious, but controversial, example may lie in the Old Babylonian *Atram-ḥasīs* narrative (Lambert and Millard, 1969, p.58 I 223-224). Many scholars have understood the name of the god slaughtered to create man (<sup>d</sup>PI-e, <sup>d</sup>PI-e-ila) as embodying man (*awīlu*) and god (*ilu*), whose intelligence (*tēmu*) produced man’s spirit (*eṭemmu*) (for overview, see George and Al-Rawi, 1996, pp.149-150).

A literary prayer to Ištar contains a more certain example (George, 2009, p.76:1). Ištar is *sinništum* “Woman”, written [<sup>d</sup>s]în(suen)-ni-iš-tu-um. As George explained, the

unorthodox spelling writes *sinništum* as *Sîn* (the moon-god, Ištar's father) and *nēštum* “lioness” (Ištar's animal), thus expressing characteristics of the goddess.

The Old Babylonian period was a time of extraordinary creativity in many scholarly fields. The evidence of speculative interpretation, though relatively slender, suggests that other texts from the period, and further work with an eye to this, will yield evidence of this scholarly practice.

## 2.5 Modern scholarship

Ancient scholarly interpretation of sacred names has been studied by modern scholars for the insight it gives into scholarly thinking and practice and religious thought. Interpretations based on an etymological approach have received particular attention. The explanatory practices exposed in the works cited in **section 2.4** clearly signal that where works contain sacred names and epithets or descriptions, whether in lists or embedded in compositions, these epithets and descriptions may be similarly derived. Modern scholars have sought to identify where this occurs and explain the ancients' reasoning.

Böhl (1936-1937) explored the “learned play” (“gelehrte Spielerei”, p.201) on Marduk's fifty names in *Enūma eliš* VI-VII. Informed by Commentary II, Böhl also offered etymological derivations not given by Commentary II. In his edition of the E-sagil Commentary, Köcher (1954-1956) demonstrated its etymological techniques, noting the work's significance for its speculative theology. Elsewhere at this time, this interpretive technique is mentioned in isolated comment, as by Lambert (1954-1956, pp.311, 320). Lambert (1957-1958, p.400) drew attention to the etymological derivation of divine epithets in a literary context, explaining descriptions of Erra's companion, Išum.

Bottéro (1977) was the first to consider the matter in depth. His discussion of the commentary on Marduk's names in *Enūma eliš* VII remains the most important and extensive study, invariably cited by later scholars in the field. Bottéro sought, for the first time, to consider “le *comment* et le *pourquoi*” of this type of exegesis and “le mode de vision des choses qu'il implique” (§1). He described in detail how the components of Marduk's names were isolated and interpreted by the commentator, directly and by semantic association (§25); the use of homophones (§9) and alternative readings (§10);

the flexible treatment of consonants and vowels (§§11-13). Bottéro's analysis of the commentator's methods is drawn on in **chapter 3**. His observations on the cultural and intellectual background of the composition (§4), the purpose of this and similar works (§§28-30) and their place in ancient thought (§32ff.) inform this study.

Lambert's (2013) edition of *Enūma eliš* and its commentaries undoubtedly reflects his thinking over a period commencing before Bottéro's contribution. Lambert expounded the etymology of Marduk's name and illustrated the principles by which meaning was read into names by etymological means (pp.160-168), principally by reference to *Enūma eliš* VI. Lambert noted the like material provided by the E-sagil Commentary, the God list CT 25 49, a list of Marduk's names (K2107+) and elsewhere (p.161). He drew parallels for the listing of deities' names from other literary works (pp.147-149), in particular the hymn to the Queen of Nippur. His edition of this hymn had already presented and explained the etymological technique underlying the exposition of Ištar's names (Lambert, 1982, pp.210-214).

Lambert (2013, p.161) described the ancients' etymological approach as "pseudo-philology" by contrast with modern methodology. His study of Babylonian linguistics (Lambert, 1999) illustrates that the ancients' concept of etymology, whilst different from modern scholarship, was an evidently serious construct.

Livingstone (1986, pp.49-52) gave a short description of "artificial philology" as an explanatory technique and explained its use in the expository works he edited. Three of these are included in the text corpus (**section 2.6**).

The understanding of ancient scholarly interpretation of names was further advanced by George's studies of Babylonian topographical texts (George, *Topog.Texts*; *HMH*). In addition to the topographical works cited in **section 2.4**, a number of these texts explain the Sumerian names of places, temples and deities with Akkadian interpretations. George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.73-75 explained that a Sumerian name may be translated straightforwardly, by paraphrase or interpreted by "speculative etymology", outlining this last technique. Its application is explained and analysed in George's commentaries on these texts; **section 3.2** draws on these.

Reiner (1985, pp.112-113, 117-118) and George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.90-91, 392-393 both noted how the Babylonian composer of the penitential work *ludlul bēl nēmeqi* used Sumerian gate-names of the E-sagil complex to effect his subject's return to divine favour. More recently, Lenzi (2015) has discussed the derivation of *ludlul bēl nēmeqi* V 42-53 (IV 79-90, Lambert, 1960) from these gate-names. Lenzi (p.735) advocated the importance of using the interpretive methods of commentary and explanatory texts when approaching compositions outside these genres.

The studies noted above all treat works in which the scholarly explanation of sacred names is a significant aspect. Elsewhere modern scholars have identified and explained the ancients' practice of explaining names through etymological means. Recent contributions most relevant to this study are briefly noted below.

Tinney (1989) identified another example of an etymologically-derived description in the *Erra* narrative. Stol (1989) remarked on names of astral bodies in the New Year ritual. Beaulieu (1995) presented and discussed a late text from Uruk containing speculation on Antu's names. Hurowitz (2000, pp.73-76) discussed learned explanation derived from names, using the term "Name Midrashim", and again, more extensively, for names in historical writings (Hurowitz, 2010). Selz (2002) reviewed familiar examples of etymological interpretation of sacred names, extending the principles to other divine names. George (2003, pp.85-87, 140-141) noted writings of the names Gilgameš and Enkidu which reveal their nature. Noegel (2007, pp.24-26) noted the explanatory technique, which he characterised as "punning", a term which does not aptly describe the technique's methods. In a general study of divine names in Mesopotamia, Uehlinger (2008) discussed the ancients' exploration of their meaning.

Frahm's (2011, ch.5) description of hermeneutic techniques in Babylonian and Assyrian commentaries contains much that is pertinent to the scholarly explanation of names outside the commentary tradition. Commentary II is described at pp.114-116.

Modern scholarship has identified the ancients' explanatory approach to sacred names and considered its purpose. Scholars have identified how Akkadian interpretations were derived, and their lexical basis, *ad hoc* in individual works. They have not systematically analysed and described the range of techniques and methods deployed by ancient scholars to explore the meaning of sacred names, as they appear in a corpus of

explanatory and other texts in which sacred names are speculatively explained and interpreted. **Chapter 3** seeks to do this.

## 2.6 Text Corpus

Works which contain extensive or significant passages in which sacred names are interpreted in Akkadian have been selected for analysis for this study. Expository lists are a key source, together with other explanatory texts. Amongst these, topographical and temple lists are especially important. Literary and religious compositions also contain expositions of sacred names and composition based on them. The exposition of Marduk's names in *Enūma eliš* VI-VII is the best known, and most fully developed, of these. These too are included in the text corpus. The expository lists selected are bilingual lists: a Sumerian name is explained in Akkadian. Otherwise, the compositions selected for analysis are Akkadian works. Bilingual compositions have not been reviewed, but may well be productive for future research.

A very substantial corpus of texts, comprising religious lists and explanatory works from the second and first millennia and Standard Babylonian literary and religious compositions, has thus been assembled for analysis. Etymological equations in a number of these works (such as the topographical and temple lists and *Enūma eliš* VII) were explained by their editors. In other cases, the etymological basis of the Akkadian interpretation first had to be identified to take forward the analysis in this study.

The text corpus used is detailed below in tabular form: first, topographical and temple lists; secondly, expository texts; and thirdly, literary and religious compositions. The first column of each table specifies the work, the edition(s) used, and other publications pertinent to the speculative scholarship exemplified in it. The second column briefly describes the content of the work relevant to this study; a note of significant interlinear comment given in the work or other ancient commentary is made there. The final column records how the work is referred to in this study, where relevant.

*Topographical and temple lists*

<b>Work</b>	<b>Relevant Content</b>	<b>Termed in this study</b>
<i>Tintir I</i> ed. George, <i>Topog.texts</i>	Names of Babylon	<i>Tintir I</i>
Explanatory Temple List, Rm 788 ed. George, <i>Topog.texts</i> No.2	Temples of Babylon	<i>BTT 2</i>
Explanatory Temple List, BM 34850 ed. George, <i>Topog.texts</i> No.3	Temples of Babylon	<i>BTT 3</i>
Explanatory Temple List BM 34927 ed. George, <i>Topog.texts</i> No.4	Temples of Babylon	<i>BTT 4</i>
Explanatory Temple List, VAT 17115 ed. George, <i>Topog.texts</i> No.5	E-sagil  <i>Interlinear explanation</i>	E-sagil Commentary, <i>BTT 5</i>
Explanatory List, ed. George, <i>Topog.texts</i> No.18	§§1-4 Names of Nippur §5 é-kur §6 Temples of Nippur §11 Four Winds	Nippur Compendium, <i>BTT 18</i>
Explanatory Temple List, BM 76493+ ed. George, <i>Topog.texts</i> No.19	Temples of Nippur	Nippur Temple List, <i>BTT 19</i>
Assyrian Temple List, ed. George, <i>Topog.texts</i> No.20	§4 Temples of Assyria	Assyrian Temple List, <i>BTT 20</i>
Temple List, VAT 13817 ed. George, <i>Topog.texts</i> No.22	Temples of Kiš	<i>BTT 22</i>
Temple List, VAT 10111 ed. George, <i>Topog.texts</i> No.23	Temples of Kiš	<i>BTT 23</i>

Shrine List, IM 74458 ed. George, <i>Topog.texts</i> No.25	Shrines of Uruk	<i>BTT 25</i>
Topographical List, BM 76777 ed. George, <i>Topog.texts</i> No.28	Temples chapels and gates of Borsippa(?)	<i>BTT 28</i>
Explanatory Temple List, IM 65063 ed. George, <i>Topog.texts</i> No.31	Temples of Ištar(?)	<i>BTT 31</i>
Geographical Temple List, BM 55476 ed. George (1993)	Temple names from Kiš to Apak	<i>HMH TL6</i>
Explanatory Temple List, Bab 45740 ed. George (2008)	Adad's sanctuary at Zabban?	

*Other expository texts and explanatory works*

<i>Work</i>	<i>Relevant Content</i>	<i>Termed in this study</i>
K 2107+6086+Sm1720 (CT 46 50) Lambert (2013 p.154)	Marduk's names	Marduk Names List
Explanatory God List, K 1451 (CT 25 49)	Divine names	
i-NAM-giš-ḥur-an-ki-a, K 170+Rm 520 ed. Livingstone (1986)	Divine names	i-NAM-giš-ḥur-an-ki-a
Weapon Name Exposition BM 47463 r.i 8 – r.ii 16 and duplicates ed. Livingstone (1986)	Divine weapons  <i>Interlinear explanation</i>	Weapon Name Exposition

Explanatory work: Ritual for covering a kettledrum O 175 ed. Livingstone (1986)	Divine names	Kettledrum Ritual
Expository text Smith College 110 (S 3) ed. Livingstone (1986) ed. Lambert (1989)	Divine names	Smith College 110 (S 3)

*Literary and religious compositions*

<i>Work</i>	<i>Relevant Content</i>	<i>Termed in this study</i>
<i>Enūma eliš</i> VI 121 -VII 139 ed. Lambert (2013) Böhl (1936-1937) Bottéro (1977)	Marduk's names  <i>Ancient commentary</i> on <i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 1- 139 ed. Lambert (2013, pp.139- 142)	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VI 121 -VII 139  Commentary II
Hymn to the Queen of Nippur III 52-72 ed. Lambert (1982)	Ištar's names	Hymn to the Queen of Nippur
<i>ludlul bēl nēmeqi</i> V 42-53 ed. Lambert (1960, as IV(?) 79-90) ed. Oshima (2014) Lenzi (2015)	Gate names of E-sagil temple complex	
Hymn to Nabû, <i>LKA</i> 16 ed. Ebeling (1952)	Nabû's names	Hymn to Nabû

<p>Royal Ritual composition K 3446+8830(+) Sm 211(+) K 10282 ed. Lambert (1997)</p>	<p>Divine and temple names</p>	<p>Royal ritual composition</p>
<p>Hymn to Gula K 232+3371+13776 <i>KAR</i> 109+343 and duplicates Martin (1900) (K 232) Mullo-Weir (1929) (K 232) Ebeling (1918) (<i>KAR</i> 109) Ebeling (1953a) (<i>KAR</i> 343) Edited here: <b>chapters 5-6</b></p>	<p>Divine and temple names, toponyms</p>	<p>Gula hymn</p>

## Chapter 3 Speculative scholarship in the text corpus

### 3.1 The speculative techniques

In the compositions examined in this study, three core techniques were deployed by ancient scholars in their exploration of the meaning of sacred names. Names might be explained by translation, by free rendering through free translation or free interpretation, or by speculative interpretation through etymological extrapolation from the name and its writing. These three core techniques are examined in turn.

#### 3.1.1 Translation

Translation conveyed the obvious, straightforward, meaning of a sacred name. This is often termed “literal translation” by modern scholars. “Literal translation” perhaps suggests that the “real” meaning is rendered. As ancient and modern scholarship evidences, Sumerian names might bear more than one meaning, each perhaps equally “real” to the ancients. “Translation” is consequently preferred here to “literal translation”.

By translating a Sumerian name into Akkadian, ancient scholars explained the patent meaning of the name, as they understood it. Translation is the basic explanatory technique deployed, as abundantly evidenced in the text corpus. Just a few illustrations are presented.

é-sag-íl is explained by two translations, *bītu našâ rēš[i]* “House with top elevated” and *bītu ša rēšāšu šaqâ* “House whose top is elevated” (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 1-2). Both translations are conventional, perhaps traditional, explanations (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.75), for the second recurs in other temple lists (*BTT* 2 1; Assyrian Temple List, *BTT* 20 §4 181).

In *Tintir* I 4, Babylon’s name Šuanna(šu-an-na<sup>ki</sup>) is explained as *emūq šamê* “Power of heaven”, a straightforward, albeit unique, translation, comparable with interpretations of šu-an-na elsewhere (see George, *Topog.Texts*, p.243).

Each Sumerian name is straightforwardly translated in another temple list, restored by George from the like sequence in *Tintir* IV:

[é]-sag *bītu rēštū* Foremost House

[é-me-u]<sub>r4-ur4</sub> *bītu ša paršī ḥammu* House which gathers the ordinances

[é-nun-m]aḥ *bīt rubê rabî* House of the great prince

(Explanatory temple list, *BTT* 3 r 9'-11', George's translation)

Many of the explanatory lists in the text corpus exhibit straightforward translations explaining Sumerian names. The occasional mechanical translation is apparent, as in the explanation of é-ki-ág-gá-a-ni "His beloved house" as *bīt narāmīšu* "House of his beloved" (*HMH* TL6 7, p.53). The Sumerian elements are translated, but the grammar evidently misunderstood.

Other compositions contain the same technique. A hymn to the goddess of Nippur describes Ištar/Inanna, translating <sup>d</sup>nin-an-na straightforwardly:

<sup>d</sup>nin-an-na *šarratu šamāme* (Hymn to the Queen of Nippur III 55)

Nin-anna, Queen of the heavens

The exposition of Marduk's names in *Enūma eliš* has much in common with explanatory God lists (see Lambert, 2013, pp.159ff.) and contains many descriptions which translate the divine names. Lugaldimmerankia(<sup>d</sup>lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a) is *bēlu ilānī ša šamē u eršetim kalīšun* "Lord of all the gods of heaven and the underworld" (VI 141); Šazu(<sup>d</sup>šà-zu) is *mūdē libbi ilānī* "the one who knows the heart of the gods" (VII 35); Pagalguenna(<sup>d</sup>pa4-gal-gú-en-na) is *ašarēd napḥar bēlī* "Foremost of all lords" (VII 93). (Identical descriptions of Pagalguenna and Šazu appear in Marduk Names List 5, 28.) The epithets of Lugaldimmerankia and Šazu are slightly amplified (*kalīšun* "all of them", *ilānī* "of the gods") but essentially simply translate the Sumerian name so as to explain its patent meaning. Likewise, Lugaldurmaḥ is:

<sup>d</sup>lugal-dur-maḥ *šarru markas ilānī bēl durmāḥi* (*Enūma eliš* VII 95)

Lugaldurmaḥ, King of the mooring-rope of the gods, lord of the mighty hawser

Lambert (2013, p.489) noted that *bēl durmāhi* translates <sup>d</sup>lugal-dur-maḥ literally, *šarru markas ilānī* offering a freer translation. Both epithets translate the divine name quite closely (for *markasu* and *durmaḥu*, see George, *Topog.Texts*, p.p.261-263). Rather freer interpretation is illustrated next.

### 3.1.2 Free rendering

The second core technique employed by ancient scholars to explain the meaning of a sacred name was to render its obvious, straightforward, meaning more freely. The patent meaning of a name might be expressed by free translation, using synonyms or associated words or by paraphrase. Sometimes an interpretation which goes beyond free translation is evident. There is not always a clear distinction between these two approaches; they are treated together here.

A simple synonym is deployed in a temple list to explain *é-še-numun* “House of Barleycorn” (*HMH* 1041) as *bīt zēr* “House of seed” (*HMH* TL 6 29). Paraphrase is illustrated in the free translations of another temple list:

*é-ḥúl-ḥúl-dir-dir-ra bītu ša ḥidāti malû* (Assyrian Temple List, *BTT* 20 §4 156)

(“House of Surpassing Joys” *HMH* 472) House which is full of joy

*é-giš-ḥur-an-ki-a bītu ša ušurāt šamê u eršetim ina libbīšu uddâ* (171)

(“House of the Designs of Heaven and Underworld”) House where the designs of heaven and underworld are revealed

Likewise, a description of Babylon is paraphrased:

*uru níg-gi-na si-sá<sup>ki</sup> kimin(bābilu) āl kitti u mīšari* (*Tintir* I 17)

(“City which administers true justice”) Babylon, city of truth and justice

George, *Topog.Texts*, p.250 noted that the free rendering of the Sumerian name reflects the stock phrase *kittu u mīšaru*. In the same work, the well-known writing for Babylon is explained by an extended version of the usual *bāb ilī* “Gate of the gods”:

*ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup> kimin(bābilu) nēreb masnaqti ilī* (22)

(“Gate of the God(s)”) Babylon, Entrance of the checking of the gods

The elaborate paraphrase *nēreb masnaqti* is a stock phrase in literary contexts (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.255).

A stock phrase is also used in a prayer for the king to explain *ki-nam-tar-tar-e-dè* “Place for determining destinies” (a byname for Duku) as *parak šīmāti* “Dais of Destinies” (Royal ritual composition 16; George, *Topog.Texts*, p.287). Thus stock phraseology serves the free rendering of names.

Lambert (1982, p.211) noted how the exposition of Marduk’s names in *Enūma eliš* proceeds “by literal translation and by freer paraphrase” followed by comment. The description of Meršakušu(<sup>d</sup>mer-šà-kúš-ù) illustrates:

<sup>d</sup>mer-šà-kúš-ù *eziz u muštāl sabus u tayyār* (*Enūma eliš* VI 137)

Furious but deliberating, angry but relenting

As Bottéro (1977, p.25 §31) highlighted, the Sumerian name is first translated, then more freely rendered.

The same combination of techniques is illustrated in an explanatory temple list:

é-galga-sù *bītu ša melikšu rūqu ša milka malû* (Kiš temple list, *BTT* 22 4')

House whose advice is profound, which is filled with counsel

The name is first freely rendered by paraphrase, then translated. An explanatory God list illustrates the same combination of techniques:

<sup>d</sup>en-nu-gi *bēl eršetim bēl lā tâ[ri]* (CT 25 49 r.3)

Ennugi, lord of the underworld, Lord of No Return

Ennugi is a chthonic deity (Tallqvist, 1938, p.305). *bēl eršetim* freely renders Ennugi(<sup>d</sup>en-nu-gi), reflecting his association with the underworld; *bēl lā târi* translates the name (*lā târi* itself an epithet of the underworld).

A name could be freely interpreted quite simply. A list which explores the meaning of *é-kur*, principally by speculative interpretation, explains it as [*bīt*] <sup>d</sup>*Manungal* “[House of] Manugal” (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §5 33’). The interpretation appears simply to reflect the deity’s association with *é-kur*.

Commonly, however, scholars explained sacred names with descriptions that neither translated nor paraphrased the name but were nevertheless interpretations derived from its patent meaning. Two explanations from the same list illustrate:

*é-šud-dè-giš-tuku bītu ša ikribīšu šemû* (Assyrian Temple List, *BTT* 20 §4 154)  
 (“House which hears prayers” *HMH* 1073) House whose prayers are heard

*é-tuš-mes bītu šubat Marūduk* (169)  
 (“House, abode of the warrior”) House, abode of Marduk

mes “warrior” is freely interpreted as Marduk, portrayed as a warrior in the *Enūma eliš* narrative. <sup>d</sup>mes is a name of Marduk, which no doubt also underpins the interpretation.

Similarly, free interpretation is perhaps reflected in the explanation of the name of Kutha’s wall *bād-u<sub>4</sub>-gal-<a>-má-uru<sub>5</sub>* (“Wall, Inundation of u<sub>4</sub>-gal”) as *abūb Anzī* “Inundation of Anzū” (*HMH* TL 6 22). *abūbu* translates a-má-uru<sub>5</sub>. George (*HMH* p.55) suggested that the explanation equates u<sub>4</sub>-gal and Anzū as defeated enemies of divine warriors in mythology.

The explanations above which identify Marduk and Anzū illustrate that there is not always a clear line between free interpretation of a name and speculative interpretation. Free rendering and speculative interpretation are not always to be distinguished, but are part of a flexible continuum of explanatory techniques.

### 3.1.3 Speculative interpretation

Speculative interpretation through etymological extrapolation from a name and its writing was the third core technique deployed by ancient scholars in their exploration of meaning. Scholars explained the patent meaning of a name by translation and free rendering (sections 3.1.1-3.1.2); by speculative interpretation, they explored and

explained its latent meaning. Meaning which was not obvious, but hidden in the name, was thus revealed. The potential offered by the cuneiform writing system, with its large number of homophones, alternative readings both syllabic and logographic, and flexible alternative syllabification, coupled with the rich resource of the lexical and bilingual tradition made speculative interpretation by far the most productive explanatory technique. The general features of speculative interpretation are noted in this section and some observations made. The methods used in speculative interpretation are described and illustrated in **section 3.2**.

### **3.1.3.1 General characteristics**

The essential characteristic of speculative interpretation in this text corpus is that parts of a name are taken and interpreted through equation of the separate parts with Akkadian words. As George, *Topog.Texts*, p.240 noted, “Such interpretations are achieved only through a disregard of Sumerian grammar and word order ... and belong to that class of etymologizing which seems to modern philology spurious and invalid, but is nonetheless a characteristic feature of Babylonian scholasticism.”

The form of a name was not a straitjacket, constraining interpretation; not all its parts need be used, nor their order followed. The speculative interpretation might be based on only one or more parts of the name, to generate some idea characterising, explaining or interpreting its subject. Extrapolating from the meaning uncovered in a name, scholars were free to add comment informed by or freely derived from components of the name and imply other ideas not derived etymologically from it. The exposition of Marduk’s names in *Enūma eliš* VI-VII takes this pattern (Bottéro, 1977, p.25 §31; Lambert, 1982, p.211, 2013, pp.166-167) and provides the outstanding exposition of this technique.

Sacred names typically have a usual orthography or orthographies. This perhaps confirms the significance attached to such names and their realisation in the writing system. For the purposes of speculative interpretation, a sacred name might be recast as to signs used or its syllabification, exploiting the rich potential of the cuneiform syllabary. The text corpus provides outstanding examples of explicitly contrived orthographies of sacred names (**sections 3.2.19, 6.3**). However, a name might be implicitly understood in some contrived orthography, often syllabified differently from

the name as written. These two approaches are termed **explicitly contrived orthography** and **implicitly contrived orthography** in this study (see **section 3.2.19**).

### 3.1.3.2 Purpose

The entirely serious nature of speculative interpretation has been emphasised by Bottéro (1977, p.24 §29), Cavigneaux (1987, p.247), Maul (1999, pp.13-14) and many others. Its use in religious lists and compositions proves that it was not a mere game or word-play. The essential purpose of speculative interpretation was to gain a deeper understanding of things, as explained by Bottéro (1977, p.26 §32), Maul (1999, p.13), Frahm (2011, p.40), amongst others.

As noted in **section 2.2**, to ancient Mesopotamians a name represented the very being of its bearer. Thus, Bottéro (1977, p.20 §19; 1992, pp.97-100) explained, by speculation on the name, all the bearer's attributes and qualities were revealed. Speculative interpretation of a name explored, explained and revealed the nature and character of its subject, equally applicable to deities, their temples and cities (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.74).

Common beliefs about the gods might be substantiated by speculative interpretation. So, the *topos* of divine protection is understood in the name Šazu(<sup>d</sup>šà-zu):

š[ulū]lšun rapšu (*Enūma eliš* VII 38 extract)

He is their broad [protection]

Commentary II: zu š[ull]ulu protect zu r[a]pāšu be wide

Traditional ideas might be affirmed. Uzu-mua(uzu-mú-a<sup>ki</sup>) “Flesh-grower”, in one tradition the place where life sprang up (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.443), is:

aš[a]r ina libbīšu nišū ibbanâ (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §310' extract)

Place in which people were created

uzu equates to *nišū* “people”; mú is understood as <sup>mu-ud</sup>mud *banû* “create”; ki as *ašru* (CAD N/II 283, B 84, A/II 455).

Mythological ideas might be expressed; and the technique could explain and draw out relationships (Livingstone, 1986, pp. 202, 45).

Speculative interpretation could be used to praise and glorify, as evidenced in religious compositions in the text corpus, and express religious ideas, as in the composition *ludlul bēl nēmeqi* V 42-53 examined by Lenzi (2015). The last preserved passage of *Enūma eliš* (VII 145ff.) calls for the exposition of Marduk's names, derived by speculative interpretation, to be handed on to instruct posterity.

In addition to its exegetical functions, speculative interpretation might serve other religious, ideological and political purposes, as evidenced in the elevation of Marduk, Babylon's city-god, to supremacy in the *Enūma eliš* narrative (Michalowski, 1990, pp.383-384; Lambert, 2013, p.243ff.). Similarly, Babylon's exalted theological and cosmological position is asserted and substantiated by speculative interpretation (so, *Tintir* I 1-7, 29; George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.243, 258-258).

### 3.1.3.3 Sumerian and Akkadian

Sumerian and Akkadian were both used for speculation in this scholarly bilingual environment. Sumerian names are the principal subject of speculative interpretation, but Akkadian names might be interpreted by the same methods (Lambert, 1982, p.211). The Akkadian names Girru/Girra and Bēl-mātāti underpin *Enūma eliš* VII 115-118, 136-139 (Commentary II; Bottéro, 1977, p.18 §14). Whether Nēberu(<sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru) (VII 124-134) was likewise understood as an Akkadian name is unclear; similarly, Nanāya(<sup>d</sup>na-na-a), described in an explanatory God list as *ša manzāssu šaqû* "whose position is lofty" (CT 25 49 r.7: na manzāzu Syllabary B I 276 *MSL* III p.120).

The view that "The ancients only played with Sumerian" (Lambert, 2013, p.166) is not borne out by the text corpus, nor by the commentary tradition. Frahm (2011, p.71) noted that in commentaries "the simplest type of etymological analysis is based on Akkadian words only". A magico-medical commentary (ed. Civil, 1974, p.332 40-43, elucidated by Frahm, 2011, p.71 and Gabbay, 2016, p.77) which explained the rare word *hurdatu* "female pudenda" as *hurri dādi* "hole of love" exemplifies speculative interpretation of an Akkadian word, albeit not a name.

Akkadian was also used as a speculative tool. Homophonous Akkadian words might be used in interpretation (**section 3.2.14**).

### 3.1.3.4 *Derivation*

How the ancient scholar derived his speculative interpretation may be obvious. The description of Tintir(tin-tir<sup>ki</sup>) (Babylon) as *šubat balātu* “seat of life” plainly depends on understanding tin as *balātu* and tir *šubtu* (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.240). Sometimes however there may be more than one explanation of any speculative interpretation, as **section 3.2.26** illustrates. Such evidently erudite scholars, in full command of their many interpretative methods and the numerous possibilities offered by the cuneiform script with its inherent ambiguities, would certainly have been alive to this. Examples like those in **section 3.2.26** do seem to suggest that here there is not one analysis, but that several possibilities could be, and were, intended.

It is sometimes unclear how the Akkadian interpretation was derived (thus Lambert, 1982, p.212; Livingstone, 1986, p.48; George, *Topog.Texts*, p.447). The ancient train of thought eludes, perhaps because lexical or other evidence is lacking. Lenzi (2015, p.742) rightly observed that an equivalence unknown to modern scholars is “a very real possibility”; his alternative suggestion that the scribe “simply made it up” seems very doubtful.

### 3.1.3.5 *Repeated interpretations*

George, *Topog.Texts*, p.75 noted how the same names in three lists (*BTT* 2, 3 and 4) had few explanations in common, save where straightforward translations, illustrating the potential of speculative interpretation. The corpus does contain some repeated interpretations: the same or closely similar interpretations recur. Some are straightforward, perhaps traditional, translations (so, *é-sag-íl bītu ša rēšāšu šaqâ* “House whose top is elevated” E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 2; temple lists *BTT* 2 1, *BTT* 20 §4 181). Others are speculative. The description of Neanna(<sup>d</sup>nè-an-na) as *ša šaqâ emūqāša* “She whose might is sublime” (Hymn to the Queen of Nippur III 61) speculatively interprets <sup>d</sup>nè-an-na (*nè emūqu an šaqû* CAD E 157, Š/II 16). The same description renders *šu-an-na* elsewhere, (*Enūma eliš* VII 101; and see George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.242-243). Similarly, Pagalguenna(<sup>d</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-gal-gú-en-na) is *ša šaqâ emūqāšu* (*Enūma eliš* VII 93;

see Lambert, 2013, p.489). A shared scholarly repertoire of interpretive phrases, perhaps even deliberate borrowing, is evident.

### 3.1.3.6 *Context and integration*

In explanatory lists, speculative interpretation gives an explanation of its subject. Elsewhere an explanation may be tailored to context and integrated into the composition. Livingstone (1986, p.202) noted how the etymologising description of the god Kusu(<sup>d</sup>kù-sù) as *ša mē ellūti(kù)<sup>meš</sup> idû(zu)<sup>ú</sup>* “who knows pure water” is relevant to the proceedings of a ritual text (Kettledrum ritual O175 12). Another composition contains the names of shrines and their deities, with Akkadian explanations, which generate the substance of a prayer for the king (Royal ritual composition 24-29; George, *Topog.Texts*, p.276).

In the penitential composition *ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, the speculative technique is deployed to effect the penitent’s redemption as he passes through gates within the é-sag-íl complex. The passage is largely derived from the gate-names (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* V 42-53, Lambert IV 79-90; see Lenzi, 2015): “The poet ... finds for each name an application to the progressive restoration of the hero’s state of grace and to his acts of thanksgiving.” (Reiner, 1985, p.112). The integration of speculative explanation into a composition is most fully developed and accomplished in the exposition of Marduk’s names (*Enūma eliš* VI-VII).

### 3.1.3.7 *Layers of meaning*

For the ancients, sacred names might have many meanings. Through speculative interpretation the many meanings which a name might latently convey were explored and revealed. Lists which explain the same names variously illustrate the rich seam of meaning in a name, whose layers could be uncovered. The E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5, contains two explanations of the patent meaning of é-sag-íl (ll.1-2), followed by fourteen explanations of its latent meaning, made plain by different orthographies (ll.3-30). Likewise, a list of Nippur’s temples contains multiple interpretations of é-ki-ùr, é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub>, é-me-lám-an-na and é-bára-dúr-gar-ra (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19, 2'-21'). Lugalšuananna and Tutu are variously explained in a God list (Marduk Names List 9-18, 20-27). The corpus contains many other examples. The revelation of different meanings

by speculative interpretation is most fully realised in the multiple characterisations, descriptions and comments derived from Marduk's divine names in *Enūma eliš* VI-VII.

Layers of meaning in a name might be uncovered by the repeated interpretation of part of a name (**section 3.2.21**). Similarly, the same meaning might be understood from different parts of a name (**section 3.2.20**). Thus, it seems, the meaning distilled from the name is reinforced and corroborated: that é-sag-íl bears the royal crown (*nāšû agê šarrūti*) is, it seems, proved by the revelation of two elements corresponding to *agû* “crown” in its name (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 13-14). Likewise, meaning is confirmed and reinforced where it may be derived by more than one speculative means (**sections 3.1.3.4, 3.2.26**).

### **3.1.3.8 Creating meaning**

By speculative interpretation, ancient scholars revealed hidden meaning. The question arises whether these scholars saw themselves as creating meaning, or simply revealing, by their insight and ingenuity, what was latent in a name.

Two things suggest that sometimes at least, meaning was consciously created. First, unorthodox writings, particularly those with additional elements, as exemplified in **section 3.2.19.8**, point to the deliberate creation of meaning. Secondly, where speculative interpretation serves overtly ideological or political ends (**section 3.1.3.3**) the conscious creation of meaning may be suspected.

The conclusion that meaning was consciously created is only to be expected in an intellectual milieu that is self-conscious and assured, as terms for their scribal art such as *niširti ummâni* “secret lore of the scholar” make clear.

Speculative interpretation was a very rigorous intellectual activity, grounded in the bilingual tradition and directed by lexical lists and learned equations, yet very flexible and productive by virtue of the immense versatility of the cuneiform writing system and the many different interpretative methods that could be used. These methods are now described and illustrated.

## **3.2 The speculative methods**

This **section 3.2** presents the speculative methods used by the ancient scholars evidenced in the text corpus. It does not draw on the Gula Hymn, separately presented in **chapter 6**. The analysis is indebted to the editors of the works comprising the text corpus where they have identified etymological correspondences underpinning the ancients' interpretations, used here; reference should be made generally to the editions for these and the lexical evidence for them.

The speculative methods presented are listed below:

- 3.2.1 Translation of individual elements**
- 3.2.2 Speculative translation**
- 3.2.3 Free rendering and free association**
- 3.2.4 Free handling of order**
- 3.2.5 Not all elements used**
- 3.2.6 Determinative given equivalence**
- 3.2.7 Element interpreted as Determinative**
- 3.2.8 Form freedom**
- 3.2.9 Plural freely inferred**
- 3.2.10 Emesal**
- 3.2.11 Homophony**
- 3.2.12 Polyvalence**
- 3.2.13 Homophony and Polyvalence together**
- 3.2.14 Akkadian Homophony**
- 3.2.15 Near-homophony**
- 3.2.16 Vowels**
- 3.2.17 Consonantal groups**
- 3.2.18 Part only of element used**
- 3.2.19 Contrived Orthography**
  - 3.2.19.1 *Syllabification***
  - 3.2.19.2 *Homophony***
  - 3.2.19.3 *Vowels***
  - 3.2.19.4 *Consonantal groups***
  - 3.2.19.5 *Nasal consonant g (ḡ)***
  - 3.2.19.6 *Mimation***

- 3.2.19.7 *Additional elements*
- 3.2.19.8 *Unorthodox writings*
- 3.2.20 **Different elements, single equivalence**
- 3.2.21 **Repeated use of elements**
- 3.2.22 **Reduplicated elements**
- 3.2.23 **Abbreviation**
- 3.2.24 **Phonological reversal**
- 3.2.25 **Graphic interpretation**
- 3.2.26 **Multiple possibilities**

### 3.2.1 Translation of individual elements

The ancient evidence which demonstrates the technique of speculative interpretation through the equation of individual components of a Sumerian name with Akkadian words, disregarding the meaning of the Sumerian, is discussed in **section 2.4**. The most straightforward of the methods deployed in such interpretation is translation of words and syllables taken from the name as given in the ancient text by an Akkadian word, evidenced in lexical or bilingual sources. This is characterised in this present analysis as “translation of individual elements”.

An element may be given the meaning which it bears in the Sumerian name itself. So, in the explanatory God list CT 25 49 (reverse), *nin* is rendered by *bēlu*:

<sup>d</sup>nin-ìmma *bēl nabhīt bunnanê bēl mimma* [šumšû] (CT 25 49 r.2)

Nin-imma, lord of the creation of forms, lord of every[thing]

and by *bēltu*, in a line where the element *zíl* is understood as *kunnû* “to treat kindly”:

<sup>d</sup>nin-zíl-zíl <sup>d</sup>na-na-a *mārat* ..... *ša manzāssu šaqû bēlet taknê* [ .. ] (CT 25 49 r.7)

Ninzilzil(le) (is) Nanāy daughter of ..... whose position is lofty, lady of loving care ...

Again, *nin* is translated by *bēlu*, rather than the expected *bēltu*, and *líl* by *zāqīqu* in the description of Ninlil (<sup>d</sup>nin-líl) as *bēl zāqīqi* “lord of the breeze” (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §11 4'). The epithet is perhaps a true interpretation of the name.

Likewise, *lugal* is routinely translated by *šarru* or *bēlu*, as illustrated in the literary and religious context of *Enūma eliš* VII, and expressly set out in Commentary II:

**<sup>d</sup>lugal-dur-maḥ** *šarru markas ilānī bēl durmāḥi* (*Enūma eliš* VII 95)

Lugal Durham, king of the mooring-rope of the gods, lord of the Mighty Bond

*dur* is here equated with *markasu*. Lambert, 2013, p.489 noted that “Line 95b translates the name literally, 95a more freely.” The equation *lugal/šarru* occurs in an earlier line which exemplifies how an element of a divine name (*lugal*) may be translated simply, whilst the rest is subject to more complex speculative interpretation (**section 3.2.19.1** *Implicitly contrived orthography*):

**<sup>d</sup>lugal-áb-dúbur** *šarru sāpiḥ epšet Tiāmat nāsihu kakkī[ša]* (*Enūma eliš* VII 91)

Lugalabdubur, the king who frustrated Tiāmat’s schemes, tore away [her] weapons

In the penitential composition *ludlul bēl nēmeqi* one element of a name is taken for direct translation (<sup>d</sup>lamma as *lamassu*), the composer apparently ignoring the rest, perhaps not knowing its meaning (George, *Topog.texts*, p.392):

*ina ká-<sup>d</sup>lamma-ra-bi lamassī iṭṭehâ[nni]* (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* IV 80; ed. Lambert, 1960, now V 43, ed. Oshima, 2014)

In the Gate of the Protective Deity ... my protective deity drew near [me]

Retaining their meaning, elements may be extracted from the name and used in some wider observation. A clear example occurs in the description of Marduk as *Narilugaldimmerankia* (<sup>d</sup>na-ri-lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a) “Counsellor King of the gods of heaven and netherworld”, where an (*šamû*) and *ki* (*eršetu*) obviously underpin the composer’s interpretation:

*ša ina šamê u eršetim ittaddû šubatni ina pušqī* (*Enūma eliš* VI 144; ed. Lambert, 2013)

Who founded our dwellings in heaven and the netherworld in adversity

In the same composition elements of the similar name *Lugaldimmerankia* (<sup>d</sup>lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a) are subject to different translation, to characterise the god as:

*zīkrī pīšu nušašqû eli ilānī abbēšu (Enūma eliš VI 140)*

Whose utterances we exalted over those of the gods his fathers

an is here evidently equated with *šaqû*, and perhaps also *eli* (an-ta); *dīm-me-er* (*dingir*) *ilu* generates *ilānī*, reflecting its literal sense in the name. The final a seems to have been understood as *abu*, a common equation but with no relevance to its meaning in the Sumerian name, where it is a genitive marker. The same abstraction and equation are demonstrated in the explanatory list the Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §11 2' and 5', where Ea (<sup>d</sup>é-a) and Anu (<sup>d</sup>a-nu) are termed *abu ilī* “father of the gods” and *abi šamē* “father of heaven”, respectively. These examples illustrate that the phoneme a may be translated as *abu*, irrespective of its real meaning or function. The same principle applies to other elements of a given name: any element may be understood with an equation or correspondence known to the scholar without regard to its meaning or function in the name. Two more of Marduk’s names from *Enūma eliš* VII illustrate the scholars’ method:

<sup>d</sup>en-bi-lu-lu *bēlum mudeššūšunu šūma (Enūma eliš VII 57)*

Enbilulu, lord who makes copious provision for them, is he

The elements of the name are taken individually as en *bēlum* lu-lu *duššū* and bi *šunu* (Lambert, 2013, pp.485-486). bi is interpreted as the possessive element from Sumerian grammar, and translated accordingly.

Aranunna (<sup>d</sup>a-rá-nun-na), probably meaning “counsellor of the noble” (Lambert, 2013, p.489), is characterised by translation of elements of his name:

*ša ana alakti rubûtīšu lā umaššalu ilu ayyumma (Enūma eliš VII 98)*

Whose noble behaviour no god can equal

Commentary II explains that here a-rá is *alaktu* and nun *rubû*.

Most of the above examples involve well-known equations. The ancient scholars evidently had a wide range of lexical and bilingual learning to hand. Translation of elements of a name in the pursuit of speculative interpretation frequently involved much

more unusual or obscure equations than those given above, as illustrated by just two examples from explanatory temple lists:

[é-gi]š-nu<sub>11</sub>-gal *bīt nūr šamê rab[ûti]* (BTT 3 r.5')

House of the light of the great heavens

The Akkadian interpretation rests on the correspondence of giš-nu<sub>11</sub> with *nūru*, and, separately, giš with *šamû*, as well as the more familiar gal with *rabû* (see further George, *Topog.texts*, p.384).

é-mes-lam, Nergal's temple at Kutha, is explained as:

*bīt Marūduk ša eršetim* (HMH TL6 20)

House of Marduk of the Underworld

*eršetu* here translates lam, mes being understood as <sup>d</sup>mes, as a name of Marduk.

Taking an element from a name without regard to its original context opened up the repertoire of the different meanings the element might have, whether commonplace or obscure, for scholarly interpretation of the meaning of the name. An expository text expressly demonstrates translations of sag by *rēštû* "first", *rabû* "great" and *pānû* "face" in consecutive sections:

<sup>d.giš</sup>tukul-sag-50 *kakku rēštû ša Enlil* (Weapon Name Exposition 13)

Prime weapon of Enlil

<sup>d</sup>me-sag-50 *tāhāzu(mè) rabû ša Enlil* (l.17)

Great battle of Enlil

<sup>d.giš</sup>tukul-sag-pirig *kakku ša pānūšu namrū* (l.21)

Weapon whose face is radiant

Very different interpretations of the same name show the scholars exploiting the different meanings of an element, demonstrating how translation of elements of a name in this way permitted the exploration of the different meanings that a name might convey. An explanatory list of temples of Nippur characterises Ninurta's temple E-šumeša (é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub>) in six different ways. Consecutive lines give different translations *ṭēmu* and *biltu* for šu:

é'-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> bītu rikis tēmi ilī (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 12')

House, the bond of the decision of the gods

é'-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> bītu ša ilī ana bilti irku[*su*] (l.13')

House, which bound the gods to tribute

šu is understood as *emūqu* and an as *šaqû* in Marduk's name Lugalšuanu in *Enūma eliš* VII:

<sup>d</sup>lugal-šu'-an-na šarru ša ina ilānī šaqâ emūqāšu (*Enūma eliš* VII 101)

Lugalšuanu, the king whose might is outstanding among the gods

The interpretation of šu an-na by *šaqâ emūqāšu* appears to be stock phraseology (cf. Marduk Names List 16; see further George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.242-243, Lambert, 2013, p.490). šu is translated as *emūqu* in the following line, where an is instead taken as the divine name equating to *Anum*:

bēlum emūq Anim ša šūturu nibût Anšar (*Enūma eliš* VII 102)

The lord, might of Anu, who is preeminent, chosen one of Anšar

The scope for different interpretation is demonstrated by a variant manuscript which reads *emūqān šīrāt* "(his) might is supreme" in place of *emūq Anim*. As Lambert, 2013, p.490 noted, this "(ms K) takes AN as the adjective *šīru*".

The method of translation of individual elements of a name by some equated Akkadian word is also applied to names written with some unusual writing or spelling. The equation of a contrived element with an Akkadian word is, typically, direct translation in such cases, where characteristically the name "is written ... in a way that is clearly intended to show how the Sumerian has been broken down phonetically for analysis", so George, *Topog.Texts*, p.163, commenting on *BTT* 19 1'-10'. In that text, one contrived writing of é-ki-ūr ("House, the levelled place"), Ninlil's shrine in é-kur, is thus interpreted:

é'-ki-ú-ru ašar šārikat balā[*tī*] (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 7')

Place of she who bestows life

ki (*ašru*) has the meaning it has in *é-ki-ùr*; the contrived ru gives *šarāku*.

From the multiple extraordinary writings of *é-sag-íl* of one explanatory list, elucidated by interlinear commentary, just one example suffices, where the contrived elements *aga* (*agû*) and *íl* (*našû*) have their usual meaning:

[*é-s*]<sub>a<sub>12</sub></sub>-an-aga-íl *bītu nāšû agê šarrūti*

[*s*]<sub>a<sub>12</sub></sub> *šarru sa<sub>12</sub> agû aga agû íl našû* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 13-14)

House which bears the kingly crown

[*s*]<sub>a<sub>12</sub></sub> king sa<sub>12</sub> crown aga crown íl bear

Likewise the contrived writings of the divine name Tutu (<sup>d</sup>tu-tu) in an explanatory list exemplify straightforward equation of the artificial spelling with Akkadian words:

<sup>d</sup>du<sub>11</sub>-du<sub>11</sub> *mutakkil ilānī*

He who has the gods' trust

<sup>d</sup>dù-*tu bāni kala ilānī*

Creator of all the gods

<sup>d</sup>du-du *mutarrû ilānī* (Marduk Names List 22, 24-25)

Leader of the gods

where, respectively, du<sub>11</sub> is *takālu*, dù *banû* and du (*w*)*arû*. See further **section 3.2.19.4**.

Translation of elements of a name with an Akkadian word directly equating to the given element is probably the most common method of speculative interpretation. Very many examples occur in the corpus considered, of which just a few are presented above by way of illustration.

### 3.2.2 Speculative translation

**Sections 3.2.11ff.** explore the methods by which parts of a name are taken and understood as different elements for speculative interpretation. Like the written elements of a name (**section 3.2.1**), elements derived using speculative methods may be

directly translated by equated Akkadian words. An example from the exploration of the name é-sag-íl through contrived writings illustrates:

[é-s]a<sub>6</sub>-an-gil *bīt ašarēdu ša melikšu damqu*

[sa<sub>12</sub>] *ašarēdu sa milku sa<sub>6</sub> damāqu* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 17-18)

House of the leader whose counsel is good

[sa<sub>12</sub>] leader sa counsel sa<sub>6</sub> be good

l.18 demonstrates that the Akkadian description comes from understanding that part of the name written sa<sub>6</sub> (*damāqu*, whence *damqu*) as the homophonous signs sa and sa<sub>12</sub>, here understood as sag, another reading of sa<sub>12</sub> (**sections 3.2.11, 3.2.12**). sa is equated with *milku* and sa<sub>12</sub>(sag) with *ašarēdu* (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.389). Thus part of the name is speculatively translated, revealing hidden meaning. Speculative translation is further illustrated in **sections 3.2.11ff.**

### 3.2.3 Free rendering and free association

Just as the straightforward translation of a name may be freely interpreted (**section 3.1.2**), its speculative interpretation is not confined to straightforward translation or correspondence. An explanation deriving from a part of a name may be freely rendered by synonyms or words associated with the meaning distilled from its elements (termed “les associations sémantiques” by Bottéro, 1977, p.22 §25), or by paraphrase. This is so as to elements in the name as written and where there is some more complex speculative interpretation, using methods noted in this **section 3.2**. Sometimes a freer association of ideas is evident which goes beyond free rendering. It is not always possible to make a clear distinction between these two approaches; consequently they are treated together here.

Most simply, an element of a name may be rendered by a synonym (often, but not always, evidenced in lexical or bilingual texts), rather than its usual translation. A temple list which variously explains é-kur, Enlil’s temple in Nippur, usually writes the first element as é in its Akkadian interpretation, doubtless denoting *bītu* or *bīt*, as required (see *BTT* 18 §5). More unusually, é is rendered by words with similar meaning:

é-kur *maštaki ellu* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §5 17')

Pure chamber

é-kur *atman kišitti* (23')

Cella of conquest

*maštaku* and *atmanu* are equated with *bītu* in the Akkadian synonym list *malku* = *šarru* I 258, 256 (Hrůša, 2010); neither is usually written é.

Words with similar meaning are used in the evident explanation of one of the names assigned to Ištar of Nippur in a religious composition:

[<sup>d</sup>a]-nu-nu *bānāt ba'ulāt[i]* (Hymn to the Queen of Nippur III 69)

Anunu, Creatress of mankind

Lambert (1982, p.214) noted etymological equations from the elements a = *rehû* “to engender” and nu = *awēlu* “man”, freely rendered by *banû* “to create” (note too a-nu-nu (var. sag-kud) *ba-ni-a-tum* Silbenvokabular A 60 CAD B 94 *bānû* A) and *ba'ulātu* “people”. The reduplication nu-nu readily suggests the plural expressed by *ba'ulātu* (section 3.2.22).

Free interpretation using a rarer word than the usual translation is illustrated in the penitential composition *ludlul bēl nēmeqi*:

*ina ká-nam-tag-ga-du<sub>8</sub>-a i'iltī ippaṭir* (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* IV 85; ed. Lambert, 1960, now V 48, ed. Oshima, 2014)

In the Gate which Releases Punishment, my obligation was released

nam-tag is usually understood as *arnu* “sin, punishment”, a near-synonym of the rarer word *e'iltu/i'iltu* (Lenzi, 2015, p.738).

The exposition of Marduk's names in *Enūma eliš* contains literal translation, freer paraphrase, and comment not necessarily related to the name, as Lambert (1982, p.211) remarked. To illustrate how comment based on a name may be freely interpreted, as Lugalabdubur (<sup>d</sup>lugal-áb-dúbur), Marduk is characterised:

*ša ina rēši u arkati duruššu kunnu (Enūma eliš VII 92)*

Whose foundation is firm at top and rear

This derives from the meaning of *dúbur* “foundation”, usually understood as *išdu* (Lambert, 2013, p.489), but here as *duruššu*, a synonym evidenced lexically.

Similar ideas, rather than synonyms, may be deployed. So, Asalluḫi’s subname Namtila (<sup>d</sup>nam-ti-la), usually equating to *balātu* “life”, is freely rendered by *kašāru* “to restore”, as signalled by *kīma binūtīšūma* (see **section 2.4**):

*ša kīma binūtīšūma ikšīru kalū ilānī abtūti (Enūma eliš VI 152)*

Who, in accordance with his manifestation, restored all the ruined gods

The naming of Marduk as Nēberu (<sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru) supplies examples of free interpretation in more complex speculation. *likmi tiāmat* “He shall bind Tiāmat” (*Enūma eliš VII 132*) is an interpretation based on the name explained in Commentary II by *ir kamû érim tâmtim*, elements artificially derived from <sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru. *ir* is usually *šalālu* “to take captive”, rather than *kamû* “to bind”, but the verbs clearly express related ideas (Bottéro, 1977, p.22 §25). Even freer interpretation is evident in the equation *érim tâmtim*. *érim* is properly “enemy”, corresponding to *ayyābu*. The enemy in the *Enūma eliš* narrative is Tiāmat, accounting for the scholarly interpretation (so Bottéro, 1977, p.23 §25). Perhaps however the composer associated *ayyābu* “enemy” with *ayabba* “sea” (A.R.George, March 2017, private communication). *ayabba* occurs together with *tâmtu* in Standard Babylonian works (see CAD A/I 221 *ajabba*). The composer perhaps also had in mind the Sumerian word a-ab-ba “sea”. Hence, by her very name, Tiāmat was “the enemy”.

In preceding lines the contrived element *érim* with its equation *tâmtim* is freely interpreted differently: not as the personified deity, but as the sea itself. Here, on the authority of Commentary II, interpretive freedom using similar ideas and based on an artificially derived phoneme may be illustrated:

*mā ša qerbiš tiāmat itebbiru lā nāhiš*

*šumšu lū Nēberu āḫizu qerbīšu (Enūma eliš VII 128-129)*

Indeed, he who, back and forth, crossed the midst of the sea without resting

Let his name be Nēberu (“Crossing”), who holds its middle

The commentator indicates that the element *ir* is again drawn from Nēberu, identifying *ir*ḫar with *qerbu* “interior”. The reading is usually understood as *ḫašû* “lung”, but here interpreted broadly as “the insides”, and hence “midst” (see Bottéro, 1977, p.22 §25, as an example of “les associations sémantiques”).

Some differing interpretations of the Sumerian word *nun* illustrate how freely an element could be rendered. *nun* is usually equated with *rubû* “prince, ruler”; it is commonly used to write *rubû* (CAD R 395ff). An explanatory God List explains a divine name interpreting *nun* as mortal kings *šarrû/šarrānû*, for which there is lexical evidence, and, perhaps, gods:

<sup>d</sup>sa-dār-nun-na *mālikat šarrānī u [ilānī ?]* (CT 25 49 r.5; restoration, CAD M/I 164)

Sadarnunna, counsellor of kings and [gods]

In the divine context, *nun* is a title often applied to, and hence understood as, Ea (CAD R 399; Tallqvist, 1938, pp.170-171). Aranunna (<sup>d</sup>a-rá-nun-na) is termed *mālik Ea* “Counsellor of Ea” (*Enūma eliš* VII 97), a description which, as Commentary II confirms, understands *nun* as Ea, and a-rá as *milku* (a synonym of its more usual reading *tēmu*). A God list interprets the same name (<sup>d</sup>a-rá-nun-na) as *mālik Enlil u Ea* “Counsellor of Enlil and Ea” (Marduk Names List 20). *nun-na* was perhaps understood as plural (see Lambert, 2013, p.489). The epithet seems to reflect the tradition of Enlil and Ea as brothers, sons of Anu.

*nun-na* is even more broadly rendered in speculative interpretation of Asaralimnunna (<sup>d</sup>asar-alim-nun-na), characterised as:

*muštēšir tēret Anim Enlil Ea u N[inš]īku* (*Enūma eliš* VII 6)

Who administers the commands of Anu Enlil and Ea, that is, Ninšīku

*nun-na* here is expressed by the supreme Mesopotamian divine trinity, an interpretation perhaps reflecting also the equation *alim kabtu* “important”, inherent in the rendering. (*kabtu* is also written *idim(bad)*, writing which also represents Ea and Enlil).

In the final illustration, nun is again understood as Ea, in a line which shows even greater interpretative freedom. Deploying contrived writings of *é-kiš-nu-gál* for speculative interpretation, the compiler of a list of Nippur's temples derives the explanation:

*é-ká-èš-nun-gal bītu ša ana Apsî petû bābšu* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 13')

E-ka-ešnun-gal House whose gate opens to Apsû

Apsû is Ea's domain; *èš-nun*, meaning "house of the prince" (Ea), is hence legitimately, but quite freely, rendered as Apsû (see George, *Topog.Texts*, p.446).

Cosmological interpretation is also exemplified in the temple list which explores the meaning of *é-kur*:

[*é-kur*] [*bīt*] *du<sub>6</sub>-kù* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §5 32')

[House of] the Pure Mound

*du<sub>6</sub>-kù* "Pure Mound" broadly paraphrases *kur* "mountain".

Free rendering of the name and free association of ideas are combined in the interpretation of *é-kur* as *bīt du<sub>6</sub>-kù*. The semantic interpretation simultaneously alludes to the theological importance of Enlil's temple as, like cosmic *du<sub>6</sub>-kù*, the place where destinies are decreed. From the text corpus, it can be seen that speculative interpretation may be effected by a free association of ideas which goes beyond some alternative rendering. Some of the illustrations excerpted above exhibit this approach (*Tiāmat* as *érim*, "enemy", for example). The first two examples below are from texts which expressly make an equation which is neither usually understood nor synonymous.

A Neo-Assyrian temple list expressly explains the name of Gula's temple *E-sa-bad* with an interpretation freely associating death with the grave:

*é: bētu sa: našāru bad: qubūru bīt nāšir qubūru* (Assyrian Temple List, *BTT* 20 §4 175)

*é*: House *sa*: watch over *bad*: grave *bīt* House which watches over the grave

“The equation of bad and *qubūru* here probably relies on the association of the sign BAD (ug<sub>5</sub> and úš) with death.” (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.464)

Freer still is the explanation from an expository text where from <sup>d</sup>u<sub>4</sub>-ba-nu-íl “Relentless storm” (Livingstone, 1986) the element u<sub>4</sub> “storm” is interpreted by *kakku* “weapon”:

<sup>d</sup>u<sub>4</sub>-ba-nu-íl *kakkašu lā maḥru* (Weapon Name Exposition 26)

His weapon that cannot be withstood

The devastating effect of storm and enemy weapons readily prompts this free association of ideas (see Livingstone, 1986, p.60, who noted also storms as divine weapons in *Enūma eliš* IV 41-48).

Finally, the wide scope of free association of ideas is illustrated by a late expository text which, after etymological explanation of the name Zababa (<sup>d</sup>za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>), elucidates a line from the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi (Lambert, 1967, p.122 100):

[*d*]ā’iš *abnī*(na<sub>4</sub>)<sup>meš</sup> <sup>d</sup>za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>

[*abn*]u(na<sub>4</sub>)<sup>mul</sup> *pagru*(adda) *kī qab*[û](dug<sub>4</sub>-ga)<sup>[û]</sup>

[<sup>mul</sup> *pagru* (a]dda) *pagar asakki*(á-sàg) *abnu*(na<sub>4</sub>) *asak*[ku] (Smith College text 110 (S 3) 3-5; Lambert, 1989 for explanation)

“Crusher of stones Zababa”

[“Stone”] the corpse-star, as it is said

Corpse-[star]: the corpse of Asakku. “Stone”: Asak[ku]

This evidently alludes to the myth of Ninurta’s defeat of Asakku, named “Stone” after his death, while the Gula hymn refers to the defeat of “stones”, perhaps Asakku’s offspring (Lambert, 1989, p.218). Although no etymological analysis is given, the context suggests speculative interpretation of the divine name. za can be understood as na<sub>4</sub>(zá) *abnu*; the reference to the corpse star seems to signal a further perceived etymology between name and epithet. Understanding ba<sub>4</sub> (for *mātu* “land”) as *mātu* “to die” seems to underpin the association, perhaps through simple homophony in Akkadian (see **section 3.2.14**; for alternative explanation, Livingstone, 1986, p.66). Thus, it seems, the commentator understood the epithet *dā’iš abnī* to be etymologically related to Zababa through perceived allusions to Asakku and the Corpse-star, an

artificial etymology illuminating the free association of Zababa with Gula's consort Ninurta and the mythical traditions recalled by *dā'iš abnī*.

### 3.2.4 Free handling of order

The speculative interpretation of the elements of a name may follow the order in which they appear in the name itself. So, in an explanatory work relating to the ritual covering of a kettledrum, Šuzianna and Kusu are explained:

<sup>d</sup>ib-gir-ḫuš <sup>d</sup>šu-zi-an-na *Antu gāmilat(šu-gar)<sup>at</sup> napišti(zi) Anim*

<sup>d</sup>ūr-bād-da <sup>d</sup>kù-sù *Tutu ša me<sup>meš</sup> ellūti(kù)<sup>meš</sup> idû(zu)<sup>ú</sup>* (Kettledrum Ritual 11-12, extract)

Ibgiḫuš is Šuzianna, Antu who spares the life of Anu

Urbadda is Kusu, Tutu who knows pure water

The logographic writing reveals the scholarly interpretation: šu-(gar) (*gamālu*), zi (*napištu*) and, obviously, an-na *Anu*, paralleling <sup>d</sup>šu-zi-an-na; kù (*ellu*) and zu (*edû/idû*), interpreting sù, as <sup>d</sup>kù-sù.

Greater freedom in handling the elements of a name is shown in l.10 of the same text, where the elements are taken in the order sum (*nadānu*) and zi (*napištu*), as the writing shows, and the divine determinative is perhaps read an, suggesting Anu:

<sup>d</sup>zi-sum-ma *Gula Bēlet(nin)-Nippuri nādinat(sum)<sup>at</sup> napišti(zi) Anim* (Kettledrum Ritual 10)

Zisumma is Gula, Bēlet-Nippuri, who gives Anu life

Often, of course, speculative interpretation will simply take the normal Akkadian word order and this will account for the order in which the Sumerian elements are handled. Conversely, occasionally Akkadian word order influences the Sumerian text (see George, *Topog.Texts, Tintir* I 23-26, p.256-258).

The considerable freedom with which the order of the component parts of a name might be handled is amply evidenced by Commentary II's analysis of *Enūma eliš* VII. As pointed out by Bottéro (1977, pp.18-19 §16), in speculative interpretation of a name “ .. rien, apparemment, n'obligeait à faire figurer ... toutes ses composantes (de chaque

Nom)” (see **section 3.2.5**) “et encore moins de les aligner *dans l’ordre* même dans lequel elles pouvaient former le Nom.” The commentarist’s analysis of the speculative treatment of Bēl-mātāti in *Enūma eliš* VII 136-139 strikingly illustrates there was no need to match the order of the assumed parts of the name:

ma *šumu* name ma *nabû* call a *abu* father *bēl mātāti Enlil* Bēl-mātāti Enlil  
 ma *zīkrī* names dingir *Igīgī* Igigi ma *nību* naming uzu *nagbu* totality  
 x *šemû* hear [x] <sup>d</sup>[*Ea*] [Ea] x *k[abattu]* h[ear] li *râ[šu]* re[joice] li *nag[û]* sing li *he[lû]*  
 be cheer[ful]  
 a *mā* indeed a *a[bu]* fa[ther] ma *šurr[uḥu]* glori[fy] ma *zik[ru]* nam[e]  
 (Commentary II 136-139)

These extracted elements are used “dans le plus parfait désordre” (Bottéro, 1977, p.18 §16).

Free handling of the order of elements of a name, whether as written or as derived through any of the speculative methods noted in **section 3.2**, occurs commonly throughout the corpus. Two further examples suffice to illustrate this. First, from *Enūma eliš* VI, in speculation on Marduk’s name Marutukku:

<sup>d</sup>ma-ru-tu-uk-ku *lū tukultu māti āli u nišīšu* (*Enūma eliš* VI 135)  
 Marutukku, he shall be the support of the land, city and its people

The scholarly description is founded on taking the name to comprise tuk(k)u, understood as *tukul tukultu* “support”, ma *mātu* “land” uru *ālu* “city” and ūku *nišū* “people” (Lambert, 2013, p.165). The speculation disregards the order of the derived components of the name, and manipulates and reuses them (see **sections 3.2.19.1, 3.2.21**).

Lastly, an example from the list exploring the name é-sag-íl:

[é-s]a<sub>12</sub>-an-aga-íl *bītu nāšû agê šarrūti*  
 [s]a<sub>12</sub> *šarru* sa<sub>12</sub> *agû* aga *agû* íl *našû* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 13-14)  
 House which bears the kingly crown  
 [s]a<sub>12</sub> king sa<sub>12</sub> crown aga crown íl bear

The correspondences in the interlinear commentary follow the contrived spelling, in reverse of the order in which they appear in the speculative explanation.

### 3.2.5 Not all elements used

As observed by Bottéro (1977, pp.18-19 §16), not all the constituent parts of a name need be used in its speculative interpretation. Speculation on Bēl-mātāti in *Enūma eliš* VII 136-139 appears to proceed “sans la moindre trace de BE, TA TI et EN” (Bottéro, 1977, p.18 §16). Damage in Commentary II may conceal some of these missing elements in l.138, but certainly ll.136-137 and 139 proceed without interpretation of be ta or ti. It is readily apparent throughout Commentary II that not all elements need be used, as, for example, in its analysis of the description of Šazu (<sup>d</sup>šà-zu):

*mukanniš lā māgirī ṣ[ulū]lšun rapšu (Enūma eliš VII 38)*

Who subjugates the disobedient, their broad [protection]

Commentary II: z[i kan]āšu submit zi [mā]giri obedient zu ṣ[ull]ulu protect zu r[a]pāšu  
be broad

The element zu is used repeatedly, interpreted as zi and zu (**sections 3.2.21,3.2.16**); šà is unused.

The interlinear explanations supplied by the compiler of the E-sagil Commentary provide further compelling evidence, supporting the evidence given by Commentary II. To illustrate this:

[é-s]a<sub>6</sub>-an-gil *bīt ašarēdu ša melikšu damqu*

[sa<sub>12</sub>] *ašarēdu sa milku sa<sub>6</sub> damāqu (E-sagil Commentary, BTT 5 17-18)*

House of the leader whose counsel is good

[sa<sub>12</sub>] leader sa counsel sa<sub>6</sub> be good

[é-sa-ág-g]i-il *bītu ēpiš kullati rā'im kitti*

[ág epēšu] gi epēšu gi kullatum gi kittum ág rāmu (19-20)

House which makes everything, loves truth

[ág make] gi make gi everything gi truth ág love

The Akkadian interpretations are fairly expansive, yet *an* and *gil* are unused in ll. 17-18, and *sa* and *il* in ll. 19-20.

The general principle that not all elements need be used can be observed throughout the text corpus.

### 3.2.6 Determinative given equivalence

Certain signs indicate the nature of the words to which they pertain, termed “determinatives” in modern grammars. This term is used here, noting that it reflects a modern categorization, which the ancients would not necessarily have recognised. Modern scholarship understands determinatives as graphic devices, which mark the nature of a word, without phonological value. Whether, or how far, this was true for the ancients is uncertain. The sign which regularly precedes a divine name, the “divine determinative”, was perhaps regarded as an integral part of the name to which it was attached. Written with a cuneiform sign, this indicator might be interpreted, like any other sign.

Commentary II’s analysis evidences that the divine determinative, written with the sign *dingir*, may be given equivalence in speculative interpretation; it may be read as *dingir* or as *an* and interpreted accordingly (see Bottéro, 1977, p.16 §8, p.22 §25). Lambert’s edition shows that, as preserved, Commentary II contains a number of clear instances where an equation for the divine determinative is noted, and others that can be restored.

In *Enūma eliš* VII the divine determinative is naturally interpreted as *ilu* “god”, exemplified in the description of Asaralim (<sup>d</sup>asar-alim), where, as frequently occurs, the plural is freely inferred (see **section 3.2.9**):

*ilānū ūtaqqû adīršu aḥzū* (*Enūma eliš* VII 4)

The gods pay attention and fear him

Commentary II: *dingir ilum* god

Epithets which interpret <sup>d</sup>zi-kù, a sub-name of Tutu, give this straightforward translation and a freer rendering as *bēlum* “lord”:

*il šāri ṭābi bēl tašmē u magāri (Enūma eliš VII 20)*

God of the fair wind, lord who hears and grants

Commentary II: dingir *ilum* god dingir *bēlum* lord

Even more freely, accordingly to the commentator, the determinative is interpreted as *Igīgū*, Igigi-gods (again, plural), speculatively derived from <sup>d</sup>*bēl mātāti* (<sup>d</sup>en-kur-kur):

*zīkrī Igīgī imbū nagabšun (Enūma eliš VII 137)*

The Igigi-gods called all the names

Commentary II: dingir *Igīgī*

Reading the sign as an, the commentator on *Enūma eliš VII* inferred various different speculative interpretations: as *šamū* “heaven” and *kakkabu* “star”, related notions (l.130, probably l.126); *ašrum* “place”, explained as *ašrum šamū* “heavenly place” (l.135); *i[špikku]* “stores” (l.65), *e[lū]* “to go up” (l.83, giving both *eliš* “above” and *elātu* “heights”), *[ana]* “for” (l.84), *i[na]* “on” (l.92), and perhaps as Anšar (l.102) (Lambert’s restorations); and as *rēšu* (l.127) in freely translating the rare word *kunsaggū* “crossing-point” (*sag* = *rēšu*) to demonstrate its speculative derivation from <sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru (Bottéro, 1977, p.15 fn 34).

Applying this commentator’s approach, it is clear that the divine determinative is given equivalence elsewhere in the text corpus. As might be expected, this speculative method may be seen in the exposition of Marduk’s names in *Enūma eliš VI*. The descriptions of Asalluḫi-Namtila (<sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḫi <sup>d</sup>nam-ti-la) as *ilu mušneššu* “the life-sustaining god” (l.151) and Asalluḫi-Namru (<sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḫi <sup>d</sup>nam-ru) as *ilu ellu* “the pure god” (l.156), for example, both appear to interpret the determinative substantively. Similarly, in light of Commentary II’s analysis, explanations in a list of Marduk’s names evidently express the determinative:

<sup>d</sup>tu-tu *mu’allid ilānī muddiš ilānī* (Marduk Names List 21)

Father of the gods, Restorer of the gods

(See, likewise, Marduk Names List 22-25).

Lambert (1982, p.212) noted the interpretation of the determinative, rendered by the feminine *iltu* “goddess”, in the hymn celebrating the goddess of Nippur: her name <sup>d</sup>nè-an-na is interpreted as *ilat emūq Anšar* “Goddess who is the might of Anšar” (Lambert, 1982, p.198, III 62).

The corpus contains few other determinatives. However, in a list of names of Nippur, it seems clear that *ki*, the sign which marks a place, is expressed in the Akkadian description by *ašru* “place”:

uzu-<sup>r</sup>mú-a<sup>ki</sup> *aš[a]r ina libbīšu nišū(ùg)<sup>meš</sup> ibbanâ <sup>r</sup>u ašar<sup>r</sup> tērēti šuklulū* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §3 10')

Uzu-mua the place in which people were created and the place where oracles are perfected

Likewise, perhaps, though very broken, l.7'.

### 3.2.7 Element interpreted as Determinative

**Section 3.2.6** illustrates that a determinative attached to a name may be speculatively interpreted. Somewhat differently, an element of a name may, it seems, be understood as a determinative and given some equation related to the class of things which that determinative normally marks. So it appears from Commentary II's analysis of the description of Marduk as Asarre (<sup>d</sup>asar-re):

<sup>d</sup>asar-re *šārik mīrišti ša israta ukinnu*  
*bānū šē'am u qê mušēšû urqēti* (*Enūma eliš* VII I-2)

Asarre, giver of arable land, who establishes plough-land

Creator of barley and flax, who causes vegetation to grow

Commentary II: sar *mīrištu* arable land

sar *šē'im* barley sar *qû* flax sar *arqu* greenery

Here the syllable *sar* is extracted from *asar*. Lexical evidence supports the equation of *sar* (read as *nissa* or *nisig*) and *arqu/urqu* (see Lambert, 2013, p.484; *MZL* p.359). Whilst this may inform the commentator's analysis, *sar* itself is used as a determinative marking plants. This, it seems, lies behind the commentator's explanation of *sar* as

*mīrištu šé'u* and *qû* (Bottéro, 1977, p.23 §25), none of which is ordinarily equated with, or marked by, *sar*, but broadly lies within the range denoted by this determinative.

This method of speculative analysis may be unparalleled in the corpus. One further example may perhaps be seen in the list which explores the temple name *é-sag-íl*:

[é-sa<sub>12</sub>-a]n-gil *bītu šubat rubê Marūduk*

[s]ag *ašābu* ṛgiṛ *rubû* gil<sup>d</sup> *marūduk* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 11-12)

House, Dwelling of the prince Marduk

sag dwell gi prince gil Marduk

The interlinear commentary does not explain -an- in this contrived orthography, but this is true in ll.13-14 (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.387, noting that “occasional lapses in consistency between the text and its commentary are features of the work”). <sup>d</sup>gil is a name of Marduk (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.387); the determinative sign also reads an. It is tempting to suppose that the contrived writing an-gil fully reflects the equation <sup>d</sup>*marūduk*, made in l.12. If so, ll.11-12 contain a further example of an element of the name (again a contrived element) interpreted as a determinative, but here written by the determinative itself.

### 3.2.8 Form freedom

In **section 3.2.1** it was noted how an element is extracted from a name for speculative interpretation without regard to its meaning or function. Taking the Akkadian equivalence conveyed by such elements (whether as written in the Sumerian name or as understood using the speculative methods noted in **section 3.2**), the ancient scholar evidently had freedom to use any verbal, nominal or adjectival form drawn from the Akkadian correspondence, or any word cognate or related to it; and was free to imply any grammatical relationship for it in his speculative interpretation.

Clear evidence for this speculative method is provided by three texts from the corpus, the E-sagil Commentary (*BTT* 5), the Weapon Name Exposition and *Enūma eliš* Commentary II. In these, the compiler explains the etymological equation by a word which can be compared with the form actually used in the composition. The comparison amply demonstrates the flexibility of form which might be given to the equation in its speculative interpretation. Tabular form is used below to show this clearly.

A noun or adjective speculatively derived from a name may take any grammatical or syntactic form in the resultant interpretation, as illustrated:

<i>Equation given</i>	<i>Form used in text</i>	<i>Use</i>	<i>Source</i>
<i>kakkabu</i> star	<i>kakkabšu</i> his star	Predicative subject	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 126
<i>šiptum</i> spell	<i>šipta</i>	Object	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 11
<i>napharu</i> entirety	<i>naphar</i>	Object, bound form	E-sagil Commentary, <i>BTT</i> 5 7-8
<i>agû</i> crown	<i>agê</i>	Object, bound form	E-sagil Commentary, <i>BTT</i> 5 13-14
<i>rubû</i> prince	<i>rubê</i>	Dependent genitive	E-sagil Commentary, <i>BTT</i> 5 11-12
<i>šamû</i> heavens <i>rabû</i> great	<i>šamê rabûti</i> of the great heavens	Dependent genitive, plural adjective	E-sagil Commentary, <i>BTT</i> 5 25-26
<i>aĥu</i> brother	<i>ina ilānī aĥĥēšu</i> among the gods his brothers	Prepositional phrase, plural	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 94

In the Weapon Name Exposition, a number is understood as a proper noun:

<sup>d.giš</sup>tukul-sag-50 *kakku rēštû ša Enlil*

50 *Enlil* (Weapon Name Exposition, 13, 16)

Foremost weapon of Enlil

50 is taken as a writing of Enlil and interpreted as *ša<sup>d</sup>enlil(50)*, expressing possession (so too in 1.17 <sup>d</sup>me-sag-50 *tāĥāzu(mè) rabû ša Enlil* “Great Battle of Enlil”).

Where an Akkadian verb interprets an element of a name, this is typically given in infinitive form. The infinitive could be realised in a wide variety of verbal forms. The following illustrates finite forms derived from the equated infinitive (all from *Enūma eliš* VII; neither of the other two texts exhibits such forms):

<i>Equation given</i>	<i>Form used in text</i>	<i>Grammatical form</i>	<i>Source</i>
<i>kānu</i> be firm	<i>ukinnu</i>	D establish firmly 3ms preterite subordinated	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 1
	<i>likīn</i>	G 3ms precative	1.130
<i>uqqû</i> attend	<i>ūtaqqû</i>	Dt 3mpl durative	1.4
[ <i>ham</i> ] <i>āmu</i> gather	<i>iḥmumu</i>	G 3ms preterite subordinated	1.104
<i>erēbu</i> enter	<i>lišēribū</i>	Š introduce 3mpl precative	1.110
<i>šūpû</i> make appear	<i>ušāpû</i>	Š 3ms preterite subordinated	1.126
<i>nabû</i> name	<i>ittabi</i>	G 3ms perfect	1.136

Stative forms and adjectives also occur; an equated adjective may prompt a verb:

<i>Equation given</i>	<i>Form used in text</i>	<i>Grammatical form</i>	<i>Source</i>
<i>aḥāzu</i> grasp	<i>aḥzū</i>	G 3mpl stative	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 4
<i>šaḳû</i> be high	<i>šušqu</i>	Š exalt 3ms stative	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 13
<i>damāqu</i> be good	<i>damqu</i>	G ms verbal adjective	E-sagil Commentary, <i>BTT</i> 5 17-18
<i>ellu</i> pure	<i>līlil</i>	G <i>elēlu</i> be pure 3ms precative	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 10

In many cases, the equation expressed by the infinitive is interpreted by a participle, usually in construct state, describing some characteristic of the deity or sacred place:

<i>Equation given</i>	<i>Form used in text</i>	<i>Stem if different from infinitive</i>	<i>Source</i>
<i>epēšu</i> make	<i>ēpiš</i>		E-sagil Commentary, <i>BTT</i> 5 19-20
<i>rāmu</i> love	<i>rā'im</i>		E-sagil Commentary, <i>BTT</i> 5 19-20
<i>kānu</i> be permanent	[ <i>m</i> ]ukīn	D establish firmly	E-sagil Commentary, <i>BTT</i> 5 33-34
<i>ḥamāma</i> gather	<i>ḥāmēm</i>		Weapon Name Exposition 7, 9
<i>dāku</i> slay	[ <i>d</i> ]ā'ik		Weapon Name Exposition 10, 12
<i>šarāku</i> give	<i>šārik</i>		<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 1
<i>ašû</i> go out	<i>mušēšû</i>	Š make grow	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 2
<i>banû</i> create	<i>bān</i>		<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 9
<i>bašû</i> exist	<i>mušabši</i>	Š create	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 21
<i>šalālu</i> plunder	<i>šālil</i>		<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 103

More creatively, the equation made may be interpreted by a derived or related word. Abstract nouns and adverbs are particularly notable in *Enūma eliš* VII. Examples illustrate the rich variety of interpretative possibilities:

<i>Equation given</i>	<i>Interpreted by:</i>	<i>Source</i>
<i>šarru</i> king	<i>šarrūtu</i> kingship	E-sagil Commentary, <i>BTT</i> 5 13-14 <i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 96
<i>rubû</i> ruler	<i>rubātu</i> rulership <i>šurbû</i> very great	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 98 <i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 96
<i>adāru</i> be afraid	<i>adīru</i> fear	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 4
<i>edēšu</i> be new	<i>tēdištu</i> renewal	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 9
<i>ellu</i> pure	<i>tēliltu</i> purification	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 19
<i>šemû</i> hear	<i>tašmû</i> attention	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 20
<i>kānu</i> be firm	<i>kittu</i> truth	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 40
<i>banû</i> build	<i>binītu</i> creation, creature	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 113
<i>alāku</i> go	<i>alkatu</i> course	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 130
<i>milku</i> counsel	<i>māliku</i> counsellor	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 97
<i>nību</i> naming	<i>nabû</i> call	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 137
<i>ašābu</i> dwell	<i>šubtu</i> dwelling	E-sagil Commentary, <i>BTT</i> 5 11-12
<i>agāgu</i> be furious	<i>aggiš</i> furiously	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 12
<i>elû</i> arise	<i>eliš</i> above <i>elātu</i> heights	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 83
<i>qerēbu</i> be close	<i>qerbiš</i> inside	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 103
<i>šaqu</i> be high	<i>šaqiš</i> on high	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 109

Not all of the derived or related words are separately attested with the equation made with the primary word by Commentary II. There is no lexical evidence for the equation of *tēdištu* “renewal” with *tu* (*edēšu*), for example. The explanations given by this

commentarist evidence that the connections made by a scholar in his speculative interpretation may legitimately be understood through lexical and bilingual equivalences for words sharing the same root, notwithstanding the absence of direct equivalence.

### 3.2.9 Plural freely inferred

The ancient scholars evidently might freely use a plural form to interpret any equation derived from their speculative activity. The characteristic of Sumerian that an unmarked noun might be taken as singular or plural gave scholars freedom in its interpretation. This perhaps informed their approach, for plurals are freely inferred.

In description derived from his name, Lugaldimmerankia (<sup>d</sup>lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a) is:

*šarru ina taklimtīšu ilānī lū šu'durū eliš u šapliš (Enūma eliš VI 142)*

The king at whose instructions the gods above and below quail

The plural *ilānī* “gods” straightforwardly translates dimmer, the Sumerian word itself evidently correctly understood as plural, whether an unmarked or collective form. Similarly, the exposition of names and epithets of Babylon contains the explanations:

uru guruš ní-dúb<sup>ki</sup> kimin *ālu mušapših eḫlūtīšu*

uru níg-gi-na ki-ág-gá<sup>ki</sup> kimin *ālu narām kīnātum*

uru lú-kur<sub>4</sub>-ra<sup>ki</sup> kimin *āl kabtūtu* (*Tintir* I 15-16, 19)

Uru-guruš-nidub Babylon the city which gives peace to its young men

Uru-niggina-kiagga Babylon the city which loves truth

Uru-lukurra Babylon the city of important men

guruš *eḫlu* “young man” (l.15) and lú-kur<sub>4</sub>-ra *kabtu* “fat, important” (l.19) are rendered as plural in the Akkadian interpretation; níg-gi-na *kittu* “truth” (l.16) is interpreted by the feminine plural *kīnātu* “true things”.

Interpretations involving elements understood as “all”, “totality” and the like, naturally prompt a plural form dependent genitive in speculation. Speculative explanation of eš-

gú-zi “House whose neck is raised up”, a literary name for é-sag-íl, equates gú with *napharu* “entirety”, illustrating this:

[èš-gú-z]i *bītu nāsiḥ naphar ayyābī*

[èš *bītu z*]i *nasāḥu gú napharu gú ayyābi* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 31-32)

House which eradicates all enemies

[èš house z]i uproot gú entirety gú enemy

Similarly, Kinma’s epithet *muma’ir naphar ilānī* “Commander of all the gods” (*Enūma eliš* VII 107) “presumes the exposition: kin = *mu’uru*, gú = *napharu*” (Lambert, 2013, p.490, demonstrating that this interprets the name Qingu, not Kinma).

A plural noun is naturally inferred where *gimru* “totality” is used in characterising Nēberu:

*kīma šēni lir’ā ilānī gimrāšun* (*Enūma eliš* VII 131)

Like sheep let him tend all the gods

Commentary II: ḥar *kīma* like ri *šēnu* sheep-flock ri *re’û* tend dingir *ilum* god ḥar *libbi* heart šà *libbi* heart šà *puḥrum* totality

Commentary II explains that here *ir*<sub>5</sub>(ḥar/mur) is derived from Nēberu and seeks to demonstrate by analogous logic that it may be understood as *puḥrum* “totality” (see Bottéro, 1977, pp.23-24 §27), synonymous with *gimru*. In this analysis, dingir is *ilum*, from which the plural *ilānī* is inferred.

Where speculation involves an equation with *ilum* “god”, the plural is readily used, often written logographically. The exposition of é-sag-íl provides an illustration, where both noun and adjective are interpreted:

[é-si-an-g]íl *bītu nūr ilī(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> rabûti(gal<sup>me[š]</sup>)*

[si *nūru a*]n *ilum* gíl *rabû* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 27-28)

House, the light of the great gods

[si light a]n god gíl great

Where the divine determinative is given equivalence (as in *Enūma eliš* VII 107 (<sup>d</sup>kin-ma) and 131 (<sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru)), the plural is freely inferred (see also **section 3.2.6.**) The plural nouns in one further example from *Enūma eliš* VII illustrate this and the general practice:

<sup>d</sup>gili-ma *mukīn ṭurri ilānī bānū kināti* (*Enūma eliš* VII 80)

Gilima, who made firm the bond of the gods, creator of permanent things

Commentary II: 80 <sup>d</sup>a]-gili-[ma] [<sup>d</sup>a]gili[ma] [g]i [*kānu* be firm ...]

Lambert (2013, p.487) explained the etymological derivation of *mukīn ṭurri. ilānī* “of the gods” appears to interpret the divine determinative; *kināti* “of permanent things” evidently reflects gi from Gilima: *kānu* “be firm” (Lambert’s restoration, but other cognates are possible), freely interpreted by a plural noun.

### 3.2.10 Emesal

Emesal is a dialect of Sumerian, used in ritual laments and in the speech of women and goddesses in Sumerian literary compositions documented in manuscripts dating from the Old Babylonian period onwards (see Schretter, 1990), and recorded in lexical lists (Veldhuis, 2014, pp.318-320). The Emesal word for dingir “god”, *ḍim-me-er*, is reflected in the name *Lugaldimmerankia* (<sup>d</sup>lugal-ḍim-me-er-an-ki-a). Emesal forms occur occasionally in the corpus. The exposition of names of Babylon illustrates this:

tu<sub>6</sub> ḥl-lu ṣi-ma-al-l[a]<sup>ki</sup> kimin (*bābilu*) *ša ana ṣiknat napištim tā našū* (*Tintir* I 41)

Tu-illu-šimalla Babylon, which recites incantations for all living things

ṣi-ma-al-la, corresponding to *ṣiknat napištim*, is the Emesal form of *zi-gá-la* (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.263). *mu-lu*, Emesal for *lú* “man”, occurs in the Sumerian names in *Tintir* I 27 and 43.

In the penitential composition *ludlul bēl nēmeqi* the name of one of E-sagil’s gates contains an Emesal form, interpreted in the Akkadian text:

*ina ká-a-še-er-duḥ-ù-da uptaṭṭara tānīḥī* (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* IV 87; ed. Lambert, 1960, now V 50, ed. Oshima, 2014)

In *ká-a-še-er-duḥ-ù-da* (Gate of dispelling of distress) my distress was dispelled

*a-še-er* is a writing of the Emesal form of *a-nir tānīḥu* (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.396).

The use of Emesal in Sumerian names readily leads to the speculative interpretation of the any name through the Emesal dialect. The ancient commentary on the religious composition now known as the Babylonian Theodicy explained the name Zulummar using an Emesal form to interpret its last syllable:

<sup>d</sup>*su-l[um-ma]r*: <sup>d</sup>*idim*: *ša šalummatu našû*: *su-lim*: *šalummatum* mar: gar: *našû*  
(Babylonian Theodicy Commentary r 33'-34', Babylonian Theodicy 277; ed. Oshima, 2014 reading *su-lim*, not *su-lim*)

Sul[umma]r : Ea : bearer of radiance: *su-lim* (radiance) : radiance mar = gar : bear

(For use of Emesal Sumerian as an explanatory tool elsewhere in the commentary tradition, see Frahm, 2011, p.91-92, 258). Citing the Babylonian Theodicy commentarist, Lambert explained the etymology underpinning the very first description in the exposition of Marduk's fifty names, where Marduk (<sup>d</sup>*marūtuk*, <sup>d</sup>*amar-utu*) is *šākin merīti u mašqīti* “who provides pasture and watering place” (*Enūma eliš* VI 124): this derives from speculative interpretation of the first syllable as *mar*, the Emesal form for *gar šakānu* “to provide” (Lambert, 2013, p.165). The same equation clearly recurs in the narrative description which follows:

*nišī ša ibnû šikitti napšu* (*Enūma eliš* VI 129)

The people whom he created, living creatures

*mar* is again understood as Emesal for *šakānu*, from which *šikittu* is derived. Other parts of the name plainly inform l.124 (*rú* = *banû*, *ùku* = *nišī* see Lambert, 2013, p.165, discussing Marukka). These lines thus evidence “the further principle” Lambert adduces, “that Emesal values are freely usable” (Lambert, 2013, p.165).

Nevertheless, few unequivocal examples of the use of Emesal as a speculative tool are observed in the corpus. Lambert understood an Emesal form in Marduk's second name:

<sup>d</sup>ma-ru-uk-ka *lū ilu bānūšunu šūma* (*Enūma eliš* VI 133)

Marukka he is, the god who created them

“Peoples ... are ũku. To create is rú. ... This explains the -ru- in Marukka. Only the ma-remains and this must be *ilu*. It must be a variant of the Emesal value mu = *ilu*.” (Lambert, 2013, p.165). (For treatment of vowels, see **section 3.2.16**). Lambert’s analysis is not the only possibility; *ilu* perhaps interprets the divine determinative (**section 3.2.6**).

A similar ambiguity arises as to what prompted the interpretation of the names é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> and é-me-lám-an-na in the Nippur Temple List (*BTT* 19), where an Emesal equation perhaps occurs:

‘é’-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> *bītu rikis řēmi ilī* (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 12’)

House, bond of the gods’ will

Throughout ll.12’-16’ (é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub>) and ll.17’-18’ (é-me-lám-an-na) (similarly, the Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 c é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub>), me is interpreted by *ilū* “gods”. Here me may be *šamū* “heavens”, a common equivalence, and understood as *ilu* (so George, *Topog.Texts*, p.453). Alternatively, with the flexibility evidently accorded to vowels (**section 3.2.16**), perhaps the Emesal mu “*ilu*” informs the Akkadian interpretation.

There is clear evidence that Emesal was used in speculative interpretation. It is not a tool commonly deployed in the corpus. Where its use may be suspected, this cannot always be clearly determined.

### 3.2.11 Homophony

The use of homophonous readings to convey other meanings is a key aspect in the methods deployed in Babylonian speculative interpretation, widely observable in the text corpus. The different meanings a homophone might convey and the large number of homophones gave rich potential for speculative interpretation.

Homophony is exploited where a different sign, homophonous with an element of the name as written, is understood; the speculative interpretation uses a meaning given by

that homophonous sign. Rather differently, a syllable (or vowel) may be taken from a name in some contrived manner, not reflecting the writing of the name, and understood as having one or more readings; it is evident that the scholar was free to select any of the homophonous readings available for the contrived reading, and might use more than one reading, exploiting homophony. This is discussed in **section 3.2.19.2**. Homophony is also exploited where some part of a name is treated as a homophonous sign, which is then understood as another reading of that sign (termed “**polyvalence**” in this study, see **section 3.2.12**) and interpreted accordingly. The speculative method where homophony and polyvalence are combined is illustrated in **section 3.2.13**.

In the speculative method presented in this **section 3.2.11** the point of departure is the sign as written and read in the name, from which a homophonous reading is inferred for speculative interpretation.

The text corpus contains some exceptional instances where homophonic etymology is expressly flagged. An expository text explains the divine name Lisi:

<sup>d</sup>li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> *qālû išātam*

si<sub>4</sub> *gunû* si *qalû*

izi *išātu* (Weapon Name Exposition 36-38)

Lisi : He who burns with fire

si<sub>4</sub> the *gunû* (additional wedged) form of si: burn

izi fire

The scholar expressly records that si<sub>4</sub> is understood as its homophone si, for *qalû*, an equation not otherwise attested. He perhaps had in mind *qâlu* “be silent”, readily interchangeable with *qalû* for his explanation (sìg-sìg *qâ[lu]*, with si *šiššu* “silence” *Antagal* III 275-277 *MSL* XVII p.160; A.R.George, March 2017, private communication; for Akkadian homophony, **section 3.2.14**).

The interlinear explanations of the E-sagil Commentary demonstrate the use of homophonous readings and specifically highlight the possibilities offered by homophones:

[é-sa<sub>4</sub>-an-gí]l *bītu nibīt Anu u Enlil*

[sa<sub>4</sub> *nibīt*]u an <sup>d</sup>*anum* gíl(KUR<sub>4</sub>) : kur <sup>d</sup>*enlil* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 29-30; reading [é-sa<sub>4</sub>-an-gí]l, not [é-sa<sub>4</sub>-an-gi]l)

House called by name by Anu and Enlil

[sa<sub>4</sub> *namin*]g an Anu gíl(KUR<sub>4</sub>) kur = Enlil

gíl, read as kur<sub>4</sub>, is *kabtu* “important, honoured”, an epithet which suggests Enlil. The commentary notes the homophone kur “the mountain”, which regularly signifies Enlil (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.388). kur/kur<sub>4</sub> homophony is exploited in explanatory descriptions of Enlil’s temple é-kur; kur is understood as kur<sub>4</sub> equated with *kabtu* and *rabû* “great”:

[é]-kur [*bīt ka*]bitti

é-kur *bīt kabti*

[é]-kur [*bīt šadû*]<sup>u</sup> *rabû* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §5 18'-19', 24')

[House of the] honoured lady

House of the honoured lord

[House of the] great [mountain]

The corpus contains very many examples of speculative interpretation through homophony. E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 17-18, where sa<sub>6</sub> is understood as sa *milku* “counsel”, is referred to in **section 3.2.2**. The equation of -ru- in Marduk’s name Marukka with rú *banû* “to make” (*Enūma eliš* VI 133) is mentioned in **section 3.2.10**. Elsewhere, ru is understood as ru and rú *banû* and *patāqu*, according to Commentary II:

*aššu ašrī ibnā iptiqa dannina* (*Enūma eliš* VII 135)

Because he created the (heavenly) places and fashioned the netherworld

Commentary II: ir *šū* he an *ašrum ašrum šamû* place, heavenly place <sup>u</sup>dù *banû* make      dù *patāqu* fashion ru *dannini danninu eršetim* netherworld, *danninu* = netherworld

From Commentary II’s explanation, it appears that the name underpinning the speculative etymology is Nēberu (<sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru, ll.124-134), notwithstanding that l.135 commences a couplet in which the name Bēl-mātāti is conferred (see Lambert, 2013,

p.165 for interpretation of ru as rú in <sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru, Commentary to Marduk’s address to the Demons).

Any of the Akkadian equations given by a homophone might be used, as demonstrated in another text where ru is understood as rú, but very differently. E-Kiur (é-ki-ùr/é-ki-uru<sub>12</sub> George, *Topog.Texts*, p.452) is explained as:

ʿé-ki-u-ru *eršet bēli gitmā[li]* (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 10')

Land of the Perfect Lord

From this contrived writing, rú (for ru) is equated with *gitmālu* “perfect” (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.453).

Likewise, in two explanatory lists šu is understood as šú, with different meanings:

[é-š]u-me-ša<sub>4</sub> *bītu tābik dām ilī<sup>meš</sup>* (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 16')

House which sheds the blood of the gods

šú (interpreting šu) is here *tabāku* “to pour”.

In another list Lugal-šuanna is:

*bēlum āšir ilānī* (Marduk Names List 14)

The lord who supervises the gods

(Similarly, although broken, l.13, *bēlum ā[šir šamē]<sup>e</sup> u eršetim<sup>im</sup>* “The lord who [supervises heaven] and earth”). Lambert’s restoration of <sup>d</sup>lugal-šu-an-na as the name pertinent to ll.13-14 is assured by the explanations of ll.16-18 in the same section. Interpreting šu, šú is here *ašāru*, clearly meaning “to organise”. The same equation is made in the Gula hymn l.17” (see **section 6.1**) and see further **section 3.2.14**.

Speculation on the contrived writing of the temple name E-kišnu-gal illustrates how homophony may open meanings beyond the simple correspondence given by one element:

é-ká-ěš-nun-gal *bītu ša ana Apsī petū bābšu* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 13')

House whose gate opens to Apsû

The Akkadian description understands gal as gál, from the Sumerian compound gál-tag<sub>4</sub> *petū*. The meaning given by the compound is adopted.

The last examples presented illustrate different homophonic interpretations based on the same element of a divine name, all from *Enūma eliš* VII.

### é as è and e<sub>11</sub>

é, drawn from Dingir-Esiskur (dingir-é-sískur), is interpreted as è and as e<sub>11</sub> (Il.109, 114):

dingir-é-sískur *šaḳiṣ ina bīt ikribi lišibma* (*Enūma eliš* VII 109)

Dingir-Esiskur, may he sit on high in the House of Prayer

Commentary II: [*dingir-é*]-*sískur* è *šaḳû* be high ra *ina* in é *bītu* house *sískur ikribu* prayer ra *ramû* occupy ra *ašābu* sit

Correctly translated as *bītu*, é is also understood as the homophone è (*šaḳû*), as Commentary II explains. (CAD Š/II 19 *šaḳû* A erroneously gives é as Commentary II's reading).

*ela šāšu tēme ūmēšina lā i'adda ilu mamman* (*Enūma eliš* VII 114)

No god but he knows the extent of their days

Commentary II: e<sub>11</sub> *eli* more than ra *šāšu* he ku *tēmu* intention ud *ū`mu* day ra [*l*]ā not zu [*i*]dû know dingir [*i*]lum god zu *m[amm]an* somebody (Reading ud, not du: CAD U-W 139: "UD *u<sub>4</sub>'-mu* (coll. W G Lambert)")

Here é is interpreted as e<sub>11</sub>, usually corresponding to *elû* "go up", sufficiently close phonetically and in meaning for the commentarist to equate e<sub>11</sub> with *eli* "on, more than".

**tu as tu<sub>4</sub> tu<sub>6</sub> and tu<sub>15</sub>**

The name Tutu (<sup>d</sup>tu-tu) had particular potential for speculative interpretation (see sections 3.2.12, 3.2.19.4, 3.2.22). Interpretation of tu through homophones (tu<sub>4</sub> tu<sub>6</sub> and tu<sub>15</sub>) is evidenced here. Tutu-ziukkinna (<sup>d</sup>tu-tu <sup>d</sup>zi-ukkin-na) is extolled:

*ai immaši ina apâti epšēta[šu likillā] (Enūma eliš VII 18)*

He shall not be forgotten by mankind, [may they remember his] achievements

Commentary II: ta a-[a] not ku BA![šû] [forget] ta i[na] by ukkin ap[âtum] peoples  
tu<sub>4</sub> epše[tum] deed du<sub>8</sub> ku[llum] hold

tu is interpreted as tu<sub>4</sub> epšētu “deeds”, not a usual correspondence. A resemblance between tum(tu<sub>4</sub>) and dím (for epēšu Idu II 327) perhaps underlies the analysis (A.R.George, March 2017, private communication).

tu was readily equated with tu<sub>6</sub> šiptu “spell, incantation”. As Tutu (<sup>d</sup>tu-tu):

*libnīma šipta ilānū linūhū (Enūma eliš VII 11)*

Let him make a spell so the gods may rest

Commentary II: tu [ban]û make tu<sub>6</sub>šiptum spell dingir il[um] god ti nâhu rest

As Tutu-Agaku (<sup>d</sup>tu-tu <sup>d</sup>aga-kù), the god is bēl šiptu elletim(kù)<sup>im</sup> “Lord of the pure incantation” (Enūma eliš VII 26), evidently using the same equation.

tu may be understood as tu<sub>15</sub> in the description of Tutu-Ziku (<sup>d</sup>tu-tu <sup>d</sup>zi-kù):

*il šāri t̄abi bēl tašmē u magāri (Enūma eliš VII 20)*

God of the fair wind, lord who hears and grants

Commentary II: dingir ilum god <sup>tu</sup>IM šāri wind <sup>du</sup>hi t̄abu be sweet dingir bēlum lord  
zi šemû hear zi magārum grant

Lambert noted the homophonous reading: *il šāri t̄abi* “is a rendering of tu<sub>15</sub>-dù” (Lambert, 2013, p.483; for the reading of im as tu<sub>15</sub>, see MZL pp. 170, 389).

### 3.2.12 Polyvalence

Polyvalence is the characteristic of the cuneiform writing system whereby each sign may have a number of different readings. Like homophony (**section 3.2.11**), polyvalence provided a key tool in speculative interpretation, opening up an extensive and rich variety of other meanings. In this speculative method, the sign presented in the text is understood by a different reading of that sign (whether syllabic, logographic or as a determinative) and interpreted with a meaning given by that reading, thus exploiting the polyvalence of the writing system. Polyvalence is also exploited where, by some contrived means, part of a name is understood as rendered by a sign other than as written and interpreted though some other reading of that putative sign. This is illustrated at the end of this **section 3.2.12**.

The passage from the expository text which flagged homophonic etymology demonstrates how polyvalence was used:

<sup>d</sup>li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> *qālû išātam*

si<sub>4</sub> *gunû si qalû*

izi *išātu* (Weapon Name Exposition 36-38)

Lisi : He who burns with fire

si<sub>4</sub> the *gunû* (additional wedged) form of si: burn

izi fire

li<sub>9</sub>(NE) is also read as izi “fire” (*išātu*). The divine name is interpreted accordingly. The interlinear explanations of the E-sagil Commentary also provide explicit illustrations:

[é-sag-ìl-la] [*ē*] *kal lalê ilī ša šamê* [( x x )]

[é-sag *ēkallum*] la *lalû* ìl *ilu* ìl *šamû* [ x x x ] (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 5-6)

Palace desired by the gods of the heavens

[é-sag palace] la desire ìl god ìl heavens

ìl is read as dingir *ilu* and as an *šamû*.

[é-s]a<sub>12</sub>-an-aga-ìl *bītu nāšû agê šarrūti*

[s]a<sub>12</sub> *šarru* sa<sub>12</sub> *agû* aga *agû* ìl *našû* (13-14)

House which bears the kingly crown

[s]<sub>a12</sub> king sa<sub>12</sub> crown aga crown íl bear

sa<sub>12</sub>(sag) is understood as sag *agû*, and its homophone sag<sub>4</sub> *šarru*.

[é-sa-an]-gíl *bītu markas šamê rabûti*

[sa marka]su an *šamû gíl rabû* (25-26)

House, Bond of the Great Heavens

[sa bon]d an heavens gíl great

gíl(lagab) is understood as kur<sub>4</sub> *rabû*.

Elsewhere, although not so explicitly flagged, the scholarly method of speculative interpretation through another reading of a sign is nevertheless clear. tuš(KU) is instead read dúr/durun *napalsuĥu* “to fall to the ground” in etymological interpretation of an Aššur temple name:

é-tuš-mes *bīt eĥlu ippalassaĥu* (Assyrian Temple List, *BTT* 20 §4 166)

House (where) the warrior lies prostrate

(Likewise l.170).

Characterising Nin-imma (<sup>d</sup>nin-ìmma) as *bēl nahnūt bunnannê* “Lord of the creation of forms” (CT 25 49 r.2), the compiler of an explanatory God List exploits the reading of ìmma as sig<sub>7</sub> (or sa<sub>7</sub>) to understand *banû* (Lambert, 2013, p.435) and *bunnannû* (sa<sub>7</sub>-alan).

Another list explains a contrived writing of Tutu (<sup>d</sup>dù-ṭu):

<sup>d</sup>dù-ṭu *bāni kala ilānī* (Marduk Names List 24)

Creator of all the gods

dù equates with both *banû* and *kalû* (so here Lambert, 1999, p.228). However both syllables are interpreted by the epithet: ṭu(GÍN) read tùn also gives *kalû* (<sup>tu-un</sup> tùn *kaluma* *Aa* VIII/1 117 *MSL* XIV p.492).

In the corpus, the divine determinative dingir is interpreted by reading the sign as an. An explanatory text realises this as Anu:

<sup>d</sup>zi-sum-ma *Gula Bēlet(nin)-Nippuri nādinat(sum)<sup>at</sup> napišti(zi) Anim* (Kettledrum Ritual 10)

Zisumma is Gula, Bēlet-Nippuri, who gives Anu life

*Enūma eliš* VII supplies other examples (see **section 3.2.6**).

Interpretive readings of a sign as both a number and as a logogram occur in an explanatory work, which seeks to demonstrate that Enlil is “king of the universe”:

*šū kišsat šar kiššati(šú) 50 Enlil*

“he is” means “universe”, (so he is) king of the universe: 50: Enlil (i-NAM-giš-ḥur-an-ki-a 7, extract, Livingstone’s translation)

ninnu(50) is 50, Enlil’s divine number. <sup>d</sup>50 writes Enlil. ninnu(50) also equates to *kiššatu*. The explanation links both readings (see further Livingstone, 1986, p.48). The same work illustrates the different meanings of a logogram, explaining <sup>d</sup>idim, a common writing signifying Ea, lord of Apsû:

*šar Apsû bēl naqbi(idim) 40 Ea*

King of Apsû, Lord of the deep: 40: Ea (8, extract)

idim(BAD) writes both *naqbu* and Ea.

The last examples presented demonstrate how, from some contrived understanding of the writing of a name, scholars also inferred another reading, exploiting the polyvalence of cuneiform signs. All are from *Enūma eliš* VII.

Asarre (<sup>d</sup>asar-re) is:

*bānû šē’am u qê mušēšû urqēti* (*Enūma eliš* VII 2)

Creator of barley and flax, who causes vegetation to grow

Commentary II: <sup>ru</sup>dù *banû* create sar *šé'im* barley sar *qû* flax <sup>ma</sup>sar *ašû* go out  
sar *arqu* greenery

Commentary II's analysis demonstrates that sar is artificially extracted from asar for interpretation (sections 3.2.19.1, 3.2.21 ) and read as ma<sub>4</sub> to mean *ašû* (*mušēšû*).

A narrative comment relates to Tutu(<sup>d</sup>tu-tu):

*aggiš lū tebû linē'û [irass]un* (12)

Should they rise angrily, let them turn [back]

Commentary II here notes *gaba irtum* “breast”. Bottéro (1977, p.6) read du<sub>8</sub>, rather than *gaba*. This makes it clear that tu is artificially conceived as du<sub>8</sub> (section 3.2.17), and understood as *gaba*, another reading of du<sub>8</sub>.

Lastly, on Nēberu(<sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru):

*ša kakkabānī šamāmī alkassunu likīnma* (130)

Let him fix the course of the stars of the heavens

Commentary II explains *likīn* “Let him fix” with <sup>MIN</sup>du *kānu* “be firm”. <sup>MIN</sup>du here signifies <sup>ra</sup>du. In this analysis, the gloss ra evidently interprets -ru (section 3.2.16). ra is here rá(du), understood instead as another reading of du, gub/gin *kānu*.

### 3.2.13 Homophony and Polyvalence together

Ancient scholars used the homophonic and polyvalent properties of their script in combination in their speculative interpretation. A sign might be understood as a homophonous sign, and then interpreted through any of the other readings that homophonous sign might have. Conversely, a sign might be understood as another of its readings, and interpreted through another sign homophonous with the hypothesised reading. Extended chains of readings could be hypothetically constructed in this way to interpret any part of a name.

The method analysed here as separate steps in speculative interpretation is, quite certainly, not how the ancients would have seen their activity. The interchange of homophones and alternative readings was undoubtedly a flexible and seamless intellectual process to learned scholars alive to the potential offered by their script. This is not to deny, however, that considerable erudition and ingenuity were deployed, as evidenced by the sophistication of the E-sagil Commentary.

The speculative method which first implies a homophone in place of the reading in the text and then exploits the polyvalence of the implied reading is shown by the following extracts, the first from the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi explained in an expository text :

[d]ā'iš abnī(na<sub>4</sub>)<sup>meš</sup> d<sup>d</sup>za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> (Lambert, 1967, p.122 100; Smith College text 110 (S 3)  
3)

Crusher of stones, Zababa

za is understood as zá, read as na<sub>4</sub> abnu (Livingstone, 1986, p.66).

Likewise, from *Enūma eliš*, exploring the name Tutu(<sup>d</sup>tu-tu):

aggiš lū tebû linē'û [irass]un (*Enūma eliš* VII 12)

Should they rise angrily, let them turn [back]

Commentary II notes here íb *agāgu* “be furious” and íb *tebû* “rise up”. íb is also tu<sub>4</sub>. For the commentarist, tu is evidently understood as tu<sub>4</sub>, and interpreted as íb.

lū šušqūma ina puḥur ilānī [abbē]šsu (*Enūma eliš* VII 13)

He shall be extolled in the assembly of the gods, his [fathers]

Here Commentary II has <sup>mu</sup>TU<sub>6</sub>p[*uḥrum*] “assembly”. It appears that the commentarist understood tu as tu<sub>6</sub>, read mu<sub>7</sub> (as to its equation with *puḥru* see Bottéro, 1977, p.17 fn 40).

The compilation which lists names and temples of Nippur yields further illustrations. Nippur's by-name is interpreted thus:

dur-an-ki *bānû abi Enlil* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §2a)

Begetter of the father of Enlil

In this epithet (not explained by George), *dur* is understood as *dúr*, which, read as *ku*, gives *banû* (<sup>ú-gu</sup>*ku banû Ea I 137 MSL XIV p.184*). *an* is evidently taken as <sup>d</sup>An, Enlil's father, Anu.

Explaining E-kur, *kur* is first understood as *kúr*, then read as *pab bukru*:

[é]-kur [*bīt b*]ukur (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §5 20')

[House of the] son

Unorthodox writings of the temple name E-kišnu-gal(é-kiš-nu-gál) “allow the etymologist to speculate freely on its meaning” (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.387 p.446):

é-kéš-<sup>d</sup>nun-gal *bīt markas Igīgī* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 12')

House of the Bond of the Igigi

Here (not explained by George), *kiš* becomes the near-homophone *kéš* corresponding to *rakāsu* “to bind”, from which *markasu* may be derived (see **section 3.2.8** for such derived forms). *markasu* is usually *dur* or *dim*, and not written *kéš*. There is some evidence that *kéš*(EZEN) read *šir* is *markasu* (see CAD M/I 283), as well as *rakāsu* and *riksu*. This alternative reading may have been understood here.

Elsewhere, polyvalent signs and thence implied homophones are exploited. The E-sagil Commentary *BTT* 5 29-30 explicitly demonstrates how *gīl* may be read as *kur*<sub>4</sub>, in turn equated with its homophone *kur* and understood as Enlil (see **section 3.2.11**). An expository text gives three explanations of the divine name *Lisi* (<sup>d</sup>li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>), offering secondly:

*šaniš qālû nīqa*

Alternatively: he who burns an offering (Weapon Name Exposition 39, Livingstone's translation)

Livingstone (1986, p.60) notes that this explanation follows the ideas demonstrated in preceding lines, where li<sub>9</sub>(izi) is explained as “fire” and si<sub>4</sub> “burn” (**section 3.2.11** above). How *nīqu* “offering” was understood from <sup>d</sup>li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> may be explained through the use of polyvalence and homophony: li<sub>9</sub>(NE) may be read dè; its homophone dé is *nīqu* (<sup>ni-sag</sup>dé *nīqu* Syllabary B II 87 *MSL* III p.136; *Ea* III 175, *Aa* III/3 221 *MSL* XIV pp.311,338).

The same speculative method seems to be deployed in elaboration on a gate name in the composition *ludlul bēl nēmeqi*:

*ina* ká-u<sub>6</sub>-de-babbar-ra *iddātūya immerā* (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* IV 84; ed. Lambert, 1960, now V 47, ed. Oshima, 2014)

In the Gate of Bright Wonder my signs became clear

Lenzi (2015, p.741) noted that UD, which writes babbar, “can also be read zalag. If read in this manner, it homonymically anticipates the logographic writing of the main verb of the line, zálag (= Akkadian *namāru*).” Differently expressed, babbar may be understood through another reading of that sign (zalag: polyvalence) and interpreted through its homophone zálag. Other explanations are possible; zalag and zálag were not always differentiated in the Old Babylonian period (*MZL* pp.379, 385); babbar(UD) is equated with *namāru* (<sup>ba-ab-bar</sup>ud *namārum ša u<sub>4</sub>-mu* *Aa* III/3 71 *MSL* XIV p.334). Alternative explanations may be seen to add to the potential embedded in the name, rather than undermining other explanations (**section 3.2.26**).

A further illustration of the use of polyvalence then homophony is drawn from the Standard Babylonian hymn to the goddess of Nippur where names bestowed on Ištar are interpreted speculatively. The third name Neanna ([<sup>d</sup>]nè-an-na) was understood by Lambert (1982, p.212) as “an orthographic variant of Inanna created specially for its orthography”. The epithet *pulḫāt našā[t]* “She is imbued with terror” (Hymn to the Queen of Nippur III 63) speculatively interprets <sup>d</sup>nè-an-na, although Lambert did not explain this. *našāt* comes from an, through polyvalent and homophonous signs: an is understood as ìl, in turn understood as íl *našû*. *puluḫtu* (*pulḫātu*) is ní in lexical lists (CAD P 505). ní is readily understood for nè, interpreting the vowel flexibly (**section 3.2.16**). A more complex analysis is possible, informed by the combination of

homophony and polyvalence illustrated here: *nè* becomes *né*; *né* reads *ni*; and *ni* prompts the homophone *ní*. Through this chain of implied readings using homophony-polyvalence-homophony, *nè* may be understood as *ní*.

A similar extended chain of implied connected readings appears to be at work in the description of Nippur, *dur-an-ki*, as [*š*]*ubat tēlilti* “Seat of purification” (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §2b). Here (not explained by George) *dur* is taken as *dúr* to give *šubtu*. *tēliltu* is more complex; again *dur* is *dúr* but read as *ku* and understood as *kù elēlu* “be pure”, whence *tēliltu*. Again the sequence is homophony-polyvalence-homophony.

The sequence polyvalence-homophony-polyvalence is perhaps evident in an explanatory list:

<sup>d</sup>šà-<sup>sù</sup>zu *mudē libbi ilānī libbu rūqu* <sup>hi-pi eš-šú</sup> (Marduk Names List 28)

Who knows the heart of the gods, profound heart [...]

Lambert (2013, pp.484-485) noted that “a remote heart” (*libbu rūqu*) is “šà-sù, a well-attested Sumerian phrase expressing profound wisdom.” šà is *libbu*. <sup>sù</sup>zu produces *rūqu*, lexically attested and apparently written *sud*. The gloss *sù* is not a usual reading of *zu*. It seems that *zu* is first read as *sú*; *sú* understood as *sù*, read *sud*.

The immense potential of the writing system with its numerous homophones which might be read in yet another manner means that any analysis may be only one of a number of possibilities, without certainty as to which was intended. It is probable, indeed likely, that, attuned to the immense flexibility of their writing system and with an evident eye to the potential for rich layers of meaning, ancient scholars may have had more than one interpretation in mind (see **section 3.2.26**).

### 3.2.14 Akkadian Homophony

**Sections 3.2.11 and 3.2.13** illustrate how homophonous signs were used. Homophonous Akkadian words were also used in speculative interpretation. A Sumerian name, or part of it, evidently suggested an Akkadian word for use in the description or narrative based on the name. Most simply, a Sumerian loanword is

deployed. Elsewhere some phonetic similarity with the Sumerian elements prompted an Akkadian word.

Rather differently, as observed by editors of compositions in the text corpus, an Akkadian correspondence derived from a Sumerian name might be replaced by a homophonous, or near-homophonous, Akkadian word in the speculative interpretation.

Straightforward transposition of a Sumerian name into a loanword which is used in the Akkadian text is readily apparent in the exposition of Marduk's names in *Enūma eliš* VII. Enbilulu-Gugal(<sup>d</sup>gú-gal) is *gugallu* "supervisor" (l.64). Enbilulu-Ḫegal(<sup>d</sup>ḫé-gál) is *mukammir ḫegalli* "who heaps up abundance" (l.68). Sirsir-Malah(<sup>d</sup>má-laḫ<sub>4</sub>) is *malāḫu* "boatman" (l.77). Lugaldurmaḫ(<sup>d</sup>lugal-dur-maḫ) is *bēl durmāḫi* "Lord of the Mighty Bond" (l.95). tu<sub>6</sub> in Tutu's subname <sup>d</sup>tu<sub>6</sub>-kù is directly translated by *tû* "incantation" (l. 33). Likewise, <sup>d</sup>tu<sub>6</sub>-kù is *ša tûšu ellet* "the One whose incantation is pure" (Marduk Names List 27).

In an explanatory God List Nin-girimma (<sup>d</sup>nin-girim(A-ḪA-TAR-DU)) is *gašan ālikat sulê* . . "the lady who goes the road of . ." (CT 25 49 r.1). Lambert (2013, p. 432) noted, without further explanation, that this "is merely a play on the signs of the late writing". TAR, read *silā* is *sulû*, a Sumerian loanword, "street". *silā* commonly writes *sūqu* "street". *sulû* was surely selected for its similarity to *silā*.

Speculative interpretation could be based on some perceived phonetic correspondence with Sumerian elements. An explanatory work expressly evidences this:

[I (x x) <sup>d</sup>S]în(30) *bēl(en) purussê(eš-bar) e-šú 30 2 e-ni be-el*

[(..)] Sîn is "Lord of Decisions (en-eš-bar)". eš is 30; 2 is *-ēni*, which is also lord (en) (i-NAM-giš-ḫur-an-ki-a 3, extract; Livingstone's translation)

en "lord" is taken as the Akkadian dual ending *-ēni* to supply 2 (Livingstone, 1986, p.46), an equation justified by phonetic similarity.

*Enūma eliš* VI-VII contain other illustrations. The equation of Ašāru(<sup>d</sup>a-šá-ru) with *ašāru* "to organise" is expressly declared:

<sup>d</sup>a-šá-ru ša kīma šumīšūma īšuru ilānī šīmāti (*Enūma eliš* VII 122)

Ašāru, who, as his name says, mustered the gods of destinies

Böhl (1936-1937, p.202) noted the obvious homophony in the verbal form *ukinnu* pertaining to Tutu-Ziukkinna(<sup>d</sup>zi-ukkin-na):

ša *ukinnu ana ilānī šamê ellū[ti]* (*Enūma eliš* VII 16)

Who established the sacred heavens for the gods

Asalluḫi's sub-name Namru(<sup>d</sup>nam-ru) was evidently understood as *namru* "bright", freely interpreted as *elēlu* "to be pure":

*ilu ellu mullilu alaktīni* (*Enūma eliš* VI 156)

Pure god, who purifies our behaviour

Less obviously, Bottéro (1977, p.22 §25) conjectured that Lugalabdubur(<sup>d</sup>lugal-áb-dúbur)'s epithet *nāsiḫu kakkī[ša]* "who tore away [her (Tiāmat's)] weapons" (*Enūma eliš* VII 91) arose by phonetic association, explaining *kakku* as given by understanding *dù* (derived from *dúbur*) as *kak*.

Scholars have suggested that similarity of sound may account for the Akkadian words used in narrative derived from gate-names in *ludlul bēl nēmeqi*:

*ina ká-u<sub>6</sub>-de-babbar-ra iddātūya immerā* (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* IV 84; ed. Lambert, 1960, now V 47, ed. Oshima, 2014)

In the Gate of Bright Wonder my signs became clear

*u<sub>6</sub>-de* seems to be understood as *ittu* (*ittātu/iddātu*), perhaps through homophony (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.393, who gives an alternative explanation based on graphic interpretation; see too Reiner, 1985, p.117; **section 3.2.25**).

Similarly:

*ina ká-a-sikil-la mē tēlite assaliḫ* (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* IV 88; ed. Lambert, 1960, now V 51, ed. Oshima, 2014)

In the Gate of Pure Water I was sprinkled with waters of purification

Lenzi (2015, p.739) was confident that the verb form *assaliḫ* “I was sprinkled” was derived from a-sikil-la. Whilst a plausible possibility, the other illustrations presented here evidence that this is not, as Lenzi asserted, “a unique example of homophony”.

Two further examples suggest speculative interpretation from phonetic similarity. In *Enūma eliš* VII 6 Asaralimnunna<sup>d</sup> (asar-alim-nun-na) is *muštēširu* “administrator”. The epithet, the Št<sup>2</sup> participle of *ešēru*, perhaps arose from resemblance between *ešēru* and asar.

In an explanatory God List Ninimma is:

<sup>d</sup>nin-ìmma *bēl nabnīt bunnannē bēl mimma* [šumšu] (CT 25 49 r.2)

“Nin-imma, lord of the creation of forms, lord of every[thing]

Both epithets express the name of a creator goddess (Lambert, 2013, p.435). The second is a freer rendering of the first. The marked similarity between nin-ìmma and *bēl(en) mimma* suggests that homophony also informs the interpretation.

Scholars also interchanged homophonous Akkadian words in their speculative interpretation. The Akkadian word corresponding to a Sumerian element might evidently suggest a similar Akkadian word to interpret the Sumerian element. Similar Akkadian words could be used interchangeably, it seems, without regard to meaning.

Two extracts from an expository text demonstrate the speculative method:

<sup>d.giš</sup>tukul-sag-pirig *kakku ša pānūšu namrū*

pirig *namru* (Weapon Name Exposition 21,24)

Tukul-sag-pirig (Lion-headed-weapon) Weapon whose face is bright

pirig bright

Here, it seems, *namru* “bright” corresponds with pirig (“lion”) because of its similarity to *nimru* (pirig-tur “small lion”) (Livingstone, 1986, p.60).

Similarly perhaps:

<sup>d</sup>u<sub>4</sub>-ba-nu-íl *kakkašu lā maḥru*

íl *maḥāri* (Weapon Name Exposition 26,31)

<sup>d</sup>u<sub>4</sub>-ba-nu-íl (Unrelenting storm) His weapon that cannot be withstood

íl oppose

íl is perhaps equated with [sag(?)-íl] *maḥrû* “foremost” (*Nabnītu* XVI 58 *MSL* XVI p.143) and interpreted as *maḥru* “rival”, given by the infinitive *maḥāru* (Livingstone, 1986, p.60).

George identified two like cases in temple lists:

[é-sa<sub>7</sub>]-kíl *bītu bānû naphar il[ī]*

[sa<sub>7</sub> ban]û kíl *napharu il i[lu]* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 7-8)

House, creator of all the gods

[sa<sub>7</sub> create] kíl entirety il g[od]

The restoration sa<sub>7</sub> respects the phonetics of é-sag-íl, but strictly equates to *banû* “to grow”, not *banû* “to create”, the meaning required by context (see further George, *Topog.Texts*, p.387). In a rather more broken context, it appears that *númun* is interpreted by *etellu* “pre-eminent” in place of *eṭlum* “youth” (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 23'; George, *Topog.Texts*, p.454).

In a list Lugal-šuan<sup>d</sup>na (lugal-šu-an-na) is:

*bēlum āšir ilānī* (Marduk Names List 14)

The lord who supervises the gods

(On l.14, see further **section 3.2.11**). šu is understood as šú and equated with *ašāru*. CAD lists four separate verbs: *ašāru* A “to organise”, *ašāru* B “to be humble” and two more doubtful verbs (CAD A/II 420-422). The context requires *ašāru* “to organise”. The same equation is made in the Gula hymn 16"-17" (**section 6.1**). CAD attributed lexical evidence for šú as *ašāru* to *ašāru* B (CAD A/II 422), although Landsberger was uncertain (*ašārum* “sich demütigen (?)” Syllabary B II 38 *MSL* III p.133). AHW 79a

ascribed the lexical entries to *ašāru(m)* I “ordnend überwachen” (CAD’s *ašāru* A). Which dictionary is correct cannot be resolved by the meaning required in these speculative contexts, given the use of homophonous Akkadian words to interpret Sumerian. If CAD is correct, here too the interchange of homophonous Akkadian words, regardless of meaning, is illustrated.

### 3.2.15 Near-homophony

Akin to their speculative methods which exploit homophony of signs and words (sections 3.2.11, 3.2.14), scholars used near-homophonous readings in their speculative exploration of meaning. An element of a name was understood, sometimes even artificially written, as some near-homophonous reading and interpreted through it. The free interpretation of vowels and of consonants within consonantal groups (sections 3.2.16-3.2.17, 3.2.19.3-3.2.19.4) realise this speculative method.

The interlinear explanation of one contrived writing of *é-sag-íl* specifically illustrates the use of near-homophony, where two readings (*kíl*, *gil*), evidently sufficiently similar-sounding, interpret the final syllable:

[é-sá]-gil *bītu kāšid napḥar qardāmū*

[sá *kašā*]du *kíl napḥaru gil qardāmu* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5, 23-24)

House which overcomes all adversaries

[sá over]come *kíl* totality *gil* adversary

The artificial writings of E-sagil in this work are clearly all nearly homophonous with *é-sag-íl*.

The writings <sup>d</sup>du-du, <sup>d</sup>du<sub>11</sub>-du<sub>11</sub> and <sup>d</sup>dù-ṭu for Tutu(<sup>d</sup>tu-tu) (Marduk Names List, 22, 24-25) evidently employ near-homophones. Similarly, the interpretation of Marukka(<sup>d</sup>ma-ru-uk-ka) through *ùku* (*nišū* “people”; *Enūma eliš* VI 133; Lambert, 2013, p.165) relies on phonetic similarity.

Syllables could evidently be regarded as sufficiently close notwithstanding a final phoneme. Final phonemes could be inferred: the interpretation of *é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub>* as *bītu nākis ilī* “House which fells the gods” understands *ša<sub>4</sub>* as *šab nakāsu* “fell” (Nippur

Temple List, *BTT* 19, 3', and p.453). Conversely, phonemes could be ignored: in characterising é-bára-dúr-gar-ra as *bītu ša ana bēli ana šālti šak[nu]* “House which is provided for the lord for combat” *dúr* is understood as *du*<sub>14</sub> *šāltu* “combat” (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19, 20', and p.454).

Two further examples illustrate the considerable scope the speculative method allowed. The contrived writing of é-kiš-nu-gál as é-ká-èš-nun-gal (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 13') self-evidently exploits near-homophony. *nu* has an added phoneme and *kiš* is dissimilated into separate syllables with different vowels for speculation. Conversely, vowels are elided in speculation on E-kiur(é-ki-ùr/é-ki-uru)<sub>12</sub>, George, *Topog.Texts*, p.452):

[é]-ki-ùr *ašru el[lu]* (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19, 3')

Pure place

*ki* generates *ašru* “place”; *ellu* “pure” seems to derive from understanding *ki-ùr* as *kù*, seemingly exploiting similar sound.

### 3.2.16 Vowels

Vowels were treated quite freely in speculative interpretation. The potential for phonetic adjustment opened up a range of meanings, adding to the scope given by homophones and polyvalent signs. Lambert’s comment (2013, p.166) “nothing so trivial as a vowel can stand in the way of this kind of interpretation” exaggerates, but the corpus evidences the considerable freedom taken in interpreting vowels. A clear example is given by the compiler of an expository text:

<sup>d</sup>u<sub>4</sub>-ba-nu-íl *kakkašu lā maḥru*

bi *šu* (Weapon Name Exposition 26,28)

<sup>d</sup>u<sub>4</sub>-ba-nu-íl (Unrelenting storm) His weapon that cannot be withstood

bi his

*ba* is explained and interpreted as *bi*, a Sumerian possessive element, giving the Akkadian possessive *-šu*. The analysis of *Enūma eliš* VII in Commentary II also evidences the practice.

In the speculative method illustrated, the point of departure is the name as written in the composition; an element is understood to contain a different vowel and interpreted accordingly. The name is otherwise respected and written conventionally. (**Section 3.2.19.3** describes vowel changes where some contrived writing of the name is used in the composition, or some other change to the name is implicit in the speculative interpretation.)

This speculative method is illustrated below in tabular form, to show the interchange of vowels observed. Three conclusions may be drawn: (1) paired vowels are readily interchangeable (zi may be taken as zu and *vice versa*); (2) any homophone may be used (both zi and zì can stand for zu); and (3) e interchanges with i, but less readily with other vowels (but see section **3.2.19.3** for e/u change).

### a/i

<i>Name</i>	<i>Element</i>	<i>Interpreted as</i>	<i>Source</i>
<sup>d</sup> u <sub>4</sub> -ba-nu-íl	ba	bi šu his	Weapon Name Exposition, 26-30
<sup>d</sup> ir-ug <sub>5</sub> -ga	ga	[g]i gimru all	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 103 (Commentary II)
nam-bi-tar-[ra <sup>ki</sup> ]	nam	nim zēru seed	Nippur Compendium <i>BTT</i> 18 §3 9'

With the last example, compare Livingstone (1986, p.60) *nimru/namru* (**section 3.2.14**).

### a/u

[é-ùru-na]-nam	na	nu(?) <i>nišū</i> people	<i>BTT</i> 3 r.2'
[é-rab-ri-ri]	ra(b) (or ri )	rú <i>binûtu</i> creation	<i>BTT</i> 3 12'
<sup>d</sup> a-rá-nun-na	rá rá	rú <i>banû</i> create rú <i>mašālu</i> equal	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 97, 98 (Commentary II)

**u/a**

<sup>d</sup> né-bé-ru	ru	ra <i>ša</i> which <i>ina</i> in	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 126
	ru	ra <i>lū šabātu</i>	127
	ru	ra <i>ša</i> which	130
	ru	<i>rá alāku</i> go <i>kānu</i> be firm	130 (Commentary II)
<sup>d</sup> lugal-šu <sup>1</sup> -an-na	šu	ša <sub>4</sub> <i>nibūtu</i> naming	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 102
<sup>d</sup> tu-tu	tu	da <i>šū</i> he	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 9,10
	tu	da <i>lū</i> may he <i>šaḡû</i> be high	13 (Commentary II)
<sup>d</sup> tu-tu	tu	ta <i>in[a]</i> in	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 13
	tu	ta <i>ai</i> not <i>in[a]</i> in	18 (Commentary II)

**i/u**

[é-rab-ri-ri]	ri (or ra(b))	<i>rú binūtu</i> creation	<i>BTT</i> 3 12'
<sup>d</sup> tu-tu <sup>d</sup> zi-ukkin-na	zi	zu [ <i>idû</i> know]	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 17 (Commentary II)

**u/i**

<sup>d</sup> tu-tu	tu	<sup>r</sup> ti <sup>7</sup> <i>pašāḥu</i> repose	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 10
	tu	ti <i>nāḥu</i> rest	11 (Commentary II)
<sup>d</sup> ša-zu	zu	zi [ <i>kan</i> ]āšu submit	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 38 (Commentary II)
	zu	<i>māḡiru</i> compliant	39
	zu	zi <i>kittu</i> truth zi <i>kānu</i> be firm <i>ašru</i> place	40 (Commentary II)
<sup>d</sup> zu-lum	zu	zì [ <i>nindabû</i> food offerings]	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 85 (Commentary II)

**e/i**

[ <sup>d</sup> ]nè-an-na	nè	ní <i>puluhtu</i> terror	Hymn to the Queen of Nippur III 63
[é-me-l]ám-ṛan-naṛ	lám(NE)	ní <i>palāhu</i> revere	Nippur Temple List <i>BTT</i> 19 17'
[é-te-me-en-an-k]i	te	ti <i>leqû</i> perform	<i>BTT</i> 3 6'

**3.2.17 Consonantal groups**

Elements of a name or word could be interpreted as other phonetic values by changes within consonantal groups, as observed by many scholars (eg. Frahm, 2011, p.71; Lambert, 2013, p.167). This speculative method is clearly evidenced in the text corpus by the explanations in Commentary II and those compositions containing expressly contrived writings. **Section 3.2.19.4** illustrates consonantal changes where a contrived writing is used, or some other change to the name is implicit in the speculative interpretation. The more common practice is presented here: an element of a name is understood to contain a different consonant and interpreted accordingly. The name is otherwise respected and is written conventionally.

The changes within consonantal groups observed in this corpus are between the dentals d t ṭ, velars g k q and sibilants s ṣ z š. This last is not, to modern scholars, a consonantal group but s ṣ z and š were evidently regarded as sufficiently similar by the ancients to allow interchange of phonemes. b/p interchange also occurred (see Frahm, 2011, p.71), but does not appear to feature in this corpus.

**d t ṭ**

The freedom to choose other sign values for interpretation through changes within the consonantal group d t ṭ is demonstrated by speculative interpretation of the name Tutu(<sup>d</sup>tu-tu) in *Enūma eliš* VII, as explained in Commentary II. tu is repeatedly understood as an element with the dental d (dù, du<sub>8</sub> and du<sub>10</sub>).

Commentary II understood tu as dù from Tutu’s third name, <sup>d</sup>tu-tu <sup>d</sup>zi-kù *šalšiš imbû* “Tutu-ziku they named (him) thirdly” (*Enūma eliš* VII 19). The commentarist noted dù as *banû* “create” and *né-bu-‘u’* (intending perhaps *nabû* “call” or *nību* “naming”), words which reflect the giving of the name (*imbû*) and the call into existence which a name-giving effects (Bottéro, 1977, p.22 §25; Lambert, 1998a, p.192, 2013, p.469). Commentary II again understood tu as dù in l.10, here noting dù *sagû* “sanctuary”, not a usual correspondence. By dù, the commentarist evidently had in mind the Akkadian homophone *dû* (*tu’u*) (**section 3.2.14**), a synonym of *sagû*, given together in the Akkadian synonym list *malku = šarru* I 252-253 (ed. Hrůša, 2010).

tu is understood as du<sub>8</sub> in l.12 where, read as gaba, it is *irtum* “breast”; and in l.18 where, understood as part of the Sumerian compound šu-du<sub>8</sub>, it gives *kullum* “consider” (Bottéro, 1977, p.22 §24; Lenzi, 2015, p.742).

tu is interpreted as du<sub>10</sub> *tābu* “be sweet”, to describe Tutu-Ziku(<sup>d</sup>tu-tu <sup>d</sup>zi-kù) as *il šāri tābi* “God of the fair wind”(l.20).

The change t/ṭ is not exemplified in the text corpus (save in the contrived writing <sup>d</sup>dù-ṭu for Tutu, Marduk Names List 24).

Commentary II demonstrates that a consonantal change might be coupled with a vowel change for speculative purposes: tu is understood as da (*šū* “he” (ll.9-10), *lū* “may” and *šaqû* “be high” (l.13)). (For vowel changes, **sections 3.2.16, 3.2.19.3**).

### **g k q**

Interchange of g and k occurs in the corpus. Two fragmentary passages from Commentary II appear to evidence that, in the commentarist’s analysis, g could be exchanged with k for speculative purposes. Explaining the name Enbilulu-Gugal(<sup>d</sup>gú-gal) in *Enūma eliš* VII 64-65, the Commentary notes kù as *nā[du]* “laud” and (perhaps) *ḥ[egallu]*. Evidently here kù renders gú.

The interpretation of k as g is evidenced in two passages from an explanatory list:

é-kur *bītu mutīr gimil šarri* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §5 21')

House which returns the king's kindness

kur is understood as gur *tāru* "return" (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.444).

é-kiš-nu-gál<sup>giš-nu-gál</sup> *bītu ša kakkūšu lā immahḫarū* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 11')

House whose weapons cannot be opposed

kiš is interpreted as giš *kakku* "weapon", as the gloss also suggests.

The name of Marduk's foe from *Enūma eliš* VI 29-30 is usually read as Qingu, not Kingu (Tallqvist, 1938, pp.342,437 Qi-in-gu; Lambert, 2013 and others), and likewise Marduk's name Irqingu(<sup>d</sup>ir-qin-gu). If so correctly read, the consonantal change q/k occurs for the etymological basis of the description of Irqingu(<sup>d</sup>ir-qin-gu):

*muttabbil tērēt napḫari mukīn bēlūti* (*Enūma eliš* VII 106)

Who administers all commands, establishes dominion

*tērtu* corresponds to kin, rendering qin; likewise kin is understood for qin in 1.107, where the name etymologised is Qingu, not Kinma(<sup>d</sup>kin-ma) (so Lambert, 2013, p.490).

The q/k change, if sound, seems to be evidenced only here in the corpus.

*s ṣ z š*

Consonantal interchange between the sibilants s ṣ z is not well-evidenced in the corpus. Interpretation of an element commencing with z by one commencing s seems clear from epithets in two broken lines in a list, restored by Lambert from the same sequence of names in *Enūma eliš* VII 43-56. <sup>d</sup>zāḫ-rim and <sup>d</sup>zāḫ-gú-rim (both names lost) are characterised as *ešū raggī* and *ešū napḫar raggī* ("who confuses (all) the evil ones") respectively (Marduk Names List, 34-35). The etymological explanation is given by CAD E 378-379, explaining zāḫ as saḫ<sub>4</sub> *ešū* (confuse), *gú napḫar* (totality), *rim raggu* (evil). saḫ<sub>4</sub> may be read sūḫ, but the z/s change is still substantiated.

Interchange between s/š is more difficult to identify securely. Akkadian articulation of Sumerian phonology indicates an ambiguity between these phonemes from an Akkadian perspective (evident in the lexical correspondences of both sa<sub>6</sub> and ša<sub>6</sub> with *damāqu* “be good”). This ambiguity clouds whether this consonantal interchange for speculative purposes is at work. The change s/š is perhaps observable. The element sù from the gate-name ká-ḫi-li-sù seems to be reflected in the narrative *ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, interpreted as šu<sub>4</sub>:

*ina ká-ḫi-li-sù šēp Zarpanītum annabik (ludlul bēl nēmeqi IV 90; ed. Lambert, 1960, now V 53, ed. Oshima, 2014, reading annabik CAD A/I 9)*

In the Gate sprinkled with Luxuriance I fell at the feet of Zarpanītu

Lexical evidence equates *abāku* “overturn” and šu<sub>4</sub>: <sup>šu-u</sup> a-ba-lu : -ku Aa II/4 48 *MSL* XIV p.281 (note too in bilingual texts *tabāku* šú-šú CAD A/I 9, T 10 notes). The lexical equation supports the reading *annabik* rather than *annašiq* “I kissed (?)”.

s is perhaps also interpreted as š in the description of Asaralimnunna<sup>d</sup> (asar-alim-nun-na) as *muštēširu* “administrator” (*Enūma eliš* VII 6), where the epithet seems to be prompted by near-homophony between asar and the verb *ešēru* (**section 3.2.14**).

Conversely, š/s change appears to be illustrated in explanations of é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> in temple lists (see George, *Topog.Texts*, p.453): ša<sub>4</sub> is perhaps interpreted as sa *riksu* “bond” and *rakāsu* “bind” (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 c; Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 12'-14'), and as sa *dāmu* (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 16').

Interchange with š is evidenced in the Gula hymn (l.112' *sila/šillu* and perhaps l.129'), but does not appear to be evidenced elsewhere in the corpus.

### 3.2.18 Part only of element used

The cuneiform syllabary gave enormous potential for different writings of names, ripe for speculative interpretation. **Section 3.2.19** illustrates the speculative method of contrived orthography and its tools. Contrived orthography typically involved explicit or implicit alternative syllabification of the usual writing of a name. However, it seems that sometimes part only of an element could be taken for interpretation. A phonetic

part could notionally be extracted from the element and interpreted. Evidence for this is supplied by the E-sagil Commentary, *BTT 5*:

[é-sa<sub>7</sub>]-kìl *bītu bānû naphar il[ī]*

[sa<sub>7</sub> ba-nu]-ú kíl *napharu il i[lu]* (7-8)

House, creator of all the gods

[sa<sub>7</sub> create] kíl entirety il g[od]

The interlinear explanation shows that the contrived element kíl is first used in full as *napharu*; a phonetic part is extracted from kíl and realised by il *ilu* “god”. Likewise, gil is used in full to express Marduk’s name, and again, as to part of its phonetics, as gi *rubû*:

[é-sa<sub>12</sub>-a]n-gil *bītu šubat rubê Marūduk*

[s]ag *ašābu ʿgiʿ rubû gil<sup>d</sup>marūduk* (11-12)

House, Dwelling of the prince Marduk

sag dwell gi prince gil Marduk

This speculative method occurs in *Enūma eliš*, where Lugal-durmaḥ(<sup>d</sup>lugal-dur-maḥ/<sup>d</sup>lugal-dúr-maḥ) is described as:

*ša ina šubat šarrūti šurbû* (*Enūma eliš* VII 96)

Who is greatest in the abode of kingship

Commentary II: lú *ša* who ku *ina in dūr šubtum* abode lugal *šarru* king maḥ *rubû* important

This sub-clause interprets <sup>d</sup>lugal-dúr-maḥ in all its elements, but lugal is used twice, according to Commentary II: in full as *šarru* and in part as lú (*ša*). The double use suggests that this interpretation is not underpinned by a syllabified contrived orthography of the name. It indicates that the commentator might freely use part of the element lugal for interpretation, doubtless having in mind the meaning of lugal as the “big man”, lú gal.

Similarly, in an interpretation of é-kur:

é-kur *bītu mutīr gimil šarri* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §5 21')

House which returns the king's kindness

kur is understood as gur *tāru* “return”, and seems also to be broken into u (umun *šarru*) and ur (<sup>ur</sup>ur<sub>5</sub> *gi<sup>l</sup>millu*) (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.444). This suggests that, rather than an implicit syllabification of é-kur, phonetic parts are extracted from kur for interpretation.

An explanatory work speculates on Enlil's name <sup>d</sup>idim, to equate Enlil with the mythological figure Narru:

íd *nāru na-a-ra* <sup>d</sup>enlil(idim)

River is *nāru*; *narru* is Enlil (i-NAM-giš-ḫur-an-ki-a 4 extract; Livingstone's translation)

Here íd, the logogram for *nāru* “river”, appears to be extracted from idim, linking Enlil with Narru by the homophony *nāru/Narru* (Livingstone, 1986, p.46). An implicit syllabification of idim seems unlikely.

These illustrations suggest that a part only of an element might be taken for interpretation, but it is difficult to be completely confident of this. In many cases other explanations of the speculative methods at work can be given. The E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5, and Commentary II both illustrate how freely names could be syllabified. Not all elements of a syllabified name need be used (**section 3.2.5**); hence it is not remarkable that part only of the phonetics of a name might be used. Sometimes perhaps the interpretative element used was regarded as a near-homophone, rather than part of an element (so, perhaps, the interpretation of *dúr* as du<sub>14</sub> *šāltu* “combat”, Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 20' [é-bára-dú]r-gar-ra). Unless the work contains some strong pointer to another conclusion, syllabification may usually be understood as the speculative method where some part of a name is interpreted (**section 3.2.19.1**).

Further unequivocal evidence is needed for safe conclusions as to this speculative method.

### 3.2.19 Contrived Orthography

The text corpus provides outstanding examples of explicitly contrived orthographies of sacred names and the speculative interpretation of such unusual writings. The principal examples of contrived orthographies occur in the following:

*Tintir* I 4-7 (Babylon as Šuanna)

E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 (é-sag-íl)

Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 7'- 8',11'-13' (<sup>giš</sup>kiri<sub>6</sub>-maḥ, é-kiš-nu-gál)

Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 [1'] 2'-10' (é-kur, é-ki-ùr/é-ki-uru<sub>12</sub>)

Marduk Names List 21-27 (Tutu)

Such writings and their Akkadian explanations provide a key to the speculative methods used by ancient scholars from which an analysis of these methods can be distilled. Contrived writing is itself a method of speculative interpretation, a tool for exploration and creation of meaning. Commenting on the contrived spelling of Šuanna as Si-anna and Sa-anna (*Tintir* I 4-7), George, *Topog.Texts*, p.243, noted the scholar's device "By these means he finds meanings of Šuanna appropriate to Babylon's exalted theological and cosmological position."

The analysis of the exposition of Marduk's names provided by Commentary II shows that a writing of a name may be notionally recast, broken into syllables for speculative interpretation. This approach is confirmed by analysis of other speculative explanations where no ancient commentary is available. For interpretive purposes, the elements of a name as written are not respected. The phonetics are broken down (so, kur, understood as ku-u-ur Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §5 16'); or syllabified differently (so, ir derived from <sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru *Enūma eliš* VII 128). Specific readings are understood in a morpheme or word thus recast; consequently, the notional recasting of a name is treated in this analysis as an implicitly contrived orthography. Contrived writings, explicit and implicit, were interpreted using the speculative methods described in **section 3.2**.

Contrived orthography, explicit or implicit, may simply take the form of syllabification. This is considered first in this analysis (**section 3.2.19.1**). The use of homophones requires special comment (**section 3.2.19.2**). **Sections 3.2.19.3-3.2.19.6** illustrate the

treatment of vowels and consonants in the contrived environment. **Sections 3.2.19.7-3.2.19.8** consider some highly contrived writings.

### 3.2.19.1 Syllabification

By understanding a name to be written with syllables different from its customary orthography, scholars opened up for speculative purposes all the meanings those contrived spellings might convey. The cuneiform syllabary offered wide scope for alternative syllabic writings. In the speculative method described here, the exploitation of syllabification for speculative ends is illustrated, first in explicitly contrived orthography, and then where contrived orthography is implicit.

#### *Explicitly contrived orthography*

The use of alternative syllabification for speculative purposes is strikingly displayed in the different writings of *é-sag-íl* contrived by the compiler of the E-sagil Commentary, *BTT 5*. The contrived writings seem to interpret the conventional orthography *é-sag-íl*, rather than the variant *é-sag-gíl*, as indicated by the explanation *bītu našâ rēš[i]* “House with top elevated” (l.1, similarly l.2), translating *é-sag-íl*. With George’s restorations (for the most part reconstructed from the interlinear commentary and the Akkadian text), the composition exhibits the following contrived spellings, all (broadly) reflecting the phonetics of *é-sag-íl* (syllables preserved by the interlinear commentary shown in bold):

[*é-sa-ág-gil*] (3)

[*é-sag-**il-la***] (5)

[*é-sa<sub>7</sub>]-kìl*] (7)

[*é-sa<sub>4</sub>-**ki**]-‘il’*] (9)

[*é-sa<sub>12</sub>-a]n-gil*] (11)

[*é-s]a<sub>12</sub>-an-aga-íl*] (13)

[*é-s]a-an-gi-íl*] (15)

[*é-s]a<sub>6</sub>-an-gil*] (17)

[*é-sa-**ág-gi**]-il*] (19)

[*é-sì-a]n-ki-il*] (21)

[*é-sá]-gil*] (23)

[*é-sa-**an**]-gíl*] (25)

[é-si-**an-g**]íl (27)

[é-sa<sub>4</sub>-**an-gí**]l (29)

Even if not all restorations are completely secure (see George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.75, 387-389), the preserved text illustrates the versatility of re-syllabification. (See sections **3.2.19.2-3.2.19.7** for other changes).

Another explanatory list contains explicitly contrived writings, syllabified for speculative purposes: <sup>giš</sup>kiri<sub>6</sub>-maḥ is rendered as ʿki-irʿ-rù-maḥ and ki-ér-ʿmaḥʿ; é-kiš-nu-gál as é-ká-èš-nun-gal (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 7'-8',13').

E-kiur, Ninlil's sanctuary in Nippur, is usually written é-ki-ùr, probably to be read é-ki-uru<sub>12</sub> (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.452). The name is syllabified as é-ki-u-ru (supporting the reading é-ki-uru<sub>12</sub>) and explained accordingly (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 6'-10').

From these explicit examples, two inferences can be made as to the methods of syllabification: first, an element may be broken into phonetic parts and syllabified accordingly; secondly, the morpheme boundary may be disregarded. These are illustrated in turn.

*An element may be broken into phonetic parts*

sag is evidently broken into sa-ág in the E-sagil Commentary:

[é-sa-ág-gil] [b]ītu narām M[arūduk]

[ág narāmu gi]l <sup>d</sup>m[arūduk] (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 3-4)

House, loved by M[ar duk]

[ág beloved gi]l M[ar duk]

[é-sa-ág-g]i-il bītu ēpiš kullati rā'im kitti

[ág epēšu] gi epēšu gi kullatum gi kittum ág rāmu (19-20)

House which makes everything, loves truth

[ág make] gi make gi everything gi truth ág love

The restoration of ág is assured by the Akkadian correspondences *narāmu*, *rāmu*; sa (or a homophone) is required to complete the phonetics.

Unequivocally, syllabifying E-kiur (é-ki-ùr/é-ki-uru<sub>12</sub>), ùr or uru<sub>12</sub> becomes u-ru (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 6'-10'). kiri<sub>6</sub> (from <sup>giš</sup>kiri<sub>6</sub>-maḥ) is written ʿki-irʿ-rù and ki-ér; and kiš (é-kiš-nu-gál) is broken down as ká-èš (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 7'-8',13').

### *Morpheme boundary disregarded*

The inventive orthography of the E-sagil Commentary evidences that a morpheme boundary could be disregarded and the name freely re-syllabified. The spellings [é-sa-ág-gil] and [é-sa-ág-g]i-il (ll.3-4, 19-20 where ág-gil seems clear and ág-gi certain) show the boundary of sag blurred by consonantal doubling. The phoneme g is thus made available in separate syllables for interpretation. The spellings perhaps reflect (but do not replicate) the common late orthography é-sag-gíl (*HMH* 967).

More commonly, this scholar disregarded the morpheme boundary entirely, breaking the morpheme and recasting its phonetics. The spellings [é-sa<sub>7</sub>]-kìl, [é-sa<sub>4</sub>-ki]-ʿilʿ and [é-sá]-gil, where k/g is transposed to the last part of the name, demonstrate this:

[é-sa<sub>7</sub>]-kìl *bītu bānû naphar il[i]*

[sa<sub>7</sub> ban]û kíl napharu ìl i[lu] (7-8)

House, creator of all the gods

[sa<sub>7</sub> create] kíl entirety ìl g[od]

[é-sa<sub>4</sub>-ki]-ʿilʿ *bītu nābû naphar isrāt[i]*

[sa<sub>4</sub> nab]û ki-il napharu ša isrāti (9-10)

House, which calls into being all fields(?)

[sa<sub>4</sub> cal]l ki-il entirety ša fields(?)

[é-sá]-gil *bītu kāšid naphar qardamu*

[sá kašā]du kíl napharu gil qardamu (23-24)

House which overwhelms the enemy

[sì o]verwhelm gi enemy

(The interlinear explanations support the restored orthographies).

The morpheme boundary is disregarded in the more ornate orthography [é-s]a-an-gi-íl, where, again, the phoneme g is transposed to the last part of the name and the phoneme n is introduced:

[é-s]a-an-gi-íl *bītu nāšû šarūru*

[sa] *šarūru* íl *našû* (15-16)

House which bears brilliance

[sa] brilliance íl bear

Similarly, ll.11-14,17-22,25-30 (see further **section 3.2.19.5**).

### ***Implicitly contrived orthography***

The analysis given by Commentary II clearly demonstrates how the commentator understood the divine names to be broken into syllables for speculative interpretation, which, as the commentator sought to show, explained each word of the exposition of Marduk's names in *Enūma eliš* VII. Bottéro (1977, p.16 §8) explained that many elements identified by the commentator “ne s’y trouvaient que *virtuellement*; .... il a fallu, pour ainsi dire, les découper du continu phonétique que forment les divers Noms”. Bottéro’s “découper”, the cutting of these “virtual” elements from names, is here described as implicitly contrived orthography.

A few extracts from Commentary II clearly illustrate the contrived syllabification of the name understood by the commentator. The table below presents the conventional orthography of the divine name and an extract from Commentary II showing syllables (capitalised for comparison) and their correspondences, beside the pertinent *Enūma eliš* line reference.

VII 1	<sup>d</sup> asar-re	RU <i>šarāku</i> grant SAR <i>mīrištu</i> farmland A <i>isratu</i> plough-land <sup>si</sup> DU <i>kānu</i> be firm
VII 91	<sup>d</sup> lugal-áb-dúbur	LUGAL <i>šar[ru]</i> king BIR <i>sap[āḥu]</i> scatter <sup>du</sup> DÙ <i>ep[ēšu]</i> do AB <i>tāmti[m]</i> sea BU <i>nasāḥ[u]</i> uproot <sup>du</sup> DÙ <i>kak[ku]</i> weapon
VII 114	dingir-é-sískur	E <sub>11</sub> <i>eli</i> besides RA <i>šāšu</i> he KU <i>ṭēmu</i> intention UD <sup>r</sup> ū <sup>’</sup> <i>mu</i> day RA [ <i>lā</i> ] not ZU [ <i>i</i> ] <i>dū</i> know DINGIR [ <i>i</i> ] <i>lum</i> god ZU <i>m[amm]an</i> somebody
VII 117	<sup>d</sup> girru(BIL-GI)	GI <i>p[alkū]</i> wide GI <i>u[znu]</i> understanding <sup>ru</sup> DÙ <sup>r</sup> e <sup>’</sup> [ <i>pēšu</i> ] do GI <i>ḥ[asīsu]</i> wisdom
VII 136-138	<sup>d</sup> bēl mātāti	(136) MA <i>šumu</i> name MA <i>nabū</i> call A <i>abu</i> father (137) MA <i>zīkrī</i> name DINGIR <i>Igīgī</i> Igigi MA <i>nību</i> naming (138) x <i>šemū</i> hear [x] <sup>d</sup> [ <i>Ea</i> ] Ea x <i>k[abattu]</i> heart LI <i>rā[šu]</i> rejoice LI <i>nag[ū]</i> sing LI <i>ḥe[lū]</i> be cheerful

These extracts very obviously represent the divine name. Commentary II contains many other examples.

As in explicitly contrived orthography, an element may be broken into its phonetic constituents and the morpheme boundary may be disregarded, illustrated in turn below.

*An element may be broken into phonetic parts*

Implicit syllabification of a morpheme into its phonetic parts can be observed from an explanation of é-kur:

é-kur *bītu ḥāmim tērēt ilī* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §5 16')

House which gathers the gods' instructions

é-kur is evidently understood as é-ku-u-ur. é is *bītu*, ku unused, u understood as ù *ilu*, and ur as ur<sub>4</sub> *ḥamāmu* “gather” and ur<sub>5</sub> *tērtu* “instruction” (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.444). Again, in the same composition, kur appears to be implicitly broken:

[é-ku]r *bītu nabû nišī* (28')

House, which called the people into being

“Here perhaps kur is analysed as gu (... gù-(dé) = *nabû*) and ur (well-known for *amēlu*, here *nišû*” (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.444; similarly, in l.27' kur is understood as gu (ugu<sub>4</sub> (KU) *banû*) and ur).

Another temple list contains an explanation of é-ki-ùr, implicitly breaking down ùr:

é-ki-ùr *bīt ašar balāṭ[u išš]arraku* (Assyrian Temple List, *BTT* 20 §4 149)

House, the place where life is granted

Here ùr (or uru<sub>12</sub>, George, *Topog.Texts*, p.452) is understood as u *balāṭu* “life” and ru *šarāku* “grant”. The implicit syllabification replicates the explicitly contrived orthography in Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 7' noted above; its interpretation is closely paralleled here (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.460).

Commentary II's analysis that asar of <sup>d</sup>asar-re is broken into a and sar (*Enūma eliš* VII 1) is given in the table above. asar is again broken and reused in the commentator's explanation of l.2 as <sup>ru</sup>dù *banû* “create” sar *šé'im* “barley” sar *qû* “flax” <sup>ma</sup>sa *ašû* “go out” sar *arqu* “greenery”. In a hymn to Nabû, asar is clearly understood as broken in the same way:

*šalšu šumka* <sup>d</sup>asar-re *šitnunu muqattir qutr[i]* (Hymn to Nabû 11)

Your third name is Asarre, the fighter, who makes smoke

Seux (1976, p.135) tentatively, but surely correctly, noted the epithet *muqattir qutr[i]* as drawn from sar, a logogram for *qutturu* “make smoke”. *šitnunu* appears to reflect another implicit syllabification of asar: *sá* equates to *šanānu* “oppose”, commonly written *sá-sá* (CAD Š/I 366).

Commentary II illustrates how <sup>d</sup>lugal-áb-dúbur is understood as <sup>d</sup>lugal-ab-dù-bir (l.91) (see table above). <sup>d</sup>lugal-áb-dúbur is restored by Lambert in an explanatory list from the Akkadian epithets:

[<sup>d</sup>lugal-áb-dúbur ša]r *kala timeāti*

[                                    ša]r *naphar timeāti* (Marduk Names List 6-7)

[king] of all the oceans

The orthography implied by the explanations is perhaps lugal-ab-dù-bi (Lambert, 2013, p.489), *tâmtu* (*timeāti*) corresponding to ab, *napharu* and *kala* to dù, bi a Sumerian possessive element. The epithets confirm that *dúbur* is certainly implicitly broken to give dù.

### *Morpheme boundary disregarded*

The blurring of the morpheme boundary by consonantal doubling (as E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 3-4,19-20) has not been observed in implicitly contrived orthographies in the corpus, save in 1.68' of the Gula hymn (**section 6.1**). The disregard of the boundary and recasting of a morpheme's phonetics is evidenced in Commentary II's analysis. Two illustrations of this speculative method are presented here. First, as to Zulum(<sup>d</sup>zu-lum). The commentator's explanation is fragmentary, but the preserved syllables evidence the recasting of the morpheme boundary:

<sup>d</sup>zu[lum], ZU [*idû* know] <sup>u1</sup>KIB [*qerbetum* meadowland] AN [*ana* for] DINGIR [*ilum* god] BA(zu, Bottéro) [*palāku* divide] U[L *banû* create] (Commentary II: 84)

<sup>u1</sup>KIB implies zu-ùl-(um) for zu-lum.

Secondly, Nēberu(<sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru). Commentary II's analysis of lines describing Nēberu contains explanations based on ir<sub>5</sub> (ll.128-129,131), extracting the syllable from the phonetic continuum and notionally recasting -bé-ru. Likewise, explaining *likmi tiāmat* "He shall bind Tiāmat" (l.132), the commentator extracts both ir *kamû* "bind" and érim *tâmtim* "sea" from <sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru, demonstrating once again how freely the conventional orthography might be notionally understood for speculative purposes.

### **3.2.19.2 Homophony**

**Section 3.2.11** illustrates how an element may be understood as a homophone and interpreted accordingly, in both conventional orthography and explicitly contrived

writings. This present section notes speculative methods involving homophones specific to explicitly and implicitly contrived writings.

Homophones are deployed in some contrived writings. In an explanatory list Tutu(<sup>d</sup>tu-tu) is written as <sup>d</sup>tu<sub>6</sub>-tu<sub>6</sub> (Marduk Names List 23). The contrived spellings of Babylon's name Šuanna(š<sub>u</sub>-an-na<sup>ki</sup>) as sa-an-na<sup>ki</sup> and sa<sub>4</sub>-an-na<sup>ki</sup> exploit the homophones sa/sa<sub>4</sub> (*Tintir* I 6-7). The contrived writings of the E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5, seem to interpret the conventional orthography é-sag-íl (**section 3.2.18.1**). The homophones íl, ìl and il render íl. íl (*našû* “carry”) is conventionally written and interpreted in ll.13-16. In ll.5-6 the interlinear explanation confirms íl is written as ìl(an) for interpretation:

[é-sag-ìl-la] [*ē*]kal lalê ilī ša šamê

[é-sag *ēkallum*] la lalû ìl ilu ìl šamû (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 5-6)

Palace desired by the gods of the heavens

[é-sag palace] la desire ìl god ìl heavens

Elsewhere íl is il (ll.9, 19, 21), but not separately interpreted.

Where a name is implicitly syllabified for speculation, a reading which reflected the phonetics could be chosen to serve speculative ends, as the E-sagil Commentary illustrates. kíl (written ki-il in l.9, where also equated with *napharu*) is implicitly broken to supply ìl:

[é-sa<sub>7</sub>]-kíl *bītu bānû naphar il[ī]* (7-8)

[sa<sub>7</sub> *ba-nu*]-ú kíl *napharu* ìl i[lu]

House, creator of all the gods

[sa<sub>7</sub> create] kíl entirety ìl g[od]

In implicitly contrived orthography, more than one reading of the phonetic element might be understood, exploiting homophony in the cuneiform system. An interpretation of é-kur illustrates:

é-kur *bītu hāmim tērēt ilī* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §5 16')

House which gathers the gods' instructions

For the etymological interpretation, *kur* is broken into *ku* (unused), *u* (<sup>ú</sup>*u ilum* “god”) and *ur*, understood as the homophonous readings *ur*<sub>4</sub> *ḥamāmu* “gather” and *ur*<sub>5</sub> *têrtu* “instruction” (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.444). The use of two different readings shows that the scholar was evidently free to select any of the homophones available for the contrived syllable to serve his speculative interpretation. This is confirmed by Commentary II.

Commentary II’s analysis of speculation on *Asaralim*(<sup>d</sup>*asar-alim*) evidences particularly clearly that readings to supply phonetics could be freely selected from the available homophones. The syllable *sa* is taken from *asar* and understood as *sa*, *sá* and *sa*<sub>5</sub>(*diri*) (Bottéro, 1977, p.20 §21):

<sup>d</sup>*asar-alim ša ina bīt milki kabtu šūturu milikšu*

*ilānū ūtaqqû adīršu aḥzū (Enūma eliš VII 3-4)*

*Asaralim*, who is respected in the house of counsel, whose counsel surpasses

The gods pay attention and fear him

Commentary II: <sup>d</sup>*asar-alim*, *sa bītu* house *sá milku* counsel *alim kabtu* respected *sa atru* surpassing *sá milku* counsel

*dingir ilum* god *sa uqqû* heed [*dir*]i-*diri adāru* fear [*dir*]i-*diri aḥāzu* take

The commentator understands the contrived syllable as *sa*, to supply *bītu* and *uqqû*; *sá milku*; and as *sa*<sub>5</sub>(*diri*) *adāru* and *aḥāzu*, and, it seems, *atru*(“*sa*”), exploiting both homophony and polyvalence.

### 3.2.19.3 Vowels

The interchange of vowels for interpretation described in **section 3.2.16** is borne out in contrived spellings. Unusual writings which demonstrate the etymological basis of their Akkadian interpretation clearly evidence the practice. The contrived spellings of Babylon’s name Šuanna(šu-an-na<sup>ki</sup>) as *si-an-na*<sup>ki</sup>, *sa-an-na*<sup>ki</sup> and *sa*<sub>4</sub>-an-na<sup>ki</sup> (*Tintir* I 4-7) contain vowel change for speculative purposes (see George, *Topog.Texts*, p.243).

The ingenious manipulation of names in a list of sacred places of Nippur displays how freely the phonetics might be treated:

<i>Conventionally</i>	<i>Contrived</i>	<i>Vowel change</i>	<i>Source</i>
giš <sup>6</sup> kiri <sub>6</sub> -maḥ	ʿki-irʿ-rù-maḥ	ki <u>ri</u> <sub>6</sub> as ki-ir- <u>rù</u>	Nippur Compendium <i>BTT</i> 18 §6 7'
giš <sup>6</sup> kiri <sub>6</sub> -maḥ	ki-ér-ʿmaḥʿ	<u>ki</u> <sub>6</sub> as ki-ér	Nippur Compendium <i>BTT</i> 18 §6 8'
é-kiš-nu-gál	é-kéš- <sup>d</sup> nun-gal	kiš as kéš	<i>BTT</i> 18 §6 12'
é-kiš-nu-gál	é-ká-èš-nun-gal	kiš (“kéš”12') as ká-èš	<i>BTT</i> 18 §6 13'

Where a contrived rendering of a name implicitly underlies the speculative interpretation, the speculative method can also be detected. Examples of vocalic interchange are given below. In all of the following illustrations, the name is implicitly syllabified for interpretation although the syllable subject to vowel change may not be affected (so, <sup>d</sup>asar-re (*Enūma eliš* VII 2, Commentary II) is implicitly broken into syllables sar and rú). Commentary II supplies the illustrations from *Enūma eliš* VII.

	<i>Name</i>	<i>Element</i>	<i>Interpreted as</i>	<i>Source</i>
a/i	[kar-za-gìn-na]	kar	ki-ár: ki <i>ašru</i> place ár <i>tanittu</i> praise	<i>BTT</i> 3 9'

a/u	<sup>d</sup> ma-ru-uk-ka	uk-ka	ùku ( <i>nišū</i> people): -šunu them	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VI 133
u/a	<sup>d</sup> né-bé-ru	ru	ra ša whose <i>ina</i> in <i>lā</i> not	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 128

e/i	<sup>d</sup> né-bé-ru	<sup>d</sup> né-bé- <u>ru</u>	ir <sub>5</sub> <i>qerbu</i> middle	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 128
i/e	<sup>d</sup> girru(BIL/NE-GI)	<u>gir</u> ru	<u>érim</u> t[ <i>âmtum</i> ] sea, Tiāmat	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 116

e/u	<sup>d</sup> asar-re	re	rú <i>banû</i> create	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 2
i/u	dingir-é-sískur	<u>s</u> ískur	zu [i]dû know <i>m[amm]an</i> somebody	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 114
u/i	<sup>d</sup> lugal-áb-dúbur	dúbur	dù-bir: dù <i>ep[ēšu]</i> do <i>kak[ku]</i> weapon bir <i>sap[āḥu]</i> scatter	<i>Enūma eliš</i> VII 91

Here the interchange of e with both i and u is observed.

The contrived writing *ki-ér* for *kiri*<sub>6</sub> to render <sup>giš</sup>*kiri*<sub>6</sub>-maḥ (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 8') shows that final vowels might be ignored. Final vowels could also be implied, according to Commentary II. Explaining *Enūma eliš* VII 112-114 extolling Dingir-Esiskur(dingir-é-sískur), the commentator notes the syllables ru (l.112) ra (ll.112,114) ri and rú (l.113), all derived from *sískur* and interpreted etymologically. Similarly in l.138 (*Bēl-mātāti*), the commentator evidently derived *li* from *bēl*.

### 3.2.19.4 Consonantal groups

Contrived writing effected for speculative purposes explicitly evidences the interchange within consonantal groups which is implicit in conventional writings (**section 3.2.17**). In implicitly contrived orthography too consonantal interchange is understood.

#### *d t ṭ*

The free interpretation of dentals for speculative purposes is explicitly demonstrated in the Marduk Names List, where descriptions are set beside contrived writings of *Tutu*(<sup>d</sup>tu-tu) on which those descriptions are etymologically based.

t/d change is evidenced, as in **section 3.2.17**. tu is expressed by du, equated with (w)*arû* “lead”(DU<sup>tu-um</sup>-ma *arû Erimḥus* V 196 *MSL* XVII p.75; cf *ga-DU-DU mutarrû Izi* V 129 *MSL* XIII p.75):

<sup>d</sup>du-du *mutarrû ilānī* (Marduk Names List 25)

Leader of the gods

and by du<sub>11</sub>, equated with *takālu* “trust” (<sup>[du-ú]</sup>[KA] *takālu Aa III/2 136 MSL XIV p.330*):

<sup>d</sup>du<sub>11</sub>-du<sub>11</sub> *mutakkil ilānī* (22)

The one who has the gods’ trust

Both t/d and t/ṭ changes are evidenced. tu is expressed by dù and ṭu:

<sup>d</sup>dù-ṭu *bāni kala ilānī* (24)

Creator of all the gods

dù equates with both *banû* and *kalû*. ṭu(GÍN) read tùn also gives *kalû* (<sup>tu-unn</sup>tùn *kaluma Aa VIII/1 117 MSL XIV p.492*). Understanding ṭu as tùn underlines the ambiguity inherent in the consonantal change t/ṭ here.

### **g k q**

The contrived spellings of *é-sag-íl* given by the E-sagil Commentary provide ample evidence for the interchange of g and k for speculative ends. Explanations given by the interlinear commentary reinterpret k as g and *vice versa*, illustrating the fluidity between the voiced and voiceless consonants g and k for this purpose.

*é-sag-íl* is rendered as [é-sa<sub>7</sub>]-kìl *bītu bānû naphar il[ī]* “House, creator of all the gods” (ll.7-8) and [é-sa<sub>4</sub>-ki]-‘il’ *bītu nābû naphar isrāt[ī]* “House, which calls into being all the fields(?)” (ll.9-10), where kíl and ki-il correspond to *napharu* “totality”. In the artificial re-casting, kíl and ki-il deliver the phonetics of the end of the name.

ll.21-22 demonstrate the flexible interchange g/k and k/g. ki-il expresses the phonetics but ki is explained as gi:

[é-sì-a]n-ki-il *bītu sāpin ayyābi*

[sì s]apānu gi *ayyābi* (21-22)

House which overwhelms the enemy

[sì o]verwhelm gi enemy

The seamless interchange of g and k occurs where gil is explained by both kíl and gil:

[é-sá]-gil *bītu kāšid naphar qardāmū*  
 [sá *kašā*]du kíl *napharu* gil *qardāmu* (23-24)  
 House which overcomes all adversaries  
 [sá over]come kíl totality gil adversary

Less explicitly, gi is understood variously:

[é-sa-ág-g]i-il *bītu ēpiš kullati rā'im kitti*  
 [ág *epēšu*] gi *epēšu* gi *kullatum* gi *kittum* ág *rāmu* (19-20)  
 House which makes everything, loves truth  
 [ág make] gi make gi everything gi truth ág love

gi itself gives both *kullatum* and *kittum*. The evidence that g and k are readily interchangeable confirms the suggestion that the scholar's equation gi *epēšu* derives from the correspondence <sup>ki-i</sup>kì *epēšu* (see George, *Topog.Texts*, p.388).

A k/g adjustment seems to occur for the Akkadian descriptions of é-kur, where a contrived writing of kur seems to be implicit:

´é´-kur *bī[*tu b*]ā[n]û nišī*  
 [é-ku]r *bītu nābû nišī* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §5 27'-28')  
 House, creator of the people  
 House, which called the people into being

“Here perhaps kur is analysed as gu (ugu<sub>4</sub> (KU) = *banû*); gù-(dé) = *nabû*) and ur (*amēlu*)” (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.444). The abundant evidence of k/g interchange supports this.

Interchange with q is not observed.

## s š z š

Evidence for the interchange of sibilants (including, for this purpose, š) is limited in the contrived writings (express and implicit) in the text corpus.

The exchange š/s is given by contrived spellings of Šuanna(š<sup>ki</sup>-an-na<sup>ki</sup>), which features prominently as the second name for Babylon in *Tintir I*:

š<sup>ki</sup>-an-na<sup>ki</sup> kimin(*bābilu*) *emūq šamê*

si-an-na<sup>ki</sup> kimin *nūr šamê*

sa-an-na<sup>ki</sup> kimin *markas šamê*

sa<sub>4</sub>-an-na<sup>ki</sup> kimin *nibīt šamê* (5-7)

Šuanna, Babylon, power of heaven

Si-anna, Babylon, light of heaven

Sa-anna, Babylon, bond of heaven

Sa-anna, Babylon, called into being by heaven

š<sup>ki</sup> is interpreted successively as si *nūru* “light”, sa *markasu* “bond” and sa<sub>4</sub> *nabû*, giving *nibītu* “naming” (George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.243-245), thereby explaining Babylon’s preeminence.

Conversely, s is perhaps š in one interpretation of é-sag-íl. The explanation in the E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 10 perhaps gives the equation ša *isrāti*; if read ša, here s/š change occurs. The consonantal change is not certain : ša may be read as sa<sub>20</sub> (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.387, there sa<sub>19</sub>).

Likewise, s is perhaps interpreted as š in Commentary II’s analysis explaining etymological derivation from Dingir-Esiskur(dingir-é-sískur):

*ilānū maḥrīšu lišēribū katrāšun* (*Enūma eliš* VII 110)

Let the gods deliver their gifts before him

Commentary II: dingir *ilum* god IGI *maḥru* front, [t]u *erēbu* enter [x] *katrû* gift

IGI commonly reads ši. The commentarist perhaps derived ši from sískur, changing the sibilant and understanding ši as igi, another common reading of the sign.

Commentary II's analysis reflects another implicit orthography of Dingir-Esiskur(dingir-é-sískur), in which the change s/z occurs:

*ela šāšu ṭēme ūmēšina lā i 'adda ilu mamman (Enūma eliš VII 114)*

No god but he knows the extent of their days

The commentator here notes zu as [i]dû “know” and m[amm]an “somebody”, evidently deriving zu from sískur.

Interchange with ṣ does not appear to be evidenced in contrived orthographies in the corpus.

### 3.2.19.5 Nasal consonant g (ḡ)

The name E-sagil gave opportunity to the composer of the E-sagil Commentary for one especially extraordinary speculative approach to its orthography. The nasal consonant g (ng) of Sumerian, now conventionally rendered as ḡ (so, “é-saḡ-íl”), is not normally reflected in Akkadian writing of the temple name, usually rendered é-sag-íl (also written é-sag-gíl *HMH* 967). In his contrived writings of the name, the scholar reflects his evident understanding of the phonology, deployed for speculative interpretation. The g of sag is dissimilated into separate phonemes n and g, clearly illustrated in almost whole lines:

[é-s]a-an-gi-íl *bītu nāšū šarūru*

[é-s]a<sub>6</sub>-an-gil *bīt ašarēdu ša melikšu damqu* (15,17)

House which bears brilliance

House of the leader whose counsel is good

The same writing appears to be deployed in ll.11-12, 25-30 (restored, George, *Topog.Texts*, p.80).

l.21 has a further variation. The voiced consonant g becomes the voiceless k: [é-sì-a]n-ki-il. The dissimilation is even expressed in particularly elaborate writing:

[é-s]a<sub>12</sub>-an-aga-íl *bītu nāšû agê šarrūti* (13)

House which bears the kingly crown

As George, *Topog.Texts*, p.387 noted, an seems redundant. Perhaps phonetically -an-(a)ga-íl is understood, realising the nasal ġ.

The nasal consonant is understood and treated differently in the Gula hymn (**section 6.1** l.32). This speculative method is not otherwise observed elsewhere in the text corpus.

### 3.2.19.6 Mimation

Commentary II's analysis relating to Marduk's name Nēberu(<sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru) suggests that, for this commentator at least, mimation (a word-final m) might be implied for speculation. *Enūma eliš* VII 128 illustrates this:

*mā ša qerbiš tiāmat ītebbiru lā nāḥiṣ*

Indeed, he who, back and forth, crossed the midst of the sea without resting

Commentary II: ma *mā* indeed ma *māru* son ra *ša* who ra *ina* in [']<sup>i</sup>ḥar *qerbu* middle érim *tāmtim* sea bu *ebēru* cross ra *lā* not ne *nāḥu* rest

Referring to the modification of the syllabary in the second millennium by the loss of mimation, Bottéro (1977, p.18 §13) explained Commentary II as reflecting an implied mimation to interpret -ru (“pour ainsi parler “virtuel” du M final”). Although Bottéro read rúm (hence -ru), not érim, Bottéro's analysis holds good for érim which, artificially understood as éri(m), broadly reflects the phonetics of Nēberu. It is from this m, Bottéro explains, that the commentator derived ma, to account for *mā* “indeed” (*māru* is unused in the received text). The point is perhaps signalled by the commentator's note érim-ma *t[āmtim]* (l.116).

This speculative method is not observed elsewhere in the corpus. It is unclear whether it reflects a recognised practice or, rather, the ingenuity of this commentator.

### 3.2.19.7 *Additional elements*

An additional element could be introduced into a name for speculation. This method of speculative interpretation is very rare in the corpus, but is evidenced in the contrived writings of é-sag-íl. This is clearly illustrated in one extended writing:

[é-s]<sub>a12</sub>-an-aga-íl *bītu nāšû agê šarrūti*

[s]<sub>a12</sub> *šarru sa<sub>12</sub> agû aga agû íl našû* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 13-14)

House which bears the kingly crown

[s]<sub>a12</sub> king sa<sub>12</sub> crown aga crown íl bear

The immediately preceding writing [é-sa<sub>12</sub>-a]n-gil (l.11) highlights that aga is added for its phonetics and to serve the scholarly speculation . an appears otiose, unless to realise the nasal ġ (section 3.2.19.5). Nevertheless, the writing displays the addition of the element aga.

Likewise, an addition evidenced by the interlinear commentary:

[é-sag-íl-la] [*ē*] *kal lalê ilī ša šamê* [( x x )]

[é-sag *ēkallum*] la *lalû ìl ilu ìl šamû* [ x x x ] (5-6)

Palace desired by the gods of the heavens

[é-sag palace] la desire ìl god ìl heavens

Otherwise phonetically otiose, la is evidently included to give further scope for interpretation.

For similar writings in the Gula hymn, see section 6.3.

### 3.2.19.8 *Unorthodox writings*

Contrived orthographies such as é-ki-u-ru (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 6'-10') clearly reflect a straightforward syllabification of the name é-ki-ùr/é-ki-uru<sub>12</sub>. The E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5, exhibits great virtuosity in its contrived orthographies. However a distinction can perhaps be made between writings which are unusual orthographies, and those contrived writings which go beyond merely abnormal spellings of a name.

The writings of *é-sag-íl* as [é-s]a<sub>12</sub>-an-aga-íl (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 13), <sup>giš</sup>kiri<sub>6</sub>-maḥ as ki-ir-rù-maḥ and ki-ér-maḥ and *é-kiš-nu-gál* as *é-kéš<sup>d</sup>-nun-gal* and *é-ká-èš-nun-gal* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 7'-8',12'-13') recast the name for speculative purposes. These artificial and highly unorthodox writings confirm that some ancient scholars felt free to be manipulate and recast sacred names in their quest for hidden meaning.

To these may be added Neanna([<sup>d</sup>]nè-an-na) (Hymn to the Queen of Nippur III 61). The name was so read by Lambert from its speculative interpretation and explained as “an orthographic variant of Inanna created specially for its orthography” (Lambert, 1982, p.212).

For unorthodox writings in the Gula hymn, see **section 6.3**.

### 3.2.20 Different elements, single equivalence

An Akkadian interpretation may be derived from different parts of the Sumerian name simultaneously. An elaborately contrived orthography of *é-sag-íl* and its explanation clearly illustrates this speculative method:

[é-s]a<sub>12</sub>-an-aga-íl *bītu nāšû agê šarrūti*

[s]a<sub>12</sub> *šarru sa<sub>12</sub> agû aga agû íl našû* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 13-14)

House which bears the kingly crown

[s]a<sub>12</sub> king sa<sub>12</sub> crown aga crown íl bear

The scholar demonstrates that *agû* in the epithet is conveyed in his writing by both sa<sub>12</sub>(sag) and aga. Likewise,

[é-sa-ág-g]i-il *bītu ēpiš kullati rā'im kitti*

[ág *epēšu*] gi *epēšu* gi *kullatum* gi *kittum* ág *rāmu* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 19-20)

House which makes everything, loves truth

[ág make] gi make gi everything gi truth ág love

Despite broken text, it seems likely that *epēšu* is conveyed by both *ág* and *gi* (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.388). The resultant elaborate order of 1.20 (*ág gi gi gi ág*) perhaps confirms the restoration.

Another damaged temple list (restored from *Tintir IV*) seems to reflect the same method:

[é-rab-ri-ri] *bītu rāḫiṣ nēberī* (*BTT 3 obv.11'*)

House which floods the crossings

*raḫāšu* is derived from both *ra* (from *rab*) and *ri-ri* (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.383).

The extraction of the same meaning from different part of a name in this way suggests scholarly endeavour to reinforce the meaning conveyed, a counterpart to the uncovering of layers of meaning commonly observed (**section 3.1.3.7**).

### 3.2.21 Repeated use of elements

An element of a name could be used more than once for speculative purposes. Lambert (2013, p.165) highlighted this, explaining Marutukku's description *tukultu māti āli u nišīšu* "support of the land, city and its people" (*Enūma eliš VI 135*), where *-tu-uk-ku* from <sup>d</sup>*ma-ru-tu-uk-ku* supplies both *tuku(l) tukultu* and *ùku nišū*. Livingstone (1986, p.50) noted this practice in the E-sagil Commentary (now *BTT 5 19-20*). This explanatory method is paralleled in the commentary tradition, where whole words might be explained more than once (Frahm, 2011, p.60). Speculative interpretation of names as whole, discrete units is rarely observed in the corpus (Lenzi, 2015, p.739 saw this in *ludlul bēl nēmeqi*). Multiple use of the component parts of a name occurs widely. As the illustrations presented in this section show, re-using a part of a name enormously expanded the potential for speculative interpretation.

The same element might be used more than once, with a related equation; or with a different equation. An element could be used more than once and understood in quite different ways to generate meaning. These speculative methods are illustrated in turn. In the analysis, an element is not regarded as used repeatedly where the interpretation merely expresses two reduplicated elements (as in <sup>d</sup>*tu-tu*). Generally, a complete line forms the unit of sense in which an element is considered; couplets or more extended

passages in *Enūma eliš* are analysed as to individual lines. Where a caesura occurs (typically, two epithets), the phrases are treated separately.

***Element used repeatedly – related equations***

An element of a name might be used more than once, understood each time with the same reading and interpreted by related equations. The E-sagil Commentary expressly evidences this:

[èš-gú-zi] [bīt]u [m]ukīn kīnim

[èš bītu z]i kânu zi kīnu (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 33-34)

House which makes firm the loyal

[èš house z]i be firm zi loyal

zi is used twice, as *kânu* and its cognate adjective *kīnu*; *gú* (used to explain the same name in ll.31-32) is unused. Clearly too, a temple list interprets *ninda-ba* twice with related ideas:

é-ninda-ba-du<sub>8</sub>-a bīt naptanū u nidbê (Assyrian Temple List, *BTT* 20 §4 172)

House of feasts and food offerings

*ninda-ba* is translated by *nidbû* (*nindabû*) “food offerings”, and more freely as *naptanu*, a term often used for cultic banquets (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.464).

Two extracts from *Enūma eliš* VII, supported by Commentary II, illustrate the same method. Asarre(<sup>d</sup>asar-re) is:

*bānû šê'am u qê* (*Enūma eliš* VII 2, extract)

Creator of barley and flax

Commentary II: <sup>ru</sup>dù *banû* create sar *šê'im* barley sar *qû* flax

In the commentator's analysis, *sar* is here taken from *asar*, understood as the sign which indicates plants, and interpreted twice as growing crops (**section 3.2.6**). Likewise, *Lugal-durmaḥ*(<sup>d</sup>lugal-dur-maḥ) is:

*an ilānī ma'diš šīru (Enūma eliš VII 96, extract)*

More exalted than the other gods

Commentary II: dūr *ana* beside *dingir ilum* god *maḥ ma'du* be more than *maḥ šīri* outstanding

The commentarist analyses that *maḥ* is used twice: *ma'du* and *šīru*, words which, though neither related nor synonyms, convey the sense of surpassing.

A God List contains a more complex illustration of the same method:

<sup>d</sup>nin-ìmma *bēl nabnīt bunnannē* (CT 25 49 r.2, extract)

Nin-imma, lord of the creation of forms

ìmma is understood as *sa<sub>7</sub>-(alan)* and equated with the related words *nabnītu* and *bunnannū* given together in the lexical list *Nabnītu* I 1-4 (*MSL* XVI p.50).

### ***Element used repeatedly – unrelated equations***

More commonly in the corpus an element of a name is used more than once, understood as the same reading but with unrelated equations. Again, the E-sagil Commentary provides clear evidence:

[é-sa-ág-g]i-il *bītu ēpiš kullati rā'im kitti*

[ág *epēšu*] gi *epēšu* gi *kullatum* gi *kittum* ág *rāmu* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 19-20)

House which makes everything, loves truth

[ág make] gi make gi everything gi truth ág love

gi is used twice (for *kullatum* and *kittum*); understood as *epēšu*, gi is probably taken as *kì*. ág too appears to be used twice, with unrelated meanings (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.388). Likewise, explaining *èš-gú-zi*, *gú* is used twice, as *napharu* “entirety” and *ayyābu* “enemy”:

[èš-gú-z]i *bītu nāsiḥ naphar ayyābī*

[èš *bītu z*]i *nasāḥu* *gú napharu* *gú ayyābi* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 31-32)

House which eradicates all enemies

[èš house z]i uproot gú entirety gú enemy

Commentary II similarly evidences many cases where, according to the commentator, the same element of a divine name in *Enūma eliš* VII is used more than once to supply different, unrelated meanings. Tutu-Ziku is:

*bēl tašmē u magāri* (*Enūma eliš* VII 20, extract)

Lord who hears and grants

Commentary II: dingir *bēlum* lord zi *šemû* hear zi *magārum* grant

In the commentator's analysis, zi is used twice. *šemû* and *magārum* relate to prayer but are quite different, albeit theologically related.

Narrative concerning Šazu(<sup>d</sup>šà-zu) illustrates the method twice:

*mukanniš lā māgiri ṣ[ulū]lšun rapšu* (*Enūma eliš* VII 38)

Who subdued the rebellious, he is their broad [protection]

Commentary II: z[i kan]āšu submit zi [mā]giri obedient zu ṣ[ull]ulu protect zu r[a]pāšu be wide

The commentator first understands zu as zi (**section 3.2.16**), used twice; zu itself is understood twice to supply *ṣulūlšun rapšu*, a *topos*.

Agilima(<sup>d</sup>a-gili-ma) is described as *āšir šal[g]i* “who controls snow” (1.82 extract).

Commentary II explains the phrase as given by gil, another reading of gili(m), and used twice, as *ašā[rum]* “control” and *šalg[um]* “snow”.

Commentary II evidences very many other instances where the commentator identifies a part of the name, repeatedly used with unrelated meanings. Even lines preserving only the elements isolated by the commentator without equations evidence this speculative method, for the commentator gives repeated elements where the corresponding line of *Enūma eliš* contains only unrelated words (see, for example Commentary II on ll.116, 118).

*Element used repeatedly – differently understood*

The speculative interpretation of Marutukku (<sup>d</sup>ma-ru-tu-uk-ku) where -tu-uk-ku gives both tuku(l) and ùku (Lambert, 2013, p.165) demonstrates that elements of a name might be used more than once, understood in entirely different ways, using any of the speculative methods available. This is amply evidenced in the corpus; only a few examples can be presented to illustrate the wide potential of this method of speculative interpretation.

The E-sagil Commentary explicitly demonstrates the re-use of elements in different ways in contrived writings of é-sag-íl:

[é-sag-íl-la] [ē]kal lalê ilī ša šamê

[é-sag ēkallum] la lalû ìl ilu ìl šamû (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 5-6)

Palace desired by the gods of the heavens

[é-sag palace] la desire ìl god ìl heavens

1.6 explains that ìl is used twice: first as dingir *ilu*, then as an *šamû*, exploiting different readings of the sign. In 1.7 an element is wholly used, then a phonetic part extracted to supply a different reading:

[é-sa<sub>7</sub>]-kìl bītu bānû naphar il[ī]

[sa<sub>7</sub> ba-nu]-ú kíl napharu ìl i[lu] (7-8)

House, creator of all the gods

[sa<sub>7</sub> create] kíl entirety ìl g[od]

kìl(nigin) supplies *napharu*. A phonetic part (ìl) is then understood as dingir *ilu*. Likewise gil is used fully, and as gi (probably understood as gi<sub>7</sub>, George, *Topog.Texts*, p.387):

[é-sa<sub>12</sub>-a]n-gil bītu šubat rubê Marūduk

[s]ag ašābu ʿgiʿ rubû gil <sup>d</sup>marūduk (11-12)

House, Dwelling of the prince Marduk

sag dwell gi prince gil Marduk

gil is used twice in 1.23, first as gil, and, interchanging consonants g/k, as kîl:

[é-sá]-gil *bītu kāšid naphar qardamū*  
 [sá *kašā*]du kîl *napharu gil qardamu* (23-24)  
 House which overcomes all adversaries  
 [sá over]come kîl totality gil adversary

Other speculative methods are deployed in 1.17 where sa<sub>6</sub> is both conventionally translated (*damāqu*), and understood quite differently:

[é-s]a<sub>6</sub>-an-gil *bīt ašarēdu ša melikšu damqu*  
 [sa<sub>12</sub>] *ašarēdu sa milku sa<sub>6</sub> damāqu* (17-18)  
 House of the leader whose counsel is good  
 [sa<sub>12</sub>] leader sa counsel sa<sub>6</sub> be good

The scholar exploits homophony, taking sa<sub>6</sub> as sa; homophony and polyvalence are combined to understand sa<sub>6</sub> as sa<sub>12</sub>, read sag. sag is perhaps understood as an abbreviation of sag-kal *ašarēdu* (the short reading sag is attested lexically, George, *Topog.Texts*, p.388).

Although not so explicit, other lists contain speculative explanations derived from the repeated use of an element, treated differently. A description of é-kur re-uses kur, first with consonantal change k/g, then evidently syllabified:

é-kur *bītu mutīr gimil šarri* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §5 21')  
 House which returns the king's kindness

kur is interpreted as gur *tāru* “turn”; then “broken down into u (umun = *šarru*) and ur (<sup>ur</sup>ur<sub>5</sub> = *gimillu*)” (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.444). kur is thus re-used phonetically: gur, (k)u(r), and (k)ur. In the same compilation, Anu(<sup>d</sup>a-nu) is *abi šamê* “Father of heaven” (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §11 5'). The element a is conventionally translated *abu* “father”; most obviously, *šamû* is derived from an, understanding a different orthography of <sup>d</sup>a-nu (other explanations are possible, see **section 3.2.26**).

The same work explains é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub>:

é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> *bītu rākis ešmet ilī ana bilāti* (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 c)

House which binds the bones of the gods for tribute

ša<sub>4</sub> is interpreted twice: first, with consonantal change š/s and understood as the near-homophone sa (*rakāsu*); then ša<sub>4</sub> (DU) is evidently understood for gír-pad-DU *ešemtu* “bone” (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.453; likewise, Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 14’).

Literary compositions illustrate the same speculative method. Lenzi (2015, p.740) suggested that a gate-name is read twice to arrive at an interpretative description in *ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, first for the nouns and again for the verb:

*ina ká-a-sikil-la mē tēlite assaliḫ* (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* IV 88; ed. Lambert, 1960, now V 51, ed. Oshima, 2014)

In the Gate of Pure Water I was sprinkled with waters of purification

a supplies *mû* “water”; *sikil tēlitum* “purification”, in Lenzi’s analysis (2015, p.739) understood as an abbreviation of *sikil-e-dè*, logogram for *tēlitum*, but perhaps simply freely formed from *ellu(sikil)* (**section 3.2.8**). Together, by homophony, a-sikil-la perhaps supplies *assaliḫ* “I was sprinkled” (so Lenzi, 2015, pp.739-740).

Just three examples are presented from *Enūma eliš* VII. Asarre(<sup>d</sup>asar-re) as *bānû šē’am u qê* “Creator of barley and flax” (1.2), interpreting sar with related meanings, is noted above. Commentary II notes that sar is used twice further in Asarre’s next epithet:

*mušēšû urqēti* (*Enūma eliš* VII 2, extract)

Who causes vegetation to grow

Commentary II: <sup>ma</sup>asar *ašû* go out sar *arqu* greenery

sar is first taken as ma<sub>4</sub> *ašû*; then, understood again as the sign which marks plants, freely rendered by *arqu*.

Aranunna(<sup>d</sup>a-rá-nun-na) is described thus:

*ša ana alakti rubûtīšu lā umaššalu ilu ayyuma* (*Enūma eliš* VII 98)

Whose noble behaviour no god can equal

Commentary II: *ra ša* whose *ra ana* concerning *a-<sup>r</sup>rá<sup>l</sup> alaktu* way *n[un] rubû* noble  
*nu lā* not *dù [mašālu equal]* ding[ir *ilu* god

The commentator clearly illustrates how he understood the components of <sup>d</sup>a-rá-nun-na were repeatedly used for speculative interpretation: a-rá is used as a-rá (*alaktu*), and supplies ra (the Sumerian dative suffix), and, it seems, *ru(dù)*; nun is straightforwardly understood as *rubû*, then broken down to supply *nu lā*.

Lastly, praised as Dingir-Esiskur(dingir-é-sískur):

dingir-é-sískur *šaḳiṣ ina bīt ikribi lišibma* (*Enūma eliš* VII 109)

Dingir-Esiskur, may he sit on high in the House of Prayer

Commentary II: [*dingir-é*]-*sískur* è *šaḳû* be high *ra ina in é bītu* house *sískur ikribu*  
 prayer *ra ramû* occupy *ra ašābu* sit

Both *é* and *sískur* are used twice: *é*, conventionally as *bītu*, and as the homophone è. *sískur* is straightforwardly translated *ikribu*, then understood by the commentator as syllabified to give ra. Its double explanation (*ramû*, *ašābu*) reflects the usual commentary tradition which explains one word with another, as Bottéro (1977, p.15 fn34) noted. Synonymous with *ašābu*, *ramû* equates to *ri* (*Antagal* A 210-211 *MSL* XVII p.188), as the commentator perhaps had in mind.

### 3.2.22 Reduplicated elements

Where an element of a name is reduplicated, the syllables may be separately interpreted.

Thus, describing Tutu(<sup>d</sup>tu-tu):

*libnīma šipta* (*Enūma eliš* VII 11)

Let him make a spell

Commentary II: *tu [ban]û* make *tu<sub>6</sub> šiptum* spell

*tu* is understood as *tu* and its homophone *tu<sub>6</sub>*, expressing both elements of the name. Using Commentary II's analysis, ll.12-13 contain further illustrations.

However, where an element is repeated, it may be interpreted by a plural form. An expository text which comments on epithets of Zababa explains his name:

<sup>d</sup>za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> *bēl(en) mātāti(kur-kur) ina šumēšu q[abi]*  
 za *bēlu* ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> *mātā[tum]* (Smith College text 110 (S 3) 1-2)  
 Zababa “Lord of the Lands”, so s[aid] by his name  
 za “Lord” ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> “Lands”

Understanding ba<sub>4</sub> as *mātu* “land” (see Lambert, 1989, pp.217-218), the reduplicated ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> is explained by the plural *mātā[tum]* (1.2), reflected also in the logographic writing kur-kur (1.1). Similarly, in a description of Babylon:

uru billuda-bi suḥ-suḥ<sup>ki</sup> kimin (*bābilu*) *ālu ša pilludūšu nasqū* (*Tintir* I 11)  
 Babylon, the city whose cultic rites are choice

suḥ equates to *nasāqu* “chose” (<sup>su-ūḥ</sup>ku *nasāqum Proto-Ea* App.2 16 *MSL* II p.150 16; K4808, K4225 21, Black, 1984, p.149); suḥ-suḥ is translated by the plural *nasqū*.

Elsewhere, it seems that a reduplicated element may be interpreted by the use of the D stem of the equated verb. Explanations of the name Tutu given in a list illustrate this:

<sup>d</sup>tu-tu *mu'allid ilānī muddiš ilānī*  
 Father of the gods, Restorer of the gods  
<sup>d</sup>du<sub>11</sub>-du<sub>11</sub> *mutakkil ilānī*  
 The one who has the gods' trust  
<sup>d</sup>tu<sub>6</sub>-tu<sub>6</sub> *muštallim ilānī* (Marduk Names List 21-23)  
 The one who continually safeguards the gods

The epithet in each case is expressed with a D stem participle. Lexical evidence equates tu with *alādu* “beget” (<sup>du-u</sup>tu *alādu Aa* VII/4 61 *MSL* XIV p.467); Commentary II on *Enūma eliš* VII 9 gives tu as *edēšu* “renew”. du<sub>11</sub> corresponds with *takālu* “trust” (<sup>[du-ū]</sup>[KA] *takālu Aa* III/2 136 *MSL* XIV p.330). *muštallim* (1.23) appears to derive from *šalāmu* (in D, “keep well”); *mušallimu* “safeguard” is well attested, but Dt and Dtn forms are not. A Dtn form is understood here. The correspondence with tu<sub>6</sub> is obscure, unless it simply refers to the incantation (tu<sub>6</sub> *šiptu*) which keeps a person well.

Likewise, explaining the description of Enbilulu-Gugal(<sup>d</sup>en-bi-lu-lu <sup>d</sup>gú-gal) as *munahhiš dadmē* “who enriches the world” (*Enūma eliš* VII 66), Commentary II notes lu-lu *na[hāšu]*, lu *d[admē]*. The reduplicated syllables find expression in the D stem participle.

The association of the D stem with Sumerian reduplicated elements can be seen in grammatical lists where, as Black (1984, p.27) noted, forms of the D stem “are normally set against Sumerian forms with reduplicated verb” (see OBGT III 151ff. *MSL* IV p.74, also OBGT XI). The speculative interpretation of duplicate elements in a name by a D stem form replicates this scholarly tradition.

### 3.2.23 Abbreviation

Bottéro (1977, p.22 §24) speculated that some of the elements noted by Commentary II might be abbreviated forms of the Sumerian words which ordinarily corresponded with Akkadian terms, for example *ma* (equated with *nasāhu* “uproot” l.82), instead of *mar*. With the exception of *du<sub>8</sub>* (*kullu* “hold” l.18), Bottéro’s examples could perhaps be understood as near-homophones (**section 3.2.15**). Commentary II’s understanding of *du<sub>8</sub>* as the Sumerian compound *šu-du<sub>8</sub>* illustrates a slightly different scholarly method. Scholars were, it seems, free to understand an element of a name as part of some longer form of writing and interpret it accordingly. George (2009, p.105) highlighted a corresponding practice in the Sumerian translation of an Old Babylonian literary composition where many Sumerian compound expressions are abbreviated (so, *níg* for *níg-nam* “something”), noting that many are similarly abbreviated in lexical lists. The same tradition no doubt informed this speculative method, which, besides (šu-)du<sub>8</sub> in *Enūma eliš* VII 18, is illustrated elsewhere in the corpus.

An explanatory work demonstrates how one element may be taken as a longer writing:

[<sup>d</sup>S]în(30) *bēl(en) purussê(eš-bar) e-šú 30 2 e-ni be-el*

Sîn is “Lord of Decisions (en-eš-bar)”. *eš* is 30; 2 is *-ēni*, which is also lord (en)

(i-NAM-giš-ḥur-an-ki-a 3, extract; Livingstone’s translation)

Sîn’s epithet as Lord of Decisions (en-eš-bar) is explained by noting that 30, Sîn’s divine number which writes his name, is *eš*, from which *eš-bar* “decision” is understood.

The interpretation of a contrived writing of <sup>giš</sup>kiri<sub>6</sub>-maḥ also illustrates how one element may be understood as some longer form. From ki-ér-ṛmaḥ, explained as *bikūt Bēlet-ilī*(dingir-maḥ) “Sorrow of Bēlet-ilī” (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 8’), maḥ is taken as dingir-maḥ (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.445). The same list explains é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> as *bītu rākis ešmet ilī ana bilāti* “House which binds the bones of the gods for tribute” (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §6 c). ša<sub>4</sub> (DU) is evidently taken as gír-pad-DU *ešemtu* “bone” (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.453; likewise, Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 14’).

Another temple list explains é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> differently, but seemingly evidencing the same method:

é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> *bīt gimir paršī ḥammu* (Assyrian Temple List, *BTT* 20 §4 152)

House which gathers all ordinances

Here it seems šu is taken for šu-nigin *napharu* “totality”, interpreted by the synonym *gimru* (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.461).

Similarly, an element appears to be understood as an abbreviation in speculation on é-sag-íl:

[é-sá]-gil *bītu kāšid naphar qardamū*

[sá *kašā*] *du kīl napharu gil qardamu* (E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 23-24)

House which overcomes all adversaries

[sá over]come kīl totality gil adversary

The equation *gil qardamu* may be compared with *lú-gil-gil qardamu* (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.388).

A list explains Lugalšuan<sup>d</sup>na (lugal-šu-an-na) as *bēlum gāmil ilānī* “The lord who shows favour to the gods” (Marduk Names List 15, the name securely restored by Lambert from etymological explanations). šu-gar commonly equates to *gamālu* “favour” (see CAD G 21); šu here may be taken as an abbreviation. Like those forms mentioned by George (2009, p.105), the abbreviated form šu also occurs with šu-gar in the lexical list *Nabnītu XVII (J) 141-142 (MSL XVI p.157)*.

Lenzi (2015, p.742) saw the same method in exploration of the gate-name *ká-silim-ma*:

*ina ká-silim-ma šulmāna appal[is] (ludlul bēl nēmeqi IV 81; ed. Lambert, 1960, now V 44, ed. Oshima, 2014)*

In the “Gate of Well-Being” I saw well-being

Lenzi suggested that *appal[is]* was derived by reading *silim(DI)* as *di*, understood as *u<sub>6</sub>-di*, equated with *palāsu* “see” in an Emesal hymn (see Lenzi, 2015 p.742 fn.50). In Lenzi’s attractive explanation, this complex speculation simultaneously exploits the polyvalence of the writing system and deploys Emesal Sumerian in abbreviated form, all scholarly methods attested in this corpus.

### 3.2.24 Phonological reversal

Association through reversal of a word’s phonology for explanatory purposes has been occasionally observed in commentary texts, as, for example, the association of “False Planet” (<sup>mul</sup>lul-la) with Cancer (<sup>mul</sup>al-lul) (K 4292:18, see Frahm, 2011, p.39 “retrophonic equation”).

Bottéro (1977, p.22 fn 49) noted the like “alternance phonétique” in Commentary II’s explanation concerning Tutu’s third name <sup>d</sup>tu-tu <sup>d</sup>zi-kù *šalšiš imbû* “Tutu-Ziku thirdly they called (him)” (*Enūma eliš* VII 19). The commentator notes *dù banû* “make” and *dù né-bu-‘ú’* evidently for *nabû* “name” or perhaps *nību* “naming” (*dù* for *tu*, **section 3.2.17**). This explanation expresses the Mesopotamian view of naming as creation (Lambert, 1998a, p.192; 2013, p.469). The limited evidence from the commentary tradition suggests that Commentary II reflects here a speculative method which uses phonological reversal: the commentator signals that *imbû* (from *nabû*) is explained by understanding *dù* as *banû*, phonologically reversed so that *dù* is interpreted as *nabû*. The reversal *bn’/nb’* is here effected in the Akkadian correspondence, not the Sumerian elements as in <sup>mul</sup>lul-la/<sup>mul</sup>al-lul, and may be seen as akin to the speculative method in which Akkadian words serve speculative interpretation (**section 3.2.14**).

For phonological reversal in the Gula hymn, see **section 6.1** 1.89’.

### 3.2.25 Graphic interpretation

The graphic form of a cuneiform sign might be exploited for interpretive purposes. Lenzi (2015, p.734) termed this “Etymography”, citing Frahm (2011, p.70). Both Frahm and Lenzi used “etymography” to refer to the speculative use of the different readings of a sign, described in **section 3.2.12** (Polyvalence). Lenzi (2015, p.744) also used “etymography” for the interpretation of the writing of the sign form. In this study, the term “graphic interpretation” is used for the interpretation of the graphic form of a sign for speculative purposes.

Three methods of graphic interpretation are evidenced in the corpus. Signs which are graphically similar or identical may be understood as the same, and interpreted accordingly. Very differently, the constituent parts of a sign form may be understood separately for speculative interpretation. The pictorial representation of a sign may also be interpreted.

#### *Similar signs*

An expository text explaining the divine name Lisi expressly illustrates that its composer could interpret a sign through a similar, related sign:

<sup>d</sup>li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> qālû išātam

si<sub>4</sub> gunû si qalû

izi išātu (Weapon Name Exposition 36-38)

Lisi : He who burns with fire

si<sub>4</sub> the *gunû* form of si: burn

izi fire

The scholar expressly records that si<sub>4</sub>, the *gunû* (additional wedged) form of si is understood as si (discussed in **section 3.2.11**). For like explanation of ll.40-42, see Livingstone (1986, pp.60-61).

Modern scholars have detected a re-interpretation of one sign as a similar sign for speculation on the gate-name ká-u<sub>6</sub>-de-babbar-ra:

*ina ká-u<sub>6</sub>-de-babbar-ra iddātūya immerā* (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* IV 84; ed. Lambert, 1960, now V 47, ed. Oshima, 2014)

In the Gate of Bright Wonder my signs became clear

Reiner (1985, p.117), George, *Topog.Texts*, p.393 and Lenzi (2015, p.741) have all suggested that *ittātu/iddātu* “signs”, logographically written giskim(iskim), may be derived from a graphic re-interpretation of u<sub>6</sub>(IGI+É) as giskim(iskim)(IGI+DUB). Lenzi (2015, p.741) commented, “One need only ignore two horizontals to transform GISKIM (IGI-DUB) into U<sub>6</sub> (IGI-É).” (For u<sub>6</sub>-de/*ittu* differently, **section 3.2.14**). Lenzi (2015, p.743) speculated that graphic similarity underpinned the Akkadian description in *ludlul bēl nēmeqi* V 53 (Lambert: IV 90).

Lambert (2013, p.167) observed that in endeavouring to explain every word and particle as derived from Marduk’s names in *Enūma eliš* VII, Commentary II “accepted values with no genuine orthographic or phonetic connection”. Signs which, to modern scholarship, are quite separate signs might be understood as the same, and interpreted accordingly. So, narrative is explained as expressing Tutu(<sup>d</sup>tu-tu):

*līlil sāgīšunūma* (*Enūma eliš* VII 10 extract)

May he purify their sanctuaries

Commentary II: KU *ellu* pure dù *sagû* sanctuary

The commentator understands KU as TÚG, unrelated save by graphic similarity; túg also reads tu<sub>9</sub>, to express tu from <sup>d</sup>tu-tu. To supply *ellu* (and so, *līlil*), he takes KU as its homophone kù. Thus *līlil* is derived from <sup>d</sup>tu-tu by understanding KU and TÚG as the same sign. (For tu as dù, equated with *sāgû*, **section 3.2.17**).

KU is again interpreted as if a different sign in Commentary II’s analysis of a description of Lugaldurmaḥ(<sup>d</sup>lugal-dur-maḥ/<sup>d</sup>lugal-dúr-maḥ):

*ša ina šubat šarrūti šurbû an ilānī ma’diš šīru* (*Enūma eliš* VII 96)

Who is greatest in the abode of kingship, more exalted than the other gods

Commentary II: KU *ina* in *dúr šubtum* abode, KU *ana* beside (extract)

dúr(KU) *šubtum* renders dúr/dur of the divine name, understanding another reading of KU. The commentarist further exploits dúr(KU) to interpret KU as ŠÈ (read as šè or éš) to supply both *ina* and *ana* (*Ea* I 180; *Aa* II/4 184-185; *MSL* XIV pp.186, 285). dúr is thus explained as *ina/ana* (Lambert, 2013, p.167).

### ***Interpretation of constituent parts***

Lambert (2013, p.167) noted the method of etymological speculation where “sign forms are taken to pieces and their parts are used”, citing an explanatory God list in this corpus.

<sup>d</sup>nuska rē’û akil tēmi mušāpû [...] (CT 25 49 r.4)

Nuska, the shepherd, supervisor of decisions, who makes manifest [...]

Lambert explained that the sign which writes nuska(PA-TÚG) is “taken apart as pa umuš”, from which *akil tēmi* is speculatively derived (ugula(PA) *aklu*; umuš(TÚG) *tēmu*). Unremarked by Lambert, *mušāpû* derives from the same method: *šupû* “make manifest” is pa-é in bilingual and lexical texts (so, *Erimḫus* I 279 *MSL* XVII p.20). *rē’û* “shepherd” evidently comes from knowledge of an Old Babylonian writing of nuska as PA-LU(sipa “shepherd”) (Lambert and Millard, 1969, p.150). In the same list Lambert (2013, p.432) noted “a play on the signs of the late writing” interpreting Nín-girrimma(<sup>d</sup>nin-girim) as *ālikat sulê* “lady who goes the road (of)” (CT 25 49 r.1). Taken from the combination of signs which write girim(A-ḪA-TAR-DU), DU gives *alāku* “go”; TAR, read sila, supplies *sulû* “street”.

Lambert (1989, pp.218-219) identified the same method in an expository text:

[<sup>d</sup>nin-g]ublag(EZENxGUD) *bēlu ša isinnīšu [lalû?]* (Smith College text 110 (S 3) 6)

Nínublag “The lord whose festival is [joy?]”

Lambert surmised that an older form of the sign gublag(EZENxLA) is broken down for the interpretation: ezen *isinnu* “festival”; la *lalû* “joy”. Lambert here cited similarly K232+ 26 (Gula Hymn l.26, see **sections 6.1, 6.3**).

In another explanatory work, ŠEŠ “brother” is taken from the writing of Nanna(ŠEŠ-KI) to explain the relationship between Nanna(Sîn), Enlil and Ea as brothers (Livingstone, 1986, p.46):

[x x <sup>d</sup>en]lil(idim) talīm <sup>d</sup>Ea Nannu ŠEŠ talīm ŠEŠ

Enlil is the brother of Ea. Nanna(ŠEŠ-KI) is šeš; brother is šeš (i-NAM-giš-ḥur-an-ki-a 4, extract; Livingstone’s translation)

The same speculative method occurs in a list of Nippur’s epithets in the corpus:

[d]u<sub>6</sub>-šuba āšibat šuluḥ zīmi (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §4 15')

Present (at) the Washing of the Countenance

šuba(ZA-MÚŠ) is broken down for interpretation: MÚŠ writes *zīmu* “countenance” (CAD Z 119). du<sub>6</sub> gives *ašābu* (*Idu* II 26; Gong, 2002, p.79). How *šuluḥ* is derived is less clear, unless perhaps suggested phonetically by šu(ba).

Narrative description of Sirsir(<sup>d</sup>sirsir) in *Enūma eliš* VII 70-77 appears to be derived from interpretation of graphic form. Lambert noted that the sign sirsir “is most commonly composed of BU-BU-AB”, commenting that *ša tiāmat rapašta itebbiru* “who kept crossing the vast sea” (l.74) “may rest on etymology: BU-BU = *etebburu*, AB = *tāmtu*” (Lambert, 2013, pp.486-487). Likewise,

<sup>d</sup>sirsir šāpik šadī elēnuš tiāmat (*Enūma eliš* VII 70)

Sirsir, who heaped up a mountain over Tiāmat

A commentary on an astrological omen text explains BU as *šapāku* “heap up” (*ACh* Sin 3:10-11, at CAD Š/I 415); AB supplies *tāmtu* “sea”.

Elsewhere in the exposition of Marduk’s names in *Enūma eliš* VII similar graphic interpretation may be suspected, in addition to other speculative methods at work. Böhl (1936-1937, p.213) drew attention to the similarity between the name <sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru and Commentary II’s explanation érim(NE-RU) (ll.128, 130). Böhl understood érim as bí+ru, but NE-RU similarly suggests the phonetics of né-bé-ru.

Likewise, Lenzi (2015, pp.744-748) tentatively suggested how the narrative composition of *ludlul bēl nēmeqi* V 45-46 (IV 82-83, Lambert) might be speculatively derived from the manipulation of constituent parts of signs.

The interpretation of constituent parts of signs occurs elsewhere. The technique is used, for example, to interpret Nabû's name <sup>d</sup>umbisag, understood as MESxA *aplu Marūtuk* "son of Marduk" (V R 43 r 28; Pomponio, 1978, p.158; see Lambert, 2013, p.167); and, elaborately, in a commentary to the medical omen series *Sakikku* (George, 1991, p.161). The evidence of this corpus suggests that it may be a more common speculative method than previously suspected, repaying further study.

### ***Pictorial representation***

Rather different from the etymological approach to the graphic representation of signs, their visual representation may generate speculative interpretation. Ancient evidence for this approach is given by a commentary on *Sakikku*. The commentator evidently interpreted the sign *gigir*, understood in its older writing LAGABxU (a winkelhaken in a square box), as depicting Ištar as the star Dilbat, residing within the constellation Auriga (George, 1991, p.161).

Bottéro and Foster saw speculation on pictorial representation in *Enūma eliš* VII. Reflecting on the interpretation of the sign *dingir* as *kakkabu* "star" given by Commentary II:

<sup>d</sup>né-bé-ru *kakkabša ša ina šamê ušāpû* (*Enūma eliš* VII 126)

Nēberu is his star, which he made appear in the heavens

Commentary II: [AN] 'kakkabu' star (extract, likewise 1.130)

Bottéro (1977, p.22 §25) commented that "le pictogramme primitif représentait ... une étoile". Perhaps here the commentator drew on the graphic forms of the sign in his interpretation, as well as the other celestial meanings conveyed by *dingir*(an).

Foster saw a pictorial interpretation in the description of Gilima(<sup>d</sup>gili-ma):

<sup>d</sup>gīli-ma *mukīn ṭurri ilānī bānū kināti* (*Enūma eliš* VII 80)

Gilima, who made firm the bond of the gods, creator of permanent things

Commentary II: <sup>d</sup>a]-gīli-[ma g]i [*kānu* be firm (*broken*)

Foster (2005, p.480) noted “The sign GIL(IM) is two crossed reeds, here explained as a (celestial) linkage and restraint.” Like Commentary II, Lambert (2013, p.487) proposed an etymological explanation. The composer’s speculation perhaps encompasses both of these very different approaches.

For graphic interpretation in the Gula hymn, see **section 6.3**.

### 3.2.26 Multiple possibilities

The wide potential of the cuneiform script with its many homophones and alternative readings and their different correspondences, coupled with the range of speculative methods available may result in there being more than one explanation of any speculative interpretation. Straightforwardly, an Akkadian interpretation may be derived from different parts of the Sumerian name simultaneously (**section 3.2.30**). Elsewhere, explanation may be less clear-cut. Three examples illustrate different possibilities in the speculative interpretation.

The description of Anu(<sup>d</sup>a-nu) as *abi šamê* “Father of heaven” (Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §11 5’) straightforwardly translates a as *abu* “father”. *šamû* “heavens” reflects Anu’s theological position as sky god and father of the gods. Even absent etymological explanation, *abi šamê* would be wholly fitting. Anu’s Sumerian name An itself supplies *šamû*. Further, *šamû* may be etymologically derived from <sup>d</sup>a-nu in different ways. *šamû* may be understood from the divine marker dingir, read as an(*šamû*); or from the phonetics of a-nu, supplying an. Notionally syllabified differently again, u could supply *šamû* (<sup>bu-ru</sup>u *šamû* *Aa* II/4:109, <sup>u</sup>ud *šamû* *Aa* III/3:8 *MSL* XIV pp.283,332). The divine name hence conveys *šamû* in multiple ways.

Etymological speculation clearly generates narrative relating to Marduk(<sup>d</sup>*marūtuk*):

*nišī ša ibnū šikitti napšu* (*Enūma eliš* VI 129)

The people whom he created, living creatures

Etymological explanation pertaining to Marukka(<sup>d</sup>ma-ru-uk-ka) (l.135) given by Lambert (2013, p.165) of mar Emesal for gar *šakānu*, *rú* equating to *banû* and *ùku nišû* also explains the derivation of l.129 from <sup>d</sup>*marûtuk*, reflecting the name's phonology. Other parts of the name also convey *banû*: *ma* (so Commentary II on VII 83) and <sup>ú</sup>*ku*(*Ea* I 137 *MSL* XIV p.184). These too may explain *ibnû*. Lambert (2013, p.163) was emphatic that the etymologists presumed the name Marûduk(<sup>d</sup>*marûtuk*). From the phonetics used to generate ll.129 and 135, it is not difficult to suppose that the Sumerian writing <sup>d</sup>*amar-utu* also informed the speculative interpretation. Both Akkadian and Sumerian names are perhaps in use.

Bottéro (1977, p.18 §14) observed that Commentary II's analysis of the passages relating to Girru and Bēl-mātāti (*Enūma eliš* VII 115ff, 136ff) encompasses both their Sumerian and Akkadian names. The commentary relating to <sup>d</sup>*girru*(NE/BIL-GI) (<sup>d</sup>*gibil*, Bottéro) illustrates:

gi p[*alkû*] wide gi u[*znu*] understanding <sup>ru</sup>dù e[*pēšu*] do gi ħ[*asīsu*] wisdom  
<sup>ir</sup>ĥ[ar *libbu* heart] <sup>ir</sup>[ x *rūqu* unfathomable] ra [š*a* whose] ra [l*ā* not] <sup>mi</sup>[x *lamādu* learn]  
 Commentary II (ll.117-118)

The syllables abstracted by the commentator clearly reflect the Akkadian *Girru/Girra*. At the same time gi and ni evidently interpret the writing of the Sumerian name *Gibil*(NE/BIL-GI). Meaning is fluidly derived from both names, it seems.

These examples illustrate that there may not always be a single explanation of an Akkadian interpretation, but multiple possibilities.

## Chapter 4 The Gula hymn

The composition described in this **chapter 4**, presented in **chapter 5** and examined in **chapter 6** combines two pieces of text containing a hymn, or perhaps a prayer, to the healing goddess: K 232+3371+13776; and *KAR* 109+343 and its duplicates. These have, separately, been known to scholars for many years, although no full edition has been published of either. Lambert identified that these manuscripts contain text which appears to overlap, revealing the work to be not two separate hymns, as previously thought, but a single composition. Lambert (1997, p.74) implicitly referred to this without explanation in notes on an unrelated composition. By bringing these texts together in a full modern edition, this study makes a significant contribution to the corpus of literary texts relating to the goddess Gula.

**Section 4.1** contains a brief description of these texts and their publication history. **Section 4.2** explains and discusses the basis for the identification of their text as overlapping. **Section 4.3** describes the context and nature of the composition. **Section 4.4** discusses its date.

### 4.1 The texts

#### **K 232+3371+13776**

The cuneiform text contained in K 232 was first published by in 1897 (Craig, 1895-1897, *ABRT* II, 16-18). Craig's intended further volume, containing a transliteration and translation of this text with notes, was never forthcoming. The text was first published in transliteration and translation in French, with commentary and a new cuneiform copy of the reverse, by Martin (1900). A transliteration and English translation of K 232, with some notes and a new cuneiform copy, was published by Mullo-Weir (1929), as one of four Hymns to Gula. Although clearly aware of Martin's work, Mullo-Weir did not cite Martin's prior edition. Lambert made cuneiform copies and a draft transliteration of K 232, together with K 3371 and K 13776, the pieces by then identified as joining K 232 (No. 63, *Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert* (eds. A.R.George and J.Taniguchi, forthcoming); see **Appendix**). No edition of the joined tablet has been published to date.

**KAR 109+343**

The cuneiform text contained in VAT 9670 and VAT 9931 was copied by Ebeling (1919), published as *KAR 109* and *KAR 343*. Ebeling (1918, 1953a) published *KAR 109* and *KAR 343* in transliteration and translation. No critical edition of either has been published.

Duplicates of the text contained in these pieces have been known for some years. Entries in CAD refer to unspecified duplicates (so, CAD Š/III 442 *šīlān* “*KAR 109:4* .... and dupls.”). Leichty, *Catalogue* VII and VIII identified pieces in the British Museum as duplicates of *KAR 109* (BM 68611 and BM 75974). The editors of *MSL* XIV (p.431) identified that BM 36333 contained text duplicating part of *KAR 109*. Lambert identified BM 76319 and BM 37616 as further duplicates, making copies of the cuneiform text of all the identified duplicates (Nos. 64-68, *Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert* (eds. A.R.George and J.Taniguchi, forthcoming); see **Appendix**) and a composite draft transliteration. Only BM 36333, a school text (Gesche, 2001, pp.238-240), has been published to date.

This text has been variously identified in scholarly literature. Ebeling (1918) called *KAR 109* a “Hymne auf Ba’û”. CAD refers to the text as to “Bau” (so, CAD E 7 *ebēbu*) or, more ambiguously, a “hymn to a goddess” (so, CAD Š/II 442 *šīlān*). Lambert (1967, pp.112, 131) described *KAR 109* as “a Bau hymn” and “a syncretising Gula hymn”. The text has also been widely identified as a hymn to Ištar. Lambert himself thought it to be so, at one stage, as evident from unpublished notes. Referring to unpublished duplicates, courtesy of Lambert, and reflecting Lambert’s identification, George, *Topog.Texts*, p.386 described the composition as a syncretistic hymn to Ištar (so, too, *HMH* 291 and *passim*). More recently, Böck (2014, p.131) referred to this text as “the great hymn to Ištar”.

Lambert’s identification of K 232+3371+13776 and *KAR 109+343* and its duplicates as a single composition (**section 4.2**), if correct, confirms that the composition is a hymn or prayer to the healing goddess. The catalogue entry no.63 in *Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert* (eds. A.R.George and J.Taniguchi, forthcoming) describes the composition as a syncretistic hymn to the goddess Gula.

## 4.2. The overlap

The reverse of K 3371, joined to K 232, provides the text which Lambert identified as overlapping with *KAR* 109+343 and its duplicates. It is “partly very mutilated” (so, British Museum catalogue, Bezold, 1891). By comparison with its obverse, it can be estimated that K 3371 would have contained the whole or part of some 29 lines, almost all entirely lost. Only a fragment of the bottom left corner remains, preserving the commencement of five lines, followed by a ruling, the opening of a catchline and a colophon, as follows:

1' *i*' [... ..]

2' *a*[*l*- ... ..]

3' *a-na* [... ..]

4' *a-na* x [... ..]

5' *a-na ši*-[... ..]

---

6' *itti*(*ki*) *an*-[ ... .. ]

7' x 2<sup>?</sup> *BI RA* [ ... .. ]

8' *tuppi*(*im*) <sup>1</sup>*d*PA-[ ... .. ]

(K 3371 reverse; end)

Lambert identified the fragmentary ll.1'-6' as overlapping with the unpublished duplicate of *KAR* 109+343, BM 75974 which contains 11 part-lines which precede *KAR* 109+343's text and a further 36 duplicate lines.

The highlighted text illustrates the overlap of K 3371 and BM 75974 obverse ll.7'-12':

7' *i*'-*šu uz-na šu-tu*'-*rat ḥa-si*-[*sa*]

8' *al-ka-ka-a-ti mu-da-át gúm-mu-rat ši-t*[*ul-ta*]

9' *a-na šip-ṭi u purussê*(*eš-bar*) *i-qal-ši* <sup>d</sup>*a*-[*num*]

10' *a-na ši-mat la šá-na-an iš-te-né-*'*i-ši* <sup>d</sup>*en*-[*líl*]

11' *a-na ši-tul-ti nap-ḥa-ri ta-ru-ši* <sup>d</sup>*nu-dím*-[*mud*]

12' *itti*(*ki*) *an-šár be-lí šu-tu-rat ḥa-si-sa*

l.12' is the first line of *KAR* 109+343 and the catchline from K 3371.

The question arises whether Lambert's identification of the overlap of the two manuscripts, and the consequent identification of their texts as a single composition, is sound. The identification is based on the rather slight remains of six lines. ll.1'-2' of K 3371 (reverse; end) contain traces only of quite common signs, if indeed correctly identified; ll.3'-5' commence with the common preposition, *ana*. Nothing follows *ana* in l.3'; and not enough follows in ll.4'-5' to be conclusive. Similarly, l.6', the catchline, commences with common signs, KI and AN; AN might easily be the marker preceding a divine name, rather than a syllabic value.

Notwithstanding the limited textual evidence, there is an undoubted match between the two manuscripts. The traces in ll.1'-2' do fit the beginning of BM 75974 obverse ll.7'-8'. The repetition of the preposition *ana* (ll.3'-4') corresponds with the like repetition in BM 75974 obverse ll.9'-10'. More compelling evidence is l.5', where *a-na ši-[]* corresponds with *a-na ši-tul-ti* in BM 75974 obverse l.11'. In the next line, despite damage in both manuscripts, there appears to be a match: 'ki' AN in K 3371 replicates the opening 'ki' *an-šár* in BM 75974 obverse l.12'. Hence, although the individual signs preserved in ll.1'-6' K 3371 (reverse; end) are commonplace, there is undoubtedly a striking match between these lines and the beginning of BM 75974 obverse ll.7'-12'.

A further factor supporting the conclusion that these manuscripts overlap lies in the catchline itself, the first line of the next tablet in the series, preserved in K 3371 l.6' 'ki' *an*. The Babylonian manuscript BM 75974 has no division here; its text simply runs on. The Assyrian duplicate, *KAR 109+343* picks up the work at this point with the first line of the tablet, partially restored from its duplicate, BM 75974. This arrangement of the text in *KAR 109+343* is of particular significance. If Lambert's proposition is correct, *KAR 109+343* commenced with the same line as the next tablet in K 3371's series. This coincidence in the formal arrangement of the two texts from Assyria (K 232+3371+13776 from Kuyunjik, and *KAR 109+343* from Aššur; **section 5.1**), in conjunction with the matches described above, seems sound evidence supporting Lambert's identification of the texts contained in K 232+3371+13776 and BM 75974 and its duplicate *KAR 109+343*, as overlapping; and hence his identification of two texts, previously thought to be entirely independent hymns, as from the same composition.

The textual evidence for Lambert's remarkable identification of these texts as a single composition, although based on a relatively small fragment, thus seems compelling. The

substance of the texts fully supports Lambert's identification. They contain much material that is thematically related. At a more detailed level, the passage in which the great gods bestow divine qualities on the goddess (K 232+3371+13776 obverse ll.11-16) is paralleled and extended in ll.57'-65' of the united composition, given by *KAR* 109+343 and duplicates (**section 5.3**). The motif *tê ša šupšuhi* (K 232+3371+13776 reverse l.28') is reprised in *ina têša ušapšaḥ namrāša* (l.121', duplicates); other material is also perhaps replicated. Most significant are the expositions of divine names (K 232+3371+13776 obverse ll.18-40) and sacred places (ll.75'-19'' supplied by *KAR* 109+343 and duplicates). Structurally, these passages complement each other; compositionally, both are characterised by scholarly speculation which generates the Akkadian text (see **chapter 6**). Thus the two texts can be securely identified as a single composition in praise of the healing goddess. Nothing in the preserved text indicates that it is a prayer; the composition is understood as a hymn to the goddess Gula.

### 4.3 Context and nature of the composition

The Gula hymn presented in **chapter 5** forms a substantial and significant addition to the corpus of Akkadian literary compositions in praise of the healing goddess (see Böck, 2014, pp.9-10 for an overview of the corpus). It forms a parallel, albeit in quite different form, to the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi (Lambert, 1967). The hymn is on a par with the great Standard Babylonian hymns to Šamaš (Lambert, 1960) and Šarrat-Nippuri (Lambert, 1982) and the great prayer to Ištar (Zgoll, 2003, pp.42-54). At over 226 partly preserved lines (232, with estimated break), the Gula hymn is evidently rather longer than the 200 lines characteristic of the great hymns such as the Šamaš hymn and Bulluṣa-rabi's hymn (Lambert, 1967, p.113).

The Gula hymn is usually termed a "syncretistic hymn" because its goddess is identified with named goddesses (ll.18-40) and the patron goddesses of cities and temples (ll.75'-19''). The syncretism of female deities has recently been extensively discussed by Westenholz (*Goddesses*). Whether, or how far, the Gula hymn expresses religious thought as to the syncretism of its goddess is uncertain. It is perhaps a scholarly literary conceit, in praise of the composition's goddess. As a syncretistic hymn, the Gula hymn has obvious parallels in the great syncretistic Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi (Lambert, 1967) and a syncretistic hymn to Ištar (Lambert, 2003-2004), perhaps a rather later composition.

The description of a goddess under various names in different cities and temples presented in the Gula hymn has a particularly close parallel in the bilingual hymn to Nanāy (Reiner, 1974). The antecedents of this compositional motif, in which the ubiquitous dominion of a deity is proclaimed, lie in Sumerian literature. In the Sumerian story of Inanna's descent to the Netherworld, Inanna abandons her many cities and temples at the outset of her journey (ETCSL 1.4.1 ll.6-13; see Lapinkivi, 2010, p.58). Other compositions, such as the self-praise hymn Inanna F, list Inanna's cities and temples, asserting her geographic reach (Römer, 1969, pp.97-114; ETCSL 4.7.6; similarly the so-called é-éš-dam compositions, Lapinkivi, 2010, p.58; and see Reiner, 1974, p.221 for further Sumerian and Akkadian parallels). The composer of the Gula hymn adopts the Sumerian compositional strategy, skilfully combining it with scholarly speculation to explain Sumerian and Akkadian names for his composition.

The literary merits of the composition are difficult to assess fairly. The hymn contains stock phraseology and standard accolades (so, evidently, ll.1-6). The sentiment that the goddess owes her powers to the great gods (ll.11-16) is routine; the literary and religious conceit that, by their authority, she is their superior (ll.57'-65') is more unusual. The description of the healing goddess (ll.24'-32') is perhaps most poetic in style: ll.24'-29' are chiasmic; ll.30'-32' each contain four balanced descriptions, to pleasing effect. Generally, the hymn has no regular couplet or other structure. Assessment of many descriptive passages is hampered by damage (so, l.42ff.).

The preserved text is, for the most part, a highly scholarly work, rather than literary, Babylonian in content and thought. The composition in ll.18-40, 75'-19'' is generated by scholarly speculation on divine and sacred names, using techniques and methods which characterise Babylonian scholarship (**chapters 3, 6**). The scholarly speculation forces the choice of vocabulary; the work is consequently sometimes repetitious (so, *mušapšihat* ll.25,31,35) and marked by sudden shifts and unusual expressions (so, l.92'). The form and content of these lengthy passages is akin to explanatory lists, to the detriment of the composition's literary qualities.

#### 4.4 Date

The Gula hymn contains few clear indications as to the date of its composition. Names provide a clue. Ninisinna (l.3) is the usual name of Isin's goddess in the Old Babylonian

period and little used thereafter (Edzard, 1998-2001). However, this does not reliably indicate date; an ancient name in this scholarly exposition of the healing goddess' identities might be expected. ll.101'-107' clearly speak of Ištar manifested as Ninlil at Kiš (**chapter 6**), a later development, perhaps reflecting an old tradition. é-kur-ní-zu (l.106') is the name given to Ninlil's sanctuary in the é-ḫur-sag-kalam-ma by Merodach-baladan (*HMH* 690; Walker, 1981, no.75). The historical evidence hence points to no later than a Middle Babylonian date of composition. As to other internal evidence, the type of scholarship displayed in the composition has roots in the Old Babylonian period (**section 2.4**) but no parallel in literary works in such developed form as here. Speculative scholarship is generally thought to have flowered in the Middle Babylonian period. In its extensive and sophisticated exploration of sacred names in a literary setting, the closest parallel to the Gula hymn is the exposition of Marduk's names in *Enūma eliš* VI-VII. The Gula hymn seems likely to be the product of the same period.

The number of duplicate texts (one a school text) and their diverse provenances (from Kuyunjik and Aššur in Assyria, and Sippar and Babylon in Babylonia; **section 5.1**) attest to the importance and popularity of the Gula hymn in antiquity. **Chapter 5** presents the composition.

## Chapter 5 The Gula hymn: Critical edition

The Gula hymn is presented in this **chapter 5**. **Section 5.1** describes the manuscripts (for copies of Lambert's copies of all these, save *KAR 109* and *KAR 343*, see **Appendix**). All references to the British Museum's online catalogue (BMOC) are as at 18 August 2017. A table of these manuscripts and their publication history is set out in **Section 5.2**. **Section 5.3** contains a transliteration of the composite text and **section 5.4** the critical apparatus. Transliteration and critical apparatus have had the benefit of Lambert's drafts of each; both have been prepared anew, updating and correcting readings. Not all Lambert's suggested restorations have been accepted; other readings and some additional restorations have been suggested (see **section 5.6**). Lambert's selection of variant readings has not always been followed. **Section 5.5** presents a translation of the Gula hymn for the first time. **Section 5.6** contains notes on the composition, save as to the speculative scholarship which characterises the Gula hymn (explained and discussed in **Chapter 6**).

### 5.1 The Manuscripts

#### 5.1.1 K 232+3371+13776 (Ms. A)

The pieces K 232, K 3371 and K 13776, now joined, are part of the British Museum's Kuyunjik collection, from excavations of the Kuyunjik mound at Nineveh on behalf of the British Museum in the 1840's and 1850's, led by Austen Layard and, subsequently, Hormuzd Rassam, where many thousands of tablets, believed to be from the royal libraries, were recovered. The low registration number K 232 makes it possible to be more specific about the archaeological provenance of the pieces than is usual with Kuyunjik tablets. Reade (1986b, p.213) commented that "Only the numbers K 1-278 (with a few exceptions caused by subsequent renumbering) were allocated in the 1850s; we can be sure that the great majority of tablets bearing these low numbers were found during Layard's 1851 excavations in the South-West Palace at Kuyunjik, notably in the area of Rooms XL and XLI." The joining pieces K 3371 and K 13776 must come from the same location.

These Neo-Assyrian pieces were separately catalogued by Bezold (1889). K 232, which forms the lower section of the joined tablet, was described as a fragment from the

middle of a clay-tablet with rather large pieces broken out on both sides: “The obverse 40 lines, in 2 sections, and on the reverse 51 lines, in 2 sections, partly very mutilated, with Assyrian characters, a good many of them being defaced and not quite easily legible”. Bezold’s line count for the reverse is difficult to understand. K 232 reverse, as currently preserved, extends to 42 lines only. Craig (1895-1897, *ABRT* II, 17-18) copied 38 lines, omitting 2 lines after 1.11. Martin (1900) and Mullo-Weir (1929) copied 40 lines. Bezold’s number appears to be incorrect. Bezold identified K 232 as “Part of a mythological text, perhaps of a prayer or a hymn”, noting that several lines on the obverse begin with the names of different gods.

K 3371, comprising the upper part of the tablet including its top edge and left corner, was described as an upper portion, left half, containing 29 lines on the obverse and 7 lines on the reverse (Bezold, 1891). The British Museum online catalogue (BMOC) entry for K 3371 records only “29 lines of inscription”. The fragmentary 8 lines on the reverse discussed in **section 4.2** are not referred to. Bezold identified the piece as a “Portion of a hymn addressed to the Goddess (<sup>d</sup>*nin*) of (*i-si-in*)”.

K 13776 was described as a fragment of the lower portion of a tablet, containing 8 lines of text on its obverse only, identified as “Part of a religious text” (Bezold, 1893).

By 1960, it had been identified that K 232 and K 3371 joined (see Barnett (1960), list of fragments rejoined). K 13776 appears to have been joined subsequently, partially filling a gap in the lower left of K 232 obverse.

The joined piece K 232+3371+13776 is 20.1 cm long, 8.7 cm wide and 3.2 cm thick (BMOC). It is not a complete tablet: the right corner, which would have contained 24 part-lines, is missing; the bottom of the tablet is broken away and an indeterminate number of lines is missing.

The obverse of the assembled piece contains 58 lines, a number of which are complete, or nearly complete, divided into three sections by rulings. The reverse is much less well preserved. Large pieces of the upper piece, K 232, are broken away from both upper and lower parts. The inscription on K 3371, which forms the bottom left of the reverse, including the bottom left corner of the tablet, is almost wholly lost, save for the beginning of the last 8 lines. The reverse of the joined pieces contains 42 lines, a

number badly damaged, divided into two sections by rulings. A lacuna follows, in which 12 lines are wholly lost. At the end of the tablet, the traces of the start of 5 lines are preserved, followed by a ruling and the beginning of 3 further lines, comprising a catchline and a colophon (see **section 4.2**).

*Cuneiform copy*: No. 63, Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert, (eds. A.R.George and J.Taniguchi, forthcoming); see **Appendix**.

### 5.1.2 VAT 9670 + VAT 9931 (*KAR 109+343*) (Ms. F)

Like K 232+3371+13776, VAT 9670 and VAT 9931 are Neo-Assyrian pieces from Assyria. Now in the collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, these pieces come from excavations at Aššur by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft between 1903-1913, directed initially by Robert Koldewey and then by Walter Andrae. From the careful records kept, Pedersén (1985, 1986) constructed a survey of the archives and libraries found. Detailed information is hence available as to the provenance of these pieces.

VAT 9670 and VAT 9931 come from a private house in the north eastern part of Aššur to which Pedersén assigned reference number N3. The house and the tablets found there are described in detail by Pedersén (1986, pp.34 -41). N3 contained a library and an archive of administrative documents belonging to men, two or three of whom had the title *nargallu*, chief singer or musician, the best attested of whom is Aššur-šuma-iškun (Pedersén,1986, p.37). These pieces were amongst some 29 unbaked clay tablets found in the entrance shaft to a grave chamber under a floor of one room of the house, where they had probably fallen (Pedersén's group E, pp.34, 39). Hymns and prayers are particularly well represented. Pedersén (1986, p.36) listed approximately 15 identified hymns, noting that three of these contain "theological elaborations" in the form of lists of different names for the deities to whom the compositions were addressed: Nabu, Nana and, (referring to these pieces), Baba.

VAT 9670 and VAT 9931, published separately by Ebeling (1919) as *KAR 109* and *KAR 343*, were subsequently identified as joining pieces. *KAR 343* is the top right corner of the tablet. Its obverse contains part of the first 15 lines of text; its reverse is broken. *KAR 109* is from the upper part of the tablet. Its obverse contains 26 lines of

text, virtually all complete, divided into two sections by a ruling. The joined pieces supply the whole or part of 36 lines of text on the obverse.

The reverse of *KAR* 109 contains 16 lines, virtually all complete, divided into two sections by a ruling, before it breaks off.

The whole of the text on the obverse of these pieces is duplicated by BM 75974. BM 68611 duplicates the last 18 lines of the obverse; the fragments BM 76319 and BM 36333 duplicate small sections of the obverse. The duplicates BM 75974 and BM 68611 together supply some further 40 lines of text before they break off. Thus it is apparent that a very substantial number of lines is lost between where the obverse of *KAR* 109 breaks off and its reverse commences.

The first 10 lines *KAR* 109 reverse have no duplicate so far identified. The remaining six lines are duplicated in BM 37616 (obverse), which continues with further five lines, much broken, before it breaks off.

### **5.1.3 BM 75974 (Ms. a)**

The piece BM 75974 and the pieces BM 68611 and BM 76319 (**sections 5.1.4 and 5.1.5**) are all included in Leichty's Catalogues of what is known as the Sippar collections of the British Museum (Leichty, *Catalogue* VI and VII). The provenance of each is given in BMOC as "Sippar?". Whilst there is some uncertainty about their provenance, George and Bongenaar (2002, p.55) noted that "It is well known – but worth restating – that though many thousands of tablets in what have become known collectively as the Sippar collections come from sites other than Sippar, nevertheless the overwhelming majority, in a total of nearly 38,500 items, stems from that town."

BM 75974 (A.H. 83-1-18,1334) appears to have come from a consignment of five cases from Hormuzd Rassam's excavations at Abu Habba (Sippar), Babylon, Borsippa and Nineveh under dispatch inventory dated 18 October 1882 (Reade, 1986a, p.xxxiv). This consignment was divided into two for registration: the pieces from Assyria being entered as 83-1-18 and the material from Babylonia as A.H. 83-1-18 (Reade, 1986a, pp.xxvii, xxxiv). Rassam's report recorded that "This is the last collection from the explorations in Assyria and Babylonia", describing this consignment as containing only

850 “very small pieces of inscribed clay” from Abu Habba (see Walker, 1988, p.xii). Reade (1986a, p.xxxiv) noted that the A.H. 83-1-18 collection “contains about twice as many tablets or tablet fragments as were received in the consignment.” It seems questionable whether BM 75974, a substantial piece, was part of the consignment in January 1883, despite its accession number. A much larger consignment, comprising 18 cases containing material from Abu Habba and elsewhere, was delivered in December 1882. Reade (1986a, p.xxxiii) noted that none of these pieces can be specifically identified, commenting that “Some were probably entered under A.H. 83-1-18”. BM 75974 was perhaps one such piece.

BM 75974 is 5.625 inches long and 3.375 inches wide (BMOC). It is the lower part of a single column tablet, apparently breaking off close to the bottom edge, since its duplicate BM 68611 reveals only one line is completely missing. BM 75974 obverse preserves 47 lines. Its first and last few lines are fragmentary; otherwise many lines are complete, or nearly complete. The reverse preserves 43 lines or part lines, many complete, or nearly complete.

Leichty, *Catalogue VIII*, identified the piece as Neo-Babylonian, a duplicate of BM 68611, BM 68069 (82-9-18), BM 36106 (Sp. III 654) and *KAR 109*, described as a hymn to a goddess. Leichty thought the piece to be nearly complete. BM 68069 and BM 36106 are not part of this composition. BM 68069 and joins are a syncretistic hymn to Ištar (Lambert, 2003-2004); BM 36106 is an astronomical text.

BM 75974 supplies the principal text for a significant proportion of the composition. It provides the bridge between K 232+3371+13776 and *KAR 109+343* (**section 4.2**) and supplies text not otherwise known. Its obverse overlaps with the whole of the text of *KAR 109+343* obverse, breaking off in the same line as *KAR 109*.

BM 75974 duplicates the whole of the text in BM 68611(**section 5.1.4**), save for one line entirely lost from BM 75974 where its obverse breaks off. It duplicates the text preserved in the fragment BM 76319, and in the fragmentary school-text BM 36333 (**sections 5.1.5, 5.1.6**).

The obverse of BM 75974 contains rulings after 1.17' and 1.26'. Both rulings are replicated in the fragment BM 76319; the ruling after 1.17' is replicated in *KAR* 109. (BM 68611 does not duplicate this section.)

*Cuneiform copy*: No. 64, Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert, (eds. A.R.George and J.Taniguchi, forthcoming); see **Appendix**.

#### **5.1.4 BM 68611 (Ms. b)**

The fragment BM 68611 (A.H. 82-9-18, 8610) is part of a collection excavated by Hormuzd Rassam, despatched to the British Museum in a consignment of 12 cases and two “parcels” under an inventory dated 20 July 1882, all but one of the cases being from Abu Habba (Reade, 1986a, p.xxxiii).

Leichty, *Catalogue* VII identified BM 68611 as a Neo-Babylonian duplicate of *KAR* 109 and of BM 75974 (Leichty, *Catalogue* VIII). It is probably a Late Babylonian manuscript. BM 68611 is 7.62 cm long and 7.62 cm wide (BMOC), from the left edge of the tablet. It includes part of the bottom of the obverse and, although more damaged, the top of the reverse. The obverse preserves traces or part of 25 lines; the reverse, 22 lines. Many lines are nearly complete (confirmed by its duplicates).

The piece provides 19 lines of text or traces which overlap of *KAR* 109 obverse before *KAR* 109 breaks off. The whole of the text in BM 68611 duplicates BM 75974 (**section 5.1.3**), with the exception of one line only, missing from BM 75974 obverse where it breaks off. The reverse of the piece contains a ruling after 1.21' which BM 75974 does not.

*Cuneiform copy*: No. 66, Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert, (eds. A.R.George and J.Taniguchi, forthcoming); see **Appendix**.

#### **5.1.5 BM 76319 (Ms. c)**

The fragment BM 76319 (A.H. 83-1-18, 1687) appears from its acquisition number to have been part of the same consignment as BM 75974 (section **5.1.3**). This small piece much more closely fits Rassam’s description of the materials from Abu Habba as “very small pieces of inscribed clay” (Rassam, report 18 October 1882, see Walker, 1988, p.xii).

The piece is 1.875 inches long and 1 inch wide (BMOC). Only one side of the piece preserves text, the other side being damaged. The fragment covers 15 lines of text, but largely preserves the middle of the lines, which the scribe has left unscribed, dividing his lines on either side. The fragment preserves, at most, a couple of signs on either side of this calligraphic division. Leichty, *Catalogue VIII* listed the piece as a Neo-Babylonian literary text. Lambert alone seems to have identified this fragment as duplicating *KAR 109* and *BM 75974*. The piece contains two rulings, likewise preserved in *BM 75974*; it appears that these two manuscripts, apparently from the same provenance, shared the same arrangement. *KAR 109* preserves the second ruling only.

**Cuneiform copy:** No. 65, *Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert*, (eds. A.R.George and J.Taniguchi, forthcoming); see **Appendix**.

#### 5.1.6 BM 36333 (Ms. d)

The fragment *BM 36333* (80-6-17, 59) belongs to a collection excavated for the British Museum during Hormuzd Rassam's absence, generally under the supervision of the British Consul General in Baghdad, or his deputy (Reade, 1986a, p.xix). It came in a consignment of five cases for which no dispatch inventory has been traced. The receipt inventory refers only to Babylon, but the consignment should have contained material from Babylon and the Nabu Temple at Borsippa, found between about October 1879 and January 1880; it also contained material from Kuyunjik (Reade, 1986a, p.xxx). Reade (1986a, p.xx) concluded that the great majority of tablets found during Rassam's absence must have come from Babylon itself.

The piece is a portion from the left edge of a Late Babylonian school exercise tablet, containing excerpts from several texts, separated by rulings. One side, perhaps the reverse, published as *CT 12 30*, contains excerpts from the lexical text *Ea Tablets VI-VIII* (*MSL XIV*, pp.431, 447,477). The other side contains an excerpt from *udug-ḫul-a-meš* (15: 60-62; Gesche, 2001, p.238), followed by text identified in *MSL XIV*, p.431 as duplicating *KAR 109* 18-21.

Gesche (2001, pp.238-240) copied and edited the preserved text. ll.7'-10' of the obverse (so, Gesche) supplies four half-lines duplicating text contained in *BM 75974* and *BM*

68611, as well as in *KAR* 109. Citing George (1993), Gesche (2001, p.238) identified the excerpt as part of a hymn to Ištar.

*Cuneiform copy*: No. 68, Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert, (eds. A.R.George and J.Taniguchi, forthcoming); see **Appendix**.

### 5.1.7 BM 37616 (Ms. e)

The Late Babylonian fragment BM 37616 (80-6-17, 1373) comes from the same consignment as BM 36333 (**section 5.1.6**) and is probably from Babylon.

The piece is from the left edge of the tablet. Lambert (unpublished notes) considered that it came from near the top of the tablet as to the obverse and, correspondingly, near the end of the reverse. It has been fractured in two, vertically; sections of each face have broken away and the piece has been reassembled. The piece has evidently suffered greater damage since Lambert copied it.

BM 37616 obverse preserves traces or part of 11 lines of text; its reverse contains traces or part of 15 lines. Lambert alone seems to have identified this piece as duplicating *KAR* 109. Comparison with *KAR* 109 shows that BM 37616 contains approximately half a line of text at its maximum extent. The obverse (ll.1'-6') overlaps with the last six lines of *KAR* 109 reverse and continues with similar text. The reverse contains rather different material before it breaks off.

*Cuneiform copy*: No. 67, Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert, (eds. A.R.George and J.Taniguchi, forthcoming); see **Appendix**.

## 5.2 Table of Manuscripts

Manuscript	Museum Number	Bibliography of cuneiform texts and previous editions	Lines on obverse	Lines on reverse
<i>Assyrian Sites</i> Nineveh				
A	K 232+3371+13776	1897 J.A.Craig <i>ABRT</i> II 16-18 (K 232) 1900 F.Martin (K 232) 1929 C.J.Mullo-Weir (K 232) Lambert Folios No.63 **	1-58	1' - 42' 55' - 60' colophon
Aššur				
F	VAT 9670+9931	1919 E.Ebeling, <i>KAR</i> 109 (VAT 9670) 1919 E.Ebeling, <i>KAR</i> 343 (VAT 9931) 1918 E.Ebeling ( <i>KAR</i> 109) 1953a E.Ebeling ( <i>KAR</i> 343)	60'-96'	1''-15''
<i>Babylonian Sites</i> Babylon				
d	BM 36333	2001 P.Gesche pp.238-240 Lambert Folios No.68 **	87'-91'	-
e	BM 37616	Lambert Folios No.67 **	10''-20''	1'''-15'''
Sippar?				
a	BM 75974	Lambert Folios No.64 **	49' -95'	97'- 139'
b	BM 68611	Lambert Folios No.66 **	78'-102'	103'-126'
c	BM 76319	Lambert Folios No.65 **	62'-76'	-

\*\* *Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert*, (eds. A.R.George and J.Taniguchi, forthcoming).

### 5.3 Transliteration of the Composite Text

The critical apparatus (**section 5.4**) demonstrates that there is very little variation between manuscripts, either between the Assyrian Ms. F and its Babylonian duplicates or between the Babylonian manuscripts themselves. The vast majority of variants are orthographic. The scribe of Ms. b shows an occasional preference for syllabic writing where duplicates have logograms (so, l.119' *na-piš-ti ma-a-ti* instead of *zi<sup>ti</sup> kur* (Ms. a); *i-na* for the AŠ sign *passim*). The reading provided by the manuscript which supplies the most complete line has been followed in the composite text, absent compelling reason to do otherwise, noted in **section 5.6**. Occasionally, the superior orthography of a duplicate is adopted. The preserved text contains very few rulings. Whilst there is some agreement between manuscripts, there is not complete consistency, even between exemplars from Babylonia or Assyria. Ms. a and Ms. c have a ruling after l.65', where Ms. F does not. All three contain a ruling after l.74', where a passage clearly ends. A ruling appears after l.123' in Ms. b, but not in Ms. a; and after l.14'' in Ms. F, but not in Ms. e.

- A 1 [m]u-ki-na-at [ ... .. ]
- A 2 <sup>r</sup>rap<sup>r</sup>-šat uz-ni b[a-na-at x x x mu- ... .. ]
- A 3 <sup>d</sup>nin-ì-si-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>k</sup>[<sup>i</sup> ... .. ]
- A 4 rap-šat uz-ni ba-na-a[t x x x ] mu-<sup>r</sup> x<sup>r</sup> -[ ... .. ]
- A 5 ib-ni-ma šamû(an)<sup>ú</sup> u eršetim(ki)<sup>tim</sup> x[ ... .. ]
- A 6 mim-ma ma-la šu-ma na-bu-u ba-' -u-[la-ti? ... .. ]
- 
- A 7 is-qet nap-ḫa-ri us-si-ka x[ ... .. ]
- A 8 ku-ul-lat <sup>d</sup>í-gì-gì ki-gal-la-šu-nu x[ ... .. ]
- A 9 ur-ti <sup>d</sup>a-nu-ú-ti šip-ṭa u purussâ(eš-bar) [ ... .. ]
- A 10 mar-kás šamê(an)<sup>e</sup> u eršetim(ki)<sup>tim</sup> an-na u ul-[la ... .. ]
- A 11 <sup>r</sup>ru<sup>r</sup>-bu-u ra-bu-tum <sup>d</sup>a-nu-um <sup>d</sup>en-líl <sup>r</sup>ù<sup>r</sup> [<sup>d</sup>é-a ... .. ]
- A 12 du-un-na iš-ruk-ši <sup>d</sup>a-nu-um ḫi-im-mat par-ṣ[i ... .. ]

- A 13 *ug-dam-mir-ši<sup>d</sup> en-líl da-ád-me kul-lat te-n[é-še-e-ti]*
- A 14 *a-te u mil-ki<sup>d</sup> é-a šar(lugal) apsî(zu:ab) uš-pa[l-ka-a-ši]*
- A 15 *igi-gál<sup>lu-ut</sup> gim-ri ni-šir-ti apsî(zu:ab) pi-r[iš-ti ... ]*
- A 16 *ᵀpuᵀ-ḫur bil-li up-šá-še-e ri-kis né-mé-qí [ ... ]*
- 
- A 17 *<sup>d</sup>lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a ina pu-ḫur ilānī(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> x[ ... ]*
- A 18 *<sup>d</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-nun-na-ki šar-rat nap-ḫar šamê(an)<sup>e</sup> u eršetim(ki)<sup>tim</sup> m[u- ... ]*
- A 19 *<sup>d</sup>nin-bára-ge-sì šar-rat šar-ri na-di-na-[at šip]-ṭi*
- A 20 *be-let na-ba-li šá-ru-ur kul-la-ti né-bat gi-m[ir pa-rak]-ki*
- A 21 *<sup>d</sup>zar-pa-ni-tum šá ki-ma šu-mi-šá-ma ba-na-at ze-ri [x x a- p]a-a-ti*
- A 22 *<sup>d</sup>ama um-me šamê(an)<sup>e</sup> u eršetim(ki)<sup>tim</sup> bi-nu-ut ᵀanᵀ-šár*
- A 23 *<sup>d</sup>ma-me-e ba-nit par-ši ta-lim-ti ᵀ[as]arᵀ-alim!(GÎR)*
- A 24 *<sup>d</sup>ama-ù-tu-an-ki um-mi ba-na-at šamê(an)<sup>e</sup> u eršetim(ki)<sup>tim</sup> a-li-da-at  
ilānī(dingir)<sup>[meš?]</sup>*
- A 25 *<sup>d</sup>šu-zi-an-na mu-kin-na-at ṭè-em ili(dingir) u amēli(lú) m[u]-ᵀšapᵀ-ši-ḫat  
<sup>d</sup>sîn(šeš-[ki])*
- A 26 *<sup>d</sup>namma(engur) nap-ḫar pi-riš-ti ilānī(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> mu-še-ᵀniᵀ-qat an-[šár]*
- A 27 *<sup>d</sup>šu-zabar-kù qātī(šu)<sup>meš</sup> ellēti(ᵀkùᵀ)<sup>meš</sup> [n]a-ram-ti ili(dingir) u šarri(lug[al])*
- A 28 *<sup>d</sup>nin-kar-nun-na qa-rit-ᵀtiᵀ [x]-ᵀeᵀ? ra-ᵀi-mat<sup>d</sup>UD-u<sub>18</sub>-l[u]*
- A 29 *<sup>d</sup>nin-sún be-let ᵀmušᵀ-pa-li šá ina šamê(an)<sup>e</sup> man-za-as-sa šal-ṭ[u]*
- A 30 *<sup>d</sup>nin-girim(A-ḪA-TARᵀ-DU) mul-li-la-at muš-ši-pat ili(dingir) u amēli(lú)*
- A 31 *<sup>d</sup>nin-tin-ug<sub>5</sub>-ga be-el-tu mu-šap-ši-ḫat gi-ᵀmirᵀ nišī(un)<sup>meš</sup> mu-bal-liṭ-ṭa-at  
mīti(lúúš)*
- A 32 *<sup>d</sup>nin-kar-ra-ak be-let rik-si ᵀupᵀ-šá-še-e e-pi-šat nik-ka-si a-re-e*
- A -- *la-ba-ᵀatᵀ uz-za-at ᵀùᵀ mu-ma-ᵀ-ir-rat*
- A 33 *<sup>d</sup>kur-rib-ba ka-ši-ᵀda-atᵀ ek-šu-ti ᵀmuᵀ-nak-ki-rat uz-za-a-ti*

- A 34 <sup>d</sup>me-me *ba-nit par-ši* <sup>d</sup>me-me-sig<sub>5</sub>-ga *šá-pi-kàt eršetim(ki)*<sup>tim</sup> *šá-ma-mi*
- A 35 <sup>d</sup>ama-šu-ḥal-bi *um-mu re-mi-ni-tum mu-šap-ši-ḥat zu-um-ri*
- A 36 <sup>d</sup>udug-sig<sub>5</sub>-ga *ba-nit kak-ki na-di-na-at* <sup>d</sup>šēd(alad) *dum-qí*
- A 37 <sup>d</sup>lamma-sig<sub>5</sub>-ga *šá-pi-kàt eršetim(ki)*<sup>tim</sup> *mu-šat-li-ṛ mat* <sup>d</sup>lamassi(lamma) *dum-qí*
- A 38 dingir-maḥ <sup>ṛ</sup>ši-rat' *ilānī*(<sup>ṛ</sup>dingir')<sup>meš</sup> <sup>ṛ</sup>ni-bu'-ut an-šár
- A 39 <sup>d</sup>nin-maḥ <sup>ṛ</sup>x'[ ... ]x <sup>d</sup>nin-ša[r]
- A 40 <sup>d</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-za-[gìn-na ... ] *mu-šak-li-lat ta-lit-t[i]*
- A 41 *be-let* [*ilānī*(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> *šar-rat kal(d)ù*] *da-ád-me*
- 
- A 42 *mu-* [ ... ... ]<sup>ṛ</sup>x' *ma-ḥa-zi*
- A 43 x[ ... ... u]š-nam-ma-ru *i-šar-ru-ru mē(a)*<sup>meš</sup> *nag-bi*
- A 44 [ ... ... ] *i-ba-'u*
- A 45 x[x x *šamê*(an)]<sup>e</sup> *u eršetim(ki)*<sup>tim</sup> *purussâ?*(eš-[bar?])... ]<sup>ṛ</sup>e'-liš *ù šap-liš*
- A 46 [x x x]-*ma?*-šá *e-liš šik-na-a*[*t na-piš-ti mit*]-*ḥa-riš šá-di-id-ma*
- A 47 x[x (x) x]x *šá-lum-mat-sa gu-um-*[*mu-rat si-ḥi*]-*ip kal da-ád-me*
- A 48 x[x (x) x] <sup>ṛ</sup>e'? *ki-gal* <sup>d</sup>í-gì-gì x[x x] <sup>d</sup>UD-u<sub>18</sub>-*lu*
- A 49 *te-ret* [x x] *na-gab kul-la-ti šá-r[u]-ru-šá zi-zu*
- A 50 *qé-reb là[l]-gar pi-riš-ti ilānī*(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> *te-[re-t]u-šá ḥa-am-mat*
- A 51 *a-šar ši-t[ul]-ti u purussê*(eš-bar) *šu-[ba]t-sa du<sub>6</sub>-kù*
- A 52 [n]*a-bit i-la-[a-tim]* *'be-let mim-ma'* [šum]-<sup>ṛ</sup>šu' *a-ši-bat ru-ba-a-t[i]*
- A 53 [x]x x [ ... ... ]x *mit-ḥur-[tum?]*
- A 54 [ ... ... ]x *mas-da-ra na-šat qan*(gi) *ṭuppi*(<sup>ṛ</sup>dub'-[ba])
- A 55 [ ... ... ]-<sup>ṛ</sup>e' *i-šam ši-mat-su-[un]*
- A 56 [ ... ... -a]t? *ni-bit-[sa]*
- A 57 [ ... ... ] x-KU <sup>ṛ</sup>lam'-*d[a-at]*

A 58 (*traces*)

*Unknown number of lines missing*

A 1' [x x gi?/ še?-g]u-né-e UD-x [ ... .. ]

A 2' x x[x (x) x]-ti<sup>d</sup>nin-ši-k[ù? ... .. ]

A 3' x[x x x]x-ta er-še-ta [ ... .. ]

A 4' x[x x x m]u-sa-re-e šarri(lug[al] ... .. ]

A 5' x[x x x]x-am še-gu-x[ ... .. ]

A 6' x[x x x ri]-ta u maš-qí-ta [ ... .. ]

A 7' x[x x x]x na-piš-ti x[ ... .. ]

A 8' <sup>d</sup>[gu-la] ba-nit nap-ḥa-ri [ ... .. ]

A 9' UD x[(x)]x KUR DA KUR [ ... .. ]

A 10' nuḥšū(ḥé-nun)<sup>š<sup>u</sup></sup> tuk-kan purussê(eš-bar) x[ ... .. ]

A 11' ina na-de-e nu-um-mu-ra qut-rin-ni š[u- ... .. ]

A 12' a-šar ri-kis šamni(i-giš) ki-i ni-iš qa-ti x[ ... .. ]

A 13' ni-šir-ti<sup>d</sup>a-nim<sup>d</sup>en-líl u<sup>d</sup>é-a [ ... .. ]

A 14' a-šar<sup>d</sup>šîn(30)<sup>d</sup>šamaš(utu)<sup>d</sup>adad(iškur) i-šak-[ka-nu kit-ta?]

A 15' kám-su-ma ilu(dingir) u<sup>d</sup>iš-ta-ri i-par-ra-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>r</sup> [ ... ]

A 16' <sup>d</sup>marūduk(amar-utu) bēl(en) ne-me-qí i-šad-da-[ad ... ]

A 17' ina qut-rin-ni lipî(i-udu) šīr(uzu) immeri(udu) ú-šū-rat iššurī(musen)<sup>m</sup>[<sup>eš</sup> ...]

A 18' ina di-ni u purussê(eš-bar) ma-ḥar-šá x[ ... ]

A 19' a-šar sa-li-me-šá tu-du u pa-da-nu šu-te-[šū-ru]

A 20' uš-pat-ti uz-ni-ši-na ár-kàt-si-na i-[par-ra-as]

A 21' i-nu-šū libbi(šà)<sup>bi</sup>-šá i?-te-liš uš?-[ ... ]

- A 22' *ˁdalˁ-ḥa ú-ṣu-ra-a-te šu-ta-bu-la te-r[e-(e)-tu]*
- A 23' *ta-mit it-mu-u ta-ˁ -it-tum ḥal-x[ ... ]*
- A 24' *ši-i-ma muš-ta-lat ma-ša-at ma-la ˁlib-buˁ-uš*
- A 25' *uš-ta-pe-él gíl-lat-si-na i-paṭ-ṭar ar-ni*
- A 26' *be-let re-e-ši ut-nin-ˁniˁ a-na ši-si-it ḥa-an-ṭa-at*
- A 27' *i-šem-me téš-lit nišī(un)<sup>meš</sup> i-nam-din bul-ṭu*
- A 28' *i-nam-din te-e šá šup-šu-ḥi ši-pat balāṭi(ti-la)*
- A 29' *i-paṭ-ṭar ri-kis nam-ra-ši mu-ru-uš ta-az-bil-ti*
- A 30' *ap-kal-lat ba-ra-at muš-ši-pat mu-us-sa-at ka-la-ma*
- A 31' *sa-ni-qat re-ˁ-a-ta a-ši-rat muš-ta-lat*
- A 32' *sa-ki-pat se-k[e-rat] ˁe-ni-na-atˁ re-me-na-at*
- A 33' *mu-x-[ ... ] ˁšaˁ-bi-ta-at mu-paṭ-ṭi-rat*
- A 34' *[ ... ... ]x na-as-ḥur-šá*
- A 35' *[ ... ... ] ši-ˁtulˁ-šá*
- A 36' *[ ... ... ] ˁdˁi-gì-gì*
- A 37' *[ ... ... mu]šˁ-ta-KUR*
- A 38' *[ ... ... ]x-da da-ád-me*
- A 39' *[ ... ... ... ]-diˁ-šá*
- A 40' *[ ... ... ... ]x-let*
- A 41' *[ ... ... ... ]-rat*
- A 42' *[ ... ... ... ]x*

*Six lines estimated to be missing*

- a 49' *(traces)*
- a 50' *[ x x x x D]U A ME IM x[ ... ... ... ]*

- a 51' [ x (x) <sup>d</sup>]UD-u<sub>18</sub>-lu qar-rad ilānī(ṛdingir<sup>ṛ</sup>)<sup>meš</sup> x[ ... ]
- a 52' ú-ṣ[u]-rat šá-ma-mi bāb(ṛká<sup>ṛ</sup>) [(x)] x x[ ... ]
- a 53' ri-kis ka-la-ma nab-nit apsî(zu:ab) mē(a)<sup>m[ēš]</sup> ṛi<sup>ṛ</sup>-x[ ... ]
- a 54' tam-ta uš-ra-qa-am ina nagbi(idim) mīlī(illu)<sup>me</sup> ú-gap-pa-[áš]
- aA 55' ṛi<sup>ṛ</sup>-šu uz-na šu-ṛtu<sup>ṛ</sup>-rat ḥa-si-[sa]
- aA 56' al-ka-ka-a-ti mu-da-át gúm-mu-rat ši-t[ul-ta]
- aA 57' a-na šip-ṭi u purussê(eš-bar) i-qal-ši<sup>d</sup> a-[num]
- aA 58' a-na ši-mat la šá-na-an iš-te-né-ṛi-ši<sup>d</sup> en-[líl]
- aA 59' a-na ši-tul-ti nap-ḥa-ri ta-ru-ši<sup>d</sup> nu-dím-[mud]
- aAF 60' itti(ṛki<sup>ṛ</sup>) an-šár be-lí šu-tu-rat ḥa-si-sa
- aF 61' itti(ki) [<sup>d</sup>e]n-líl mu-šim šīmāti[nam]<sup>meš</sup> ši-ma-tu-šá ši-i-ru
- acF 62' itti(ṛki<sup>ṛ</sup>)<sup>d</sup> é-a šar(lugal) apsî(zu:ab) ḥa-si-sa pal-kàt
- acF 63' itti(ki)<sup>d</sup> marūduk(amar-utu) bēl(en) né-me-qí a-ta-át mil-ka
- acF 64' itti(ki)<sup>d</sup> nabû(ag) pa-ti-iq kul-lá-ti pa-lu-šá maḥ-ri
- acF 65' itti(ki)<sup>d</sup> nin-urta qar-rad ilānī(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> šú-ḥu-za-át a-nun-ta
- 
- acF 66' é-šár-ra šu-bat ilānī(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> reš-ta-at šu-bat-sa
- acF 67' é-kur ṛki<sup>ṛ</sup>-iṣ-ša el-la gúm-mu-ru par-ṣu-šá
- acF 68' é-sag-íl ēkal(é-gal) ilānī(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> šu-bat-sa gaš-rat
- acF 69' du<sub>6</sub>-kù pi-riš-ti ilānī(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> mi-lik-šá lam-da-at
- acF 70' é-ḥal-an-ki bīt(é) kiš-šat uz-ni te-re-ti-šá ḥa-am-[m]a
- acF 71' gaš-ṛrat<sup>ṛ</sup> šamê([a]n) u erṣeti(ki) i-lat paṭ gim-ri
- acF 72' ṛe<sup>ṛ</sup>-liš ù šap-liš šur-bat i-lu-us-sa
- acF 73' ina ši-taš u ši-la-an ši-tak-ku-nu ṛkip<sup>ṛ</sup>-du-ša
- acF 74' ina ma-ḥa-zi eš-ret ilānī(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> šu-ta-nu-du zik-ru-šú
-

- acF 75' *ina uri(úri)<sup>ki d</sup>nin-gal a-ḥat ilānī(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> rabûti(gal)<sup>meš</sup>*
- acF 76' *<sup>d</sup>nin-gi-kù-ga be-let gim-ri ellûti(kù)<sup>tim</sup> mu-ub-bi-bat ki-nu-ti*
- aF 77' *ina é-giš-nu<sub>11</sub>-gal na-ši-rat kiš-šat ni-ši nūr(zálag) šamê(an)<sup>e</sup> rabûti(gal)<sup>meš</sup>*
- abF 78' *ina sippari(zimbir)<sup>ki</sup> āl(uru) ṣa-a-ti nūr(zálag) šamê(an) u erṣeti(ki)*  
*ili(dingir) u amēli(lú)*
- abF 79' *ina é-babbar-ra <sup>d</sup>a-a bēlet(gašan) maš-ta-ki mu-kil-lat rik-si*
- abF 80' *ina é-ḥi-li-<sup>d</sup>ianna šu-bat dun-ni-sa-i-du šá-muḥ-tú <sup>d</sup>ul-sig<sub>7</sub>-ga*
- abF 81' *ina bābili(ká-dingir-ra)<sup>ki</sup> né-reb ilānī(dingir)<sup>meš d</sup>nin-girim(A-ḤA-TAR-DU)*
- abF 82' *ina é-sag-íl <sup>d</sup>e<sub>4</sub>-ru<sub>6</sub> bānāt(dù)<sup>at</sup> ri-ḥu-ti*
- abF 83' *ina ká-silim-ma ka-bit-ti an-šár be-let taš-me-e u sa-li-me*
- abF 84' *ina ká-ḥi-li-sù ku-uz-ba ul-lu-ḥat bu-na-ma za-na-át*
- abF 85' *ina é-è-umuš-a <sup>d</sup>nin-è-umuš-a mu-šá-pat ṭè-e-mi*
- abF 86' *ina é-tùr-kalam-ma be-let bābili(tin-tir)<sup>ki</sup> ma-li-kàt <sup>d</sup>t-gì-gì*
- abdF 87' *ina é-nam-ti-la bu-un-na-an-né-e šar-ḥat i-nam-din bul-ṭu*
- abdF 88' *ina é-nam-ḥé be-let nu-uḥ-ši mu-deš-šá-at ḥi-iš-ba*
- abdF 89' *ina é-sa-bad pe-ta-at uz-ni na-ba-at ta-bi-ni*
- abdF 90' *ina é-ki-tuš-gir<sub>17</sub>-zal šu-bat né-eḥ-ti a-ši-bat ta-šil-ti*
- abdF 91' *ina bār-sipa<sup>ki d</sup>nin-zíl-zíl-le be-let tak-né-e zi-kir-šá*
- abF 92' *ina é-zi-da na-šá-at <sup>giš</sup>le-u<sub>5</sub> kit-ti i-na-áš-ši re-e-šá*
- abF 93' *ina dil-bat<sup>ki</sup> na-bit ilānī(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> ka-bit-ti ma-a-ti*
- abF 94' *ina é-i-bí-<sup>d</sup>a-num <sup>d</sup>[nin]-é-gal mu-ṣab-bat <sup>d</sup>a-nim*
- abF 95' [ ...    ...    ... -r]at? ma-a-me
- bF 96' [mu]š-pa-ri-ir-rat še-et za-a'-i-ri a-ši-bat [ ... ]
- ab 97' <sup>r</sup>i-<sup>`</sup>na é-gal-<sup>d</sup>amma-lugal uš-šu-bat [ma]-al-[ki]
- ab 98' [i]-na kiš<sup>ki</sup> nam-rat it-ti <sup>d</sup>sîn(30) šá-qu-x <sup>d</sup>ma-š[um]?
- ab 99' [i]-na é-dub-ba be-let iš-pik-ku mu-gan-ni-na-at ga-nu-nu

- ab 100' [i-n]ṽa ṽ'é-meṽ-te-ur-sag šu-lu-kát ana si-mat qar-ra-d[i]
- ab 101' [ina ḥur]-sag-kalam-ma mu-zak-ki-rat ušurāti(giš-ḥur)<sup>me</sup> nišī(un)<sup>meš</sup>  
šadī(kur)<sup>i</sup> u ma-ti-t[an<sup>?</sup>]
- ab 102' <sup>[d]</sup>nin-líl šá kīma(gim) šumī(mu)-šá-ma mu-du-tu šá-da-a u māta(kur) BE x
- ab 103' [š]a šá-ad māti(kur) ú-šur-ta-šá reš-ta-t[i]
- ab 104' bēltu(gašan) nādinat(sum)<sup>at</sup> zēri(numun) mu-šaq-qat re-e-š[u]
- ab 105' qa-rit-tu le-e'-it ilānī(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> i-lat ì-lá-a-ti
- ab 106' ina é-kur-ní-zu šad(kur) pu-luḥ-ti ka-ši-da-at sar-ra-a-ti
- ab 107' i-lat ta-na-da-a-ti be-let a-rat-te-e šar-rat <sup>d</sup>ištarāti(15)<sup>meš</sup>
- ab 108' ilat(dingir)<sup>at(e)</sup> ta-mi-ti be-let bi-ri šá šá-ga-pu-ra qar-na-a-šú
- ab 109' na-di-na-at nap-ḥar tuḥ-di ina qé-reb é-mes-lam
- ab 110' ina é-ùru-ama-ki um-mi da-ád-me na-ši-rat ma-a-ti
- ab 111' ina é-dim-gal-an-na mar-kás šá-ma-mi bānīt(dù)<sup>it</sup> ili(dingir) u amēli(lú)
- ab 112' ina damru(du<sub>10</sub>-gar)<sup>ki</sup> šu-bat né-eḥ-ti na-ši-rat ka-la re-bit
- ab 113' ṽa-ab šilla(gissu)-šá ina é-gissu-bi-dùg-ga mu-ṽib-bat sa-am-sa-am MA? x PI
- ab 114' be-let šá-an-da-lip-úr<sup>ki</sup> ina qé-reb šá-ma-mi ka-liš pu-uq-qu-ši
- ab 115' šar-rat é-gu-la be-let igisê(igi-sá)<sup>e</sup> kul-la-ti rabītu(gal)<sup>tu</sup> si-ma-ak-ki
- ab 116' ina ša-dun-ni<sup>ki</sup> mu-dam-me-qat na-ki-da-át be-let šamni(ì-giš) u šizbi(ga)  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ì-gara<sub>10</sub>
- ab 117' ina é-ga-ì-nun-šár-šár ma-li-lat ši-iz-bi u ḥi-me-ti šu-muḥ rē'û(sipa)-ti
- ab 118' ina már-da<sup>ki</sup> ḥi-rat šarri(lugal) na-šu-ṽú a-bu-bi
- ab 119' ina é-igi-kalam-ma napišti(zi)<sup>ti</sup> māti(kur) la-mi-da-át ṽe-em <sup>d</sup>a-nim
- ab 120' ṽa-ab šu-lul-šá ina é-zi-ba-ti-la qa-i-šat napišti(zi)<sup>ti</sup> balāṽi(tin)
- ab 121' ina te-e-šá ú-šap-šah nam-ra-ša a-si-i pi-i-šá ina é-gašan-tin-na
- ab 122' mu-ub-bi-bat māti(kur) ina larag(UD-UD-AG)<sup>ki</sup> šu-bat-sa el-let
- ab 123' ina é-ki-ná-šà-tén-na a-šar ta-ni-iḥ-ti nišī(un)<sup>meš</sup> māti(kur)

*i-bal-lu-ṭa qé-reb-šá*

- ab 124' *ina dur-an-ki mar-kás šamê(an) u erṣeti(ki) ru-bu-tu<sup>d</sup>x[(x)] x*
- ab 125' *ina é-kur bīt(é) šīmāti(nam)<sup>meš</sup> ab-rak-ka-tu rabītu(gal)<sup>tu</sup> d[x(x)] x*
- ab 126' *a-šar ḥa-am-mu-ti-šá du-ru-us-sa reš-tu-ú šu-bat-sa ʿéʿ-[ki-ùr]*
- a 127' *ina é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> kal-lat<sup>d</sup>en-líl mu-za-i-za-át zi-za-a-[tim]*
- a 128' *ina é-bára-dúr-gar-ra šu-bat né-eḥ-ti bi-nu-ut<sup>d</sup>en-líl ʿbeʿʿ-ḷ[etʿ ... ]*
- a 129' *<sup>d</sup>un-gal-nibru<sup>ki</sup> <sup>d</sup>ninnu(50)-át-tim ṣer-ret gim-mir x[ ... ]*
- a 130' *ina é-úru-sag-gá mu-kin-na-át i-šit-ti nišī(un)<sup>meš</sup> n[a-ṣi-rat x x(x)]*
- a 131' *<sup>d</sup>nin-pa<sub>4</sub>-nìgin-gar-ra bēlet(gašan) nap-ḥar ṣi-it<sup>d</sup>šamši(utu)<sup>ši</sup> a-ši-bat  
šū?-x[ ... ]*
- a 132' *šar-rat pu-lu-uk da-ád-mi bēlet(gašan) parak-māri(bára-ʿdumuʿ)<sup>ki</sup> na-ram  
libbi(šà)<sup>b</sup>[<sup>i</sup> <sup>d</sup>nin-urta]*
- a 133' *ina é-ní-gal-abzu(zu:ab) ta-kam-mu nam-ri-[ir-r]u-šá et-mu-d[aʿ ... ]*
- a 134' *mu-šá-pat gim-ri ina qé-reb ma-al-gi-i šá BI [ ... ]*
- a 135' *<sup>d</sup>šar-rat é-è-an-ki [š]u-pu-tú šamê(an) u erṣeti(ki) i-[ ... ]*
- a 136' *ina da-ád-muš<sup>ki</sup> šar-[rat] ʿšáʿ-ma-me šu-bat x[ ... ]*
- a 137' *<sup>d</sup>qí-bi-dumqi(sig<sub>5</sub>-ga) mu-x x x x <sup>d</sup>lamassu(lamma) x[ ... ]*
- a 138' *x x x BÀD A D[Iʿ ... ] UR ŠI ilānū/ilānī(dingir)<sup>me</sup>[š ... ]*
- a 139' *(traces)*

*Unknown number of lines missing*

- F 1'' *šá-ri-kàt na-piš-ti[m x ... ... ]*
- F 2'' *<sup>d</sup>ú-kul-la ba-nit ri-i-ti ḥa-i-ṭa-at kul-la-ʿtiʿ x[ ... ]*
- F 3'' *ina é-sikil-la ki-iṣ-ši elli(kù) ʿlaʿ ma-gi-ri še-ret-sa [na-ši]*
- F 4'' *ina é-dadag-lál mu-ub-bi-bat ḥi-ṭa-a-ti ina āli(uru) narām(ki-ág)*

<sup>d</sup>[Ištar(inanna)]

- F 5'' *ina du<sub>6</sub>-kù šu-bat tap-šu-uh-ti mu-ub-bi-bat ka-la-[ma]*
- F 6'' *ina eššeb(ki-ib) be-let er-še-ti pi-riš-t[i (x) ]*
- F 7'' *mu-ni-iḫ-ḫa-at!(ŠI) ka-liš ta-a-a-rat*
- F 8'' *ina é-nun-maḫ ši-rat ru-be-e ra-bi-tu ma-al-ki*
- F 9'' *da-ab-rat šap-ši a-ši-pat di-nik-ti<sup>ki</sup>*
- eF 10'' *ḫa-a-a-ṭa-at kul-la-ti bi-nu-ut é-gu-la*
- eF 11'' *nam-tar ma-al-ki be-let adab?(UD-NUN)<sup>ki</sup>*
- eF 12'' <sup>d</sup>nin-líl nišī(un)<sup>meš</sup> la-mas-si é-nam-zu
- eF 13'' *bi-rit šip-pa-a-ti<sup>d</sup> šar-rat-de-er<sup>ki</sup> bit-sa gaš-rat*
- eF 14'' *ina é-dim-gal-kalam-ma mar-kás māti(kur) <bēlet> te-lil-ti*  
*šá-ki-na-at ki-dī-ni*
- eF 15'' *ka-nu-ut<sup>d</sup> ba-ú kul-lat ad-na-a-ti ri-kis ma-a-t[i]*
- e 16'' *ina é-ul-ḫé-me-šu-du<sub>7</sub> x[ ... ... ]*
- e 17'' *a-ši-rat ṛas<sup>ṛ</sup>-mat šá-ma-mi x[ ... ... ]*
- e 18'' *ina é-maḫ x šik-n[a-at ... ... ]*
- e 19'' *ina karkar(im)<sup>ki</sup> a-<sup>ṛ</sup> x ṽ[ ... ... ... ]*
- e 20'' <sup>rd</sup>? x[ ... ... ... ]

*Unknown number of lines missing*

- e 1''' [ ... ... ] <sup>rd</sup> ša[r-rat ... ]
- e 2''' [ ... ]x ta-ḫa-zi [ ... ... ]
- e 3''' [ ... ]x GIŠGAL É/KID <sup>giš</sup>qašta(pan) iš- x [ ... ]
- e 4''' [ x ]x šag-gaš-ti it-ti<sup>d</sup> èr-ra [ ... ]
- e 5''' [š]i-i-ma<sup>d</sup> na-ru-du x[ ... ]

- e 6''' *ka-nu-ut an-šár a-* x[ ... ]
- e 7''' *it-ti*<sup>d</sup> *lugal-nir-gál la?* [ ... ]
- e 8''' *ši-pir*<sup>lú</sup> *ikkari(engar) u kul-li-zi A[Ḫ-* ... ]
- e 9''' *ina ba-li-šá ul ip-pe-ta-a* x[ ... ]
- e 10''' *šá*<sup>d</sup> *í-gì-gì ḥar-ra-an-šú-nu* [ ... ]
- e 11''' *né-reb ga-an-ṣ[ir]* x x x[ ... ]
- e 12''' *šá ma-al-ki šu-ut eršetim(ki)*<sup>tim</sup> [ ... ... ]
- e 13''' *šá na-aḥ-[b]al bāb(ká) ap-si-i* [ ... ... ]
- e 14''' *šá be/miṭ-r[a]-a-ti* x x x[ ... ... ]
- e 15''' *a-na* x x x[ ... ... ... ]

*Ms. e breaks off*

#### 5.4 Critical Apparatus

62' a: *pal-[ká]t*

63' F: *]-ta-at*

64' a: *aš ša aš maḥ-ri*

65' F: *]-za-at a-nun-tú*

Ruling follows in a and c but not F

66' a: *šu-bat-[s]u*

69' F: *]-lik-šu*

70' F: *]-tu-šu ḥa-am-ṛmat*<sup>ṛ</sup>

71' F: *ṛan<sup>e</sup> ṛ UD*<sup>tim</sup>

72' F: *u ṛù*<sup>ṛ</sup>, *šur-ba-a[t]*

73' F: Probably *omisit ina, ši-tak-ka-n[a x-d]u-šá*

74' F: *zik-ṛru*<sup>ṛ</sup> *-šá*

76' F: *kù*<sup>tu</sup>

77' F: *é-kiš-nu-gál, un*<sup>meš</sup> *nu-úr*

78' F: *KIB-NUN*<sup>ki</sup>, *nu-úr*

79' bF: *be-let*

- 80' b: *i-n[a]*, *du-un-ni-sa-i-d[i]*  
 F: *é-ḥ[i-l]i<sup>d</sup>iš-tar šu-nu dun-ni-sa-i-di*, TI *ul-sig<sup>v</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ga<sup>r</sup>*
- 81' b: *i-n[a]*
- 82' b: *i-na*  
 bF: *ba-na-at*
- 83' b: *i-na*  
 F: *ka-bat-ti*
- 84' b: *i-na*  
 F: *mu-na-me za-'a-na-at*
- 85' b: *i-na é-umuš-a<sup>d</sup>nin-é-umuš-a*  
 F: *mu-šá-ba-at t̃è-me*
- 86' a: *<sup>d</sup>mùš tin-tir<sup>ki</sup> ma-li-kát*  
 b: *i-na, ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup>*
- 87' b: *i-na*  
 F: *bu-na-né-e*  
 a: *bul-[t̃]a*
- 88' b: *i-na, nu-uḥ-šú*  
 a: *gašan, mu-deš-šat*
- 89' b: *i-na, pe-ta-a-ti*  
 a: *p]e-ta-át, na-bat*
- 90' b: *i-na*
- 91' b: *i-na*  
 a: *gašan, sè-qar-š[á]*
- 92' b: *i-na, na-šat<sup>giš</sup>le-u<sub>5</sub>-UM*  
 a: *le-'i*
- 93' b: *[i]-na, na-bit <sup>r</sup>an-šár?<sup>r</sup>*
- 94' b: *[i-n]a*  
 F: *mu-ṣab-bu-u*
- 100' b: *a-na*
- 101' b: *ú-ṣu-rat*
- 102' b: *k[i-ma šu-mi-š[á?-m]a mu-da-a-tum*
- 104' b: *<sup>r</sup>na-di-na-at<sup>r</sup>*
- 105' b: *<sup>r</sup>qa<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>rit<sup>r</sup>-ti*

106' b: *i-na, šá-ad*

109' b: *i-na*

110' b: *i-na, um-mu*

111' b: *i-na, mar-kàs, ba-ni-it*

112' b: *i-na*

a: *ka-<sup>l</sup>u?*

113' b: *gissu-šú, mu-ṭi-b[at]*

114' b: *šà-an-di-lip-úr*

115' b: *ra-[*

116' b: *i-na<sup>uru</sup> šá-dun-ni<sup>ki</sup> mu-dam-mi-qat*

117' b: *i-na é-ga-nun-na-šár-šár*

118' b: *i-na<sup>uru</sup> mār-da, šar-r[i*

119' b: *i-na, na-piš-ti ma-a-ti*

120' a: *ṭa-bi*

121' b: *i-na, ú-šap-šá-aḥ*

122' b: *ma-a-ti*

123' b: *i-na, Ruling follows*

124' b: *ṛi<sup>e</sup>-na, mar-kàs an<sup>e</sup>*

125' b: *ši-m[a-ti*

F reverse; e obverse

12'' e: *<sup>d</sup>en-lí[l-a]t*

14'' e: *m[a-(a)-ti*

F: Ruling follows

## 5.5 Translation

- 1 She who makes firm [ ... .. ],
- 2 She is of profound intelligence, she is [beautiful, she ... ..].
- 3 Ninisinna [ ... .. ],
- 4 She is of profound intelligence, she is beautiful [... ] she [ ... .. ].
- 5 It was she who created heaven and earth [ ... .. ],
- 6 Everything that has a name, mankind [ ... ].
- 
- 7 The fortunes of everything (s)he assigned [ ... .. ],
- 8 The cultic stations of all the Igigi [ ... .. ],
- 9 The supreme divine orders, judgment and decision [ ... .. ],
- 10 The bond between heaven and earth, “yes” and “no” [ ... ].
- 11 The great rulers, Anum, Enlil and [Ea, ... ],
- 12 Anum gave her strength, the array of divine powers [ ... ],
- 13 Enlil gave her full power over the inhabited world, all of mankind,
- 14 The ability to discover and advise Ea, king of the Apsû, opened wide [to her].
- 15 The wisdom of the universe, the secret lore of the Apsû, the secret knowledge  
of [ ... ],
- 16 All the complex magic procedures, the collected wisdom, [ ... ].
- 
- 17 In the assembly of the gods Lugaldimmerankia [gave her names].
- 18 Panunnaki, queen of all of heaven and earth, [who ... ],
- 19 Ninbaragesi, the king’s queen, who gives [divine judgment],
- 20 Lady of the dry land, the radiance of the universe, the brightest of all of the  
[shrines],

- 21 Zarpanītum, who, as her name itself (says), creates the seed [ . . ] of? the  
teeming peoples,
- 22 Ama, the mother of heaven and earth, creature of Anšar,
- 23 Mamê, who created divine powers, sister of Asar-alim,
- 24 Amautuanki, the mother who created heaven and earth, who gave birth to the  
god[s],
- 25 Šuzianna, who confirms the instructions for god and man, who soothes Sîn,
- 26 Namma, all the secret lore of the gods, the one who suckled Anšar,
- 27 Šuzabarku, pure hands, loved by god and king,
- 28 Ninkarnunna, valiant one of [.....], the one who loves Utaulu,
- 29 Ninsun, the lady of the low-lying places, whose position in heaven is  
commanding,
- 30 Ningirimma, the one who purifies, who weaves spells for god and man,
- 31 Nintinugga, the lady, who soothes all the people, who brings the dead back to  
life,
- 32 Ninkarrak the lady of bandages (and) ritual procedures, she who makes  
calculations,
- She is a lioness, she is fury, she is the ruler.
- 33 Kurribba, who overwhelms the dangerous, who repels ferocity,
- 34 Meme, who created divine powers, Memesigga, who formed the earth (and)  
heaven,
- 35 Amašuh̄albi, the compassionate mother, who soothes the body,
- 36 Udugsigga, who creates weapons, who supplies favourable protective *šēdu*-  
spirits,
- 37 Lammasigga, who formed the earth, who bestows favourable protective  
*lamassu*-spirits,

38 Dingirmah, most exalted of the gods, the chosen one of Anšar,  
 39 Ninmah [ ... ] (of?) Ninšar,  
 40 Sigzaginna [ ... ] who grants perfect offspring,  
 41 She is the Lady of [the gods, the queen of all] the inhabited world.

---

42 The one who [ ... ] sanctuaries,  
 43 [ ... ] she makes bright, the waters of the deep sparkle(?),  
 44 [ ... ] they went along,  
 45 [ ... ] of heaven and earth, decision? [ ... ] above and below,  
 46 Her [ ... ] extends over [living] things everywhere,  
 47 [ ... ] her radiance, it envelopes the full extent of the whole world.  
 48 [ ... ] .. the cultic stations of the Igigi, the [ . . ] (of ?) Utaulu,  
 49 The decree of [ . . ], the totality of everything, her rays are split in two.  
 50 In the heart of the subterranean deep, the secret of the gods, she gathers to  
 herself her commands,  
 51 Duku, the place of deliberation and decision, is her abode.  
 52 The chosen one of goddesses, mistress of everything, she dwells over queens,  
 53 [ ... ] everything,  
 54 [ ... ] constantly holding the stylus,  
 55 [ ... ] she decrees their destinies,  
 56 [ ... ] the invoking of her,  
 57 [ ... ] she is learned.  
 58 (*traces*)

*Unknown number of lines missing*

- 1' [ . . . ] (of?) the grain crop(s)?/the temple tower(s)? [ . . . . . ],
- 2' [ . . . ] Ninšiku [ . . . . . ],
- 3' [ . . . ] the earth [ . . . . . ],
- 4' [ . . . ] the garden of the king [ . . . . . ],
- 5' [ . . . ] the grain crop [ . . . . . ],
- 6' [ . . . ] pasture and watering place [ . . . . . ],
- 7' [ . . . ] of life [ . . . . . ].
- 
- 8' [Gula], creatress of everything, [ . . . . . ],
- 9' (*uncertain*)
- 10' Abundance, the bag of decisions [ . . . . . ],
- 11' When placed, the kindling of the censer [ . . . . . ],
- 12' The place of preparation of oil, as for the “lifting of the hand” [ . . . . . ],
- 13' The secret (place?) of Anum, Enlil and Ea [ . . . . . ],
- 14' Where Sîn, Šamaš (and) Adad place [truth?],
- 15' Personal god and goddess are kneeling, they block?/decide? [ . . . ],
- 16' Marduk, lord of wisdom, pulls? [ . . . ].
- 17' With incense, tallow (and) the flesh of a sheep, divine communications  
through birds [ . . . ],
- 18' In the proceedings and decision before her [ . . . ],
- 19' Where there is reconciliation with her, the path and way are made straight,
- 20' She opens their ears, she determines their future.
- 21' Then? it is her desire, she rejoiced? [ . . . ],
- 22' The divine intentions are confused, the instructions ambiguous,
- 23' The oath which people swore, the report [ . . . ].
- 24' But she is thoughtful, she may do as she chooses,

- 25' She removes their misdeed(s), she dispels (their) wrongdoings,  
 26' She is the lady of joy (and) prayer, who hurries to a cry,  
 27' She listens to the prayers of the people (and) she gives health,  
 28' She gives the incantation for restoring, the spell for good health,  
 29' She releases the hold of the affliction, a long illness.  
 30' She is a wise woman, a diviner, one who weaves spells, one who ascertains  
 everything,  
 31' She is the one who controls, shepherds, supervises, is thoughtful.  
 32' She is the one who pushes aside, who [wards off?], who punishes, is merciful,  
 33' She [ ... ], she takes hold, she undoes.  
 34' Her attention [ ... ... ],  
 35' Her deliberation [ ... ... ],  
 36' [ ... ... ] the Igigi,  
 37' (*uncertain*)  
 38' [ ... ... ] the world,  
 39' [ ... ... ] her [ ... ],  
 40' (*too fragmentary*)  
 41' (*too fragmentary*)  
 42' (*too fragmentary*)

*Six lines estimated to be missing*

- 49' (*traces*)  
 50' (*uncertain*)  
 51' [ ... ] (of?) Utaulu, most valiant of the gods, [ ... ... ],  
 52' The plan of the heavens, the gate of [ ... ],

53' The bond of everything, the product of the Apsû, the waters she [ ... ],  
 54' The ocean she empties, in the deep she makes the floods huge.  
 55' She possesses wisdom, she is supreme in understanding,  
 56' She knows how to proceed, she has complete mastery of deliberation.  
 57' For judgment and decision Anum heeds her,  
 58' For incomparable decree Enlil constantly seeks her out,  
 59' For counsel on all matters Ea (Nudimmud) guided her.  
 60' By leave of Anšar, the lord, she is outstanding in wisdom,  
 61' By leave of Enlil who decrees [destinies], her destinies are supreme,  
 62' By leave of Ea, the king of the Apsû, she is of great wisdom,  
 63' By leave of Marduk, lord of wisdom, she ascertains (divine) counsel,  
 64' By leave of Nabû, who fashioned everything, her rule is preeminent,  
 65' By leave of Ninurta, most valiant of the gods, she is well versed in combat.

---

66' The é-šár-ra (the House of the Universe), the seat of the gods - supreme is her  
 abode,  
 67' The é-kur (the House, the Mountain), the holy shrine - perfected are her rites.  
 68' The é-sag-íl (the House whose top is raised high), the palace of the gods - most  
 powerful is her seat,  
 69' Duku (the Pure Mound), the secret place of the gods - she is learned in her  
 counsel.  
 70' The é-ḫal-an-ki (the House of the Secrets of Heaven and Earth), the house of all  
 wisdom - her commands are gathered together.  
 71' She is all-powerful over heaven and earth, goddess of everything,  
 72' Above and below, her divinity is surpassing,  
 73' In east and west, her plans are in place everywhere,

- 74' In the cultic centres, the shrines of the gods, her names are extolled endlessly.
- 
- 75' In Ur (she is) Ningal, the sister of the great gods,  
 76' (She is) Ningikuga, lady of all the cultically pure, the one who cleanses the just  
 (of sin),  
 77' In the é-giš-nu<sub>11</sub>-gal (the Alabaster House), she protects all the people, the light  
 of the vast heavens.  
 78' In Sippar, most ancient city, (she is) the light of heaven and earth, of god and  
 man,  
 79' In the é-babbar-ra (the Shining House), (she is) Aya, the mistress of the house,  
 who holds the (cosmic) bonds.  
 80' In the é-ḫi-li-<sup>d</sup>inanna (the House of the Luxuriance of Ištar), the shrine of  
 Dunni-sā'idi, (she is) Ulsigga, the voluptuous one.  
 81' In Babylon, the gateway of the gods, (she is) Ningirimma,  
 82' In the é-sag-íl (the House whose top is raised high), she is Eru (Zarpanītum),  
 the one who creates sperm.  
 83' In the ká-silim-ma (the Gate of Well-being), venerated by Anšar, (she is) the  
 lady of sympathy and mercy.  
 84' In the ká-ḫi-li-sù (the Gate sprinkled with Luxuriance), she is laden with allure,  
 she is covered in loveliness,  
 85' In the é-è-umuš-a (the House of Command), (she is) Nineumuša, the one who  
 makes manifest the (divine) will,  
 86' In the é-tùr-kalam-ma (the House, Cattle-pen of the Land), (she is) Bēlet-Bābili,  
 the one who counsels the Igigi,  
 87' In the é-nam-ti-la (the House of Life), noble in appearance, she grants life,

- 88' In the *é-nam-ḫé* (the House of Plenty), (she is) the lady of plenty, the one who provides abundant produce,
- 89' In the *é-sa-bad* (the House of the Open Ear), she is attentive, she calls the shelter into being,
- 90' In the *é-ki-tuš-gir<sub>17</sub>-zal* (the House, the Abode of Joy), the abode of calm, she dwells in delight.
- 91' In Borsippa, Ninzilzille, the compassionate lady, is her name,
- 92' In the *é-zi-da* (the True House), she holds the writing board of truth and lifts the head.
- 93' In Dilbat, (she is) most brilliant of the gods, the most important in the land,
- 94' In the *é-ibbi-<sup>d</sup>Anum* (the House Anum called into being), (she is) Bēlet-ēkalli, the one who gazes on Anum.
- 95' [ ... .. she is?] Mame?,
- 96' She is the one who spreads the hunting net for the enemy, she dwells [in? ... ].
- 97' In the *é-gal-<sup>d</sup>amma-lugal* (the Palace of the King's Protective Deity), she makes the [ruler] flourish.
- 98' In Kiš, she shines bright by leave of Sîn, (she is?) high as Gemini?,
- 99' In the *é-dub-ba* (the Storage House), (she is) mistress of the store, who keeps the storage rooms secure,
- 100' In the *é-me-te-ur-sag* (the House Worthy of the Hero), she is as befits a hero,
- 101' [In the *ḫur*]-*sag-kalam-ma* (the Mountain of the Land), she declares the destinies for the people of the mountains and [all] countries,
- 102' (She is) Ninlil, who, as her very name (says), knows the mountain and the land? [ . . . ],
- 103' Whose design for the mountain of the land is age-old.
- 104' (She is) the lady who bestows seed, the one who gives support,

- 105' (She is) the valiant one, most able of the gods, goddess of goddesses.
- 106' In the *é-kur-ní-zu* (the House, the Fearsome Mountain), mountain of terror, she defeats falsehood,
- 107' (She is) the goddess of praise, the lady of glory, the queen of goddesses.
- 108' (She is) the goddess of oracle enquiry, the mistress of divination, whose horns are mighty.
- 109' She is the one who provides all-abundance within the *é-mes-lam* (the House, Warrior of the Underworld),
- 110' In the *é-ùru-ama-ki* (the House which guards Heaven<sup>1</sup> and Earth), (she is) the mother of the world, the one who protects the land.
- 111' In the *é-dim-gal-an-na* (the House, Great Bond of Heaven), (she is) the bond of the heavens, the one who created god and man.
- 112' In Damru, place of peace, she protects all the thoroughfares,
- 113' Pleasant is her shade in the *é-gissu-bi-dùg-ga* (the House whose Shade is pleasant), she is the one who makes sweet the drum? [of? . . . ].
- 114' (She is) the lady of Šandalipur, in heaven, they pay her full attention,
- 115' (She is) queen of the *é-gu-la* (the Big House), mistress of all the offerings, the great one of the sanctuary.
- 116' In Šadunni, (she is) Ninigara, the one who grants favour, who is concerned, mistress of oil and milk,
- 117' In the *é-ga-ì-nun-šár-šár* (the House which provides a profusion of milk and ghee), she is the one who takes her fill of milk and ghee, the plentiful product of the pasture.
- 118' In Marad, (she is) the wife of the king, the bringer of the flood,
- 119' In the *é-igi-kalam-ma* (the House, the Eye of the Land), (she is) the life of the land, the one who comprehends the intention of Anum,

- 120' Sweet is her protection in the é-zi-ba-ti-la (the House, breath of life?), she is the one who grants a life of good health.
- 121' With her incantation she relieves suffering, her speech is physician in the é-gašan-tin-na (the House of the Lady of Life).
- 122' She is the one who purifies the land, in Larak, her abode is pure,
- 123' In the é-ki-ná-šà-tén-na (the House, Bedchamber which soothes the heart), the place of calm, the people of the land recover inside it.
- 124' In the dur-an-ki (Bond of Heaven and Earth), the bond of heaven and earth, (she is) the princess, [DN],
- 125' In the é-kur (the House, Mountain), the house of destinies, she is the great steward, [DN],
- 126' The place where she is head of the family, her most ancient dwelling, é-[ki-ùr] (the House, [Levelled Place]) is her abode,
- 127' In the é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> (the House .....), (she is) the daughter-in-law of Enlil, the one who distributes the shares,
- 128' In the é-bára-dúr-gar-ra (the House, Dais of the Throne), the abode of peace, creation of Enlil, the lady? [of ... ],
- 129' (She is) Ungal-Nibru, Ninnuattim, the lead-rope of the whole of [ ... ],
- 130' In the é-úru-sag-gá (the House, the Foremost City), she is the one who established the store-house of the people pro[tectress of ... ],
- 131' (She is) Ninpanigingara, lady of all the east, who dwells [in ... ].
- 132' (She is) the queen of the boundary marker of the inhabited world, the lady of Parak-māri, beloved of [Ninurta].
- 133' In the é-ní-gal-abzu (the House of the Awesome Splendour of the Apsû), her splendour is ....., collected? [ ... ].
- 134' She is the one who makes everything glorious in Malgium, whose [ ... ],

- 135' (She is) queen of the é-è-an-ki (the House of Heaven and Earth), most splendid in heaven and earth [ ... ].
- 136' In Dadmuš, she is queen of the heavens, abode [ ... ],
- 137' (She is) Qibi-dumqi, the one who [ . . . . ], Lamassu [ ... ],
- 138' [ . . . . . ] (of?) the gods [ ... ],
- 139' (*traces*)

*Unknown number of lines missing*

- 1'' She is the one who grants life [ ... ... ],
- 2'' (She is) Ukulla, who created the pastures, who watches over everything [ ... ].
- 3'' In the é-sikil-la (the Pure House), the pure sanctuary, the disobedient [bears] her punishment,
- 4'' In the é-dadag-lál (the House, clean . . . .), she is the one who cleans away sins, in the town dear to [Ištar],
- 5'' In Duku (the Pure Mound), the abode of repose, she is the one who purifies everything,
- 6'' In Eššeb, she is mistress of the earth, the secret (place) of [ . . ],
- 7'' She is the one who soothes, merciful in every way.
- 8'' In the é-nun-maḥ (the House of the Exalted Prince), she is exalted over princes, the greatest of the rulers.
- 9'' She is fierce to the intransigent, (she is) the exorcist of Diniktu,
- 10'' She is the one who watches over everything, the creature of the é-gu-la (the Big House).
- 11'' (She is) the fate of princes, the lady of Adab?,

- 12'' (She is) Ninlil of the people, the protective spirit of the é-nam-zu (the House of Knowledge).
- 13'' Among the orchards, (she is) Šarrat-Dēr, she is powerful as to her house.
- 14'' In the é-dim-gal-kalam-ma (the House, Great Bond of the Land), the bond of the land, <mistress> of the purification rites, she puts in place divine protection.
- 15'' Bau, beloved of all the world, (she is) the bond of the land.
- 16'' In the é-ul-ḫé-me-šu-du<sub>7</sub> (the House of the Firmament of Heaven and Perfect *Me's*) [ ... ... ],
- 17'' She is the one who organises what is proper in the heavens [ ... ... ],
- 18'' In the é-maḫ (the Exalted House) [ . . ] [living] things? [ ... ... ].
- 19'' In Karkara [ ... ... ... ],
- 20'' (*traces*)

*Unknown number of lines missing*

- 1''' [ ... ... ] Šarrat-[ ... ],
- 2''' [ ... ] of battle [ ... ... ],
- 3''' [ ... ] (*uncertain*) the bow (s)he? [ ... ],
- 4''' [ . . ] of slaughter by leave of Erra [ ... ... ],
- 5''' But she, Narudu, [ ... ],
- 6''' Cherished by Anšar [ ... ],
- 7''' By leave of Lugalnirgal, not? [ ... ],
- 8''' The work of the farmer and the ox-driver [ ... ],
- 9''' Without her, [ ... ] were not opened,
- 10''' The path of the Igigi [ ... ],
- 11''' The entrance of Ganšir/Ganzir [ ... ],

- 12''' The one of the princes of the netherworld [ ... ... ],
- 13''' Whose lock the gateway of the Apsû [ ... ... ],
- 14''' Whose swamps?/channels? [ ... ... ],
- 15''' To [ ... ... ]

## 5.6 Notes

General notes on the Gula hymn are presented in this **section 5.6**. The speculative scholarship on sacred names which informs the composition is presented in **chapter 6**; **section 6.1** contains detailed analysis of individual lines. The marking [**§6.1**] at the end of a paragraph in this **section 5.6** indicates that **section 6.1** has a note on the speculative scholarship in the relevant line, to which reference should be made. Certain notes in **section 5.6** refer to names “encoded” in the Gula hymn. This is explained and discussed in **sections 6.1 and 6.2**.

1-6 The Gula hymn commences with a short section comprising six lines in praise of the goddess, apparently in fairly conventional terms. Notwithstanding the loss of the right hand section of Ms. A, it appears that the composition opened with two very similar couplets, the second couplet commencing with the name of the goddess, Ninisinna. It is possible, but not certain, that at the outset of the composition, the divine name is speculatively interpreted. [**§6.1**]

1 *mukinnat* perhaps introduced a general epithet, attributing to the goddess a role in the establishment of the order of the universe, anticipating ll.5-6. Nothing in the preserved text of the composition supplies text that might convincingly be restored here. [**§6.1**]

2 and 4 The opening phrases of ll.2 and 4 evidently replicate each other. The syntax of *rapšat uzni*, in which the feminine adjective in the construct state precedes a substantive in the genitive, was discussed by Reiner (1984, p.179) who noted that all examples of this construction known to her express an inherent quality. For more recent discussion, see Wasserman (2003, pp.50,53). The same construction occurs in l.89' (*petât uzni*). The

idiom parallels the Sumerian idiom *ĝeštu-daĝal* with which it has lexical equivalence in the bilingual list *Proto-Kagal* Section E 46 (*MSL* XIII p.87). It is a conventional expression, used of gods, particularly Nabû and Marduk (Tallqvist, 1938, p.176) and, less commonly, of kings (von Soden 1960, p.164). Perhaps surprisingly, the only example pertaining to a goddess given by CAD R 166 is this passage.

3 Lambert (unpublished draft transliteration) restored l.3 to read <sup>d</sup>*nin-ì-si-ʿin*ʿ-[<sup>ki</sup>*-na mu-ki-na-at ...* ], to echo the opening phrase of l.1. Lambert’s restoration was doubtless prompted by the clear repetition of the second line of each couplet. Thus, in all probability, this section commenced with a pair of matching couplets.

4 *ba-na-a[t]* is taken as the feminine stative of the adjective *banûm* (*banât*), “she is beautiful”, a routine attribute of goddesses. There is a lacuna of perhaps three signs before what appears to be a further participial attribute, commencing *mu-*, where l.4 breaks off. The gap presumably contained some further attribute, or perhaps some relational accusative pertaining to *banât*, paralleling *rapšat uzni*.

*ba-na-a[t]* might alternatively be understood as *bānât*, the feminine participle of the G stem *banûm* in the construct state (“she who creates/created”), anticipating ll.5-6. With this reading, the dependent genitive would fall in the lacuna. Which meaning was intended is uncertain. “She is beautiful” is selected here; it seems marginally preferable to understand l.4 as enumerating the goddess’ intellectual, physical and other qualities.

#### [§6.1]

5 The verb and its objects in l.5 are transposed, inverting the usual word order found in prose, to poetic effect. [§6.1]

6 The last sign visible in l.6 is a wedge, taken a *u*. The partly-preserved word is restored as *ba-ʿu-[la-ti]*(A.R.George’s suggestion). A verbal form, parallel with *banûm* (l.5) perhaps completed l.6, the verbs framing the couplet.

The editors of CAD read the broken word rather differently, suggesting *ba-ʿi-[lat]*, the feminine of *bāʿilu* “ruler”: “DN ruling over whatever bears a name” erroneously citing the line as commencing *Ninisinna* (CAD B 30-31). The broken sign could perhaps be *lat*, but it is unclear whether CAD’s reading derives from the traces or is simply a suggested restoration. How l.6 might then conclude is difficult to envisage.

*ba'ūlatu*, a literary word appropriate to this type of composition (see CAD B 185) better suits the traces and is accordingly preferred.

This short section evidently closed with an expression of the goddess' all-encompassing powers, a topos which a core theme of the composition.

7-16 The next ten lines form a passage, marked off by rulings in Ms. A, which relates the bestowing of powers on the goddess. ll.7-10 are too broken to comprehend their full sense. In ll.12-16 the specific gifts given by the great gods Anu, Enlil and Ea, each from within their respective spheres of competence, are enumerated. ll.12-16 are similar to ll.139-148 of the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi (Lambert, 1967) devoted to Gula herself, where the favours granted to her by Antu, Anu, Enlil and Ea are described. There, as here, the passage devoted to the skills conferred by Ea is most fully developed.

7 *us-si-ka* is from the D stem of *esēqu*. von Soden (AHw 249a) commented that the D stem is mostly written with a *k* (“meist *k* geschr.”) CAD E 332 gives the D infinitive as *ussuqu*, and cites only this line with a *k* spelling. It is often difficult to be sure of orthography. Here, however, KA is certain.

The essential meaning of *esēqu* is “cut, incise”. In the D stem, usually coupled with *isqu* or its plural *isqēti* (as l.7), *esēqu* has the transferred meaning “apportion”, apparently referring to the notching of tally-sticks (*isqu*) (CAD E 332). *isqēt naphari ussika* is another expression of the phrase *mussiḳ isqēti* and similar phrases noted by CAD E 332, explained as referring “to that aspect of divine power which establishes and determines the nature, quality and purpose of all the universe and its components”.

*ussika* is understood here as the 3cs preterite form, with the ventive morpheme *a(m)*. CAD E 332 reads this *us-si-ka-aš-[šum]*, translating the line “he apportioned for her the ‘lots’ of everything” (this requires the reading *us-si-ka-aš-[ši]*, not *us-si-ka-aš-[šum]*!). This reading is not borne out by collation. The sign which follows KA cannot be confidently read as AŠ. Whether the subject of the verb is “he” or “she” is not clear. It is possible, and indeed probable, that the theme of the goddess' cosmic powers in the opening section continues at l.7, and it is the composition's goddess who is responsible for the order of the universe described in ll.7-10. A parallel can be found in Ninkarrak's description of her powers in the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi:

*ana ilāni gimrīšunu anamdin isqa* (Lambert, 1967, p.120 64)

To the gods, all of them, I grant (their) portions

ll.7-10 are conventional expressions of the exercise of divine power. The passage bears a number of similarities to the opening passage of a first millennium incantation to Ea, Šamaš and Asalluḫi (Læssøe, 1956, pp.61-62 1-13), now understood to be an extended version of an incantation from the *mīs pī* ritual (Al-Rawi and George, 1995), where the deities' power to determine destinies, found cult-daises and fix decisions is recited in very similar language to that used here. Accordingly, ll.7-10 may express the general competence of one or more of the great gods in determining the order of things before the composition turns to the specific powers bestowed by Anu, Enlil and Ea.

8 The dependent genitive phrase *kullat Igīgī* precedes its governing noun and is resumed by the possessive suffix *-šunu*, in reversal of usual word order. This construction, largely confined to poetry, has the stylistic effect of forefronting the mention of the gods.

9 From the Old Babylonian period onwards, *ūrtu* occurs in a cosmic context with the meaning “rules”: so, *ur-tì eršeti ša tāmuru qibâ* “Tell me the rules of the underworld which you saw” (Gilgameš XII 91; ed. George, 2003). This is the meaning given in CAD U-W 255, citing l.9. Commonly, however, *ūrtu* simply means “order, command” and is so used in Standard Babylonian texts (see CAD U-W 255). CAD A/II 151 adopted this meaning, citing this line: “the orders of the highest divine rank”. This seems the most appropriate sense in the context.

The abstract noun *anūtu* literally expresses the position of Anu, the supreme god. The word may perhaps indicate that the subject of some or all of ll.7-10 is indeed Anu.

10 The “bond of heaven and earth” is well known as the cosmic cable which links the separate parts of the cosmos; the function of the *markasu*, when used in its cosmic sense, as a means of control is well-attested. For discussion of these, see George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.244-245, 256-257,261-262. Thus *markasu* (and the related word *riksu*) expresses both the concept in which the universe is understood to be bound together, and the notion of a means of control over the universe. The motif is deployed elsewhere in the composition (ll.53',79',111',124',14" and 15").

The phrase *anna u ul[la]* confirms that “control” is the intended sense. The scope and finality of divine will, characterised by the giving of “yes” or “no” answers, is demonstrated in a namburbi ritual text:

*ša annašu anna ullašu ulla* (CT 34 8:22; ed. Maul, 1994, p.381)

Whose “yes” is “yes”, whose “no” is “no”

Although its full sense is lost, l.10 clearly speaks of complete mastery over the universe. The power to control the universe by holding the cosmic bond is a topos applied to a number of different gods, including the healing goddess herself in a divination prayer (Reiner, 1960, pp.31-32 4-5,24-25), as noted by George, *Topog.texts*, p.262. Whether l.10 described powers vested in Ninisinna, or portrayed the scope of the authority of the great gods named in the following lines, is unclear.

11 Lambert’s restoration <sup>d</sup>*é-a* is confirmed beyond doubt by l.14, where Ea is named. *rubû* is widely attested as an epithet of very many gods (see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.170-171; CAD R 399). The phrase *rubû rabbûtum* does not appear to be attested for Anu, Enlil and Ea together, but it is entirely appropriate to them, the supreme triad of Mesopotamian deities. l.11 perhaps concluded with a verb, now lost.

12 Here Anu, the omnipotent father of the gods, grants strength and divine power. In the composition known as the *Agušaya* poem, an Old Babylonian praise poem to Ištar, *dunnu* is a characteristic of Ištar, given to her by Ea (*Agušaya* A vii 4; ed. Groneberg, 1997, p.81). In that composition and elsewhere, *dunnu* denotes both physical strength and violence. This seems a strange attribute for the healing goddess, and perhaps a parallel with Ištar is implicit.

*paršû*, equivalent to the Sumerian term *me*, are the fundamental divine powers which regulate the natural order of things. l.12 accordingly both evidences these to be within Anu’s gift and expresses the width of the powers attributed to this goddess.

13 CAD H 191 cites and translates ll.12 and 13 as if continuous text, save for one missing syllable: “Anu gave her strength, *ḥimmat par[ši] ugdammirši* he gave her the complete collection of *paršu*” (and similarly CAD P 197). This is misleading. Approximately a quarter of a line is missing at the end of l.12, in which text is almost certainly lost. Further, the obvious sense is that ll.12 and 13 are discrete units, each dealing with the actions of a different god. The subject of *ugdammirši* is not Anu, but Enlil.

ll.13-16 reflect the tradition, recorded in the opening sequence of the Old Babylonian *Atram-ḫasīs* narrative (I 13-18; ed. Lambert and Millard, 1969, p.42), that the universe

was divided into three between Anu, Enlil and Enki/Ea, with Enlil taking control of the earth and Enki/Ea the Apsû. Hence in l.13, Enlil vouches control of the earth's inhabitants to the goddess.

*te-n[é-še-e-ti]*, to complete l.13, is Lambert's restoration. It forms a natural parallel with *dadmû*, which expresses the settlements of the inhabited world and their occupants.

14 *atê u milkî* is an unusual phrase. *atê*, the accusative of the infinitive (*w*)*atû(m)*, is apparently defectively written (*a-te*, where *a-te-e* might be expected). *atû* appears twice in the lexical series *Erimḫuš*: I 201 DI-pà-da *a-tu-u* (*MSL XVII* p.18) and at V 132 pà *a-tu-ú* (*MSL XVII* p.73). *atû* and *milku* together are attested in two bilingual texts. In the Exaltation of Ištar IV 47-48 (ed. Hruška, 1969), DI-pà-da KA-ḪI is equated with *a-ta mil-ki ṭe-me-e*; in a bilingual incantation (OECT 6 pl. 4 K 4897:3-4), gal-an-zu DI-pà-da is equated with [er]-ši *a-ta mil-ki*. Neither CAD nor AHW cites any other example of *atû* and *milku* used together. *atû* is equated with DI-pà-da in both texts; in each, as in l.14, the form of *atû* is not written in full (prompting *a-ta-(a!)* AHW 1493b). The expression perhaps has a frozen form.

*atû* is used here as the object of the verb, meaning “search out and find”, as in Gilgameš XI 317 *ut-ta ayyīta* “what I find”. Unlike this (see George, 2003, p.893 note 208), the verbal form in l.14 is unambiguously G stem.

*uš-pa[l-ka-a-ši]* is Lambert's restoration. *šupalkû*, the Š stem of *napalkû*, “open wide”, is here used figuratively (compare *palkû uznu* “vast in understanding” (*Enūma eliš* I 18) and similar expressions).

15 The restoration *pi-r[iš-ti]*, (adopted in CAD B 229 *billu* B) seems secure, forming a parallel to *niširti*. Both words reflect the sense of secret, protected lore. So restored, it is apparent that l.15 comprises three separate parallel phrases, (and not as supposed at CAD I-J 40 *igigallu* and N/II 276 *niširtu* where the broken word is not read and (in the latter entry) a missing verb (“he gave her”) implied). *pir[išti šamāmī]* might perhaps be restored, forming a counterpart to *niširti apsî* and expressing the range of cosmic wisdom implicit in *igigallūt gimri*. However there is no close parallel to provide strong support for this restoration.

16 l.16 turns to matters appertaining to the goddess' role as healing goddess to conclude this section (it is understood more generally at CAD B 229: “all the

complexities of magic, the sum total of learning”). The line contains a striking number of unusual words, or words used with uncommon meanings.

*puḫru* is rarely used to describe a collection of inanimate objects (see CAD P 492-493). Its more typical use is exemplified in l.17, *ina puḫur ilānī*.

*billu* is also an unusual word, separately entered in CAD B 229 *billu* B “complexity, intricacy”, where this line alone is cited. *billu* occurs in Neo-Assyrian texts as a component of a metal alloy, and in Middle Assyrian and Nuzi contexts, where it appears to be a mixed beer (see AHW 126a, CAD B 228-229 *billu* A). The word implies an admixture or intermingling, and is related to the verb *balālu* “mix”. *balālu* has a number of extended meanings in both G and D stems; a transferred meaning of “make complex” is not clearly attested.

Although commonly used of malevolent spells, *upšāšû* clearly bears a more neutral meaning here, referring to ritual and magical procedures (so, CAD U-W 190), as in l.32. *billu* “admixture, intermingling” applied to *upšāšû* is a graphic and unusual expression which seems best understood as conveying the complexity of ritual procedures for healing.

*riksu* “binding” is used in one of its less common meanings. By transferred meaning it means, as here, an assemblage or corpus of knowledge (see CAD R 351). A verb, with the sense “he gave (to her)”, doubtless concluded l.16.

17-41 The granting of the goddess’ powers is followed by an extensive, self-contained section in which the goddess is given names. Three compositions brought together by Lambert (2013, pp. 147-148) list names in literary contexts. A bilingual hymn of self-praise (Reisner, 1896, p.109 57ff) lists seven names of Iṣtar; a hymn to Nabû (*LKA* 16 9-16; ed. Ebeling, 1952) sets out eight names for Nabû; and an incantation to Lamaštu (Thureau-Dangin, 1921a, p.198) lists seven names. Ninurta’s names are proclaimed in the Anzu narrative (Saggs, 1986, pp.25-28). The Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi (Lambert, 1967) gives names for the healing goddess and her spouse, in a very different format from these compositions.

The closest parallels to l.17-l.41 are in the exposition of Marduk’s names in *Enūma eliš* VI 121–VII 136, and of Iṣtar’s names in the Standard Babylonian Hymn to the Queen of Nippur III 52ff (Lambert, 1982). In these passages, names given to the deities are explained using the same scholarly techniques deployed in this composition. In both passages, the divine names are assigned by the great gods: Anšar, Laḫmu and Laḫamu to Marduk, and Anu, Enlil and Ea (perhaps together with others) to Iṣtar. This

composition is notably different: Marduk, the preeminent god of *Enūma eliš*, alone appears to be the name-giver.

For the most part, each line is devoted to a separate identity. There is one couplet (ll.19-20); one line contains two names (l.34). The construction is almost invariable: lines commence with the divine name, followed by a description of the goddess.

17 *Lugaldimmerankia* is the fifth name of Marduk given in *Enūma eliš* VI 139-142, a title by which Marduk was known from at least the Second Isin Dynasty (Lambert, 2013, p.272). The missing text almost certainly included a verb to effect the name-giving.

Böck (2014, p.10 fn.13) took this line as the beginning of this hymn. The reference to Marduk appears to underpin Böck's comment that "Though K.232 includes a rather long list of epithets of the healing goddess, the text is not a Gula hymn" and her conclusion (op.cit., p.82 note on l.4) that K 232+ is a "Marduk hymn". Although Marduk's name recurs at l.16', the overwhelming internal evidence is that this composition is a hymn to the healing goddess.

19 K 3371 and K 232 join in this line, where K 232 supplies the last syllable of l.19, *DI-na-di-na-a[t]* and *[šip]-ti* are Lambert's restorations. Although *nādinat šip̄ti* is satisfactory as to syntax and sense, perhaps more text is lost in the break. The line is quite cramped, compared with many other lines of K 3371. There is evidently enough space for 3 signs before *šip-ti*.        [§6.1]

20 *nābalu* is attested in historical writings and in literature from the first millennium as meaning "dry land", contrasted with the river or sea. There is no contrast here, prompting CAD N/I 21 to suggest "goddess of the mainland (?)". *nābalu* speculatively interprets the divine name *Ninbaragesi*; it is not necessary to suppose any alternative meaning.

*šarūru* is used from the Old Babylonian period onwards to refer to the divine radiance of deities (see CAD Š/II 143); in l.20 it is used as an epithet, apparently generated by scholarly speculation. Lambert's restoration *gi-m[ir pa-rak]-ki* is assured by lexical correspondence with elements of the divine name.        [§6.1]

21 Like Mullo-Weir (1929, p.9), Lambert restored the final word as *[a-p]a-a-ti* (*ap̄ati*). The preceding word is lost in the break. The preserved signs are quite cramped and perhaps two signs are missing. *ap̄atu* is attested in adjectival use with *nišū* (or *un<sup>meš</sup>*)

and alone, as a substantive (see CAD A/II 168-169). These separate uses make restoration of the missing word particularly uncertain. Another adjective or verbal form to give a phrase parallel with *banât zēri* seems probable, but a noun phrase with *nišū*, in apposition to *zēri*, is also possible.    [§6.1]

22 A divine name is clearly required to complete l.22. *ʿan*-šár is Lambert’s reading. AN, though broken, is clear; the final sign is intact. This necessitates that the two signs are very well spaced, but the preceding part of the line is also generously written and the restoration seems compelling.    [§6.1]

23 *talīmtu* is usually, if not exclusively, applied deities, and occasionally to gods, despite its feminine form (see George, *Topog.Texts*, 64:14 and p.334; and generally CAD T 94, AHw 1310a).

The final name in l.23 straddles the damaged join between the two pieces was read by Lambert, with apparent reservation, as <sup>d</sup>[as]ar?-GÌR (*alim*!). The copies of Craig (*ABRT* II 16 5) and Mullo-Weir (1929, p.10 5) both show an undamaged asar (as Mullo-Weir read). The traces now remaining do not unambiguously suggest *asar*. GÌR is clear, but *alim* does not appear to be written with GÌR alone. Litke (1998, p.90, on An: *Anum* II 189- 190) noted that *alim* is written GÌRxAxIGI in K 4332, A+IGI+GÌR in YBC 2401 and GÌRxIGI in AO 5376 (see also *MZL* p.184). Asaralim is a name of Marduk, known from *Enūma eliš* VII 3 and a number of sources.    [§6.1]

24 *um-mi* is nominative singular, exhibiting an ending in *-i* (see George, 2003, p.439). The end of l.24 perhaps contained a divine name, reading dingir as the divine determinative, as Mullo-Weir (1929, p.7) speculated. However, a reading of dingir<sup>[meš]</sup> well suits the overall sense of l.24 and its explanation of the name, <sup>d</sup>ama-ù-tu-an-ki.    [§6.1]

25 CAD T 92 *ṭēmu* cited this line under the general meaning “(divine) counsel, deliberation, will” in a sequence where *ṭēmu* is translated as “decision” or “order”. *ṭēm ili* is a common phrase, often understood as “the will of the god” (so, *ṭē-em ilī as-ḥ[ur]* “I sought the will of my god” (Babylonian Theodicy 72; ed. Oshima, 2014, p.154). Coupled with *amēlu*, it is evident that this meaning is inapposite, but the sense is elusive. As elsewhere in the composition, an unusual phrase indicates it is generated by speculative interpretation, here interpreting the divine name.    [§6.1]

26 Lambert read *dingir*<sup>[meš]</sup> at the end of 1.26. *dingir* is very boldly written and, in comparison, *meš* would be very cramped. Further, repetition of *dingir*<sup>meš</sup> seems trite and unconvincing. The reading *an-[šár]* is proposed, which would better suit the spacing. Namma is a mother-goddess associated with cosmic water (see Lambert, 2013, pp.427-436). The image of Namma suckling the primordial god Anšar, who owed his being to the union of Apsû and Tiāmat, according to the tradition recorded in *Enūma eliš* I 1-12, is entirely appropriate. **[\$6.1]**

28 Lambert proposed *qa-rit-<sup>ˊ</sup>ti* [an]<sup>e</sup>, to restore the damage where K 3371 and K 232 join. All that remains of Lambert's suggested <sup>e</sup> is the final upright. The space is very short, as comparison with *an<sup>e</sup>* in 1.29 shows; the restoration is accordingly unconvincing. No obvious alternative presents itself from the dictionaries' citations of *qardu/qarittu*. It seems almost certain that the key to the missing sign lies in the divine name, Ninkarnunna. *nun* could perhaps be restored, to read *qaritti rubê*, paralleling the final epithet. <sup>d</sup>UD-*u<sub>18</sub>-lu* (Utaulu) is a name of Ninurta, recorded in An: *Anum* I 205. **[\$6.1]**

29 *bēlet mušpalī* is an unusual epithet. *mušpalū* is used in relation to a goddess in an Old Babylonian bilingual text:

*mūlē mušpalī . . . šutābulum kūmma Ištar* (van Dijk, 1957, p.77:10; ed. Sjöberg, 1975b)

It is in your power, Ištar, to interchange ... high and low-lying places

In 1.29 *mušpalū* forms a counterpart to the deity's position of authority (*manzāssa šalṭu*) in the heavens. *šalāṭu* is occasionally attested in relation to deities. Nudimmud is described as *ša abbēšu šaliṭšunu* "Who has authority over his fathers" (*Enūma eliš* I 17). In a Neo-Assyrian historical text *šalāṭu* is combined with *manzāzu* and said of Ninlil:

*ša itti Anim u Enlil šitluṭat manzāzu* (Aššurbanipal Annals ix 77; ed. Streck, 1916, II p.78)

Who is as authoritative in rank as Anu and Enlil

The vocabulary used in 1.29 is driven by etymological equivalences. **[\$6.1]**

30 Only traces of the upper wedges of the first few signs and the final sign DU remain of the divine name. Lambert's restoration <sup>d</sup>A-ḪA-TAR<sup>ˊ</sup>-DU (<sup>d</sup>nin-girim) is put beyond

doubt by the epithets preserved, and on etymological grounds. Ningirimma is known as a goddess of purification and exorcism. Her name given in the God list An: *Anum* I 354 (ed. Litke, 1998) is <sup>d</sup>a-gúb-ba, a deified holy-water vessel (and surely not, as Lambert, 2013, p.432, “Divine Censer”), epitomising her role in purification rites, to which *mullilat* refers.

Forms of \**wašāpu/uššupu* are mostly found in magic texts; it means “to cast magic spells”. CAD’s only citations of the feminine form are from this composition. This unusual word recurs at l.30’ (see note there). **[§6.1]**

31 The power of a deity to bring the dead back to life is a topos, often applied to the healing goddess. In the Gula hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi, a mere glance from the goddess suffices:

*ina nīš īnēya mītu iballuṣ* (Lambert, 1967, p.120 86)

By my glance, the dead person revives

Similarly, it is said of Ištar in the great Standard Babylonian prayer to her:

*ašar tappallasi iballuṣ mītu* (STC II pl.78: 40; ed. Zgoll, 2003)

Wherever you look, the dead person revives

The topos was frequently applied to Marduk, amongst other gods (see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.67-68; CAD M/II 141). In l.31, both epithets interpret <sup>d</sup>nin-tin-ug<sub>5</sub>-ga. **[§6.1]**

32 *riksū* and *upšāšū* are here translated “bandages (and) ritual procedures”, appropriate to a healing goddess. These words are juxtaposed in l.16, in appositional phrases. Perhaps, as in l.16, collections of knowledge are meant, not bandages.

CAD’s different translations of *ēpišat nikkassī arê* are all unsatisfactory: “she who computes multiplications” (E 214 *epēšu*); “who calculates tables” (R 348 *riksu*); and, under the meaning “mathematical table, ephemeris”, “who calculates the *a*.” (A/II 312 *arû*). So, similarly, Mullo-Weir (1929, p.11 14) “who casteth up the reckonings of multiplication”. The Gula hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi contains a similar phrase, in a description of Nanše, measuring the land:

*šiprussu nāšât qan tuppi ēpišat nikkassī* (Lambert, 1967, p.118 42)

Who carries the stylus in her work, who does the accounting

*arû* also are perhaps referred to in Bulluṣsa-rabi's hymn:

*asâku bārâku āšipāku ša ina a-a-re-e ḥīṭāku* (Lambert, 1967, p.128 183)

I am physician, diviner, exorcist, as to .... I examine

The plene writing of the first vowel in *a-a-re-e* makes it doubtful that this is *arû*. Lambert was unsure of the meaning (“I look over him who is in .....”). Foster (2005, p.590) understood the word as *arû*: “I, who am expert in calculations.”

Ninkarrak is not generally associated with any accounting function. Like the first epithet in l.32, this difficult phrase is generated by speculative interpretation of the divine name. This single line 32 seems complete as it stands, paralleling preceding lines. However it appears to be extended by the part line that follows, consisting of three feminine singular stative forms, preceded by an uninscribed space. Lambert considered this to continue l.32; so, too, CAD's citations M/II 195 *muma'iru* and U-W 394 *uzzu*, where Ninkarrak is understood as their subject. CAD L 23 *labbatu* quotes part of this line, noting that the word is “Attested only as an epithet of Ištar”, which is plainly incorrect.

#### [§6.1]

33 *ekṣu* is a by-form of *akṣu* found in Standard Babylonian literary and royal texts (CAD A/II 281-282).

*uzzatu* is an abstract noun, used from the Old Babylonian period onwards. The plene writing *uz-za-a-ti* suggests a plural form, parallel with *ekṣūti*. The word does not appear to be attested elsewhere in a form that is unambiguously plural. CAD offers two translations of *munakkirat uzzātu*, neither very satisfactory: “who expels furies” (U-W 393) and “turns away furious attacks” (A/II 282 *akṣu*). The numberless abstraction “ferocity” is adopted in translation here. [§6.1]

34 Breaking the pattern set in the preceding lines, this line contains two divine names for the goddess. It is the only line in this section which clearly does so (l.39, unfortunately broken, may also have done so, although this seems unlikely in view of its evident similarity to l.38).

*šapāku* is used in a cosmic sense here and, in an identical phrase, in l.37. Unusually, the normal order of the pairing of heaven (an) and earth (ki) is reversed. This rare reversal is found in a Standard Babylonian prayer to Ištar:

*ûrti eršeti(ki)<sup>tim</sup> u šamāmī* (STC II pl.76:13; ed. Zgoll, 2003, p.42)

The commands of earth and heaven

(The earlier version of this composition from a manuscript from Boğazköy contained the same phrase: *ûrti eršetim(ki)<sup>tum</sup> u šamê(an)<sup>e</sup>* (KUB 37 (36 + 37):16'; ed. Reiner and Güterbock, 1967, p.259 and Zgoll, 2003, p.55)

In l.34, the order is perhaps conditioned by *šapāku*, more commonly found with earth than sky, and by metrical considerations, placing *šamāmī* (*šá-ma-mi*), with its two long final syllables, at the end of the line. **[§6.1]**

35 The characterization of a deity as merciful is a stock feature of hymns and prayers. The topos recurs at l.32'; so too, the healing goddess in her guises as Ninigizibara (l.89) Ninsun (l.169) and Ninlil (ll.178, 187) in the Gula hymn of Bulluša-rabi (Lambert, 1967). The motif of a goddess as “merciful mother” characterises mother-goddesses such as Bēlet-ilī and Išhara (Tallqvist, 1938, p.23) and is applied to Gula in hymns addressed to her (so, BMS 6:71; ed. Ebeling, 1953a, p.46). In l.35, a stock image is used in theological explanation of the divine identity.

*mušapšihat*, the Š stem participle of *pašāhu*, is used for the third time in 11 lines (ll. 25, 31 and 35), generated by speculative interpretation. The consequent repetition seems somewhat clumsy. **[§6.1]**

36 *bānīt kakkī* is not a standard divine epithet, a tell-tale sign in this composition that the phrase explains the divine name. **[§6.1]**

37 The repetition of *šāpikat eršetim*, used in l.34, is forced by speculative interpretation. The identical wording is yielded by a different etymology.

Outside Neo-Assyrian royal texts, where the divine gifts bestowed on a king are a topos, *šutlumu* is characteristically found in prayers (see CAD Š/III 402-404; Mayer, 1976, p.298 note 90). A Standard Babylonian prayer to Nabû illustrates the desire for the presence of protective *šēdu* and *lamassu* spirits and the use of *šutlumu* in that context:

*šēd dumqi lamassi dumqi lirrakis ittīya*

*šutlimamma tašmâ u magāra* (BMS 22:19-20; ed. Mayer, 1976, p.474)

May a good guardian deity and a good protective spirit attend me

And grant that I be heard and accepted

*mušatlimat lamassi dumqi*, interpreting <sup>d</sup>lama-sig<sub>5</sub>-ga, conveys the goddess' beneficent grant and perhaps implies a gift bestowed through prayer. **[§6.1]**

38-40 ll.38-40, which conclude the list of names bestowed, are devoted to birth-goddesses.

38 Only the divine names are intact in l.38. *šīrat ilānī* is securely restored from the traces. *šīru* and *šīrtu* are commonly attested as applied to deities and their attributes from the Old Babylonian period onwards (see Tallqvist, 1938, p.157; CAD § 210-213). The phrase explains dingir-maḥ, thus confirming the reading.

The damaged second description is more difficult. Lambert tentatively suggested *'né-bu'-ut*, from *nebû* "bright", usually applied to astral deities. However Dingirmaḥ does not appear to be associated with brilliance, nor is there any obvious etymological equivalence to support *nebû*. *'ni-bu'-ut*, suggested by A.R.George, is adopted here. *nibûtu* seems to be attested only in *Enūma eliš* VII 102 and, although broken, in its commentary (Commentary II, 102) in the same phrase proposed here, *nibûtu Anšar* (explaining the name Lugalšuanu). Lambert (2013, p.490) commented that here "*nibûtu* would be the usual form". The restoration is not entirely secure. Although fitting the remaining traces, the two signs *ni-bu* would be rather cramped in a line otherwise very generously spaced. It is however perhaps supported by speculative scholarship. (See notes on ll.52 and 93' for discussion of similar phrases). **[§6.1]**

40 The divine name is securely restored by Lambert as <sup>d</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-za-[gìn-na], a name of Bēlet-ilī: <sup>d</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-za-gìn-na <sup>d</sup>be-let-ì-lí (An: *Anum*: I 186; ed. Litke, 1998) sig<sub>4</sub>, the Sumerian word for "brick", here refers to the brick used as a birthing stool to aid childbirth. Its importance is clear from its prominence in the account of the birth of mankind in the Old Babylonian Atram-ḥasīs narrative, where the brick is set in place between the pieces of clay: [*ina b*]irīšunu ittadi libitt[i] "[Between] them she set the brick" (I 259; and similarly the Neo-Assyrian version S iii 6; ed. Lambert and Millard, 1969, p.60; see too Atram-ḥasīs I 294, S iii 15, pp.62-64).

If the typical pattern of ll.18-38 was maintained, an epithet explaining the divine name followed, now completely lost.

The meaning of *mušaklilat tālitti* is ambiguous. The phrase is cited in CAD Š/III 225 *šuklulu*, grouped with other citations having the meaning “to grant full measure”; the grant of the children that a family should have seems to be the sense attributed. Under *tālittu* (CAD T 96), *mušaklilat tālitti* is translated “who grants perfect offspring”. This is adopted here, in view of the birthing brick’s role in bringing about successful delivery. Perhaps both nuances are implicit in the Akkadian epithet. **[§6.1]**

41 The section appears to culminate in a description of the goddess’ overall destiny. Lambert suggested [*um-m*]i *dadmē* in partial restoration of the gap, perhaps informed by ll.38-40. The phrase *ummi dadmē* does not seem to be otherwise attested and is unconvincing. The restoration *bēlet [ilānī(dingir)<sup>mes</sup> šar-rat kal(d)ù) dadmē* was suggested by A.R.George. *kalû* is written *dù* in the Neo-Assyrian period and this both fits the traces and supplies a common expression. However, this writing is not very common (see CAD K 87-91); and at l.47 *kal dadmē* is written with the KAL sign. Logographic writing is not widely used in this manuscript, save for common writings, such as *an* and *ki*. Even these occasionally appear syllabically (l.34 *šá-ma-mi*; 3’ *er-še-ta*). The restoration is perhaps not entirely secure, but the sense is entirely fitting.

42 - 58 The remaining lines of the obverse are rather damaged; an unknown number of lines are missing where the tablet breaks off. It is clear that the composition turns again to praise of its goddess, as in the opening lines. The poetic structure of the passage, which might provide a key to understanding, is hard to discern, owing to the damage. ll.43 and 44 may form a couplet, but it is impossible to be sure. ll.45, 46 and 47 appear to speak of the universality of the goddess’ influence and perhaps belong together. Thereafter, the text is perhaps arranged in couplets before it breaks off.

43 The preserved signs are much more cramped than in all but the fullest lines of K 232+ (such as l.31); it seems that much is lost. The verbal form [*u*]š-*nam-ma-ru* is from the ŠD stem of *namāru*, “illuminate”. Used particularly of the power of Šamaš and Girra, the fire god, to illuminate darkness (see CAD N/I 218), the verb is also used of Ištar and her radiance:

*gaširtu ša šarūrūša uš-nam-ma-ru iklēti* (Perry, 1907, pl.4:5; ed. Ebeling, 1953a, p.128)

The mighty one whose rays illuminate the darkness

Without the preceding words, the form *uš-nam-ma-ru* is ambiguous. It is translated here as a subordinated form; but it could equally well be a plural form.

*šarāru* can mean to flow or drip (CAD § 105-106 *šarāru* A; AHw 1084b “tröpfeln”); Mullo-Weir (1929, p.10 26) adopted this meaning. It also means to flash or sparkle (CAD § 106-107 *šarāru* B; AHw 1084b “funkeln”). Although mainly attested of stars, its juxtaposition with *uš-nam-ma-ru* suggests that illumination is the theme of l.43. The image of the illumination of the darkness of the depths is contained in an Old Babylonian incantation for a woman in labour:

*ina mē tiamtim ruqūtim ... ašar ... qerbīssu la uš-na-wa-ru in šamšim* (YOS XI 86 7-10; ed. van Dijk, 1973)

In the unfathomable waters of the sea ... whose interior the eye of the sun cannot illuminate

The power of this goddess to illuminate the subterranean deep (*nagbu*), the cosmic realm of Ea, is an image entirely appropriate to this passage.

45 Lambert’s restoration [an]<sup>e</sup> is plainly secure, giving the standard pairing of an<sup>e</sup> (*šamē*) and ki<sup>tim</sup> (*eršet*) and paralleled by the adverbial phrase *eliš u šaplis*. The phonetic complements *e* and *tim* indicate that the phrase is either a dependent genitive or was preceded by a preposition. Only the initial traces remain of the first word, with space only for two or three signs before an<sup>e</sup>.

Similarly, what preceded *eliš u šaplis* is uncertain. There is clearly some parallel sense between the beginning and end of l.45, but there does not seem to be syntactic parallelism. A participle or some other verbal form seems required to supply one or both gaps in l.45.

46 l.46 presents a number of difficulties, due in part to damage. The possessive suffix -*ša* indicates that the missing subject is some attribute of the goddess. *šadidma* is the G stem 3ms stative of *šadādu*, with the enclitic particle -*ma*, signalling that the subject is a masculine form. *šadādu* is frequently used with *nīru* “yoke” in a figurative sense. It is occasionally said of divine sway more generally:

*šādid nīr ili ...* (Babylonian Theodicy 240; ed. Oshima, 2014)

He who bears the god's yoke ....

*nīru* does not fit the remaining traces and must be discounted. No other attribute or quality that would be apposite here is regularly attested with *šadādu*.

*šik-na-a[t na-piš-ti mit]-ḥa-riš* is Lambert's suggested restoration. *šik-na-a[t]* is secure. The common phrase *šiknat napišti* seems obvious, but it is doubtful whether there is enough room to accommodate all these signs, unless this part of l.46 was very cramped. The phrase *šiknat napišti* is attested in the Late Babylonian Erra narrative with *napišti* written with *zi* (Erra I 137 *šik-na-at zi<sup>im</sup>*, I 177 *šik-nat zi<sup>im</sup>*; ed. Cagni, 1969). *zi* might just fit the space here, but logographic writing is uncommon in this manuscript. Mullo-Weir (1929, p.12) tentatively proposed [*ma(?)*]-*ḥa-riš*, translating *maḥariš šadidma* as "in front(?) it is pulled". *šik-na-a[t]*, supplied by K 13776 since Mullo-Weir's edition, makes his restoration less likely, but it should not perhaps be discounted entirely.

With Lambert's restorations, l.46 contains two adverbs, *eliš* and *mithārīš*, and a phrase *šiknat napišti* which is formally capable of being the accusative object of *šadidma* (for the active meaning of statives, see *GAG* § 77 e). The two adverbs make the syntax of the line awkward. *eliš* seems to be read with *šiknat napišti*, but is rarely attested in prepositional use (AHw 202a "selten Prp."). An example may to occur in the exposition of Marduk's names:

*bānū eršetim eliš mē* (*Enūma eliš* VII 83)

The creator of the earth over the water

von Soden thought the text incorrect (AHw 202a "*e-liš! mē*"). *eliš* is perhaps best explained in l.46 as *eli*, the form induced by the phonetics of *šiknat*.

In this context, *šadidma* seems best understood intransitively, meaning "extend" or "stretch": so cited at CAD Š/I 29, albeit with other citations which relate to areas and boundaries. The force of the enclitic *-ma* is not entirely clear.

47 *šalummatu* is a term for the awesome radiance characteristic of deities, like *melammu*, *puluḥtu* and *rašubbatu* (CAD Š/I 283). It frequently refers to the aura surrounding the deity itself. So, Ištar is described, in a Standard Babylonian prayer to her, set within a medical ritual:

*bēltu ša šalummatu ramât rašubbatu labšat* (Hauptritual A IIa 40; ed. Farber, 1977, p.130)

Lady who is cloaked in radiance, clothed in splendour

The feminine possessive suffix *-ša* in l.47 confirms that *šalummassa* is the goddess' radiance. Formally, *šalummassa* may be nominative or accusative. The structure of what follows perhaps suggests that l.47 was chiasitic; it is so understood here.

The restorations in l.47 are Lambert's. Although *sihip kal dadmē* is not cited in CAD or AHw, *sihip dadmē* is an established expression, found in the great Standard Babylonian Šamaš hymn in the very similar phrase *kal sihip dadmē* (Lambert, 1960, p.134-153). Thus restored, l.47 expresses the common motif of divine splendour which covers the world.

48 The first sign preserved in l.48 is perhaps *é*. *é-ki-gal* is not a known temple or shrine associated with the Igigi gods. Only one known sanctuary with a similar name is known, the *ki-gal-la*, Ningišzida's seat in the *é-sag-íl* at Babylon (*HMH* 593). The reading *é* is therefore doubtful. l.8 refers to the Igigi gods and their cultic stations (*ki-gal-la-šu-nu*); hence, *ki-gal* is understood in l.48 as the construct state of the noun *kigallu*.

Without the benefit of K 13776, Mullo-Weir (1929, p.12) proposed [*ra-'i-mat*] <sup>d</sup>UD-*u<sub>18</sub>*-*lu* (as in l.28) to supply the break. The trace remaining does not support this, but the missing text may indeed have referred to the goddess, as Mullo-Weir thought.

49 The apposition of the broken opening phrase *têret* [x x] to *nagab kullati* makes it clear that *têrtu* refers to the divine will relating to the order of the cosmos (see CAD T 363). In l.49 *nagbu* means "totality", a poetic term used from the Old Babylonian period onwards (CAD N/I 111 *nagbu* B). The lexical series *Erimḫuš* lists *nagbu* in a group with *kullatu*, *napharu* and *kiššatu*, all terms for "totality" (*Erimḫuš* V 43-46 *MSL* XVII p.68). The ancient commentator to the Babylonian Theodicy apparently considered the word unusual, explaining that *nagab* was equivalent to *naphar* in the phrase *gimil nagab nēmeqi* "favoured with all wisdom" (Babylonian Theodicy 57 and Commentary obv.22, see Oshima, 2014, pp.445-446). The tautological expression *nagab kullati* does not appear to be otherwise attested, but similar expressions in which two words for totality are combined abound (see CAD K 505-506 *kullatu*). A similar

phrase occurs in the list of the corpus of the lore of the exorcist often known as the “exorcist’s manual”, known from first millennium copies:

*kullat nagbi nēmeqi niširti kakugallūti* (KAR 44 r.7)

“all the knowledge, the secret of the exorcist” (CAD N/I 111; similarly understood at CAD K 506 “the entire range of wisdom”)

In this context it seems likely that scholarly exploitation of the ambiguity of the meaning of *nagbu* is at work in its application to knowledge, the particular preserve of Ea, king of the cosmic depths.

Very little remains of the second sign of *šá-r[u]-ru-šá*, (Lambert’s restoration) but there is no obvious alternative. The sense is elusive.

50 *lalgar* is equated with the Apsû in the synonym list *maliku = šarru* I 291 (ed. Hrůša, 2010); for other attestations, see Horowitz (2011, pp.307, 313-314) and *HMH* p.26 note 187. The identification of *lalgar* as a cosmic region is implicit in l.50, where *lalgar* is characterised as *pirišti ilānī*, the secret place of the gods, where the goddess marshals her divine powers.

*te-[re-t]u-šá* is Lambert’s restoration, assured by the frequent attestation of *têrētī* with *ḥamāmu*, the verb used to express the gathering in and mastery of powers and functions which is commonly attributed to deities (see George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.321-322; CAD Ḥ 59).

The meaning of *têrtu* as a divine decree which gives order to the cosmos is well attested (CAD T 365). A very similar phrase occurs at l.70', where Ms. F’s variant reading may have been essentially the phrase here.

51 The restorations of the broken signs are Lambert’s. ll.50-51 seem to form a couplet, for *Duku(du<sub>6</sub>-kù)(l.51)* forms a clear parallel with *lalgar(l.50)*. The names frame the couplet. A Standard Babylonian *šu-īla* prayer to Nabû contains the same parallel, noted by Horowitz (2011, p.316):

*mukīl markas lalgar pāqid du<sub>6</sub>-kù-ga*

*ašarēd Igīgī āšir Anunnakī* (Mayer, 1990, p.461 7-8)

He who holds the bond of *lalgar*, who oversees Duku,  
Foremost of the Igigi, supervisor of the Anunnaki

Like *lalgar*, Duku is synonymous with Apsû in the synonym list *malku = šarru* I 290 (ed. Hrůša, 2010). The same equivalence is given in the list now known as Explicit Malku II 178 (ed. Hrůša, 2010). See Lambert (2013, p.305, fn.9, 10) for other passages where the same parallel occurs.

l.51 describes Duku as *ašar šitulti u purussê*. The same tradition is reflected in the exposition of Marduk's names in *Enūma eliš*; Ea, lord of the Apsû but named in the passage as "lord of Duku" (Lugalduku), takes no decision in Duku without his son Marduk, Dumuduku "son of Duku":

<sup>d</sup>dumu-du<sub>6</sub>-kù *ša ina du<sub>6</sub>-kù ūtaddašu šubassu el[let]*

<sup>d</sup>dumu-du<sub>6</sub>-kù *ša balīšu purussû lā iparrasu* <sup>d</sup>lugal-du<sub>6</sub>-kù (*Enūma eliš* VII 99-100)

Dumuduku, who renews for himself his pure dwelling in Duku,

Dumuduku, without whom Lugalduku makes no decision.

The lines are clearly based on the identification of Duku with the Apsû (Lambert, 2013, p.305). This is somewhat different from the tradition reflected in a *bīt rimki* incantation edited by Borger (1967), which placed Duku at the mountain of sunrise, although the description in this incantation of this mountain as *šad nagbi* "mountain of the deep" surely betrays some common strands (see Woods, 2009, pp.203-204; George, 2013, p.8 for recent discussion).

52 The restorations are Lambert's. Enough remains in l.52 to make them reasonably secure. [*n*]a-bit i-la-[a-tim] is ambiguous. Formally, *na-bit* could be understood as the feminine construct state of the adjective *nebû/nabû* "shining, bright" (CAD N/II 148), and translated as "brightest of the goddesses". Alternatively, the form may be understood as the construct state of the feminine verbal adjective of *nabû* "to name", and translated as "the chosen one". This seems preferable in context and is adopted here. (See notes on ll.38 and 93' for discussion of similar phrases).

Although the epithet *bēlet mimma šumšu* does not seem to be specifically attested, the goddess Ninimma, Enlil's scribe and a creation-goddess who is also identified as a healing goddess from the Middle Babylonian period onwards, appears to be described as *bēl mimma [šumšu]* in an explanatory God list (CT 25 49 r.2; see Lambert, 2013, p. 435). In l.52 the epithet perhaps expresses the goddess' pre-eminence and implies the creative powers attributed to her in the opening passage (l.5).

*rubātu* is a description commonly applied to goddesses (see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.171-172; CAD R 393). *rubātu* appears to be usually written without a plene vowel when in the singular (see CAD R 392-393). With the ending *-ti*, a genitive plural form seems to be suggested by *ru-ba-a-t[i]*, but the phrase *āšibat ru-ba-a-t[i]* seems awkward.

53 Only the partially preserved final word in l.53 remains, which might be read *mit-ḥar-[tum]* or *mit-ḥur-[tum]*. The meaning is uncertain. “Conflict”, “harmony” and “everything” are all possible translations (see CAD M/II 135,138; AHW 662).

54-58 The remaining lines are too fragmentary other than to give the general flavour of this part of the composition. The obverse of the tablet breaks off in l.58. An unknown number of lines are lost before the reverse resumes the text.

54-55 *masdaru* is an unusual word, which appears to be used adverbially only. In literary contexts, it occurs twice in the great Standard Babylonian hymn to Šamaš: in the phrase *ina masdari* and, without any preposition, *mas-da-ra* (as in l.54) with a variant reading *mas-da-ri* (Lambert, 1960, p.132 123;p.134 134). It is attested also in a Standard Babylonian hymn to Nabû:

*ginâ masdari ištarāniš iqâl* (von Soden, 1971, p.52, ii 90)

He constantly, unceasingly, respected his personal goddess

The epithet *nāšât qan ṭuppi* is applied to Gula as Nanše in the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣarabi:

*šiprussu nāšât qan ṭuppi ēpišat nikkassī* (Lambert, 1967, p.118 42)

Who carries the stylus in her work, who does the accounting.

In the same hymn, Gula herself is portrayed as possessing the stylus, an aspect, or perhaps a symbol, of the wisdom given to her by Ea:

*Ea ina apsû nēmeqšu igmura*

*qan ṭuppu ina qātīšu išruka* (Lambert, 1967, p.124 144-145)

Ea in the Apsû fully endowed me with his wisdom,

He gave me the stylus from his own hand.

In 1.54 the description appears to be used in relation to the power to ordain destinies (*išâm šīmassun* 1.55), where the subject of the verb *išâm* is lost, but seems likely to be the goddess. In tradition, divine determination of destinies took place in Duku. The cosmic location of ll.54-55 is surely Duku, recalling 1.51 *šubassa du<sub>6</sub>-kù*.

*ši-mat-su-[un]* is Lambert's restoration. The resultant form *šīmassun* is one of the very few examples of the use of the pronominal suffix in apocopated form in this composition (cf 1.24'). The shortened form is a feature of the "hymno-epic dialect" (von Soden, 1931, 1933a) or "idiom" and is an archaism (so, Lambert, 1959-1960, p.49). This element of high literary style frequently occurs at the end of the poetic line in Standard Babylonian poetry, as here, perhaps conditioned by rhythmic considerations.

56-57 *'lam'-d[a-at]* is Lambert's proposed restoration of the last partly legible signs of K 232 obverse. Both Martin (1900, p.98 40) and Mullo-Weir (1929, p.13 40) similarly read *lam da*. If correct, an association with Ea, the god of wisdom, may underlie the passage from 1.50 (and perhaps even from 1.43, where *nagbu* is mentioned).

1'-7' Only a part of the first seven lines is preserved where the text resumes. Part only of the first two(?) signs in 1.2' and of the first sign in ll.3'-7' is preserved, too little for identification. The first sign in ll.4'-6', and perhaps also in 1.7', may be the same sign, and perhaps the lines commenced in the same way. There is room in the break before the preserved text for three or four signs. The last half of each line is missing.

ll.1'-7' appear to contain rather different material from the obverse. 1.6' unambiguously refers to a pastoral setting. Although very fragmentary, the adjacent lines, taken together, too seem to suggest an agricultural or pastoral context in which the text can be understood. A pastoral theme is not entirely alien to the healing goddess. The Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi contains agricultural motifs, where the passage describing Gula in her identity as the goddess Nanše is devoted to the deity's role in relation to crops and fields (Lambert, 1967, p.118 35-43). In ll.35-40 Nanše is associated with the ploughing of the fields, culminating in a description of the goddess which contains some obscure terminology, evidently pertaining to cultivation:

*bēlet quppi zēri epinni ḥarbu kakki u rēdī* (Lambert, 1967, p.118 40)

Lady of the basket, the seed, the seed plough, the .....-plough(?) and the lead ox(?)

The equation of Gula with Nanše is unexpected, perhaps arising through the equation of Nanše's brother Ningirsu with Ninurta, both named as the healing goddess' spouse in the hymn, as Foster (2005, p.585 n.1) speculated. The composer of the hymn evidently saw no difficulty in the alignment of these goddesses and their function. More generally, the reverse of Ms. A contains much material that is thematically related to the content of the obverse; there seems no compelling reason to suppose that the reverse of K232+ is not a continuation of the composition.

1' The alternate restorations [gi-g]u-né-e and [še-g]u-né-e were suggested by Lambert. Both are Sumerian loan-words, here evidently written syllabically. *gigunû* is attested from the Old Babylonian period in both historical and literary texts (see CAD G 67-70). It refers to a religious structure, and hence might be appropriate to a hymn or prayer. *šegunû* is a much rarer word. Outside lexical texts, it is principally attested in the protases of omens in meteorological and astrological omen series, where it denotes some cereal crop (see CAD Š/II 260-261). In the lexical context, it appears in a list of barley crops in the Nippur forerunner to the series *Urra XXIII-XXIV* (*MSL XI 124* Section 11:29). In the ancient commentary to the omen series *šumma izbu*, *šegunû* is equated with *šahharu*, a late term which is understood as some grain or minor crop (*Izbu Commentary 559*; ed. Leichty, 1970). In l.5 'še-gu- can be read, but the next sign is unclear. Nevertheless this perhaps supports a reading of [šeg]unê in l.1' in preference to [gig]unê. Either reading could be a genitive singular, or, in the case of *gigunê*, an accusative or genitive plural. *šegunû* does not appear to be certainly attested in the plural.

2' Lambert tentatively restored the broken divine name as <sup>d</sup>nin-ši-k[ù], a name or epithet of Ea (see Tallqvist, 1938, p.145 *niššīku* and p.408 (there read Nin-igi-kù), Cavigneaux and Krebernik, 1998-2001h *Niššīku*, CAD N/II 282-283 *niššīku*, and the explanation given by Lambert and Millard, 1969, pp.148-149). In Standard Babylonian literature, <sup>d</sup>nin-ši-kù occurs in conjunction with the divine name, supporting Lambert and Millard's view (op.cit., p.148) that <sup>d</sup>nin-ši-kù is simply another writing of *niššīku*:

<sup>d</sup>nin-ši-kù *Ea ittišunu tamīma* (Gilgameš XI 19; ed. George, 2003)

With them Prince Ea was likewise on oath

Hence, if correctly restored, <sup>d</sup>nin-ši-k[ù] was perhaps followed by <sup>d</sup>é-a. The question arises whether a reference to Ea, if indeed correct, tells against the conclusion that the passage ll.1'-7' has a pastoral context. In Sumerian tradition, Ea's counterpart, Enki, had a role in making the Mesopotamian land fertile, as recounted in the composition now known as Enki and Ninḥursanga (ed. Attinger, 1984). In Akkadian tradition, Ea's role in the creation and protection of humanity has its clearest expression in the Old Babylonian Atra-ḥasīs poem; his association with agriculture is less clear than Enki's.

3' The impression that ll.1'-7' set a pastoral context seems to be reinforced by *er-še-ta*. In Standard Babylonian compositions, *eršetu* commonly has a cosmic meaning and *qaqqaru* is the more common term for the ground. *eršetu* too also means earth, soil or ground (CAD E 312-313). It is plausible that this is the sense intended here.

*er-še-ta* is the only example of the syllabic writing of *eršetu* in the preserved text of K 232+. Elsewhere it is written KI, with the phonetic complement *tim* (ll.5, 10, 18, 22, 24, 34, 37 and 45). In all but ll. 34, 37 and 45, ki<sup>tim</sup> is paired with an (also written with a phonetic complement); in l.45 an can be confidently restored. In all lines where an and ki appear together, a cosmic sense for *eršetu* is clear. In ll.34 and 37 the word occurs in the phrase *šāpikat ki<sup>tim</sup>*, referring to the formation of a part of the cosmos. l.34 also refers to the heavens, unusually written syllabically there. Were it not for *šá-ma-mi* in l.34, it would appear that wherever a cosmic meaning is intended, logographic writing is used by this scribe. This observation may inform l.3', where it is clear that *eršeta* is not preceded by any writing of *šamû* or *šamāmû*, the usual order where heaven and earth are mentioned together (but see l.34, where the usual order is reversed). Perhaps the syllabic writing serves to confirm that *eršetu* is to be understood here to refer to the ground itself.

4' [m]-u-sa-re-e (Lambert's restoration) seems secure. In light of l.6', *musarû* is understood as a garden (CAD M/II 233 *musarû* B), rather than the identical, more common word (CAD M/II 232-233 *musarû* A) which pertains to inscriptions, particularly royal inscriptions. But for the overall context, *musarû* A might otherwise be suggested by the next sign, which appears to be lug[al]. Lambert's unpublished papers indicate that he thought lugal (*šarri*) unsatisfactory, proposing luga[l-u/ú-ti] or, rather differently, *ša[r-ra-ti]*. Mullo-Weir (1929, p.13 3) too read the broken sign ŠA[R]. *ša[r-ra-ti]* is attractive in the context of this composition, perhaps referring to the goddess, but the traces better support lugal. *šarratu* does not appear to be written with

lugal alone without the female determinative, which is absent here (see CAD Š/II 72-75). *ša[rrati]* is accordingly unconvincing, and the reading lug[al] is not certain.

*musarû*, meaning “garden”, is attested in lexical and bilingual texts, as well as in literary and historical compositions and in the incantation series *Šurpu*:

*ina musarê la innerrišu* (*Šurpu* V-VI 62; ed. Reiner, 1958)

(this garlic) which will not be planted in a garden

6' The combination of *rîtu* and *mašqîtu* is well attested (see CAD R 390 *rîtu*, M/I 383). The phrase was restored by Mullo-Weir (1929, p.13 5) who proposed [*ri-i*]-*ta*, reflecting the long first vowel. Mullo-Weir supposed that l.6' perhaps commenced with feminine participle; the accusative forms suggest that a finite verb is lost.

7' The only preserved word, *napišti*, suggests that an expression of life-giving qualities drew the passage to a conclusion.

8'-51' Notwithstanding a number of obscurities, ll.8'-51' evidently continue the theme of praise to a goddess, whose name is unfortunately missing, but whose identity as the healing goddess is unambiguously confirmed in ll.26'-31'. Thus the unity of obverse and reverse of Ms. A as a single composition seems beyond doubt. Although a substantial part of ll.10'-23' is preserved, the loss of the end of each line severely hampers understanding. They appear to reflect a ritual context. The praise of the deity is clearly in evidence once again from l.24'. The text becomes fragmentary at l.33' but it seems reasonably certain that this theme continued. When, at l.51', the duplicate Ms. a becomes available to supply the text with which the reverse of K 232+ would have concluded, the composition is devoted to the goddess' praise.

The poetic structure of ll.8'-23' is difficult to discern. Where the composition turns to the praise of the goddess at l.24', each line is a complete unit of sense. Although some patterns can be observed (notably the stative forms in ll.30'-34'), no regular structure is evident.

8' The epithet *bānīt naphari* points to the conclusion that AN, with which l.8' commences, is a divine determinative, and that a goddess' name is missing (*bānīt* is a feminine form). Her identification as the healing goddess is assured by l.24'ff. The missing name cannot be Ninisinna, for there is room for only two signs. The restoration

<sup>d</sup>[gu-la] is proposed here, supported by lexical equivalences implicit in the epithet *bānīt naphari*.      [§6.1]

The attribution to the goddess of powers as universal creatress parallels the theme of ll.5-6.

9' The generous spacing of the signs suggests that only a few signs are missing from l.9'. Nevertheless, l.9' remains as elusive as it was to Martin (1900, p.104 8) “*Ud.... šad du šad*” and Mullo-Weir (1929, p.14 8) “...*ŠAD DA LAT(?)*”.

10' Although perhaps only a few signs are lost, these are critical to understanding this obscure line. *ḫé-nun* is clear; *šū* is understood here as a phonetic complement, confirming the reading *nuḫšu*. The syntactical position of *nuḫšu* in the line is unclear. Similarly, both the syntactical position of *tukkan purussê* and its meaning are uncertain. *tukkanu*, the leather bag used by the diviner (*bārû*) in the Standard Babylonian divination rituals edited by Zimmern (1901), is also attested as a receptacle for precious objects (CAD T 456). The special association of the *tukkanu* with the healing goddess is evidenced in the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi. It is the container for the goddess' own precious objects: her healing spells and incantations. As Ninigizibara, the goddess dons the bag:

*ezḫēku tukannu ša šipāt balāṭu* (Lambert, 1967, p.120 81)

I strap on the leather bag with its spells for good health

The section of this hymn which identifies Gula with Ninlil makes it clear that the bag is one of the essential tools of her practice as physician:

*ezḫēku tukannu naglabu quppû sadrāk* (Lambert, 1967, p.128 180; revised CAD T 457)

I regularly strap on the leather bag, the scalpel (and) the knife

It is by no means clear that the same association is in play in l.10'. The phrase *tukkan purussê*, although not apparently attested elsewhere, suggests the world of divination, a sphere with which the healing goddess is also connected. In the Standard Babylonian rituals of the diviner, Gula is described as *bēlet purussê*(eš-bar), the “mistress of the decision” revealed in the extispicy (Zimmern, 1901, 75:38; 98:6). In l.30', the healing goddess is described as a diviner (*bārât*). The meaning of l.10' is elusive.

11' Express references to equipment and materials used in ritual preparations here and in ll.12' and 17' seem to make it clear that, at l.11', the composition refers to ritual procedures in which the goddess plays a decisive role (l.18'). The passage seems to be an exposition of the powers of the goddess in which the tools of a ritual and its setting are described. The deployment of such practical details in a devotional composition is amply illustrated in the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi (Lambert, 1967, p.118 35-43, p.120 79-89).

Martin (1900, p.106) understood *nu-um-mu-ra* as an imperative (“fais briller”) but this is not the expected form of either the singular (*nummir*) or the plural imperative (*nummirā*). *nu-um-mu-ra qutrinni* appears to be a genitive construction, with the D stem infinitive of *namāru(m)* as the governing noun. Its unexpected final vowel *-a* seems best explained as a redundant final vowel (for examples of such writing in the Kuyunjik manuscripts of the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic, see George, 2003, p.442).

Mullo-Weir restored the line thus:

... *nummura qutrinni šu-[uṣ-ṣu-na ti-di-e]*

“...how to fire (?), how to cause incense to be smelt she knoweth” (Mullo-Weir, 1929, p.14 10)

The goddess is the subject of very many lines in this composition. However, Mullo-Weir's proposal seems contrived and unconvincing.

12' *rikis šamni*(i-giš) evidently describes the preparation or other treatment of oil, in the place appropriate for performance of the “lifting of the hand”, the ritual performance of prayer. *riksu* is regularly attested to refer to ritual preparations (see CAD R 351-352), most commonly in ritual instructions themselves.

Mullo-Weir (1929, p.15 12) read the last partly preserved sign *t[u-*. His restoration of the rest of the line was based on a misreading of what preceded and is generally unsafe. His reading *t[u-* is reflected in CAD R 352; too little remains for this to be secure.

13'-14' These lines were omitted from *ABRT* II 17. They were included in the copies by Martin (1900, p.143f 11<sup>bis</sup> and 11<sup>ter</sup>) and by Mullo-Weir (1929, p.14 12-13).

13' *niširtu* is a term for some secret thing, often knowledge or lore (see CAD N/II 276-277). In the Standard Babylonian composition which tells how Enmeduranki, the legendary king of Sippar, was first taught divination, divination by means of oil and water is described as *niširti Anim Enlil u Ea* “a mystery of Anu, Enlil and Ea”

(Lambert, 1998b, p.148 13). The identical phrase in l.13' may be coincidence, but a number of allusions in the following lines suggest a divination context. However, this is not the only possible interpretation. Less commonly, *niširtu* is attested to refer to a secluded or private location (CAD N/II 276). The repetition of *ašar* (“the place where...”) in ll.12' and 14' might suggest that l.13' refers to some secret place of the great gods. The sense is elusive without the rest of the line.

14' The supposition that a divination ritual is the context in which the goddess' intervention is sought is supported by the mention of the divination gods Šamaš and Adad, together with the moon-god Sîn, a god also associated with divination (see the Old Babylonian nocturnal prayer presented by Wilcke, 2007, pp.228-229).

To complete l.14', Lambert proposed *i-šak-[ka-nu ša-ad-di]*. Thus restored, l.14' might be translated “Where Sîn, Šamaš and Adad place (their) signs”. Lambert too evidently understood this passage to have a divinatory context. Whereas *i-šak-[ka-nu]* looks reasonably secure, *šaddu* is a relatively uncommon word, which appears to be used principally of ominous signs of heavenly bodies, and typically attested with *kullumu(m)* or *šuklumu(m)* rather than *šakānu(m)* (CAD Š 56-57, K 523-525). There is Old Babylonian evidence for the use of *kittam šakānum* to express the revelation of divine will (so, the extispicy prayer edited by Goetze, 1968, p.25 12-13; and see further George, 2013, pp. 1-5). Accordingly *kitta* seems preferable to *šaddi*, reflecting a well-attested expression.

15' The logographic writing (an) masks the form of *ilu*; without the plural marker *meš*, it is probably a singular form. Formally, *iš-ta-ri* could be plural, but the parallelism of an and *iš-ta-ri* suggests that personal god and goddess are referred to. The final vowel of *iš-ta-ri* might mark a first person singular possessive suffix, so, *ištarī* “my goddess”. However, nowhere in the preserved text is there any personal reference to the supplicant. The form seems best understood as displaying a final *-i* for the nominative singular (similarly, l.24 *um-mi*).

16' The polyvalence of the KUR sign gives the potential for a number of different readings for the partly preserved verbal form *i-KUR-DA-[x]*. Verbs that occur in lexical contexts or in restricted forms only, or whose meaning is not understood (such as *sadāhu*, for example), have been discounted; others, such as *madādu* “measure” or “avoid”, can be ruled out on grounds of sense. The theme vowel apparent from -DA

also limits the range of possibilities, if it is to be taken seriously. *šadāḥu* “walk” is used in an inscription from Nabonidus’ reign to describe Bunēne, preceding the sun god Šamaš (Schaudig, 2001, p.387 2.9.1 ii 33-35) and might make good sense here, but is ruled out by its *i/i* theme vowel. Martin (1900, p.104 13) tentatively read *i-šaṭ-ṭa-[ru]*. Although *[ru]* is doubtful, *išaṭṭar* “he writes” is a possible reading. However, the sense is not obviously appropriate, and writing is more closely connected with Nabû than Marduk.

Lambert’s reading and restoration *i-šad-da-[ad]* is preferred. *šadādu* requires a direct object; in context, the object of *šadādu* might be expected to be *nīru* (yoke), giving a common figurative expression, sometimes said of a deity’s influence (CAD N/II 262). Lambert tentatively suggested *nīrša* “her yoke” to complete l.16’. There is not a great deal of room to accommodate this. *nīrša* is also doubtful in this context. Notwithstanding the topos of devotional compositions in which the subject deity is expressed to be supreme (illustrated in this composition in ll.7-16, 52’-65’ and elsewhere), it nevertheless seems improbable that Marduk, the supreme god of the *Enūma eliš* narrative, could be portrayed as drawing another’s yoke. If correct, it would be an extraordinary image.

17’ With its references to the paraphernalia and media of the diviner, l.17’ securely refers to the world of divination. Both Martin and Mullo-Weir so understood the line, translating *uṣurat iṣṣurī* as “les augures des oiseaux” (Martin, 1900, p.105 14) and “bird-omens” (Mullo-Weir, 1929, p.16 6, explaining his translation at p.18 31 as “Lit. ‘designations made by birds’”). Birds were indeed one of the many divinatory media used. Portents might be observed through observation of their movements, or inspection of their bodies and internal organs. *uṣurat iṣṣurī* does not occur in the omen literature. *uṣurtu* is regularly used to refer to divine intentions. In a šu-īla prayer, Enlil is *bēl šīmāti u uṣurāti* “lord of destinies and designs” (KAR 68 15 and duplicates; ed. Ebeling, 1953a, pp.20-23; and see further Seux, 1976, p.188 fn.23). *uṣurat iṣṣurī* may be taken to refer to divine plans communicated through birds, in the divinatory context. Thus understood, the obscure phrase conveys meaning and combines words evidently selected for their similarity of sound.

The mention of *lipû*(î-udu) “fat” or “tallow” is more difficult. Unlike the other listed items, it is not a common divination medium. The observation of the presence of fat is a feature of omen compendia (for example, see CAD L 302). l.17’ perhaps refers to this aspect.

18' The use of the language of a law court in descriptions of a deity's power to determine the petitioner's position is a topos of Babylonian prayer. The generous spacing of the preceding signs suggests that very little is missing. Possible restoration of l.18' is discussed in the note to l.20'.

19' This line is cited in CAD under *padānu*, *salīmu* and *tūdu*. The citation under *padānu* (CAD P 3) reflects Mullo-Weir's reading:

*ašar salīme ša ḥarrānu u padānu šutē[šurā]*

“In the place of peace, where way and path are made straight” (Mullo-Weir, 1929, p.16 18)

The citations under *salīmu* and *tūdu* are closely similar, save that *ḥarrānu* is corrected to *tūdu*, (as read by Martin, 1900, p.104 16), and the verbal form is restored as *šutē[šurū]* (CAD T 121). In these readings, *šá* is understood as the determinative pronoun *ša*, introducing a relative clause. *ašar salīme* is treated as a noun phrase, in apposition:

“a peaceful place, where ....” (CAD T 121)

or, as Mullo-Weir understood it, with a prepositional meaning inferred:

“in the peaceful place, where ....” (CAD S 101)

“in the place of reconciliation, where ....” (CAD P 3).

Lambert read *šá* as the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular feminine possessive suffix. This is adopted here. *ašar* is understood as a conjunction introducing a verbless sentence. The reading *ašar salīmēša* results in a self-contained line, as is typical of the composition. The wish to be reconciled with the gods and enjoy their grace is a commonplace in Babylonian prayer. A šu-ila prayer to Ištar illustrates:

*uqe''i rēški līšira salīmu* (BMS 8:8; ed. Zgoll, 2003, p.195 1:27)

I have waited for you, may reconciliation come to me

Other examples are given by Mayer (1976, pp.242-243); and see also CAD S 102-103 *salīmu*. Similarly, the image of the path made straight for the worshipper is a frequent topos. The healing goddess Bau in the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi declares:

*ana muštē'û alkakātīya ušeššer urḥu* (Lambert, 1967, p.122 108)

For the one who seeks my ways, I make the path straight

The image is regularly expressed by *ešēru* (see CAD E 352-360). The restoration of the Št<sub>1</sub> stative form *šutē[šurū]* or *šutē[šurā]*, expressing the passive (AHw 255b), is compelling. *padānu* and *īudu* are both attested as both masculine and feminine nouns and either a masculine or a feminine stative form is possible.

20' The idiom *uznī petū* can be translated “to inform” (so CAD P 352-353). A more literal translation is given here, to suggest the deity’s power to make her supplicants receptive to her. The verb *ušpatti* is the rare ŠD stem of *petū* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular of the durative, the vocalic ending *-i* (rather than *-a*) of the durative and the preterite being the same in this period (see *GAG* Verbalparadigma 32 note 26 “jB Form wie Prt.”). The ŠD stem is attested elsewhere with *uznu* in the same idiom (see CAD P 353). The great Standard Babylonian hymn to Šamaš contains a line in which the expression is used:

*ša ad[nā]ti Šamaš uz[nī]šina tušpatti* (Šamaš hymn 149; ed. Lambert, 1960, pp.121-138)  
To humankind, Šamaš, you give revelation

The idiom is repeated at l.153 of the same hymn, in a couplet that contains the two motifs deployed here in l.20’:

*ana šār erbetti arkassina taparras*  
*kal siḫip dadmê u[z]nīšina tušpatti* (Šamaš hymn 152-153; ed. Lambert, 1960, pp.121-138)

To all four points of the compass, you determine their future  
As to all of the inhabited world, you give revelation

In ll.149-152 of the Šamaš hymn, the possessive suffixes resume the noun *adnātu*. In l.20’ *uznīšina* and *arkassina* exhibit a feminine plural possessive suffix, although no feminine plural noun appears in the preserved text. It is not usual to infer some wholly unexpressed feminine form. An indefinite subject or object is usually expressed by a third person masculine plural form, not a feminine form. l.18’ seems the most likely to have contained an appropriate feminine plural noun to whom *uznīšina* and *arkassina* refer. The resumptive possessive pronouns of l.20’ perhaps points to the restoration in l.18’ of a form of *nišû* written un<sup>meš</sup> (as appears in l.27’) in the available space, with a verbal form of which un<sup>meš</sup> is the subject or object. Mullo-Weir (1929, p.16 19)

tentatively proposed *i-[par-ra-as]* to complete this line. The reading is supported by ll.152-153 of the Šamaš hymn and is compelling.

21' 1.21' presents a number of difficulties. The first three signs appear to be *i-nu-šu*. *inūšu* is an adverb meaning “at that time, then” attested in independent use, but more commonly found in main clauses which follow some subordinate temporal expression (see CAD I-J 162-163, AHW 384b). This sense is not obvious here. Lambert thought that the signs perhaps read *i-nu la*. The absence of any subordination marker in the preserved text requires that the phrase introduces a verbless construction, in normal grammar. *inu lā libbiša iteliš* (“when it is not her desire, she rejoiced”) gives no convincing sense.

A third possibility is that *šu* was written in error for *ma*, and *inūma* was intended, as proposed by Martin (1900, p.104 18). Again, a verbless subclause, *inūma libbiša*, would follow, which gives better sense than the negated reading *inu lā libbiša*.

In each reading, *ša<sup>bi</sup>-šá* is the subject. The vowel implied by the phonetic complement *bi* is not the expected vowel before the possessive suffix when, grammatically, a nominative case is required: *libbaša* is the expected form. For examples of the “wrong” case vowels before pronominal suffixes in the Kuyunjik manuscripts of the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic, see George (2003, p.440).

*i-te-liš* is not certain. Two small verticals follow the *-i* sign; the sign may be *ia*, though not well written, or *ZÍ*, which makes no sense. The form *iteliš* is suggested by its proximity to *libbiša* (*ša<sup>bi</sup>-šá*). *elēšu* and *libbu* are attested together as an expression in literature from the Old Babylonian period onwards. The phrase *iliš libbašūma* (“his heart rejoiced”) occurs in Old Babylonian Gilgameš texts to describe the drunken Enkidu (Pennsylvania tablet iii 104; ed. George, 2003, p.176) and Gilgameš’ delight in the favourable interpretation of his first dream on his way to the Cedar Forest (OB Schøyen<sub>2</sub> 24; ed. George, 2003, p.234). In *Enūma eliš* II 154 *iliš libbašūma* describes Marduk’s reaction to Anšar’s acceptance of his offer to challenge Tīamat. Martin (1900, p.105 18) understood this line similarly, taking the words together (“Lorsque son coeur se réjouit”). The lack of the subordinating marker *-u* on *iteliš* tells against Martin’s interpretation. Martin’s assessment of the line as “Ligne irréductible” remains true. The several difficulties indicate that l.21' is corrupt.

22' The restoration of the final word as *têrēti* was proposed by both Martin (1900, p.104 19) and Mullo-Weir (1929, p.16 21). The final syllable is restored here as *-tu*, having regard to the space available and the writing *te-[re-t]u-šá* in l.50.

*uṣurtu* and *têrtu* are terms commonly found in extispicy texts and scholars have understood l.22' in that light. In CAD D 44-45 this line is translated “the signs (on the liver) are confused, the forecasts are mixed up”. Similarly, *têrēti* was translated “omens” by Mullo-Weir (1929, p.16 21) and in CAD A/I 28. *šutābulā* is the Št<sub>2</sub> stative form of (*w*)*abālu* in 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine plural. In the context of the observation of ominous signs it is attested to mean that the positive and negative indicators are equivocal (see CAD A/I 28, where this line is cited). It is so understood here. l.22' seems to confirm, as suggested by ll.14' and 18', that divination is the ritual context of this passage.

23' Mullo-Weir (1929, p.16 22) appears to have understood *itmû* as a G stem perfect form of *awûm/amû* “speak”, introducing a passage of direct speech. Although formally possible, the G stem of *awûm* is otherwise attested only in Old Assyrian; in later periods only the Gt and Št stems occur (see *GAG* § 106 x). *itmû* is better understood as a G stem preterite of *tamû* “swear”. Thus identified, its object *ta-mit* must be its cognate noun *tamītu*, an oath, not *tāmītu*, an oracular enquiry, which the context might otherwise suggest. *tamīt itmû* in this line is so understood at CAD T 123. Grammatically, the verb forms a relative clause. Whilst the form could be 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular with the subordination marker *-u*, the 3<sup>rd</sup> masculine plural form seems more likely, perhaps expressing an indefinite subject.

*ta''ittu* is an unusual word, attested from the Old Akkadian period onwards and more commonly found in letters. It is a noun of the *taprīst* pattern (*GAG* § 56 l), related to the meaning of the D stem of *na'ādu*, “draw attention to” (see *GAG* § 107 r and CAD N/II 5). Its meaning in l.23' is unclear. *ta''ittu* may have been selected for its sound, echoing *tamīt itmû*.

Mullo-Weir understood the last complete sign *ḫal* as a logogram, restoring *ḫal-ḫ[al]*, which he read *pir[ištum]*. The equivalence of *ḫal* and *pirīštu* is attested in the lexical series *Ea* (*Ea* II 269 *MSL* XIV p.258) and elsewhere. Although *pirīštu* in a plural form is perhaps written *ḫal<sup>meš</sup>* in the composition known as the Marduk prophecy (Borger, 1971a, p.5 5), the usual logogram for *pirīštu* is *ad-ḫal*. Logographic writing is rare in Ms. A, save for common usages. *pirīštu* is written syllabically in ll. 26 and 50, and probably also in l.15. The suggestion yields no clear sense and is unconvincing.

24'-33' Ten largely complete lines follow, of which ll.25'-31' are wholly preserved. A conventional image is given of a thoughtful but all-powerful deity (l.24'), who absolves transgressions (l.25') and is attentive to her supplicants' prayers (ll.26'-27'), before the composition turns to the deity's special role as goddess of healing.

24' *muštālat* (also in l.31') is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine singular stative form of the Gt stem participle of *šālu*, "one who deliberates". The epithet is applied to gods, particularly Marduk (see further Tallqvist, 1938, pp. 10, 49, 171 and 220; CAD M/II 283-284). In the incantation series *Šurpu*, it is said of the patient's personal goddess, described as <sup>d</sup>*ištaršu muštāltumi* "His goddess, full of concern" (*Šurpu* V-VI 14; ed. Reiner, 1958). It appears to be attested in this l.24' alone to describe a specific goddess. Craig, Martin and Mullo-Weir copied the last sign they could read in this line as ŠU (l.21 in *ABRT* II 17, and Martin 1900, p.143f; Mullo-Weir, 1929, p.15 23). Mullo-Weir understood this as *kat*, reading *ma-la-kat*. This reading is reflected in each citation of this line in CAD (M/I 166 *malkatu*, M/I 345 *maṣû*, M/II *muštālu*), where it is understood as "she is queen/queenly". The final sign of l.24' can be seen to be *uš* and, from the traces, Lambert proposed the reading *ma-la 'lib-bu'-uš*, adopted here. Used with the verb *maṣû*, the phrase is an established expression from the Old Babylonian period onwards. In the Erra narrative, Erra instructs Ishum:

*miši mala libbuk* (Erra IV 138; ed. Cagni, 1970)

Do as you wish!

The ending *-uš* exhibited in the form *libbuš* is a feature of high literary "hymno-epic" style which is otherwise largely absent from this composition (see l.55, also in restored text). For discussion of the ending *-uš*, see Lambert (2013, pp.40-41).

25' In l.25' (and again in ll.27'-29') the normal prose word order is inverted and the verb forefronted, to striking effect. *uštāpêl* is from the Š<sub>2</sub> stem of *šupêlu*, noted in CAD Š/III 322, citing this line, as the "reciprocal (?) -*t*- form". In Neo-Babylonian *uštēpêl* is found in the durative with an active meaning (*GAG* § 109 k; AHw 1280a, Gt<sub>2</sub>). *uštāpêl* is so understood here. The *-ta-* infix perhaps shows Assyrian influence (*GAG* § 109 k). *gillassina* exhibits the feminine plural possessive suffix, as in l.20' (*uznīšina*, *arkassina*), and clearly refers to the same subject. *paṭāru* is commonly used with *arnu* to express a plea for forgiveness (see CAD A/II 297; P 298-299 for numerous examples). The topos

is illustrated in the great Standard Babylonian prayer to Ištar in language closely similar to l.25':

*puṭrī arnī šērtī gillatī u ḥiṭṭī* (STC II pl.82 81; ed. Zgoll, 2003, p.46)

Absolve my misdeed, my offence, my wrongdoing and my crime

26' The translation of *bēlet re-e-ši utninni* as “The lady of joy (and) prayer” is essentially the same as Mullo-Weir’s (1929, p.16 25) and follows CAD R 381 *rīšu* “exultation”, where this line is cited amongst only three examples. Lambert referred to this line in discussion of the apparently similar expression in a Standard Babylonian fable: *re-e-ši unnini ša Nisaba* (Nisaba and Wheat r. IV 21; ed. Lambert, 1960, pp.168-175). Lambert argued (op.cit., p.331) that “A homophonous root *r’š* must exist, an approximate synonym of *utninnu*”. He suggested this might also occur in the lexical series *Nabnītu*, where *níg.me.gar* is equated with *ri-šá-a-tu* (*Nabnītu* IVa 232 *MSL* XVI p.85), since *níg.me.gar* is also equated with *qa-a-lum* (*Nabnītu* III 173 *MSL* XVI p.65), which Lambert rendered “pay attention”. On this basis, he translated the phrase *re-e-ši unnini ša Nisaba* “Attention and prayer to Nisaba”. Lambert’s suggestion that *re-e-ši* is in some sense synonymous with *utninnu* is appealing, but it is conjectural and is not adopted here.

*ḥanṭat* is the 3<sup>rd</sup> feminine singular G stem stative of *ḥamāṭu*, the form exhibiting the consonantal combination *nṭ* in place of *mṭ* (see *GAG* § 31 f).

27' *teslītu* regularly occurs with *šemû* to express a deity’s acceptance of a petitioner’s prayer (see CAD Š/II 284-285; T 370), here evidently referring to pleas for good health, as the composition turns to the goddess’ special function as the goddess of healing.

28' *tê ša šupšuḥi*, as read by both Martin (1900, p.104 25) and Mullo-Weir (1929, p.16 27), is quite clear, and was also read by Lambert. The reading given in CAD T 441 *tû*, *tê ša nablaṭi*, cited there as collated by Lambert, is not correct.

Like the goddess in this composition, the healing goddess in the Gula hymn of Bulluṭṣarabi, as Ninigizibara, is equipped with spells for good health, *šipat balāṭi*, carried in her leather bag (Lambert, 1967, p.120 81). *šipat balāṭi* and closely similar expressions occur widely elsewhere in Standard Babylonian compositions pertaining to healing, notably in hymns or prayers to Marduk (see further CAD Š/III 87). This common

phrase encapsulates a functional description of the incantations deployed in the healing process.

29' *namrāšu* is understood by both CAD N/I 236 and AHW 728b as having only the general meaning of difficulty or hardship, rather than a specific meaning of ill-health, notwithstanding its derivation from *marāšu* “fall ill”. *paṭāru* and *riksu* are attested together in relation to illness (see further CAD R 349). The express context of l.29' is sickness, as is made plain in *murūṣ tazbilti*. *namrāšu* perhaps means “sickness” here, as Mullo-Weir (1929, p.17 28) thought, translating *namrāšu* as “disease”. The common root of *namrāši* and *murūṣ* is made plain by their juxtaposition; both sense and sound are exploited in l.29'.

*tazbiltu* is a noun of the *taprīst* pattern (GAG § 56 l), related to the meaning of the D stem of *zabālu* which, applied to a patient or a disease, means “linger” (CAD Z 4). It seems to be an uncommon word in the written record at least, attested in Old Babylonian extispicy contexts, apparently meaning “delay” or “prolongation” (CAD T 302). It appears to be otherwise found only in the expression *murūṣ tazbilti* used here and only twice elsewhere (CAD T 302; T 495 *tuša*). The protective curse formula of the Neo-Babylonian copy of a royal inscription from the thirtieth year of Aššurbanipal's reign contains an imprecation to Gula to inflict malady:

*ina murūṣ tazbilti napištašu liqti* (Aššurbanipal B; ed. Nassouhi, 1924-1925, p.104)

May his life come to an end through a prolonged illness

A Standard Babylonian prayer to Marduk contains the same phrase:

*ša ina murūṣ* (var. *muršu*) *tazbilti* (var. *tazbiltum*) *iqṭû izūbu* (Oshima, 2011, p. 233 24')

He who suffered from a prolonged illness (and) ebbed away

*rikis namrāši murūṣ tazbilti* bears some similarity to the phrase used to explain the title of the prognostic and diagnostic omen series sa.gig (*sakikku*) given by an ancient commentary:

*sakikku* (sa-gig) *rikis muršu* (*sakikku* I commentary; ed. George, 1991, pp.152-153)

Sakikku: a knot of illness

Similar expressions occur in other prognostic omen commentaries and elsewhere (see further George, 1991, p.162). Noting that what a “knot of illness” signified is not clear, George suggested that it might be the physical manifestation of a disease, which evidently binds the illness to the sufferer. Conceivably this is what is meant in 1.29’.

30’ *apkallat*, a loan word from the Sumerian *abgal*, is the 3<sup>rd</sup> feminine singular stative. It is an epithet of the healing goddess in the second of two prayers set out in a ritual context in a first millennium text from Sultantepe, where the (unnamed) goddess is described as *apkallat ilānī* (“the gods’ wise woman”) (STT I 73 23; ed. Reiner, 1960, p.32). The first prayer appears to have contained parallel text (Reiner, 1960, p.26; Mayer, 1976, pp.387-388, lists these prayers as Gula 6). The epithet appears to occur elsewhere only in a prayer to Damkina, described as *apkallat Anunakkī* (BMS 4:13; ed. Ebeling, 1953a, p.28).

Likewise *bārāt* is the stative form of *bārītu*, the feminine form of *bārū* “diviner” (CAD B 112 and AHW 107b).

*muššipat* repeats the epithet given to Ningirrimma in 1.30. AHW 1484a understood *uššupu* (the D stem of (*w*)*ašāpu(m)*) as “durch Beschwörung heilen”, to “cure” by exorcism (CDA 436). It is similarly understood in CAD M/II 236 *mussû*, citing this line and translating *muššipat* “an exorcist”, and in U-W 406 *wašāpu*, where *uššupu* is rendered “to conjure” and *muššipat* “the conjurer”. The essential meaning of *wašāpu* is to cast a spell (see CAD U-W 406), reflected in the noun *šiptu*. *muššipat* here accordingly seems to echo *šipat balāti* (1.28’), reflecting the goddess’ special power to formulate healing spells.

*mussû* (*wussûm*), “identify, distinguish”, is regularly found in Standard Babylonian literature and first millennium in the context of distinguishing between good and bad, truth and falsehood, as, for example, in the explanation of Marduk’s name Šazu:

*ša sarti u k[it]tum umtassâ ašruššu* (*Enūma eliš* VII 40)

Who distinguished between falsehood and truth

1.30’ is cited at CAD M/II 236 amongst other examples with this sense. Thus understood, it seems that *mussât* conveys the goddess’ ability both to ascertain all matters and to discern their merit.

*mussât* is interpreted differently in AHW, citing this line, where *mussât* is identified as the D participle of *esû* III, a verb of uncertain meaning (AHW 250b and 1554b, where

given as “bewirken?”). The corresponding entry in CDA 81 equates G and D stems and translates *mussât kalama* in this line as “(Gula) who brings everything to pass”. CAD E 338 *esû* A and B offers no translation for this verb. The meaning attributed by AHW/CDA is based upon this line 30’ and one other doubtful attestation only (KAR 128 r.14) and is conjectural. CAD’s interpretation is adopted here.

l.30’ is similar in structure and content to the description of the healing goddess in her persona as Ninlil in the Gula hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi:

[a]sâku bārâku āšipāk ša ina arê ḥīṭâku (Lambert, 1967, p.128 183)

I am physician, I am diviner, I am exorcist, as to .... I examine

31’ *sanāqu* is attested as a characteristic of gods, rather than goddesses, sometimes in the sense of controlling conflict (see Tallqvist, 1938, p.149 and CAD M/II 137 *mithurtu*). Elsewhere it reflects a deity’s control of the universe, as in a piece of first millennium wisdom literature, where Nabû is termed *sāniq kiššat šamê u erṣeti* (“who controls all heaven and earth”) (DT 1 53; ed. Lambert, 1960, pp. 112-115), or of the gods themselves (see Tallqvist, 1938, p.149 and CAD S 139). It has this latter meaning in a Neo-Assyrian inscription as an epithet of Tašmētu, Nabû’s consort, described as *sāniqat Igīgī Anunnakkī* (“who controls the Igigi (and) the Anunnaki”) (Falkner, 1952-1953, p.306 36).

l.31’ contains the only other cited instance of *sanāqu* characterising a goddess. Unusually, no object is expressed. Here *sāniqat* expresses a general quality, consonant with the characteristics given in the remainder of the line.

*re-’-a-ta* appears to be a rare example in this manuscript of a spelling with a redundant final vowel on this feminine stative *rē’ât*, writing CV for C. Another example appears to occur in l.11’. An alternative explanation is that in this Kuyunjik manuscript, the CV sign may be used to express VC, a feature of Neo-Assyrian writing (see Deller, 1962). It is thought that such spellings in the first millennium reflect the influence of Aramaic writing practice (see Gelb, 1963, pp.151-152; George, 2003, p.350). The image of a deity as a shepherd is a common topos (see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.164-165 and CAD R 302, 309-310). When said of a goddess, it is Ištar to whom the image is usually applied. In the great Standard Babylonian prayer to her Ištar is:

*bēlet šamê u erṣeti rē’ât nišī apāti* (STC II pl.77 27; ed. Zgoll, 2003, p.43)

Lady of heaven and earth, shepherdess of humankind

*muštālat* repeats the attribute with which l.24' commenced. The unusual word may have been selected for its sound and rhythm; the repetition perhaps marks the end of the passage.

32'-33' The severe damage to the remainder of Ms. A starts in l.32'. What remains suggests that ll.32'-33' comprise a couplet of two syntactically parallel and balanced lines, made up of stative forms with contrasting meanings.

32' *se-k[e-rat]* 'e-ni-na-at' are Lambert's restorations. The meaning of *se-k[e-rat]*, if correct, is elusive. *sekretu*, usually understood to refer to a high-ranking, perhaps enclosed, woman (see CAD S 215-217), seems improbable here.

An active verbal form seems required. *sekēru* "block" (CAD S 210) is principally used of closing off watercourses. It does not appear to be attested with transferred meaning. If a wider meaning could be understood, this would provide an appropriate counterpart to *sākipat*, used of driving away evil demons and the like (see CAD S 72-73). The translation "ward off" is put forward tentatively.

'e-ni-na-at', though much damaged, is supported by the traces. *enēnu* has three separate entries in AHW 217 and four in CAD E 162-165. *enēnu* D (AHW *enēnu* II), "punish", is widely attested in Standard Babylonian literature. The ability of a deity to switch from punishment to mercy is a common theme in Mesopotamian tradition, reflected in the Sumerian personal name *mer-ša-kuš* "angry (then) relenting" (see Lambert, 2013, p.480). The clearest expression of the belief is found in the opening lines of the penitential poem *ludlul bēl nēmeqi* (Tablet I 1-36) and the concept underpins the whole of that composition (see Lambert, 1960; George and Al-Rawi, 1998; and, most recently, Oshima, 2014). The motif also occurs in the Standard Babylonian hymn to the Queen of Nippur:

*agāga târa nakru[tu . . ]*

[*m*]amman ul ile''i [. . . ]

*enēna rêma rummâ* [. . . ]

*mamman ul ile''i* [. . . ] (Lambert, 1982, p.196 III 19-22)

To become angry, relent, have mercy . . . ,

No-one but she can . . .

To punish, be compassionate, pardon . . . ,

No-one but she can . . .

*enēna rêma* in the quoted passage closely corresponds to *ēninat rēmēnât* and further supports the restoration.

33' Six or perhaps seven signs are lost from the first part of l.33'. Mullo-Weir (1929, p.17 32) proposed *mu-kal-[li-mat ittāti]* “the revealer of signs”. However, the second sign is incomplete and KAL, though possible, is not secure.

Where the text resumes, Mullo-Weir (1929, p.15 32) copied ZA BI, reading *ša-bi-ta-at*. The earlier copies, *ABRT* II 18 and Martin (1900, p.143f), suggest that ZA was then missing and BI broken. From collation, it is apparent that the two upper wedges of ZA remain and BI is largely intact. *šābitat* seems secure, contrasting with *mupaṭṭirat*, although the meaning is obscure. Mullo-Weir (1929, p. 18 notes 37-38) understood the context as forgiveness and implied *abbūtu* with *šābitat*, with the idiomatic meaning “intercede” (CAD § 24). The evident contrast between *šābitat* and *mupaṭṭirat* is lost in such an interpretation. Both *šabātu* and *paṭāru* commonly occur in the context of some affliction whose grasp can be released. The healing goddess was believed to have the power to inflict maladies as well as alleviate them, as is well evidenced in curse formulae. *šābitat mupaṭṭirat* perhaps reflects this.

34'-42' The preserved final words of ll.34'-35' *nashurša* and *šitūlša* indicate a couplet structure in which the goddess is further described. Mullo-Weir (1929, p.17 33) proposed [*rēmēnitum ša ṭābu*] *nashurša*: “The merciful, whose reconciliation is good”. Any restoration of l.34' is speculative. Craig, Martin and Mullo-Weir all copied the penultimate sign of l.35' as LAGAR. Although abraded, a further wedge is visible. The reading *ši-tul-šá* accordingly seems secure.

The feminine endings *-šá*, *-let* and *-rat* in ll.39'-41' suggest the passage continued with praise of the goddess.

43'-59' Measurement and comparison with the obverse indicate that some twelve lines are wholly lost from Ms. A. Eight further lines are badly damaged. Traces of the beginning of five lines, a ruling, and the first few signs of a catchline and colophon are preserved at the end of Ms. A (see **section 4.2**). Ms. a supplies eleven part lines (six of them nearly complete) which would have preceded the ruling in Ms. A. It is estimated that six lines are missing between l.42' of Ms. A and where Ms. a commences. The lines in the composite text are numbered accordingly.

50' 1.50' may perhaps refer to water, reading  $a^{me}$ , rather than  $a^{mes}$ . The abbreviated plural marker occurs in 1.54' ( $illu^{me}$ ).

51' There is room for perhaps two signs and the divine determinative before UD- $u_{18}$ -*lu*, a name for Ninurta, used elsewhere in the composition. In l.28 the goddess is described as *ra'īmat*  ${}^d$ UD- $u_{18}$ -*lu*. Perhaps something similar appeared here. *qarrādu* is a stock description of the warrior god Ninurta (Lambert, 1967, p.116 9 and *passim*; Tallqvist, 1938, pp.162-162; CAD Q 140-142).

52' In a cosmic context, *uṣurtu* denotes the design of the cosmos or the divine ordinances that regulate it. The last legible sign appears to be *ká* (*bābu*). In Mesopotamian thought, the heavens were conceived of as having gates through which the sun, moon and astral bodies and the gods entered (Horowitz, 2011, pp.266-267). Hence it seems that 1.52' refers to the spatial design of the heavens.

53'-54' The context given by ll.55'-65', in which the goddess' omnipotence is praised, seems to confirm that ll.52'-54' speak of the goddess' powers in relation to the universe.

53' *rikis kalāma* plainly refers to the “bonds” of the cosmos (CAD R 348). See further, note on l.10.

*rikis kalāma* is an epithet of Nabû in an explanatory list of his names (V R 43 r. 30; ed. Pomponio, 1978, p.158). In 1.53' too it appears that the expression refers to the goddess herself, embodying the means by which the universe is held together and controlled. *Bau* is similarly described in l.15''.

*nabnīt apsî* is in apposition to *rikis kalāma*, hence likewise referring to the goddess. *nabnīt apsî* does not appear to be otherwise attested as an epithet of this deity or any other. The healing goddess is known in tradition as the daughter of Anu, not Ea, lord of the Apsû. *nabnīt apsî* perhaps serves to associate her with the Apsû to explain her powers over the deep in ll.53'-54'; and perhaps implies the wisdom enabling her to exercise these powers (cf. l.15 where the secrets of the Apsû are imputed to the goddess).

54' *ušraqqām* is the 3cs durative of the Š stem of *riāqu* (CAD R 176 *rāqu* “be empty”) with the ventive suffix, literally, “she causes to be empty”. *uš-ra-qa-am* is a defective

spelling, not reflecting the double consonant. The force of the ventive element is not clear.

*mīlu* commonly refers to the seasonal flood of the rivers (see CAD M/II 69-72). *mīlu gapšu* often occurs in contexts where devastation is contemplated. This is the evident meaning of the apodosis of an Old Babylonian omen:

*mīlum gapšum illakam* (YOS X 25 58)

A huge flood will come

Perhaps the life-giving properties of the flood, rather than its destructive powers, are in contemplation. The seasonal riverine flooding was essential for irrigation in Mesopotamian agriculture, illustrated by the passage in the Standard Babylonian version of the Atra-ḫasīs narrative where Enlil commands famine to be inflicted on the teeming population, in which, as in l.54', the inundation is said to come from the *nagbu*:

*issakir šapliš ul iššâ mīlu ina nagbi* (Atra-ḫasīs S iv 54; ed. Lambert and Millard, 1969, p.110)

Below it was blocked up, did not raise the flood from the deep

The nuance of *ugapp[aš]* is perhaps simply the causing of the swelling of the waters needed to inundate the land. l.54' is perhaps evidence for an association between the sea and flooding (see Horowitz, 2011, pp.336-341 for the relationship between the sea and the Apsû, rivers and groundwater and the Apsû). The line graphically describes the immense power of the deity over profound cosmic forces.

As the daughter of Anu, the healing goddess' association with the sea is well known from incantations which recite how the seven daughters of Anu draw sea-water to extinguish diseases (for which, see Goetze, 1955; Landsberger and Jacobsen, 1955; and Farber, 1990). Perhaps, too, a link between the sea and the healing goddess is implicit in the identification of the healing goddess with mother-goddesses (explicitly made in this composition at ll.22-24,38-40 and elsewhere). The primordial role of the sea, personified as Tiāmat, as creatrix is described at the outset of the *Enūma eliš* narrative (for recent discussion of the sea as the medium of creation, see Katz, 2011, pp.127-129).

55'-65' ll.55'-56' form a transition to a passage of nine lines in which the divine spheres of various deities are associated with the goddess. In both material and structure it is

similar to ll.7-16, and particularly ll.11-14, in which the great gods confer their special gifts on the goddess. Like ll.11-14, this passage commences with Anu, Enlil and Ea (ll.57'-59'). The goddess is the subject of ll.60'-65', in which she is portrayed as the equal of the deities named at the outset of each line in their respective spheres.

55'-56' ll.55'-56' take up and expand the motif of *rapšat uzni* (l.2). *šu-[tu]-rat ḥa-si-[sa]* is Lambert's restoration and is secure. *šūturat ḥasīsa* recurs in l.60', where although the final syllable *-sa* is missing in Ms. a, *ḥasīsa* is fully preserved in Ms. F.

*mūdû* conveys the meaning of being especially knowledgeable ("expert") and consequently describes many deities (see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.86-87; CAD M/II 164-167). Marduk is termed *mūdê alkakāti* (CT 17 12 29, a bilingual incantation, restored from *KAR* 123 8; and in *KAR* 104 24, a Standard Babylonian hymn to Nabû). *alkakāti mūdât* does not appear to be found elsewhere to characterise a goddess.

The reading *gûm* here and in l.67' was suggested by Borger (manuscript note to Lambert's draft transliteration). *gummurat*, the 3fs stative form, is understood here in the sense of "to control", a meaning of both G and D stems of *gamāru* (CAD G 27, 30). Kouwenberg (1997, p.181) observed that the G and D stems of *gamāru* seem to be interchangeable in almost all meanings, without observable differences. Older Akkadian grammars commonly ascribed to the D stem an intensive function, signifying a more forceful or prolonged action, perhaps involving plurality of subjects or objects. *GAG* (§ 88 f and h) and other grammars have not adopted this general approach (see Kouwenberg, 1997, pp.4-12 for an overview of the scholarly discussion). More recently, Kouwenberg (op.cit., p.179) concluded that, whilst for certain verbs the D stem expresses a more intensive action than the G stem, "the balance of evidence suggests .... that the D stem can only indicate such a nuance in fixed, idiomatic expressions" (see further Kouwenberg, op.cit., pp.176-178). In his analysis, *gamāru* is not such a verb, but rather has "(no) obvious association with plurality, intensity or similar notions" (Kouwenberg, 2010, pp.276-277).

However, Kouwenberg (1997, p.179) commented that "it is generally very difficult to establish differences between degrees of intensity on independent grounds" where G and D stems are used in similar circumstances. This observation is in point here, and Huehnergard's more general comment, drawing on Kouwenberg's work in 1997, that "the D stem may also denote heightened transitivity, expressing greater effect on the object" (Huehnergard, 2011, p.257) is illuminative. The use of the D stem *gummurat*

perhaps reflects that the goddess is not merely “in control”, but “in complete control”. The setting is one in which this meaning may be expected, but the nuance is not capable of objective verification.

*šitūltu* is Lambert’s suggestion. *šitūltu* is evidently seen as a distinctive facet of the goddess in this composition. In l.51 the goddess’ abode Duku is *ašar šitūlti*; likewise, *ana šitūlti* in l.59’; the related word *šitūlu* appears in l.35’. The coherent sense of ll.55’-56’, thus restored, supports Lambert’s suggestion, restored here as *šit[ūlta]* (rather than *šit[ūlti]*, as Lambert proposed), syntactically parallel with the accusative forms preserved in ll.55’-56’.

57’-59’ Enough remains of the divine names to be certain that, as in ll.12-14, these are the supreme divine triad, Anu, Enlil and Ea, here named Nudimmud (Lambert’s restorations). Like ll.12-14, each line refers to a sphere of the named god. The parallelism of the scope of ll.57’-59’ is reinforced by their construction: commencing identically, even as to phonology (*ana ši-*), and concluding with the divine name. The evident sense of the prepositional phrase formed with *ana* is that the senior deity turns to the goddess for guidance in the matter.

57’ The composer first asserts his goddess’ influence in relation to Anu’s role as supreme decision-maker. The pairing of *šiptu* and *purussû* occurs also in l.9, in broken context. The unequivocal association of *šiptu* and *purussû* with Anu in l.57’ supports the supposition that Anu is indeed the subject of some or all of ll.7-10.

58’ l.58’ reflects the tradition of Enlil as the purveyor of those divine decrees which determine the order of all things, encapsulated in the address to him in a Standard Babylonian *šu-īla* prayer as *bēl šīmāti* “Lord of destinies” (*KAR 68 15* and duplicates; ed. Ebeling, 1953a, p.20).

*ištene’iši* is the 3cs durative of the Gtn stem of *še’û* “seek”, with the 3fs accusative pronominal suffix. The Gtn stem gives the evident nuance of repeatedly seeking out the goddess for advice, a sense that is a near-parallel of *iqâlši* (l.57’).

*lā šanān* (“without equal” CAD Š/I 367) expresses the peerless (perhaps also unchallengeable) nature of the divine decrees, an appropriate description of Enlil’s commands. In the context of this composition, an alternative interpretation of *ana šīmāt*

*lā šanān* is possible. 1.58' may be understood to express the conceit, in praise of the goddess, that it is by reason of the goddess' influence that Enlil's decrees are unrivalled.

59' 1.59' asserts the part played by the goddess when Ea, god of wisdom, dispenses wise counsel.

*ta-ru-ši* is preserved in Ms. a alone. The reading seems suspect on a number of counts. The form seems best explained as the 3ms stative of *tarû* ("fetch, bring along" CAD T 245), with the 3fs accusative pronominal suffix; *tarû* is a secondary form, related to *(w)arû(m)* "to lead" (GAG § 103 d, CAD T 249), and hence translated here as "he guided". The G stative does not appear to be attested, save here, if sound. The *-u* vowel is perhaps unexpected. Although the usual final vowel of the 3ms stative of III-weak verbs in the G stem is *-i*, some III-weak verbs with the theme vowel *u*, such as *zakû* "to be pure", display a *u* form in the stative (GAG § 105 f). *tarû*, also a *u* class verb, may behave in this way.

An active meaning is required, but this is a regular, if less common, function of the stative in Standard Babylonian literature and elsewhere (for recent discussion of the function, see Kouwenberg, 2010, pp.170-176). In a detailed description of the active stative (there termed "permansive"), Rowton (1962) assembled many examples from Old Babylonian and Standard Babylonian sources. Although Rowton's interpretation has been subject to criticism (see Kouwenberg, 2010, p.170), his study is valuable for its numerous examples. From these very many attestations, it can be seen that the incidence of the stative (itself a pronominal construction) with a suffixed pronoun is relatively rare. Letters supply a number of the examples (so, the forms *kašdākki* and *kašdākka* "I will be with you" and *puḥhurūšunūti* "they assembled them" GAG § 77 d and e, all from Old Babylonian letters), perhaps indicating a vernacular usage. An Old Babylonian divination prayer has the form *na-ši-ku-um*, evidently to be understood as *našiakkum* (or perhaps *našēkkum*) "I hold up for you" (see Goetze, 1968, p.29 25). Here too the composition perhaps reflects ordinary language. Examples do occur in literary contexts. The major Standard Babylonian wisdom compositions contain the following:

*šarkūš nullātu* ("Babylonian Theodicy" 284; ed. Oshima, 2014, p.166)

They heap slander on him

*ana ša iqbû aḥulap ḥamussu mūtu* (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* I 96; ed. Oshima, 2014, p.82)

Death comes quickly to anyone who says "mercy"

Neither Oshima nor Lambert (1960) commented on these stative forms.

The scholarly work *Tintir* = Babylon commences with an explanation containing a similar stative form:

tin-tir<sup>ki</sup> *Bābilu ša tanādāti u rīšāti šarkaš* (*Tintir* I 1; ed. George, *Topog.texts*)

Tintir, Babylon on which glory and celebration are bestowed

These literary and scholarly examples indicate a different register of language for these forms in the later period.

From Rowton's examples (op.cit., nos.156, 160, 192 and many others; see too Kouwenberg, 2010, p.233 note 77) it appears that, where the enclitic pronoun does occur on third person stative forms, it is often linked to the stative by the ventive morpheme, as in the Standard Babylonian prayer to Ištar:

*adi mati bēltī bēlū dabābīya nekelmūinnīma* (STT II pl.79 56; ed. Zgoll, 2003, p.45)

How long, my lady, will my enemies glower at me?

The comparative rarity of the stative form with suffixed pronoun casts doubt on whether *ta-ru-ši* is correct. The parallelism of ll.57'-59' strongly suggests that a finite verb form with a feminine pronominal suffix is called for before the divine name, corresponding in meaning with *iqālši* and *ištene''iši*. *taruši* does not seem satisfactory, either as to form or meaning. It seems likely that *-ši* is correct, but *ta-ru-* may be corrupt.

60'-72' The end of ll.60'-72' is preserved by *KAR* 343, edited and translated by Ebeling (1953a, pp.140-141). The join of *KAR* 343 and *KAR* 109 (together, Ms. F) had not then been identified, nor were the Babylonian duplicates available to Ebeling. His observations and suggested restorations are largely superceded.

60' *itti(ki)* in l.60' and, identically, in ll.61'-65' might perhaps be understood in its usual meaning "with", in the sense of "together with". This does not seem quite apposite. The lines are illuminated by the special meanings identified in CAD I-J 303. In an Old Babylonian letter (PBS 7 53 20) *ittikāma* is understood by CAD as "it is within your power". With this is compared an extract from a bilingual hymn to Šamaš:

*marsa* [*bulluṭ*]u *itti*ka *ibaš*[š*ī*] (IV R<sup>2</sup> 17 37, recopied by Abusch and Schwemer, 2011, pl. 77, 79; ed. von Soden, *SAHG*)

It is in your power [to heal] the sick

The idiom occurs elsewhere in religious texts (so, V R<sup>2</sup> 50 i 77f., duplicate *LKA* 75 r.10f. again pertaining to Šamaš, see CAD I-J 303). Similarly, *itti* in the phrase *itti ilim* in an Old Babylonian omen compendium (YOS X 46 ii 42-44) is understood in CAD I-J 303 as “with the consent of” (so too AHW 405a “mit Willen von”, noting that this meaning is less usual; see CAD I-J 303 for other examples from extispicy texts from the Old Babylonian period onwards).

Informed by these examples, it can be seen that ll.60'-65' convey that the goddess wields her powers on the authority of the patron deity of those powers. *šūturat ḥasīsa* “she is outstanding in wisdom” makes it clear that the goddess is expressed to be on a par with, or is perhaps even seen as a proxy for, the patron deity.

Anšar is a primordial deity, best known from *Enūma eliš* I 12-14 as the father of Anu. As a member of the most venerable generations of the Mesopotamian pantheon, it is not surprising that wisdom is attributed to him, reflecting a topos of religious texts. It is however surprising that Anšar is followed in ll.61'-62' by Enlil and Ea. Anu, rather than Anšar, might have been expected to precede these two gods, the composition thus returning at ll.60'-62' to the divine triad of ll.57'-59'. l.60' recapitulates the theme of l.57', just as ll.61'-62' reprise the themes of ll.58'-59'. The evident symmetry between the two passages is jarred by mention of Anšar.

*an-šár* is preserved in Ms. a alone, clearly written. The name is lost from Ms. F. Ms. A preserves only *itti*(ki) AN, the opening of the catch-line. Whilst, with Ms. a, this may reflect *itti*(ki) *an*-[šár], it cannot be ruled out that AN is the divine determinative; and that the Kuyunjik manuscript may have read *itti*(ki) <sup>d</sup>[*a-num*]. If so, Ms. a preserves a variant, or perhaps corrupt, reading.

The unexpected reference to Anšar may be explained another way. In some texts Anšar is identified with Anu, as Lambert (2013, p.422) noted. In the bilingual composition now known as the Exaltation of Ištar, <sup>d</sup>*a-nu* is given where the Sumerian text has *an-šár* (Hruška, 1969, p.484 III 33-34); likewise their consorts Kišar and Antu are equated in III 39-40. The equation is reflected in God lists. The God list An: *Anum* I 9-10 (ed. Litke, 1998) equates Anšar and Kišar with Anu and Antu. A fragment of a related God list (see Lambert, 1969, p. 476) glosses Anšar with Anu: *an*<sup>da-nu</sup>-šár (CT 24 49, K 9349E 7). For other texts which equate Anšar and Anu, see Lambert (1982, p.212; 2013, p.422)

and Reiner (1996). Accordingly l.60' may reflect a scholarly tradition which equated Anu with Anšar. Thus understood, ll.60'-62' parallel ll.57'-59' and the symmetry between the passages is intact.

61' Neither Ms. a nor Ms. F fully preserves the end of l.61'. Ms. a preserves *šīmātūša*, where Ms. F (KAR 343) has only ]-šá; Ms. F supplies *šīrū*, where Ms. a has only *ši-* . *šīrū* is frequently used in the stative (see CAD § 210); it is so understood here. The masculine form is unexpected with the feminine noun *šīmātūša*, and Ms. a may have read *šīrā*. Conversely, it is possible that Ms. F contained a masculine plural noun as subject, rather than *šīmātūša*. However where both Ms. a and Ms. F witness the text, there are only minor differences (usually orthographic) between them. Accordingly a variant reading seems unlikely. First millennium manuscripts commonly contain inflected endings which are incorrect by the standards of earlier grammar, in verbal forms as well as nouns (see George, 2003, p.441 (s)). The form *šīrū* can be explained as just such a case.

62' The description of the goddess as *ḥasīsa palkât* resembles the description of Ea (Nudimmud) himself as *palkâ uznu ḥasīs* “vast of understanding, wise” (*Enūma eliš* I 18). It serves to confirm that ll.60'-65' contain the conceit that the goddess is at least the equal of the named deities.

63' Ms. a supplies *atât*, the 3fs stative of (w)*atû(m)* “discover”, here an active stative. The reading disposes of [*kab*]*tat milka* “influential in counsel”, proposed by Ebeling (1953a, p.140 4), and the suggestion in CAD P 67 *palkû* that the phrase parallels *ḥasīsa palkât* (l.62').

64' Unlike the routine divine descriptions of ll.61'-63' and 65', *pātiq kullati* does not appear to be a stock epithet of Nabû (for Nabû's many epithets, see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.380-384). *patāqu* “to fashion” is said of many deities and in a range of expressions, with particular application to mother-goddesses and the creation of progeny (see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.156-157; CAD P 274-275). The sole citation pertaining to Nabû is in this sense, where it appears in an acrostic hymn to Nabû to celebrate Nebuchadnezzar II:

[*bun*]nannê amēlūti šiknatu napištu iptiq nabnī[tu] (Strong, 1898, p.156 r.4; ed. Oshima, 2014, p.475 24)

He fashioned the features of mankind, the appearance of living creatures, all creation

*pātiq kullati* speculatively interprets a writing of the divine name. [§6.1]

Ms. F supplies *pa-lu-sá* where Ms. a has AŠ ŠA AŠ, from which no obvious reading can be derived. *palû* is widely attested to mean the reign of a king. It is much less commonly used, as in l.64', to refer to divine supremacy, so occurring principally in omen texts and personal names (see CAD P 73).

Both Ms. a and Ms. F preserve *maḥ-ri. maḥrû* “first” (\**maḥrūm* GAG §§ 56 q, 70 a; AHW 585b) is sometimes attested to denote primacy in status (see CAD M/I 109), a meaning appropriate here. *maḥrī* seems best explained as a stative form.

It is unexpected that the qualities attributed to the goddess in l.64' do not reflect Nabû's special divine sphere (writing and wisdom), paralleling the pattern of ll.61'-63' and 65'. *palûsá maḥrī* is perhaps best explained as an allusion to Nabû's supreme status in the pantheon alongside his father Marduk (for Nabû's ascendancy, see Lambert, 2013, pp. 275-277). The comparative rarity of *palû* in a divine context and the general subject matter, rather than a specific sphere of divine interest, perhaps suggest that *pa-lu-sá* is suspect, particularly in light of the corruption in Ms. a.

65' The passage concludes with the contribution of Ninurta, the warrior god and the healing goddess' spouse, whose relationship with her forms the structural motif of the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi (Lambert, 1967).

A principal meaning of *šūḥuzu*, the Š stem of *aḥāzu* “seize”, is “teach” (CAD A/I 180-181). *šūḥuzat*, the 3fs stative, conveys that the goddess is schooled in the art of battle. The unusual word *anuntu* is given as a synonym for *qablu* “battle” in the Akkadian synonym list an = *šamû*, known from first millennium copies from Assyria, a compilation that also contains the more common synonym *anantu* (LTBA 2, 2 col. 2 36 *anantu*, 50 *anuntu*; duplicate LTBA 2, 1 col. 4 42', 56'; see further Hruša, 2010, p.1; Veldhuis, 2014, p.361). *anuntu* is evidently “elevated” language, attested in historical and literary texts (CAD A/II 150). Ištar is *ēpišat anunti* “wager of battle” in a Standard Babylonian prayer to her (KAR 92 r 10), found also in a ritual context (see Mayer, 1976, p.392 “Ištar 24”). CAD's citation compares this Ištar epithet with the part of l.65' preserved in KAR 343 6 (Ms. F), given as [...]-ša-at a-nun-tú. The clear implication that KAR 343 refers to Ištar is now superceded.

The warlike image of the healing goddess is paralleled in the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi where, as Bau, she proclaims herself *qarradāku* “I am a warrior” (Lambert, 1967,

p.122 100). The same theme is touched on in this composition in l.28 and appears to have been treated at greater length in ll.2'''-4'''.

66'-74' This passage of nine lines forms a transition to a key part of the composition. The work turns to named temples and shrines, to which attributes of the goddess are coupled. ll.66'-69' name temples in Nippur and Babylon sacred, respectively, to Enlil (ll.66'-67') and Marduk (ll.68'-69'), two of the principal deities of the preceding lines. l.70' concerns é-ḫal-an-ki, a shrine in Marduk's temple. A stanza of four lines (ll.71'-74'), in which the pre-eminent and universal authority of the goddess is asserted, concludes the section.

This passage was presented in transliteration and translation by Oshima (2011, p.394, *KAR* 109+343 7-15), with restoration "based on BM duplicates". Oshima did not identify the manuscripts he used: presumably Ms. a, identified by Leichty *Catalogue* VIII as a duplicate of *KAR* 109; perhaps also Ms. c. There are small differences (in ll. 67' and 74' presented here). Whether these indicate that Oshima had recourse to some further exemplar(s), or are to be explained in some other way is not clear.

66'-70' The construction of ll.66'-70' appears to be asyntactic. To each sacred place a description is ascribed; juxtaposed against each is some accolade of the goddess. The effect is strikingly disjointed, but evidently nevertheless associates the goddess with the named place. ll.66'-70' are akin to the extended passage which follows at l.75'. As there, ll.66'-70' offer scholarly explanation of the Sumerian names. **[§6.1]**

66' *rēštu*, "first, foremost", also signifies something ancient or primordial, and is so used of sanctuaries (CAD R 275). *rēštat* conveys both the pre-eminence and the antiquity of the goddess' abode.

*šubassa*, Ms. F's reading, is adopted here, where the word is broken in Ms. a (which supplies the rest of l.66') but appears to read *šu-bat-[s]u*. The use of the masculine pronominal suffix in place of the feminine is common in the first millennium (for examples in the Kuyunjik manuscripts of the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic, see George, 2003, p.440). The apparent unimportance of the distinction between these suffixes, for this scribe at least, seems demonstrated two lines later, where the scribe of Ms. a writes the same word with the feminine suffix (l.68' *šu-bat-sa*). **[§6.1]**

67' *kiššu* (used also in 1.3'') is explained as a synonym for *bītu* “house, temple” in the Akkadian synonym list *malku* = *šarru* I 262 (ed. Hrůša, 2010), with other terms which refer to sacred areas (I 252-264). The principal meaning of *kiššu* appears to be as a chamber within a sacred building. In *Enūma eliš* I 79, it is the place where Bēl (Marduk) is conceived. CAD K 445 notes that in Standard Babylonian royal and literary compositions *kiššu* is used as a poetic word for “temple”. It is attested in a number of texts as an epithet of named temples or shrines, as here (see CAD K 444).

The descriptions of the sanctuaries in 1.66' and ll.68'-70' are all genitive constructions, with the noun in the construct state in apposition to the named sanctuary. A simple noun phrase *kišša ella* describes é-kur. The descriptions are nevertheless syntactically parallel in function. The construct state masks the grammatical case in ll.66', 68'-70'; the *-a* case vowel in 1.67' suggests an accusative ending, where a functionally accusative form is difficult to construe. It seems better to understand the final vowels of *kišša ella* as a writing of the nominative singular ending (see George, 2003, p.440(j) for similar examples in the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic). [§6.1]

Oshima (2011, p.394, *KAR* 109+343 8) transliterated the final phrase *núm-mu-ru par-šu-ša*, translated as “bright are her cultic ordinances”. The verb form is broken in Ms. F, but fully preserved in Ms. a. According to Borger (*MZL* p.455), the reading *núm* for the sign form LUM occurs in the Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian periods, appearing perhaps once only later in ḪAR-gud (Murgud), a lexical composition and commentary text from the first millennium (see further Frahm, 2011, pp.249-253; Veldhuis, 2014, pp.363-366) which treats the thematic list known as *Urra*. ḪAR-gud contains an explanation relating to Mars:

mul ḫul lum-núm MIN (ḪAR-gud Recension B, VI; *MSL* XI 40 30)

Evil star Evil one ditto

The reading *núm-mu-ru* seems unlikely. Moreover, CAD contains no attestation of *numurru* “to brighten” with *paršu* in this way. As in 1.56', the reading *gúm* (LUM), suggested by Borger, is adopted here, reading *gummurū*. The use of *paršū* with *gummuru* is well attested (CAD G 30, P 197). Lambert's reading *gummurū paršūša* is superior to Oshima's suggested reading.

In Oshima's version, the final word of 1.67' is *par-šu-ša*. Ebeling's copy of *KAR* 343 shows the final sign as *-šá*. The sign is broken away from Ms. a. Oshima's duplicate sources are not specified; it is unclear whether his reading derives from some other source.

68' *ēkal ilī/ilānī* "Palace of the gods" is a common epithet of *é-sag-íl* (see further George, *Topog.texts*, p.386, referring also to this line), which appears to have a perceived etymological background.

*gašru* is routinely used to describe gods and their powers (see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.77-78, CAD G 57-58). Although the characterisation a sanctuary as "mighty" does not seem unexpected, CAD's citations contain no instance of *gašru* as a description of a sacred building. See now 1.13'', for a similar phrase. The uncommon description points to the phrase *šubassa gašrat* offering an etymological explanation of the temple name. [§6.1]

69' Oshima (2011, p.394, *KAR* 109+343 10) read the sacred name as *du<sub>5</sub>-kù*. This would be an unusual spelling for *Duku*, in place of the standard orthography *du<sub>6</sub>-kù*. The first sign, preserved in Ms. a alone, is a Babylonian form of *du<sub>6</sub>*, providing the conventional reading *du<sub>6</sub>-kù*.

Oshima construed *pirišti ilānī* as a dependent genitive, translating the opening phrase "The holy mount of the secrets of the gods". The pattern set in the passage suggests otherwise. It seems preferable to understand *pirišti ilānī* as in apposition to *du<sub>6</sub>-kù*, in parallel with the construction of ll.66'-68' and 70'.

The setting of 1.69' may be understood as the cosmic *Duku* itself (so George, *HMH* 178, referring to this line). The context set by the adjacent lines 68' and 70' is *é-sag-íl* in Babylon, the temple which, in tradition, was the replica of *Apsû* (*mehret Apsû Tintir* IV 1; ed. George, *Topog.texts*) on earth. *Duku* was the name given to *Marduk*'s seat in *ub-šu-ukkin-na* in *é-sag-íl* (see George, *Topog.texts*, p.271). *milikša lamdat*, which echoes *itti Marūduk bēl nēmeqi atāt milka* (1.63'), would seem to confirm that 1.69' refers to this. Ms. F has the variant *[mi]likšu* (and likewise in 1.70', *[têrē]tūšu*), the masculine pronominal suffix written for the feminine suffix (see note on 1.66'). In adjacent lines, the scribe of Ms. F uses the feminine suffix (ll.66' and 68' *[šu]bassa*; 1.67' *paršūša*; 1.72' *ilussa*; 1.73' *[kip]dūša*; 1.74' *zīkrūša*). Similar inconsistency is apparent in Ms. a in this short section ll.66'-74': the masculine suffix is written in ll.66', 74' and otherwise the feminine suffix is used. Whether the writing of the suffix was a matter of indifference or conditioned by some factor is by no means clear. [§6.1]

70' Although both are damaged, the Babylonian and Assyrian manuscripts appear to contain different versions of l.70', Ms. a reading *têrētīša ḥam[m]ā* “her commands are gathered together” while Ms. F seems to read [*têrē*]tūšu *ḥa-am-ˀmat* “she gathers together her commands”. (For Ms. F’s variant [*têrē*]tūšu, see note on l.69’.) In conventional grammar, the nominal case endings are not correct in either manuscript, if indeed the verbal form is as set out. This is not unusual in manuscripts of this period (see George, 2003, pp.439-441). However, the occurrence of two different verbal forms (feminine plural and feminine singular), each non-congruent with its preceding noun (in conventional grammar), but which would have been “correct” had it been preceded by the noun form of the other manuscript, perhaps suggests some corruption, rather than alternative versions.

Oshima (2011, p.394, *KAR* 109+343 11) has *têrētīša ḥamm[at]*, the noun of Ms. a and the verb of Ms. F. His translation (“her instructions are gathered”) reflects Ms. a rather than the text he presented. Whichever reading concludes l.70', it closely resembles *têrētīša ḥammāt* (l.50). Indeed, ll.69'-71' contain and recombine themes and material used in ll.50-52.

é-ḥal-an-ki is the seat of Zarpanītum in é-sag-īl and this line is cited in that connection by George, *Topog.texts*, pp.270-271 (also *HMH* 448). Thus understood, the focus of the conclusion of this group of named temples is the seat of a goddess; the goddess of the composition is perhaps identified with the goddess of the sanctuary, prefiguring the motif of l.75'ff. Another interpretation is possible. é-ḥal-an-ki is also the name of the seat of Ea in é-sag-īl (*HMH* 449; George, *Topog.texts*, p.273). The description of é-ḥal-an-ki as *bīt kiššat uzni* seems to point in favour of the identification of this shrine as the seat of Ea, god of wisdom. With this can be compared the similar rendering of the name of Ea’s temple in Aššur:

é-géštu-maḥ-šu-du<sub>7</sub> *bīt uzni šīrte šuklulu bīt Ea* (Assyrian Temple List, *BTT* 20 151)

Perfect house of sublime wisdom: the temple of Ea

Understood in this way, ll.66'-70' refer to places sacred to Enlil, Marduk and Ea, reprising (albeit in a different order) ll.61'-63' where Enlil, Ea and Marduk and similar material feature. **[§6.1]**

71' *KAR* 109 becomes available at l.71' with its first clear part-line (*KAR* 109 2) to provide, with *KAR* 343 (together, Ms. F), nearly 25 lines, duplicated in whole or part by

Babylonian exemplars. *gašrat* is supplied by Ms. a. Used only three lines earlier (l.68'), *gašru* is here deployed in its most common use, to describe a deity. Amongst goddesses, it is most commonly applied to Ištar, as evidenced by the citations in CAD G 57. The great Standard Babylonian prayer to Ištar illustrates the topos where, in a passage thematically akin to ll.71'-74' here, she is addressed:

*gašrāti malkāti šumūki šīrū* (STC II pl.75 4; ed. Zgoll, 2003, p.42)

You are powerful, you are queen, your names are sublime

Phonetic complements in Ms. F indicate that *gašrat* is qualified by the phrase that follows. Ms. F reads ʿan<sup>e</sup> ʾ UD<sup>tim</sup> where Ms. a has [a]n u ki. Ms. F's UD<sup>tim</sup> could be read *tâmtim* (so Ebeling, 1918, p.49 1), to provide a variant reading *gašrat šamê u tâmtim* "she is all-powerful over heaven and the ocean". The pairing is unusual. It seems more likely that UD is a simple error for KI (*eršetu*) in this stock phrase and that the reading of Ms. a is correct.

The essential meaning of *pātu* is "border, boundary"; it is principally used in practical contexts relating to land (CAD P 305-310). Oshima (2011, p.394, KAR 109+343 12) translates *ilat pāt gimri* as "the goddess of the border of all", reflecting this meaning. At CAD P 309 3f, the expression *pāt gimri* meaning "entire extent" is noted. Whilst the other examples given there are from Assyrian historical writings, this line is also cited. The idiom is apt to l.71', a context in which the universal influence of the goddess is emphasised. Ebeling (1953a, p.141 12) so understood the phrase, rendering it "Göttin des Alls". The translation "Goddess of everything" is offered here.

72' The beginning of l.72' is missing from Ms. F and damaged in Ms. a. Ms. F can be confidently restored to read [e]-liš u<sup>(1)</sup> ʾ [š]ap-liš, as did Ebeling (1918, p.49 2), the scribe certainly making a small slip in this line. In Ms. a, *u šapliš* is clear, LIŠ having a Babylonian sign form. The initial traces in Ms. a are consistent with ʿeʾ-[liš]; the restoration of Ms. a to give the stock phrase *eliš u šapliš* is compelling, even without Ms. F's support.

Oshima (2011, p.394, KAR 109+343 13) read ʿeʾ-lat ʾ šap-lat. CAD's entries for *elātu* (E 77-79) and *šaplātu* (Š/I 464-465) do not contain any evidence to support the phrase *elât u šaplât*, which appears to result from a misreading of liš. The conclusion *šurbat ilūssa* conveys the supremacy of the goddess' power and status.

73' CAD Š/II 442 *šīlān* cited this line from *KAR 109* and duplicates, courtesy W.G.Lambert, where it is given as *ina šītaš u ši-[la]-an šitakkan[u]* (var. *ši-tak-ku-nu*) *x-du-ša*. 1.73' appears to commence with *ina* (AŠ) in Ms. a. The beginning of 1.73' is broken in Ms. F but it is probable that Ms. F omitted *ina*. Ebeling's copy (1919, *KAR 109 4*) suggests that there is not enough space for [*ina š*]i-taš. Oshima presented 1.73' as follows:

*ši-tàn u ši-la-an ši-tak-ku-nu k[i]p-du-ša*

“From the sunrise and sunset (i.e. from the east to the west), her p[l]ans are all over.” (Oshima, 2011, p.394, *KAR 109 + 343 14*)

Oshima favoured *šītan* over Lambert's *šītaš*, perhaps in light of the homophony thereby achieved at the beginning of 1.73', paralleling the homophonous pairing in 1.72' (whether Oshima's *elāt u šaplāt* or *eliš u šapliš* is read). *šītan* and *šītaš* are separately entered in CAD Š 215 from the evidence of the syllabic spellings *ši-ta-an* and *ši-tan* in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions and *ši-ta-áš* (BMS 9 r 41, a šu-ila prayer to Zarpanītum). CAD noted under *šītaš* that the spelling *ši-TAŠ* (the UR sign) might be read *ši-tàn*. AHW 1106a gives *šītān* and *šītaš* together. AHW's entry reflects doubt as to the reading *tàn* for TAŠ, as does Labat, 1994, Index p.272 “*tàn?*”. Borger (1996, p.24) discarded the reading *tàn* for the UR sign (so too in *MZL*, p.431 no.828). The doubtful reading *tàn* is rejected in the text presented here in favour of the common value *taš*, reading, from Ms. a, *ina šītaš u šīlān*.

*šitakkunū* is Ms. a's reading. Ms. F perhaps has *šitakkan[ā]* (perhaps an Assyrianising form), implying a feminine plural subject. The Gtn stem of *šakānu* deployed in the stative *šitakkunū* provides a distributive nuance (cf. Kouwenberg, 2010, p.416 § 3), underlining the spread of the goddess' influence.

The final word, given at CAD Š/II 442 *šīlān* as *x-du-ša*, is damaged in Ms. a and broken in Ms. F. Lambert considered both *qurdū* “heroic acts” and *šaddū* “symbols” to restore 1.73'(unpublished draft transliteration). Whilst both suit the context, neither is a compelling reading of the traces in Ms. a. Oshima's suggested restoration *k[i]p-du-ša* is consistent with the traces. *kipdū* is an unusual word, attested in literary and scholarly texts. The very few citations in CAD K 396-397 suggest that *kipdū* usually refers to the plans of men, rather than gods. In the great Standard Babylonian hymn to him, Šamaš is addressed:

[š]a napḥar mātāti šūt šunnâ lišānū

[t]īdi kipdīšina (Šamaš hymn 49-50; ed. Lambert, 1960, p.128)

All the lands of different tongues, you know their plans

In a number of the extracts cited by CAD, *kipdū* refers to the wicked or secret schemes of an adversary. It is so used in *Enūma eliš* VII 44: *mušappiḥ kipdīšunu* “who frustrates their plans” (see further CAD K 396-397). *kipdū* does not appear to be attested to refer to benevolent divine intentions. Nevertheless, the use of an unusual, perhaps elevated, word in a devotional composition such as this might be expected. Oshima’s restoration is an attractive proposal and is adopted here.

74’ Ms. a supplies the complete line. Despite its consistent use of the feminine pronominal suffix in ll.68’-73’ (but not in l.66’), Ms. a has the masculine suffix on *zikrūšu*, where Ms. F has *zikrūša* (*zik-ru-šá*). Oshima (2011, p.394, *KAR* 109+343 15) has *zik-ru-[š]a*. The source of his reading is unclear.

In the translation presented here, *ešrēt ilānī* is understood in apposition to the preceding noun *māḥāzī*, rather than as a dependent genitive (so Oshima, see below). Thus understood, l.74’ parallels the construction with which ll.66’-70’ commence.

*šutanūdū* is the 3mpl stative of what is understood by AHW 705a-b and Kouwenberg (2010, pp.407-408) as the Št stem of *nādu(m)* “to praise”. von Soden (*GAG* § 107 r) noted that the G, D and Št stems of *nādu(m)* may all bear the same meaning. The Št stem seems to be rarely used and the stative *šutanūdū* does not appear to be otherwise attested (see CAD N/I 104; AHW 705a/b). The stative form points to *šutanūdu* being regarded as a Št<sub>2</sub> stem (the Št<sub>1</sub> “bildet keinen Stat.” *GAG* § 94 b) and Kouwenberg (2010, pp.407-408) so classed it. It does not seem necessary or appropriate to understand *šutanūdū* here in the very specific meaning given by AHW 705a “in Welchselgesang preisen” (to sing praises antiphonally). It is evident from the context that *šutanūdu* has the meaning “to praise repeatedly”, as proposed in CAD N/I 103-104. This iterative sense suggests that *šutanūdū* may be better explained as from the Štn stem, the forms being indistinguishable.

Oshima (2011, p.394, *KAR* 109+343 15) translated this line “In the shrines of the temples of the gods, [h]er words are repeatedly praised”. In his translation, “her words” (*zikrūša/zikrūšu*) form a parallel with “her plans” (*kipdūša*) in l.73’. *zikru* also means “name” and, by extension, “fame” (CAD Z 112-116). It is preferable to understand *šutanūdū zikrūšu* in this sense, in light of the lengthy exposition of cult centres and

divine names which follows at l.75': the names by which the goddess is known in those cult centres are praised unceasingly. l.74' simultaneously concludes ll.66'-74' and introduces the next major section of the composition. The rare form *šutanūdū* and the reversal of normal prose order afford elevated language and style to conclude the passage.

75'-20'' The remainder of the preserved text, until the reverse of Ms. e takes up the composition, is devoted to praise of the goddess which combines a demonstration of her universality and an exposition of her identity and characteristics. She is associated with cities, temples and shrines across Southern Mesopotamia, portrayed as goddess of each. The aspects of the deity presented derive from the associations made. This part of the composition parallels ll.17-41, although significantly more extensive. As there, the goddess is syncretised, or at least identified, with other goddesses, who are sometimes, but not always, expressly named. As in ll.17-41, her name and character in each setting are understood and explained using speculative techniques. In very large part, the content and vocabulary of the passage are a function of these explanatory techniques. Scholarly learning and religious thought are fused to explore the identity and character of the goddess and to express devotion to her.

At l.78' Ms. b becomes available for 49 consecutive lines. No complete line is preserved, although some are almost complete. Ms. b provides much to supplement the text supplied by Ms. a when Ms. F breaks off. ll.75'-79', 81'-82' and 86' were presented in transcription and transliteration by Westenholz, (*Goddesses*, pp.109-110), using Ms. F only.

75'-77' The goddess is associated first with the great cult-centre of Nanna-Suen (Sîn) at Ur, where she is equated with the moon-god's consort, Ningal. Nin-gikuga (l.76') is the second name of Ningal given in the God list An: *Anum* III 27-28 (ed. Litke, 1998), and see further Cavigneaux and Krebernik (1998-2001d). The kinship term *aḫatu* is used as a designation of status in the Amarna letters and only occasionally elsewhere (see CAD A/I 172-173). Nevertheless the description of Ningal as *aḫat ilānī rabūti* (l.75'), a scholarly interpretation, seems to declare her elevated divine status, rather than indicating her divine genealogy. [§6.1]

76' The reading of l.76' is from Ms. a which preserves the line in full. Both Ms. a and Ms. c preserve the same phonetic complement in *kū<sup>im</sup>* (Ms. F *kū<sup>m</sup>*), indicating a genitive

form of the adjective *ellu(kù)*. From the entries in CAD E 102-106, the feminine plural adjective *ellētu* does not appear to be used as a substantive noun “pure things”. *kù<sup>tim</sup>* is therefore understood in the presented text as the masculine plural *ellūti*. With this reading, the form *gim-ri* in the phrase *bēlet gim-ri ellūti* must be explained. The plural *gimrū* is rarely attested (CAD G 76-78); the noun phrase *gimrī ellūti* hence seems unlikely. *gimir* would be expected as the construct state in 1.76', rather than *gimri*. A few similar forms occur in the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic (see George, 2003, p.443(ii) “segolate” nouns with Auslaut *-i* in the construct state). A further example, also with *gimru*, seems to occur in the *Enūma eliš* narrative:

*gimri tērētīya šū littabbal (Enūma eliš VII 142)*

Let him take charge of all of my commands

*gim-ri* may reflect late spelling practice, perhaps influenced by crasis with *ellūti* (CVC-CV for CVC-VC; see George, 2003, pp.432-433). It may however instead be explained as an example of the use in literary style of the Old Akkadian genitive construct (see Hasselbach, 2005, p.183; George, 2003, pp.810-811 n.16), the archaising form intended for elevated effect.

Ms. F has *be-let gim-ri kù<sup>tu</sup>* which Westenholz (*Goddesses*, p.109) understood as *bēlet gimri elletu* “mistress of all, the pure one”. In this reading, *gimri* is simply the genitive singular noun and requires no further explanation. However, the writing *kù<sup>tu</sup>* may denote the genitive plural, rather than the nominative singular, as Westenholz transcribed (for examples of the writing of *-u* for the genitive plural in the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic, see George, 2003, p.440). The Babylonian manuscripts' *kù<sup>tim</sup>* seems a more compelling indication of the intended case ending.

*mubbibat* (or indeed the masculine form *mubbib*) is not a stock divine epithet, although it occurs elsewhere in this composition (ll. 122', 4" (with the same sense as 1.76') and 5" prompted, as here, by association or perceived etymological equivalence. It is now clear from Ms. a that the closing phrase of 1.76' in Ms. F reads *mubbibat kī[nūti]* and not, as Westenholz thought, *mubbibat eršeta(ki)* “who purifies the earth”. Thus established, the phrase supports the reading *ellūti*, parallel in syntax and sense with *kīnūti*, resulting in a balance to the line which occurs elsewhere (cf. 1.79').

[§6.1]

77' The reading presented is from Ms. a, which again supplies an unbroken line. The name é-giš-nu<sub>11</sub>-gal is capable of different interpretations. The Sumerian word giš-nu<sub>11</sub>-

gal, loaned into Akkadian as *gišnugallu* AHW 293a, CAD G 104-106 (perhaps to be read *ašnugallu*, see Stol, 1986, p.357) is believed to refer to alabaster. Thus, the temple name may be understood as “Alabaster House”, a name which, as Edzard (1997, p.163) commented, makes “perfect sense for the sanctuary of the god of glistening light”.

é-giš-nu<sub>11</sub>-gal may also be understood as the “House of Great Light”, similarly befitting the temple of the moon-god. See further, George, *Topog.texts*, pp. 319-320, commentary on *Tintir* IV 24 in relation to the temple of the same name in Babylon, where George also discussed the writings of the name and the reading of ŠIR (read nu<sub>11</sub> in the temple name) for nu in UD.GAL.NUN orthography, an orthographic style from the Early Dynastic period in texts from Fara and Abu Šalābīkh (see Lambert, 1981, p.83 and, generally on such writing, Krebernik, 1998).

Ms. F contains the variant spelling é-kiš-nu-gál. The meaning of this older spelling (see *HMH* 653) is obscure. Edzard (1997, p.163) suggested that this name was no longer understood by the end of the Old Babylonian period, the writing é-giš-nu<sub>11</sub>-gal arising in its place as a product of etymological speculation. The different writings may stem from different orthographic traditions of the Early Dynastic period (George, *Topog.texts*, p.163). These two orthographies of the temple name inform the separate characterisations of the goddess given in l.77'.

The scholarly realisation of the deity's character through speculative interpretation results in divine descriptions which are commonly used. The protection afforded by the gods, expressed with *našāru*, is a regular topos. In an incantation prayer known from first millennium copies, Marduk is termed *nāširu napišti amēlūti* “the one who protects the life of humankind” (*KAR* 26 13; ed. Mayer, 1999). Many other deities are similarly described (see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.142-143; CAD N/II 39-40). Likewise, *nūru* is a stock epithet (Tallqvist, 1938, pp.133-134; CAD N/II 348-349). Applied literally to solar and astral deities, *nūru* is, as here, also used figuratively: in the same incantation prayer, Marduk is *nūru kibrāti* “light of the world” (*KAR* 26 17; ed. Mayer, 1999). However, as George (1986, p.136) noted, the phrase *šamû rabûtu* is a rare literary expression occurring in only a very few texts, among which are the inscription of Sennacherib describing the tablet of destinies (*tuppi šīmāti*) held by the god Aššur edited by George (1986, p.134 8) and the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣsa-rabi, where it occurs in an obscure epithet describing Ninurta (Lambert, 1967, p.120 70). In l. 77' the unusual phrase is generated by scholarly explanation of the temple name. [§6.1]

78'- 79' Descending the divine hierarchy, the composition turns from the moon-god in Ur to the sun-god Šamaš in Sippar. Where Ms. a has UD-KIB-NUN<sup>ki</sup> (zimbir), the common writing of Sippar, Ms. F has the variant KIB-NUN<sup>ki</sup>. The place name does not appear to be abbreviated in this way (see *Rép.géogr.* III, pp.205-208) and the variant seems to be erroneous. *šātu* appears to be an epithet applied especially to Sippar (see CAD § 118), attested in a number of inscriptions from the Old Babylonian period. A clay nail from Ḫammurapi's reign edited by Gelb (1948, p.269 13-14) bears an inscription in which, like here, Sippar is called *āl šīātīm* (see also the inscription edited by Goetze, 1965, p.121 12). In the Standard Babylonian Erra narrative, Sippar is likewise *āl šāti* (Erra IV, 50; ed. Cagni, 1970), a line which expressly recalls the tradition of its ante-diluvian origins.

ll.78'- 79' form a couplet in which the goddess is equated with Šamaš' consort Aya. It is clear from the context that the subject of l.78' is the goddess, not Šamaš, as supposed in CAD N/II 348 (citing *KAR* 109 9). The characterisation of the goddess as *nūr šamê u eršeti ili u amēli* resembles the description in l.77' but results from very different etymological interpretation. The description is entirely apposite to identify her with Aya, a goddess who personified the early morning light, evident in her Sumerian identity, Šerida, whose name may be understood from *šērtu* ("dawn") as "Dawn Goddess" (Powell, 1989; Krebernik, 2009-2010).

Divine control of the universe by holding its cosmic bond, often expressed by *markasu*, is a topos, deployed elsewhere in this composition (see note on l.10). The motif is expressed in l.79' with the semantically related word *riksu* (as in ll.53, 15"). **[\$6.1]**

80' Dunni-sā'idi seems to have been a town not far from Babylon and evidently within its administrative sphere, as appears from an administrative document containing a list of temples in and around Babylon edited by George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.222-226. The preserved text of this document does not mention the shrine named here, but reveals that there was a temple of Gula there:

*bīt Gula ša Dunnu-sā'id* (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.224 22)

Temple of Gula of Dunnu-sā'idi

Dunni-sā'idi is thought to lie between Sippar and Babylon (see *Rép.géogr.* III p.56). This seems to be supported by this composition, which places its temple between temples of Sippar (ll.78'-79') and Babylon (l.81' ff.).

The temple named in 1.80' is the first of several temples known only from this composition. The Babylonian manuscripts Ms. a and Ms. b give the name of the deity in the temple name as Inanna (MÜŠ) where Ms. F has Ištar (<sup>d</sup>iš-tar). Ms. F contains a small error later in the line (cf. also 1.78'), where TI is written instead of the divine determinative. Its reading in 1.80' is thus not wholly reliable, and the Babylonian manuscripts are followed in the line presented.

The goddess Ulsigga is identified with Ištar in the God list An: *Anu ša amēli*:

<sup>d</sup>ul-si-ga MIN (*Ištar*) *ša šamê u eršeti* (An: *Anu ša amēli* 88; ed. Litke, 1998)

Ulsigga (Ištar) of heaven and earth

The same identification appears in a damaged section of the God list An: *Anu* ([<sup>d</sup>ul]-<sup>7</sup>sig<sup>7</sup>-ga IV 3 (ed. Litke, 1998) and elsewhere (see George, *Topog.texts*, p.222 n.4). *šamuḫtu* is the feminine form of the adjective *šamḫu* “luxuriant, lush; prosperous” (CAD Š/I 312). The verb *šamāḫu* “to flourish” (CAD Š/I 288) commonly denotes extraordinary stature and beauty, as illustrated in the description of the young Marduk’s superlative physique as *šamḫat nahnīssu* “Magnificent his stature” (*Enūma eliš* I 87).

The lexical equivalence which generates *šamuḫtu* in 1.80' also supplies *kuzbu* (1.84'), a word which commonly denotes sexual allure (CAD K 614-615). This characteristic is clearly reflected in the name of the harlot in the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic, Šamḫat (see discussion George, 2003, p.148). *šamuḫtu* in 1.80' refers to the luxuriant physical allure of Ištar, reflected also in her Sumerian name Ulsigga.      [§6.1]

81'-90' The composition turns to Babylon and its temples and shrines, commencing with the temple of Marduk, city-god of Babylon, é-sag-íl.

81' The description of Babylon (ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup>) as *nerēb ilānī(dingir)<sup>mes</sup>* is closely similar to the more extended exposition of the name in the explanatory list of the names of Babylon:

ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup> KIMIN (*Bābilu*) *nerēb masnaqti ilī(dingir)<sup>mes</sup>*

Ka-dingirra Babylon, the entrance of the mustering of the gods (*Tintir* I 22; ed. George, *Topog.Texts*)

The equation of the healing goddess with Ningirimma occurs also in l.30. The mention of Ningirimma here is unexpected, as Westenholz (*Goddesses*, p.110 n.455) observed. Ningirimma's presence in Babylon is evidenced only in two contexts known to Westenholz: the *mīs pī* and *pīt pī* rituals in the *é-kar-za-gìn-na*, the temple of Ea within the *é-sag-íl* complex, involved Ningirimma, according to inscriptions of Esarhaddon (Borger, 1956, p.89 21-24, p.91 §60 10ff.); and she is named in the New Year ritual (Thureau-Dangin, 1921b, p.142 377 380; Linssen, 2004, pp.222, 231). Ningirimma is not otherwise especially associated with Babylon. The prominence given to Ningirimma, at the outset of this passage, perhaps suggests a particular connection not known from elsewhere. **[§6.1]**

82'-85' Four lines are devoted to the temple of Marduk, framed by the name of the temple as a whole, *é-sag-íl* (l.82'), and his cella within it (l.85'). The two gates, *ká-silim-ma* (l.83') and *ká-ḫi-li-sù* (l.84'), are also coupled in the penitential composition *ludlul bēl nēmeqi*:

*ina ká-silim-ma itti Marūduk annamir*

*ina ká-ḫi-li-sù šēp Zarpanītum annabik* (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* IV 89-90; ed. Lambert, 1960, now V 52-53, ed. Oshima, 2014; reading with CAD A/I 9 *abāku* B)

In the Gate of Well-being I met with Marduk

In the Gate of Abundance I fell at the feet of Zarpanītum

The pairing of the names in the above passage and ll.83'-84' underpins George's restoration of a text known from Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian copies which lists the gates of *é-sag-íl* (*BTT* 7, 2'-3'; George, *Topog.texts* p.401).

82' Erua is a well-known name of Marduk's spouse, Zarpanītum, evidenced in a God list known from first millennium copies:

<sup>d</sup>*e-ru-ur-a* <sup>d</sup>*zar-pa-ni-tum*

<sup>d</sup>*e-ru* MIN (CT 25 35 obv.13-14// 36 obv.12-13)

(For further citations, see George, *Topog.texts*, p.336). The description *bānât rihûti* is closely similar to *bānât zēri* in l.21, where it refers to Zarpanītum. Both epithets are

scholarly realisations of the different divine names offering an interpretation of the character of the goddess. **[§6.1]**

83' *kabtu* (f. *kabittu*) is a common divine epithet (see Tallqvist, 1938, p.107; CAD K 26), which recurs in l.93'. Anšar features in divine epithets elsewhere in this composition (ll.22, 26, 38, 6''', perhaps also l.93'). Whilst the description of the goddess as esteemed by one of the most venerable of gods, *kabitti Anšar*, is entirely appropriate to proclaim her greatness, Anšar (or indeed Anu, see note on l.60') is not especially associated with *ká-silim-ma*, a gate of Marduk's cella in é-sag-íl. As elsewhere, the unexpected allusion is the result of speculative interpretation.

*tašmû* and *salîmu* (and related words) are commonly used in devotional compositions to express divine grace (for numerous example, see CAD S 102, T 374 *tešmû*). The description of the goddess as *bēlet tašmê u salîme* simultaneously interprets *ká-silim-ma* and contains the stock language of prayer. **[§6.1]**

84' Ms. a provides *bu-na-ma* where Ms. F has *mu-na-me*. Although broken, Ms. b also appears to have *b[u-na-ma]*. Ms. a's reading disposes of the supposition that *mu-na-me* represents *melammê* (so CAD E 80 *elēhu*; Z 48 *zânu*). *būnāma* is understood in the translation presented as the accusative (perhaps dual) of *būnu*, a word that both means goodness and refers to the face or outward appearance, usually referring to good looks (AHw 138b *būnu(m)* II; CAD B 320-322 *būnu* A and B). The enclitic *-ma* may add emphasis to the word; its full force is unclear. *būnāma za'nat* is parallel to *kuzba ulluḥat* in both syntax and sense, expressing a motif commonly used in praise of a goddess. An Old Babylonian hymn describes Ištar in similar terms, coupling *za'ānu* and *kuzbu*:

*šāt mēlešim ru'āmam labšat*

*za'nat inbi mīki'am u kuzbam* (Thureau-Dangin, 1925, p.172 5-6)

She is the one who thrills, clad in seductiveness

She is adorned with appeal, charm, allure

Likewise, in the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi, Gula herself speaks of being nurtured by Antu:

*uzainanni kuzbī* (Lambert, 1967, p.124 140)

She adorned me with allure

The sexual appeal of the goddess, evidently an important feature, is highlighted elsewhere in that composition (Lambert, *op.cit.*, pp. 122-124 118-125; p.126 160-167). l.84' identifies the goddess with Zarpanītum, for ká-ḫi-li-sù was the gate of Zarpanītum's cella é-dàra-an-na. Like ká-silim-ma (see **section 6.1**), ká-ḫi-li-sù was also used to refer to the cella itself (George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.393-394). It seems likely that it is so used here. [**§6.1**]

85' Ebeling (1918, p.50 15) read the name of the shrine é-è-KU-a, Marduk's cella within é-sag-īl, as é-è-umuš-a and the goddess' name, correspondingly, as <sup>d</sup>Nin-è-umuš-a (see too George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.389-390; *HMH* 1176). The unusual orthography of the shrine name, with its additional element è, occurs in Ms. a and Ms. F, but not in Ms. b. This spelling and the reading umuš (which understands KU as TÚG) can both be accounted for by the scholar's analysis of the names, reflected in the divine epithet *mušāpāt ṭēmī*. The variant reading of Ms. F *mu-šá-ba-at* is likewise understood as a writing of the participle of *šūpû(m)* "to bring forth" (see CAD A/II 203 *apû* A).

The reading umuš is not supported by all scholars. Others instead read the cella name é-tuš-a (so, for example, Borger, *MZL*, p.352). The same element occurs in a writing of Marduk's name, understood by Lambert (2013, p.152 K 4209 etc.10, a Neo-Assyrian copy of a God list) as <sup>d</sup>tuš-a (for further references see Borger, *MZL*, p.425); and in the name of Marduk's processional barge <sup>giš</sup>má-(u<sub>5</sub>)-KU-(a). The lexical list *Urra* gives the name of Marduk's barge as <sup>giš</sup>má-KU-a (*Urra* IV 306, *MSL* V p.177). Variants from Ugarit and Kuyunjik which write the final morpheme as -ša and -šá point to a reading of KU which has a final /š/ (see further George, *Topog.Texts*, p.273). The writing of the sign in forerunners of this list from Nuzi and Ras Shamra with three horizontals only ("a clear KU" Lambert, 1997, p.74) led Lambert to argue "This requires a reading tuš ..... whatever the problems of meaning". Lambert expressly gave no weight to the evidence of this l.85', terming it "untrustworthy" in view of the etymological treatment of the line presented here as l.25. This reading, and the lexical equivalence of tuš and (*w*)*ašābu(m)* evidenced in lexical lists (so, *Ea* I 141 *MSL* XIV p.184) inform the entry *matušû* "(sum. Fw.) 'Sitzboot', Prozessionsschiff v Marduk in Babilī" (AHw 1574b).

Without further evidence, the reading of the name of Marduk's cella and barge cannot be unequivocally resolved. The divine epithet in l.85', *mušāpāt ṭēmī*, undoubtedly points to the reading umuš. It cannot be ruled out that the scholar exploited the writing system to read tuš as umuš and interpret accordingly (see **section 3.2.25**). However the reading umuš, supported by the evidence from Ugarit and Kuyunjik referred to above, cannot be

lightly dismissed. Further, it seems more meaningful to understand the cella as the place from which Marduk issued his directives (*umuš/īēmu*) for the universe, as this line would suggest, rather than simply dwelt (*tuš/(w)ašābu(m)*). In *mušāpāt īēmī*, the scholar appropriates the power to proclaim such commands to his goddess, aligning his goddess to the functions of Marduk himself. The reading understood by Ebeling and George is adopted in the transliteration presented. [§6.1]

86' 1.86' identifies the goddess with Ištar of Babylon, Bēlet-Bābili. Ms. F supplies an almost complete line (only *ina* is missing); its reading is adopted here. The three manuscripts exhibit notable variety in the expression of the divine identity, rendering it <sup>d</sup>mūš tin-tir<sup>ki</sup> (Ms. a), *be-let ká-dingir-ra*<sup>ki</sup> (Ms. b) and *be-let tin-tir*<sup>ki</sup> (Ms. F). Ms. b and Ms. F are further evidence for the reading of <sup>d</sup>mūš as <sup>d</sup>nin (*bēltu*), as suggested by George, *Topog.texts*, p.307. Neither Ms. b nor Ms. F contains a divine determinative before *bēlet*, as is often the case (cf. *é-tur-kalam-ma* as *bīt* <sup>d</sup>*be-let-bābili(tin-tir)*<sup>ki</sup> *Tintir* IV 8; ed. George, *Topog.texts*). These exemplars seem to convey the title “Lady of Babylon”, rather than a divine name.

The description of a deity as the counsellor of other gods is a common topos (see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.128-129, CAD M/I 164 *māliku* for numerous examples). 1.86' (*KAR* 109 17) is cited with this meaning for *mālikat Igīgī* by both CAD M/I 164 and AHW 595a *māliktu(m)*. It is not commonly applied to Ištar, who is known for her impetuosity, rather than wise counsel. *ma-li-kāt* may be interpreted as derived from a by-form of *malkatu* “queen” (CAD M/I 166 *malkatu* B; AHW 595b), which routinely describes Ištar. Westenholz (*Goddesses*, p.110) so understood it: “queen of the Igigi-gods”. This interpretation is to be preferred, but in view of the ambiguity, the dictionaries are followed in the translation presented. [§6.1]

87' In *é-nam-ti-la*, the temple of Enlil as Bēl-mātāti in Babylon, the scholar perhaps identifies his goddess with Enlil's spouse Ninlil, identified with the healing goddess in the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi (Lambert, 1967, pp.126-128 178-187).

*bunnannû* commonly refers to the face (CAD B 317-318). *šarḫu* is a stock description used to express the nobility or magnificence of a deity, as the many examples given in CAD Š/II 61-62 illustrate (see too Tallqvist, 1938, pp.230-231). *bunnannê šarḫat* can be understood as celebrating the nobility of the goddess' features (so, citing this line as *KAR* 109 18, CAD B 319, Š/II 62). Perhaps, however, like *nabnītu*, with which it

shares lexical equivalence (*Nabnītu* I 1-2 *MSL* XVI p.50 and elsewhere), *bunnannū* alludes more generally to the deity's appearance or stature.

*inamdin bulṭu* (variant *bul[ṭ]a*), here generated by speculative interpretation, repeats the description of 1.27'. **[§6.1]**

88' The storm-god Adad, patron god of é-nam-ḫé, is termed *mudeššū* ḪÉ-GÁ[L] “provider of plenty” in a šu-īla prayer to him (BMS 21, set out in Schwemer, 2001, pp.666-667 12), reflecting his responsibility for irrigation (for Adad as *gugallu* “irrigation controller”, see Schwemer, op.cit., p.708) Adad's epithet *mudeššū* encompasses the separate descriptions of the goddess in 1.88', which serve to align the goddess with Adad's competences. The conceit that the goddess wields the patron deity's powers, deployed elsewhere in this composition, is evident here too.

Generated by interpretation of the temple name, the qualities attributed to the goddess express the perennial concern for a plentiful harvest and its divine provision. Both are common features in Mesopotamian writings, as illustrated in a gate name in the Assyrian town Dūr-Šarru-kēn which contains the same language as 1.88', *Ninlil-mudeššât-ḫišbi* “Ninlil who provides abundance” (Fuchs, 1994). **[§6.1]**

89' 1.89' relates to Gula herself in her temple in Babylon. The syntax of *petât uzni* (like the similar phrase *rapšat uzni* in 1.4) was discussed by Reiner (1984, p.178) and Wasserman (2003, pp.50,53). The expression *petû uzni* is said of many other deities (see Tallqvist, 1938, p.156; CAD P 339, U 370-371). The idiom is understood in CAD P 339 as “wise” and, similarly, at CAD N/I 34 “intelligent”, both citing this line (*KAR* 109 20). This meaning is often certain, as in a Standard Babylonian šu-īla prayer where Nabû is termed *petû uzni rapāštu* “exceedingly wise” (Nabû 4; ed. Mayer, 1976, p.476 46). The applicability of this meaning is not always so clear. A more literal translation, describing one whose “ear” is “open”, is illuminative. *petû uzni* seems apt to signify a deity who listens to a supplicant's prayers, as this goddess does (cf. 1.27' *išemme tēslīt nišī*). *petât uzni* in this line is so understood at CAD T 27 *tabīnu* “she is attentive” (see also George, *Topog.Texts*, p.331). This sense is adopted in the translation presented. The phrase may, however, simultaneously convey the goddess' attentiveness, perception, compassion and wisdom.

The strained shift in sense effected by the final phrase *nābât tabīni* is forced by the scholar's speculative interpretation of the temple name. *nābât* is rendered “she names” in CAD's citations of this line (CAD N/I 34; T 27; similarly AHW 1298b “die benennt”).

*nabû* is widely used to express the act of creation (see Lambert, 1998a). This meaning seems most fitting in l.89', as proposed by George, *Topog.texts*, p.331.

*tabīnu*, a rare word, usually refers to a shelter for shepherds and their flocks (CAD T 27). Citing this line, CAD T 27 declined to translate *tabīnu* ("the t."). The word can be readily understood as an image reflecting the protective aspect of the temple. Pastoral vocabulary (*rē'û* "shepherd", for example) is commonly used with transferred meaning to connote divine protection. The protective nature of a temple is occasionally conveyed by the temple name itself, notably exemplified in *é-gissu-bi-dùg-ga* (l.113'). The concept is evidently reflected also in *é-tùr-kalam-ma* (l.86'), a name which replicates the motif expressed by *tabīnu* here. [§6.1]

90' The temple of Ištar as Bēlet-Eanna, Lady of Uruk, concludes the section treating the temples of Babylon. As elsewhere in this composition (cf. ll.66', 68'), *šubtu* is understood in the translation presented as the "seat" or dwelling of the deity, an abode of peace (*nēhtu*). The phrase *šubat nēhti* (and the similar *šubtu nēhtu*) is commonly used to express security, widely attested in royal writings and elsewhere (see CAD N/II 150-151 *nēhtu*, *nēhu*; Š/III 182). *šubat nēhti* here may convey both tranquillity and, as in l.89', the protective nature of the temple.

*āšibat tašīlti* is supplied by Ms. F; Ms. a preserves the same phrase, save for the final sign, which is lost. The coincident evidence of the two manuscripts suggests that a reading <ina> *tašīlti* was not intended. The participle *āšib/āšibat* is commonly coupled with some physical or cosmic location, as a genitive construction (see CAD A/II 396-397); its use with an abstract noun, as here, is exceptional. The unusual expression *āšibat tašīlti* (perhaps a reduction of *āšibat šubat tašīlti*) may be intended for elevated effect (note, similarly, the unusual phrase *āšibat rubāti* l.52).

Lexical and bilingual texts evidence that *tašīltu(m)* expresses joy and festivity. A Neo-Assyrian tablet contains part of the Akkadian synonym list *malku* = *šarru* in which *uḷṣu*, *hidūtu* (both meaning "joy" CAD U-W 86, H 183) and *tašīltu* are synonymous (LTBA 2, 1 vi 13'-15'). Likewise, a commentary text on the omen series *šumma ālu* explains *gir<sub>17</sub>-zal* as *tašīlti* and *hidūti* (CT 41 29 5). In a bilingual hymn to Lammašagga, the temple name [é i-lu gi]<sub>17</sub>-zal is rendered as *bīt nigūtīm ša tašīltam malû* "house of joyous song, filled with joy" (Sjöberg, 1974, p.162 5; further restored, George, *Topog.texts*, p.317). *tašīltu* is used to signify festivity in a religious context in the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣarabi. In a passage that seems to refer to sacred marriage, the healing goddess, identified with Ninsun, declares:

*ina erēbīya tašīlāti* (Lambert, 1967, p.126 166)

When I enter, there is celebration

For further citations pertaining to festivals, see CAD T 287.

Elsewhere, *tašīltu* is attested as a characteristic of temples themselves. A Standard Babylonian šu-īla prayer to Ninurta describes é-kur as *bīt tašīlāti* (Ebeling, 1953a, p.24 16); in a writing of Nebuchadnezzar II, é-sag-īl is *šubat tašīlātum* (PBS XV 79 31), a phrase semantically similar to *āšibat tašīlti* in 1.90'. For further examples, see George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.316-318; CAD T 287. In these contexts, there seems no compelling reason to understand *tašīltu* in any different sense, notwithstanding its translation in CAD T 287 “splendor” and, similarly, AHW 1338a “etwa Pracht(entfaltung)”. The description of a temple as *bīt tašīlāti* “house of joy” can be readily understood as an allusion to its function as a place for the jubilation that accompanied religious festivals (see George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.246-247, 316-317). *tašīltu* is so understood in the translation presented. The scholar’s choice of vocabulary in 1.90' is entirely driven by the elements of the temple name. [§6.1]

91' -123' The composition turns to towns and temples known to lie in the vicinity of Babylon, or whose inclusion in these lines suggests such a location, before focussing on the great temples of Nippur. Cultic links between Babylon and nearby towns, such as Borsippa (1.91') and Kiš (1.98'), are evidenced in the first millennium (see George, 2000, p.260). The grouping of towns in this part of the composition with centres known to have close cultic ties with Babylon may evidence the extent of the cultic network centred on Babylon.

91'-92' These lines form a couplet in which the goddess is identified with the spouse of Nabû, patron deity of Borsippa, in his temple there, é-zi-da. Ninzilzille is a name of Nanāy (Stol, 1998-2001). Ebeling (1918, p.50 21) read the name as <sup>d</sup>nin-tag-tag-gúb (similarly Tallqvist, 1938, p.419; cf. AHW 1344b <sup>d</sup>nin-TAG-TAG). The reading zīl-zīl for TAG-TAG is indicated by glosses in the God list An: *Anum*:

<sup>d</sup>TAG (zi-iz-'zil')-TAG (An: *Anum* III 78 ; ed. Litke, 1998)

The reading *zīl-zīl* is supported by the reading of the final sign of the divine name in l.91' as *li/le* (for this reading and the identification of Nanāy and <sup>d</sup>*zīl-zīl/Ninzilzille* see further Lambert, 1966, p.45; Richter, 2004, p.306).

The image of Nanāy as the major goddess of Borsippa implicit in l.91' is also expressed at the outset of the bilingual syncretistic hymn to Nanāy where she declares:

*mārat Sîn telītu aḥat Šamaš talīmtu ina Barsipa ḥammāku* (Reiner, 1974, p.224 2)

I am the clever daughter of Sîn, the sister of Šamaš, in Borsippa I am head.

The same hymn associates Nanāy with *é-zi-da* (Reiner, 1974, p.227 29-30), where Nanāy is expressly identified as the wife of Nabû, rather than Tašmētum (for recent discussion of Nanāy's ascendancy over Tašmētum in the official cult of Borsippa, see Waerzeggars, 2010, p.21).

*taknû* is a noun of the *taprīs* pattern related to the meaning of the D stem of *kanû*, "show care" (CAD K 540 *kunnû*). *bēlet taknê* in the god list entry CT 25 49 r.7 is translated by CAD as "the honoured lady", giving a meaning of *kunnû* where mortals pay care to a deity. In other attestations, where the context is clearer, *taknû* imparts the essential meaning of *kunnû*, and refers to care taken, reflected in "etwa 'liebevolle Betreuung'" (AHw 1344b *teknûm*). *bēlet taknê* is consequently understood in l.91' as the lady who shows care ("compassionate"). *taknû* seems rarely to have been applied to describe animate beings. This present line (*KAR* 109 22) and the God list entry CT 25 49 r.7 account for two of the three such instances cited at CAD T 84. The unusual use of the word results from speculative interpretation of the divine name, evidently reflecting the same tradition which CT 25 49 r.7 evidences.

Ms. a contains two variants: *gašan*, where Ms. F and Ms. b use syllabic writing of *bēltu*; and the spelling *sî-qar-š[á]* (Ms. F *zikirša*; ms. b is broken). The orthography *sqr* for *zkr* is an old spelling found in texts from the Old Babylonian period, visible in spellings of verbal forms such as *i-sa-qa-ra-am* (Gilgameš OB Ishchali, George, 2003, p.264 40'); see CAD Z 16-22, AHw 1503b-1505a; GAG § 30 c). The spelling *sqr* occurs occasionally in later literary and royal compositions where, as in Ms. a, *sî-qar* appears as the construct state or bound form (see CAD Z 112-166 *zikru*). The archaising spelling would seem to be intended to impart a high literary style to the manuscript. [§6.1]

With evident reservations, Ebeling (1918, p.50 22) read "*lê'u(!) balāṭi*" "der Lebensstafel(?)" for the phrase presented here as *lê'u kitti* (<sup>giš</sup>*le-u<sub>5</sub> kitti*). The translation "tablet of life" appears in CAD L 159, citing this line (*KAR* 109 22), beside the

transliteration GIŠ.LI.U<sub>5</sub>.UM TI. It is clear that both Ebeling and CAD understood TI as a logogram for *balātu*. Where Ebeling read UM, Lambert read *kit-*. The reading *kit-ti* is put beyond doubt by Ms. a, which has a clear Neo-Babylonian KID.

The writing of *lē'u* in Ms. F that puzzled Ebeling can now be understood as <sup>giš</sup>le-u<sub>5</sub> (see CAD L 156). The three manuscripts each preserve a different writing of the word. Ms. a has a phonetic spelling <sup>giš</sup>le-'i'/u. Ms. F and Ms. b (<sup>giš</sup>le-u<sub>5</sub>-UM) contain older writings, understood as logographic writings (see CAD L 156; Borger, *MZL*, p.262 no. 85). <sup>giš</sup>le-u<sub>5</sub>-um, equated with *lē'u*, occurs in the lexical list *Urra IV 2* (*MSL V* p.151), indicating that it was believed to be a Sumerian word. The old orthography in Ms. b and Ms. F (but, unlike 1.91', not in Ms.a) again seems intended to convey a higher literary style.

The expression *lē'u kitti* (or any parallel phrase with *tuppu* rather than *lē'u*) does not appear to be otherwise attested. The concept of a “writing board (or tablet) of truth” does not appear to occur elsewhere. A related concept may occur in a Neo-Babylonian hymn to é-zi-da which describes Nabû:

*šabitma qan tuppu kittu* (Köcher, 1959, p.239 15)

He grasps the stylus of truth

What *lē'u kitti* signified is obscure. Likewise, the meaning of *inašši rēša* is unclear. *rēša nasû*, literally “to raise the head”, is found in several different idiomatic meanings (see CAD N/II 107-108), none of which clearly suits the context. The translation given in CAD L 159 “She (Bau) is checking” is an interpretation linked to the incorrect reading “tablet of life” and is unconvincing.

Nabû's role as the scribe of Marduk and bearer of the tablet of destinies is well-documented; it is encapsulated in his description in a colophon from Aššurbanipal's libraries as:

*tāmiḫ lē'i šābit qan tuppi šīmāte* (Hunger, 1968, p.102, n. 328 2)

The one who grasps the writing board, who takes hold of the stylus of destinies

For other similar descriptions, see Pomponio (1978, pp.181-182). The similarity of this and the extract from the é-zi-da hymn above to the motif of 1.92' is obvious. Here, as elsewhere in the composition, the scholar aligns his goddess, identified as é-zi-da's goddess, with the competences of Nabû, the temple's god, achieved in language that owes much to speculative interpretation. [§6.1]

93' ll.93'-94' form a couplet in which the goddess is identified with the goddess of the temple of Uraš at Dilbat. Ms. F preserves both lines, subject to a small amount of damage; Ms. b has most of l.93' and much of l.94'; Ms. a preserves only the final part of each line.

*na-bit ilānī*(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> is Ms.F's reading (so *KAR* 109 and Ebeling, 1918, p.50 24). Ms. a has only the final sign of this phrase, partly preserved, which appears to be meš, consistent with Ms. F's reading.

*nabīt* can be taken as a form derived from the adjective *nebû* "shining, bright". Both CAD N/II 148 and AHW 774b so understood *na-bit* here (*KAR* 109 24): "most brilliant of the gods". *nebû* is frequently used to describe stars and astral deities, notably Venus (dil-bad), the astral aspect of Ištar. Tallqvist (1938, p.134) too so understood *na-bit*, commenting that this line concerns "Bau (als Ištar) in Dilbat".

Ms. b may have contained a different reading. The second element of the epithet is partially broken away, leaving only the heads of the signs but the final sign does not appear to be meš. Lambert read an-šár. With this reading, *na-bit* may be understood as the construct state of the feminine verbal adjective of *nabû*, a verb whose essential meaning is "to name", and which bears a wide range of meanings. Although it is difficult to be certain of the precise nuance, *nabīt Anšar* is perhaps "the one appointed by Anšar". The identification of Anšar with Anu in some texts is noted above (see note on l.60'). Understood as Anu, the epithet points forward to the temple name in l.94'. Hence *nabīt Anšar*, if correct, has some attraction over the more prosaic *nabīt ilānī*. (See note on ll. 38 and 52 for discussion of similar phrases).

The damage to Ms. a and Ms. b makes it difficult to be confident that Ms. a read *na-bit dingir*<sup>meš</sup>, where Ms. b contained the variant *na-bit an-šár*. If this is correct, it is noteworthy that the Assyrian Ms. F and Babylonian Ms. a agree, whereas Ms. b, also Babylonian, contained a variant reading. Ms. b's variant, if it be such, would be a very rare instance of an alternative tradition evidenced in the surviving manuscripts. The text of the composition is otherwise remarkably uniform across its exemplars; the few differences between the manuscripts are matters of orthography or, very occasionally, apparent scribal error. The different readings may point to a miscopying rather than relaying a separate tradition.

*kabtu*, a common divine epithet already used in l.83', is deployed here in the phrase *kabitti māti* in speculative interpretation, whilst producing an epithet that is appropriate to praise his goddess.

[§6.1]

94' The first element of the divine name is missing in all three manuscripts. Lambert's restoration <sup>d</sup>[Nin]-é-gal seems certain. This name, with a partial Akkadian explanation, appears in the God list An: *Anum* in the retinue of Inanna/Ištar:

<sup>d</sup>Nin-é-gal *Bēlet ēkalli*(é-gal) (An: *Anum* IV 100; ed. Litke, 1998)

The goddess appears to have been identified with Inanna in literary texts in Sumerian from the Old Babylonian period (see further Richter, 2004, p.368; for Nin-é-gal (Bēlet-ēkalli) generally, see Behrens and Klein, 1998-2001; Richter, 2004, pp.368-371, 482-483). If l.93' refers to Ištar in her astral aspect, as Tallqvist (1938, p.134) thought, ll.93'-94' reflect a literary and religious tradition in which Ištar and Bēlet-ēkalli were identified. As Richter (2004, p.368) noted, however, in another tradition, evidenced in greetings formulae in two Old Babylonian letters (AbB 3 61 and TIM 1 27), Nin-é-gal and Uraš were spouses. Documents from the first millennium show that Nin-é-gal had a cult-centre in Uraš' temple in Dilbat (see Unger, 1938). l.94' appears to reflect this tradition.

Variant readings of the epithet are preserved: *mu-ṣab-bu-u* (Ms. F) and *mu-ṣab-bat* (Ms. a). Ms. F's *mu-ṣab-bu-u* suggests confusion between BAD(*bat*) and BU+U, a combination of superficially similar shape. *muṣabbât*, the construct state of the feminine participle of *ṣubbû* "observe", seems superior and Ms. a's reading is adopted here.

CAD § 227 noted that "the basic connotation of (*ṣubbû*) is suggested by the Sumerian correspondences which all stress the seeing from afar (*sù-ud*)", a view which is comprehensive. Hence *ṣubbû* can mean to look intently at all aspects, as CAD's cited attestations demonstrate.

As well as offering an interpretation of the temple name, the phrase *muṣabbât Anim* perhaps reflects a religious tradition in which Uraš is a manifestation of Anu. **[§6.1]**

95' Ms. a (obverse) and Ms. F break off with l.95'; Ms. b contains only broken traces. Most of l.95' is wholly lost, but the formulaic style of the composition in this passage strongly suggests that l.95' commenced with a place or temple name. Only the last three signs can be read securely: *ma-a-me* (Ms. F), preceded by a sign Ebeling (1918, p.50 25) read as *mar*, but which may be *-rat*, expressing a feminine ending. Mame is a mother-goddess with whom the goddess is identified in l.23. The name is usually written with a divine determinative, as in l.23 (and see Krebernik, 1993-1997, pp.504-505); its absence casts doubt on the reading.

96' Lambert's unpublished collation notes indicate that Ms. F preserves a few more broken (though illegible) traces than Ebeling showed in *KAR* 109. Ms. b supplies almost the complete line.

[*mu*]š is Lambert's restoration. *šuparruru* "to spread out" is entered in the dictionaries as an independent verb (AHw 1278b-1279a; CAD Š/III 317-318). How *šuparruru* may be analysed is controversial (see Kouwenberg, 2010, pp.340-341; Goetze, 1945, p.248; von Soden, 1950, p.331 and *GAG* § 109 e). It has been analysed as the ŠD stem of *parāru* "to be dissolved" (Huehnergard, 2011, pp.462,525). Kouwenberg (op.cit., p.341) understood *šuparruru* as a causative form, related to *naparruru* "to be dispersed" (*contra*, von Soden, 1951, p.261). Kouwenberg indicated that the participle is not attested. *mušparirrat* here now fills that gap.

*šuparruru* is found in literary texts to express, as here, the spreading of a hunting net:

*ušparrirma bēlum sapārašu ušalmīši (Enūma eliš IV 95)*

The lord spread out his hunting-net and made her entrapped

*šētu*, rather than *sapāru*, is the word used for hunting-net in l.96'. Attested from the Old Babylonian period, it appears to be an everyday word, but often used, as here, in transferred meaning as an image (CAD Š/II 340-341). Although *mušparirrat šēt zā'irī* expresses divine protection, a commonplace in devotional compositions (cf. ll.89',113'), the divine description is not itself a stock phrase. It seems certain that the epithet provides a clue to the identity of the setting. The very specific character of this epithet suggests the setting may be identified, with some confidence, as *é-sa-pàr* ("House of the Net"), rather than the temple in l.97'. *é-sa-pàr* is known as a temple of Bēlet-ēkalli "probably at Dilbat" (*HMH* 949), the same deity and town as in ll.93'-94'. This coincidence seems to confirm that l.96' indeed refers to the goddess of *é-sa-pàr*, as well as further supporting the location of *é-sa-pàr* as Dilbat.

If the identification is correct, it is to be expected that *é-sa-pàr* would be expressly named, as is typical in the composition. It seems unlikely that *é-sa-pàr* can be restored to supply the loss at the end of l.96' after *āšibat*. Only rarely does a temple name occur at the end of a line (ll.109', 121'). Further, there is perhaps not enough room for *é-sa-pàr*, certainly not preceded by *ina*, which in this manuscript (Ms. b) is consistently written syllabically. It seems likely that the concluding phrase conveyed something different (cf. l.52 *āšibat rubāti*, l.90' *āšibat tašīlti*). Following the typical pattern of l.75'ff, the temple name would be expected at the beginning of l.95'. The very slight traces that remain

there do not seem to support the restoration *i-na é-sa-pàr*. Further, it is not obvious what connection Mame (if the reading is correct) had with *é-sa-pàr*. The possibility that, rather than interpreting an expressed name, the epithet in l.96' encodes the name *é-sa-pàr* as the goddess' temple cannot be ruled out. It would be exceptional; divine names and toponyms are alluded to in this way (see **section 6.2**) but there appears to be no other instance of a temple name being so treated in the surviving text.

The proposition that the setting of ll.95'-96' is *é-sa-pàr* is hence not without difficulty.

97' *é-gal-<sup>d</sup>lamma-lugal* is known only from this line. The temple is evidently not part of the Kiš group (l.98'ff), for, in the formulaic style of this section, the place name marks the start of a passage (so, ll.75', 78', 81' etc.) It may perhaps be in Dilbat (cf. ll.83'-90' where free-standing lines in the pattern of l.97' list further temples of Babylon). Its place in these lines suggests a location within the general vicinity of Babylon (as noted in *HMH* 317).

*ešēbu* "grow luxuriantly" and its D stem with like meaning *uššubu*, used here, are rare words for which the dictionaries list few citations (CAD E 352; AHW 253b, 1555a). Mostly applied to plants, the verb is attested figuratively in a curse attached to a royal proclamation from Ugarit:

*bītu lā iššib* (Nougayrol, 1955, 76a 11)

The house shall not flourish!

In l.97' *uššubat*, the D stem fs stative is used figuratively. As elsewhere, the selection of an unusual word is driven by its lexical equivalence to serve the scholar's explanatory technique.

The obverse of Ms. a provides *-al-* in Lambert's restoration of [*ma*]-*al*-[*ki*] to complete the line, a restoration which the well-known lexical equivalence of *malku* and *šarru*(lugal) makes incontrovertible. [§6.1]

98'-107' The composition is devoted to Kiš and its environs, before turning to Kutha in l.108'. The progression is natural, given the proximity of Kiš, Ḫursag-kamma and Kutha, but may reflect some established geographical order. George (*HMH*, p.50) observed that the same sequence occurs in *HMH* TL4 12-15 and *HMH* TL6 1-27, noting that Kiš and its temples are followed by Kutha in the most common standard litanies of Babylonian cult centres.

98' Ms. b alone preserves the place name Kiš, which confirms that l.98' is to be read with what follows. Here the scholar identifies his goddess with the principal goddess of Kiš and spouse of the patron deity of Kiš, the warrior god Zababa, a goddess not named in ll.98'-100'. In the Old Babylonian period, Zababa's spouse seems to have been Ištar. Lambert (1967, p.111) noted that the two are named as chief deities of Kiš in an inscription of Samsu-iluna (YOS IX 35) and date formulae reveal that they shared a temple (Ḫammurapi 36; Samsu-iluna 22; Ammī-šaduqa 15). Later Zababa's spouse is usually Bau. The Middle Babylonian God list An: *Anum* records this:

<sup>d</sup>za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> šu

<sup>d</sup>ba-ú dam-bi-munus (An: *Anum* V 49-50; ed. Litke, 1998)

Bau, his wife

In the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi, Zababa's wife is the healing goddess in her persona as Ninigizibara (Lambert, 1967, pp.120-123 79-100). The motifs identify the goddess in l.98', and hence ll.99'-100', as Ištar, an astral deity and, in one tradition, the daughter of Sîn.

*itti Sîn*, clearly written in both exemplars as <sup>d</sup>30, seems best understood in the same way as the like phrases in ll.60'-65' ("by leave of"). Radiance is a stock attribute of the moon-god, epitomized in his description in a Standard Babylonian prayer to him:

*Sîn ilu ellu namru* (Perry, 1907, p.23 1)

Sîn, the pure and shining god

The goddess' radiance expressed in *namrat* is hence an attribute allowed to her by her father Sîn himself. *namrat itti Sîn* simultaneously serves to refer to a religious tradition as to her divine genealogy, thus perhaps portraying her radiance as an inherited characteristic, and replicates the conceit expressed by ll.60'-65' which is a recurrent motif in this composition. Save for his relationship with Ištar, Sîn does not appear to have a particular association with Kiš, as he does with Ur. It is striking that he is named here, and not in ll.75'-77' which pertain to Ur. The nature of this composition suggests that scholarly speculation underpins the line.

The final phrase is not fully preserved in either manuscript. *šaqû* is a common divine epithet (see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.229-230; CAD Š/II 17-19). The form is broken, but, in keeping with the pattern of the composition, seems likely to describe the goddess. <sup>d</sup>ma-

š[um] is Lambert's tentative restoration of the final word, partly preserved in Ms. a alone. <sup>d</sup>māšū, the word which refers to twin gods (CAD M/I 401-403), is identified in star lists with two constellations: the greater twins (probably the Gemini pair) Lugalirra and Meslamtaea, explained in one text as Sîn and Nergal; and the lesser twins Alammuš and Ningublaga (V R 46, no. 1 obv 4-7; CT 33 1 i 5-6). A further explanatory list enumerates seven such pairs (see George, *Topog.Texts*, p.366, where the texts are set out).

māšū also appears in Old Babylonian and Standard Babylonian incantations where, paired with Maštum (Ištar) and together described as the children of Sîn, it is a name of the sun god (see CAD M/I 402). If <sup>d</sup>ma-š[um] is indeed correct, an image that refers to the sun-god in parallel with moon-god seems more obvious than a reference to a constellation. Thus interpreted, l.98' would contain a rare instance of Mašum without Maštum. Understanding the goddess of ll.98'-100' as Ištar supports the identification of <sup>d</sup>ma-š[um] as the sun-god, for thus understood, Mašum and Maštum (Ištar) are together, and the apparent absence of the usual pairing is accounted for. [§6.1]

99' The exploration of Kiš' temples naturally commences with the temple of Zababa. This temple's name has often been read as é-kišib-ba (so, *RLA* II 321). Attestations of the temple name in Neo-Assyrian script demonstrate the correct reading is é-dub-ba (for further references see George, *Topog.Texts*, p.471; Borger, *MZL*, pp.349-350). This reading is further confirmed in l.99' by the epithets the scholar gives to his goddess which explore the meaning of the temple name as a storage house (é-dub-ba).

*išpikkū* is used to mean the yield or produce of the land, illustrated in the explanation of Marduk's name Enbilulu-Gugal:

*bēl hegalli tuḥdi išpikī rabūti* (*Enūma eliš* VII 65)

Lord of abundance, plenty, plentiful produce

In other texts, *išpikkū* refers to their storage containers. So, the house of a rich man is characterised by *išpikkūšu šapkū* "his storage bins piled high" (*Gilgameš* VII 159; ed. George, 2003). The editors of CAD noted that "of the two meanings ... 'storage bin or jar' is restricted to literary texts" (CAD I-J 259). *bēlet išpikkū* (the -u vowel writing the genitive plural, see George, 2003, p.440 m) is perhaps better understood to refer to receptacles, rather than their contents. The translation "mistress of the store" reflects the ambiguity of the Akkadian word.

*ganānu* “to shut in” and its D stem with like meaning are usually attested in contexts which refer to troops being encircled or confined (CAD G 40; AHW 280a/b). Kouwenberg noted the frequent use in literary texts of the D stem of verbs which are transitive in meaning in both G and D stems. Commenting that the D stem has a “stylistic affinity with such texts”, Kouwenberg (1997, pp.187-188) suggested that “This is doubtless related to its marked character: it is longer in form and less common in use; therefore, it is less ordinary and more expressive than the average G stem” (similarly *GAG* § 88 f Anm.). The phrase *muganninat ganūnu* illustrates this. The imaginative transferred use of the D stem feminine participle and its alliterative effect are deployed to elaborate on the goddess’ attributes in é-dub-ba.

In texts from the Old Babylonian period *ganūnu*, a Sumerian loan-word, is used to mean a storage place; in later texts, it appears more commonly to refer to living quarters (for examples, see CAD G 42-43). The word was perhaps selected for archaising effect.

#### [§6.1]

100’ The sacred name is damaged in both manuscripts. Sufficient remains to be confident that it is, as Lambert read, é-me-te-ur-sag, the cella of Zababa in é-dub-ba. The context and the explanation of the name realised in the description of its goddess unequivocally confirm it.

*šūluku*, Š stem of *alāku* “to go”, is used in the stative with *ana*, as here, to mean “to be fit, appropriate for” (CAD A/I 327). *šūlukat* describes the goddess herself. Its use with *simtu* has a parallel in an inscription from the reign of Nabonidus which speaks of a shrine:

*papāhi ... ša ... ana simat ilūtīšunu rabīti šūluku* (Schaudig, 2001, p.404 2.11 1 iii 13-16)

A shrine ... as befits their great divinity

*qarrādu* is a routine divine epithet, of particular application to warrior gods (see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.162-164; CAD Q 141-142). Amongst the gods charged with protecting Ḫammurapi’s laws in the epilogue to their inscription, Zababa himself is invoked as *qarrādum rabium* (CH R XXVII 81-82; ed. Borger, 1979). [§6.1]

101’-105’ The composition turns to the ancient cult-centre of Ištar in Ḫursag-kamma, the eastern city area of Kiš. Temple lists and other texts evidence that in the first millennium Ištar was seen as a manifestation of Ninlil in her temple here (see *HMH*

482). ll.102'-105' appear to reflect and confirm this. Whilst Ninlil is named (l.102'), ll.104'-105' seem to allude to Ištar as Zarpanītum and perhaps Ištar herself.

101'-103' The extended etymological speculation which spans ll.101'-103' shows that they belong together. The reading adopted in l.101' is from Ms. a, which supplies the more complete line. The beginning of l.101' is missing from both Ms. a and Ms. b. The lexical equivalences in play at the end of l.101' (preserved in Ms. a) secure Lambert's restoration [*ina ḥur*]-sag-kalam-ma. There is not enough space in either manuscript for [*ina é-ḥur*]. The determinative KI is regularly used in both manuscripts to mark toponyms (cf. ll. 93', 98'); its omission here indicates that ḥur-sag-kalam-ma is the temple itself.

*muzakkirat*, the construct state of the fs participle, is derived from *zukkuru*, the D stem of *zakāru* "to declare", which seems to have the same meaning as its G stem. It appears to be rarely attested, found mostly in Standard Babylonian literary compositions. It occurs in the weighty opening passage of the *Enūma eliš* narrative, when no god existed:

*šūma lā zukkurū* (*Enūma eliš* I 8)

Nor were called by name

For other examples, see Kouwenberg, 1997, p.235; CAD Z 21. The use of *zukkuru* here seems to mark a high literary style, bearing out Kouwenberg's observations on the literary use of such D stems (see note on l.99').

The plural *uṣurāti* is indicated by Ms. a *giš-ḥur<sup>me</sup>* (Ms. b *ú-ṣu-rat*). It is curious that this scribe writes the plural marker *meš* in un<sup>meš</sup>, the logogram which immediately follows.

Ms. a appears to have contained one further sign after *ma-ti*, largely lost, prompting Lambert's suggested restoration *ma-ti-t[an]*. *mātitān* appears to be a word attested only in Standard Babylonian and late texts. Scholars have analysed *mātitān* somewhat differently. CAD M/I 411 characterises *mātitān* as an adverb "everywhere; all countries (as collective)". Its adverbial use is clear in the penitential composition *ludlul bēl nēmeqi*:

*ayyāte epšēti šanāti mātitān* (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* II 10; ed. Oshima, 2014)

What strange deeds everywhere!

The phrase *šadī u mātitān* in l.101', if correctly restored, is attested in late texts, often in contexts referring to the produce of the land *ḥiṣib šadī u mātitān* (see CAD M/I 412). In this and similar constructions, *mātitān* is understood in AHW 633a/b as a genitive form (see also GAG § 61 q). The Akkadian synonym list *malku = šarru* I 192 (ed. Hrůša, 2010) contains the correspondence *mātitān mātāti* which appears to understand *mātitān* in similar manner.

The description of the goddess in l.101' may reflect a tradition evidenced in a šu-īla prayer where Ninlil is *ilat šīmāti* “goddess of destinies” (BMS 19 r.34). Its form and theme however are characteristic of the composition. The description is a speculative interpretation of the temple name in which the goddess, as Ninlil, is identified with the sphere of her spouse Enlil, the purveyor of destinies, who had a ziqqurat in ḥur-sag-kalam-ma (see HMM 772) and whose epithet the “Great Mountain” (see CAD Š/I 57) is echoed in the temple name. [§6.1]

102' The reading presented is from Ms. a. Ms. a preserves *mu-du-tu* where Ms. b has *mūdātum* (*mu-da-a-tum*), the feminine participle of *edūm/idūm* “know”. *mu-du-tu* is therefore understood as *mūdūtu*, an alternative form of the feminine participle (see CAD M/II 163), rather than *mūdūtu* “knowledge”. The syntax of this part of l.102' is difficult and the uncertain reading of the end of l.102' hampers understanding. *ša-da-a* appears to be accusative singular, *šadā*. Linked by the conjunction *u*, KUR must be in the same case as *šadā*. The phrase *šadā u KUR* appears to be a direct object or an accusative of respect. Where *mūdū(m)* means “knowing (something)”, this is usually expressed in construct state followed by a dependent genitive, save in fixed expressions such as *mimma šumsu* “(knowing) everything” (see CAD M/II 165-166). Ms. a's *mu-du-tu* could perhaps be explained as a writing of the construct state (CV-CV for CVC *mūdūt*) and *šadā* as a genitive singular (for similar writings see George, 2003, pp.439 g, 440 a). Ms. b's *mu-da-a-tum* may also be explained as a late writing of the construct state. An alternative approach is to understand *mūdūtu* separately (“wise,”), and *šadā u KUR* with what follows. The difficulties are not thereby resolved, for the reading of the remainder is uncertain. The generous spacing of the signs suggests that very little is lost from l.102'. The translation is given with reservations, in light of these uncertainties. [§6.1]

103' The triplet ends with a further description of the attributes of the goddess in which she is credited with the design of the mountains. Praising a deity by attributing creative powers in respect of the universe is a common topos, deployed elsewhere in this

composition (cf. ll. 5, 52'-54'). In l.103' the motif arises out of further interpretation of *ḥur-sag-kalam-ma. uṣurtu* is deployed in a different sense from its meaning in l.101', but the overall effect of the scholarly speculation in ll.101'-103' is rather repetitive.

The last sign in l.103' is perhaps *-ti*, as Lambert thought (*reš-ta-t[i]*). The CV sign may be understood as standing for a consonant alone, reading *rēštât* (for similar examples in the Kuyunjik manuscripts of the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic, see George, 2003, p.442). *rēštû* "first" can mean primordial, as well as preeminent (CAD R 274). A temporal sense seems appropriate to the creation of the landscape but, as in l.66', both nuances are implicit in the Akkadian word. [§6.1]

104' *nādinat zēri* may refer to the aspect of Ninlil in which she is characterised as the great mother, as illustrated in a bilingual prayer known from first millennium copies where she is so termed: *ummu rabītu* (Cooper, 1970, p.60 14). However *nādinat zēri* closely resembles *bānât zēri* (l.21 Zarpanītum) and *bānât riḥûti* (l.82' Erua), both identities of Iṣtar, who is identified with Ninlil in *é-ḥur-sag-kalam-ma.*

*re-e-š[u]* is Lambert's restoration; the final sign is almost wholly missing. *šuqqû* coupled with *rēšu* is an idiom which means "to pay attention; support" (CAD Š/II 23, citing mostly literary contexts; and citing this line (Ms. a), Beaulieu and Mayer, 1997, p.165). *mušaqqât rēšu* is a further example of the use of the D stem in literary context noted above (l.99'). The phrase is a fitting divine epithet which simultaneously realises the scholar's speculative interpretation. [§6.1]

105' *qarittu, lē'it ilānī* and *ilat ilāti* are drawn from stock language routinely applied to various goddesses, as demonstrated by the many examples compiled by Tallqvist (1938, pp.161-162 *qardu*, pp.115-116 *lī'û*, p.16 *iltu*); and see CAD I-J 89-90, L 160, Q 129-130. Lexical equivalences would seem to encode Ninlil's name in l.105', while the Akkadian text seems to point to Iṣtar. The warlike Iṣtar is routinely *qarittu* "heroic, valiant". In an Akkadian synonym list, they are synonymous:

*qarittu Iṣ[ta]r (malku = šarru VIII 109; ed. Hruša, 2010)*

In the Old Babylonian praise composition to Iṣtar known as the Agušaya poem, she is *qarattum Iṣtar* (Agušaya B ii 15; ed. Groneberg, 1997, p. 85). The first line of a *šu-īla* prayer, known from several duplicates, addresses her as *qarittu Iṣtar* ("Iṣtar 1" Mayer, 1976; ed. Zgoll, 2003, pp.191-203). In the Agušaya poem, she is also *lē'it ilī* (Agušaya

B ii 12,16; ed. Groneberg, 1997, p.85); and elsewhere, see CAD L 160). The description of Ištar as *ilat ilāti* occurs in the incipit of the Standard Babylonian version of the great prayer to her:

*ušallīki bēlet bēlēti ilat ilāti* (STC II pl.75:1; ed. Zgoll, 2003, p.42)

I beseech you, lady of ladies, goddess of goddesses

An earlier version of this composition from Boğazköy almost certainly contained the same phrase (see Reiner and Güterbock, 1967, p.257). Taken together, it is surely Ištar with whom the scholar identifies his goddess by these epithets. Whether the epithets are intended allusions to well-known compositions, such as those mentioned above, is uncertain. The repertoire of motifs used is too general for a conclusion to be drawn, but familiarity with great literary works, coupled with a desire to embed scholarly allusions in his composition, can be expected of so evidently erudite a scholar as this. **[§6.1]**

106'-107' The scholar's speculative interpretation of the temple name in l.106' confirms that ll.106'-107' form a couplet. *šad puluḫti* (l.106') translates é-kur-ní-zu, and may be read in apposition to it, characterising the sanctuary (cf. l.90' *šubat nēḫti*). However, with rare exceptions (as l.90'), descriptive phrases refer to the goddess. *šadû* is a common epithet of Enlil and other gods (see Tallqvist, 1938, p.221). *šad puluḫti* is perhaps here an image personifying the deity. Thus understood, the epithet, with its association with Enlil, perhaps serves to identify Ninlil as the goddess of é-kur-ní-zu in Ḫursag-kalamma (see *HMH* 690).

*sarrāti*, the plural of *sartu* (see *AHW* 1031), is preserved by Ms. a alone. The unusual plural abstract noun has been preferred by the scholar over *sarrūti* "criminals", which would have served his etymological speculation equally well. *sarrāti* was selected, perhaps, as "elevated" language.

*tanattu*, derived from *nādu* "to praise", is attested from the Old Babylonian period onwards; its plural *tanādātu* (CAD T 168, *AHW* 1318b) is used in l.107'. *ilat tanādāti* seems to convey a goddess whose praises are glorified. The same epithet appears to have been applied to Ištar (see Tallqvist, 1938, p.17; *AHW* 1318b; CAD T 169).

*arattû* is a rare word whose meaning is given in CAD A/II 238 as "excellent". In *AHW* 66a it is understood simply as the gentilic "aus Aratta". Lexical entries evidence the equivalence of *arattû* with *tanattu* and its variant *tanittu* (so, CAD T 169 note). It is

clear that here *arattû* is used as a synonym of *tanattu*. So understood, the two epithets are balanced as to syntax and meaning; and both speculatively interpret the temple name. *šarratu* is a routine divine epithet, alone or with attributive terms. *šarratu ilātim* “queen of goddesses”, a phrase with the same meaning as *šarratu ištarāti*(15)<sup>meš</sup> in l.107', describes Ištar in the Old Babylonian Agušaya poem (Agušaya B vi 12; ed. Groneberg, 1997, p.87; for further examples, see Tallqvist, 1938, p.238; CAD Š/II 74-75). The expression *šarratu ištarāti* does not appear to be attested elsewhere. The phrase and its writing suggest that the goddess here is Ištar. If *bēlet* in the phrase *bēlet arattê* may be understood to suggest Ninlil (see **section 6.1**), l.107' perhaps alludes to Ištar in her manifestation as Ninlil. *é-kur-ní-zu* may also be the later name of Ištar's temple *é-ḥur-sag-kalam-ma* (see *HMH* 690). The question arises whether ll.106'-107' reflect this. The pattern of this part of the composition (l.75'ff.) is an exposition of the goddess in different towns and sacred places. Sometimes a temple and shrines within it are treated (as in ll.82'-83'), but always, it seems, the scholar describes distinct locations, rather than the same sacred place by different names. It seems unlikely that *é-kur-ní-zu* and *ḥur-sag-kalam-ma* are one and the same in this composition. [§6.1]

108'-110' Lexical equivalences seem to relate l.108' and ll.109'-110'. Here the scholar celebrates his goddess as goddess of Kutha, the principal cult-centre of Nergal, a god of death and warfare and lord of the underworld.

108' The first word in both manuscripts is an<sup>e</sup> (*šamê* “heavens”), evidently a scribal error as to the phonetic complement *e*. an should be read dingir; *ilat*(dingir)<sup>at</sup> “goddess” (Lambert's emendation) is plainly required as a counterpart to *bēlet* (as in l.107'). Wherever preserved, *ilat* is otherwise written syllabically (*i-lat*) in both manuscripts (ll.71',105',107'). The evident corruption here suggests a common source.

The scholar celebrates his goddess as patroness of divination. Although, amongst other goddesses, the healing goddess is sometimes associated with divination (as appears in ll.10'-22'), this characteristic does not point to any obvious identification of the deity. The unusual word *šagapūru* is explained in two Akkadian synonym lists by terms signifying a warrior or hero. *malku* = *šarru* I 30 (ed. Hruša, 2010) equates it with *qarrādu*; an = *šamû*, the shorter, but similar, list known from first millennium copies from Assyria, appears to explain *šagapūru* as *git[mālu]* (LTBA 2 2 iii 3). AHW 1126b suggested that *šagapūru* may be related to *gapāru* “be superior”. *šagapūru* is attested as an epithet of deities, particularly warrior gods (see Tallqvist, 1938, p.221), and noted as

such in CAD Š/I 65. It is clear from l.108' that *šagapūru* may also apply to divine attributes, as Mayer (1994, p.112) noted, citing this line. Notwithstanding the absence of plene writing of its final vowel, *šagapūrā* is taken here as the fpl stative, the grammatically appropriate form to its subject *qarnāšu*. Preserved only in Ms. a, *qarnāšu* appear to be dual. As elsewhere in Ms. a (cf. l.74'), the masculine possessive suffix is used, rather than the feminine.

The sense of *šagapūrā qarnāšu* is obscure. *qarnu* is used of those deities who are likened to a butting animal. A Standard Babylonian hymn to Nergal, sometimes associated with the bull (see Seux, 1976, p.84 n4; Wiggermann, 1998-2001a, pp.223-224), describes him thus:

*nāš qarnī(sī)<sup>meš</sup> eddēti* (Nergal 8 3; ed. Böllenrücher, 1904)

Who bears pointed horns

*qarnu* also describes astral deities, evidently referring to their appearance (see CAD Q 137-138). Horns are a symbol of divinity, as illustrated in the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣarabi where the goddess' spouse Lugalbanda is portrayed:

*apir agâ ša qarnī karpašāti* (Lambert, 1967, p.126 171)

He wears a crown with magnificent horns

It appears that *qarnu* may be used with transferred meaning (CAD Q 140 "power"; AHW 904b "Kraft"). Whatever the image conveyed by *šagapūrā qarnāšu*, this sense may be implicit in l.108'. As elsewhere, the unusual phrase suggests that it results from scholarly speculative interpretation. [§6.1]

109' The synonym list an = *šamû* lists *tuḥdu* with *nuḥsu* and *ḥiṣbu*:

ḥé-gal *tuḥdu*

ḥé-nun-na *nuḥsu*

ma-dam *ḥiṣbu* (LTBA 2 2, col 111 61-63)

All are synonyms for abundance, often used in combination. In a Standard Babylonian *šu-īla* prayer, Marduk is:

*Marūduk bēl tuḥdi ḥegalli mušaznin nuḥsi* (BMS 12 11; in Oshima, 2011, p.356)

Marduk, lord of abundance and plenty, who provides plentiful harvest

This and many other contexts (see CAD T 122-123) make plain that *tuḥdu* very often relates to the plentiful yield of crops. The scholar speculatively interprets the temple name *é-mes-lam* to refer to vigorous growth; the resultant divine epithet expresses the topos of divine provision of abundance. l.109' replicates the motif found in l.88', generated by entirely different etymological speculation.

Although pleonastic phrases using *napharu* are common, formulated to express totality (CAD N/I 294), *naphar tuḥdi* "all-abundance" does not appear to be otherwise attested. Again the unusual phrase signals scholarly speculation. *naphar tuḥdi* encodes the name of *é-mes-lam*'s city, Kutha.

Kutha appears occasionally to be used as a name for the underworld itself. In the Akkadian composition often known as Ištar's descent to the Underworld, its gatekeeper welcomes Ištar:

*erbī bēltī Kutī(gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a)<sup>ki</sup> lirīški* (Lapinkivi, 2010, l.40)

Enter, my lady, let Kutha rejoice in you

See Lapinkivi (2010, p.57) for discussion of the identification of the underworld as Kutha in this context. Lapinkivi noted an incantation against apparitions, also from Neo-Assyrian sources, which more clearly identifies Kutha with the underworld:

*anāku ul allak ana Kutū(gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a)<sup>ki</sup> puḥur eṭemmī* (CT 23 15-22; LKA 81; in Scurlock, 2006, p.185 3)

I do not go to Kutha, assembly-place of ghosts

l.109' affords further evidence for the transferred use of Kutha, the name of Nergal's earthly abode, as a name for his kingdom of the underworld. Thus understood, the encoded toponym can be seen to be a further play on the temple name itself, which reflects Nergal's domain. **[§6.1]**

110' The sacred name, preserved identically in both manuscripts, is written *é-ùru-ama-ki*, not *é-úru-ama-ki*, a small slip by Lambert which informed *HMH* 1201 and *HMH*

1206. The unusual writing of *é-ùru-an-ki*, the ziqqurat of Kutha, as *é-ùru-ama-ki* serves the scholar's speculative interpretation.

*ama(ummu)* in *é-ùru-ama-ki* may also serve to encode the name of the goddess with whom the scholar identifies his goddess as the underworld goddess known variously as Mamma, Mammi and Mammītum (Krebernik, 1987-1990; Lambert, 1973, p.356), one of the several different goddesses known in different traditions as Nergal's spouse (see Wiggermann, 1998-2001a, pp.219-220). Some scholars distinguish this goddess from the mother-goddess Mame/Mami (see Krebernik, 1987-1990, pp.330-331). Krebernik (1993-1997, p.516) nevertheless presumed some identification with the mother-goddess' role for the underworld goddess, perhaps in relation to the stillborn. Whether they were entirely separate goddesses is unclear (see Lambert, 1973, p.357). If indeed 1.110' alludes to the underworld goddess, an association with the mother-goddess is clearly countenanced in the scholarly speculation. The goddess is depicted in the earthly world. The epithets draw on stock imagery used elsewhere in the composition (cf. ll. 24, 35 *ummu*;77' *nāširat*), derived nevertheless from speculation on the temple name. [§6.1]

111' *markas šamāmī* replicates the description found in 1.10 and 1.124', the routine epithet being an inevitable product of interpretation of the temple name. The celebration of the goddess as universal creatrix is a topos already deployed (cf. 1.24), generated by a rather different etymological analysis of *é-dim-gal-an-na*.

*é-dim-gal-an-na* is known only from this composition, thought likely to be in or near Kutha or to be a secondary cult-centre of Nergal, since this line follows the section on Kutha (so *HMH* 164). The text yields evidence to support this. First, where a toponym occurs in ll.75'-123', it almost always introduces a section (cf. ll.75' Ur, 78' Sippar and *passim*). Hence *ina Damru* (1.112') can be expected to mark a new passage, with 1.111' concluding the section relating to Kutha. Secondly, *bānīt ili u amēli* (1.111') broadly corresponds in meaning to *ummi dadmê* (1.110'). If it is correctly observed that the composition contains clues to the identity of the local goddess, *bānīt ili u amēli*, whilst generated by scholarly speculation, perhaps, like *ummi dadmê*, alludes to Nergal's spouse Mamma/Mammi/Mammītum, thus identifying *é-dim-gal-an-na* as sacred to Nergal. [§6.1]

112'-113' The composition turns to *é-gissu-bi-dùg-ga*, sanctuary of *Sîn*, located in Damru by this passage. Scholarly speculation on names, extended over two lines,

confirm ll.112'-113' to be a couplet. For the reading of 𒄩-GAR<sup>ki</sup> as du<sub>10</sub>-gar<sup>ki</sup> (Damru), see *MSL* IX p.171, 338, amending the lexical list *Urra* IV 338 (*MSL* V p.179).

*šubat nēḫti* repeats the description deployed in l.90', signifying a place of security and protection, a motif which, expressed in different ways, pervades the couplet.

*nāširat*, a common divine epithet, perhaps serves to encode in the text the names of both Sîn and his consort Ningal. The repetition of *nāširat* (used in l.110') may have poetic effect, but it illustrates the limitations inherent in a work driven by scholarly compositional techniques. **[§6.1]**

l.113' continues the topos of divine protection. It is unsurprising that in the harsh sun of Mesopotamia the word for shade, whether in Sumerian (*gissu*) or Akkadian (*šillum*), should develop the transferred meaning "protection" from an early date. In Akkadian, the image is reflected in personal names for the Old Akkadian period: *Ši-lúm-dSú-en* "In the protection of Sîn/Sîn is protection" (UET 1 11 2) refers to the protection of the patron deity of ll.112'-113'. In an Old Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh epic, even the sun-god is entreated:

*šil[am šuku[n elīya]* (OB III 221; ed. George, 2003, p.204)

Place (your) protection [over me]!

The protective aspect of a temple noted at l.89' finds perhaps its most vivid realisation in the name *é-gissu-bi-dùg-ga*, singled out by Edzard (1997, p.163) in this connection. Old Babylonian personal names *Ṭāb-šillum* "Sweet is the shade" and *Ṭāb-šillašu* "Sweet his shade" (see CAD Ṭ 28) evidence that *tāb šillaša* (l.113') expresses a common topos.

The end of l.113' is marred by damage. In Ms. b, what follows *[s]a-am-sa-a[m]* is lost. In Ms. a, there is perhaps an erasure partly overwritten by a sign Lambert read as MA after *sa-am-sa-am*, (perhaps to be read *samsamma*). Two further signs follow to complete l.113', the final sign read by Lambert as PI.

*samsammu* is a Sumerian loan word otherwise known only from lexical lists (CAD S 121). In the thematic list *Urra*, *samsammu* is evidently a bird (*mušen*):

*[za-am-za-am<sup>mušen</sup>] [šu]* (*Urra* XVIII 279 *MSL* VIII p.141, restored from a manuscript from Ugarit RS 20.32:189)

If a bird were intended in l.113', the determinative *mušen* would be expected after *samsammu*. The traces do not support *mušen*, attractive though the image would be.

In 𒀠AR-gud (Murgud), a lexical composition and commentary text from the first millennium on *Urra* (see further Frahm, 2011, pp.249-253; Veldhuis, 2014, pp.363-366), *samsammu* is explained as *lilissu*, a type of drum (CAD L 186):

urudu<sup>u</sup> za-am-za-am šu<sup>mu</sup> *lilissu* (𒀠AR-gud Recension A, II 191 *MSL* VII p.153, corrected at *MSL* VIII/2 p.141)

za-am-za-am is known from Sumerian attestations as a musical instrument, or a musical composition associated with it. In the royal hymn now known as Urnamma A, it is mentioned in a group of instruments:

tigi<sub>2</sub> a-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>r</sup>-ab gi-SU<sub>3</sub> za-am-za-am-ĝu<sub>10</sub> (Urnamma A 187; ed. Flücker-Hawker, 1999)

Flücker-Hawker (op.cit., p.133 and commentary, p.178) translates these as “My tigi- and adab- instruments, my ... flutes and my zamzam instruments”. *lilissu*, its Akkadian equivalent given by 𒀠AR-gud (Murgud), occurs in a variety of texts from the Old Akkadian period onwards. It was evidently made of copper; a number of attestations refer to its use in ritual (see CAD L 186-187). An indication of its sound is given in the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic where Gilgameš urges on Enkidu against 𒀠umbaba, guardian of the cedar forest:

[*kī*]ma *lilissu lū šapû r[igimka]* (Gilgameš IV 241; ed. George, 2003)

Let [your cry] be loud [as] a kettledrum

A meteorological omen text likens it to the thunder of the storm-god Adad:

*rigimšu kīma lilissi iddi* (Adad 11 16; ed. Virolleaud 1907-1909)

He gave out a noise like a kettledrum

Humour or irony appears to have no place elsewhere in this devotional composition; it must be supposed that the instrument (or perhaps, despite the scanty lexical evidence, a musical work) has a pleasing sound, made so by the scholar’s goddess. **[§6.1]**

114'-115' The toponym *šá-an-da-lip-úr*<sup>ki</sup> is given by Ms. a, which preserves ll. 114'-115' in full. Ms. b has the variant *šá-an-di-lip-úr*, without the marker ki. The place and

its temple *é-gu-la* are known only from these lines. Its position in this composition suggests that, like Damru, it was a town near Babylon.

*kališ* “everywhere, in every respect” is attested from the Old Akkadian period onwards, found later largely in literary or scholarly texts (see CAD K 73-74). In l.114’ it seems best understood with *puqqūši* as an adverb of respect.

*puqqu* “to heed”, a verb found only in the D and Dt stems, appears to be particularly used, as here, to mean to pay attention to the gods, illustrated by the overwhelming majority of the citations in CAD P 512-514. Kouwenberg (2010, p.278) observed that *puqqu*, in common with other D *tantum* stems “denote activities that are inherently durative or repetitive”. *puqqū*, here in 3mpl stative form, is deployed for its lexical equivalence. *kališ puqqūši* conveys the supreme and enduring authority the scholar’s goddess commands in heaven itself, a pervasive theme of the composition. **[§6.1]**

*igisû*, a Sumerian loan word, is explained in the Akkadian synonym list *malku* = *šarru* IV 234 (ed. Hrůša, 2010) as *bilat māti*, which can be understood from many contexts as a tax or imposition (see CAD I-J 41-43). *an* = *šamû* explains *igisû* as *šulmānu* “gift” (LTBA 2 2 r i 61), in a section where *ṭātu* and *tāmartu*, words for monetary gifts, are equated with *šulmānu* (LTBA 2 2 r i 61-63). *igisû* and *šulmānu* occur together, perhaps in hendiadys, in the *Enūma eliš* narrative where the gods send Marduk gifts upon his defeat of Tiāmat:

*igisê šulmānī ušābilū šunu ana šāšu* (*Enūma eliš* IV 134)

Gifts (and) presents they sent to him

This context indicates these are celebratory gifts; it seems likely that *igisû* has like meaning in l.115’.

*simakku* is a relatively unusual word, explained as *šubat ili* “abode of the god” in the list *malku* = *šarru* I 284 (ed. Hrůša, 2010). That it is a truly special term is suggested by its appearance in the key passage in *Enūma eliš* where Marduk receives kingship and the allegiance of the other gods *ina simakkīšu* “in his cella” (*Enūma eliš* V 105).

As elsewhere, l.115’ both interprets the temple name and appears to encode the name of its (otherwise unknown) goddess. **[§6.1]**

116’-117’ Like the setting of ll.114’-115’, *ša-dun-ni<sup>ki</sup>* and its temple *é-ga-ì-nun-šár-šár* are known only from ll.116’-117’. Ms. b preserves variants of both, reading <sup>uru</sup>*šá-dun-ni<sup>ki</sup>* and *é-ga-nun-na-šár-šár* respectively.

*dummuqu*, the D stem of *damāqu* “be good”, commonly has the factitive meaning of its G stem “make good”. Although *mudammeqat* “she who makes propitious” is an appropriate divine epithet, *dummuqu* usually has a direct object in this meaning (see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.82-83; CAD D 62). *dummuqu* also means “act well”, with variously nuanced meaning. Widely attested in letters and more formal documents to mean “show favour”, its application to the divine sphere is illustrated in personal names like the Old Babylonian name Ea-mudammīq “Ea shows favour” (CT 6 42 31; for this meaning of *dummuqu* see CAD D 62-63; Kouwenberg, 2010, p.273).

*nakādu* “to throb” describes the beating of the heart. It is used literally in a literary context:

*ilput libbašūma ul inakk[ud mimmāma]* (Gilgameš VIII 58; ed. George, 2003)

He felt his heart, but it was [no longer] beating

Its secondary meaning, “to worry”, is evidenced in letters from the Old Babylonian period onwards (CAD N/I 153-154). Although attested in later historical writings and inscriptions, *nakādu* does not seem to have been a literary word or applicable to deities. *mudammeqat nākidat* seems best understood to express the goddess’ gracious favour and concern. The unusual epithets suggest that they result from scholarly speculation.

#### [§6.1]

é-ga-ì-nun-šár-šár and its variant é-ga-nun-na-šár-šár reflect the use of dairy produce as offerings for divine meals, recorded elsewhere (see George, *Topog.texts*, p.398 24; CAD Š/III 149-150 *šizbu*), a use confirmed in the divine description *mālilat šizbi u ḥimēti*. é-ì-gára “House of Butterfat” (*HMH* 499) is also known as a temple of Ninigara, the goddess with whom the scholar’s goddess is expressly identified (for similarly named temples, see *HMH* 290, 500-501; for Ninigara, Cavigneaux and Krebernik, 1998-2001b).

The rare verb *malālu* is explained as *akālu* “eat” in a first millennium commentary on the omen series *šumma izbu* (Commentary 423; ed. Leichty, 1970). Extispicy texts show that *malālu* has the nuances of “consume fully, eat one’s fill” (CAD M/I 160). An Old Babylonian omen text contains the apodosis:

*šatammû ekallam imallalū* (YOS X 25 63)

The officials will eat the palace clean.

The use of *māliat* to interpret the reduplicated element of the temple name (šár-šár) confirms this nuance.

*šumuḥ rē'ūti*, the phrase in apposition to *šizbi u ḥimēti*, is not an established expression but a phrase crafted to l.117'. *šumuḥu*, a noun related to *šamāḥu* “grow luxuriantly”, also reflects the notion of abundance contained in the temple name. *rē'ūtu*, so often found in literature with transferred meaning, here refers to a shepherd's true occupation. **[§6.1]**

118'-121' In ll.118'-119' the composition turns to Marad, a town between Babylon and Nippur, and Ninurta's temple there. In ll.120'-121' two further temples are named, presumably in or near Marad, before the work turns to Larak.

118' The goddess is identified as the wife of Ninurta. Her name is not given in ll.118'-119'. Both Gula and Bau were known in tradition as Ninurta's spouse; the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi illustrates other possibilities (Nintinugga, Ninkarrak, Ungal-Nibru; Lambert, 1967, p.116 8, p.120 67, p.124 129).

For the case vowel *-û* in the construct state of participles of III-weak verbs, resulting in the form *nāšû* (rather than *nāši* or *nāš*) see *GAG* § 64 i. The masculine form *nāšû* indicates that *nāšû abūbi* refers to Ninurta. Ninurta is equated with the deluge in a god list:

*Abūb la-ab Ninurta* (CT 25 12 iii 16; cf. also An: *Anum* VI 174; ed. Litke, 1998)

For the personification of Ninurta as *abūbu*, see Tallqvist (1938, p.3). *nāšû abūbi* is an epithet which evokes Ninurta's traditional association with flooding and irrigation (see Annus, 2002, pp.123-133), as becomes clear in l.119'. **[§6.1]**

119' *napišti māti*, used here to characterise the goddess herself, appears in a *lipšur* litany from the first millennium, where it describes the Euphrates:

*Purattu lipšur* (min) *napišti māti* (Reiner, 1956, p.136 49)

May the Euphrates, the life of the land, absolve!

Elsewhere too the phrase is applied to watercourses which sustain the country and its peoples (see CAD N/I 302-303). *napišti māti* may be clearly understood here as personifying the goddess as the force sustaining the land. The epithet aligns the goddess

with the attributes of her spouse in l.118', replicating the conceit deployed elsewhere in the composition (cf. ll.85', 88' and *passim*).

*lāmidat tēm Anim*, exploits two standard themes: the inaccessibility of divine thought; and the special ability of a god to know the minds of others, illustrated in two lines from *ludlul bēl nēmeqi*:

*Marūduk mimma ina libbi ilī ibarri*

*ilu ayyumma ul ilammad tēmšu* (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* I 31-32; ed. Oshima, 2014, p.80)

Marduk sees what is in the hearts of the gods

No god can comprehend his intention

As daughter of Anu, the healing goddess is readily characterised as comprehending her father's intentions. The goddess is thus aligned with the senior deity, a recurrent motif in the composition. The somewhat abrupt shift signals that the phrase is forced by the scholar's explanatory technique. **[§6.1]**

120' é-zi-ba-ti-la, evidently in or near Marad, is known only from l.120'. Its name indicates that it was sacred to the healing goddess. A temple of the same name existed in Borsippa, which belonged to Gula (*HMH* 1234). The name under which the goddess was worshipped here is not evident from l.120'.

In the transliteration presented, *ta-ab*, the orthography of Ms. b, is preferred to *ta-bi* of Ms. a, which otherwise supplies the complete line.

In the lexical series *Erimḫuš* in which words "within the same realm of meaning" (Veldhuis, 2014, p.234) are associated, *ṣulūlu* and *ṣillu* "shade, protection" appear in consecutive lines (*Erimḫuš* II 148-149 *MSL* XVII p.34). *tāb ṣulūlša* is synonymous with *tāb ṣillaša* (l.113'), likewise expressing the goddess' protection.

*qā'išat napišti balāṭi* echoes *inamdin bulṭu* in ll.27',87', a fitting epithet for the healing goddess. The same description appears in a bilingual incantation set in a medical prescription for urinary complaints known from Neo-Assyrian sources, én<sup>d</sup>gu-la nin anta-gal [an-ú]r-ta nam-ta-é "Incantation: Gula, great lady, when you go forth from [heaven's] horizon", edited by Geller (2005, pp.90-93) and, more recently, by Böck:

*rubātu ṣīrtu qā'išat napišti balāṭi attīma* (Böck, 2014, p.84 20)

Exalted princess who bestows a life of good health, are you

The description, if not routine, appears to have been one of a palette of epithets applied to the healing goddess. In l.120' the scholar contrives to derive it from the temple name. The repetition of *napišti* (ll.119,120') is forced by the scholarly interpretation. **[§6.1]**

121' Their similarity in theme suggests that l.121' may be read with l.120' and concludes the section pertaining to Marad. *é-gašan-tin-na* is known only from l.121'. The name, coupled with the description of the goddess, leaves no doubt that its patron deity is the healing goddess herself.

*ina têša ušapšaḥ namrāša* reprises the motif deployed in l.28', *tê ša šupšuḫi*.

*asī pīša*, a predicative construction “her speech is physician”, is an unusual expression. There seem to be few parallels. In an Old Babylonian Gilgameš narrative, *Ḫuwawa* is described:

*pīšu girrumma napissu mūtum*

His speech is fire and his breath is death (OB III 111-112; ed. and translated George, 2003, and p.209 notes) **[§6.1]**

122'-123' The scholar celebrates his goddess in Larak, a town whose location is uncertain. Its position in this composition between Marad and Nippur perhaps suggests a locality west of Nippur, rather than in the vicinity of Isin, as suggested by Richter and others (Richter, 2004, p.263). Its patron deity was Pabilsag, spouse of the healing goddess (see Richter, 2004, pp.263-265).

*mubbibat* is also used as an epithet in ll.76',4" and 5". Here, as in l.5", *mubbibat* is best understood as “she who purifies”. The motif of freedom from impurity is repeated in the closing phrase, describing the goddess' seat in Larak as *šubassa ellet*. **[§6.1]**

*é-ki-ná-ša-tén-na* is known only from l.123'. Its name “House, Bedchamber which soothes the heart” surely indicates it to be sacred to both Pabilsag and his spouse. In a departure from the composition's usual format, l.123' describes the temple, not its goddess.

Whether *tanīhtu* (*tanēhtu*), “relaxation” (CAD T 171; AHW 1318b) or the rarer *tānīhtu* (*tānēhtu*), “distress” (CAD T 171; AHW 1319a), nouns in the *taprīst* pattern related to the meaning of the D stems of *nāḫu* “rest” and *anāḫu* “be tired” respectively, should be understood in the phrase *ašar ta-ni-iḫ-ti* might be in question; either sense might suit a place where the sick seek succour. Lexical correspondences drawn from the temple name make it clear that *tanīhtu/tanēhtu* “relaxation” is meant.

*qerebša* is used prepositionally, the *fs* possessive suffix apparently referring to *ašar tanīḫti* as if *tanīḫtu* alone were expressed. [§6.1]

124'-131' ll.124'-131' treat Nippur, the great cult-centre of Enlil, and its temples. This extended passage is of similar length to the section treating the great temples of Babylon (ll.81'-91'), indicating the parallel religious significance of the two cities accorded to them in this composition.

124' *dur-an-ki* is both a well-known by-name for Nippur and the name of the ancient sanctuary of Ištar there. In this composition, passages are typically introduced by a place-name (cf. 1.75' Ur, 1.78' Sippar). Consequently, *dur-an-ki* seems best understood as Nippur itself. For earliest attestation of this by-name and its later use, and discussion of its meaning, see George, *Topog.texts*, pp.261-262. The stock description *markas šamê u eršeti* renders the toponym and alludes to the tradition of Nippur's position as the centre of the universe. Thus understood, 1.124' parallels 1.81', which introduces the goddess in Babylon.

*rubūtu* is a description principally applied to Ištar, although not confined to her (see CAD R 401). It appears in the Standard Babylonian hymn to the Queen of Nippur, usually considered to celebrate Ištar (so Lambert, 1982, pp.178-179, whilst noting the "the character and identity of the Queen of Nippur are complicated subjects"). Its goddess is described as:

*taknīt Mami teliyatu rubūtu* (Lambert, 1982, p.202 III 30)

Cherished by Mami, the wise one, the queen

[§6.1]

125' The characterisation of *é-kur*, Enlil's temple in Nippur, as *bīt šīmāti* reflects Enlil's role as the purveyor of destinies (cf. 1.58'); it may perhaps specifically recall Enlil's shrine there, *du<sub>6</sub>-kù*, known as the place where destinies are determined (*HMH* 179). *bīt šīmāti* may have been a standard epithet of *é-kur*, as evident from a Standard Babylonian *šu-ila* prayer to Adad where the same description occurs (BMS 21 60, see Schwemer, 2001, p.670 10).

The end of 1.125' contained the name of the goddess with whom the scholar identifies his goddess, as evident from the divine determinative. It is partly broken away and its last sign is uncertain (Lambert conjectured *ši* or *me*). The context might suggest Ninlil,

Enlil's consort, but this is not supported by the traces; moreover Ninlil does not appear to be known elsewhere as *abrakkatu rabītu*.

*abrakkatu*, written syllabically here but elsewhere sometimes written logographically <sup>munus</sup>agrig (CAD A/I 31-32), appears in several texts as the title of a goddess. The God list An: *Anum* contains two instances:

<sup>d</sup>namma ama <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ga-ke<sub>4</sub> <sup>munus</sup>agrig zi é-kur-ke<sub>4</sub> (CT 24 20 17, in Lambert, 2013, p.418 = An: *Anum* I 27-27a; ed. Litke, 1998)

Namma, mother of Enki: the steward, life of é-kur

<sup>d</sup>en-ša-lu-lu-a <sup>munus</sup>agrig-maḥ <sup>d</sup>nina-ke<sub>4</sub> (*SpTU* III 107 63; ed von Weiher, 1988)

<sup>d</sup>en-ša-lu-lu-a: great steward of Nanše

A bilingual incantation describes Nin-ni-ga-sa (thought to be Ningublag's wife, Ninigara) as *abrakkatu* (var.-*ti*) *saniqti* “disciplined steward” (Ebeling, 1953b, p.376 43). Other compositions attribute this epithet to the healing goddess. In the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi, Ninkarrak declares:

*mārāku kallāku ḥirāku u abrakkāku* (Lambert, 1967, p.120 65)

Daughter, bride, wife and steward am I

A bilingual incantation to Ninisinna includes amongst deities identified or associated with the healing goddess:

<sup>d</sup>ama-šu-maḥ-a agrig é-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>MIN *abrakkat* é-kur (Mullo-Weir, 1929, pp.7-8 11-12)

Amašumaḥa steward of the é-kur

In a healing spell known from Neo-Assyrian copies, Ninisinna herself is agrig é-kur (var. arali) “steward of é-kur (var. underworld)” (Böck, 2014, pp.80-81 2). Ninkarrak also is termed abrig é-kur in a *lamaštu*-incantation (IV *R*<sup>2</sup> 56 ii 15; and see further CAD A/I 52). The evidence of these texts suggests that l.125' refers to a manifestation of the healing goddess; by what name is uncertain.

[§6.1]

126' Lexical equivalences allow the restoration of the end of l.126' as 'é'-[ki-ùr], probably to be read 'é'-[ki-uru<sub>12</sub>] (so George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.277-278). This was Ninlil's sanctuary in é-kur (*HMH* 636), with the consequent certainty that the scholar's goddess is here identified with Ninlil.

The phrase *ašar ḥammūtīša* is closely similar to *bīt ḥammūti*, the bedchamber of the head of household and his wife (see CAD H 69-70). In religious buildings, it is the place where the rites of divine marriage are celebrated (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.452 5'). The feminine possessive suffix on *ḥammūtīša* adds a nuance. Thus, the scholar evidently promotes his goddess above her husband to head the divine household. This conceit is entirely in keeping with the characterisation of the goddess as equal or superior to the great deities, a theme which pervades this composition.

CAD D 199 noted that *duruššu* is a purely literary word with the semantic range of *išdu(m)* "foundation" which acquired cosmological associations, probably in connection with the temple name é-ki-ùr. *duruššu* is evidently deployed for both literary effect and lexical equivalence.

*rēštū* has the same sense as in l.103', a context which also features Ninlil.

Ms. b breaks off here, containing only traces. Ms. a continues the composition for a further thirteen lines before it too breaks off. [§6.1]

127' é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> was the principal cult-centre of Enlil's son, Ninurta. Here the goddess celebrated is Ninurta's spouse, the healing goddess herself.

Often translated as "bride", *kallatu* also means daughter-in-law, as here. *kallatu* is frequently attested as a divine epithet, evoking and defining a goddess' divine relationships (see the many examples assembled by Tallqvist, 1938, pp.110-111; CAD K 81-82). The healing goddess, as Ninkarrak, is so termed in the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi (*kallāku* Lambert, 1967, p.120 65, see note on l.125'), a composition in which her role as daughter-in-law of Enlil and spouse are key themes.

*zu''uzu*, the D stem of *zâzu*, like its G stem, means "to divide, distribute" (CAD Z 82-83). Kouwenberg (1997, p.150) observed that in Standard Babylonian *zu''uzu* mostly, although not consistently, means "to distribute". *muza''izat* is so used here with a cognate noun *zīzā[ti]*, (Lambert's restoration). This noun is a very rare word. Entered in CAD Z 149-150 as *\*zīzu* C (or *\*zīztu*), and attested only in the plural (as here) "shares", only one citation is given, from the bilingual composition now known as the Exaltation of Ištar. As here, the word is used with *zu''uzu*:

*šurrû Anu Enlil u Ea uza''izû zîzâtîm* (ed. Hruška, 1969, p.484 III 50)

In the beginning, when Anu, Enlil and Ea distributed the shares

AHw 1533a regarded *zîzātu(m)* as the very rare plural of *zittu(m)*. *muza''izat zîzâtîm*, with its D stem participle, unusual vocabulary and alliteration, is evidently designed for high literary effect. The image surely reflects the distribution of lots that determine the order of the universe. The description of the goddess as *kallat Enlil*, although a topos (see CAD K 81-82), serves to align the goddess with Enlil's role in decreeing the divine order of things, just as elsewhere in the composition she is associated with the functions of other deities.

A sanctuary *é-ka-aš-bar-(ra)* "House of Decisions" appears to have been within *é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub>*. The name is known only from the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi, where the healing goddess, as Ungal-Nibru, speaks of her divine marriage with Ninurta (as Utulu):

*ēterub ana ašrīšu elli*

*ana é-šu-me-šú* (var. *é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub>*) *ša malû puluḫtu*

*ana é-ka-aš-bar bīt purussê ašar tērētu* (Lambert, 1967, p.124 126-128)

I entered his sacred place

Into *é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub>*, which is filled with terror

Into *é-ka-aš-bar*, house of decisions, place of decrees

*é-ka-aš-bar* may therefore have been a sanctuary of Gula as Ungal-Nibru (so *HMH* 544). Its name informs this present l.127' and is perhaps encoded within it. Whether the unnamed goddess of the line is indeed Ungal-Nibru is uncertain. l.127' seems to contain clues as to the deity's identity, pointing instead to Bau. [§6.1]

128'-129' ll.128'-129' are thematically linked and belong together. Both lines are closely written; perhaps one quarter of each is damaged or lost from its end. Lambert's reading *be-let* was evidently tentative.

*é-bára-dúr-gar-ra* is Ištar's sanctuary. The tradition that *é-bára-dúr-gar-ra* was given to Ištar by Enlil is recounted in the bilingual composition now known as the Exaltation of Ištar (ed. Hruška, 1969, p.489 IV B 33-44) and in the Standard Babylonian hymn to the Queen of Nippur (Lambert, 1982, pp.200-202 IV 1-15). This tradition informs ll.128'-129'.

*šubat nēḫti* repeats a phrase already deployed in l.90' and l.112'. A similar description of this temple occurs in the Exaltation of Ištar, where it is termed *šubat tanēḫtu* “peaceful abode” (ed. Hruška, 1969, p.489 IV 3 42).

*binûṭ Enlil* may perhaps refer to the sanctuary, but in this composition, it seems preferable to understand the phrase as a description of the goddess. *binûṭ Enlil* perhaps recalls a tradition in which Ištar (if it is she) is Enlil's daughter, reflected in the hymn to the Queen of Nippur, where Enlil is identified as her father (Lambert, 1982, p.198 III 60, p.204 IV 72; as are Sîn (p.198 III 71, p.202 IV 26, p.204 71) and Šamaš (p.198 III 56). *binûṭ Enlil* may reflect that, by Enlil's act, she became Queen of Nippur:

[iṭ]ḫešimma malkatuš epēša išrukši (Lambert, 1982, p.200 IV 5)

He approached her and gave (Nippur) to her to be its queen

Both allusions (in inverse order) can be seen to be expressed in the names by which the goddess is celebrated (l.129'). Ungal-Nibru (*šarrat-Nippuri* “Queen of Nippur”) reflects her sovereignty. Ninnuattim(<sup>d</sup>ninnu(50)-át-tim) incorporates Enlil's divine number 50, by which his name is sometimes written, expressly declaring the goddess to be created from Enlil (*binûṭ Enlil*).

The figurative use of *šerretu* in the imagery of leadership and control is a common topos applied to gods and rulers (see CAD § 135-136), appropriate to the Queen of Nippur, personified here as the “lead-rope”. Some expression of the universality of her dominance followed.

#### [§6.1]

130' *išittu* is translated “treasury” in almost all citations in CAD I-J 243-244. In the Akkadian synonym list *malku* = *šarru* I 271-272 (ed. Hruška, 2010) *karû* “grain-store” and *išittu* appear consecutively as explanatory terms. It seems preferable to understand *išittu* in this sense (“store-house”) in l.130', echoing the motif expressed elsewhere (cf. ll.88', 99', 109').

The closely spaced signs suggest that here too one quarter of the text is lost at the end of l.130'. See **section 6.1** for the proposed restoration n[*āširat*].

#### [§6.1]

131' The goddess named in l.131' is not known to be associated with é-ùru-sag-gá; it seems unlikely that ll.130' and 131' belong together. Whether l.131' forms a single unit or should be read with ll.132'-133', which may go together, is less certain. In its expression of geographical influence, it is perhaps thematically related to l.132'.

Ninpaningara is known from the God list An: *Anum* II 60-64 (ed. Litke, 1998) as the spouse of Paningara, the son of the mother-goddess Dingir-maḥ. Some scholars read these divine names as Panigara and Ninpanigara (so Richter, 2004), reading *nigin* as *ni<sub>9</sub>/nig<sub>6</sub>* (see *MZL* p.264 92) on the evidence of an Old Babylonian personal name <sup>d</sup>*pa-an-ni-gá-ra-še-mi* “Panigara-šemi” (Krecher, 1966, p.128). The reading *nigin* better informs the scholarly speculation at work in l.131’ and is adopted here.

God lists identify Paningara with Ninurta:

<sup>d</sup>*pa-nigin-gar-ra* MIN (*Ninurta*) (CT 25 12 r iii 12)

See further Weidner (1924/1925 p.72 9a), Lambert (2013, p.496). Ninpaningara can thus be seen to be another manifestation of Ninurta’s spouse. The name is speculatively interpreted in l.131’. The resultant description of the goddess as *bēlet naphar šīt Šamši* celebrates the geographical reach of the scholar’s goddess, entirely in keeping with the theme of the universality of her influence expounded in this part of the composition.

Like ll.128’-130’, l.131’ is quite cramped; perhaps four or five signs are lost at the end. A toponym, sacred name or some other description, perhaps in further exploration of the divine name, evidently concluded l.131’.

[§6.1]

132’ The restoration *bára-<sup>r</sup>dumu<sup>ki</sup>* (Parak-māri) was suggested by A.R.George, June 2016, private communication. Middle or late Babylonian sources indicate Parak-māri to lie in the vicinity of Nippur (see Streck, 2003-2005, p.334; *Rép.géogr.V* p.215). Its place in this composition, where it either concludes or follows the passage on Nippur, adds to this evidence. Parak-māri is known as a cult-centre of Ninurta (see Nippur Compendium, *BTT* 18 §8 28’, George, *Topog.texts*, p.447). This informs the restoration of the end of l.132’, where *nāram libbi* was surely followed by Ninurta, or one of his by-names.

*šarrat puluk dadmī* again asserts the geographical reach of the goddess’ domain, perhaps thematically linking l.132’ with l.131’. *pulukku* shares the same meaning as *kudurru* “boundary, boundary stone” (and indeed is attested on *kudurrus*, see CAD P 510), although there does not seem to be direct lexical evidence of their equivalence.

The healing goddess was frequently represented on *kudurrus* (see Asher-Greve and Westenholz, *Goddesses*, p.281; Seidl, 1989, pp.23-24) and named in curse formulae protecting them, often with Ninurta (Watanabe, 1987, pp.35-40; Paulus, 2014). In her manifestation as Nanše in the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi, the healing goddess is *bēlet*

*kudurri* “lady of the boundary stone” (Lambert, 1967, p.118 43), an epithet not unlike *šarrat puluk dadmî*. [§6.1]

133' *é-ní-gal-abzu* is known from l.133' alone. As observed on l.124', routinely in this composition, where a place-name is mentioned, it occurs at the beginning of a passage. If the scholar follows his typical pattern, ll.132'-133' belong together and *é-ní-gal-abzu* may be identified as a sanctuary in Parak-māri.

The restoration *nam-ri-[ir-r]u-šá* and the tentative reading of the last partly preserved sign as *d[a]* are Lambert's. *namrirrūša* is assured by its lexical equivalence, interpreting the temple name. A late Babylonian commentary on the omen series *Šumma izbu* explained the related word *namurratu* “splendour” by quoting a passage from the bilingual group vocabulary *Erimḫuš* which illustrates *namrirru* to be synonymous with *puluḫtu*, *šalummatu*, *melammu* and *namurratu*, all terms for the awe-inspiring aura pertaining to deities (Finkel, 2006, pp.140, 143-144).

*ta-kam-mu*, which precedes and apparently relates to *namrirrūša*, is clearly legible but its meaning is uncertain. A word which is apt to apply to *namrirrū* is required. *katāmu* “to cover”, a verb with similar root, is attested with *melammu* and its synonyms (see CAD K 301). *ta-kam-mu* is perhaps some corruption of a form from *katāmu*.

*et-mu-d[a]* is also difficult. *emēdu* “to lean on” and *etmudu* “collected” (CAD I-J 298 *itmudu*) do not yield any expected sense. The closely written signs indicate that about one quarter of l.133' is missing. [§6.1]

134'-139' The geographical focus switches to Malgium and Dadmuš. The end of ll.134'-138' is broken away. From the spacing, perhaps only a few signs are lost from each line, but restoration is not obvious. l.138' is very damaged; only traces of l.139' remain where Ms. a (reverse) breaks off.

134'-135' Malgium is treated in couplet format. *mušāpât*, occurring in l.85', is used again here, derived from identical etymological speculation. The essential meaning of *šūpû(m)* is “bring forth” (CAD A/II 203 *apû* A). *mušāpât gimri* may mean “the creatrix of everything”, a common topos appropriate to this goddess (cf. l.5). *mušāpât* in l.134' perhaps instead has a meaning related to its cognate *šūpûtu* “most splendid”, in l.135'. *mušāpât gimri* is accordingly translated here (with AHW 1459b “verherrlichen”, CDA 433 “make glorious”) as “who makes everything glorious”.

The divine marker indicates that *Šarrat é-è-an-ki* (l.135') is a name. *é-è-an-ki* is known only from l.135', "probably a variation on *é-an-ki*" (so George, *HMH* 240). It is perhaps a writing contrived for speculative interpretation (see **section 6.3**), but note George's speculation (*HMH* TL3 23' *é-x-x-[a]n-ki*, and p.42) that the temple of Ištar at Kār-Bēl-mātāti might be *é-è(UD-DU)-an-ki*, as in l.135'. The cultic calendar BRM IV 25, 24 names the goddess of Kār-Bēl-mātāti as <sup>d</sup>*bēlet(gašan)-é-an-ki*, perhaps a name for Ištar (for discussion, see *HMH* pp.32, 42). <sup>d</sup>*gašan-é-an-ki* may be read <sup>d</sup>*šarrat(gašan)-é-an-ki*, akin to the divine name in l.135' (see George, *Topog.Texts, Tintir* IV 25 pp.60, 321 for *gašan* as *šarrat* in the name *Šarrat-Larsa*). *Šarrat é-è-an-ki* is perhaps also a name for Ištar in Malgium, for *šūpūtu*, although a stock epithet (see Tallqvist, 1938, p.89; CAD Š/III 328-329) and generated here by scholarly speculation, is particularly apt to this astral deity.

The last preserved sign *i-* suggests that a finite verb may have followed. Finite verbal forms are rare in this part of the composition; a clear example occurs in l.87'. **[§6.1]**

136'-138' The name of a temple in Dadmuš, speculatively interpreted, is expected. Where this might fit in ll.136'-138' is uncertain.

*šar-[rat]* (l.136') is Lambert's restoration. It is assured by its evident play on the toponym, as well as its obvious fit. *šarrat šamāmī* is an epithet particularly appropriate to Ištar, as the Standard Babylonian hymn to the Queen of Nippur illustrates, in the explanation of her first name:

*Ninanna šarratu šamāmī* (Lambert, 1982, p.198 III 55)

Ninanna (Inanna), queen of heaven

Ištar is known to have had a temple at Dadmuš, *é-šaga-ra* "House which smites (?) the Wronged" (*HMH* 1032).

The bound form *šubat* implies that a pronominal suffix (with expected form *-sa* or *-su*, to refer to the goddess' abode) or a dependent genitive followed, with some further element to complete the line. The traces do not support *-sa* or *-su*; the spacing suggests a word-break after *šubat*. The broken sign is perhaps AN (A.R.George's suggestion). Thus read, *šubat [ilānī(dingir)<sup>meš</sup>]* might be restored, describing the heavens where the gods dwell. Equally, AN may be the marker preceding a divine name. **[§6.1]**

Qibi-dumqī is the subject of the first half of l.137', evidently followed by a description commencing with a participle. A similarly balanced phrase, with Lamassu its subject, perhaps concluded l.137'. The sense of the conclusion is elusive. [§6.1]

1''-20'' An unknown number of lines is missing where Ms. a breaks off. The reverse of Ms. F contains material so thematically and stylistically akin to ll.75'-137' that it seems certain that the composition continues. At ll.10''-12'' Ms. e supplies just a few initial signs. By ll.13''-14'' overlapping text securely identifies Ms. e as a duplicate manuscript. Ms. e preserves no more than the first half of each line. When Ms. F breaks off at l.15'', Ms. e supplies a further 19 part lines before it too breaks off.

The context of ll.1''-2'' is unclear. The geographical setting of what follows is northern Babylonia. As George (*HMH* p.42) noted, some of the towns and cities presented in l.4''ff, (Raḡana l.4'' and Ḥudādu l.6'', as well as Dadmuš l.136'), appear in association in geographical lists in II R 50 (*MSL* XI p.54 26-30) and in the bilingual word list *Antagal* (*Antagal* G 185-191 *MSL* XVII p.226), and in a geographical temple list from Khorsabad (*HMH* TL3 25'-29'). The Khorsabad list bears particular affinity to the grouping in Ms. F. The same towns and temples feature: Ešnunna, é-sikil-la (l.3''); Raḡana (l.4''); Ḥudādu, é-nun-maḡ (l.8''); Diniktu, é-gu-la (l.10''); Adab(?), é-nam-zu (l.12''); and Dēr, é-dim-gal-kalam-ma (l.14'') occur in proximate grouping in the Khorsabad list (*HMH* TL3 36', 29', 28', 27', 26', 33' respectively). This may be a natural geographic grouping of northern cities (but see note on l.11'' as to Adab). The close similarity of the listings suggests that this composition follows a scholarly tradition which these other lists too reflect.

1'' *šārikat napišti* (Lambert's reading, unpublished collation, *KAR* 109) is a topos particularly applicable to the healing goddess, closely similar to *qā'išat napišti balāti* (l.120') and *inamdīn bulṭu* (ll. 27', 87'). l.1'' (*KAR* 109 r.1) is cited at CAD Š/II 44, attributed to Ningal. There is nothing here to support this attribution.

2''-3'' Ukulla can be identified as the consort of Tišpak, as appears in the God list An: *Anum* V 273-274 (ed. Litke, 1998; see further Stol, 2014, pp.64-66, Wiggermann, 1998-2001b, p.331). Tišpak was the patron deity of Ešnunna (Stol, 2014, pp.64-66), where his temple was é-sikil-la (*HMH* 987). Hence ll.2''-3'' belong together. On the basis of these lines, Stol (op.cit., p.66) identified é-sikil-la as Ukulla's temple also.

*bānit rīti* expresses the general topos of a deity as provider used elsewhere in the composition (cf. l.109'); it is not a stock epithet. In *bānit rīti*, the scholar aligns the goddess with the competences of her spouse Tišpak, a chthonic deity associated with vegetation and growth, thus deploying a recurrent theme of the composition. The motif of a deity who watches over everything is a commonplace, reflected in the Old Babylonian personal name Ilī-ḫīṭanni “My god, watch over me” (TCL 7 10 8). Both descriptions in l.2" interpret the divine name. **[§6.1]**

*kiššu ellu* occurs also in l.67' (discussed in the note there).

Lambert's draft transliteration indicates that *lā*, clear in Ebeling's copy, is damaged and appeared doubtful. The negative *lā ma-gi-ri* “disobedient” seems demanded by *šēressa* “her punishment”. CAD Š/III 326 *šērtu* B cites this line, translating “the unsubmissive [bear] her punishment”. The temple name may resolve l.3". It seems to confirm that *lā* is correct and that, as CAD supposed, the missing verb is *našû* “bear”, regularly attested with *šērtu* (CAD N/II 108, Š/III 325-326). A stative form may be restored to complete l.3". It is doubtful that there is enough space for *na-šu-ú*, the expected writing of the 3mpl stative, *našû*. *na-ši* (3ms) is accordingly suggested here. *lā māgiri* is then understood as a ms form, *-i* commonly writing the nominative singular ending in this period. **[§6.1]**

4" *é-dadag-lál* is known only from l.4". *mubbibat ḫiṭāti* reflects the same meaning of *ubbubu*, the D stem of *ebēbu* “be clean”, as in *mubbibat kinūti* (l.76'). As Reiner noted, the same epithet occurs in the bilingual syncretistic hymn to Nanāy:

[*ina*] *Raqanan ina é-gal-ta-bi-ri Ištar mubbibat ḫiṭ[āti]*

[*šāk*] *inat nūri* (Reiner, 1974, p.230 19-20)

[In] *Raqnan, in é-gal-ta-bi-ri (I am) Ištar, who cleanses sins*

*Who sheds light*

The lexical evidence adduced by Reiner (1974, p.236; see also *HMH* p.42), which identifies *uru-ki-ág<sup>d</sup>-inanna* as *Raqnana*, secures that this passage and l.4" have common subject matter and that the use of *mubbibat ḫiṭāti* is no coincidence.

The epithets in the Nanāy hymn “imply knowledge of the name *é-dadag-lál*” (George, *HMH* 139), rather than the obscurely named *é-gal-ta-bi-ri*. Restored by Reiner, l.4" concludes *ina āl(uru) nāram(ki-ág)<sup>d</sup>[Ištar(inanna)]*. The writing of the toponym surely reveals the goddess of l.4" as *Ištar*. **[§6.1]**

5" Several of the great gods had sanctuaries whose name contains the element *du<sub>6</sub>-kù*, (see *HMH* 178-186). *é-du<sub>6</sub>-kù* is recorded in the Canonical Temple List as a temple of Ištar (*HMH* CTL 374). George (*HMH* 184) tentatively identified this temple with *du<sub>6</sub>-kù* here. This composition does not clearly place *du<sub>6</sub>-kù* of 1.5" in Raqnana, but 1l.4"-5" are linked thematically and commonly a pair of lines is devoted to a town, as occurs only a few lines later (1l.9"-10", 11' -12", 13"-14"). It seems likely that 1l.4"-5" form a couplet, set in Raqnana, and the scholar's goddess is here identified with Ištar.

*tapšuh<sub>7</sub>tu*, an abstract noun of the *taprust* pattern from *pašāhu* "to rest" (*GAG* § 56 m), appears to be attested principally in Standard Babylonian compositions. It is often specifically used to characterise sanctuaries, as here (*CAD* T 195).

The repetition of *mubbibat* (1l.4"-5") is forced by etymological speculation. In *mubbibat kala[ma]*, restored by Ebeling (1918, p.50 r.50), *mubbibat* is best understood as in *mubbibat māti* (1.122'), rather differently from its meaning in 1.4". **[§6.1]**

6"-8" The reading of KI-IB as *eššeb* and the identification of the town as *Ḫudādu* is facilitated by an entry in the two geographical lists given by George (*HMH* p.42):

[KI-I]B<sup>eš-še-eb.ki</sup> *Ḫudādu* (II R 50; *MSL* XI p.54 28)

KI<sup>eš'-še-eb</sup>IB *Ḫudādu* (*Antagal* G 190 *MSL* XVII p.226)

(See also *CAD* Ḫ 222). Ištar's temple in *Ḫudādu* was *é-nun-maḫ* (*HMH* TL3 28'). This evidence confirms that 1l.6"-8" belong together; and that the scholar again identifies his goddess with Ištar.

Ebeling (1918, pp.50-52) restored *pi-riš-[ti]* to complete 1.6", translating "ist sie Herrin der 'Erde des Geheimnisses'" "she is Lady of the 'world of mystery'". This is unconvincing: *bēlet eršeti* appears to be a complete unit of sense and grammar. Lambert conjectured that something followed *pi-riš-[ti]*. **[§6.1]**

A space precedes the first word in 1.7", which is written *mu-ni-iḫ-ḫa-ṢI* rather than *muniḫḫat* (Ebeling, 1918) and 1.7" may not be entirely sound. *nuḫḫu*, the D stem of *nāhu* "to rest", seems best understood here as "to soothe". Attested in the sense of putting the mind at rest, *nuḫḫu* also occurs in the context of healing (*CAD* N/I 148-150). In the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣsa-rabi, the healing goddess as Ninigizibara declares:

*ellu riksu simma unāḫ* (Lambert, 1967, p.120 84)

(My) clean dressing soothes the wound

Ninigizibara is depicted as merciful, *tayyāru*, as in l.7'':

*rēmēnāku gammalāku tayyārāku u[ ...]* (Lambert, 1967, p.120 88, further restored from BM 62744 and Sm 1036, identified by Lambert in manuscript note to his personal offprint)

I am compassionate, kind, merciful ...

*tayyāru* is attested principally in relation to gods; it occurs in personal names from the Old Akkadian period onwards (CAD T 60 *tajāru*). Related to *tāru* “to return”, *tayyāru* encapsulates the notion of divine relentment, central to Mesopotamian religious thought.

### [§6.1]

The celebration of the goddess’ greatness (l.8'') reflects a topos. The theme is expressed, using the same adjectives, in the great Standard Babylonian prayer to Ištar:

*ēkīam lā rabāti ēkīam lā šīrāti* (STC II pl.76 17; ed. Zgoll, 2003)

Where are you not great? Where are you not supreme?

For further examples, see Tallqvist, 1938, p.157; CAD § 210-211 and cf. l.38 *šīrat ilānī*. The comparison with princes and rulers is not a commonplace, but prompted by the temple name.

### [§6.1]

9''-10'' The identification of é-gu-la as a temple at Diniktu in the bilingual syncretistic hymn to Nanāy (Reiner, 1974, p.228 42) and in a temple list from Khorsabad (*HMH* TL3 27') confirms that ll.9''-10'' form a couplet.

*dabru* is equated with *šamru* “fierce” in the Akkadian synonym list *malku* = *šarru* I 53 (ed. Hrůša, 2010). It occurs in the *Enūma eliš* narrative in the list of monsters unleashed by Tiāmat (*ūmī dabrūti* “fierce demons” (I 143, II 29, III 33, 91). Otherwise *dabru* is scarcely attested.

*šapšu* similarly is a rare word, meriting explanation as *dannu* “strong” by the ancient commentator to the Babylonian Theodicy (Commentary obv. 16; see Oshima, 2014, p.444 43). It is used to refer to strong and resistant enemies (see CAD Š/I 481-482). *šapšu* is evidently selected to interpret the toponym.

Ebeling (1918, p.50) read the final epithet *a-ši-pat*, as in the transliteration presented here. CAD’s citations of this line (A/II 397, D 16, Š/I 482) read *āšibat Dinikti* “she dwells in Diniktu”; at A/II 397 attention is drawn to the unusual writing *a-ši-bát* which

underpins this reading. *bát* is rare in Standard Babylonian literary compositions (see von Soden and Röllig, 1991, pp.53,17\*). The reading *āšibat* has some support, for thus the toponym is fully expressed in speculative interpretation. However the toponym is well suggested by *šapšu*; and *āšibat* is written conventionally elsewhere in Ms. F (l.90' = *KAR 109 21 a-ši-bat*). *āšipat* is preferred here. This description is appropriate to the healing goddess of this composition (cf. the related word *muššipat* ll.30, 31'). **[§6.1]**

AHw 343b identified *ḥa-a-a-ṭa-at* (l.10'') as the G participle of *ḥiāṭu(m)/ḥâṭu* "watch over". This spelling of *ḥā'itāt* is unexpected; the same phrase occurs eight lines earlier written *ḥa-i-ṭa-at kullati* (l.2''). *ḥa-a-a-ṭa-at* is perhaps simply a variant spelling, displaying scribal virtuosity. Alternatively, it may be explained as having *parrās* form. The *parrās* form signifies habitual practice (*GAG* § 55 o), an intensifying sense particularly appropriate to *ḥiāṭu(m)/ḥâṭu*.

*binût é-gu-la*, like *binût Enlil* (l.128'), characterises the goddess as the creation of the sanctuary itself. Citing this line, CAD B 243 named its goddess as Ningal, an unwarranted conclusion. The patron goddesses of Diniktu are Ninkilim and the mother-goddess, Bēlet-ilī or Ninmah (see Reiner, 1974, p.235; *Rép.géogr.V* p.82). Reiner identified the goddess of é-gu-la of Diniktu as Nissaba, wife of Ḥaya. ll.9''-10'' perhaps encodes the identity of the deity. **[§6.1]**

11''-12'' UD-NUN<sup>ki</sup> is usually understood as a writing of the name of the southern Babylonian city, Adab. A composition in Sumerian reciting the exploits of Lugal-anne-mundu, king of Adab, names é-nam-zu as a sanctuary there (Güterbock, 1934, pp.41-43). As George (*HMH* p.43) noted, the inclusion of a southern city in this group of towns in a part of northern Babylonia is unexpected. This is replicated in the geographical temple list from Khorsabad (*HMH* TL3 26' if é-nam-zu there is the sanctuary named in l.11'' and Adab is to be restored, as George supposed).

The arrangement of the cities and towns traversed from l.81'ff., where they can be identified, reflects their geographic proximity to each other. Notwithstanding the coincidence of the temple name, it seems improbable that UD-NUN<sup>ki</sup> in l.11'' is to be identified with the southern city Adab. Without other firm evidence, the question remains open.

nam-tar is perhaps a logographic writing, since the construct state of *namtaru* is rarely attested (CAD N/II 247). If so, the deity's first epithet is perhaps *šīmat ma-al-ki* rather than *namtar ma-al-ki*. The unusual epithet is forced by scholarly speculation. **[§6.1]**

On the evidence of Ms. F, the goddess of ll.11"-12" appears to be named as Ninlil (<sup>d</sup>nin-líl), not otherwise known to be associated with é-nam-zu. The Babylonian Ms. e partly preserves the variant <sup>d</sup>en-líl[<sup>a</sup>]ṫ (Lambert's restoration), a writing of the noun *illilatu* "goddess of the highest rank", an accolade designating its goddess as supreme (CAD I-J 85; AHw 203b *Ellil(l)la/ītu*).

According to CAD, *illilatu* may also be written by <sup>d</sup>nin-líl. CAD's evidence for this appears to be this line in Ms. F, CAD comparing the phrase <sup>d</sup>en-líl *nišī(un)*<sup>meš</sup> with <sup>d</sup>nin-líl *nišī(un)*<sup>meš</sup>. Ms. e's variant reading (not cited by CAD) suggests that this may be correct. The phrase <sup>d</sup>en-líl *nišī(un)*<sup>meš</sup> appears to be attested only in an incantation in a namburbi ritual, where Ištar is addressed as:

*ellil*(<sup>d</sup>en-líl)-*at nišī(un)*<sup>meš</sup> *ilat zikkarī* (Ebeling, 1955, p.180, 15).

Supreme goddess of the people, goddess of men

(The citation in CAD I-J 85 *illilatu* is to the same text.)

Ms. F's clear reading is adopted rather than Ms. e's damaged reading. However Ms. e's reading is perhaps superior. The celebration of the composition's goddess as a deity of highest rank is appropriate; and perhaps Ms. F indeed presents a writing of *illilatu*.

If the goddess of ll.11"-12" is not Ninlil, the identity of the deity needs to be sought. é-nam-zu is known to be sacred to the mother-goddess Bēlet-ilī (*HMH* 855, discounting the reference there to *KAR* 109 r.12). ll.11"-12" may perhaps encode her identity. [§6.1]

13"-14" The geographical focus turns eastwards to Dēr, where the goddess is equated with Šarrat-Dēri, spouse of Ištarān, patron deity of Dēr.

The unusual word *šippātu* is explained by *kirû* "garden" in the Akkadian synonym list *malku* = *šarru* II 118 (ed. Hrůša, 2010). The formal meaning of *šippātu* is perhaps "rows", lines of planting collectively understood in the dictionaries as a garden or orchard (see Mayer, 2003, pp.382-389; Hrůša, 2010, p.217). Two readings of the word preceding *šippātu* are possible: *bi-šit* and *bi-rit*. Lambert's draft transliteration of Ms. F indicates that the word is written with an unexpected small single upright between the two signs, apparently in error. Corruption (perhaps of *be-let*?) might be suspected, but the same word is preserved in both Ms. F and Ms. e.

*bišit šippāti* might mean "the yield of the orchard" (see CAD B 269 *bišimtu*). However there does not appear to be any lexical or bilingual equation exploited in l.13" to point to *bišimtu*. Likewise, *birītu* has no obvious lexical equivalence used here. The more

common word *birīt* “among” provides a less strained meaning and is accordingly adopted here.

With *bīssa gašrat*, compare *šubassa gašrat* (l.68).

The image *markas māti* parallels like expressions with *markasu* or *riksu* found in ll.10, 53',79',111' (where some of the same speculative etymology is deployed), 124' and 15". For the “bond” of the land as a description applied to the deity herself, see l.53'.

Ms. e evidently contained syllabic writing *m[a-(a)-ti]* where Ms. F has *kur*. Ms. F supplies the remainder of l.14". *tēliltum* is used from the Old Babylonian period onwards for purification rites (CAD T 328-329). If *te-lil-ti* is indeed the genitive of *tēliltum* here, some preceding word is missing, perhaps a participle (as in *Enūma eliš* VII 19 *mukīl tēlilti* “who maintains purification rites”), or a noun. The explanatory God list CT 25 49 r.1 (see Lambert, 2013, p.432) describes Ningirrimma as *bēlet tēlilti* “mistress of purification rites”. This solution is adopted here, but is not entirely satisfactory, since neither word appears to interpret a sacred name or toponym, as would be expected. The writing error in l.13" and the apparent omission from l.14" point to something amiss. Perhaps, rather than *tēlilti*, *telīti* (for *telītu*) was intended as a simple accolade of the goddess. The case ending in *-i* for the nominative singular is a common writing in first millennium manuscripts (see George, 2003, p.439). LIL does not appear to have a reading of *li<sub>x</sub>* (see Borger, 1971b, p.66 and Mayer, 1976, p.449 on the reading *li<sub>x</sub>* in CAD B 126 *bāru*); perhaps l.14" evidences otherwise.

*telītu* is a divine epithet usually, but not exclusively, applied to Ištar (see Tallqvist, 1938, pp.115-116; CAD T 327-328; AHW 1345a). *telītu* is sometimes written AN-ZÍB (see CAD T 327-328). In this composition *telītu*(AN-ZÍB) might perhaps allude to *birīt šippāti* (l.13"), placing the goddess (AN/dingir) in the orchards (*šip*(ZIB)-*pa-ti*). This coincidence lends support to the possibility that *telītu*, not *tēliltu*, was intended.

*kidinnu* is a term for a symbol conferring divine protection and divine protection itself. In l.14" the goddess herself is credited with placing the mark which confers her protection. CAD K 343 cited this line (*KAR* 109 r.14) as an atypical context in which *kidinnu* occurs. In this composition, this is invariably a tell-tale indicator of scholarly speculation, as is indeed the case.

#### [§6.1]

14"-15" A ruling follows l.14" in Ms. F. Ms. F contains one further line only before it breaks off. Westenholz (*Goddesses*, p.109) described l.15" as the “final line or subscript” of the hymn set out in *KAR* 109, speculating that it “could be the incipit of another poem”. Ms. e now resolves the position. There is no ruling in Ms. e between

ll.14"-15". Although only partly preserved, ll.16"-19" contain material thematically and stylistically the same as the preceding text presented. It seems certain that Ms. e, at least on its obverse, continues the composition.

*kanūtu* is listed in AHW 441a as the verbal adjective of *kanû* "care for". It appears to be exclusively attested as an epithet of goddesses or sanctuaries (see CAD K 171-172, compared there with the D stem *kunnû* (CAD K 540-542) "treat kindly, honour"; Tallqvist, 1938, p.112). *kanūtu* is equated with *iltum* "goddess" in a lexical list (CT 25 18 ii 15), perhaps indicating *kanūtu* to be akin to a divine honorific title. Both manuscripts have *ka-nu-ut*, rendered by some scholars with a final vowel *-u* (AHW 441a "ka-nu-tu"; CAD A/I 128 *adnātu* "kanûtu"; Westenholz, *Goddesses*, p.109 "kanûtu"). Although writings of CV for VC and *vice versa* are not uncommon in first millennium manuscripts (see George, 2003, pp.350, 438), the coincident orthography of the two manuscripts suggests that *kanūt* is the intended form. Any possibility that *kanūt Bau* directly addresses the goddess seems ruled out by the 3fs form *āširat* in l.17", continuing the pattern set in preceding lines.

The syntax of l.15" is unusual. Westenholz (*Goddesses*, p.109) rendered the line:

*kanûtu BaU kullat adnāti rikis māti*

"Beloved Bau, for all men, the bond of the land"

(Similarly, see CAD A/I 128 *adnātu*.) *kullat adnāti* is thus understood as a preposed genitive. This seems strained. *kanūt*, if correctly read, is the construct state, on which the phrase *kullat adnāti* might naturally depend: "beloved of all the world". However, as a general rule, the dependent genitive must directly follow the governing construct state. The interpolation of *Bau* in the genitive chain does not fall within any of the exceptions outlined by von Soden (*GAG* § 135 c).

The phrase *kanūt Bau* is itself an inversion of the normal prose order of noun and adjective, for evident effect. The device is a feature of literary style, as illustrated by the examples from the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš epic and its antecedents given by George (2003, pp.434-435). George (2003, p.435) assembled examples of the dislocation of normal prose order. Whilst none of these is directly analogous to provide an instance of the breaking of the genitive construction, a number of George's examples involve a name.

The normal syntactical order is strikingly dislocated in the Standard Babylonian version of the Atra-ḥasīs narrative from Sippar, as given by its editors:

ʿAllaʿ Enlil iṭbuḥūšu maḥrītim

“Alla they slaughtered, an Enlil of old(!?)” (George and Al-Rawi, 1996, pp.170-171 104)

George and Al-Rawi (p.187) suggest that “If ... not simply corrupt, ... (the disorder) is intended to highlight the shocking deed retailed”, citing, as a parallel, lines in the *Enūma eliš* narrative relating Marduk’s birth, where an adjective is introduced into a genitive construction:

*ina qereb Apsî ibbani [Ma]rūtuk*

*ina qereb elli(kù) Apsî(abzu) ibbani Marūtuk (Enūma eliš I 81-82)*

In Apsû Marduk was created

In pure Apsû Marduk was created

Both extracts involve proper names. Although not directly comparable with the opening of l.15”, the phrase *ina qereb elli Apsî* above is most closely analogous to it. It is, then, perhaps the case that there is greater licence where names are involved. Perhaps phrases such as *kanūt Bau* and *elli Apsî* may be treated as combined units; and hence, notwithstanding the transposition of name and its adjective, it is permissible to understand l.15” as “Bau, beloved of all the world”.

It seems that the scholar here names Bau as the goddess of his composition. For discussion of the reading of the divine name, see Marchesi (2002), Richter (2004, pp.118-119) and, more recently, Rubio (2010, pp.36-39). [§6.1]

16”-17” The temple of l.16” is the temple *HMH* 1171 (é-ul-šár-me-šu-du<sub>7</sub>). The reading é-ul-ḥé-me-šu-du<sub>7</sub> (ḥé, not ḥe reading šár) is clear. It is known only from this composition. Whether (continuing the context of ll.13”-15”) it was a sanctuary of Bau at Dēr, as George tentatively suggested (*HMH* 1171), is not clear. Lexical equivalences may relate ll. 15”-16”, as well as ll.16”-17”.

*āširat* repeats a description deployed in l.31’. *ašāru* “organise” is required here; see **sections 3.2.14 and 6.2** for discussion. ʿasʿ-mat is Lambert’s secure restoration, speculatively interpreting é-ul-ḥé-me-šu-du<sub>7</sub>. [§6.1]

18” é-maḥ is the name of a number of temples, sacred to different deities (see *HMH* 713-730). The coincidence between the towns mentioned in l.6”ff. and some of the places listed in a geographical temple list from Khorsabad (*HMH* TL3 26’ff.) makes it

likely that *é-maḥ* is here one of Ištar's temples in that list (ll.30', 39'), as indicated by George (*HMH* 726).

It seems unlikely that ll. 18''-19'' are to be read together to place *é-maḥ* in Karkara; toponyms typically commence a passage in this composition, marking a shift in location. Whether *é-maḥ* may be safely understood as in the vicinity of Dēr (so, *HMH* 726) is uncertain.

A broken sign precedes *šik-n[a-at]* (Lambert's restoration). Too little remains to determine the sense intended.

19'' For the reading of IM<sup>ki</sup> as Karkara, see *Rép.géogr.* V 156. Karkara is known as the cult-centre of the storm-god Adad (Schwemer, 2001, pp.136-140, 367). It seems likely that, like Nanāy in the bilingual syncretistic hymn to her (Reiner, 1974, p.227 36-37), the goddess of this composition is identified here with Adad's consort Šala in his temple *é-u<sub>4</sub>-gal-gal* (*HMH* 130). Lambert conjectured that what followed the toponym might be *a-[ša]r*, if correct, probably introducing a description characterising Karkara. The rest of l.19'' is lost. The remaining traces before Ms. e breaks off suggest that l.20'' commenced with a divine name. An unknown number of lines is missing.

1'''ff. The reverse of Ms. e is rather fragmentary. Even where half a line or more is preserved (4'''ff.), there is not enough to give the intended meaning. Enough survives to be fairly confident that the text is not characterised by the exposition of sacred names and toponyms which marks the composition duplicated by the obverse. The question arises whether Ms. e reverse continues the composition.

Sufficient remains to determine that the text is a religious composition in praise of a goddess (evidenced by feminine forms in l.6''' *kanūt* and l.8''' *ina balīša*), celebrating her in different spheres and different places, like the composition of the other manuscripts. The contexts presented differ from those previously seen, except perhaps for ll.8'''-9''' which, like ll.1'-7' appear to have a pastoral setting. The new material is not so different in character as to indicate some new composition.

Insofar as can be judged, part of ll.1'''-15''' is akin to the more discursive, descriptive passages at ll.42ff., 1'-23' and 51'-56'. One feature which occurs twice in this brief passage is particularly significant. The phrases *itti Erra* (l.4'''), *itti Lugalnirgal* (l.7'''), replicate the stylistic device deployed at ll.60'-65' and 98', where the goddess of the composition is portrayed as exercising her powers by leave of (*itti*) their patron deity.

This key motif, expressed by the same somewhat unusual use of *itti*, seems to confirm that this passage and the composition of the other manuscripts are the same work.

Thus there are good reasons to suppose that the reverse of Ms. e continues its obverse, and hence the Gula hymn; conversely, there does not appear to be any compelling feature to suggest otherwise.

1'''-4''' <sup>rd</sup>ša[r-rat] is Lambert's conjectured reading of all that remains of 1.1'''; if correct, evidently part of the goddess' name or title. Some governing noun or participle presumably preceded *tāhāzi* (1.2'''), forming a phrase describing the goddess. A space follows, suggesting that only a few further signs are missing. By contrast, ll.3'''-4''' are closely written and more is lost. The reading of 1.3''' is uncertain. GIŠGAL is a relatively rare sign, most commonly read as gāl or qāl, to write *qallu* "light, slight" (CAD Q 62-64), which has no clear relevance here. As Lambert noted, (reflected in the transliteration here), the Neo-Babylonian sign which follows could be KID or É, both capable of various readings. In this composition, é usually reads *bītu*, as the first element in a temple name. 1.3''' does not contain a known sacred name to substantiate é *bītu*. The context indicated by ll.2''' and 4''' supports the reading of what follows as *qašta* (<sup>giš</sup>pan), given here in accusative form since *iš*-[ suggests that a 3s finite verb follows.

ll.2'''-3''', it seems, depicted the goddess as a violent deity, for enough is preserved to be confident that 1.4''' celebrates the goddess as having power in the special sphere of Erra, god of war and pestilence, with his authority (*itti Erra*). *šaggaštu* "slaughter" is explained as *qablu* "battle" in a Neo-Assyrian version of the synonym list *malku* = *šarru* (LTBA 2 1 col. 4 53') and in the similar shorter list an = *šamû* (LTBA 2 2 col. 2 47). As an attribute of Erra, *šaggaštu* is found in combination with *šibtu* "plague" (see CAD Š/I 69). It seems from the template oracular enquiry in an Old Babylonian *tamītu* that *šaggaštu* might be especially understood in that context:

*ina amāt šibti šaggašti Err[a]* (Lambert, 2007, p.36 No.1 243)

From the matter of plague, Erra's slaughter

ll.2'''-4''' perhaps points to a primary context of battle, rather than disease. The capacity to inflict illness is a facet of the healing goddess, well known from the curse formulae protecting *kudurrus* (Watanabe, 1987, pp.35-40; Paulus, 2014). An association with Erra's destructive powers is hence particularly apposite to the healing goddess and may lie behind 1.4'''.

5''' The first sign is almost wholly lost. [*š*]i-i-ma (Lambert's restoration) perhaps marks a contrastive switch of subject. *šīma Narudu* may perhaps be a verbless construction "But she is Narudu". A space follows the divine name, suggesting that only a few further signs are lost.

The goddess Narudu is first known from Elam (Koch, 1998-2001, p.180 Narunde). She appears in the God list An: *Anum* preceded by seven Elamite deities and described as *aḥassunu* "their sister" (VI 176-184a; ed. Litke, 1998). Her geographical sphere is undoubtedly significant within this composition. The mention of an Elamite goddess suggests the goddess' place and influence in the east, thus continuing the theme of the universality of the reach of the composition's goddess.

6''' *kanūt Anšar* repeats the epithet *kanūtu* deployed in l.15'' (see note). The loss of the ends of ll.5'''-7''' makes it uncertain whether l.6''' should be read with either adjacent line. The mention of another deity in l.7''' makes it less likely that ll.6'''-7''' belong together.

7'''-9''' <sup>d</sup>lugal-nir-gál is a name of Ningirsu in the God list An: *Anum* II 281 (ed. Litke, 1998). The setting of l.8''' is agricultural. Accordingly, it seems that the context of ll.7'''-9''', and perhaps l.10'', is Ningirsu's association with cultivation and irrigation (see Streck, 1998-2001, p.516 §6.2). A Standard Babylonian incantation reflects this role in a passage addressed to the primordial god Enmešarra in language which seems similar to ll.7'''-9''' and may conceivably have informed this passage:

*bēlu rabû ša ina balīšu Ningirsu īka u palgi*

*lā ušteššeru lā ibannû abšenna* (ABRT II 13 r 4-5; Livingstone, 1986, p.164)

Great lord, without whom Ningirsu cannot keep dyke and canal in order, cannot make furrow

It appears that the scholar again deploys the device of attributing to his goddess another god's divine sphere, her competence in which derives from the patron deity (*itti Lugalnirgal*). The conceit that the goddess equals or surpasses the patron deity in his particular area is integral to this motif (see ll.60'-65'). In l.9''' her indispensability in Ningirsu's sphere is explicit: *ina balīša* "without her".

An earlier passage (ll.1'-7') appears to depict the goddess in an agricultural setting. The healing goddess, manifested as Nanše, likewise is associated with farming and

ploughing (as in 1.8'') in the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi, where she is described as *petât šir'i* "She who opens the furrow" (Lambert, 1967, p.118 35). 1.9'' may have contained a similar image. The feminine noun *šir'u*, in plural form, would fit well with the fpl N stem form *ippetâ*. The fragmentary sign which follows *ippetâ* is perhaps *š[ir]*; *š[ir'ātu]* could be tentatively restored.

*petû* "to open" is also commonly used of the opening of canals and water-sources (CAD P 346-347, 356-357). A number of the words for watercourses and the like are feminine (e.g. *miṭirtu* "canal", *rātu* "channel") or have fpl forms (*kuppu* "water-source"). Support for understanding 1.9'' in this sense is perhaps given by 1.10''. The phrase *ša ḥarrānšunu Igīgī* does not appear to be an established expression. The extended meanings of *ḥarrānu* "road" include the compulsory labour often translated as "corvée-work" (CAD H 112). *dullu* "trouble, work" appears to have the same meaning (CAD D 173), although there does not appear to be lexical evidence of the equivalence of *ḥarrānu* and *dullu*. *dullum* is the word repeatedly used for the forced labour of the Igigi gods in the Old Babylonian Atram-ḥasīs narrative:

*rabûtum Anunnakkū sibittam*

*dullum ušazbalū Igīgī* (Atra-ḥasīs I 5-6; ed. Lambert and Millard, 1969, p.42)

The seven great Anunnakki

Were making the Igigi bear the work

The Standard Babylonian version from Sippar best preserves the nature of their toil:

*iḥerrûni / miṭrata ilī napišti māti* (George and Al-Rawi, 1996, p.158 21-22)

.... they were digging, The watercourse of the gods, life of the land

Informed by the context of Ningirsu's role in irrigation, it may be that this is what is meant by *ḥarrānšunu Igīgī*. However, *ḥarrānu* is sometimes used to refer to the paths of astral deities and other heavenly bodies in the sky (CAD H 108-109). It may have this sense here. The perceived importance of stars in agriculture is reflected in the same passage of the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi mentioned above, where Nanše is:

*rū'umat kakkabāni idāt erēši* (Lambert, 1967, p.118 37)

Beloved of the stars, the signs for ploughing

11''' *nēreb ganš[ir]* (Lambert's restoration) sets the context as the underworld. *nērebu* is explained by *bābu* "gate" in the synonym list *malku* = *šarru* I 251 (ed. Hrůša, 2010). The bilingual word list *Antagal* gives its cosmological meaning as the gateway to the underworld:

ki-ùr-ra *nēreb eršetim(ki)*<sup>tim</sup> (*Antagal* G 22 *MSL* XVII p.221)

ki-ùr-ra Entrance of the underworld

Lexical texts evidence the Sumerian word *ganzir* as a name for the underworld and its entrance (see Horowitz, 2011, p.269 for the group vocabulary CT 51 168 iv 70, *Diri* II 150-154 *MSL* XV p.126; *Diri* Nippur 140, *Diri* Ugarit I 393, 397 at *MSL* XV pp.16, 74 respectively). For *ganzir* in Sumerian literary texts, see George (1986, p.136 5) and Horowitz (2011, pp.287-288). In l.11''' *Ganšir* evidently denotes the underworld itself. *ganšir* (CAD G 43 *ganzir*) is very rarely attested in Akkadian. It occurs in a cylinder of Nabopolassar (Al-Rawi, 1985, p.4 ii 15, p.7) and a Sennacherib inscription (George, 1986, p.133 B 5); in a composition relating the aftermath of a battle between gods, known from late Babylonian copies (Lambert, 2013, p.328 12); and, as noted by Lambert (2013, p.524 23), in a bilingual hymn known from a late manuscript (Reisner, 1896, p.146 V 31). In each case it is written *ga-an-šir*, as here. To these, this line can now be added. For discussion of the uncertain etymology of the name *ganšir*, see George (1986, p.136 5).

12''' The setting also appears to be the underworld, supporting Lambert's restoration *Ganš[ir]* (l.11'''). Who is meant by *malkī šūt eršeti* is obscure. *malku* is attested in Old Babylonian omen texts, documents from Mari, and Standard Babylonian literary texts in contexts where it has been understood to refer to chthonic deities or demons (see CAD M/I 168-169 *malku* B). Mortal rulers and legendary kings are also to be found in the underworld, as Enkidu relates:

*ašb[ū šarrū] šūt agê ša ultu ūme pāna ibellū mātu* (Gilgameš VII 195; ed. George, 2003)

There sat [kings] whose crowns ruled the land from days of old

*malkū* could equally well be restored (George, April 2016, private communication).

*kispu* offering texts also refer to dead kings (Tsukimoto, 1985).

Although commonly called *muballiṭat mīti* “the one who brings the dead back to life” (so, l.31), the healing goddess has no obvious connection with the underworld. A key motif of this composition is the universality of the goddess and the extent of her authority. ll.11'''-12''' perhaps further illustrate the breadth of her influence.

13''' The setting appears to move from the underworld to the Apsû. This is perhaps not the shift in location that it appears. Horowitz (2011, pp.342-344) noted compositions in which the Apsû and the underworld seem to overlap or be conflated with each other, most notably in a Middle Assyrian copy of a bilingual incantation now known as the incantation of Eridu from the incantation series *utukkū lemnūtu*. Enki/Ea, lord of Apsû, is said to dwell in *ganzer/eršetu*:

ki-tuš-a-na ki-ganzer-àm

*mūšabšu ašar eršetimma* (Geller, 1980, p.28 8-9)

His seat is the place of the underworld

There may be a similar conceptual cosmic identification in ll.11'''-14'''.

*naḥbalu* is rarely attested outside lexical texts. *naḥbalu* is translated in CAD N/I 134 as “net, snare”, derived from *ḥabālu* “tie, bind” (similarly, AHW 714a “Falle”). In an incantation known from a manuscript from Sultantepe, *naḥbalu* perhaps has this meaning:

*Bēlet-šēri naḥbalī i-ta-x-di* (STT 230 17)

Bēlet-šēri casts(?) snares

In *ludlul bēl nēmeqi* the sufferer complains:

[*ina pīy*]a *naḥbalu nadīma*

*u napraku sekir šaptīya* (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi* II 84-85; ed. Oshima, 2014)

“A snare is laid on my mouth, and a bolt bars my lips” (so, Lambert, 1960, p.43; similarly, Oshima, 2014, p.91).

*naḥbalu* is best known in a cosmic context from the Atra-ḥasīs narrative, in the phrase *šigaru naḥbalu tâmti* “the bolt, the bar of the sea” (so Lambert and Millard, 1969, p.116 10). The phrase occurs in a late Babylonian version of the flood story, where *naḥbalu* is

evidently a means of restraining the sea, controlled by Enki/Ea (Lambert and Millard, 1969, p.116 10; pp.166-167). The restoration of the phrase in the Old Babylonian version I 15 is confirmed by the Standard Babylonian version from Sippar:

*šigara naḥbali tiāmti*

*ittadnū ana Ea niššiki*

“The bolt that keeps the sea in check

they gave to Ea the Prince” (so, George and Al-Rawi, 1996, p.153 15-16)

l.13''' expressly links *naḥbalu* with a gate (*naḥbal bāb Apsî*), supporting the suggestion that *naḥbalu* may been “the locking mechanism of a gate or door” (Oshima, 2014, p.259 84-85), implicit in George and Al-Rawi’s translation. This informs the passage *ludlul bēl nēmeqi* II 84-85 (above), where the parallelism between ll.84-85 can now be better understood.

The phrase *bāb Apsî* is most particularly known from the description of Ea’s sanctuary within é-sag-íl, Marduk’s temple in Babylon:

é-kar-za-gin-na *bāb Apsî* (*Tintir* IV 3; ed. George, *Topog.texts*)

é-kar-za-gin-na Gate of Apsû

For other occurrences of *bāb Apsî* which allude to é-sag-íl and Babylon, see George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.300-303. Reference to *bāb Apsî* simply as a cosmic location are rare. It is mentioned in Astrolabe B (*KAV* 218, A ii 27 and 35: <ká>-abzu-ta-é *bāb Apsî* *ippatte* “the Gate of Apsû shall be opened”, see George, *Topog.Texts*, p.301). To this, perhaps, this line l.13''' may now be added. Thus understood, the scholar returns to an association between his goddess and Apsû made in ll. 14-16, 50, 62'.

However, it cannot be ruled out that the context of ll.11'''-13''' is not purely cosmic, but the sacred buildings of Babylon, as in ll.66'-70', 81'-90'. The equation of *bāb Apsî* and é-kar-za-gin-na is clear. A composition relating to the aftermath of a battle between gods (Lambert, 2013, pp.326-329) points to Ganšir similarly being a sacred location in Babylon, perhaps situated in Bēlet-Bābili’s temple, é-tùr-kalam-ma (so Lambert, 2013, p.497).

14''' The reading of the beginning of the last line of substance in Ms.e is uncertain. Lambert (draft transliteration) noted that both *miṭrāti* and *berāti* are possible. Both are

associated with water. *miṣrāti* refers to a type of irrigated field system, but is more commonly attested in literary contexts to refer to water channels (CAD M/II 144-145 *miṣirtu*). The meaning of *berātu* is more doubtful: CAD B 206-207 “swamps(?)”; AHW 122a (*bērtu*) “etwa ‘Wasserlauf’”; CDA 43 *berātu* “waters, lagoon”. CAD and AHW both noted the ambiguity between these words in writings with the BE sign (BE-*ra-tu* and similar, as here).

Horowitz (2011, pp.336-339) has assembled passages which indicate an association between the Apsû and the surface water, swamps and marshes of the earth. Perhaps, then, the surviving phrase in l.14''' indicates the cosmic Apsû as the setting of ll.13'''-14'''.

Only the preposition *ana* can be read in l.15''' before the text breaks off.

## Chapter 6 Babylonian speculative scholarship in the Gula hymn

This chapter examines the interpretive techniques and methods of Babylonian speculative scholarship applied in the exploration of the meaning of sacred names in the hymn to the goddess Gula presented in **chapters 4 and 5**.

The hymn contains two extensive passages in which names are explored and the Akkadian text is generated by speculative scholarship. ll.18-41 present divine names, explained by epithets in the manner of an explanatory list. In ll.75'-17'' (where Ms. e (obverse) breaks off), names of temples, shrines and cities and their deities are set out and interpreted. These interpretations sometimes describe the setting. More commonly, they express the character of the goddess with whom the composition's goddess is identified, as understood from the name interpreted. Short passages (ll.1-6, 66'-70') also exhibit speculative scholarship.

Unexpectedly, analysis of the etymological equations in ll.75'-17'' revealed that names which are not explicitly expressed are also interpreted by scholarly speculation. Hidden names are thus encoded in the composition, revealing the identity of the goddess or her domain in the context. “**Encoding**” and “**encoded names**” are used in this study for this remarkable feature.

The composition is exceptional not only for encoded names, but also for the many unusual interpretive methods used. **Section 6.1** explains the speculative interpretation in the Gula hymn. **Section 6.2** discusses its encoded names. **Section 6.3** summarises the interpretive techniques and methods used, highlighting the more unusual speculative methods observed in this remarkable composition.

### 6.1 Analysis

**Section 6.1** explains, so far as determined, the speculative interpretation of the divine and sacred names whose meaning is explored in the Gula hymn. Lexical evidence is given, save for logographic writings for Akkadian words given in CAD and common equations given by multiple lexical sources. Ancient evidence confirms that where

direct evidence for a word is lacking, lexical evidence for words which share the same root may properly be used to determine equations (see **section 3.2.8**).

1-6 <sup>d</sup>nin-ì-si-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>k</sup>[<sup>i</sup>] (or <sup>d</sup>nin-ì-si-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>k</sup>[<sup>i</sup>-na]) is perhaps speculatively interpreted, to be expected in opening lines which name the goddess, consistent with the speculative nature of this composition. The text is too fragmentary and too conventional to be confident, but, applying methods illustrated in **section 3.2**, etymological correspondences are detectable.

si perhaps gives *mukinnat*(1.1): <sup>si</sup>du *kânu* Commentary II 1. Alternatively, si is perhaps understood as *zi kânu* (*Idu* I 33; *Igituḥ* short version 38; likewise Commentary II 21, 41; E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 34).

Different parts of <sup>d</sup>nin-ì-si-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>k</sup>[<sup>i</sup>] may account for *banât*(1.4) “She is beautiful”. ì can be interpreted as *banû*, twice: understood with another reading of the same sign (NI): <sup>di-ig</sup>ni *banû* *Aa* II/1 ii 7' *MSL* XIV p.265; or as a homophone (i *banû* *Izi* V 6 *MSL* XIII p.160). si may be understood as <sup>si</sup><sub>4</sub> (<sup>gu-nu</sup>si<sub>4</sub> *banû* *Ea* II 289 *MSL* XIV p.259; likewise Syllabary B I 54 *MSL* III p.100, *Aa* III/4 230 *MSL* XIV p.342).

*banû*(1.5) is perhaps a different verb (CAD B 93). Homophonous Akkadian words were interchangeable (**section 3.3.16**); *ibnîma* may be derived in the same way as *banât*. *eršetim*(ki)<sup>tim</sup>(1.5) perhaps interprets the marker ki.

18-38 Lambert's manuscript transliteration identifies some etymological correspondences, without explanation. These are marked \*\* below.

18 <sup>d</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-nun-na-ki: pa<sub>4</sub>(pab), read pap, writes *napharu*\*\*. nun is apparently equated with *šarratu*\*\*: [nun] *šarrum* *Proto-Aa* 500 *MSL* IX p.133. nun writes *rubû* “prince”, semantically equivalent to *šarru*. nun is perhaps also (or instead) understood as nin, commonly *bēltu* “lady”, synonymous with *šarratu* in many lexical lists (CAD B 187; lugal too is *bēltu* *Aa* VII/2 75 *MSL* XIV p.462).

ki supplies *eršetu*\*\*. How *šamû* is derived is unclear. an(*šamû*)\*\* is perhaps understood from the phonetic continuum of Panunnaki; or may be stock phraseology, prompted by *eršetu*(ki).

19 <sup>d</sup>nin-bára-ge-sì: nin is *šarratu*\*\* (see 1.18). bára supplies *šarru*\*\* (bára *šarrum Igituh* short version 184; <sup>pa-ra</sup>bára *ša[r]ru* *Idu* I 166).

Lambert's tentative restoration [*šip*]-*ti* is supported by speculative interpretation of ge: <sup>gi-e</sup>gil *šiptu*\*\* *Aa* III/1 239 *MSL* XIV p.322 (so CAD Š/III 91). sì read as šum supplies *nadānu*\*\*.

20 <sup>d</sup>nin-bára-ge-sì: nin supplies *bēltu* (see 1.18). bára equates to *parakku* (so, Lambert's restoration [*parak*]*ki*). Less straightforwardly, bára is, it seems, interpreted as *nābalu*. The restored entry *Ea* VI C 9' *MSL* XIV p.432 suggests <sup>ba-ri-im-</sup>URUxBAR' [*nābalu*]; bára and ba-ri-im are obviously similar. Better, perhaps, bára, read as pára or para<sub>10</sub>, is interpreted as parim (*nābalu*), for which there is more certain lexical evidence ([a-šà]-parim(PA-KAS<sub>4</sub>) *nābalu Urra* XX section 4 22 *MSL* XI p.5; PA<sup>pa-ri-im</sup>DU-*šeššig nā[balu]* *Antagal* III 103 *MSL* XVII p.154).

ge, as gi, supplies *kullatu* (cf. *BTT* 5 20) and its synonym *gimru* (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.388 for gi *kullatu*; the lexical text cited there gives [<sup>gi-i</sup>][gi] [*gim*]-*rum* i 7).

*šarūru* appears to interpret sì: [<sup>si-i</sup>][si] [*ša*]*rūru* Syllabary A Vocabulary N 4' *MSL* III p.66. sì is perhaps also understood as sa (<sup>sa-a</sup>sa *Idu* II 147).

sì is certainly understood as sa<sub>4</sub> *nebû*. This vocalic interchange is comparable with the contrived orthographies si-an-na<sup>ki</sup> and sa<sub>4</sub>-an-na<sup>ki</sup> (*Tintir* I 5, 7), interpreting šu-an-na<sup>ki</sup>.

21 Zarpanītum: *kīma šumīšāma* flags an etymological explanation (**section 2.4.4**). *banât zēri*\*\* expresses the common interpretation of Zarpanītum as *zēr-bānītum* “seed-creatress”. The text is too fragmentary to determine whether speculative interpretation or simply free rendering of Zarpanītum concluded 1.21.

22 <sup>d</sup>ama : *ummu*\*\* translates ama. The phrases express the mother-goddess' role. No speculative interpretation is obvious.

23 <sup>d</sup>ma-me-e: <sup>d</sup>ma-me-e(Mamê) is an Akkadian writing, not Sumerian (<sup>d</sup>ma-me). The equation of ma and *banû*\*\* is found in a commentator's explanation of this divine name as ma *banû*(dù)“create”, me *nišû*(un)<sup>meš</sup> “people” (Babylonian Theodicy Commentary 21; ed. Oshima, 2014, p.445; Frahm, 2011, p.72). Commentary II 83 also equates ma with *banû*, not apparently otherwise attested lexically. *paršu*\*\* translates me. (CAD T 94 identifies this interpretation).

Lexical sources treat *talīmu* “brother”:

[ta-am]ud ta[līmu] Aa III/3 50 *MSL* XIV p.333

tam-ma talīmu Lu Excerpt II 188 *MSL* XII p.109

Phonetic similarity (tam-ma/Mamê and ama, reflecting her role) perhaps prompted *talīmtu*.

24 <sup>d</sup>ama-ù-tu-an-ki : *ummu*(ama)\*\* *šamû*(an)\*\* and *eršetu*(ki)\*\* straightforwardly translate elements of <sup>d</sup>ama-ù-tu-an-ki.

ù-tu supplies the synonyms *banû*\*\* and *alādu* (ù-tu *banû*, *alādu* CT 41 27 r.25 *Alu* commentary; <sup>du-u</sup>tu *banû alādu* Aa VII/4 60-61 *MSL* XIV p.467, and bilingual texts, see CAD A/I 287-288, B 83-84).

*ilānū*(dingir)<sup>[mesʹ]</sup> is given by an, read as dingir, and, perhaps, by the divine marker (**section 3.2.6**). This double explanation perhaps expresses the plural *ilānū*, readily inferred (**section 3.2.9**).

25 <sup>d</sup>šu-zi-an-na: šu equates to *ṭēmu*\*\* (*Nigga* 282 *MSL* XIII p.104). zi supplies *kānu*\*\* (as 1-6); an(dingir) *ilu*\*\*. na is interpreted as *amēlu*\*\* (*Ea* IV 108 *MSL* XIV p.359).

How *mušapšihat Sîn* is derived is less clear. *pašāḫu* may interpret šu or zi, or both, in each case with phonetic adjustment. šu may be understood with a different vowel: <sup>še-e</sup>še<sub>4</sub> *pašāḫu* *Idu* II 274, and similar correspondences within this phonetic range (CAD P 228).

Other glosses suggest that perhaps zi is interpreted: <sup>si-ig</sup>šag<sub>5</sub> *pašāḫu* *Ea* I 225 *MSL* XIV p.188. <sup>d</sup>šu-zi-an-na is known as a wet-nurse of Sîn (CT 24 5 13-14; Lambert, 2013, p.506); the epithet may simply interpret this. *šeš-ki*, normalised here as Sîn, is nanna, a Sumerian name. Nanna is perhaps also understood from the phonetics -an-na.

26 <sup>d</sup>*namma*(engur): As Lambert (1989, p.219) identified, engur, writing <sup>d</sup>*namma*, is broken down into its constituent parts, lagab and ḫal, for interpretation: lagab, read nígin or kil, supplies *napharu* (*Ea* I 32, 42, Aa I/2 55 *MSL* XIV pp.177-178, 209; *Nabnītu* O 287 *MSL* XVI p.295); ḫal, *pirīštu*. *ilānū* interprets the divine marker (with plural inferred), or is free composition.

engur appears to have been broken down differently for *mušēniqat an-[šár]* (perhaps *ilānī*(dingir)<sup>[mesʹ]</sup>). Disregarding the lower horizontal, the sign form comprises lá and an. It seems that lá prompts *mušēniqtu*, which may be written um-me-ga-lá. The final word interprets an. **Sections 3.2.25** Graphic interpretation, **3.2.23** Abbreviation describe these methods.

27 <sup>d</sup>šu-zabar-kù: The writing šu, kù and dingir demonstrates the derivation of *qātā(šu)\*\* ellētu(kù)\*\** from <sup>d</sup>šu-zabar-kù, *ilu(dingir)* interpreting the divine marker. The speculative derivation of *narāmtu* and *šarru(lugal)* is less clear. *zabar(ud-ka-bar)* perhaps suggests *bára šarru* (1.19). 1.27 is perhaps otherwise freely composed.

28 <sup>d</sup>nin-kar-nun-na: *qarittu* perhaps freely renders *nin* (gašan, synonymous with *nin* is *qarittu*, *Aa* II/4 217 *MSL* XIV p.285), and may be suggested phonetically by *kar*. *nun* (*rubû* “prince”) is readily interpreted as *Ninurta*.

29 <sup>d</sup>nin-sún: *bēltu\*\** translates *nin*. Lambert conjectured that *sún* supplies *mušpalu* (“SÚN?”). The scholar perhaps associated *sún* with the homophonous Akkadian word *sūnu*, a garment written <sup>tùg</sup>tùn (CAD S 388); *tùn* also gives *šapālu* (<sup>tu-un</sup>tùn *šapāl[um]* *Aa* VIII/1 122 *MSL* XIV p.492); *mušpalu* may be written *tùn-la*.

*sún* is perhaps understood as *sun<sub>5</sub>(búr)* *izuzzu* (<sup>[su-un]</sup>[búr] *Aa* VIII/2 157 *MSL* XIV p.501), from which *manzāzu* derives. Understood as the homophones *sun<sub>5</sub>* and *sun<sub>7</sub>*, read *búr* and *kal* respectively, *sún* is further interpreted as *šaltu* (<sup>bu-úr</sup>búr *šaltu* *Aa* VIII/2 182 *MSL* XIV p.501; <sup>[su-na]</sup>kal *šaltu* *Ea* IV 313 *MSL* XIV p.367, [k]al<sup>su</sup>-na *šaltu* *Erimḫus* II 163 *MSL* XVII p.35).

*šamû* may interpret the divine marker, read an (cf Commentary II 126).

30 <sup>d</sup>nin-girim(A-ḪA-TAR-DU): *girim* is understood as *girim*, supplying *mullilat\*\** (<sup>gi-ri-</sup>im<sub>1</sub>lagab *ellu* *Ea* I 30 *MSL* XIV p.177).

*ilu* may interpret the divine marker; *amīlu* perhaps interprets a from A-ḪA-TAR-DU (a *abu*, *māru* and the like); or simply completes a stock phrase. How *muššipat* is derived is unclear.

31 <sup>d</sup>nin-tin-ug<sub>5</sub>-ga: *nin* is *bēltu\*\**. *tin*, with vocalic adjustment, is interpreted by *pašāḫu\*\** (<sup>te-en</sup>te *Aa* VIII/1 207 *MSL* XIV p.494). *tin* also supplies *balātu\*\**, written *ti* and *din*.

*ug<sub>5</sub>*, understood as *ùg*, supplies *nišû\*\**. Homophony and polyvalence are exploited again to interpret *ug<sub>5</sub>* as *mītu(úš)\*\** through *BAD*, which writes *ug<sub>7</sub>* and *úš* (as here). *ug<sub>5</sub>* itself reads *bàd*.

32 <sup>d</sup>nin-kar-ra-ak: nin is *bēltu*\*\* . kar is understood as *kár riksu* (<sup>ka-ra</sup>gán *Ea* I 186 *MSL* XIV p.186). ak is *epēšu* (Syllabary A Vocabulary T 5', Syllabary B II 291 *MSL* III pp.73,147).

*upšāšû* may be written níg-ak-a, evidently suggested by near-homophony with <sup>d</sup>nin-kar-ra-ak. Similarly, *nikkasu* may be written níg-ŠID, perhaps to be read níg-ka<sub>9</sub> (*Ea* VII 193 *MSL* XIV p.451), resembling the phonetics <sup>d</sup>nin-kar- (thus confirming the reading níg-ka<sub>9</sub>). níg(níḡ) is a Sumerian prefix denoting an abstract noun, ḡ conventionally rendering the Sumerian nasal consonant g (ng). In his speculation, the scholar displays evident understanding of Sumerian phonology, but uses níḡ to interpret nk (Ninkarrak), not ng. This is akin to the method deployed in the E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 (ḡ dissimilated into separate phonemes n and g) (section 3.2.19.5). The interpretation also displays consonantal interchange k/g (see sections 3.2.17, 3.2.19.4).

*arû* is á-ra (*Proto-Kagal* B 19 *MSL* XIII p.84, and bilingual texts), implicitly syllabifying part of the name's phonetic continuum. Homophony between the Akkadian words *arû* and (w)âru may account for *muma'irrat*, hence derived from Ninkarrak in the same way as *arû*. What prompted *labbatu* and *uzzu* is elusive.

33 <sup>d</sup>kur-rib-ba: kur is understood as kur and its homophone kúr, writing *kašādu*\*\* and *nakāru*\*\* respectively.

rib, read kal, supplies *akšu/ekšu* (*Idu* II 321; [š]u-kal-kal *Erimḡus* I 278 *MSL* XVII p.20). rib is notionally syllabified to produce íb *uzzatu*\*\* (*Idu* I 100).

34 <sup>d</sup>me-me, <sup>d</sup>me-me-sig<sub>5</sub>-ga: me writes *paršu*\*\* and supplies both *eršetu*\*\* and *šamāmū*\*\* (*Izi* E 1-2 *MSL* XIII p.185; *Proto-Aa* 71:7-8 *MSL* XIV p.91); and is understood as me<sub>5</sub> *bānû(bānītu)*\*\* (*Aa* I/1 116 *MSL* XIV p.205). sig<sub>5</sub> is understood as sig *šapāku*\*\* (*Nabnītu* XVI 64 *MSL* XVI p.143; similarly *Urra* II 214 *MSL* V p.67).

35 <sup>d</sup>ama-šu-ḡal-bi: ama is *ummu* and is understood as ama<sub>5</sub>, read arḡuš *rēmēnû*. ama sometimes writes *rēmu*.

šu, with phonetic adjustment, is evidently interpreted by *pašāḡu*: še<sub>4</sub> (*Idu* II 274) še<sub>12</sub> and sed (*Aa* VIII/1 173, 176 *MSL* XIV p.493) and sig<sub>6</sub> (*Ea* I 225 *MSL* XIV p.188) all correspond to *pašāḡu*. More clearly, consonantal interchange allows the scholar to interpret šu as su *zumru* (*Nabnītu* IX 10 *MSL* XVI p.118; also a logogram).

36 <sup>d</sup>udug-sig<sub>5</sub>-ga: udug is understood as *úduḡ kakku\*\** (*Ea* II 35 *MSL* XIV p.248; *Diri* II 255 *MSL* XV p.130). sig<sub>5</sub>, interpreted as sig<sub>7</sub>, read sa<sub>7</sub>, supplies *banû\*\** understood here as *banû* “create” (cf E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 7-8, George, *Topog.Texts*, p.387; **section 3.2.14**). To supply *nadānu* sig<sub>5</sub> is interpreted as s<sub>i</sub>, read šúm. The scholar’s methods are unclear: sig<sub>5</sub> is perhaps notionally syllabified as s<sub>i</sub>-ig; or interpreted through homophones sig or sig<sub>7</sub>, understood as si<sub>11</sub> or si<sub>12</sub>, homophonous with s<sub>i</sub>; or perhaps s<sub>i</sub> is near-homophonous with sig<sub>5</sub>.

<sup>d</sup>šēd *dumqi* renders <sup>d</sup>udug-sig<sub>5</sub>-ga<sup>\*\*</sup>: udug is *šēdu* (*Erimḥus* V 58 *MSL* XVII p.69; *Ea* I 364, *Aa* I/8 231 *MSL* XIV pp.195,241); sig<sub>5</sub> writes *dumqu*.

37 <sup>d</sup>lamma-sig<sub>5</sub>-ga: lamma is *eršetu\*\** (for sources, see Horowitz, 2011, p.290).

sig<sub>5</sub> is again understood as sig *šapāku\*\** (1.34). sig<sub>5</sub>, interpreted as s<sub>i</sub>(šúm), supplies *šutlumu\*\** (*Idu* II 83), synonymous with *nadānu* (1.36) and derived identically.

<sup>d</sup>lamassi(lamma) *dumqi* renders <sup>d</sup>lamma-sig<sub>5</sub>-ga<sup>\*\*</sup>: lamma writes *lamassu*; sig<sub>5</sub>, *dumqu*.

39 dingir-maḥ: *ilānū\*\**(written dingir<sup>meš</sup>) and *šīru\*\** straightforwardly translate dingir and maḥ, respectively.

Anšar may interpret dingir maḥ “great god”. The restoration *nibû*, from *nabû*, can perhaps be supported: maḥ may be understood as ma, equated with *nabû* and *nību* in Commentary II 136 and 137, respectively.

40 <sup>d</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-za-gìn-na: Homophones and alternative readings are exploited to derive *tālittu* from <sup>d</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-za-gìn-na. za-gìn are evidently taken together, understood as za-gín(nír); nír is understood as nir *tālittum* (*Aa* V/3 49 *MSL* XIV p.423). How *šuklulu* (commonly šu-du<sub>7</sub>) interprets <sup>d</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-za-gìn-na is less clear. Using homophones and other readings, gìn was perhaps taken as gin(du) and du as du<sub>7</sub>, abbreviating šu-du<sub>7</sub> (**section 3.2.23**). Other explanations are possible (gìn/gín(du<sub>5</sub>) taken as du<sub>7</sub>, for example).

8’ The composition’s speculative character suggests that *bānīt naphari*, the only preserved phrase, interprets the lost divine name preceding it. The equivalence of gú and *napharu* is well-attested. Exploiting the homonyms gú/gu, the restoration <sup>d</sup>[gu-la] is proposed. la was perhaps interpreted elsewhere in 1.8’.

64’ <sup>d</sup>nabû(ag): *pātiq* interprets the writing <sup>d</sup>ag (<sup>a-ka</sup>ak *patāqum* *Proto-Aa* No.7 ii 22 *MSL* XIV p.120). *kullatu* evidently also interprets the divine name, for Nabû is termed *ša*

*kullati* in explanatory God lists (An = *Anu ša amēli* 113, ed. Litke, 1998; V R 43 r.1, ed. Pomponio, 1978, p.157). Perhaps ag(ak) is interpreted as *epēšu*, (see 1.32) semantically similar to *patāqu*; *epēšu* is also *dù*, which commonly writes *kalu* “entirety”: thus, ag may be understood as *kullatu*.

66'-70' The form of ll. 66'-70' (a Sumerian sacred name followed by a description of the sacred place and an accolade of the goddess) suggests that, as in ll.75'ff., each name is interpreted by what follows. Determining how these phrases interpret the sacred name is sometimes difficult and uncertain in this obscure passage. Further speculative interpretation is almost certainly at work but is elusive.

66' é-šár-ra: *šubtu*, synonymous with *bītu*, translates é.

67' é-kur: *kiššu*, synonymous with *bītu* (*malku* = *šarru* I 262; ed. Hruša, 2010), translates é. kur is notionally syllabified, understood as *kù* and *ur<sub>5</sub>*: *kù* is *ellu*; *ur<sub>5</sub>*, understood as *mur*, supplies *gamāru* (Aa V/2 248 MSL XIV p.420). For *kù* and *ur<sub>5</sub>* from é-kur, *BTT* 18 §5 16'-17''; George, *Topog.Texts*, p.440.

68' é-sag-íl: The interpretation *ēkal ilānī* is paralleled in E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 5-6, where the restoration [é-sag *ēkallu*] looks compelling; *íl* is understood as *ìl*(dingir) *ilu*, the plural freely inferred. (See further George, *Topog.texts*, p.386, referring also to this line).

*šubtu* translates é (as 1.66') and simultaneously interprets sag (paralleled in E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 11-12). George, *Topog.texts*, p.387, explained that *gašrat* is *gil* (V R 16 ii 71). The morpheme boundary is blurred by consonantal doubling; the phoneme *g* is made available in separate syllables for speculative purposes in an implicitly contrived orthography (cf the explicitly contrived orthography of E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 3-4,19-20; **section 3.2.19.1**).

69' du<sub>6</sub>-kù: *milku* appears to interpret *kù* through homophones and alternative readings. *kù* is perhaps understood as *ku*, read as *kùd* and understood as *kud milku* (Aa III/5 68 MSL XIV p.345).

Perhaps, taking *kù* as *ku*, *KU* is understood as *TÚG*, signs which are, to modern scholars, unrelated save by graphic similarity. *TÚG*, read *umuš*, is *milku* (*Proto-Aa* 69.1

*MSL* XIV p.91). For a closely similar interpretation, see **section 3.2.25** on Commentary II 10 (TÚG as KU for kù *ellu*).

*pirištu*(ḫal) more obviously interprets é-ḫal-an-ki (l.70') than l. 69'.

70' é-ḫal-an-ki: é supplies *bītu*. Different elements of é-ḫal-an-ki may account for *kiššatu* “totality”. *kiššatu* perhaps freely renders an-ki “heaven (and) earth” (cf an-ki-a as *kalāma* “all” in <sup>d</sup>na-ri-lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a as *āšir ilānī kalāma* “Supervisor of all the gods”, *Enūma eliš* VI 143). ki may be understood as ki-šár-ra, which writes *kiššatu*. A third possibility is suggested through ḫal, otherwise apparently unused, applying syllogism, the deductive reasoning which pervades Babylonian scholarship by which one thing may be explained as another through some common intermediary (Bottéro, 1977, pp.23-24). ḫal = *pirištu*; *pirištu* = šu<sub>4</sub>(<sup>š</sup>u-u Aa II/4 53 *MSL* XIV p.281); šu<sub>4</sub>(<sup>š</sup>u-u Aa II/4 46) = *kiššatu*; Therefore ḫal = *kiššatu*. The equation šu<sub>4</sub>/*kiššatu* appears in several lexical lists (CAD K 457); the close proximity of *kiššatu* and *pirištu* in Aa II/4 tends to support the interpretation suggested.

Similarly, Aa II/4 44 equates u (read differently, <sup>g</sup>e-e u) and *uznu*. Perhaps ḫal may equally be equated with any word written by u in this deductive thread. Again other lists equate the sign u with *uznu* (CAD U-W 362).

*têrtu* <sup>a-ak</sup>ág (*Idu* I 95) perhaps interprets the phonetics an-ki. *ḫamāmu* is difficult to explain; it is perhaps simply stock phraseology.

75' úri<sup>ki</sup>, <sup>d</sup>nin-gal: nin is *aḫatu*. The divine marker gives *ilānū*, gal *rabūtu*, the plural freely inferred. *aḫatu* perhaps also interprets the writing úri(ŠEŠ-UNUG)<sup>ki</sup> (šeš *aḫu*); Ningal is thus explained as the sibling in úri(šeš-unug)<sup>ki</sup>.

76' <sup>d</sup>nin-gi-kù-ga: nin is *bēltu*; kù *ellu*. gi supplies *gimru*: a late lexical text appears to equate these [<sup>gi-i</sup>][gi][*gim*]*rum* CT 12 29 BM 28226 i 7 (note too gi *kullatum* “everything”, E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 19-20).

kù supplies *ebēbu* (*ebbu* and *ellu* are synonyms, *malku* = *šarru* VI 215, ed. Hrůša, 2010); gi *kīnu* (Reciprocal *Ea* A ii 24' *MSL* XIV p.525; Commentary II 83).

77' é-giš-nu<sub>11</sub>-gal, é-kiš-nu-gál (Ms. F): For full explanation of l.77' which interprets both orthographies of the temple name evidently known to the composer, see Lambert (1967, p.131) and George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.319-320, 384. As George noted, kiš equates to *kiššatu*, nu *nišū*, gál *našāru*; and giš-nu<sub>11</sub> *nūru*, giš *šamū*. gal supplies *rabūtu*.

78' zimbir(UD-KIB-NUN)<sup>ki</sup>: The sequence of signs which write zimbir and the marker ki are speculatively interpreted. kib is read ùl, understood as ul which writes *šātu*. ud, read zalag/zálag, is *nūru* (Ms. a writes zálag). ud is interpreted as *šamû*, and perhaps also *eršetu* (<sup>ù</sup>ud Aa III/3 8-9 *MSL* XIV p.332). nun (*rubû* “prince”) is perhaps freely interpreted as *ilu* and may also be understood as nu *awīlu(amēlu)* (*Proto-Aa* No.7 i 4 *MSL* XIV p.118). ki is interpreted as *ālu* and *eršetu*.

79' é-babbar-ra, <sup>d</sup>a-a: *maštaku*, synonymous with *bītu(é)* (*malku* = *šarru* I 258, ed. Hrůša, 2010) perhaps interprets é. The epithet is evidently traditional:

šèr-ri-da <sup>d</sup>a-a *ša maštaki* (An: *Anu ša amēli* 45; ed. Litke, 1998)

Šerida Aya of the living quarters

*mukillat riksī* interprets a name not expressed in ll.78'-79', clearly drawing on Aya's Sumerian name Šerida: <sup>še-er</sup>*riksu Izi* D i 13' *MSL* XIII p.180. The derivation of *kullum(mukillat)* is unclear; it is perhaps simply stock phraseology. Aya's Sumerian name Šerida is thus encoded in l.79' in the epithet *mukillat riksī* which offers an explanation of Aya's Sumerian identity.

The repetition of the sign UD in ll.78'-79' (UD-KIB-NUN<sup>ki</sup>, babbar(ud)) perhaps points to another identity of Aya, as <sup>d</sup>UD<sup>(min = šè-ri -da)</sup><sub>5</sub>UD (An: *Anum* III 128; ed. Litke, 1998).

80' é-ḫi-li-<sup>d</sup>inanna, <sup>d</sup>ul-sig<sub>7</sub>-ga: *šamuḫtu* simultaneously interprets ḫi-li (<sup>hi-li-ib</sup>naga *šamāḫu* Aa VII/4 93 *MSL* XIV p.468) and freely renders <sup>d</sup>ul-sig<sub>7</sub>-ga (ul “fruit”; sig<sub>7</sub>(-ga) “verdant”).

81' ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup>: *nerēb ilānī*, a literary rendering of *bāb ilī*, translates ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup> (see George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.253-255).

82' <sup>d</sup>e<sub>4</sub>-ru<sub>6</sub>: e<sub>4</sub>, read a, is *riḫûtu* (<sup>e-a</sup>*riḫûtu* Ea I 2 *MSL* XIV p.176). ru<sub>6</sub>, understood as rú(dù) supplies *banû*. Thus *bānât riḫûti* interprets Zarpanītum's name <sup>d</sup>e<sub>4</sub>-ru<sub>6</sub> and simultaneously expresses the common interpretation of Zarpanītum (see 1.21), thus encoding the name Zarpanītum in l.82'.

83' ká-silim-ma: *kabitti Anšar* interprets é-sag-íl (1.82'), not its gate ká-silim-ma. sag is *kabtu* (*Idu* I 113; similarly, see CAD K 25); íl is understood as ìl *ilu* (as in E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 6-7).

ká-silim-ma prompts the epithet *bēlet tašmê u salīme* (silim writes *salīmu*). *tašmû* and *salīmu* are commonly used together (CAD S 102, T 374 *tešmû*), but this epithet perhaps also encodes the name of the goddess Tašmētum, consort of Nabû. In an inscription from the time of Sîn-šarra-iškun, Tašmētum is *ilat tašmê u salīme* (Falkner, 1952-1953, p.306 11), a description that evidently reflects her name. According to an inscription of Esarhaddon, a *šubtu* of Tašmētum, restored by him, was located within Marduk's cella:

*ana Tašmētum*(panun) *bēlti rabīti āšibat é-umuš-a papāḥ Marūduk ša qereb Bābili*(*tintir*)<sup>ki</sup> (Borger, 1956, p.84 r.39)

For Tašmētum, the great lady who dwells in é-umuš-a, Marduk's cella in Babylon.

See too *Tintir* II 3, George, *Topog.texts*, p.269. The gate name ká-silim-ma, and a variant ká-su-lim-ma, may sometimes designate Marduk's cella itself (George, *Topog.texts*, p.402). The context suggests that ká-silim-ma is so understood in 1.83'. Tašmētum's *šubtu* there is perhaps implicitly evoked, and the healing goddess is identified here with Tašmētum.

84' ká-ḫi-li-sù: ḫi-li is *kuzbu*; sù, read sud, is *ulluḫum* (*Proto-Aa* No.7 i 28 *MSL* XIV p.119).

sù is evidently understood as *zānu*. In the Royal ritual composition included in the text corpus ká-ḫi-li-sù itself is described as *bāb kuzbu za'nu* "gate covered in luxury" (Lambert, 1997, p.60 37; see George, *Topog.Texts*, p.394 for closely similar descriptions of ká-ḫi-li-sù; CAD Z 47 for other bilingual texts). *būnu*, evidently paralleling *kuzbu*, perhaps freely renders ḫi-li.

85' é-è-umuš-a, <sup>d</sup>nin-è-umuš-a: The reading of these names is discussed in **section 5.6**. è supplies *šūpû*; umuš *ṭēmu* (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.390).

Their unorthodox orthography, with the additional element è to serve speculative interpretation, has parallels in other contrived writings in the text corpus (**sections 3.2.19.8, 6.3 Unusual writings**).

86' é-tùr-kalam-ma, *bēlet bābili*(tin-tir)<sup>ki</sup>: The scholar speculatively interprets a name which is not explicit. The name which generates *mālikat* is <sup>d</sup>inanna-galga-sù, with whom Bēlet-bābili is equated:

[<sup>d</sup>innin]-galga-sù MIN (*Bēlet-Bābili*) [*ma*]-li-[(*ik*)-ka-tu] (CT 25 49 obv.2)

(See further George, 2000, p.298). galga-sù is *milku* (*Antagal D 201 MSL XVII p.188*). In <sup>d</sup>inanna-galga-sù, galga-sù is usually understood as *malkatu* “queen”, perhaps by homophony (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.471).

87' é-nam-ti-la: Closely similar to the descriptions in 1.87' are the explanations in a temple list of é-nam-ti-la as *bīt bunnannê* and *bīt balāṭi* (*BTT 3 r.13'-14'*), clearly effecting the same speculative interpretation. nam-ti-la supplies *bulṭu* and *balāṭu* (ti-(la)) and is evidently rendered as *bunnannû*.

*nabnītu* and *bunnannû* occur together with the equation sa<sub>7</sub>-alam in *Nabnītu I 1-2 (MSL XVI p.50)*; for the extended meaning of *bunnannû*, broadly analogous to *nabnītu* (“creation, creature”), supported by the connection between nam-ti-la and *bunnannû* apparent in 1.87', see George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.370-372.

88' é-nam-ḥé: ḥé is *nuḥṣu* (strictly, written ḥé-nun) and is interpreted by *ḥiṣbu*, which, combined with *duššû*, is synonymous with *nuḥṣu*.

ḥé is perhaps understood as ḥe and taken as the similar, but (to modern scholars) unrelated, sign šár, supplying *duššû*(*mudeššû*) (*Aa V/2 50 MSL XIV p.416; section 3.2.25*). šár and *nuḥṣu* are also equated (*Idu II 78*).

89' é-sa-bad: For full explanation of 1.89' which interprets the temple name in both phrases, see George, *Topog.Texts*, p.331; CAD N/I 34, T 2. As George noted, sa supplies *uznu* and, understood as the homophone sa<sub>4</sub>, *nabû*; bad is interpreted as *petû* and *tabīnu* ([á]-bàd). The interpretive phrase *nābât tabīni* effects phonological reversal of consonants *nbt/tbn* (**section 3.2.24**).

*petât uzni* is evidently a conventional explanation of é-sa-bad for it occurs in a list of Assyrian temples (*BTT 20 §4 174*).

90' é-ki-tuš-gir<sub>17</sub>-zal: Temple lists explain é-ki-tuš-gir<sub>17</sub>-zal as *bītu šubat tašīlti* “house, abode of joy” (*BTT* 3 r.3', *BTT* 4 22; George, *Topog.Texts*, p.387), similarly interpreted in l.90'.

ki-tuš is *šubtu*; tuš *ašābu* (*Ea* I 141 *MSL* XIV p.184). zal, read as ni/né and understood as ne (whether by vocalic interchange or homophony) supplies *nēhtu* (strictly, written ne-ḥa or ne-ḥu; note Commentary II 128 ne *nāḥu* “rest”).

gir<sub>17</sub>-zal is *tašīltu*.

91' bár-sipa<sup>ki</sup>, <sup>d</sup>nin-zīl-zīl-le: *bēlet taknē* straightforwardly renders <sup>d</sup>nin-zīl-zīl-le: nin is *bēltu*; zīl supplies *taknū* (<sup>zi-il</sup>tag *kunnū* *Aa* V/1 242 *MSL* XIV p.414). An explanatory God list likewise explains <sup>d</sup>nin-zīl-zīl as *bēlet taknē* (CT 25 49 r.7).

92' é-zi-da: zi is interpreted as *našū* (*Idu* I 41, *Aa* III/1 92 *MSL* XIV p.321) and *kittu* (<sup>lzi</sup>zi *kānu* *Idu* I 33; likewise, E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 33-34, Commentary II 21, 40). The unusual expressions in l.92' signal that *lē'u* and *rēšu* are speculative interpretations, but their derivation is less obvious. Perhaps, by graphic interpretation, these words interpret Borsippa(bár-sipa<sup>ki</sup>)(l.91'). Lexical evidence suggests that *lē'u* equates to lagab and nigin(LAGAB+LAGAB) (*Aa* I/2 103, 105 *MSL* XIV p.211). The sign form bár may be broken down, with extraneous horizontals removed to give lagab for interpretation (cf. l.26, **section 3.2.25**). *rēšu* is commonly sag. The varied writings of sag from the Old Babylonian period onwards, and Assyrian forms familiar, perhaps, to a Babylonian scholar, perhaps suggest si+pa, recalling -sipa. *lē'u* and *rēšu* thus perhaps express é-zi-da's city.

93' dil-bad<sup>ki</sup>: The readings *nabīt ilānī* “most brilliant of the gods” and *nabīt Anšar* “appointed by Anšar” are discussed in **section 5.6**. Speculative interpretation does not settle which reading is to be preferred. *nabīt ilānī* perhaps freely describes Ištar in astral form (dil-bad), drawn from dil-bad<sup>ki</sup>. *nabīt Anšar* would point to *ibbi-Anum* in the temple name.

For *kabitti māti*, bad, read idim, is *kabtu*. *mātu* may be suggested by bad as mát and by the marker ki, usually the semantically similar word *eršetu* but also lexically equated (<sup>gu</sup>ki *mātum* *Ea* IV 97 *MSL* XIV p.359). ki and *mātu* perhaps also suggest Ki, the goddess who, like Uraš, was, in tradition, the consort of Anum. If so, *nabīt Anšar* is the better reading.

94' é-*ibbi-Anum*, <sup>d</sup>nin-é-gal: *mušabbât Anim* is free comment based on *Anum*, clearly crafted for similarity in sound to *ibbi Anum* (similarly, see **section 3.2.14**).

96' The possibility that é-sa-pàr “House of the Net” prompts *mušparirrat šēt zā'irī* is discussed in **section 5.6**.

97' é-gal-<sup>d</sup>lamma-lugal: *uššubat [m]al[ki]* simultaneously freely expresses the function of the king's protective deity (<sup>d</sup>lamma-lugal) and speculatively interprets parts of <sup>d</sup>lamma-lugal. From the phonetic continuum of lamma, *ešēbu* is lam, *uššubu* lam-lam (*Nabnītu* R 166,169 *MSL* XVI p.301; similarly Syllabary B I 212 *MSL* III p.114, *Urra* II 305 *MSL* V p.74); lugal supplies *malku* (so, the well-known equation *malku* = *šarru*).

98' *kiš<sup>ki</sup>*, <sup>d</sup>*sîn*(30): The father-daughter relationship of Sîn and Ištar of Kiš underpins the imagery in l.98'. The scholar perhaps further associates Kiš and Sîn by graphic interpretation. From the Old Babylonian period onwards, the complex and varied sign form *kiš* may be written to contain three wedges, which may be taken as Sîn's divine number 30, writing his name. Ištar is thus truly in Kiš *itti<sup>d</sup>sîn*(30) “with Sîn”.

99' é-dub-ba: *išpikkū* (sometimes written ì-dub) interprets dub. *muganninat ganūnu* develops the same theme, exploring the meaning é-dub-ba “the storage house”.

100' é-me-te-ur-sag: me-te is *simtu* and is further interpreted by *šūluku* in the idiom used; ur-sag is *qarrādu*.

101'-103' ḥur-sag-kalam-ma, <sup>d</sup>nin-lil: An extended, rather repetitive, speculative interpretation spans ll.101'-103'. ḥur-sag is *šadû* (101'-103'). Separately, ḥur is understood to abbreviate giš-ḥur *uṣurtu* (101',103'; **section 3.2.23**); and sag interpreted as *rēštû* (103'). kalam is *mātu* (101'-103') and its people *nišū*(un)<sup>meš</sup> (101') (<sup>ka-la-ma</sup>un *mātu* Syllabary B II 245 *MSL* III p.145 and elsewhere).

The interpretive technique influences both language and form. The Akkadian interpretation respects the order of the elements of ḥur-sag-kalam-ma: so, the order *šadû*(ḥur-sag)/*mātu*(kalam) (101'-103') (noting particularly the preposed genitive *ša šad māti*) and *uṣurtu*(giš-ḥur)/*rēštû* (sag) (103').

*kīma šumīšāma* (l.102') explicitly signals etymological interpretation (**section 2.4.4**). An interpretation of Ninlil, the named goddess indicated by the feminine possessive

suffix *-ša*, is expected, yet ll.102'-103' largely interpret *hur-sag-kalam-ma*. Perhaps here Ninlil is inseparably identified with *hur-sag-kalam-ma*, so that it is consequently “her” name. *mūdūtu* (l.102') may interpret Ninlil. *nin* is perhaps understood as its Sumerian synonym *gašan* and interpreted as *gašam*, equating to *mūdū* (*Erimḫus* V 142 *MSL* XVII p.73; *Lu* II iv 9" *MSL* XII p.121). n/m consonantal change is unusual in the text corpus (but note l.105'); *mūdūtu* may simply be free composition.

104' The scholar appears to interpret two divine names, neither otherwise expressed here. *bēltu*(*gašan* Ms.a) is *nin*; *šaḳû(mušaqqât)* is *il* (Commentary II 82). Together they suggest Nin(l)il, it seems. *nādinat zēri* closely resembles *bānât zēri* (l.21 *Zarpanītum*) and *bānât riḫûti* (l.82' *Erua*), both identities of Ištar, identified with Ninlil in *é-hur-sag-kalam-ma*. Thus l.104' encodes two unexpressed names and through its scholarly allusions expresses the religious belief that understands the dual identity of the goddess in *é-hur-sag-kalam-ma*.

*rēšû* (*sag*) perhaps recalls *é-hur-sag-kalam-ma*.

105' As in l.104', lexical equivalences would seem to encode Ninlil's name here, while the Akkadian imagery seems to point to Ištar (**section 5.6**). *qarittu* may be *gašan*, synonymous with *nin* (<sup>ga-ša-an</sup>*gašan qarittu* *Aa* II/4 217 *MSL* XIV p.285); *lē'û*, synonymous with *mūdū* (*LTBA* 2 1 iv 4ff.) is perhaps understood as *gašam*, and interpreted as *gašan* (as in ll.101'-103'). Both thus recall Ninlil. Through Sumerian equivalences and Akkadian text, like l.104', l.105' may suggest the persona of Ištar-Ninlil.

106' *é-kur-ní-zu: šad puluḫti* (l.106') straightforwardly renders elements of *é-kur-ní-zu*: *kur* is *šadû*; *ní puluḫtu*. *kur* writes *kašādu*. *sartu(sarrātu)* interprets *zu* (Commentary II 40).

107' *ilat tanādāti* and *bēlet arattê* speculatively interpret *é-kur-ní-zu* again. Exploiting homophony and polyvalence, *ní* is understood as *ni*, reading *ì* and taken as *i* to supply *nādu* “praise”, and thus *tanattu*, (*Syllabary* B II 20 *MSL* III p.132, *Idu* II 138, *Ea* II 135 *MSL* XIV p.253; similarly, *ní-tuku* in personal names). *ní* is also rendered by *arattû*, a synonym lexically equated with *tanattu* and *tanittu* (perhaps a free variant of *tanattu*, so *CAD* T 169 note) (*Diri* IV 89 *MSL* XV p.152, *Antagal* N ii 8' *MSL* XVII p.240).

*bēltu* (nin) may recall Ninlil. *šarratu* <sup>d</sup>*ištarāti*(15)<sup>meš</sup> and its writing surely encode a reference to Ištar.

108' The unusual epithets, which do not obviously identify their subject, almost certainly result from speculative interpretation, but the scholar's intentions are obscure. *bīru* perhaps anticipates é-mes-lam, interpreting mes. *bīru* is máš, perhaps to be understood as maš; see George (2003, p.82) for discussion of maš to render mes or meš (so too é-maš-maš, alternatively é-mes-mes or é-měš-měš *HMH* 742).

Perhaps, like l. 109' but less certainly, l.108' encodes é-mes-lam's city, Kutha(gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup>): *tamītu*, cognate with *amātu/awātu* may supply inim(ka), read gù; *šagapūru*, perhaps related to *gapāru* (AHw 1126b), readily gives the phonetics gab, read as du<sub>8</sub>; *qarnu* is equated with à (*Antagal* F 176 *MSL* XVII p.217). Thus, through homophones and alternative readings, Kutha(gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup>) may be embedded in l.108'.

109' é-mes-lam: l.109' simultaneously interprets é-mes-lam and expresses its city by Akkadian correspondences which equate to the signs which write Kutha(gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup>). The scholar interprets é-mes-lam to refer to vigorous growth. <sup>giš</sup>mes is *mēsu* and *lammu*, types of trees; <sup>giš</sup>lam *lammu* and *šiqdu* "almond" (see further *HMH* p.55, on é-mes-lam). mes is also *eṭlu* "manly, young man", implying youthful vigour (Syllabary B II 118 *MSL* III p.139). lam and *ešēbu* "grow luxuriantly" are equated (Syllabary B I 212 *MSL* III p.114, *Nabnītu* R 166 *MSL* XVI p.301). *nādinat naphar tuḥdi* interprets the motifs of verdant growth and vigorous youth which the lexical equations prompt.

*naphar tuḥdi* evidently results from the correspondences gú *napharu* and du<sub>8</sub> *taḥādu*, supplying *tuḥdu* (*Nabnītu* XXIII 340 *MSL* XVI p.221 and elsewhere, see CAD T 42). An explanatory temple list contains a closely similar, albeit broken, etymological interpretation of gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup> as *bīt ḥé-g[ál]* (*HMH* TL6 19; *HMH* pp.51, 55). Thus Kutha(gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup>) is incontrovertibly encoded in l.109'.

110' é-ùru-ama-ki: The writing of é-ùru-an-ki as é-ùru-ama-ki is perhaps the scholar's own manipulation of é-ùru-an-ki to serve speculative interpretation (**sections 3.2.19.8, 6.3 Unusual writings**).

ùru(ùri) is *našāru* (Syllabary B II 278 *MSL* III p.146); ama *ummu*. Freely rendered, ki (usually *eršetu*) is *mātu* and *dadmū* (synonymous with *mātu*: *malku* = *šarru* I 191, ed. Hruša, 2010). ama/*ummu* perhaps encodes Mamma/Mammi/Mammītum, a chthonic goddess (discussed in **section 5.6**).

111' é-dim-gal-an-na: *markas šamāmī* straightforwardly renders é-dim-gal-an-na: for dim-gal as *markasu*, see George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.244-245; an is *šamāmū*.

*bānīt ili u amēli* interprets é-dim-gal-an-na again: dim, understood as *dīm*, supplies *banū* (*Idu* II 236, Syllabary B I 292 *MSL* III p.123); an, read dingir, is *ilu*; na *amīlu*.

112' du<sub>10</sub>-gar<sup>ki</sup>: The writing du<sub>10</sub>-gar<sup>ki</sup> (Damru) generates Akkadian text. du<sub>10</sub> is taken as du<sub>6</sub> *šubtu* (*Idu* II 27, *Ea* III 17 *MSL* XIV p.303) and *dù kalû. nēhtu* (sometimes written ne-ḥa or ne-ḥu) perhaps interprets du<sub>10</sub> as ḥi, with a vocalic change (**section 3.2.16**), for (ne-)ḥa/ḥu.

Scholarly speculation which produces *ribītu* anticipates é-gissu-bi-dùg-ga, exploiting near-homophony of the Akkadian word *šillu* with Sumerian *sila*: gissu is *šillu*; *ribītu* is *sila*-(dagal) (**section 3.2.14**). Consonantal change ṣ/s is not otherwise evidenced in the text corpus (**sections 3.2.17, 3.2.19.4**; compare also l.129').

*našāru* may encode a reference to the names of é-gissu-bi-dùg-ga's god *Sîn* and his consort *Ningal*, with whom the composition's goddess is associated here. *našāru* is *ùru/ùri(šeš)* (as l.110'), recalling *Sîn* as *Nanna(šeš-ki)*; *našāru* has lexical equation *gál* (*Ea* I 234 *MSL* XIV p.188 and elsewhere (CAD N/II 34); Veldhuis, 2014, p.349), suggesting *Ningal*(<sup>d</sup>nin-gal).

113' é-gissu-bi-dùg-ga: l.113' straightforwardly interprets é-gissu-bi-dùg-ga. gissu is *šillum*. dùg-ga is *ṭābu*, supplying *ṭāb* and *mutibbat*. The unusual word *samsammu* almost certainly results from speculative interpretation; it is perhaps a perceived syllabification, rendering *giš-mi(gissu)*.

114' *šá-an-da-lip-úr<sup>ki</sup>*: The toponym's elements are individually interpreted by the Akkadian text as if Sumerian elements, as perhaps they are. *šá*, understood as *šà*, and *lip*, understood as *lip/lib(šà)*, usually *libbu*, supply *qerbu*. an is *šamāmū*. *ina* may interpret *da*: the Sumerian comitative element *da* is known from grammatical texts (see CAD I-J 142); and *da*, understood as *ta*, is *ina* (Commentary II 18, Syllabary B II 99 *MSL* III p.138). *úr* also supplies *ina* (*Aa* VII/2 141 *MSL* XIV p.464). Understanding *da* as *dù* (also read *dà*) supplies *kališ*; *lip*, taken as *líp(kal)* perhaps also prompts *kališ*. *puqu* is *ur<sub>5</sub>-da* (*Izi* H 226 *MSL* XIII p.208, CT 18 49 ii 30), interpreting *úr* and *da*.

The scholar also interprets the form of the name. The graphic arrangement presented by the elements *šà*(inside)- *an*(heavens)- *da*(in)- *lib/šà*(inside) is expressed in *ina qereb*

*šamāmī*. In *šá-an-da-lip-úr<sup>ki</sup>* the goddess is truly inside heaven (**section 6.3 Graphic interpretation**).

The elaborate interpretation afforded by the toponym (not otherwise known) calls into question whether *šá-an-da-lip-úr<sup>ki</sup>* is, like *é-è-umuš-a*(1.85') and *é-ùru-ama-ki*(1.110'), an unorthodox spelling contrived for speculative interpretation (**sections 3.2.19.8, 6.3 Unusual writings**).

115' *é-gu-la*: *é* is rendered by *simakku*, synonymous with *šubtu* (*malku* = *šarru* I 284, ed. Hruša, 2010). *gu-la* supplies both *kullatu* (*gul-la Erimḥus* V 43 *MSL* XVII p.68) and *rabītu*.

The remainder of 1.115' is not derived from *é-gu-la*. As elsewhere, 1.115' appears to provide clues to the identity its (otherwise unknown) goddess. The name cannot be securely deduced. *gu-la*, interpreted twice, may indicate Gula herself (*é-gu-la* at Borsippa is Gula's temple *HMH* 424). Another possibility is Ninsun. The secondary name for Ninsun in the God list An: *Anum* V 3 (ed. Litke, 1998) is <sup>d</sup>nin-*é-gu-la*, which *šarrat é-gu-la* perhaps expresses (see too *HMH* 428). The unusual epithet *bēlet igisē* is perhaps the key, with its striking similarity to Ninigizibara(<sup>d</sup>nin-igi-zi-ba-ra), a goddess equated with the healing goddess in the Gula hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi (Lambert, 1967, p.120 79-91): *bēltu* is nin; *igisē*(igi-sá)<sup>e</sup> replicates the phonetics igi-zi; ba-ra is readily inferred from *šarratu*(bára), and perhaps suggested by *simakku*, broadly synonymous with *parakku*(bára).

116' *ša-dun-ni<sup>ki</sup>/urušá-dun-ni<sup>ki</sup>*, <sup>d</sup>nin-ì-gara<sub>10</sub>: As in 1.114', the toponym's elements are interpreted as Sumerian and likewise, without other evidence, speculative interpretation calls into question whether the toponym was indeed as presented (**sections 3.2.19.8, 6.3 Unusual writings**).

*ša/šá* is understood as *ša<sub>6</sub>(sa<sub>6</sub>) damāqu*. *nakādu* is surely speculative interpretation, but its derivation is obscure. Its primary meaning is "to beat", said of the heart, and hence "to worry". The scholar perhaps takes *ša/šá* as *šà* "heart" and *ni* as *ní* "to fear" (*palāḥu*), freely rendered in *nākidat*.

*bēlet šamni u šizbi* renders <sup>d</sup>nin-ì-gara<sub>10</sub>. *nin* is *bēltu*; *ì* supplies *šamnu*(ì-giš); *šizbu*(ga) interprets gara<sub>10</sub> (written ga-ni Ms. a).

117' *é-ga-ì-nun-šár-šár/é-ga-nun-na-šár-šár*: *šizbu* is ga; *ḥimētu*(ì-nun-(na)) renders ì-nun and nun-na. *šár* is *mādu* "become numerous" (*Idu* II 71) and writes *šār* "countless"

and *kiššatu* “all”. *šumḫu* and *malālu*, implicitly conveying the sense of plenty, freely interpret šár-šár.

šár is perhaps understood as sar, the marker of plants, interpreted to supply *rē’utu* (compare Commentary II 1 sar *mīrištu* “farmland”).

118' *már-da*<sup>ki</sup>: Marad(*már-da*<sup>ki</sup>) is, it seems, interpreted by *ḫirtu* and *abūbu*, using its phonetics. *ḫirtu* in Emesal is mu-ud-na (Emesal Vocabulary II 73 *MSL* IV p. 17; IV R 9 r.25). For speculative use of Emesal forms, see **section 3.2.10**. *abūbu* is a-ma-ru. *ḫīrat šarri*(lugal) simultaneously expresses the goddess’ status as wife of Ninurta and encodes in l.118’ Lugal-Maradda, the name by which he was worshipped in Marad.

119' é-igi-kalam-ma: igi, read ši, is evidently interpreted as *napištu*(zi), perhaps with consonantal change š/z, or understanding Emesal for *napištu*, ši (Emesal Vocabulary II 189 *MSL* IV p. 189; *Nabnītu* III 70 *MSL* XVI p.64). kalam is *mātu*. *lamādu* is perhaps prompted by kalam-ma’s phonetics; and may interpret igi as ši, taken not as zi but zu (compare Commentary II 38, 40 where zi and zu interpret <sup>d</sup>šà-zu). *ṭēmu* too appears to interpret kalam-ma: <sup>gal-ga</sup>GÁxGAR *ṭēmu* (*Ea* IV 258 *MSL* XIV p.365). For consonantal change g/k, **section 3.2.17**.

120' é-zi-ba-ti-la: zi is *napištu* and, taken as zu, supplies *šulūlu* (Commentary II 38 zu *š[ull]ulu* “protect”, where zi and zu interpret <sup>d</sup>šà-zu). With different vocalic change and using Emesal, zi is interpreted as *ṭābu*, (zé-eb: dùg: *ṭābu* Emesal Vocabulary III 116 *MSL* IV p. 38). ba is *qāšu*; ti-la *balāṭu*.

121' é-gašan-tin-na: *pašāḫu* interprets tin (<sup>te-en</sup>te *pašāḫu* *Aa* VIII/1 207 *MSL* XIV p.494). *pašāḫu* perhaps also interprets gašan through the writing of its equivalences *še*<sub>4</sub>(MÜŠxA-DI) (*Idu* II 274) and *še*<sub>12</sub>(MÜŠxA) (*Aa* VIII/1 173 *MSL* XIV p.493): *mùš* is *nín*, readily understood as *nin*, hence gašan. Likewise, through a writing, *pû* perhaps interprets tin: <sup>ú-nu</sup>te-unu *pû* (*Idu* II 92, similarly *Nabnītu* IV 2 *MSL* XVI p.76).

l.121' perhaps encodes the goddess’s identity: *asû* is a-zu; *pašāḫu* equates to *gál* (*Idu* I 46), together suggesting *azugallatu* “great physician”, the healing goddess’ epithet.

122' *larag*(ud-ud-ag)<sup>ki</sup>: For the reading of ud-ud-ag<sup>ki</sup> as Larak, see Knudsen (1967, p.62), Hallo (1971, p.65) and *MZL* pp. 164, 382. The orthography evidently proclaimed the sanctity of the city, conveyed too in l.122’ which interprets this orthography. *ebēbu*

is dadag(ud-ud); so too, *ellu* (*Diri* I 108-109 *MSL* XV p.108). The marker *ki* is interpreted by *mātu* (cf. l.93') and *šubtu*, abbreviating *ki-tuš* (**section 3.2.23**).

The speculative interpretations perhaps encode names or titles by which the goddess was venerated in Larak. *mubbibat māti* seems to suggest Nin-Larak, a name by which Nin-Isina is referred to in Sumerian literary texts (Kraus, 1949, pp. 79-80). *mātu* is equated with both *múš* and *mùš(nín)* in lexical lists: <sup>ni-in</sup>*mùš mātu* (Syllabary B I 18 *MSL* III p.97) demonstrates the reading which gives Nin; *mubbibat* interprets Larak. In other Sumerian texts Larak's goddess is Ninašte, "Lady of é-aš-te", the temple of Gula there (Richter, 2004, pp.264-265; *HMH* 92). The name is perhaps suggested by *šubassa*: *aš-te šubtu* (*Izi* E 178 *MSL* XIII p.188). *mātu*, equated with *nín*, and *šubtu* may be taken together, expressing Ninašte.

123' é-ki-ná-šà-tén-na: *ki* supplies *ašru* and *mātu*. *tén*, taken as its homophone *ten*, supplies *nāhu* (*Aa* VIII/I 206 *MSL* XIV p.494, *Izi* E 102 *MSL* XIII p.187). A bilingual composition translates *te-en-te-en* as *tanīhtu* (Sjöberg, 1975b, p.188 115). *ná* may suggest <sup>giš</sup>*ná eršu* "bed"; thus *ašar tanīhti* "place of rest" interprets *ki-ná*. The correspondences resolve that *tanīhtu* (*tanēhtu*), "relaxation" is intended, not *tānīhtu* (*tānēhtu*), "distress".

*na* is *amīlu*. *ná* too may be taken as *na*, the two elements (*ná*, *na*) suggesting the plural noun *nišū*. *tén*, read *din*, is *balātu*; *šà qerbu* (as l.114').

*nišī māti iballuṭā qerebša* interprets not only the elements of é-ki-ná-šà-tén-na, but also their arrangement in the name: é-ki (place)-ná (people)-šà (inside)-tén (recover)-na (people). Thus framed within the name, people indeed recover inside é-ki-ná-šà-tén-na; and inside, at its heart, is šà (**section 6.3 Graphic interpretation**).

124' dur-an-ki: The conventional epithet *markas šamê u eršeti* renders and explains *dur-an-ki*:

*dur markasu*, an *šamû*, *ki eršetu* (further explained by George, *Topog.Texts*, pp.261-262). *rubūtu* "princess" may be readily associated with *šarratu*. *markas šamê u eršeti rubūtu* perhaps encodes Šarrat-Nippuri as the goddess' name or title.

125' é-kur: *bīt šīmāti*, perhaps a standard epithet of é-kur, expresses the religious tradition of é-kur as the temple where Enlil determined destinies. If *bīt šīmāti* has etymological basis, it can be explained in the same way as the description of é-kur as *bītu ḫāmim tērēt ilī* "House which gathers the gods' decrees" (Nippur Compendium,

*BTT* 18 §5 16'): kur is implicitly syllabified, supplying ur<sub>4</sub> *ḥamāmu* and ur<sub>5</sub> *têrtu* (George, *Topog.Texts*, p.444). Like *têrtu*, *šîmtu* is a divine decree. *bīt šîmāti* is perhaps a free rendering, with the same etymological foundation.

126' ʿéʿ-[ki-ùr]: The correspondences of the vocabulary used allow the secure restoration of é-ki-ùr in l.126'. *ašru* is ki. *ḥammūtu* ur<sub>4</sub>, interpreting its homophone ùr, as the contrived writing of é-ki-ùr and explanation in an explanatory temple list demonstrates:

[é]-ki-ur<sub>4</sub> *bīt ḥammū[ti]* (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 5')

Master bedchamber

Likewise, é-ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub> *bīt ḥammūti* (Assyrian Temple List, *BTT* 20 §4 162). See further, George, *Topog.Texts*, p.452.

The restoration is further confirmed: *duruššu* is ki-ùr (*Antagal* G 21 *MSL* XVII p.221); *šubtu* is ki.

127' é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub>: How l.127' may interpret é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> etymologically is not obvious. šu is *qātu*, which may signify a share (CAD Q 195) which the hand (šu) distributes; me, usually *paršu*, the divine decree which regulates everything, is perhaps freely interpreted as “allotted portion”; ša<sub>4</sub> is perhaps expressed in the phonetics of *muza'izat zīzātim*.

l.127' more clearly appears to interpret unexpressed names. First, é-ka-aš-bar-(ra), a sanctuary which appears to have been within é-šu-me-ša<sub>4</sub> (**section 5.6**): *kallatu*, here “daughter-in-law”, is perhaps associated with *emētu*, which may denote a female relative by marriage (*CDA* p.72), equated with *ušbar* (*Aa* VII/2 146 *MSL* XIV p.464); *zâzu* and *zittu* are ba and bar (*Nabnītu* XVII 232-233 *MSL* XVI p.162). These words perhaps interpret é-ka-aš-bar-(ra).

Secondly, the goddess of l.127': the lexical equivalence ba *zâzu* and the repetition both and explicit and implicit in *muza'izat zīzātim* with its the D stem verb suggests that ba-ba<sub>6</sub> is encoded here, thus identifying the unnamed goddess as Bau.

128' é-bára-dúr-gar-ra: *šubtu* is bára (*Aa* I/2 354 *MSL* XIV p.218) and interprets dúr: dúr equates to *šubtu* (*Proto-Aa* 21:2 *MSL* XIV p.90); likewise, dúr read as tuš. dúr is interpreted again by both *nâḥu* (supplying *nēḥtu*) and *banû*. dúr, read as šed<sub>6</sub> and taken

as šed<sub>7</sub> supplies *nâḥu* (Syllabary B I 22 *MSL* III p.97; see CAD N/I 143 for other similar readings which might equally render šed<sub>6</sub>). *dúr*, read ugu<sub>4</sub>, supplies *banû* (<sup>ú-gu</sup>ku *banû* *Ea* I 137 *MSL* XIV p.184).

129' <sup>d</sup>un-gal-nibru<sup>ki</sup>, <sup>d</sup>ninnu(50)-át-tim: Ninnuattim(<sup>d</sup>ninnu(50)-át-tim) incorporates Enlil's divine number 50 (in Sumerian, *ninnu*), which writes his name. Ninnuattim thus graphically and expressly declares the goddess to be created from Enlil (*binût Enlil* I.128'). This writing may be compared with the unusual writing of Ninurta as <sup>d</sup>ninnu(50)-urta, in a first millennium commentary on *Enūma eliš*, where the ancient commentator indicates that the writing alludes to Ninurta as the son of Enlil (see Frahm and Jiménez, 2015, p.324 l.50', who note that the writing is also attested in the healing ritual *KAR* 31 10).

Ninnuattim may be a writing of Ninua'itu, (Ištar-Ninlil of Nineveh), crafted to serve the scholarly interpretation (**sections 3.2.19.8, 6.3 Unusual writings**).

*šerretu* perhaps interprets <sup>d</sup>un-gal-nibru<sup>ki</sup> (*šarrat-Nippuri*) by perceived phonetic similarity *šerretu/šarratu* (compare also l.112').

130' é-úru-sag-gá: é-úru-sag-gá is a writing of é-ùru-sag-gá, temple of Gula as Nintinugga at Nippur (*HMH* 1208). é-úru-sag-gá may be translated as "House, Foremost City", appropriately describing the temple of the scholar's goddess and Nippur itself. Its orthography may have been crafted for this purpose, for úru is not used as a correspondence in speculative interpretation in the preserved text (**sections 3.2.19.8, 6.3 Unusual writings**).

úru is interpreted as *išittu* using a variation of the speculative method which breaks down the writing of an element of the name (**section 3.2.25**). The sign form writing the Akkadian word is broken down and one part used for interpretation: úru is understood as uru, one of the combination of signs which write èrim(URUxNÍG) *išittu* (<sup>e</sup>rim<sup>m</sup>URUxNÍG *išittu* Syllabary B II 261 *MSL* III p.145).

sag is *nišū* (*Idu* I 110); gá supplies *mukinnat* (<sup>ga-a</sup>gá *kânu* *Idu* II 159).

The last partly-preserved sign, not read by Lambert, appears to be n[a. *n[a-ši-rat* is restored, informed by the (broken) explanation of é-ùru-sag-gá as *bīt na-ši-i[r* (Nippur Temple List, *BTT* 19 26'). Speculatively interpreting é-úru-sag-gá, úru is taken as ùru *našāru* (<sup>ú-ru</sup>šeš *našāru* Syllabary B II 278 *MSL* III p.146).

131' <sup>d</sup>nin-pa<sub>4</sub>-nìgin-gar-ra: nin is *bēltu*. *napharu* is supplied by both pa<sub>4</sub>(pab), read pap, and nìgin, taken as nigin. Lexical evidence equates nìgin(u-ud-kid) with *šīt Šamši* (<sup>ni-gi-</sup>in u-ud-kid <sup>d</sup>Šamši(utu)<sup>ši</sup> *Aa* III/3 213 *MSL* XIV p.338). gar-ra evidently prompts *ašābu*: dūr-gar is *ašābu* (dūr-mar dūr-gar *ašābu* *Emesal Vocabulary* III 18 *MSL* IV p.28); *Commentary* II 109 equates ra and *ašābu*.

132' *parak-māri*(bára-dumu)<sup>ki</sup>: *palāku*(*pulukku*) is bar (<sup>ba-ár</sup>bar *palāku* *Aa* I/6 176 *MSL* XIV p.230), interpreting bára. No obvious etymological correspondence links *dadmū* and *parak-māri*(bára-dumu)<sup>ki</sup>. *dadmū* perhaps derives from phonetic similarity *dadmū*/dumu, or via its synonym *mātu*, *māri*/*māti* (for *dadmū* as *mātu*: *malku* = *šarru* I 191, ed. Hrůša, 2010).

133' é-ní-gal-abzu: ní-gal is *namrirru*, evidenced by an unplaced extract from the bilingual group vocabulary *Erimḥuš* given in a late Babylonian commentary on the omen series *Šumma izbu* (Finkel, 2006, pp.140, 143-144). The difficult readings *ta-kam-mu* and *et-mu-d[a]*, both perhaps corrupt, are discussed in **section 5.6**. Lexical equations do not resolve the readings. *ta-kam-mu* may be some corrupt form of *katāmu* “to cover”. *katāmu* equates to šú (*Idu* II 264, *Aa* I/8 43 *MSL* XIV p.240); with consonantal change (**sections 3.2.17, 3.2.19.4**) šú *katāmu* perhaps suggests and interprets *abzu/apsû*, but this is uncertain.

134'-135' *ma-al-gi-i*, é-è-an-ki: *mušāpāt*(*šūpû*) is è, anticipating é-è-an-ki(1.135') and perhaps also the text lost from 1.134'. *gimru* perhaps interprets gi, taken from the syllabary of Malgium, or understands ki as gi (**sections 3.2.17, 3.2.19.4** consonantal interchange k/g). For gi *gimru* see 1.76'.

1.135' straightforwardly translates the elements of é-è-an-ki: è *šūpûtu*(*šūpû*), an *šamû*, ki *eršetu*. é-è-an-ki is perhaps a contrived writing of é-an-ki, for speculative interpretation (**sections 3.2.19.8, 6.3 Unusual writings**; discussed in **section 5.6**).

136' *da-ád-muš*<sup>ki</sup>: *šarratu šamāmī* evidently interprets the Akkadian toponym as if it contained a Sumerian element (compare 1.114'). *muš* is understood as *mùš*: *mùš* read as *nín* and understood as *nin* (*bēltu*) is readily rendered *šarratu*; <sup>d</sup>*mùš* is *Inanna*(*Ištar*), queen of heaven (Lambert, 1982, p.198 III 55).

In addition to its etymological link, the epithet expresses the written name: truly, it can be seen, in Dadmuš itself, the goddess is queen(mùš) (**section 6.3 Graphic interpretation**).

*šubtu* may interpret the marker ki.

137' <sup>d</sup>*qí-bi-dumqī*(sig<sub>5</sub>-ga): The relevance of Qibi-dumqī and Lamassu to the context is elusive. They were perhaps selected for speculative purposes. Qibi-dumqī may encode an allusion to Ištar's temple at Dadmuš, é-šaga-ra (*HMH* 1032), as the orthography of Ms. a may suggest. sig<sub>5</sub> and its homophone sig<sub>6</sub>, which may be read ša<sub>6</sub>, both supply *damāqu*. sig<sub>5</sub>-ga is perhaps taken as ša<sub>6</sub>-ga, artificially writing šaga. Perhaps sig<sub>5</sub>-ga was itself perceived as sufficiently close to render šaga. é-šaga-ra is not named in the surviving text. The traces in ll.137'-138' are not consistent with the reading é-šaga-ra; if é-šaga-ra appeared, it is lost where Ms. a breaks off.

2" <sup>d</sup>*u-kul-la*: u-kul is used variously to produce *bānit rīti*. u supplies *banû* "well-formed" (*Aa* II/4 19 *MSL* XIV p.280), homophonous with *banû* "create" (as, similarly, sa<sub>7</sub> *banû* "grow" may be understood as *banû* "create", E-sagil Commentary, *BTT* 5 7-8, George, *Topog.Texts*, p.387; **section 3.2.14**); the phonetic continuum of u-kul supplies ugu<sub>4</sub> *banû* "create" (<sup>ú-gu</sup>ku *banû* *Ea* I 137 *MSL* XIV p.184). u, understood as ú, a sign which marks plants, is *rītu* (*Ea* IV 74 *MSL* XIV p.358, *Idu* II 200).

u, understood as u<sub>6</sub>, perhaps supplies *hātu* ([u<sub>6</sub>] *hātu Nabnītu* V 10 *MSL* XVI p.95). kul-la, understood as gul-la (*Erimhus* V 43 *MSL* XVII p.68; g/k change, **section 3.2.17**) or perhaps simply by homophony with the Akkadian word (**section 3.2.14**), supplies *kullatu*. kul-la/*kullatu* perhaps also suggests nigin, which writes *kullatu* and equates with *hātu* in a Middle Assyrian recension of *Ea* (*Ea* I 47d *MSL* XIV p.197).

3" é-sikil-la: é supplies *kiššu* (as l.67'); sikil is *ellu*. *kiššu ellu* is clearly deployed to characterise é-sikil-la for both its lexical equivalence and similar sound (see **section 3.2.14**). la is taken as the homophonous Akkadian word *lā*. A late medical commentary makes the same equation in etymological explanation of Šulak, the lavatory demon, as šu *qātu* "hand" la *lā* "not" kù *ellu* "clean" (*SpTU* I 47 4, ed. Hunger 1976, p.57; Frahm, 2011, pp.398-399; George, 2015, p.89).

*māgīru* (še-ga) interprets sikil, also evidently derived through perceived similarity in sound (for vowel and consonantal change, **sections 3.2.16-3.2.17, 3.2.19.3-3.2.19.4**).

The suggested restoration [na-šī] is perhaps supported etymologically: il(*našū*) may be drawn from the phonetic continuum of sikil. How *šertu* is derived is unclear.

4" é-dadag-lál: 1.4" is restored and fully explained by Reiner (1974, p.236): dadag(ud-ud) supplies *ubbubu*, lál *hītu*; uru-ki-ág-<sup>d</sup>inanna is Raqnana.

5" du<sub>6</sub>-kù: du<sub>6</sub> is interpreted to supply *tapšuh̄tu*, exploiting the combination of signs which write e<sub>11</sub>(du<sub>6</sub>+du) *pašāḫu* (*Diri* I 216 *MSL* XV p.112). Understood as dū, du<sub>6</sub> supplies kalama(dū-(a-bi)). kù, understood as ku and read tuš, supplies *šubtu*(ki-tuš). kù itself is rendered by *ebēbu*, as in 1.76'.

6" eššeb(ki-ib): The signs which write eššeb(ki-ib) are interpreted. ki straightforwardly supplies *eršetu*. *pirištu* perhaps interprets both signs. <sup>ki-ši</sup>nun-še [*pirištu*] (Reciprocal *Ea* A 134 *MSL* XIV p.526) and <sup>gi-e</sup>gi *piri[štu]* (CT 12 29 iii 34), if correct, suggest that *pirištu* interprets ki. Equation with ib is clearer: <sup>ú-ra-áš</sup>ib *pirištu* *Ea* I 338 *MSL* XIV p.194.

7" If *mu-ni-iḫ-ḫa-ŠI* is indeed *muniḫḫat*, D stem of *nāḫu*, 1.7" perhaps encodes a reference to Ištar. *nāḫu* is še<sub>12</sub> (*Aa* VIII/1 172 *MSL* XIV p.493); written MÛŠxA, še<sub>12</sub> readily suggests <sup>d</sup>mùš, Inanna(Ištar). Similar readings which correspond to *tāru* (related to *tayyāru*) may perhaps also be understood as še<sub>12</sub> and evoke Ištar: sè t[*āru*] *Nabnītu* O 188 *MSL* XVI p.292; <sup>tu-u</sup>šid *turru* *Ea* VII iii 8' *MSL* XIV p.451.

8" é-nun-maḫ: The elements nun and maḫ are straightforwardly translated; nun is *rubû* and *malku*; maḫ *šīru* and *rabû*(*rabītu*) (*Syllabary* B II 335 *MSL* III p.150).

9" *di-nik-ti*<sup>ki</sup>: The Akkadian toponym is clearly interpreted by *šapšu* *dínig*: <sup>di-ni-ig</sup>lú-me-en *šapšu* *Syllabary* B II 329 *MSL* III p.149. For the possible readings *a-ši-bát* and *a-šī-pat* here, see **section 5.6**. *ašābu* has lexical equivalence ti (*Aa* II/3 D7' *MSL* XIV p.277); thus *šapšu* (*dínig*) and *āšibat* (ti) might fully realise *di-nik-ti*. However, *āšīpu* may be written <sup>lí</sup>me-me and hence may encode Gula's name <sup>d</sup>me-me (*An: Anum* V 139, ed. Litke, 1998). The religious setting of ll.9"-10", é-gu-la, perhaps supports this.

10" é-gu-la: é, taken as è, supplies *ḫātu* (*Nabnītu* V 9 *MSL* XVI p.95); gu-la supplies *kullatu*, as in 1.115'. *ḫātu* may also recall é-gu-la's city, Diniktu. *ḫayyātu* "watchful" is

din and a bilingual text translates nig-è nig-è as [ḥa]yyātu ḥā'ītu “watchful watcher” (CT 16 15 iv 40; CAD H 2). Both equations might evidently evoke Diniktu.

ḥa-a-a-ṭa-at perhaps also suggests Ḥaya, indicating the goddess here to be Nissaba.

11" ud-nun<sup>ki</sup>: As in l.8" *malku* interprets nun, taken from the sequence of signs writing the toponym. nam-tar anticipates and renders nam from é-nam-zu (l.12"). In *bēltu*(nin) and nam-tar, l.11" perhaps encodes <sup>d</sup>nin-nam-tar-tar-re, a name of é-nam-zu's goddess, Bēlet-ilī (An: *Anum* II 8, ed. Litke, 1998; *HMH* 855).

12" <sup>d</sup>nin-līl, é-nam-zu: zu is *lamādu* “to learn” (Syllabary B I 222 *MSL* III p.115). The similar Akkadian word *lamassu* evidently interprets zu.

13" Etymological explanation of l.13" is elusive.

14" é-dim-gal-kalam-ma: *markas māti* straightforwardly translates dim-gal(*markas*) and kalam(*mātu*) (compare l.111'). *kidinnu* may interpret é-dim: <sup>i-dim'</sup>idim [i]-dim-mu *ki*[*dinnu*] *Idu* II ii 68 (Gong, 2002 p.87). *šakānu* perhaps interprets gal: <sup>[g]a-al</sup>gál *šakānu* *Idu* II i 45 (Gong, 2002 p.80), similarly *Nabnītu* XVI 191 *MSL* XVI p.147.

15" <sup>d</sup>ba-ú: In ll.115' and 10" *kullatu* renders gu-la; juxtaposed against the name <sup>d</sup>ba-ú, *kullatu* surely encodes her name Gula here. *kanūt*, *kullat adnāti* and *rikis māti* undoubtedly are generated by speculative interpretation. The scholar's thinking is difficult to follow; perhaps more than one interpretation is intended (**section 3.2.26**).

*rikis māti* closely parallels *markas māti*, recalling é-dim-gal-kalam-ma (l.14") but separated from l.15" in Ms. F (but not Ms.e) by a ruling. *kullat adnāti* and *rikis māti* may interpret elements of é-ul-ḥé-me-šu-du<sub>7</sub> (l.16"). ḥé, understood as gan, supplies both *kullatu* and *riksu* (<sup>ga-na</sup>gan *kullatu*, *riksu* *Aa* VIII/1 2-3 *MSL* XIV p.489). me equates to *eršetum* (*Proto-Aa* 71:8 *MSL* XIV p.91), rendered as *mātu*. *eršetum* and *mātu* share equations in many lexical lists (see CAD E 304-305). *mātu* and *adnātu* are synonyms (*malku* = *šarru* I 189, ed. Hrůša, 2010) and thus perhaps both interpret me. How *kanātu* arises is obscure.

17" The preserved text interprets é-ul-ḥé-me-šu-du<sub>7</sub>(l.16") . šu is understood as šú, supplying *ašāru*. šú is perhaps to be equated with *ašāru* “to be humble”. If so, in speculative interpretation, *ašāru* is understood as the homophonous Akkadian verb

*ašāru* “to organise”, the sense required. The identical equation occurs in a list of Marduk’s names where Lugal-šuan-na(<sup>d</sup>lugal-šu-an-na) is *bēlum āšir ilānī* “Lord who supervises the gods” (Marduk Names List 14). This is further explained in **section 3.2.14**.

*asmat(asāmu)* interprets several elements from *é-ul-ḫé-me-šu-du<sub>7</sub>*: *asāmu* is *du<sub>7</sub>* and interprets *ul*, read as *du<sub>7</sub>* (Syllabary B II 98 *MSL* III p.138); *ḫé-du<sub>7</sub>* is *asāmu*, as bilingual texts evidence (see CAD A/II 328), and can be understood from the separate elements *ḫé* and *du<sub>7</sub>* and by reversal of *ul(du<sub>7</sub>)-ḫé. šu-du<sub>7</sub>*, which writes *šuklulu* “perfect”, may be freely rendered by *asāmu*. Likewise, *asāmu* may freely interpret *me* (*paršu*), the directions which duly order the universe. *me* directly supplies *šamāmū* (<sup>me</sup>*me šamū Proto-Aa 71:7 MSL XIV p.91*).

The remaining fragmentary text of Ms. e (obverse) contains no further speculative interpretation; its reverse continues in different fashion.

## 6.2 Encoded names

Lexical equations pertaining to Akkadian words in ll.75'-17'' of the Gula hymn revealed that, in many lines, a name other than the sacred name explicit in the passage lies behind the Akkadian text. The names revealed, encoded by speculative methods, disclose the identity of the deity or the setting of the passage. This wholly unexpected conclusion is entirely at variance with the customary practice of Babylonian speculative scholarship, which first states a sacred name, followed by explanation or comment related to that name. The identification of Kutha(*gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup>*), city of *é-mes-lam* (the temple explicitly named), as encoded by *naphar tuḫdi* (equated with *gú du<sub>8</sub>* respectively)(l.109') is soundly-based; it is supported by closely similar etymological explanation of *gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup>* as *bīt ḫé-g[ál]* (*HMH TL6 19*).

Encoded names which can be identified with some confidence are Šerida (l.79'), Zarpanītum (l.82'), Tašmētum (l.83'), <sup>d</sup>*inanna-galga-sù* (l.86'), Zarpanītum/Erúa(Ištar) (l.104') Ištar (l.107'), Kutha (l.109'), Sîn (l.112'), Lugal-Maradda (l.118'), Nin-Larak (l.122'), *é-ka-aš-bar-(ra)* and Bau (l.127'), Inanna(Ištar) (l.136'), <sup>d</sup>*nin-nam-tar-tar-re* (l.11'') and Gula (l.15''). Less confidently identified are Ninlil (l.104'), Ninlil and Ištar (l.105'), Ninlil (l.107'), Kutha (l.108'). Mamma/Mammi/Mammītum (l.110'), Ningal (l.112'), Gula Ninsun Ninigizibara (l.115'), *azugallatu* (l.121'), Ninašte (l.122'), Šarrat-Nippuri (l.124'), *é-šaga-ra* (l.137'), Inanna(Ištar) (l.7''), <sup>d</sup>*me-me* (l.9'') and Ḫaya (l.10'').

Some of this second group might be discounted but for the precedent of other lines. These encoded names are explained using identical methods applied to explicit names. For derivations, see **section 6.1**.

Examples of encoded names in the text corpus are extremely rare. The most prominent parallel occurs in the declaration of Marduk's birth:

*ma-ri-ú-tu ma-ri-ú-tu*

*māri* <sup>d</sup>Šamši(utu) <sup>š</sup>i <sup>d</sup>Šamši(utu) <sup>š</sup>i ša ilā[nī] (*Enūma eliš* I 101-102)

Mari-utu Mari-utu

The son, the Sun, Sun of the gods

As much remarked, this evokes the name Marūduk(amar-utu); the obvious allusion rather differs from the subliminal encoded names of the Gula hymn. A closer parallel lies in *Enūma eliš* VII 135, the first line of a couplet in which the name Bēl-mātāti is conferred; nevertheless, the name Nēberu underpins the speculative interpretation there (see **section 3.2.11**). The opening passage of the narrative composition Erra speculatively interprets the names Ḫendursagga, Išum and Engidudu, all explicit (Lambert, 1957-1958, p.400; Bottéro, 1978, pp.159-161; Tinney, 1989). Bottéro (1978, p.160) suggested that the instructions to the Seven Gods (I 32-38; ed. Cagni, 1969) were drawn directly from their names, not disclosed in the narrative. The evidence of the Gula hymn seems to confirm that indeed this passage encodes the unknown deities' names.

Apart from Bottéro's conjecture as to the expression of the Seven Gods' names implicit in Erra I 32-38, in modern scholarship Hurowitz (2000, pp.73-76) remarked on speculative allusion to unexpressed names in Akkadian literature, citing *Enūma eliš* I 101-102 (above) and lines from the Hinke kudurru. Hurowitz (2000, p.73) noted the work of Zakovitch (1980) and Garsiel (1991) on name midrash in biblical literature. Garsiel's study (pp.127-164) examined the practice of referring to names not mentioned, or distantly mentioned, in the text by midrashic name derivations, analogous, it seems, to the encoding of names exemplified in the Gula hymn. Thus, it seems, the similarity between Babylonian speculative interpretation and the midrashim of rabbinical scholarship noted by Lambert (1954-1956, p.311) and explored by Cavigneaux (1987)

extends to a practice of interpreting unexpressed names, unexpectedly evidenced in the Gula hymn.

### 6.3 Speculative techniques and methods

Speculative scholarship characterises very substantial passages of the Gula hymn. The meaning of sacred names is explored and explained in Akkadian text which expresses the character of the sacred place or its goddess, derived from the name interpreted. In ll.75'-17'', scholarly interpretations are fully integrated into the fabric of the hymn, crafted as accolades in praise of its goddess.

The interpretive techniques and methods which are the hallmark of Babylonian speculative scholarship described in **Chapter 3** are deployed. (The corresponding sections of **Chapter 3** are noted in square brackets.) The patent meaning of names is translated and freely rendered (so, l.24 [sections 3.1.1, 3.1.2]). More commonly, names are speculatively interpreted [section 3.1.3], as flagged by *kīma šumīšāma* (ll.21,102' [section 2.4.4]). Repetition (as ll.34,37 *šāpikat eršetim*) and unusual words or expressions (as ll.92', 108', 115') signal scholarly speculation. Common methods of speculative interpretation (translation and free rendering of all or some of the name's elements at will [sections 3.2.1-3.2.5], exploitation of homophonous signs [section 3.2.11], or alternative readings [section 3.2.12], or both [section 3.2.13]) are deployed throughout. Elements may be repeatedly used (as l.114' [section 3.2.21]) and the same meaning understood from different elements (as l.131' [section 3.2.20]). More than one explanation of the scholar's methods may be possible (see l.17'' [section 3.2.26]).

The composition is remarkable for the many unusual interpretive methods used and developed. Four of these are discussed below: Akkadian homophony; near-homophony; unusual writings; and graphic representation. (The corresponding section(s) of **Chapter 3** are noted at the end of each.) A table of other noteworthy interpretive features observed concludes this section.

#### *Akkadian homophony*

The composition uses homophonous Akkadian words in its speculative interpretation. á-ra, from the phonetic continuum of <sup>d</sup>nin-kar-ra-ak (l.32), supplies the Sumerian loanword *arû*. Akkadian words are derived through phonetic similarity with elements of

the Sumerian name. Straightforwardly, *la* (é-sikil-la 1.3'') is taken as the homophonous Akkadian word *lā. kar* (<sup>d</sup>nin-kar-nun-na 1.28) seemingly prompts *qarittu*; *kalam-ma* (é-igi-kalam-ma 1.119') *lamādu*; *dumu* (*parak-māri*(bāra-dumu)<sup>ki</sup> 1. 132') perhaps produces *dadmū*. In more complex speculation, *sún* (<sup>d</sup>nin-sún 1.29) is taken as *sūnu*, equated with *tùn* to produce *šapālu*.

Elsewhere, Akkadian words derived from correspondence with Sumerian elements are replaced by homophonous or near-homophonous Akkadian words, without regard to meaning. *arû* (1.32) prompts (*w*)*ârû*. *banû* “grow” is understood as *banû* “create” (1.36); likewise, *banû* “well-formed” as *banû* “create” (1.2''). In 1.17'' perhaps *ašāru* “organise” replaces *ašāru* “be humble”. *lamassu* interprets *zu lamādu* (1. 12'').

[Section 3.2.14].

### *Near-homophony*

The composition exploits perceived phonetic similarity more inventively than typically observed in the text corpus. Sumerian words with similar phonology to the Sumerian name, or elements of it, are used in speculation, translated to supply Akkadian words. <sup>d</sup>nin-kar-ra-ak (1.32) is interpreted as *níg-ak-a* (*upšāšû*) and *níg-ŠID*, probably read *níg-ka*, resembling the phonetics of Ninkarrak (as the speculative interpretation implies), supplying *nikkasu*. *kalam-ma* (é-igi-kalam-ma 1.119') is taken as *galga*(*tēmu*); *sikil* (é-sikil-la 1.3''), is understood as *še-ga*(*māgiru*).

Conversely, Akkadian words or writings are interpreted through the medium of homophonous, or near-homophonous Sumerian terms. *tam-ma*, supplying *talīmtu*, is understood from the phonetics of <sup>d</sup>*ma-me-e* (1.23). *már-da*<sup>ki</sup> (1.118') is taken as *mu-ud-na*, an Emesal word, to supply *hīrtu*; and as *a-ma-ru*, meaning *abūbu*.

1.112' deploys a more complex interpretive sequence, exploiting near-homophonous words: *gissu* (é-gissu-bi-dùg-ga 1.113'), corresponds to *šillu*, which is understood as the Sumerian word *silā*, and translated as *ribītu* (*silā*-(*dagal*)).

Elsewhere, similar sounds are used for themselves. *mušabbât Anim* echoes the phonetics of *é-ibbi-Anum* (1.94'); the similar-sounding description of *é-sikil-la* as *kiššu ellu* (1.3'') further substantiates its etymologically-based explanation.

[Section 3.2.15].

### *Unusual writings*

Several unusual writings occur in the composition, deployed for speculative interpretation.

é-è-umuš-a (l.85'), rendering é-umuš-a, is a contrived writing which introduces an additional element for speculation (perhaps likewise é-è-an-ki (l.135') for é-an-ki). é-ùru-ama-ki (l.110'), recasts the name é-ùru-an-ki. é-úru-sag-gá (l.130') is a contrived writing of é-ùru-sag-gá. <sup>d</sup>ninnu(50)-át-tim (l.129') is perhaps a writing of Ninua'ītu, incorporating Enlil's divine number. Similarly the toponyms šá-an-da-lip-úr<sup>ki</sup> (l.114') and ša-dun-ni<sup>ki</sup>/ um<sup>u</sup>šá-dun-ni<sup>ki</sup> (l.116') perhaps present contrived orthographies. Some, perhaps all, of these may be this scholar's own invention.

[Sections 3.2.19 Contrived orthography, 3.2.19.7 Additional elements, 3.2.19.8 Unorthodox writings].

### **Graphic interpretation**

The composition is especially rich in graphic methods of interpretation. Other works in the text corpus evidenced three forms of graphic interpretation: use of *similar signs*; breaking sign forms into *constituent parts*; and *pictorial representation*. All are used in this composition and the methods further developed.

Elements of the Sumerian name are interpreted through *similar signs* (unrelated, in modern scholarship): ku is understood as túg, read umuš (l.69'); ħe is taken as šár (l.88'). Signs forms are broken down into *constituent parts* for interpretation: <sup>d</sup>namma(engur) is interpreted as lagab and ħal, lá and dingir (l.26); bár is deconstructed to give lagab and sag is perhaps also broken (l.92'); Sîn's divine number 30 is extracted from kiš (l.98'). Similarly, but rather differently, sign forms which would write a Sumerian equivalence of the Akkadian word used are notionally broken down. èrim(URUxNÍG) (*išittu*) is used to interpret uru (é-úru-sag-gá l.130'). Likewise, e<sub>11</sub>(DU<sub>6</sub>+DU) (*pašāĥu*) interprets du<sub>6</sub> (du<sub>6</sub>-kù l.5''). še<sub>4</sub>(MÜŠxA-DI) and še<sub>12</sub>(MÜŠxA) (*pašāĥu*) perhaps supply mùš, through which gašan is interpreted (é-gašan-tin-na l.121'). Differently, in l.121' únu(TE-UNUG) (*pû*) perhaps interprets tin.

Analogous to the breaking of sign forms, combinations of signs which write names are taken apart for interpretation. úri(šeš-unug)<sup>ki</sup> supplies šeš (*aĥu*) (l.75'); gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup>, gú (*napharu*) and du<sub>8</sub> (*taĥādu*) (l.109'); <sup>d</sup>ninnu(50)-át-tim, 50 (hence, Enlil) (l.129'). Each sign is taken for interpretation from zimbir(ud-kib-nun)<sup>ki</sup> (Sippar l.78'), du<sub>10</sub>-gar<sup>ki</sup> (Damru l.112'), ud-ud-ag<sup>ki</sup> (Larak l.122'), and perhaps gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup> (Kutha l.108').

l.98' evidences interpretation through *pictorial representation*. Sîn, represented by his divine number 30, is truly inside the sign form kiš in kiš<sup>ki</sup>, the goddess' city.

Elsewhere, the scholar evidently has an eye to graphic arrangement in his composition. ll.101'-103' repeatedly interpret ħur-sag-kalam-ma, respecting the order of the elements

of the name. More remarkably, the scholar contrives to interpret the form of certain names, simultaneously expressing their elements by etymological means. So, in Dadmuš(*da-ád-muš<sup>ki</sup>* 1.136') the goddess is *šarratu šamāmī* “queen of heaven”; *šarratu* is etymologically derived, understanding *muš* as *mùš* (see **section 6.1**). The epithet also interprets the form of the toponym: within Dadmuš(*da-ád-muš<sup>ki</sup>*), she is queen(*mùš*). More elaborate interpretations occur in ll.114' and 123' (*šá-an-da-lip-úr<sup>ki</sup>*, *é-ki-ná-šà-tén-na*). Nothing similar has been observed in other works in the text corpus, although it may perhaps occur.

[**Section 3.2.25**].

### *Other features/methods*

Other noteworthy features and methods observed in the Gula hymn are set out in tabular form below. Selectively drawn from the composition, only more certain examples are given.

<i>Feature/Method</i>	<i>Section</i>	<i>Gula hymn</i>
Akkadian names/writing interpreted	3.1.3.3	23, 114', 116', 136', 9'', 10''
Determinative given equivalence	3.2.6	27, 75', 78', 122'
Element interpreted as determinative	3.2.7	117', 2''
Plural freely inferred	3.2.9	24, 68', 75', 123'
Emesal	3.2.10	118', 119', 120'
Vowels	3.2.16	20, 31, 35, 108', 120'
Consonantal groups	3.2.17	19, 32, 35, 108', 112', 119', 3''
Syllabification (implicitly contrived)	3.2.19.1	32, 33, 67', 68', 125', 2''
Nasal consonant g (ḡ)	3.2.19.5	32
Reduplicated elements	3.2.22	117'
Abbreviation	3.2.23	101', 103', 122'
Phonological reversal	3.2.24	89'

## Chapter 7 Conclusion

This thesis has investigated the techniques and methods of Babylonian scholarship used to explore the meaning of sacred names. Modern scholarship has identified the ancients' explanatory approach; modern scholars have detailed how Akkadian interpretations were derived in individual works (**section 2.5**). No systematic analysis of the range of techniques and methods used, as demonstrated by a corpus of texts, has been previously undertaken. A central contribution of the thesis is the analysis and illustration of the techniques and methods of Babylonian speculative scholarship, evidenced by a substantial corpus of texts, presented in **chapters 3 and 6**. **Section 3.2** presents a detailed classification of speculative methods used. The analysis of the Gula hymn (**chapter 6**) has added to the range of interpretive features previously observed.

**Chapters 3 and 6** show that Babylonian scholars deployed a vast array of sophisticated interpretive techniques and methods to explain the patent meaning of sacred names, and to explore and reveal their latent, or hidden, meaning. More than one explanation of an Akkadian interpretation might be possible (**section 3.2.26**). The density and complexity of the application of interpretive methods is amply illustrated (see, for example, **section 3.2.13**). Layers of meaning in a name could be uncovered, and its meaning confirmed and reinforced (**section 3.1.3.7**). Through scholarly exploration of sacred names, common beliefs about the gods were substantiated, traditional ideas affirmed, and deities and their sacred places and cities praised and glorified, to religious and ideological ends (**section 3.1.3.2**). Scholarly erudition and ingenuity is evident throughout the text corpus. The intellectual seriousness of this scholarly activity, noted by Bottéro (1977, p.24 §29) and Cavigneaux (1987, p.247), is clear from the religious nature of the works in which sacred names are explored and explained by speculative scholarship. The quantity, variety and importance of the surviving textual record evidences the importance of the scholarly interpretation of sacred names in Babylonian religious thought and intellectual life.

The Gula hymn is presented in **chapter 5**, in large part for the first time, and for the first time as a single composition. The importance of the composition is thus now firmly established. Thanks to Lambert, it is now certain that its goddess is the healing goddess, not Ištar. The composition is shown to be a significant addition to the literary compositions relating to Gula, and to the corpus of great Standard Babylonian hymns,

on a par with hymns to Šamaš (Lambert, 1960) and Šarrat-Nippuri (Lambert, 1982) and the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣsa-rabi (Lambert, 1967). The Gula hymn offers an important addition to Babylonian religious thought; its syncretism of Gula, rather than Ištar as previously thought, is an area for further study. Its most striking aspect, however, is its scholarly interpretation of sacred names. The Gula hymn contributes significantly to our knowledge and understanding of Babylonian speculative scholarship.

The Gula hymn proves to be a remarkable composition, extraordinarily rich in the interpretive techniques and methods applied to sacred names by its scholarly composer. In addition to the expected range of techniques and methods exploiting the potential of the cuneiform writing system, unusual interpretive methods are used and developed (**section 6.3**). The composition is especially rich in graphic methods of interpretation. The remarkable interpretation of the form of certain names, while simultaneously expressing their elements etymologically, may perhaps be unique to this scholar.

The wholly unexpected feature revealed by analysis of the Gula hymn is the interpretation of names which are not explicitly expressed. Names encoded in the hymn by etymological means reveal the identity of the deity or the setting of the passage. This feature is little remarked on elsewhere in Babylonian studies, although it has been noted in biblical scholarship. It is amply illustrated in the Gula hymn (**section 6.2**). This remarkable feature distinguishes the composition.

The work undertaken in this thesis could usefully be developed in future research by analysis of further god lists and other works which time and space has not permitted. Lexical and bilingual sources which provide equations used in Akkadian explanations in a work might be considered more closely for any inferences that may be drawn. Old Babylonian compositions might be usefully examined for the scholarly interpretation of names. In particular, the Gula hymn is unlikely to be unique in its use of encoded names. **Section 6.2** notes a very few somewhat similar strategies in literary contexts. Further study might well reveal this feature to be part of the general repertoire of interpretative techniques deployed in Babylonian speculative scholarship. Thus the similarity between Babylonian speculative interpretation and the midrashim of rabbinical scholarship noted by Lambert (1954-1956, p.311) and explored by Cavigneaux (1987) may be further confirmed.

### Bibliographical and other abbreviations

<i>ABRT</i>	Craig (1895-1897)
<i>ACh</i>	Virolleaud (1908-1909)
<i>AfK</i>	<i>Archiv für Keilschriftforschung</i>
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	von Soden (1965-1981) <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i>
AMD	Ancient Magic and Divination
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i>
<i>Aula Or</i>	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BMOC	British Museum online catalogue <a href="http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online">www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online</a>
<i>BMS</i>	King (1896)
CAD	Oppenheim et.al (1956-) <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago</i>
CDA	Black, George and Postgate (2000) <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i>
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CRAA	Comptes rendus Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
ETCSL	Black J.A. Cunningham G. Ebeling J. Flückiger-Hawker E. Robson E. Taylor J. and Zólyomi G. <i>The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature</i> ( <a href="http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/">http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/</a> ) Oxford 1998–2006.
<i>GAG</i>	von Soden (1995) <i>Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik</i>
<i>George Topog.Texts</i>	George (1992)
GMTR	Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record
<i>Goddesses</i>	Asher-Greve and Westenholz (2013)
<i>HMH</i>	George (1993); Numbers cited are to entries in the Gazetteer of Ceremonial Names given at pp.63-171
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>KAR</i>	Ebeling (1919)
<i>KAV</i>	Schroeder (1920)
Labat	Labat and Malbran-Labat (1994)
Leichty catalogue	VI Leichty (1986); VII Leichty and Grayson (1987); VIII Leichty Finkelstein and Walker (1988)
<i>LKA</i>	Ebeling (1953c)
<i>LTBA</i>	2: von Soden (1933b)
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>

<i>MSL</i>	Landsberger, Civil and Reiner (1937- ) <i>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon; Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon</i>
<i>MZL</i>	Borger (2010)
<i>NABU</i>	<i>Notes assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires</i>
<i>OBO</i>	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
<i>OECT 6</i>	Langdon (1927)
<i>OLA</i>	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i>
<i>ORA</i>	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
<i>OrNS</i>	<i>Orientalia</i> (nova series)
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>Rép.géogr.</i>	<i>Répertoire géographiphe des texts cunéformes III</i> Groneberg (1980); V Nashref (1982)
<i>RLA</i>	Ebeling, Meissner, Weidner, von Soden and Edzard (1928-) <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
<i>SAA</i>	State Archives of Assyria
<i>SAAB</i>	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i>
<i>SAACT</i>	State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts
<i>SAAS</i>	State Archives of Assyria Studies
<i>SAHG</i>	Falkenstein and von Soden (1953)
<i>SpTU</i>	I Hunger (1976); III von Weiher (1988)
<i>StOr</i>	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
<i>StPohl SM</i>	<i>Studia Pohl Dissertationes scientificiae de rebus Orientis antique</i> Series Maior
<i>WVDOG</i>	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
<i>WO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
<i>YOS</i>	Yale Oriental Series Babylonian Texts IX Stephens (1937) ; X Goetze (1947); XI van Dijk Goetze and Hussey (1985)
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>

### ***Lexical lists***

*Igituh* short version: see Landsberger and Gurney (1957-1958).

Lexical lists are otherwise referred to by designations set out in the Appendix:Glossary of Cuneiform Lexical Texts given by Veldhuis (2014, pp.430-441), save for Ura which is termed *Ur-ra* in this study.

*Other abbreviations*

<i>BTT</i>	George (1992); Numbers given are to the edited texts, as designated by George
Commentary II	Commentary to <i>Enūma eliš</i> VII, as edited by Lambert (2013 pp.139-142)
<i>Enūma eliš</i>	Edition given by Lambert (2013)
TL	Temple list

Other bibliographical abbreviations are as used in CAD, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago*.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abusch, T. and Schwemer, D. (2011) *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals*, Vol.1, AMD 8/1, (Leiden and Boston).
- Al-Rawi, F.N.H. (1985) Nabopolassar's Restoration Work on the Wall "Imgur-Enlil" at Babylon, *Iraq* 47, 1-13.
- Al-Rawi, F.N.H. and George, A.R. (1995), Tablets from the Sippar library, V. An Incantation from *mīs pī*, *Iraq* 57, 225-228.
- Annus, A. (2002) *The God Ninurta in the Mythology and Royal Ideology of Ancient Mesopotamia*, SAAS XIV, (Helsinki).
- Asher-Greve, J.M. and Westenholz, J.G. (2013) *Goddesses in Context: On Divine Powers, Roles, Relationships and Gender in Mesopotamian Textual and Visual Sources*, OBO 259, (Fribourg and Göttingen).
- Attinger, P. (1984) Enki et Ninḫursaġa, *ZA* 74, 1-52.
- Barnett, R.D. (1960) *A list of fragments rejoined in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, (revised and enlarged), (London).
- Beaulieu, P.A. (1995) Theological and Philological Speculations on the Names of the Goddess Antu, *OrNS* 64, 187-213.
- Beaulieu, P.A. (1997) The Cult of AN.ŠAR /Aššur in Babylonia after the Fall of the Assyrian Empire, *SAAB* XI, 55-73.
- Beaulieu, P.A. and Mayer, W.R. (1997) Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD Š<sub>2</sub> und Š<sub>3</sub>, *OrNS* 66, 157-180.
- Behrens, H. and Klein, J. (1998-2001) Ninegalla, *RLA* 9, 342-347.
- Bezold, C. (1889) *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection*, Volume I, (London).
- Bezold, C. (1891) *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection*, Volume II, (London).
- Bezold, C. (1893) *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection*, Volume III, (London).
- Black, J.A. (1984) *Sumerian Grammar in Babylonian Theory*, StPohl SM 12, (Rome).
- Black, J.A., George, A.R. and Postgate, J.N. (2000) *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, 2<sup>nd</sup> (corrected) printing, (Wiesbaden).

- Böck, B. (2014) *The Healing Goddess Gula: Towards an Understanding of Ancient Babylonian Medicine*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 67, (Leiden and Boston).
- Böhl, F.M.Th. (1936-1937) Die fünfzig Namen des Marduk, *AfO* 11, 191-218
- Böllenrücher, J. (1904) *Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal*, Leipziger semitistische Studien 1, 6, (Leipzig)
- Borger, R. (1956) *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*, *AfO* Beiheft 9, (Graz).
- Borger, R. (1967) Das dritte "Haus" der Serie *bīt rimki*, *JCS* 21, 1-17.
- Borger, R. (1971a) Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten: Zwei prophetische Texte, *BiOr* 28, 3-41
- Borger, R. (1971b) *CAD* Vol. 2: B, Chicago/Glückstadt 1965, *BiOr* 28, 65-67
- Borger, R. (1979) *Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, (Rome).
- Borger, R. (1996) *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, (Wiesbaden).
- Borger, R. (2010) *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*, AOAT 305 (2.Auflage), (Münster).
- Bottéro, J. (1977) Les Noms de Marduk, l'écriture et la "logique" en Mésopotamie ancienne. In: M. de J. Ellis (ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*, 5-28, (Hamden, Connecticut).
- Bottéro, J. (1978) Antiquités assyro-babyloniennes, *Annuaire 1977-1978, École pratique des hautes études. 4e section, Sciences historiques et philologiques*, 107-164.
- Bottéro, J. (1982) La création de l'homme et son nature dans le poème de Atraḥasīs. In: M.A. Dandamaev (ed.), *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff*, 24-32, (Warminster).
- Bottéro, J. (1992) *Mesopotamia. Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods*, (Chicago and London).
- Cagni, L. (1969) *L'Épopée di Erra*, Studi Semitici 34, (Rome).
- Cavigneaux, A. (1987) Au sources du Midrash: l'herméneutique babylonienne, *Aula Or* 5, 243-255.
- Cavigneaux, A. and Jaques, M. (2010) Peut-on comprendre le Silbervokabular? In: D. Shehata, F. Weierhäuser and K.V. Zand (eds.), *Von Göttern und Menschen. Beiträge zu Literatur und Geschichte des Alten Orients. Festschrift für Brigitte Groneberg*, CM 41, 1-14, (Leiden and Boston).

- Cavigneaux, A. and Krebernik, M. (1998-2001a) <sup>d</sup>Nin-barage-si, *RLA* 9, 336.
- Cavigneaux, A. and Krebernik, M. (1998-2001b) Nin-e'igara, *RLA* 9, 348.
- Cavigneaux, A. and Krebernik, M. (1998-2001c) Nin-é-MUŠ.A, *RLA* 9, 349.
- Cavigneaux, A. and Krebernik, M. (1998-2001d) Nin-gikuga, *RLA* 9, 360-361.
- Cavigneaux, A. and Krebernik, M. (1998-2001e) Nin-ḥursagkalama, *RLA* 9, 382.
- Cavigneaux, A. and Krebernik, M. (1998-2001f) NIN-Ninua/Ninâ, GAŠAN-Ninua/Ninâ, *RLA* 9, 478.
- Cavigneaux, A. and Krebernik, M. (1998-2001g) Ninua'ītu, Nun(n)a'ītu, *RLA* 9, 508.
- Cavigneaux, A. and Krebernik, M. (1998-2001h) Niššīku, *RLA* 9, 590.
- Civil, M. (1974) Medical Commentaries from Nippur, *JNES* 33, 329-338.
- Cooper, J.S. (1970) A Sumerian šu-íl-la from Nimrud with a Prayer for Sin-šar-iškun, *Iraq* 32, 51-67.
- Craig, J.A. (1895-1897) *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, Assyriologische Bibliothek 13, 2 vols., (Leipzig).
- Deller, K. (1962) Studien zur neuassyrischen Orthographie, *OrNS* 31, 186-196.
- Delnero, P. (2012) *The Textual Criticism of Sumerian Literature*, Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series 3, (Boston).
- Dijk, J.J.A.van (1957) Textes Divers du Musée de Bagdad, II, *Sumer* 13, 65-134.
- Dijk, J.J.A.van (1973) Une incantation accompagnant la naissance de l'homme, *OrNS* 42, 502-507.
- Dijk, J.J.A.van, Goetze, A. and Hussey, M.I. (1985) *Early Mesopotamian Incantations and Rituals*, YOS XI, (New Haven and London).
- Driel, G.van (1989) The British Museum "Sippar" Collection: Babylonia 1882-1893, *ZA* 79, 102-117.
- Durand, J-M. (1979) Un commentaire à *TDP* 1, AO 17661, *RA* 73, 153-170.
- Ebeling, E. (1918) *Quellen zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* I, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft 23/I, (Leipzig).
- Ebeling, E. (1919) *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, WVDOG 28, (Leipzig).
- Ebeling, E. (1923) *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, WVDOG 34, (Leipzig).
- Ebeling, E. (1928) Ba'u, *RLA* 1, 432-433.
- Ebeling, E. (1952) Ein Loblied auf Nabû aus neuassyrischer Zeit, *WO* 1/6, 476-479.

- Ebeling, E. (1953a) *Die akkadische Gebetsserie „Handerhebung“ von neuem gesammelt und herausgegeben*, (Berlin).
- Ebeling, E. (1953b) Sammlungen von Beschwörungsformeln teils in sumerisch-akkadischer, teils in sumerischer oder akkadischer Sprache, *ArOr* 21, 357-423.
- Ebeling, E. (1953c) *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, Berlin.
- Ebeling, E. (1955) *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Beschwörungsserie namburbi*, *RA* 49, 178-192.
- Ebeling, E., Meissner, B., Weidner, E., Soden, W.von and Edzard, D.O. (1928- ) *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, (Berlin).
- Edzard, D.O. (1997) The Names of the Sumerian Temples. In: I.L. Finkel and M.J. Geller (eds.), *Sumerian Gods and their Representations*, *CM* 7, 159-165, (Groningen).
- Edzard, D.O. (1998-2001) Nin-Isina, *RLA* 9, 387-388.
- Falkenstein, A. and Soden, W. von (1953) *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*, (Zurich and Stuttgart).
- Farber, W. (1977) *Beschwörungsrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi*, (Wiesbaden).
- Farber, W. (1990) *Mannam lušpur ana Enkidu*: Some New Thoughts about an Old Motif, *JNES* 49, 299-321.
- Falkner, M. (1952-1953) Neue Inschriften aus der Zeit Sin-šarru-iškuns, *AfO* 16, 305-310.
- Finkel, I.L. (2006) On an *IZBU* VII Commentary. In: A. K.Guinan, M deJ. Ellis, A.J .Ferrara, S.M. Freedman, M.T. Rutz, L. Sassmannshausen, S. Tinney, and M.W. Waters (eds.), *If a Man Builds a Joyful House: Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty*, *CM* 31, 139-148, (Leiden and Boston).
- Finkel, I.L. (2010) Strange Byways in Cuneiform Writing. In: A. de Voogt and I.L. Finkel (eds.), *The Idea of Writing: Play and Complexity*, 9-25, (Leiden and Boston).
- Flückiger-Hawker, E. (1999) *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition*, *OBO* 166, (Fribourg and Göttingen).
- Foster, B. R. (2005) *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, Third edition, (Bethesda, Maryland).
- Frahm, E. (2010) Reading the tablet, the exta and the body: the hermeneutics of cuneiform signs in Babylonian and Assyrian text commentaries and divinatory texts. In: A. Annus (ed.), *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, *Oriental Institute Seminars*, 6, 93-136, (Chicago).

- Frahm, E. (2011) *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries. Origins of Interpretation*, GMTR 5, (Münster).
- Frahm, E. and Jiménez, E. (2015) Myth, Ritual and Interpretation. The Commentary on *Enūma eliš* I-VII and a Commentary on Elamite Month Names, *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 3, 293-343.
- Frankena, R. (1957-1971) Gula (A. Nach Texten), *RLA* 3, 695-697.
- Fuchs, A. (1994) *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, (Göttingen).
- Gabbay, U. (2015) Specification as a Hermeneutical Technique in Babylonian and Assyrian Commentaries, *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 3, 344-368.
- Gabbay, U. (2016) *The Exegetical Terminology of Akkadian Commentaries*, (Leiden and Boston).
- Garsiel, M. (1991) *Biblical Names. A Literary Study of Midrashic Derivations and Puns*, (Ramat-Gan).
- Gelb, I.J. (1948) A new Clay-Nail of Ḫammurabi, *JNES* 7, 267-271.
- Gelb, I.J. (1963) *A Study of Writing*, Revised Edition, (Chicago and London).
- Geller, M.J. (1980) A Middle Assyrian Tablet of *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, Tablet 12, *Iraq* 42, 23-51.
- Geller, M.J. (2005) *Renal and Rectal Disease Texts*, Die babylonische-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen VII, (Berlin).
- Genouillac, H. de (1923) Grande liste de noms divins sumériens, *RA* 20, 89-106.
- George, A.R. (1986) Sennacherib and the Tablet of Destinies, *Iraq* 48, 133-146.
- George, A.R. (1991) Babylonian texts from the folios of Sidney Smith, Part Two: Prognostic and Diagnostic Omens, Tablet I, *RA* 85, 137-167.
- George, A.R. (1992) *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, OLA 40, (Leuven).
- George, A.R. (1993) *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*, MC 5, (Winona Lake, Indiana).
- George, A.R. (1996) Studies in cultic topography and ideology, *BiOr* 53, 363-395.
- George, A.R. (2000) Four temple rituals from Babylon. In: A.R. George and I.L. Finkel, (eds.), *Wisdom, Gods and Literature: Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert*, 259-299, (Winona Lake, Indiana).
- George, A.R. (2003) *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts*, 2 vols., (Oxford).

- George, A.R. (2008) Review of O. Pedersén, *Archive und Bibliotheken in Babylon. Die Tontafeln der Grabung Robert Koldeweys 1899-1917*, Abhandlungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft Band 25, (Saawellingen, 2005), *BiOr* 65, 712-717.
- George, A.R. (2009) *Babylonian Literary Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, CUSAS 10, Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, Cuneiform Texts 4, (Bethesda, Maryland).
- George, A.R. (2010) The sign of the Flood and the language of signs in Babylonian omen literature. In: L. Kogan et. al. (eds.), *Language in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 53<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale I*, I. Babel und Bibel, 4, I, 323-335, (Winona Lake, Indiana).
- George, A.R. (2013) *Babylonian Divinatory Texts Chiefly in the Schøyen Collection*, CUSAS 18, Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, Cuneiform Texts 7, (Bethesda, Maryland).
- George, A.R. (2015) On Babylonian Lavatories and Sewers, *Iraq* 77, 75-106.
- George, A.R. and Al-Rawi, F.N.H. (1996) Tablets from the Sippar library, VI. Atra-Ḥasīs, *Iraq* 58, 147-190.
- George, A.R. and Al-Rawi, F.N.H. (1998) Tablets from the Sippar library, VII. Three wisdom texts, *Iraq* 60, 187-206.
- George, A.R. and Bongenaar, A.C.V.M. (2002) Tablets from Sippar: Supplementary bibliography etc. for Leichty, *Catalogues VI-VII*, up to the end of 2000, *OrNS* 71, 55-156.
- George, A.R. and Taniguchi, J. (forthcoming) *Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert*.
- Gesche, P.D. (2001) *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v.Chr.*, AOAT 275, (Münster).
- Goetze, A. (1945) Review of A. Heidel, *The System of the Quadrilateral Verb in Akkadian*, Assyriological Studies 13, (Chicago, 1940), *JNES* 4, 246-249.
- Goetze, A. (1947) *Old Babylonian Omen Texts*, YOS X, (New Haven, Connecticut).
- Goetze, A. (1955) An Incantation against Diseases, *JCS* 9, 8-18.
- Goetze, A. (1965) An Inscription of Simbar-šīḫu, *JCS* 19, 121-135.
- Goetze, A. (1968) An Old Babylonian Prayer of the Divination Priest, *JCS*, 22, 25-29.
- Gong, Y. (2002) A Homonymous List: Idu II (CT 11, 29-32, D.T.40), *Journal of Ancient Civilizations*, 17, 77-97.

- Groneberg, B.R.M. (1980) *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 3: Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients B 7, 3, (Wiesbaden).
- Groneberg B.R.M (1997) *Lob der Ištar : Gebet und Ritual an die altbabylonische Venusgöttin*, CM 8, (Groningen).
- Güterbock, H. G. (1934) Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200, ZA, 42, 1-91.
- Hallo, W.W. (1971) Antediluvian Cities, JCS 23, 47-67.
- Hasselbach, R. (2005) *Sargonic Akkadian, A Historical and Comparative Study of the Syllabic Texts*, (Wiesbaden).
- Hecker, K. (1974) *Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik*, AOAT Sonderreihe 8, (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn).
- Heidel, A. (1940) *The System of the Quadrilateral Verb in Akkadian*, Assyriological Studies 13, (Chicago).
- Heller, S. (2014) Rhythm and Expression in Akkadian Poetry, ZA 104, 56-73.
- Horowitz, W. (2011) *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, MC 8, Second Printing, with Corrections and Addenda, (Winona Lake, Indiana).
- Hruša, I. (2010) *Die akkadische Synonymenliste malku = šarru*, AOAT 50, (Münster).
- Hruška, B. (1969) Das spätbabylonische Lehrgedicht 'Inannas Erhöhung', *ArOr* 37, 473-522.
- Huehnergard, J. (2011) *A Grammar of Akkadian*, Third Edition, Harvard Semitic Studies 45, (Winona Lake, Indiana).
- Hunger, H. (1968) *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*, (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn).
- Hunger, H. (1976) *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk, Teil I*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 9, (Berlin).
- Hurowitz, V.A. (2000) Alliterative Allusions, Rebus Writing, and Paronomastic Punishment: Some Aspects of Word Play in Akkadian Literature. In: S.B. Noegel (ed.), *Puns and Pundits: Word Play in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature*, 63-87, (Bethesda, Maryland.).
- Hurowitz, V.A. (2010) Name *Midrashim* and Word Plays on Names in Akkadian Historical Writings. In: W. Horowitz, U. Gabbay and F. Vukosavović (eds.), *A Woman of Valor: Jerusalem Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Joan Goodnick Westenholz*, 87-104, Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 8, 87-104, (Madrid).

- Katz, D. (2011) Reconstructing Babylon: Recycling Mythological Traditions Toward a New Theology. In: E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, M. van Ess and J. Marzahn (eds.), *Babylon. Wissenskultur in Orient und Okzident/ Science Culture Between Orient and Occident*, 123-134, (Berlin and Boston).
- King, L.W. (1896) *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, (London).
- Klein, J. (1998-2001) Namtar, *RLA* 9, 142-145.
- Knudsen, E.E. (1967) Fragments of Historical Texts from Nimrud II, *Iraq* 29, 49-69.
- Koch, H. (1998-2001) Narunde, *RLA* 9, 180.
- Koch, U. S. (2005) *Secrets of Extispicy: The Chapter multābiltu of the Babylonian Extispicy Series and niširti bārūti Texts mainly from Aššurbanipal's Library*, (Münster).
- Köcher, F. (1954-1956) Eine spätbabylonische Ausdeutung des Tempelnames Esangila, *AfO* 17, 131-135.
- Köcher, F. (1959) Ein spätbabylonischer Hymnus auf den Tempel Ezida in Borsippa, *ZA* 53, 236-240.
- Kouwenberg, N.J.C. (1997) *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb*, *Studia Semitica Neerlandica*, (Assen).
- Kouwenberg, N.J.C. (2010) *The Akkadian Verb and its Semitic background*, *Languages of the Near East* 2, (Winona Lake, Indiana).
- Kraus, F.R. (1949) Nippur und Isin nach altbabylonischen Rechtsurkunden, *JCS* 3(1949), 1-228.
- Krebernik, M. (1987-1990) Mamma, Mammi; Mammītum, *RLA* 7, 330-331.
- Krebernik, M. (1993-1997) Muttergöttin. A.I. In Mesopotamien, *RLA* 8, 502-516.
- Krebernik, M. (1998) Die Texte aus Fāra und Tell Abū Ṣalābīḥ. In: J. Bauer, R. K. Englund and M. Krebernik (eds.), *Mesopotamien: Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit*, OBO 160/1, 235-427, (Fribourg and Göttingen).
- Krebernik, M. (1998-2001) Nin-girima, *RLA* 9, 363-367.
- Krebernik, M. (2009-2010) Šer(i)da, *RLA* 12, 394-395.
- Krecher, J. (1966) *Sumerische Kultlyrik*, (Wiesbaden).
- Labat, R. and Malbran-Labat, F. (1994) *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*, (Paris).
- Læssøe, J. (1956) A Prayer to Ea, Shamash, and Marduk, from Hama, *Iraq* 18, 60-67.
- Lambert, W.G. (1954-1956) An Address of Marduk to the Demons, *AfO* 17, 310-321.

- Lambert, W.G. (1957-1958) Review of F. Grössman *Das Era-Epos* (1956), *AfO* 18, 395-401.
- Lambert, W.G. (1959-1960) Three literary prayers of the Babylonians, *AfO* 19, 47-66.
- Lambert, W.G. (1960) *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, (Oxford), reprinted 1996 (Winona Lake, Indiana).
- Lambert, W.G. (1966) Divine Love Lyrics from the reign of Abī-ešuh, *MIO* 12, 41-56.
- Lambert, W.G. (1967) The Gula Hymn of Bulluša-rabi, *OrNS* 36, 105-132.
- Lambert, W.G. (1971) Critical notes on recent publications, *OrNS* 40, 90-98.
- Lambert, W.G. (1973) Studies in Nergal, *BiOr* 30, 355-363.
- Lambert, W.G. (1981) Studies in UD.GAL.NUN, *Oriens Antiquus* 20, 81-97.
- Lambert, W.G. (1982) The Hymn to the Queen of Nippur. In: G. van Driel, Th.J.H. Krispijn, M. Stol, K.R. Veenhof (eds.), *ZIKIR ŠUMIM Assyriological Studies presented to F. R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, 173-218, (Leiden).
- Lambert, W.G. (1987-1990) Lugal-nirgal, *RLA* 7, 150.
- Lambert, W.G. (1989) A Late Babylonian Copy of an Expository Text, *JNES* 48, 215-221.
- Lambert, W.G. (1997) Processions to the Akītu House, *RA* 91, 49-80.
- Lambert, W.G. (1998a) Technical Terminology for Creation in the Ancient Near East. In: J. Prosecký (ed.), *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East*, *CRRA* 43, 189-193, (Prague).
- Lambert, W.G. (1998b) The Qualifications of Babylonian Diviners. In: S. Maul (ed.), *Festschrift für Rylke Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994*, *CM* 10, 141-158, (Groningen).
- Lambert, W.G. (1999) Babylonian Linguistics. In: K. Van Lerberghe and G. Voet (eds.), *Languages and Cultures in Contact: At the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm, Proceedings of the 42th RAI*, *OLA* 96, 217-231, (Leuven).
- Lambert, W.G. (2003-2004) A Syncretistic Hymn to Ištar, *AfO* 50, 21-27.
- Lambert, W.G. (2007) *Babylonian Oracle Questions*, (Winona Lake, Indiana).
- Lambert, W.G. (2013) *Babylonian Creation Myths*, *MC* 16, (Winona Lake, Indiana).
- Lambert, W.G. (forthcoming) *Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert*, (eds. A.R.George and J.Taniguchi).

- Lambert, W.G. and Millard, A. R. (1969) *Atra-ḫasīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood*, (Oxford).
- Landsberger, B. Civil, M. and Reiner, E. (1937- ) *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon; Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon*, (Rome).
- Landsberger, B. and Gurney, O.R. (1957-1958) *igi-duḫ-a = tamartu*, short version, *AfO* 18, 81-86.
- Landsberger, B. and Jacobsen, T. (1955) An Old Babylonian Charm against *Merḫu*, *JNES* 14, 14-21.
- Langdon, S. (1927) *Babylonian Penitential Psalms, to which are Added Fragments of the Epic of Creation*, Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts 6, (Paris).
- Lapinkivi, P. (2010) *The Neo-Assyrian Myth of Ištar's descent and resurrection: introduction, cuneiform text, and transliteration with a translation, glossary and extensive commentary*, Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, SAACT 6, (Winona Lake, Indiana).
- Leichty, E.V. (1970) *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu*, Texts from Cuneiform Sources 4, (New York).
- Leichty, E. (1986) *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Volume VI: Tablets from Sippar 1*, (London).
- Leichty, E. and Grayson, A.K. (1987) *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Volume VII: Tablets from Sippar 2*, (London).
- Leichty, E., Finkelstein, J.J. and Walker, C.B.F. (1988) *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Volume VIII: Tablets from Sippar 3*, (London).
- Lenzi, A. (ed.) (2011) *Reading Akkadian Prayers and Hymns: An Introduction*, SBL Ancient Near East Monographs 3, (Atlanta).
- Lenzi, A. (2015) Scribal Hermeneutics and the Twelve Gates of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, *JAOS* 135, 733-749.
- Linssen, M.J.H. (2004) *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon: The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practises*, CM 25, (Leiden and Boston).
- Litke, R.L. (1998) *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists, AN:<sup>d</sup>A-nu-um and AN:Anu ša amēli*, Texts from the Babylonian Collection 3, Yale Babylonian Collection, (New Haven, Connecticut).
- Livingstone, A. (1986) *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, (Oxford), reprinted 2007 (Winona Lake, Indiana).
- Livingstone, A. (1989) *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*, SAA 3, (Helsinki).

- Livingstone, A. (2013) *Hemerologies of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, CUSAS 25, (Bethesda, Maryland).
- Marchesi, G. (2002) On the Divine Name <sup>d</sup>BA.Ú, *OrNS* 71, 161-172.
- Martin, F. (1900) *Textes religieux assyriens et babyloniens*, (Paris).
- Maul, S.M. (1994) *Zukunftsbewältigung. Eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonisch-assyrischen Löserituale* (Namburbi), *Baghdader Forschungen* 18, (Mainz).
- Maul, S.M. (1997) Küchensumerisch oder hohe Kunst der Exegese? Überlegungen zur Bewertung akkadischer Interlinearübersetzungen von Emesal-Texten. In: B. Pongratz-Leisten, H. Kühne and P.Xella (eds.) *Ana šadī Labnāni lū allik: Beiträge zu altorientalischen und mittelmeerischen Kulturen. Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig*, AOAT 247, 253-267, (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn).
- Maul, S.M. (1999) Das Wort im Worte. Orthographie und Etymologie als hermeneutische Verfahren babylonischer Gelehrter. In: G.W. Most (ed.), *Commentaries –Kommentare*, Aporemata 4, 1-18, (Göttingen).
- Mayer, W.R. (1976) *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen „Gebetsbeschwörungen“*, StPohl SM 5, (Rome).
- Mayer, W.R. (1990) Sechs Šu-ila-Gebete, *OrNS* 59, 449-490.
- Mayer, W.R. (1994) Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD Š<sub>1</sub>, *OrNS* 63, 111-120.
- Mayer, W.R. (1999) Das Ritual KAR 26 mit dem Gebet “Marduk 24” (Tab. XXVIII-XXX), *OrNS* 68, 145-163.
- Mayer, W.R. (2003) Waffen und Stricke in einer altbabylonischen Urkunde, *OrNS* 72, 368-389.
- Meier, G. (1937) *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, *AfO* Beiheft 2, (Berlin).
- Menzel, B. (1981) *Die assyrische Tempel*, StPohl SM 10, 2 vols., (Rome).
- Michalowski, P. (1990) Presence at the Creation. In: T. Abusch. J. Huehnergard and P.Steinkeller (eds.), *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William Moran*, Harvard Semitic Studies 37, 381-396, (Atlanta, Georgia).
- Mindlin, M., Geller, M.J. and Wansbrough, J.E. (eds.) (1987) *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East*, (London).
- Mullo-Weir, C.J. (1929) Four Hymns to Gula, *JRAS*, 1-18.
- Mullo-Weir, C.J. (1934) *Lexicon of Akkadian Prayers*, (Oxford).

- Nashef, K. (1982) *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 5: Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients B 7, 5, (Wiesbaden).
- Nassouhi, E. (1924-1925) Prisme d'Assurbânipal daté de sa trentième année, provenant du temple de Gula à Babylone, *AfK* 2, 97-106.
- Nikel, J. (1918) *Ein neuer Ninkarrak-Text*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums X/1, (Paderborn).
- Noegel, S.B. (ed.) (2000) *Puns and Pundits: Word Play in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature*, (Bethesda, Maryland.).
- Noegel, S.B. (2007) *Nocturnal Ciphers: The Allusive Language of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, American Oriental Series 89, (New Haven, Connecticut).
- Nougayrol, J. (1955) *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit. Vol.3, Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales*, (Paris).
- Oppenheim, A.L. et al. (1956- ) *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, (Chicago).
- Oshima, T. (2011) *Babylonian Prayers to Marduk*, ORA 7, (Tübingen).
- Oshima, T. (2014) *Babylonian Poems of Pious Sufferers*, ORA 14, (Tübingen).
- Paulus, S. (2014) *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Inschriften von der kassitischen bis zur frühneubabylonischen Zeit : Untersucht unter besonderer Berücksichtigung gesellschafts- und rechtshistorischer Fragestellungen*, AOAT 51, (Münster).
- Pedersén, O. (1985) *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur: A Survey of the Material from the German Excavations Part I*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Studia Semitica Upsaliensis 6, (Uppsala).
- Pedersén, O. (1986) *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur: A Survey of the Material from the German Excavations Part II*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Studia Semitica Upsaliensis 8, (Uppsala).
- Perry, E.G. (1907) *Hymnen und Gebete an Sin*, Leipziger semitische Studien II/4, (Leipzig).
- Pomponio, F. (1978) *Nabû: Il culto e la figura i un dio del Pantheon babilonese ed assiro*, Studi Semitici 51, (Rome).
- Powell, M. (1989) Aia = Eos. In: H. Behrens, D. Loding and M.T.Roth (eds.), *DUMU-E<sub>2</sub>-DUB-BA-A: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 11, 447-455, (Philadelphia).
- Prosecký, J. (1998) *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East*, CRRRA 43, (Prague).

- Reade, J.E. (1986a) Rassam's Babylonian collection: the excavations and the archives. In: Leichty, *Catalogue VI*, xiii-xxxvi, (London).
- Reade, J.E. (1986b) Archaeology and the Kuyunjik Archives. In: K.R.Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, CRRA 30, 213-222, (Leiden and Istanbul).
- Reade, J.E. (1998-2001) Ninive, *RLA* 9, 388-433.
- Reiner, E. (1956) *Lipšur* Litanies, *JNES* 15, 129-149.
- Reiner, E. (1958) *Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations*, *AfO* Beiheft 11, (Graz).
- Reiner, E. (1960) Fortune-Telling in Mesopotamia, *JNES* 19, 23-35.
- Reiner, E. (1974) A Sumero-Akkadian Hymn of Nanâ, *JNES* 33, 221-236.
- Reiner, E. (1984) *Damqam ĩnim* revisited, *StOr* 55, 177-182.
- Reiner, E. (1985) *Your thwarts in pieces, Your mooring rope cut: Poetry from Babylonia and Assyria*, (Ann Arbor).
- Reiner, E. (1996) The synonym list Anšar = Anu, *NABU* 1996, no.125.
- Reiner, E. and Güterbock, H.G. (1967) The Great Prayer to Ishtar and Its Two Versions from Boğazköy, *JCS* 21, 255-266.
- Reisner, G.A. (1896) *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit*, (Berlin).
- Richter, T. (2004) *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabyloniens in altbabylonischer Zeit*, Second Edition, AOAT 257, (Münster).
- Römer, W.H.Ph. (1969) Eine sumerische Hymne mit Selbstlob Inannas, *OrNS* 38, 97-114.
- Römer, W.H.Ph. (2001) *Hymnen und Klagelieder in sumerischer Sprache*, AOAT 276, (Münster).
- Rowton, M.B. (1962) The Use of the Permissive in Classic Babylonian, *JNES* 21, 233-303.
- Rubio, G. (2010) Reading Sumerian names, I: Ensuĥkešdanna and Baba, *JCS* 62, 29-43.
- Saggs, H.W.F. (1986) Additions to Anzu, *AfO* 33, 1-29.
- Schaudig, H. (2001) *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Grossen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften: Textausgabe und Grammatik*, AOAT 256, (Münster).

- Schretter, M. K. (1990) *Emesal-Studien. Sprach- und Literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur sogenannten Frauensprache des Sumerischen*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft Sonderheft 69, Innsbruck.
- Schroeder, O. (1920) *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, WVDOG 35, (Leipzig).
- Schwemer, D. (2001) *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen*, (Wiesbaden).
- Scurlock, J.A. (2006) *Magico-Medical Means of Treating Ghost-Induced Illnesses in Ancient Mesopotamia*, AMD 3, (Leiden and Boston).
- Seidl, U. (1989) *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs: Symbole mesopotamischer Gottheiten*, OBO 87, (Fribourg and Göttingen).
- Selz, G.J. (2002) "Babilismus" und die Gottheit <sup>d</sup>Nindagar. In: O. Loretz, K.A. Metzler and H. Schaudig (eds.), *Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux. Festschrift für Manfred Dietrich zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, AOAT 281, 647-684, (Münster).
- Seux, M-J. (1976) *Hymnes et prières aux dieux de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 8, (Paris).
- Silva Castillo, J. (1998) *Nagbu: totality or abyss in the first verse of Gilgamesh*, *Iraq* 60, 219-221.
- Sjöberg, Å. K. (1974) A Hymn to <sup>d</sup>LAMA-SA<sub>6</sub>-GA, *JCS* 26, 158-177.
- Sjöberg, Å. K. (1975a) Der Examenstext A, *ZA* 64, 137-176.
- Sjöberg, Å. K. (1975b) in-nin šà-guru<sub>4</sub>-ra. A Hymn to the Goddess Inanna by the en-Priestess Enheduanna, *ZA* 65, 161-253.
- Soden, W. von (1931) Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen, *ZA* 40, 163-227.
- Soden, W. von (1933a) Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen, *ZA* 41, 90-183.
- Soden, W. von (1933b) *Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrer in den Berliner Museen 2. Die akkadischen Synonymenlisten*, (Berlin).
- Soden, W. von (1950) Review of A. Heidel, *The System of the Quadrilateral Verb in Akkadian*, *Assyriological Studies* 13, (Chicago, 1940), *ZA* 49 330-333.
- Soden, W. von (1951) Zum akkadischen Wörterbuch 41-49, *Or.* 30, 156-162.
- Soden, W. von (1960) *Zweisprachigkeit in der geistigen Kultur Babyloniens*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 235/1, (Wien).
- Soden, W. von (1965-1981) *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, 3 vols., (Wiesbaden).
- Soden, W. von (1969) Zur Wiederherstellung der Marduk-Gebete BMS 11 und 12, *Iraq* 31, 82-89.

- Soden, W. von (1971) Der große Hymnus an Nabû, *ZA* 61, 46-71.
- Soden, W. von (1995) *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, Third edition, *AnOr* 33, (Rome).
- Soden, W. von (1996) Status Rectus-Formen vor dem Genitiv im Akkadischen und die sogenannte uneigentliche Annexion im Arabischen, *JNES* 19, 163-171.
- Soden, W. von and Röllig, W. (1991) *Das akkadische Syllabar*, 4th edition, *AnOr* 42, (Rome).
- Starr, I. (1983) *The Rituals of the Diviner*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, 12, (Malibu).
- Stephens, F.J. (1937) *Votive and historical texts from Babylonia and Assyria*, *YOS IX*, (New Haven, Connecticut).
- Stol, M. (1986) Review of *ARMT XXII* and *ARMT XXIII*, *JAOS* 106 No.2, 355-357
- Stol, M. (1989) Ancient philology in the New Year ritual, *NABU* 1989, no.60.
- Stol, M. (1998-2001) Nanaja, *RLA* 9,146-151.
- Stol, M. (2014) Tišpak, *RLA* 14, 64-66.
- Streck, M. (1916) *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang Niniveh's*, I-III, Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 7/I-III, (Leipzig).
- Streck, M.P. (1998-2001) Ninurta/Ninġirsu A, *RLA* 9, 512-522.
- Streck, M.P. (2002) Die Prologue der sumerischen Epen, *OrNS* 71, 189-266.
- Streck, M.P. (2003-2005) Parak-māri, *RLA* 10, 334.
- Strong, S.A. (1898) A Hymn of Nebuchadnezzar, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology* 20, 154-162.
- Tallqvist, K.L. (1938) *Akkadische Götterepitheta mit einem Götterverzeichnis und einer Liste der prädikativen Elemente der sumerischen Götternamen*, *StOr* 7, (Helsinki).
- Thureau-Dangin, F. (1921a) Rituel et amulettes contre labartu, *RA* 18, 161-198.
- Thureau-Dangin, F. (1921b) *Rituels accadiens*, (Paris).
- Thureau-Dangin, F. (1925) Un hymne à Ištar de la haute époque babylonienne, *RA* 22, 169-177.
- Tinney, S. (1989) <sup>d</sup>en-gi<sub>6</sub>-du-du: *muttarrû rubē* A note on *Erra I 21*, *NABU* 1989, no.3.
- Thomsen, M-L. (1984) *The Sumerian Language*, *Mesopotamia* 10, Copenhagen.
- Tsukimoto, A. (1985) *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien*, *AOAT* 216, (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn).

- Uehlinger, Ch. (2008) Arbeit am altorientalischen Gottesnamen. Theonomastik im Spannungsfeld von Sprache, Schrift und Textpragmatik. In: I.U. Dalferth and Ph. Stoellger (eds.), *Gott Nennen: Gottes Namen und Gott als Name*, Religion in Philosophy and Theology 35, 23-71, (Tübingen).
- Unger, E. (1938) Dilbat, *RLA* 2, 218-225.
- Veldhuis, N. (2006) Divination: theory and use. In: A. K. Guinan, M deJ. Ellis, A.J. Ferrara, S.M. Freedman, M.T. Rutz, L. Sassmannhausen, S. Tinney, and M.W. Waters (eds.), *If a Man Builds a Joyful House. Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty*, CM 31, 487-497, (Leiden).
- Veldhuis, N. (2014) *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition*, GMTR 6, (Münster).
- Virolleaud, C. (1907-1909) *L'astrologie chaldéenne*, Fascicles 4 and 8 (Adad), (Paris).
- Virolleaud, C. (1908-1909) *L'astrologie chaldéenne*, Fascicles 1 and 5 (Sîn), (Paris).
- Waerzeggars, C. (2010) *The Ezida Temple of Borsippa: priesthood, cult, archives*, Achaemenid History XV, (Leiden).
- Walker, C.B.F. (1981) *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions*, (London).
- Walker, C.B.F. (1988) Introduction. In: Leichty, *Catalogue VIII*, xi-xxv, (London).
- Wasserman, N. (2003) *Style and Form in Old-Babylonian Literary Texts*, CM 27, (Leiden).
- Watanabe, K. (1987) *Die adê -Vereidigung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons*, Baghdader Mitteilungen 3, (Berlin).
- Weidner, E. (1924-25) Altbabylonische Götterlisten, *AfK* 2, 1-18, 71-82.
- Weiher, E. von (1988) *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk, Teil III*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 12, (Berlin).
- Westenholz, J.G. (2010) Ninkarrak – An Akkadian Goddess in Sumerian Guise. In: D. Shehata, F. Weierhäuser and K.V. Zand (eds.), *Von Göttern und Menschen. Beiträge zu Literatur und Geschichte des Alten Orients. Festschrift für Brigitte Gronenberg*, CM 41, 377-405, (Leiden and Boston).
- Wiggermann, F.A.M. (1998-2001a), Nergal, *RLA* 9, 215-226.
- Wiggermann, F.A.M. (1998-2001b), Nin-azu, *RLA* 9, 329-335.
- Wilcke, C. (1977) Die Anfänge der akkadischen Epen, *ZA* 67, 153-216.
- Wilcke, C. (2007) Das Recht: Grundlage des sozialen und politischen Diskurses im Alten Orient. In: C.Wilcke (ed.), *Das geistige Erfassen der Welt im Alten Orient: Beiträge zu Sprache, Religion, Kultur und Gesellschaft*, 209-244, (Wiesbaden).

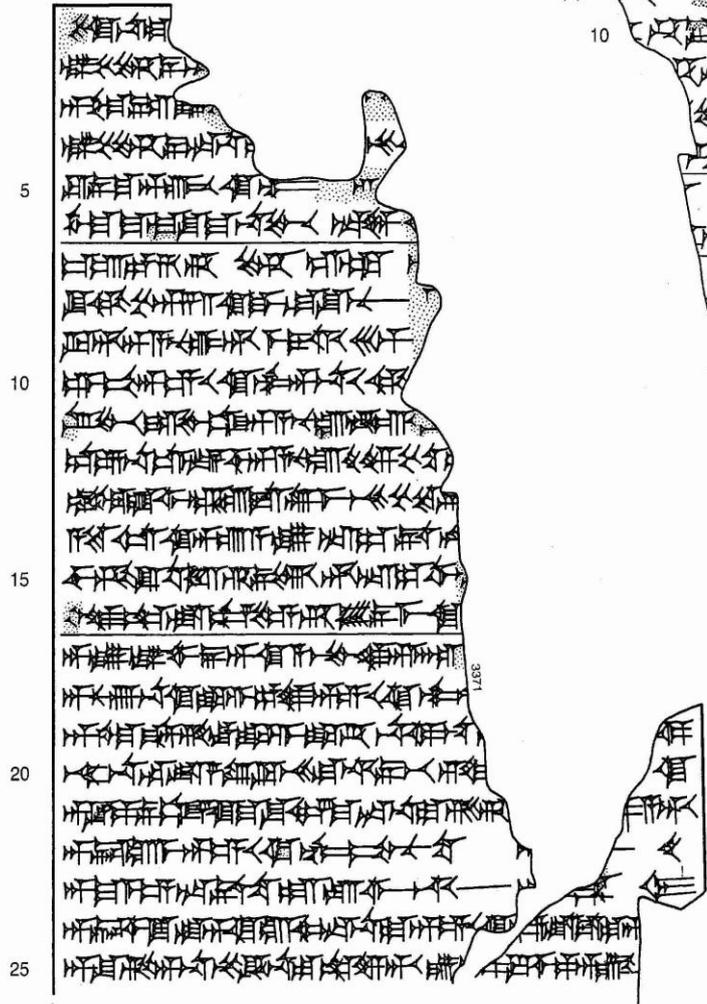
- Woods, C. (2009) At the edge of the world: Cosmological conceptions of the eastern horizon in Mesopotamia, *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 9, 183-239.
- Zakovitch, Y. (1980) Explicit and Implicit Name-Derivations, *Hebrew Annual Review* 4, 167-181.
- Zgoll, A. (2003) *Die Kunst des Betens: Form und Funktion, Theologie und Psychagogik in babylonisch-assyrischen Handerhebungsgebeten zu Ištar*, AOAT 308, (Münster).
- Zimmern, H. (1901) *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion, I. Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu, II. Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger*, Assyriologische Bibliothek, 12, (Leipzig).

## Appendix

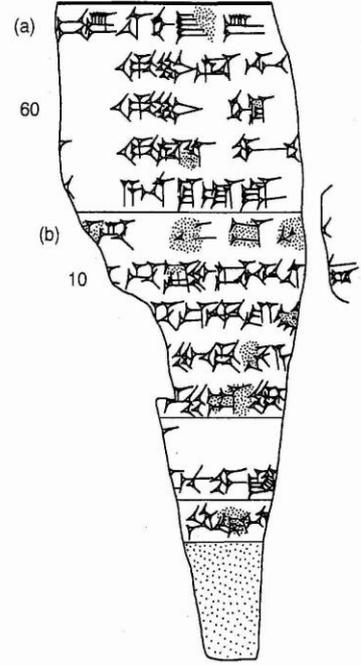
**Cuneiform copies from *Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W.G.Lambert*, (eds. A.R.George and J.Taniguchi, forthcoming) Nos. 63-68 (8 plates).**

<i>No.</i>	<i>Museum Number</i>	<i>Gula hymn: Manuscript</i>	<i>Gula hymn: lines</i>
63	K 232+3371+13776	Ms. A	1-58 (obverse); 1'- 42', 55' - 60' colophon (reverse)
64	BM 75974	Ms. a	49' -95' (obverse); 97'- 139' (reverse)
65	BM 76319	Ms. c	62'-76' (obverse)
66	BM 68611	Ms. b	78'-102' (obverse); 103'-126' (reverse)
67	BM 37616	Ms. e	10''-20'' (obverse); 1'''-15''' (reverse)
68	BM 36333	Ms. d	87'-91' (obverse)

63 K 232+3371+13776  
upper obv.



62 BM 99811



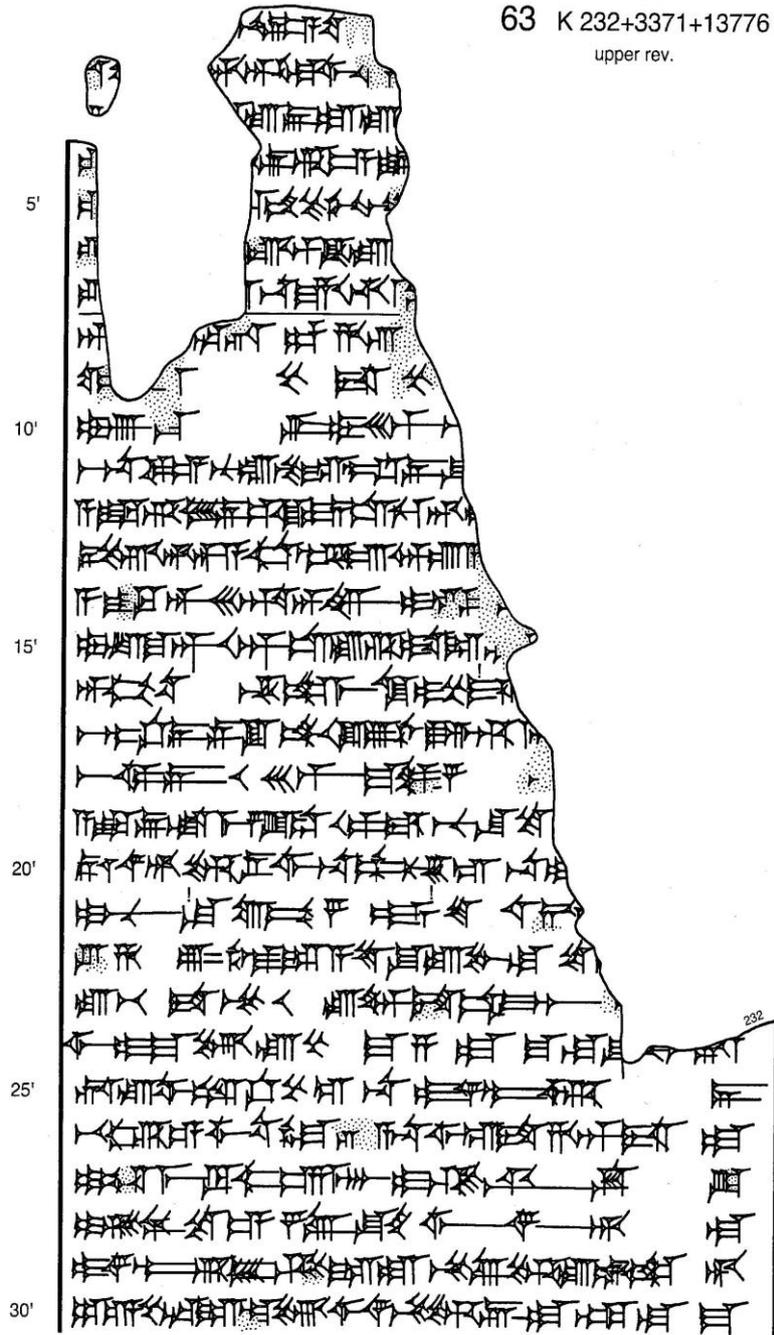


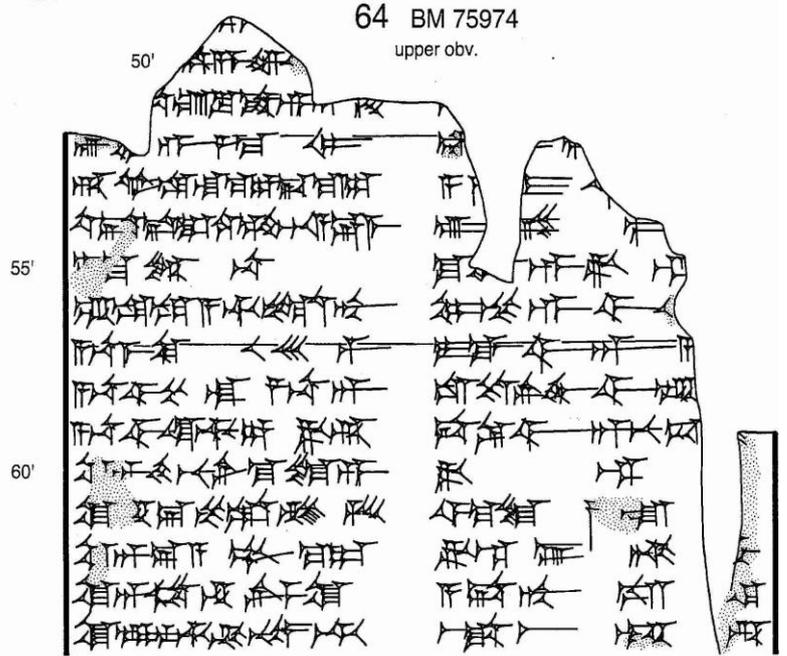
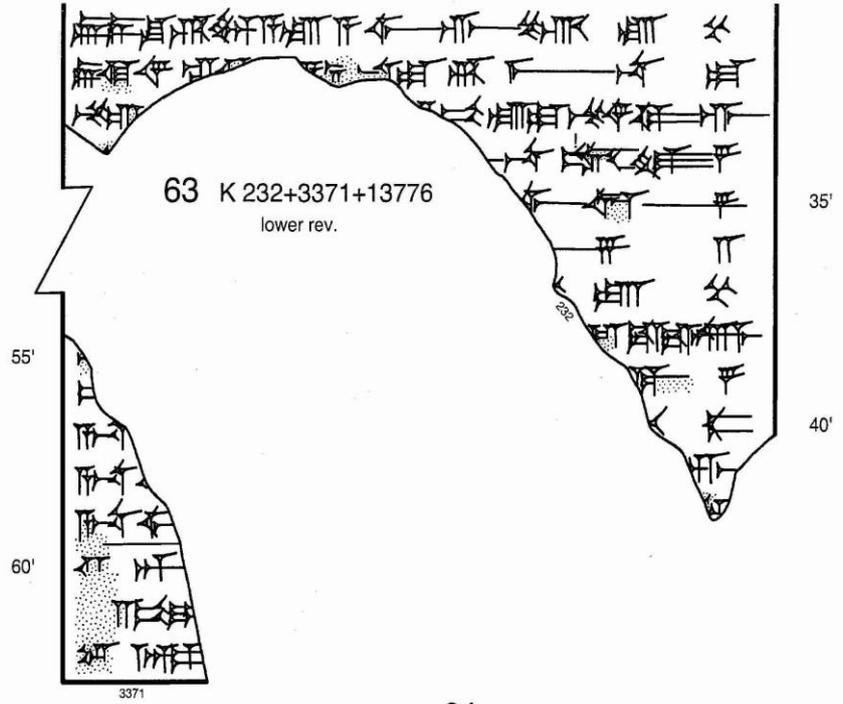
63 K 232+3371+13776

lower obv.

63 K 232+3371+13776

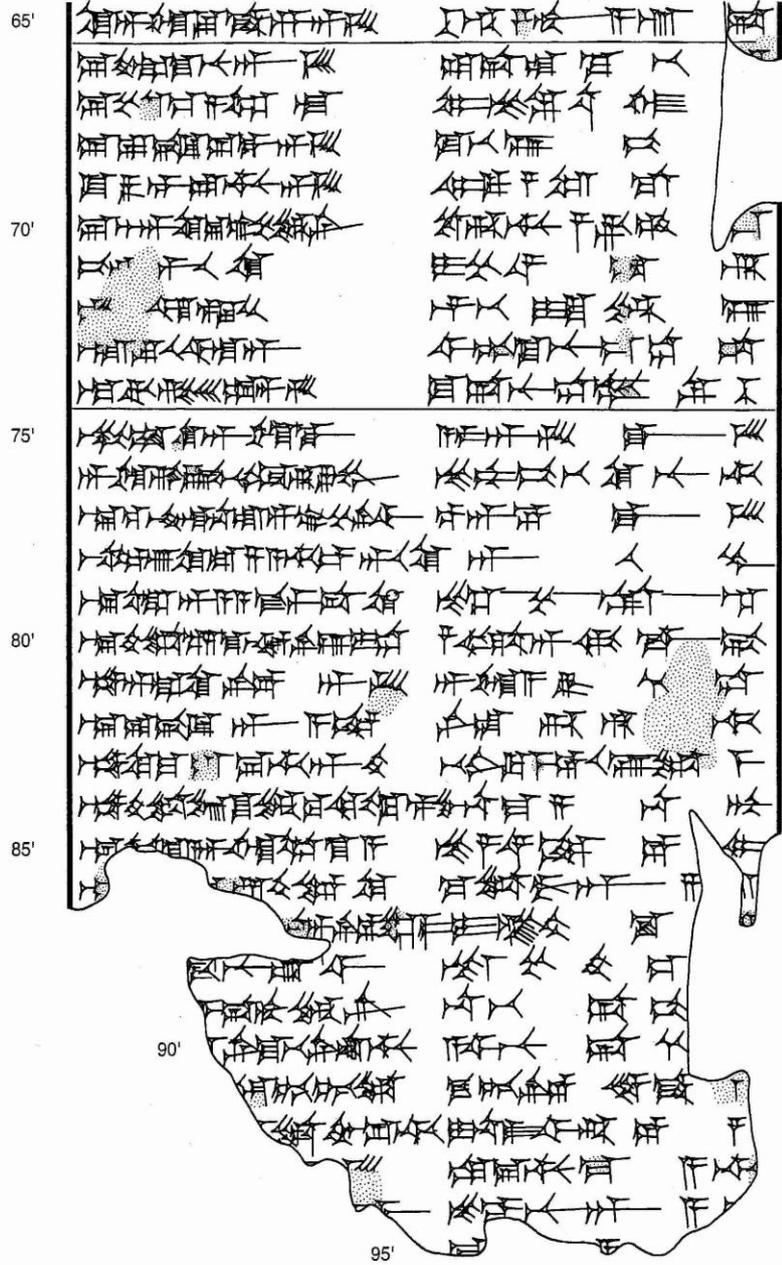
upper rev.





64 BM 75974

lower obv.



65'

70'

75'

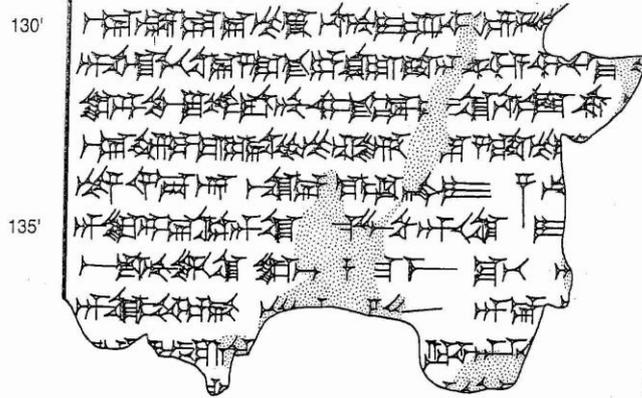
80'

85'

90'

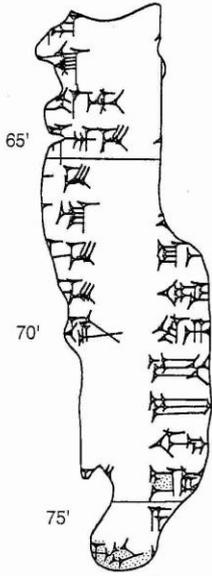
95'





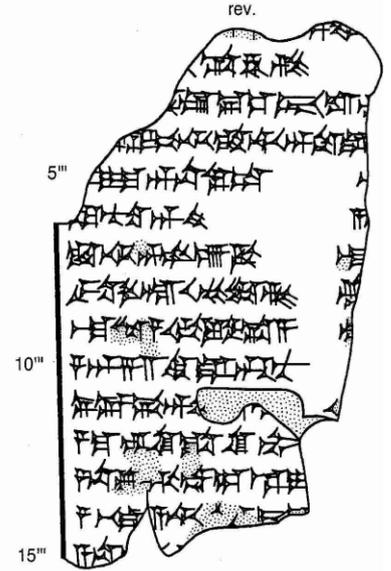
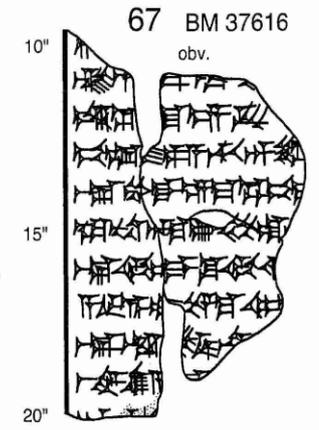
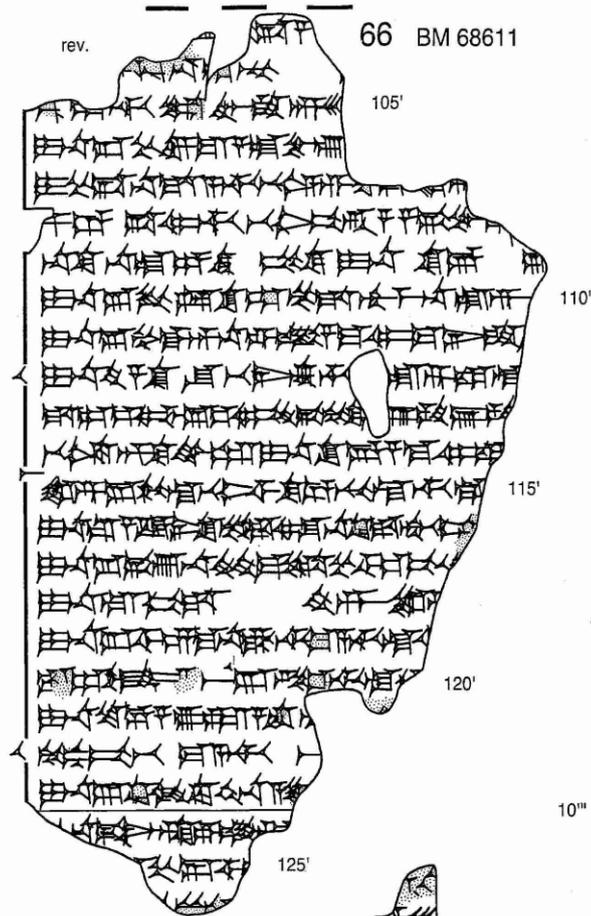
64 BM 75974 lower rev.

65 BM 76319



66 BM 68611 obv.





68 BM 36333

