

"THE HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO THE MOON-GOD, SĪN"

by

AUSTIN HENRY POTTS

A Dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The Dropsie University

for Hebrew and Cognate Learning

Philadelphia

1971

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations followed in this dissertation are those listed in The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary.

Aristot.	Aristotle <u>DeMundo</u>
Diod.	Diodorus <u>Epigrammaticus</u>
HAV	<u>Hilprecht Anniversary Volume</u>
IDB	<u>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</u>
Isth.	<u>Isthmus</u>
MBI	G. Barton, <u>Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions</u>
Praep. Evang.	Eusebius, <u>Preparatis Evangelico</u>
VR	<u>Veröffentlichungen des Reichsaufsichtsamts für Privatversicherung</u>
VS	<u>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmaler der königl. Museen zu Berlin</u>

PREFACE

Purpose

It is the purpose of the writer to present a study of the Akkadian hymns and prayers addressed to Šin. There has been no such work presented to date that goes into this much detail. Included in this work will be the transliteration, normalization, translation, and commentary on six texts. An original and important aspect of this dissertation is the collation of five tablets in text 1 and the collation of three tablets for text 2. Textual variants will be dealt with in the textual apparatus. The lexical and grammatical problems will be covered in the commentary. An attempt will be made to use the most recent scholarly material such as the lexicographical material in The Assyrian Dictionary¹ and the Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.²

The clearest and most significant motifs will be discussed. Of particular interest are the concepts found in the texts which parallel those in the Hebrew Bible and ancient Near Eastern literature. The writer seeks to show that an understanding of the Akkadian hymns and prayers gives direct insight into the hymns and prayers of the Bible. Oftentimes

¹A. Leo Oppenheim, editor, The Assyrian Dictionary (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956-).

²Wolfram von Soden, editor, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959-).

the Akkadian literary style, grammar, epithets, and idioms of these texts may be compared to other Akkadian literature.

Necessity

This study is necessary now because previous works are becoming outdated. Also earlier works are very limited in scope usually giving attention to translation, in some cases there are transliterations followed by translation. Only sporadic attention is given to the consideration of grammar, literary style, textual problems, and religious concepts. This dissertation will endeavor to update the study in these areas. Also a number of tablets have come to light in the past few decades which are duplicates or partial duplicates of the major texts studied in this work. It is imperative that all the textual material be correlated and evaluated to gain a better understanding of each composition.

Method

The syllabic or logographic value of each sign will be given in the transliteration. Five dots.....will indicate that the text is in broken condition in that place. Where lacunae occur in these texts conjectures or restorations will sometimes be given: these suggested readings will be based primarily upon similar lines in these or other texts. Conjectural additions will be placed in square brackets. The normalization and translation will follow the transcribing of the signs. The normalization will be an approximation of the grammatical forms intended by the signs. When possible, a

literal translation will be made of the texts; however, occasionally the Akkadian idiom may be rendered best by a free translation.

Acknowledgments

The writer is very grateful to many people who have given assistance and encouragement to him during the years. It is impossible to mention everyone by name but there are certain men who have made an outstanding contribution to my education. Dr. Frank J. Neuberg, formerly of Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, first recommended Dropsie University to me and Dr. Moshe Held gave to me a good insight into the Akkadian language. Especially I wish to express gratitude to Dr. Jay D. Falk who has continued as Chairman of my Committee during the past year and has given unselfish hours to correcting the manuscript and counseling with me during the various stages in the development of this dissertation. Dr. Theodor H. Gaster has been very helpful in his criticisms and recommendations during the preparation of this paper. Appreciation is due Dr. Federico Corriente who has enthusiastically served on the dissertation committee. Special mention should be given to C. B. F. Walker of the British Museum who provided a number of photographs of tablets. I would also like to acknowledge the contribution made by Dr. Barry Eichler and Dr. Jacob Klein in photographing tablet Si.18 in the Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul. Also, I am grateful for the help secured through conversation with Dr. Åke Sjöberg and Dr. Erle Leichty.

I wish to express my appreciation to the Philadelphia

College of Bible for their In-Service Training Program which aided in the completion of this work. Also, I wish to thank my wife, Irene, for her help in typing the manuscript, her helpful suggestions, and her constant encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
Text 1	24
Text 2	57
Text 3	103
Text 4	147
Text 5	158
Text 6	164
Summary and Conclusions	170
Bibliography	174

9/23/09 Donator

INTRODUCTION

Delimitations

The materials covered in this dissertation are the Akkadian hymns and prayers directed to $\hat{S}in$. Six texts will be the particular object of concentration. There are five duplicate tablets under consideration in text 1; three of the duplicates are from Sultantepe--STT 57 rev., 57-84, STT 59 obv., 1-28, and STT 58 rev., 25-51. The remaining duplicates of text 1 are LKA 52, obv. 2-21 and rev. 1-21 and VAT 13681 which corresponds to BMS 6, lines 36-69. Text 2 deals with the following tablets: K.155, B.M. 78432, and Si. 18. Text 3 is a study of Rawlinson IV, 9, a Sumerian and Akkadian bilingual prayer. Two fragments (K.3794 and Ki.1904-10-9, 157) are joined to form text 4. In text 5 (Rm.288) only seventeen lines have been preserved. Lastly, text 6 (K.10151) contains eleven lines addressed to $\hat{S}in$. A more detailed description of each text is given in the introduction to each chapter.

The Names of the Moon-god

The name $\hat{S}in$ is the Semitic form of the Sumerian prime logogram $^dZU.EN$, meaning "the lord of knowledge". Many Sumerologists have incorrectly read this name $^dEN.ZU$.¹ That

¹ $\hat{S}in$ is spelled phonetically (zu.in, zu.en) in Cappadocian, however, in a few cases it is written EN.ZU; Ferris J. Stephens, Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of Cappadocia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), p.3.

^dZU.EN is the correct reading¹ is indicated by an epithet applied to ISTAR.DUMU.SAL. ZU.EN.NA.A. This is also clear from the readings in text 2:28B: ^dZU.EN.NA.KAM and 2:28C ^dZU.EN.NA.[KAM]. The Sumerian ideogram ZU means "to know"; ZU is also compounded in ABZU (apsû) "fresh-water ocean."² Possibly in the derivation of the name as well as mythology there is suggested the association of the moon with knowledge, tides, and primeval waters.

Early scholars searched for a Semitic derivation of the name Sîn. Oppert compares Sîn to the root $\text{𐤓} \text{𐤍} \text{𐤕}$, "to change."³ $\text{𐤓} \text{𐤍} \text{𐤕} = \text{tn}(y)$, which seemingly invalidates that argument. Halévy makes the doubtful suggestion that the name Sîn is from a root $\text{𐤕} \text{𐤍} \text{𐤒}$ "to fix, determine," from which comes isinnu, "feast."⁴ Jensen suggests the following etymology: "Annahme einer Verwandtschaft von سattu , sattu, etc. mit Sîn, $\text{𐤕} \text{𐤍}$, insofern ursem. san(a)tu urspr. bedeuten könnte ein einzelnes Mond'jahr'."⁵ A strong argument in favor of the Sumerian origin of the name Sîn is that Semites designate the moon by terms such as $\text{𐤍} \text{𐤕} \text{𐤒}$ ⁶ and $\text{𐤕} \text{𐤍} \text{𐤒}$ which are explained

¹Lectures on Sumerian in Dropsie University; Édouard Dhorme, Les religions de Babylonia et d'Assyrie, II (Paris: Universitaires de France, 1945), p.83.

²René Labat, Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1959), p.45, no.6.

³GGA (1878), 1032; cf. E. Combe, Histoire du Culte de Sin en Babylone et en Assyrie (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1908), p.4.

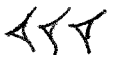
⁴J. Halévy, "Notes Assyriologiques," ZA, IV (1889), 64f.

⁵P. Jensen, "Aga - $\text{𐤕} \text{𐤍} \text{𐤒}$," ZA, VII (1892), 177, n.1.

⁶Theo Bauer, Die Ostkanaanäer (Leipzig: Verlag der Asia Major, 1926), p.91, refers to the Semitic Moon-god $\text{𐤍} \text{𐤕} \text{𐤒}$.

by Semitic roots. The name $\hat{S}in$, on the other hand, cannot be explained by Semitic etymology. $\hat{S}in$ is a name essentially Sumerian in origin which had been borrowed by the Semites.

Many writers suggested that the name Sinai was derived from the Sumerian ZU.EN and the Akkadian $\hat{S}in$. This explanation has been given in an effort to show that Yahweh may have been a modified Moon-god. Such an etymology cannot be correct since the mounting material from ancient Canaan and Syria gives no clear record of a Moon-god named $\hat{S}in$. Also, the Canaanite name for the Moon-god was Yerah, not $\hat{S}in$. The name Sinai may be associated with the place named Sin in the plain of Sinai as well as an ancient city of Syria. Also in the northeastern Delta of Egypt there was a city by the same name.¹

The name given to $\hat{S}in$ most frequently in the six texts of this dissertation is $d\hat{B}\hat{A}$. This name is written with the sign , "thirty."² The use of the number thirty coincides with the invention of an organized system for the gods following a series of numbers where Enlil the chief god is $dNINNU$ (50)³ and Ea is written $dNIMIN$ (40)⁴. The use of this ideogram is possibly Semitic in origin since it does not occur in the earlier texts. It was $\hat{S}in$ who governed the passing of the months by his waxing and waning. The lunar month consisted of thirty days; the number of days in a complete lunar


¹William F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1957), p.263.

²Labat, op. cit., p.211, no.472.

³Ibid., p.213, no.475.

⁴Ibid., p.213, no.473.

cycle became a synonym for the name, Sîn. The moon through its appearance and disappearance at precise intervals served as a basis for a calendar. Since some ventures were happy, while others met with difficulty, the hypothesis was formed by the Babylonians that there were favorable and unfavorable periods for action.

The name Nannar, "illuminator," occurs frequently: 1:1; 2:1; 3:2-9; 4:1, 7, 14, 16; 5:1; and 6:1. Nannar is written in two different ways in these texts. Most frequently the name is written with the following signs , "dNannar." in text 6:1 the name Nannar is written U₄.SAR. The Sumerian name, Nanna, which does not occur in these texts, probably is not related etymologically to the name Nannar. The name, Nanna, may be a more personal and intimate name of the Moon-god. In time, the name Nannar replaced the name, Nanna, in the Akkadian texts.¹ It was as Nannar, "the illuminator," that he was mentioned especially in the hymns. This is the name which applies especially to the new moon. However, in a Sumerian hymn² to the Moon-god, there is graphic description of the empty rivers and marshes being filled with water brought by Nannar. In earliest times, Nannar may have been a water-god.³

Another name of the Moon-god is written dAŠ.ÍM.UD,

¹Dhorme, op. cit., p.83.

²Tablet 13930 in the British Museum, published in CT XV, pls. 16 and 17, 25-28.

³Frederick A. Vanderburgh, Sumerian Hymns from the Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), p.44.

"^dNamrašēt." This name occurs in three places: texts 2:19; 5:9; and 6:5. The name Namrašēt is a compound of namru, "bright," from namaru, "to shine," and sētu, "shining." This name means literally "bright shining."¹

The Moon Cult

Sumerian mythology forms the backdrop for this study of moon-worship in ancient Mesopotamia. Beneath the polytheistic adornments, the Sumerian texts present a rationally formulated cosmogony. In the following manner, the Sumerians tried to explain the beginning of the universe and the existence of gods and men.

The first substance was the pristine sea personified as the goddess Nammu. The Sumerian texts do not mention her creation or birth; it may have been assumed that the primeval sea was eternal. Nammu engendered the cosmic mountain composed of heaven and earth joined together. Heaven was represented by the god, AN, and the earth by the earth goddess, KI. From the union of AN (heaven) and KI (earth) was begotten Enlil (air). Heaven and earth were separated by the air-god, Enlil. From the union of Enlil and his wife Ninlil, the air-goddess, Nanna, the Moon-god was born. The moon was to brighten the heavens; he in turn begot the sun-god Utu, who outshined his father.² Here it should be noted that the motif of the son, the begotten, becoming stronger than his father occurs a number

¹See Tallqvist, Götterepitheta, p.378; text 2:5 commentary.

²Samuel N. Kramer, Sumerian Mythology, revised edition (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961), p.40.

of times in ancient Mesopotamia.¹

Šin played a more important role in earlier times than he did just prior to the fall of Assyria. The decline in popularity of the Moon-god is apparent from the disuse of the name Šin as a theophoric element.² Moreover, historical inscriptions of the early Middle-Assyrian period show that Šamaš-worship was more popular than that of Šin.³ Perhaps the militant nature of Šamaš⁴ was more attractive to the Assyrians than the mild-mannered Šin.⁵ Furthermore, Šin is not mentioned as often in the hymns of later times. More frequently Assyrian kings addressed their oracles to Šamaš rather than to Šin. Some of the general attributes emphasized are his supremacy, holiness, and lordship, while the personal element and terms of affection are limited.⁶ The worship of Ištar, the daughter of Šin, gained in popularity in the latter phases of Assyro-Babylonian religion. Ištar took to herself some of the attributes of Šin in her rise to prominence, meanwhile, the worship of the Moon-god was falling into comparative obscurity.

¹ Enlil, the air-god, surpasses his father An. Marduk becomes more powerful than his father, Ea.

² Johann J. Stamm, Die akkadische Namengebung (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1939), p.68.

³ Hillel A. Fine, Studies in Middle-Assyrian Chronology and Religion (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1955), p.106 n.30.

⁴ In reference to the ferocious nature of Šamaš, see Fine, op. cit., p.106, n.31.

⁵ On the meek characteristics of Šin, see Knut Tallqvist, Akkadische Götterepitheta (Helsingforsiae: Societas Orientalis Fennica, 1938), pp.442ff.

⁶ Dhorme, op. cit., p.57.

The worship of the moon was common in the ancient pagan cults of Palestine and Syria.¹ Sacrifices to him are mentioned in the texts from Ras Shamra (1.14; 5.11, 14).² The popularity of the moon-cult among western Semites is attested by the use of personal names bearing the name of the Moon-god.³ By the name Šahar the moon was worshipped in Arabia⁴ and Syria. Under the name Kusuh,⁵ moon-worship is attested in Hurrian (Horite) texts from Ugarit (4.16).

Worship of the heavenly bodies was opposed in the Old Testament (Deut. 4:19; 17:3). Nevertheless, ancient pagan worship of the moon was officially adopted by Manasseh (II Kings 21:3, 5). Other kings and the people generally continued the apostate rites (Jer. 8:2), even though Josiah prohibited moon-worship in 621 B.C. (II Kings 23:5). Two characteristics of moon-worship are alluded to in the Bible: the worship of the moon on roof tops (Jer 19:13; Zeph. 1:5) and the custom of reverently saluting the moon (Job 31:26-27).⁶

In ancient Iranian mythology the moon was invoked be-

¹Theodor H. Gaster, "Moon," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, III, 436.

²See Theodor H. Gaster, "On a Proto-Hebrew Poem from Ras Shamra," JBL, LVII, (1938), 81-87; Albrecht Goetze, "The Nikkal Poem from Ras Shamra," JBL, LX (1941), 353-74.

³Gaster, IDB, III, 436.

⁴See Ditlef Nielsen, Die altarabische mondreligion und die mosaische überlieferung (Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1904), pp.31ff; G. Ryckmans, Les Religions Arabes Preislamiques (Louvain: Bibliotheque du Museon, 1951), pp.40-44.

⁵E. A. Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1941), p.16.

⁶Gaster, op. cit., 436.

cause of its beneficial power (Yast, vii. 1-7). The phases of the moon were noted specifically in a number of texts (e.g. Yasna, xliv.3; Yast, vii.2-4). The Iranians observed a relationship between the moon and tides, while eclipses were supposedly brought by the intervention of two heavenly bodies that orbit below the sun and moon.¹

The moon did not hold an important position in ancient Egyptian religion; it was associated with Thout, the white ibis-god, who served as the judge of god and man. The moon was sometimes called the weaker eye of the heavenly god, a reappearance of the sun in weaker form at night. Furthermore, the Moon-god was sometimes portrayed as riding a heavenly ship across the sky.²

The Cult Centers

The connection of Nannar with Ur is similar to the relationship of Šamaš to Sippar. Ur was so closely identified with the Moon-god that it was called the city of Nannar. The worship of the Moon-god was not limited to Ur, but it was there that moon-worship gained the greatest fame and importance. The theophoric names which employ various names of the Moon-god bear witness to the widespread observance of moon-worship.

The remains of the ancient city of Ur are found between Eridu and the banks of the Euphrates. This widespread

¹ A. V. Williams Jackson, "Sun, Moon, and Stars," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, edited by James Hastings, XII, 85-86.

² Wilhelm M. Müller, The Mythology of All Races, edited by L.H. Gray, XII(Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1918), pp.33f.

settlement is one of the southernmost in Mesopotamia. After others made a number of earlier efforts,¹ Sir Leonard Woolley began the first systematic excavations of this site in 1922. This location provided a valuable collection of historical tablets, legal and business documents, and the dramatic discovery of the famous royal tombs.² Scholarly and literary texts were uncovered which include tablets almost as old as those from Djemdet Nasr to those tablets as late as Persian and Seleucid times.³ Ur is one of the few cities of Mesopotamia which encompasses the entire known history of the area.

Next to Ur, Harrān is the place most famous for its moon-worship.⁴ Situated in Upper Mesopotamia, Harrān was first attested in tablets from Bogazköy, later in the Old Testament, and especially in the royal inscriptions of Assyria.⁵ Harrān, which means "road, highway," was situated upon one of the main caravan routes from Mesopotamia to Syria and the Mediterranean coast.⁶ Harrān became the route for migrations toward Syria because it was easier to detour by the north than to cross the desert. When the Assyrian Empire expanded westward, Harrān

¹William K. Loftus, Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana (London: J. Nisbet, 1857), p.162.

²Charles L. Woolley, Ur Excavations. II; The Royal Cemetery (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934).

³A. Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of Dead Civilization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp.406ff.

⁴W. F. Albright, "Abram the Hebrew; a New Archaeological Interpretation" BASOR, No.163 (1961), 46.

⁵Oppenheim, op. cit., p.395.

⁶Albright, op. cit., 44.

was conquered and it became one of the most important cities in Assyria. Near the end of the Assyrian Empire, a coalition of the Babylonians and Medes routed Ašurballiṭ and his allies, driving them across the Euphrates River. Ḥarrān was sacked and its tremendous collection of treasure was carried away. The temple of Sîn, Ehulḥul, the chief shrine of Northern Mesopotamia, was left a smoldering heap by the barbarian invaders.¹

Few attempts had been made in the past to excavate in the plain of Ḥarrān; the history of the area depended upon little incidental references. This lack of information has been remedied largely by the excavation of Sultantepe and the publication of a collection of tablets by O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein.²

Very early in the history of Mesopotamia both Ur and Ḥarrān were basically similar religiously and politically. Likewise, in a corresponding period in Egyptian history, two kingdoms co-existed which were known religiously as "followers of Horus."³ In these and corresponding cases of ancient history the similarities may be due to the immigration of peoples of common origin. The migrations of the Hebrew patriarchs were connected with political changes in Babylonia. They travelled from Ur to Ḥarrān; there appears to have been

¹ Ibid.

² O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein, The Sultantepe Tablets (London: British Inst. of Archaeology at Ankara, 1957).

³ Julius Lewy, "The Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and Its Culmination at the Time of Nabonidus," HUCA, XIX (1945-1946), 482f.

a cultural and historical kinship existing between the two cities. It was no accident that the Moon-god was the patron deity of both places.¹

Nabonidus (555-539 B.C.), the last king of Babylonia, showed the greatest interest in moon-worship. His birth in Harrān, as the son of a priestess of this god, may have affected his preference for the cult of Sîn. After the death of Nebuchadnezzar there was political turmoil,² Nabonidus seized the opportunity to usurp the throne. There is an element of vagueness and mystery which accompany some of his acts; such as his long stay in Tayma,³ Arabia, rather than in Babylon, his co-reign with his son Belshazzar, and his extensive archaeological and rebuilding work while the Medes and Persians were massed at his borders.⁴ Nabuchadnezzar was a builder of palaces, laid out wide streets, erected immense walls; Nabonidus gloried in the restoration of ancient shrines from the foundation stones to a magnificence exceeding the earlier days.⁵ Reference to the restorations and worship by Nabonidus was preserved on cylinders found at the four corners of the temple of Sîn in Ur in which he said: dSîn bēli ilāniPl. sar ilāniPl. sa samêe u ersetimtim ilāniPl. sa ilāniPl. āsib

¹ Ibid., 483.

² V. Scheil, "Inscription de Nabonide," RT, XVIII (1896), 18ff.

³ C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," Anatolian Studies, VIII (1958), 79f.

⁴ Oppenheim, op. cit., pp.400f.

⁵ V. Scheil, op. cit., 21ff.

šamē^e rabûti^{Pl}. ana bīti šuāti hadīš ina erēbīka damqāti^{Pl}.

Esagila Ezida Egišširgal bītāti^{Pl}. ilūtīka rabīti^{ti} liššakin

šaptukka u puluhti ilūtīka rabīti libbi nišē^{Pl}.-šu šuškinma lā

ihattû ana ilūtīka rabīti^{ti} kīma šamē^e išdāšunu likūnū jāti

dNabû-na'id šar Bābīlīki ina hītu ilūtīka rabīti^{ti} šūzibannīma

balātu ūmū rūqūti ana širikti šurkam, "O Šîn, lord of the

gods, king of the gods of heaven and earth, god of gods, in-

habiting the great heavens, when thou enterest joyfully into

that house, let the good done to Esagila, Ezida, and Egiššir-

gal, the temples of thy great divinity, be upon thy lips. And

the fear of thy great godhead place in the heart of its people,

let them not sin against thy great divinity, let their founda-

tion be well founded, like the heavens.

As for me, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, deliver me from sinning against thy great divinity. Grant unto me long life as a gift."¹

Nabonidus regarded the revival and restoration of the moon-worship as the surest way to secure favor and stability from Šîn.² Some look upon the efforts of Nabonidus as an attempt to establish monotheism, of which there is little evidence, rather it was a movement to make a religious unity for all his subjects. It may be assumed that the efforts of Nabonidus were well received by a large percentage of his subjects since there were many Western Semites in both the Western

¹Nabonidus, No.5, Col.II, 3-23 in Stephen Langdon's Neubabylonische Königsinschriften, translated by Rudolph Zehnpfund (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1912), pp.252ff.

²H. Saggs, The Greatness that was Babylon (N.Y.: Hawthorn Books, 1962), p.145.

and Eastern part of his empire. However, not everyone was content; the established Babylonian priesthood bitterly opposed the reforms of Nabonidus.¹ In its severity and opposition, the condemnation of Nabonidus has no parallel in Akkadian literature (BHT, pp.83ff., pls.v-x).²

Representations of the Moon-God

Pictorial evidence demonstrates that the crescent was the symbol of Sin. Some of the earliest crescent figures are seal impressions from Ur; sometimes the moon itself may be represented, and at other times the crescent impression must have been used for the deity.³ At Tell-el-Obeid a copper head of a calf was found; it was similar to others in the area except that a crescent in relief was in its forehead.⁴ More significant is the discovery of a reclining man-headed, bearded bull of diorite, for its body was inlaid with crescent-shaped shells.⁵ At Ur a fragment was found which may be part of the Stela of Ur-Nammu. The fragment portrays the head of a seated deity in the top register. The god is possibly Nannar since he wears a crown with four pairs of horns topped by a knob

¹ Gadd, op. cit., 88f.

² Cf. Landsberger and Th. Bauer, "Zu Neuveröffentlichten der Zeit von Asarhaddon bis Nabonid," ZA, XXXVII (1926-1927), 88-94.

³ Elizabeth Douglas Van Buren, Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art (Roma: Pontificium Inst. Biblicum, 1945), p.61.

⁴ Harry R. Hall, Ur Excavations, I: Al-'Ubaid (London: Oxford U. Press, 1927), pp.19,30,35, pl.VII, 2.

⁵ Léon A. Heuzey, Catalogue des antiquités chaldéennes sculpture et gravure à la pointe (Paris: Librairies-Imprimeries, 1902), p.278, No.122.

and a crescent.¹

A simple crescent is found on a few cylinder seals from the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.² The crescent has been found on weights. Some scholars suggested that Šîn ruled in matters of weights and measures. Van Buren suggests that the crescent decoration may have been used on the weights to indicate that they belonged to the temple of the Moon-god.³ A collection of Neo-Babylonian seals portray archaic ziggurats with crescents above them.⁴

In the Early Babylonian period Šamaš, Šîn, and Istar are represented artistically by three discs: the sun by a four-pointed star, the moon by a crescent, and Istar by an eight-pointed star.⁵ The crescent is found often on the kudurru stones,⁶ royal stelai,⁷ and amulets.⁸ The crescent on a necklace with amulets shaped like discs may belong to the

¹ Leon Legrain, "The Stela of the Flying Angel," Museum Journal, XVIII (1927) p.80, fig. p.82.

² Cyrus H. Gordon, "Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery," Iraq, VI (1939), 31, pl.XIII, Nos. 104.5.

³ Van Buren, op. cit., p.62.

⁴ Joachim Ménant, Les pierres gravées de la Haute Asie; recherches sur la glyptique orientale, II (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1883-86), pp.132-37, figs. 118-20, 125-27, 129.

⁵ Van Buren, op. cit., p.62.

⁶ Leonard W. King, Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), pl. I (B.M. 102485), XVIII (B.M. 90827), XXVIII (B.M. 90829).

⁷ Austen H. Layard, Monuments of Nineveh from Drawings Made on the Spot, I (London: Murray, 1853), pl.59.

⁸ Layard, op. cit., pls.25, 82, b.

Kassite period or possibly earlier.¹

The 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 , "crescent" was an amulet mentioned in the Bible. It was worn on chains tied around the necks of camels.² The crescent was a popular amulet worn by people of Western Asia. It was worn by the Midianite kings³ and by Hebrew women.⁴ A relatively modern representation of the lunar disc may be seen in Egyptian jewelry. The hilál is a crescent of diamonds set in gold or silver; it is worn by women on the front or side of the headdress. In shape the hilál is similar to an early phase of the moon; it is narrow, and its circumference is approximately half a circle.⁵ Jewels in the form of discs and crescents must have had a prophylactic value, perhaps against moon-stroke, the evil eye, and demons. On the other hand, the crescent may have represented the strength and protection of the waxing moon.

Documents discovered at Boğazköy mention that bread and other pastries were kneaded into crescent forms called armannis⁶ for use in certain rites.⁷

A few seals show a bearded god with a horned cap emerging from the inner curve of a crescent. Possibly one of the

¹ Van Buren, op. cit., p.63.

² Judges 8:21.

³ Judges 8:26.

⁴ Isaiah 3:18.

⁵ Edward W. Lane, The Modern Egyptians (London: J. M. Dent, 1944), p.568.

⁶ Johannes Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1952), p.31.

⁷ Ferdinand Sommer, "Aus Hans Ehelolf's Nachlass," ZA, XLVI (1940), 7-37, cites many of the relevant texts.

earliest was a cylinder seal of chalcedony found at Al Mina, Syria, which may be dated around the 9th or 8th century B.C.¹ Another stamp-seal shows a deity standing erect with a staff in hand and riding along in a crescent-shaped boat.²

The crescent on post may have been the special symbol of Sîn at Harrân.³ Pictographic clay tablets from Uruk IV display this symbol.⁴ A seal impression belonging to the frame above a temple door portrays the crescent and post ascending above two bulls lying back to back, but their heads turned and looking toward the symbol.⁵ A seal from the time of Ur I depicts horned-animals running around the base of a crescent on a short post.⁶ A fragment of incised black pottery was designed with a boat bearing thirteen crescents on posts; these standards possibly represented the year.⁷

The crescent on post was used frequently in the Early Babylonian period. This symbol is found three times on an unusual cylinder seal from Ur. On the right side of the field the symbol is depicted above two crossed bulls, a crescent on a tall post marks the middle, and on the left a symbol appears

¹R. D. Barnett, "A Cylinder Seal from Syria," Iraq VI (1939), 1f. pl. I, 2.

²Layard, Monuments, II, pl.69, No.5.

³Harper, ABL., V, No.489, Obv.4-8.

⁴Adam Falkenstein, Archaische Texte aus Uruk (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1936), Zeichenliste, No.305.

⁵Leon Legrain, Ur Excavations. III; Archaic Seal-Impressions (University Press, 1936), p.37, pl.20, No.391.

⁶Gordon, op. cit., p.7, pl.II, No.3.

⁷Leon Legrain, The Culture of the Babylonians. PBS, XIV (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1925), pp.64f.

between a god and a nude hero, each carrying an overflowing vase. At the base of the scene is the sprawled out body of a Gilgamesh.¹ The crescent on post is sometimes shown between a god and a supplicant, or between two gods, in some of the seals one of the gods touches the post.² More frequent are the seals which depict the crescent on post behind the center of attention. The symbol can be supported on the back of a bird or a cow; sometimes the crescent was mounted on a base, or supported on the back of a duck.³ The references to the crescent symbol are numerous; the examples given here are representative of the variety of art symbols used.⁴

A relatively modern representation of the lunar disc is the mahmal which was displayed at public festivals in Egypt. Designed to be carried on the back of a camel, the mahmal had a square-shaped base of wood, with a pyramidal top; it was covered with a black brocade beautifully designed with inscriptions and gold embroidery. The upper front displayed a view of the Temple of Mecca and the cipher of the Sultan. Near the top of the mahmal are fastened two copies of the Koran, one is a scroll, and the other in the form of a book. At each of the four corners of the base and on the pinnacle of the top there is a ball of gilt silver topped by a crescent.⁵

¹Leon Legrain, "Gem Cutters in Ancient Ur," Museum Journal, XX (1929), p.303, pl.XL, No.111.

²Leon Legrain, The Culture of the Babylonians. PBS, XIV, Plates, (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1925), pls. XVIII, Nos.281-82, XXVI, No.495.

³Louis Speleers, "Les Intailles du Docteur Jousset de Bellesme," Syria, IV (1923), p.196, p.XXIX, No.7.

⁴Van Buren, op.cit., pp.60-67. ⁵Lane, op.cit., p.444.

In 1927 Legrain wrote that there were two outstanding relics of Sumerian art: the Stela of the Vultures and the Stela of Ur-Nammu.¹ The latter records the achievements of the reign of King Ur-Nammu from around 2112 to 2095 B.C.² During this time he restored cities of southern Mesopotamia which had fallen into ruin under the Gutians. He had temples and ziggurats built; he honored the Moon-god, Nanna, with the well-known ziggurat of Ur. He established law and put down tyranny; one of the earliest known legal codes comes from his time.

The stela of Ur-Nammu is a limestone slab carved on both sides with scenes in relief. In Ur, a fragment of a relief was found which may belong to this stela; the top register portrays the head of a god, possibly Nannar, because his cap has four pairs of horns with a knob and a crescent on top.³ There were probably five registers on each side of the stela; a number of the scenes show beautiful girlish beings floating down from heaven with overflowing bottles of precious water in their hands. The flying angels are repeated at least four times to represent the four winds, or possibly to attract all of heaven to the well-being of Ur.⁴

The overflowing bottle is a motif which had been in use earlier by stone carvers at Lagash.⁵ Sometimes these

¹ Leon Legrain, "The Stela of the Flying Angels," Museum Journal, XVIII (1927), 75.

² J. A. Brinkman, "Mesopotamian Chronology of the Historical Period," in A. Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1964), p.336.

³ Legrain, op. cit., 80.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 77.

sculptors fashioned a network of overflowing vases interconnected by their streams. In some of the spouting vases a green sprout grows. Some of the interlacing streams have fish swimming in them.¹ The quest for rain water and irrigation water was a perennial problem in Mesopotamia. The waters from above and the springs from the deep were controlled by the gods, especially the Moon-god.

The ŠU.ÍL.LÁ Prayers


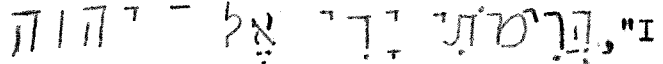
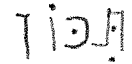
Texts 1, 2, and 3 belong to the Akkadian ŠU.ÍL.LÁ prayers. This form of prayer is used particularly by the individual worshipper. Strangely enough this prayer bears the superscription šiptu "incantation" and the Sumerian subscription ŠU.ÍL.LÁ.KAM "lifting of the hand." This form of prayer was probably developed in the Cassite period around 1400 B.C. All copies of such prayers that have been preserved must be dated after 800 B.C. The structure of the ŠU.ÍL.LÁ is usually regular; the poetic form may be interrupted by certain formulae. Usually an offering of very simple character accompanies each prayer. Some thirty-five deities are invoked in the ŠU.ÍL.LÁ prayers. However, Marduk, Šamaš, and Šin are most frequently addressed.²

The etymology of ŠU.ÍL.LÁ, Akkadian nīs qāti, "Lifting up of the hand" suggests that originally this character-

¹ E. Douglas Van Buren, The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams (Berlin: Hans Schoetz, 1933), pp.1-3.

² Adam Falkenstein and W. von Soden, Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete (Zurich: Artemis-Verlag, 1953), pp.46f.

istic gesture of prayer was used in adoration of the deity. Alongside of qātā našû should be mentioned the synonymous idiom qātā dekû, "to lift up the hands."¹ This idiom is used in supplication to deities: qātā ana Ištar ana muḫhi [bēl]-īya adek[ki], "I shall pray to Ištar of Uruk on behalf of my lord" (YOS 3 194:37). The same idiom may be used to beseech the king: qātā ana šarri bēliya addiki rēmēnû attā, "I beseech the king, my lord, for thou art merciful" (ABL 137r.9). Such acts of worship are represented in many glyptic seals where the supplicant raised his right hand with palm inward and forearm parallel to his face.² The praying figures on the seals probably represented the owners as they prayed before the gods.³

The Hebrews undoubtedly used the Semitic attitudes depicted on Assyrian, Babylonian, and Aramaic seals. Israel has preserved no artistic or archaeological evidence on gestures used in prayer, but there is vivid expression given in the Hebrew Bible. Moses said:  "I will spread my hands before the Lord."⁴ Abram said to the king of Sodom:  "I have lifted my hand to the Lord."⁵ The psalmist made reference to the lifting of hands as a gesture in prayer: 

¹A. Leo Oppenheim, "Idiomatic Accadian," JAOS, LXI (1941), 269f.

²S.A.B. Mercer, "Liturgical Elements in Babylonian and Assyrian Seal Cylinders," JSOR, VI (1922), 106-16.

³Stephen Langdon, "Gesture in Sumerian and Babylonian Prayer," JRAS, LXII (1919), 535.

⁴Exodus 9:29.

⁵Genesis 14:22.

תְּפִלָּתִי כִּסְוֵת לִי וְשִׁבְעָתִי כִּסְוֵת לִי
 כַּיְיָ, "Let my prayer be offered as incense before thee;

and the lifting up of my hands as an evening sacrifice."¹ In I Kings 8:22 it is said that Solomon stood before the altar of Yahweh and spread out his hands to heaven. Surely this Semitic position emphasizes the reception of blessing from God.

The Semitic open-hand pose is the one also employed by the Greeks and Romans when supplicating sky-gods. It is the so-called supinoe manus of the Romans; coelo supinas si tuleris manus, "If thou liftest unto heaven thy hands bent backward," says Horace to the rustic maid Phidyle (Odes, Bk. iii, 23, 1). The same attitude was prevalent in Greek religion, where a number of expressions for lifting the hands (*ἀρατεῖν τὰς χεῖρας*)² are common from Homer onward. Here, as in Assyria, the open-hand attitude may be assumed before statues, and the idea may be expressed by holding out only one hand in this attitude, derived from the custom of employing the other hand to present a cup of libation to the statue or sacred object.³

Dalglisch suggests that the Sumerian-Akkadian psalms of lamentation may have influenced the Hebrew Psalms especially through the ŠU.IL.LÁ prayers. To a lesser extent, the Sumerian erschachunga and dingirschadibba imparted an influence on the basic structure on the penitential Psalms of the Old Testament. Furthermore, the Hebrews may have come under the influence of the Gattung of the Sumerian-Akkadian penitential psalms

¹ Psalm 141:2.

² The following examples of Greek usage are taken from Henrico Stephano, Thesaurus Graecae Linguae, I, Pt.2, 580: Isth. 5, 38: ὁ δ' ἀρατεῖρας ὄψαρον χεῖρας ἀνάκους; Diod. 14: 29: τοῖς θεοῖς ἀρατεῖραντες τὰς χεῖρας ἠοχαρίστησαν; Aristot. De mundo[c.6]: πᾶντες οἱ ἀέθριος ἀρατεῖροντες τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, εὐχὰς ποιούμενοι.

³ Langdon, op. cit., p.543.

either through literary penetration or through the cultural mediation of the Canaanites.¹ It should be observed, however, that the Hebrew inheritance from the Sumerians, Akkadians, and the Canaanites² will in no wise account for the total nature of the Old Testament Psalms of lamentation. The originality and creative genius of Hebrew religion must be taken into account.

¹Edward R. Dalglisch, Psalm Fifty-One in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), pp.258-59.

²G. E. Wright, "How Did Israel Differ from Her Neighbors?," BA, VI (1943), 6.

TEXT 1

STT 57, 58, 59; LKA 52 and BMS 6

45
 46
 47
 48
 49
 50
 51
 52
 53
 54
 55
 56
 57
 58
 59
 60
 61
 62
 63
 64
 65
 66
 67
 68
 69
 70
 71
 72
 73
 74
 75
 76
 77
 78
 79
 80
 81
 82
 83
 84
 85

大正...
 小正...

Obv. 無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

5 無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

10 無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

15 無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

20 無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

25 無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

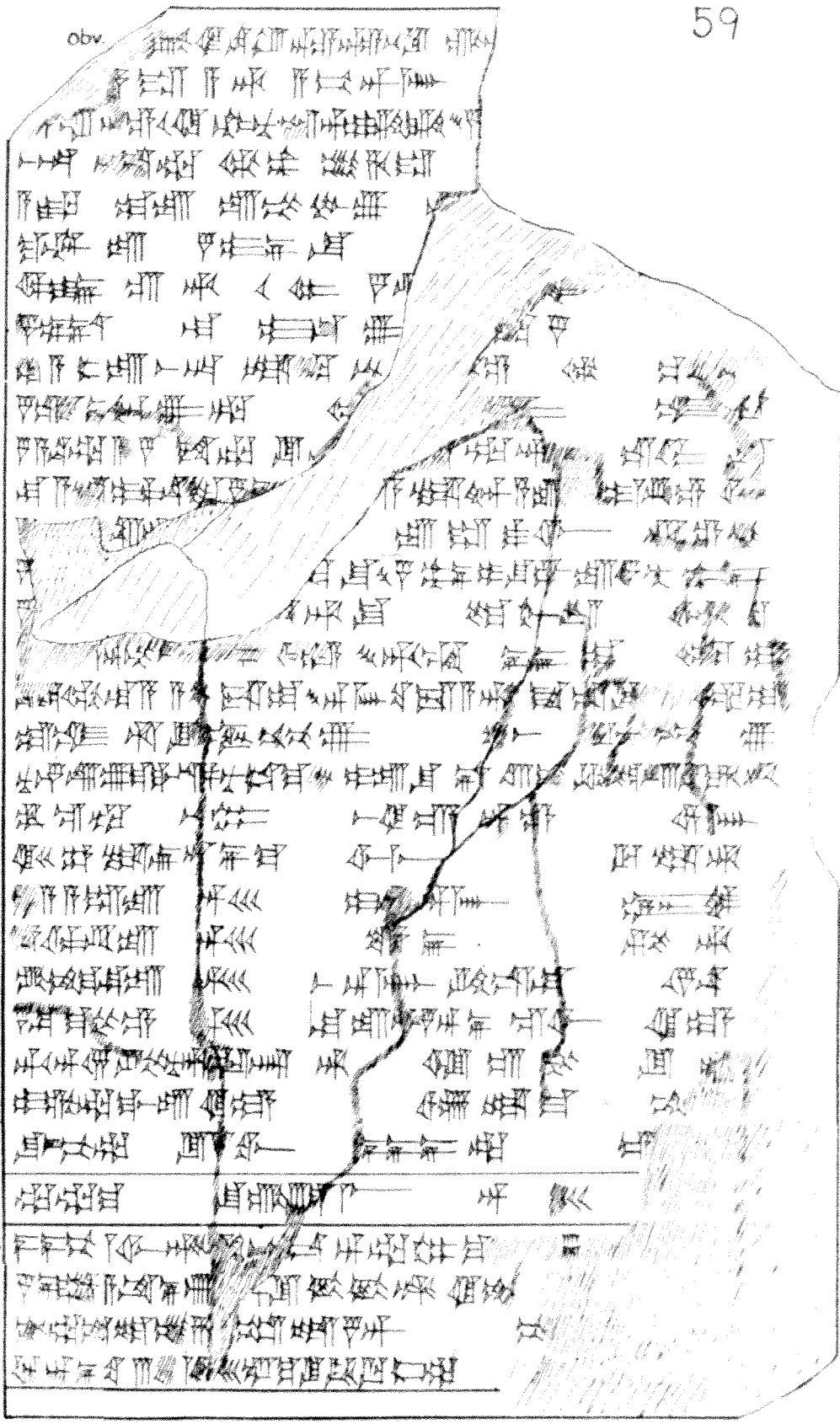
無從會商之謂也

30 無從會商之謂也

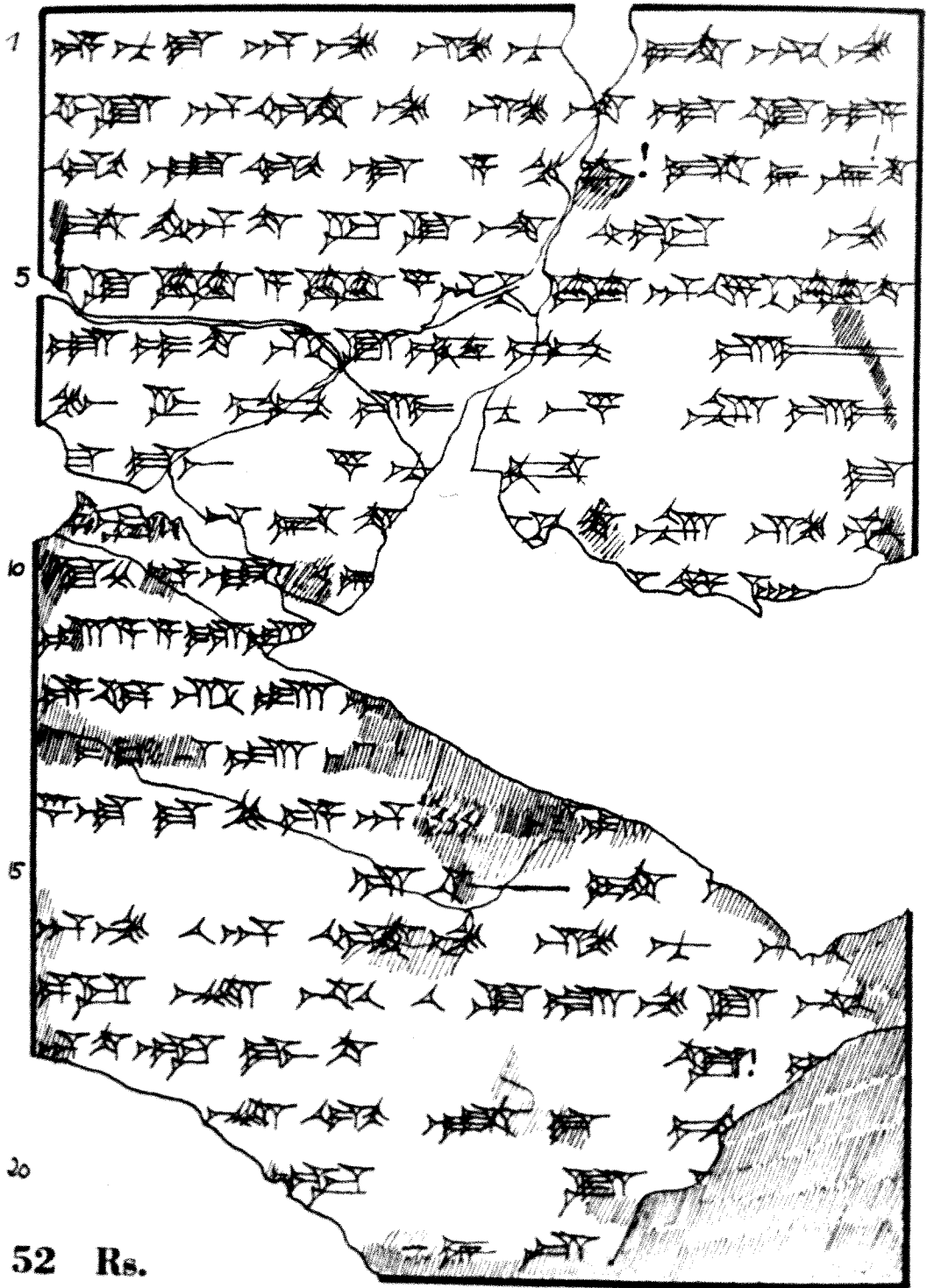
無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

無從會商之謂也

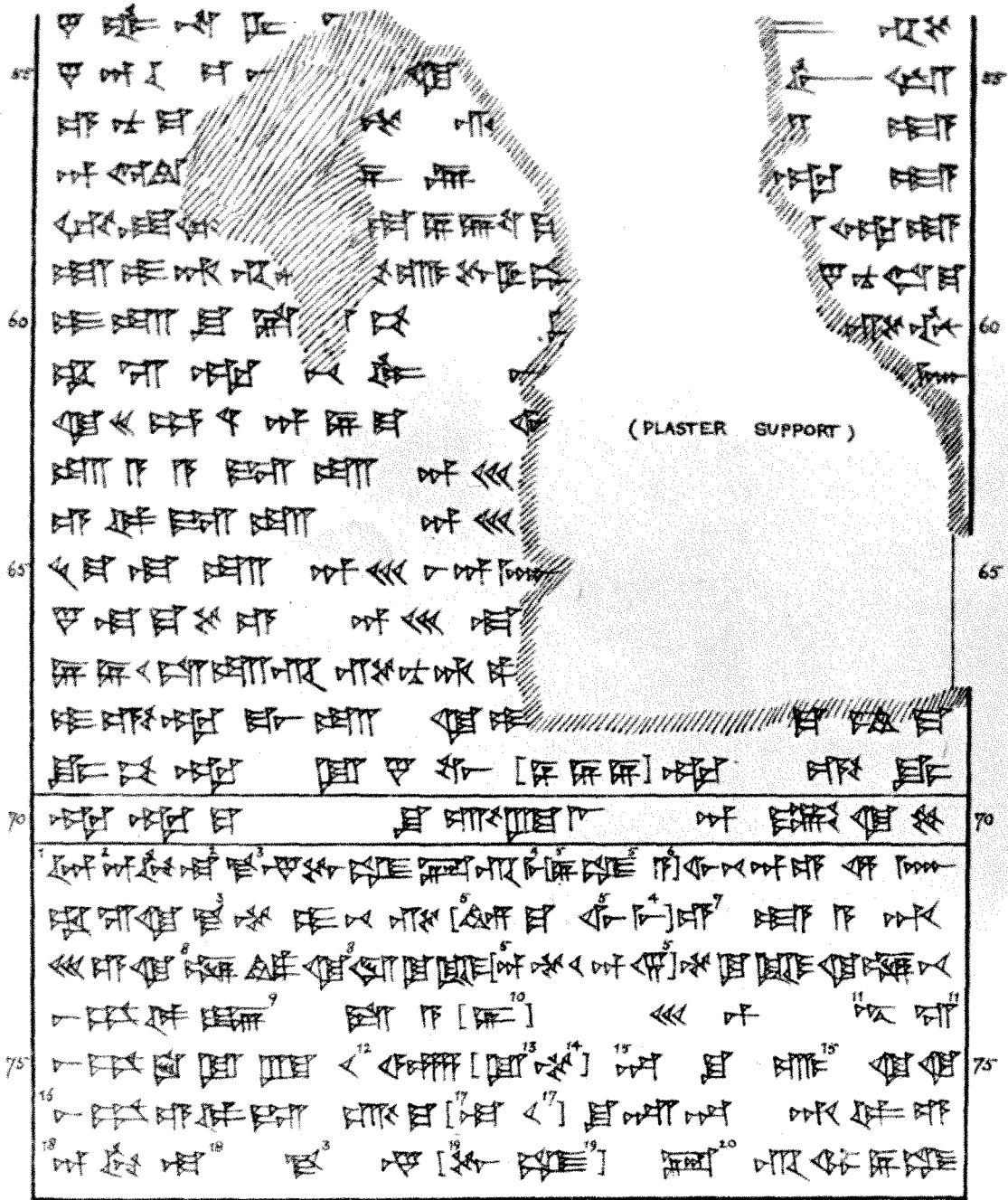


5
10
15
20



52 Rs.

NO. 6. OBV. (CONT.)



1 Before 6710 is not a duplicate but reads: - 1. ~~...~~ and 2. ~~...~~. 2 BE 对 又 个 肆 肆.
 3 BE 会. 4 CE 肆. 5 xCE 6 xC. 7 CE 肆. 8 B 肆 肆. 9 B 肆. 10 x BCE.
 11 D 肆 肆 肆 肆. 12 Omitted by B. 13 x BCDE. 14 x CDE. 15 CE 肆 人. 16 For 676
 B(xEC) reads: - 7 肆 肆 肆 肆 [肆 肆 肆]. 17 x D. 18 B 对 又 个 肆 肆.
 19 x (71); BDE 肆 肆 肆. 20 D 肆 肆.

TEXT 1

STT 57, 58, 59; LKA 52 and BMS 6

Introduction

Text 1 is based upon a collation and study of five duplicate texts. Three duplicates of text 1 may be found in the work by O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein, The Sultantepe Tablets, 1957. These tablets were excavated by a joint expedition of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and the Turkish Department of Antiquities in 1951 and 1952. The most important part of this collection are the literary texts now housed in the Archaeological Museum at Ankara. It is generally believed that these tablets were the work of students in a temple school. The literary texts bear dates ranging from 718 B.C. to the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C.; these dates, however, do not indicate when a particular literary work originated.

STT 57 rev., 57-84, is called A in this work because it is the fullest and most reliable text. B is STT 59 obv., 1-28; and STT 58 rev., 25-51 is called D. A is used as the basic text in this study; B shows the greatest agreement and kinship with A, followed by D which is also of the Sultantepe collection. It appears to be quite significant that these three duplicate texts were excavated from Sultantepe, the old Harrān, a religious center in northwest Mesopotamia

which was second only to Ur in moon-worship.

The peculiarities of the Sultantepe tablets can be studied under two headings: textual variants and grammatical variants. Included in the textual variants are errors of omissions, insertions, and misreading of signs. This variety of errors occurred because the scribes who wrote these tablets in the first place were often not masters of their art. The scribes produced grammatical variants by irregularly substituting Late Assyrian forms for those of Standard Babylonian. Thus the Sultantepe tablets are a mixture since the insertion of the Late Assyrian forms are only infrequently used.¹

A duplicate of text 1 is found in plate 52 of the work by Ebeling, Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Aššur, 1953. Obv. 2-21 and rev. 1-21 in plate 52 are referred to below as C. Also, Erich Ebeling in Die akkadische Gebetesserie "Handerhebung," 1953, pp.44-47, gives a transliteration with many suggested restorations for this text.

Text 1 corresponds to King, Babylonian Magic and Sorcery, 6, (1896), pp.30-37 and plates 11-12. King collected and joined together twelve small fragments of the Kouyunjik Collection to form his text. Fragments joined by King are the following: K2106 + K2384 + K3605 + K3393 + K6340 + K9576 + K9688 + K11589 + K8983 + K12911 + K13792 + K13800. King noted that the text contains five prayers addressed respectively to Anu, Nuzku, Šin, Ba'u, and Šamaš.

¹W. G. Lambert, "The Sultantepe Tablets," RA, LIII (1959), 124-25.

This study is on the very broken lines 36-69 which are addressed to Sîn; this duplicate text is called E.

Text 1 may be outlined as follows:

I. Address

- (a) Invocation of Sîn, with honorific titles 1-3
- (b) Praise of Sîn 4-15

II. Prayer

- (a) Lamentation 16-19
- (b) Prayer 20-27

III. Thanksgiving 28

In this Akkadian ŠU.ÍL.LÁ the address may be divided into the (a) invocation of Sîn with honorific titles and (b) praise of Sîn. In the invocation found in lines 1-3 the various titles of the Moon-god are extravagantly enumerated, the supplicant does not always limit himself to orthodox theology. Kunstmann¹ suggests that this amassing of hymnic praise was not simply flattery to move the deity into a favorable reception of his requests, but sincerely expresses the faith of the suppliant in the ability of his god. In the Akkadian ŠU.ÍL.LÁ the praise of the deity of the address finds a fuller expression than that found in any of the Sumerian-Akkadian psalms of lamentation.²

After the hymnodic appeal, there is the praise of Sîn in lines 4-15. Particularly the worshipper praises the

¹Walter G. Kunstmann, Die Babylonische Gebetsbesch-wörung (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1932), p.12.

²Edward R. Dalglish, Psalm Fifty-One in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), p.259.

divine characteristics of goodness and righteousness. An analysis of this theme shows the following lines of thought: Šîn restores the dispersed and weak; he sees that justice is done; he gives help in social problems; he protects the barren and childless; he secures judgment with justice; and he guards and helps in the hour of human need.

The invocation of the address in Hebrew Psalms occurs regularly near the beginning of the first verse; however, the invocation may recur a number of times throughout the song.¹ Generally the Akkadian psalms pile up the honorific titles and the praise of the deity at the beginning, while the Hebrews scatter the praise of the deity throughout the song.² It should be noted that the later Hebrew prayers conform more closely to the Sumerian-Akkadian form.³

Generally the ŠU.ÍL.LÁ prayers may be divided into three parts: (1) the lamentation, (2) the transitional formula and (3) the prayer proper. The first two are not always present. In text 1 the transitional formula is omitted. Lines 16-19, the lamentation portion of this prayer emphasizes the alienation of the protecting deity and the complaint regarding various evils. Reference is made to bribes, expenses, losses, destruction, distress, and disease--a varicolored picture of evil.

¹Ps. 51:12a, 16a, 17a, 19a.

²Dalglisch, op. cit., p.260.

³Friedrich Stummer, Sumerisch-Akkadische Parallelen zum Aufbau Alttestamentlicher Psalmen (Paderborn: Schönigh, 1922), p.213f.; Dan. 9:4; Nehemiah 9:5ff.; 2 Macc. 1:24-25; and especially Prayer of Manasseh 1-7.

The structure of the lament demonstrates a variety of forms in the Sumero-Akkadian psalms. There are songs in which the lament is without confession of sin, while other compositions have interwoven the lament and confession. There are songs in which the lament has been replaced by the confession, while some lamentations do not mention sin.¹ The Hebrew psalms manifest a similar variety of laments; however, the majority of the Hebrew Psalms of lamentation record a lament without any confession of sin.²

This text, as mentioned above, omits the transitional formula which goes before the prayer proper. This formula is introduced with the word assum, "because" followed by a repeated praise formula. This formula is related to the supplicants access to his god. Oftentimes the transitional formula mentions offerings associated with the prayer.³ References to the Hebrew use of the transitional formula are found in Psalm 5:4; 141:2; and Sirach 38:8-11.⁴

The prayer proper is filled with poetic feeling and delicate taste; it avoids specific reference to problems, but, nevertheless, eloquently pleads for help. Some of the needs mentioned here had been alluded to previously in the lament. The most important elements of this prayer are as follows: (a) The reception of the prayer mentioned in lines

¹For a detailed classification see Dalglisch, op. cit., pp.261f.

²Ibid., p.262.

³Kunstmann, op. cit., pp.24f.

⁴Dalglisch, op. cit., p.262.

20-21. This request for the gracious look is a search for the favorable answer from Sîn. (b) The reconciliation of Sîn is dealt with in lines 22-27. The Moon-god having been alienated by some sin has withdrawn his help from the suppliant. The welfare of the suppliant rests upon reconciliation; the repeated pleas show desperation. Sometimes in similar prayers, other powerful deities are called upon to intervene.

In the thematic compass, in lyrical quality, and in the emancipation from stereotyped formulae, the ŠU.ĪL.LÁ prayers bear the greatest resemblance to the prayer formula of the biblical individual psalms of lamentation.¹

The third main division of the ŠU.ĪL.LÁ prayer stresses the thanksgiving and benediction formula. The thanksgiving formula is distinguished by the words: "I will declare thy glory," "Praising, I will praise thee" or something similar. This is the formula represented in line 28. In some instances the thanksgiving is enlarged beyond the usual line or two into a brief hymn; cf. the following from a hymn to Ištar:

āmīrūaina sūqi līšarbū zikirki
u anāku ana salmat qaqqadi ilūtki u qurdīki lūšāpi
dIštarma sīrat dIštarma šarrat
dbēltūma sīrat dbēltūma šarrat
dIrnini mārat dSîn qaritti māhiri lā tīšu,

"May the ones seeing me in the street magnify thy command.

As for me, may I glorify thy divinity

¹Ibid., p.266.

and might to mankind.

As for Ištar, she is exalted;

as for Ištar, she is queen.

As for the Lady, she is exalted;

as for the Lady, she is queen.

Irnini, valiant daughter of Sîn, has no rival"¹

The thanksgiving formula is usually brief² in the individual psalms of lamentation of the Bible. The Biblical formula bears no polytheistic concepts, nor is there mention of an incantation priest. In some cases the thanksgiving formula is lengthy expanding sometimes to include a complete psalm of thanksgiving.³ The benediction formula is usually represented thus: "May the great gods bless thee." The benediction and thanksgiving formulas rarely occur in the same prayer.

¹ STC II, pl. LXXV. 101-105.

² Dalglish, op. cit., p.268; Pss. 7:18; 13:6; 26:6,7; 61:9; 140:13; 142:8.

³ Ibid.; Pss. 22:23-32; 35:27f.; 56:11ff.; 69:31-37; 71:22-24.

Transliteration

1. ÉN^d BĀ^d NANNAR ba-ru AN^e[AN]^e
be-lu ga-šir [DINGIR^{MEŠ}] GAL[^{MEŠ}]
2. [LUGAL kib]-ra-a-ti a-bi DINGIR^{MEŠ} [ú a-me]-lu-tum
3. [SAG]-KAL AN^e uKI^{tim} nu-úr^d I.GI₄.GI₄ nap-ḥar
g[i]-mi[r] a-pa-tam
4. AŠ ba-li-ka ul u[p]-taḥ-ḥa-ra UKU^{MES} sa-ap-[ḥa]-ti
5. a-šar at-ta ta-qab-bu-ú na-di-tum.....
6. ma-aq-tú tu-[še-et]-ba ta-šab-bat qa-a[s-s]u
7. di-in kit-tú u mé-šá-ri tu-šar-šá tu-šam-ḥar en-šá
8. šá DUMU.UŠ la i-šu-ú tu-šar-šá-a DUMU-[UŠ]
9. la a-lit-tum AŠ ba-li-ka NUMUN u me-e-re-e ul iṣ-šab-bat
10. šá iš-te-ni-ú-ka u[l] i-ḥa-aṭ-ti dum-[q]ú
11. šá a-na ka-a-šá it-ka-l[u-ka] tu-ka-an iš-di-[šú]
12. la [a-li-ki pa-na] tu-[šá-aṣ-bat
l]a-a le-'-a ta-šak-kan DIŠ r[e-e-š]e
13. šá is-sa[ḥ]-r[u]-ka ta-ra-áš-ši [re]-e-m[e]

Textual Apparatus

- 1 AN^e restored according to B C: [gaš]-ru AŠ DINGIR
D: EN ga-šir DINGIR^{MEŠ} E: na-[.....] ga-šir AŠ
- 2 C: LUGAL kib-rat AD C: EN N[AM] D: be-el End restored
according to BM 78219,2: bānât^{at} ili šarri u amēlūti, "Creatress of god, king, and mankind" 3 Beg. restored according to D C: a-šá-red B: [a-š]á-red C: ZĀLAG^d.....ša nap-ḥar DINGIR^{MEŠ} D: ^dI.GI.GI D: gi-mi[r] 4 C: NU-[ME.A]-ka B: up-taḥ-ḥa-ra D: UKKIN sap-ḥa E: [b]a(?) -ra-a
- 5 C: taq-b[u]-u 6 B: ma-aq-ta šá i-ni-šu E: ma-aq-tum
C: i-ni-šú tu-[še-et]-ba restored according to VAT 13631,6:

Normalization

1. šiptu dSîn dNannar bārû šamê^e [šamê]^e
bēlu gašir [ilāni^{pl.}] rabûti^{pl.}
2. [šar kib]rāti abi ilāni^{pl.} [u amē]lūtum
3. ašared šamê^e u eršetim^{tim}
nūr dIḡigi napḥar g[i]mi[r] apātam
4. ina balīka ul u[p]taḥḥarā nišē^{pl.} sap[ḥā]ti
5. ašar attā taqabbû nadītum.....
6. maqtu tu[šet]ba tašabbat qā[ss]u
7. dīn kittu u mēšari tušarša tušamḥar enša
8. ša apla lā išû tušarša ap[la]
9. lā ālittum ina balīka zēra u mērê ul iṣšabbat
10. ša ištēni'ūka u[l] iḥaṭṭi dum[q]u
11. ša ana kâša itkalū[ka] tukân išdi[šú]
12. lā [āliki pāna] tu[šašbat l]ā lē'â tašakkan ana r[ēš]e
13. ša issa[h]r[ū]ka tarašši [rē]m[e]

Textual Apparatus

mušatbi enši "Who causest the weak to rise." 7 B: kit-ti
D: kit-t[e] u mé-šá-ra 8 E: ap-la D: end DUMU.UŠ C:
NU 9 B: a-lit-ta C: mé-re-[e] 10 E: ša C: iš-
te-'-i-k[a] D: iš-ta-na-ú-ka 11 C: šá DIŠ E: šá
ka-a-šá B: it-ka-lu C: tak-lu D: it-ta-ka-lu-ka
[ka] restored according to D C: t[u]-kan B: iš-di-[š]u
C: is-di-šú [šú] restored according to C 12 Beg.
restored according to D C: a-lit-tú ár-[ḥi-iš] B:
a-[l]i-kám (text-i) pa-na E: [l]a a-mí[ru.....] B:
end re-e-ši 13 C: is-ḥu-ru-ka ta-na-áš-ši re-es-su B:
re-e-[m]é E: end -e-ma

14. šá sa-ap-ḥi tu-paḥ-ḥa-[ra] KI.NE.šú
 šá ár-ni i-šu-ú ta-paṭ-ṭar ár-ni
15. šá DINGIR-šu ze-nu-[ú] it-ti-šu tu-sal-lam ar-[n]a
16. e-nu-ma DINGIR.MU z[e]-nu-ú KI-ia ^dIŠDAR taš-bu-ús UGU-ia
17. iš-tu ul-la-a a-lat-ta-at DINGIR^[MEŠ]
 ṭa-a-ti i[š]-ku-nu UGU-ia
18. ṣi-tum ḥu-lu-u[q-q]u-ú bu-tuq-qu-ú
19. nu-šur-ru-ú ma-gal šak-nu-nim-m[a]
 i-ta-šu-uš lib-bi [ik]-tu-ru na-piš-ti
20. al-si-ka be-l[um] ^dBÀ qé-reb AN^e KÙ^{MEŠ}
21. ki-niš nap-li-sa-an-n[i]-ma [ši]-me tas-li-tum
22. ta-a-a-ra-ta [^dBÀ] i-na DINGIR^{MEŠ} as-ḥur
23. [e-ti]-re-ta ^dBÀ KAR^{ir} ZI^{ti}
24. [gam-ma-la-t]a ^dBÀ AŠ DINGIR^{MEŠ} gi-mi[l-l]a [šuk-na]
25. [šá la ma-še-e] ^dBÀ la ta-maš-šá-an-ni si-lim KI-ia
26. [DINGIR.MU u ^dIŠDAR.MU ze-nu-ti šab-s]u-ti ù kit-mu-lu-ti

Textual Apparatus

- 14.C: sap-ḥi tu-paḥ-ḥa-r[a g]a-nun-šú [š]á ar-na TUG^u ta-paṭ-
 ṭar a-ra-an-šú E: [ga]-nun-šú E: ár-na TUG [.....á]r-nam
 D: i-na-ú-su u 15 C: DINGIR-šú KI-šú ze-nu-[u] D: ze-
 nu-ú KI-šú E: DINGIR-šú iz-n[u-u] KI-[šú] 16 D: [e-nu]-
 ma DINGIR C: it-ti-MU ù ^dIŠDAR.MU ze-na-at KI-ia B:
^dIŠDAR né-sa-at E: [n]é-sa-[at] D: end [UGU]MU 17 A:
 iš-tu(texts -te) C: ul-tu ul-la-a ŠE.[B]Í.DA né-er-tú
 ṭa-'-tú taš-ku-na UGU.MU [ana]-ku BUL.BUL A BUL.BUL šá DINGIR-
 šú BUL.BUL ^dIŠDAR-šú BUL.BUL-tú E: ul-tu u[l.....]-at
 né-er-tú B: DINGIR^{MEŠ} pir-da-a-ti 18 E: ṣi-i-ti C:
 ṣi-i-tú ḥu-lu-uq-qu-ú E: bu-tuq-tu[m.....] GAR-nu-nim-ma

14. ša saḫhi tupahḫa[ra] iṣātīšu ša arni iṣû tapaṭṭar arni
 15. ša ilšu zenû ittīšu tusallam ar[n]a
 16. enūma ilī z[e]nû ittiya dIštar tašbus eliya
 17. ištu ullâ ālattāt ilāni^[pl.] ta'ti i[š]kunū eliya
 18. šītum ḫulu[qq]û butuqqû
 19. nušurrû magal šaknūnim[a]
 itašuš libbī [ik]turû napištī
 20. alsīka bēl[um] dSîn qereb šamê^e ellūti^{pl.}
 21. kīniš naplisann[ī]ma [š]ime taslītum
 22. tayyārāta [dSîn] ina ilāni^{pl.} ašhur
 23. [ēti]rēta dSîn etir^{ir} napištī^{ti}
 24. [gammālāt]a dSîn ina ilāni^{pl.} gimi[ll]a [šukna]
 25. [ša lā mašé] dSîn lā tamaššanni silim ittiya
 26. [ilī u Ištari zenûti šabs]ūti u kitmulūti

Textual Apparatus

- 19 C: GAR-nu-nim-ma C: End [tag]-tam-ru ZI^{tim} B:
 ik-tu-r[u] E: ZI^{tim} 20 B: be-lum ina qé-reb AN^e 21
 Restored according to B C: [na]p-li-[s]in-ni E: nap-
 lis-an-ni-ma B; tas-li-ti 22 Restored according to B
 D: DIŠ 23 Restored according to C E: e-ṭi-ra-ta 24
 B: ga-am-ma-la-ta E: gam-ma-la-ta D: dBA gi-mil-[la]
 End of A has ki-na: correct to šuk-na according to B 25
 B: šá la ma-še-e C: it-[ti-ia] 26 Restored according
 to C B: DINGIR u dIŠDAR ze-nu-ti E: i-lí u iš-ta-ri
 C: u ku-um-mu-lu-ti D: [š]ab-su-u u[k](?) -mu-lu-ti

27. [i-lut-ka GAL^{ta} KI-ia s]ul-li-ma-am-[ma]

28. [nar-bi-ka lu-šá-pi] dà-lí-lí-ka lud-lul

Textual Apparatus

27 Restored according to B C: DINGIR-ut-ka GAL^{tam}

C: su-ul-li-ma-a[m] E: KI-i[a.....]ma-am-ma 28 Restored
according to E

27. [ilūtka rabīta^{ta} ittiya s]ullimam[ma]
28. [narbīka lûšāpi] dalīlīka ludlul

Translation

1. Incantation: O Sîn, O Nannar; who watches over the sky,
lord, strong (among) the senior [gods].
2. [King of the wor]ld, father of the gods [and man]kind,
3. Foremost in heaven and earth, light of the Igigi,
the totality, all the people.
4. Without thee dispersed people would not be gathered.
5. When thou speakest the one thrown down.....
6. As for the fallen one [thou causest him to rise],
thou takest his hand.
7. A judgment of truth and justice thou providest,
the weak thou restorest to equality.
8. Whoever does not have an heir,
thou acquirrest an he[ir] for him.
9. Without thee, the childless woman cannot conceive
(from) semen and become pregnant.
10. The one who seeks thee does not miss good fortune.
11. As for the one who trusts thee,
thou strengthenest [his] foundation.
12. [Thou makest a leader of the lame],
thou placest the powerless at the head.
13. As for the one who turns himself to thee,
thou grantest mercy.
14. As for the dispersed, thou gatherest his fire,
whoever has sin, thou forgivest the sin.
15. The one whose god was angry with him,
thou reconcilest the sin.
16. When my god is angry with me,

- (my) personal goddess was angry towards me.
17. From of old, the begetters of the gods
placed a bribe upon me.
 18. Expenses, damages, losses,
 19. Diminutions were severely inflicted upon me,
my heart was distressed, my life was shortened.
 20. I have called thee, Lord, O Sîn,
in the midst of the bright heavens.
 21. Truly look upon me, hear (my) prayer.
 22. Thou art ever-forgiving, [O Sîn],
I turned (to thee) among the gods.
 23. Thou art a savior, O Sîn, save my life.
 24. Thou art always showing mercy, O Sîn, among the gods,
[show] favor.
 25. Sîn is not forgetful, do not forget me,
be reconciled with me.
 26. [My angry, fur]ious, and irate [god and goddess]
 27. Reconcile with me,
 28. And [I will make thy greatness manifest]
and declare thy glory.

Commentary on Text 1

L. 1. The reading AN^e AN^e partially represented in A and clearly in B is probably dittography.

The Akkadian word šiptu, "incantation" appears in texts 1:1; 2:1; and 6:1. Technically, šiptu is the word that is used to introduce the recitation.

Gašru "strong" is used as an attribute of gods and kings. The most frequent use of gašru is in reference to the gods; also the earliest examples apply to the gods mentioned in texts from OB on. A few examples which were said of the gods are the following: binti dNannari gašratum, "Daughter Nannar, the strong one" (ZA 10 296r.25); dUTU u dIM ilāni gašrūtu, "Šamaš and Adad, the powerful gods" (Hinke, Kudurru IV 15); and gaširtum ša šarūrūša ušnammarū eklēti, "(Ištar) the strong, whose splendor illuminates the darkness" (Perry, Sin, pl. 4:5); cf. CAD, V, p.57. Gašru is used of human beings, especially Assyrian kings: gešru lā pādû, "(Tiglath-pileser) the strong (and) merciless" (KAH 2 73:3); ša ultu ullâ.....šipsu gašru lā īdû, "(Countries) which had never known a strong ruler" (OIP 2 64:20 Senn.).¹

Dannu also is sometimes translated "strong"; however, dannu can have a much wider variety of meanings than gašru--meanings such as "solid, heavy, massive, binding, savage, serious, harsh, etc."²

L. 2. Texts C and D obviously have a different reading possibly bēl šimāti, "Lord of destiny." This epithet is

¹ Cf. CAD, V, p.57.

² CAD, III, pp.92-98.

attributed to Ea, Maqlû VI 57; Enlil, Išmedagan UPX.2, 14, 10; Šamaš, KAR 32, 22. Bēl šīmāt māti, "Lord of the destiny of the lands" is said of Šamaš in K 2106, 112; cf. 3:17.

The title šar kibrāti, "king of the world," is first applied to royalty in the Sargonic period as Sumerian LUGAL AN.UBDA LIMMUBA which equals Akkadian šar kibrātim arba'im, "King of the world." The Akkadian kibrātum "edges" is a translation of AN.UB.DA which technically means "upper corners and sides."¹ It is difficult to determine whether this title occurred first in Sumerian or Akkadian since both forms are first attested under Narām-Sîn of Akkad. The Sumerian title is found only once in a limestone disc from Nippur: NA.RA.AM d^dEN.ZU LUGAL A.GA.DE^{ki} LUGAL AN.UB LIMMU.BA URU.NA.UG₅.GA SANGA d^dEN.LIL ARAD₂.ZU.² The title in the Akkadian form used by Narām-Sîn is written šar kibrātim arba'im. The nominative form occurs on Narām-Sîn's stone tablet from Nineveh: [ki]b-rātum arba'um ištēn[iš ihanisūma], "The four 'edges' [pressed on him] together."³

The epithet šar kibrāti, "king of the world,"⁴ is used in reference to the heavenly regions of the gods and the earthly territories of royalty.⁵ Šar kibrāti erbetti is used

¹William W. Hallo, Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1957), p.49.

²PBS, XV, 81.

³Unger, IAMN, XII pl. iv 6f.; cf. Hallo, op. cit., p.50.

⁴K. L. Tallqvist, Akkadische Götterepitheta, p.235, lists many equivalents.

⁵Delitzsch, HWB, p.315.

of Esarhaddon in BIN, II, 28, 8.¹ Further, the expression šar kibrāti erbetti is used of Nabonidus in VR 64, 2a and of Cyrus in VR 35, 20. Delitzsch, HWB, lists numerous examples like the above.² A similar epithet is referred to the goddess Ištar: šarrat kibrāti, "Queen of the (four) corners of the earth" (AGH 126, 47). A semantic counterpart to šar kibrāti is possibly found in the vision of Isaiah 6. The Lord is described as the true king who fills the whole earth with his glory,

יְדִבְרֶנּוּ כְּכֹהֵן וְיִשְׁמְעוּן כְּלֵבָם
וְיִרְאוּן כְּאֵל וְיִשְׁמְעוּן כְּלֵבָם

The title abi ilāni, "father of the gods" was frequently assigned to Sîn in some of the early Sumerian compositions.³ It may be that as chief luminary of the night he became "father." Also it is possible that the title abi ilāni may reflect the local worship of Sîn in his home location before he became supreme. In this context of Oriental language "father" may be used as a synonym of leader and chief.

Sîn is called abi ilāni, "Father of the gods." Below are a few references in which this epithet is ascribed to other gods: Anu (CT 25:50, 6; KAR 168, I 26); Anšar (En.el. II 92); Aššur (OIP II 117, 4); Enlil (RA 27:14, 3). The similar epithet abi ilāni rabûti, "Father of the great gods," is used of Sîn and Šamaš (KAR 184, Rs.44). Also closely related concepts are abu ālid ilāni rabûti, "Father, begetter of the great gods" Enlil (KAR 25, III, 32)⁴ and abu bānû ilāni,

¹Cf. Seux, Epithètes, p.308.

²Delitzsch, op. cit., p.315.

³B.M. 13930, published CT XV 17.

⁴Cf. text 3:16.

"Father, begetter of the gods" Šîn (Nabd., 1, II 31).¹

"Father" is a title used often in reference to the relationship between mankind and divine beings. The following quotations demonstrate this use: attāma kīma abi u umme ina pī nišī tabašši "People speak of thee (Marduk) as if thou wert father and mother (to them)" (BMS, 12:34); ^dNanâ..... ša kīma AD rēmēnî nashursu tāb, "Nanâ, whose pardon is as sweet as that of a merciful father" (VAS 1 36 i 16), and passim in Akkadian.²

In the Old Testament there is a similar motif; God is the father who lovingly guides and watches over His people. Note especially Deuteronomy 32:6: $\text{הֲיִשָּׂא אֱלֹהִים אֲבִי וְיִלְדֵם אֱלֹהִים}$, "Is not he thy father, who made thee," and Malachi 1:6: $\text{אִם אֲבִי אֲנִי וְאַתָּה בְּרִי}$, "If then I am a father, where is my honor?" Therefore in the light of the Old Testament, God as the אֱלֹהִים performs a dual activity, firstly, as generative-creative, secondly, as authoritative-ruling. The Father is unquestionably omnipotent, the source of all power, while communicating and imparting authority.

L. 3. The epithet nūr Igigi, "Light of the Igigi" is similar to the following epithets attributed especially to Šamaš, [n]ūr ilāni rabūti nūr erseti, "Light of the senior gods, light of the earth" Šamaš (EB I, 25, 1); ^dŠamaš nūr ilāni rabūti, "Šamaš, light of the senior gods" (OECT VI, 49, 22); [d]Šamaš nūr ilāni, "Šamaš, light of the gods" (Eb. I,

¹Tallqvist, Götterepitheta, pp.1f.

²CAD, I, Part I, p.69.

37, 2).¹ In like manner, Ištar is described: dipār šamê [.....] tu dIgigi nūr mā[tātu], "Torch of heaven,.....of the Igigi, light of the la[nds]."²

Ašaridu, "chief, foremost" occurs from O. Akk. and OB on; it occurs as an epithet of both gods and kings. References to deity are given in the following passages: ^dUTU SAG.KAL.DINGIR.RE.E.NI KE (KID): dŠamaš ašarid illī, "Šamaš, the foremost among the gods," Šurpu VII, 83f., and passim in such phrases; ašarid bukur Enlil, "(You are) foremost, son of Enlil," JRAS Cent. Supp. pl. 6 i 4 (OB);³ and māru reštû ašaridu ša Enlil, "Firstborn son, foremost (son) of Enlil," (Streck Asb. 40 IV III). Ašaridu as an epithet of kings occurs in the following lines: ašarid kal malkī, "foremost of all princes," (OIP 2 23 i 8,⁴ and passim in Senn.); and ašarid šarri, "foremost among the kings," (CH IV:23).⁵

L. 4. Lines 4-14 illustrate the special identity of the "social" ideology of the god with that of the king in Mesopotamia. The epithets attributed to both god and king are so striking that they cannot be explained as a limitation of the language. Some say the similarity of the epithets may be found in the developing of the epithets out of the hymns for the gods. Other scholars take the opposite view regard-

¹Cf. Weir, Lexicon, p.253.

²King, BMS, 39, 8f.

³Cf. CAD, I, Part 2, p.417.

⁴Cf. Ivan Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1943), p.178.

⁵Cf. CAD, I, Part 2, p.417.

ing the epithets as transferred from king to god. Engnell suggests that the similar epithets show the identification of the king with the god.¹ Sometimes the king was a near avatar of the god. The same numinous qualities that were ascribed to deity were often attributed to him.

In lines 4-14 there is the admonition to show kindness to those who are in need. This theme is very old as shown by the attention given to the weak, the widow, and the orphan in the Sumerian texts.² Note the description of the goddess

Nanshe:

Who knows the orphan, who knows the widow,
Knows the oppression of man over man,
is the orphan's mother,
Nanshe, who cares for the widow,
Who seeks out(?) justice(?) for the poorest(?)
The queen brings the refugees to her lap,
Finds shelter for the weak.³

The social concern of Nanshe for the needy and unfortunate is further revealed in the following:

To comfort the orphan, to make disappear the widow,
To set up a place of destruction for the mighty,
To turn over the mighty to the weak.....,
Nanshe searches the heart of the people.⁴

The Akkadian Counsels of Wisdom which is a collection of some one-hundred-sixty lines of precepts and admonitions reiterates the importance of showing kindness to the needy. Lines 56-65 state that if a man is downtrodden one should

¹Engnell, op. cit., p.195.

²Urukagina (Cone B XII. 23-25); Gudea (Cylinder B XVIII. 6-7; Statue B VII. 42-43); and Urnammu (Or. N.S.23.43, 162-3) all speak of care for widows and fatherless.

³Samuel N. Kramer, History Begins at Sumer (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959), p.106.

⁴Ibid., p.106.

show kindness to him, give him food and drink, and Šamaš will bless. However, if one is unkind or insulting to the fallen and weak, Šamaš will punish.¹ A similar interest in social injustice is expressed by the Theodicy and the Advice to a Prince² exhorts the ruler to govern rightly to secure the blessing and protection of his gods.

There is just as much concern for the needy in the Hebrew Bible. The expression $\text{וְהַגֵּר וְהָאֵלֶּיּוֹן וְהַיָּתוּם}$ "The stranger, the fatherless, and the widow" occurs repeatedly as though it were a formula in the Bible and especially in Deuteronomy.³ The New Testament discontinues the above formula except in James 1:27 where it is said that true religion is the visiting of orphans and widows in their affliction. However, the widow alone is mentioned often in sermons, parables, and in exhortations to practical religion. III John 5 says that it is good to help the brethren, especially those who are strangers.

The reading of this line is enhanced by comparison with the following lines of almost identical expression: mupahhir GN saphī, "Who gathers the dispersed of GN" (Sargon Cyl. 31); and ana puhhur nišī saphāti ša Akkadi, "Who causes the gathering of the dispersed people of Akkad" (VR 62, 39a. b).⁴ Similarly the Bible speaks of dispersion as an awful

¹W. G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp.100ff.

²Ibid., pp.110-115.

³Deut. 14:29; 16:11,14; 26:12,13; 27:19.

⁴Cf. Delitzsch, HWB, p.520.

judgment. It is God who makes possible deliverance and re-gathering. Many passages could be quoted here; Psalm 68:7a is most appropriate: $\text{לְבַיִת הַדְּרוֹר יִשְׁכֵּן אֱלֹהִים בְּרִצְפוֹת הַדְּרוֹר}$
 "God gives the desolate a place to dwell."

L. 5. Though a difficult word, nadītum was translated: "The one thrown down" since the next line mentions a "fallen one" maqtu/a. Cf. the similar thought in the following: A IM.RI.A MU.UN.ŠUB ŠU.GĪD BA.AN.NI.ĪB: ina mē rušumti nadi qāssu sabat, "Help him who is thrown down in a swamp" (4 R 10r. 37f.). There are possibly three signs at the end of this line which are unintelligible.

L. 6. The reading of the word after maqtu, "fallen," is very difficult. This word might be looked upon as a conflate reading of uzuzzu "to stand" in the š form and zaqāpu "to set up"; the signs would be read tu-uš-zu-pa. Possibly a better reading would be š form of tebû "to rise up": tu-še-et-ba = tušetba, "Thou causest to rise." Cf. mušatbi enši, "Who causes the weak to rise" (VAT 13631,6 = Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.32, 1.6).

The reading maqtu/a ša īnišu, "As for the fallen one who is weak" is almost completely preserved in texts B, C, and D; this reading may be the best representation of this line in the earliest forms of this prayer.

Oppenheim lists three different meanings for the idiom qāta sabātu:¹

(1) to seize the hand of somebody, to assist, to help;

¹A. Leo Oppenheim, "Idiomatic Accadian," JAOS, LXI (1941), 270.

(2) to seize the hand of somebody while asking for his help, to grasp his hand; (3) to seize (the hand of) a thing or (of) somebody who is ill and unable to walk; to conduct, to convey.

The reading at the end of this line is probably correct since sabātu "to seize" is used in idiomatic phrases with qātu "hand" meaning "to help, to assist a person." This use is illustrated by the following examples which refer to the assistance of gods: Aššur u ilka qātī isabtūma aštilim, "Assur and your personal god helped me, and I got well" (CCT 4 14b:9); Zababa šar tāhazi ina tāhazi qāssu lā isabbat, "Zababa, the king of battle, should not assist him in battle" (BBST. No.8 iv-24); and mursi lā idū qātī saptī, "Help me (with this) unknown disease" (KAR 73 r.20, and passim in SB prayers).¹ The semantic equivalent in the Hebrew Bible is expressed by the words: יָדָם יִמְצָק, "to strengthen their hands" (Ezra 6:22).²

L. 7. Dīn kittu u mēšari, "A judgment of truth and justice"; cf. text 2:24 note.

Tušamhar is difficult to translate; in the š form it probably means "to make equal," "to redress the balance."

L. 9. Cf. dšîn nādin zēra nišī rapšāti, "Šin gives seed to the widespread people" (STT 57:38; 58:11) and dšîn nādin apli u zēri, "Sin who gives an heir and seed" (ZDMG 74, 183, R.6).

L. 10. A preference for the a vowel is very noticeable in the Sultantepe tablets. Note that the reading

¹ Cf. CAD, XVI, pp.31f.

² Cf. Job 4:3; Neh. 6:9; I Sam. 23:16; II Chron. 29:34.

iš-te-ni'-u-ka is written iš-ta-na-ú-ka in D. Lambert lists further evidence for the preference of the a vowel in the following: 15,7 arki-na (arkini); 15,14 na-tu-lu (ni-it-tu-lu); 15 rev. 6 lal-la-a-a (lalêa); 15 rev. 8 nam-mar (numru); 65, 40 an-šú (enšú), and *passim*.¹

Above is the translation: "The one who seeks thee does not miss (is not deprived of) good fortune." The reading of the end of this line is difficult since the left side of the last sign is missing. This rendering is further complicated since examples cannot be found where hatû "to fail, to trespass, to sin" is used precisely like this.

L. 12. There is considerable variation from text A in C: lā ālittu arhiš tušasbat, "Thou causest the barren woman to give birth soon." Moreover, E differs from all the others: [l]ā āmi[ru.....], "The bli[nd.....]."

Lē'â from lē'û, "to be able," is probably related to the Ugaritic word l'y meaning "to prevail."² Note the frequent use of this word especially in Aliyn B'1, "Puissant Baal."

L. 13. C bears a variant reading: ša ishurūka tanašši rēssu, "As for the one who turned to thee, thou art exalting him."

L. 14. C bears the following: ša saphi tupahhar[aga]nunšu, "As for the dispersed, thou gatherest his family."

Sa arni išū tapattar arni, "Whoever has sin, thou for-

¹W. G. Lambert, "The Sultantepe Tablets," RA, LIII (1959), 125.

²Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugaritic Manual (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1955), p.283.

givest the sin." There was no general word for sin in Akkadian; however, the Akkadian language differentiated between light sins and serious misdeeds. No attempt was made to list the sins in categories; all sins were transgressions against the god.¹ Since the gods did not place constant sufferings and punishment upon man, there must have been a willingness to show mercy. When the righteous suffered he might conclude that he was being punished for some unconscious sins, or he was suffering for unforgiven sins of ancestors who might have angered the god.² If a sufferer saw a real villain enjoying health and wealth, then he could not help but doubt the righteousness of the gods. In Ludlul II: 36, the poet, evidently a high official, acknowledges that man cannot know what is right in the eyes of the gods: ajû tēm ilī^{pl}. qereb šamê^e ilammad, "Who can know the will of the gods in heaven?"

L. 15. Ša ilšū zenû ittišū tusallam ar[n]a, "The one whose god was angry with him, thou reconcilest the sin." Zenû is often opposed to salāmu. This opposition is demonstrated by the following two passages: ilīšū zenûtu ittišū ana sullumi, "In order to reconcile with him his angry gods" (4 R 55 No. 2:12); and ilū zenûti itti amēli isallimū, "The angry gods will be reconciled with the man" (VAB 4 288 XI 21).³

L. 16. Enūma ilī z[e]nû ittiya, dIštar tašbus elīya, "When my god is angry with me, (my) personal goddess was

¹Lambert, BWL, p.4.

²Ibid., pp.10f.

³Cf. CAD, XXI, pp.84f.

angry toward me." Kramer suggests that as early as the middle of the third millennium B.C. the Sumerian family head worshipped a personal god. The Sumerian praised his personal god with special prayers and sacrifices, and in turn expected the personal god to intervene for him in the councils of the major deities of the pantheon.¹ By 1000 B.C. there is evidence of increasing reference to the personal gods who could protect the individual. Though the personal god was of necessity a small god, he was able to intercede for the individual before the greater gods.² The important part that the personal gods played may be demonstrated by the following quotations: ša ĩšû ĩlšû [k]uššudā hitātüşu ša ĩlšû lā ĩšû ma'dū arnüşu, "The sins of him who has a personal deity are scattered, he who has no personal deity commits many mistakes" (BA 5 394 ii 42f); ina libbi ĩli u dšēdi ša šarri bēliya ibtalat, "He got well through the aid of the personal god and the šēdu - spirit of the king, my lord" (ABL 204 r.12); and ĩlu nāsirka rēš damiqtika likīl, "May the deity who protects you provide you with good things" (CT 4 28:3).

The personal god and goddess are oftentimes mentioned together, they can bring good or evil to their clients: ĩla alsīma ul iddina pānīšu usalli dĩštarī ul ušaqqā rēšīša, "I called to my personal god, but he did not turn to me, I prayed to my personal goddess, but she did not raise her head"

¹Samuel N. Kramer, "Sumerian Literature and the Bible," Studia Biblica et Orientalia, III (Roma: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1959), pp.194f.

²W. G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp.6f.

(Lambert BWL 38:5; Ludlul II); and ul irūsa ilu qātī ul isbat ul irīmanni Ištar idāya ul illik, "(My) personal god has not come to the rescue by taking me by the hand, nor has my personal goddess shown compassion on me by coming to my side. (Lambert BWL 46:113; Ludlul II).¹

If the individual were to receive the help of the personal gods, it was presupposed that the worshipper must fulfil their demands. The demands of the gods were not limited to offerings and cultic rites, but the requirements extended to right behavior towards his neighbor. The one who fell short of these demands had sinned and he was in danger of being forsaken by his god; he could be given over to the evil demons.² In lines 15, 16, and 26 the supplicant calls upon Sîn to help restore him to favor with his personal gods.

The use of the third person feminine t in the verb tašbus, "She was angry" is a Late Assyrianism.

In the place of some form of zenû "to be angry," B reads nesât and E preserves [n]esâ[t] from nesû, "to depart, to remove." These three passages show that nesû is sometimes used in contexts similar to line 16: DINGIR.BI Á.BI BA.NI.IN. BAD AMA ^dINNIN.A.NI SU.NI.TA BA.NI.IN.SÛ.SÛ: ilšu ittīšu ittesi dištaršu ina zumrīšu irtēq, "His personal god departed from him, his personal goddess left him" (CT 17 29:25ff); DINGIR.A.NI. SU.A.NA BAD.DU: ilšu ina [zu]mrīšu ittesi, "His personal god departed from him" (Šurpu V/VI 11f.); ušassi ilī

¹Cf. text 2:23-24.

²Lambert, op. cit., pp.14f.

u ištari ina SU.MU, "She caused my god and my goddess to depart from me" (Maqlû III 16).

L. 17. The phrase ištu ullâ ālattāt ilāni^{pl.}, "From of old, the begetters of the gods," is very difficult to translate even though tablets A, B, and D from Sultantepe show general agreement in the transliteration in the first half of the line. Nevertheless, the concept of the gods begetting other gods does occur in Akkadian literature as in the following: eli abi ālidīka^dEa šūturāta, "Thou (Marduk) art greater than Ea, thy father and begetter" (Scheil, Sippar 7: 15) and guššur ma'diš ana ālid abīšu Anšar, "He is greatly superior in strength to Anšar, his father's begetter (En.el I 19).¹

C differs from the other texts not only in some of the wording but in the addition of part of an old formula used often in prayers: ultu ullâ hīta nērtu ta'tu taškuna eliya [anā]ku annanna apil annanna ša ilšu annanna dištaršu annannatu, "From of old, punishment, murder, bribe thou hast placed upon me. I, so-and-so, whose personal god is so-and-so, whose personal goddess is so-and-so"; cf. text 2:12.

L. 18. Huluqqû represents lost merchandise or losses sustained especially in commerce. Butuqtu is a variant of butuqqû, "deficiency, loss."

L. 19. The restoration of ikturû from karû "to shorten" is made certain by text B and napsāti/napištašu LUGUD MES (TDP 76, 62; 84, 32).² Also the reading ik-tu-ru

¹For additional examples see CAD, I, Part 1, pp.340f.

²Cf. W. von Soden, AH, V, p.452.

demonstrates vowel harmony and shows the substituting of the Late Assyrian dialect in the Sultantepe tablets.

L. 20. The thought of this line is often repeated in Akkadian literature in this nearly stereotype form.¹

L. 21. Kīniš, "truly," is from kānu with the adverbial ending which is a characteristic of the hymnal epic dialect. Kīniš is used frequently with the verb palāsu "to see."² The verb palāsu occurs only in the N stem; it must always have an object. The verb amāru means "to glance, to see superficially." On the other hand, natalu suggests a durative action "to analyze, to penetrate in a look." The word in this line palāsu means "to gaze, to examine, to contemplate." Two passages which show that palāsu means more than a casual glance are Gilgamesh XI, 92: ūmu ana itaplusi puluhta īši, "To look at the weather, I was afraid." And the second passage is Gilgamesh XI, 132: appalsamma tāmata šakin qūlu, "When I inspected the waters, silence set in."

The second clause šime taslītum, "Hear (my) prayer," is used frequently.³ The reading taslītī "my prayer" in B is the preferred reading. Taslītī is derived from sullū, "to pray."⁴ Moreover, the thought given in this line occurs often in Hebrew without necessarily using cognate words. Compare Ps. 4:2: יְהוָה שְׁמַע בְּקוֹלִי, "Be gracious to me and hear my prayer." Note also Ps. 39:13 יְהוָה שְׁמַע בְּקוֹלִי

¹Weir, Lexicon, p.336.

²W. von Soden, AH, VI, p.480.

³Weir, Lexicon, p.365.

⁴Cf. CAD, XVI, p.239.

𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠, "Hear my prayer, O Lord."¹

L. 22. Tayyārāta is a stative of the noun form gattālu; this form is used for occupations or to express customary traits.² Cf. the following example: ašsum tayyārāta ešte'u[ka], "Because thou art always forgiving, I have sought [thee]" (King, BMS, 27, 16).

L. 23. Lines 23 and 24 present the parallelism of etēru "to save" and gamālu "to save." A classic example of the Akkadian sequence etēru, gamālu, šūzubu is the following: etēru gamālu šūzubu bullutu būlu u kirū šumu u balātu SI.SÁ, "Saving, sparing, rescuing, curing -- bringing prosperity to cattle and orchard, progeny and health" (RA 16 71 No.5).³

Etēru "to save" is spoken of the activity of the gods in the following passages: mukil abbūti KAR^{1r} napištim rā'im kināti, "(Išum) the intercessor, who saves life, who loves justice" (ZA 43 17:56); nasīru napišti andul dadmī KAR nišī, "(Nabū) protector of life, who shelters the human dwellings, who saves the people" (BMS 22:7); and ētirat gāmilat napištiya, "(Gula) who saves and spares my life" (VAB 4 128 IV 38) and passim. Moreover etēru "to save" is used of kings especially in warfare: ētiršu napištašu agmil, "I saved him and spared his life" Tigl. I (AKA 43 ii 53); malkī.....ša ana nīr bēlūtīya iknušūma ēterū napsassun, "The rulers who had submitted to my rule and thus saved their lives" Sar. (Winckler

¹Cf. Pss. 54:4; 86:6; 143:1.

²Von Soden, GAG, par. 55 m, o.

³Cf. CAD, IV, p.425.

pl. 38 iii 38); āla šuātu ētir, "I spared that city" Tigl. I (AKA 76 v 79) and passim.¹

Lines 26 and 27 are difficult to translate. Cf. the similar lines in Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.22, lines 10-14 and p.82, lines 111-12.

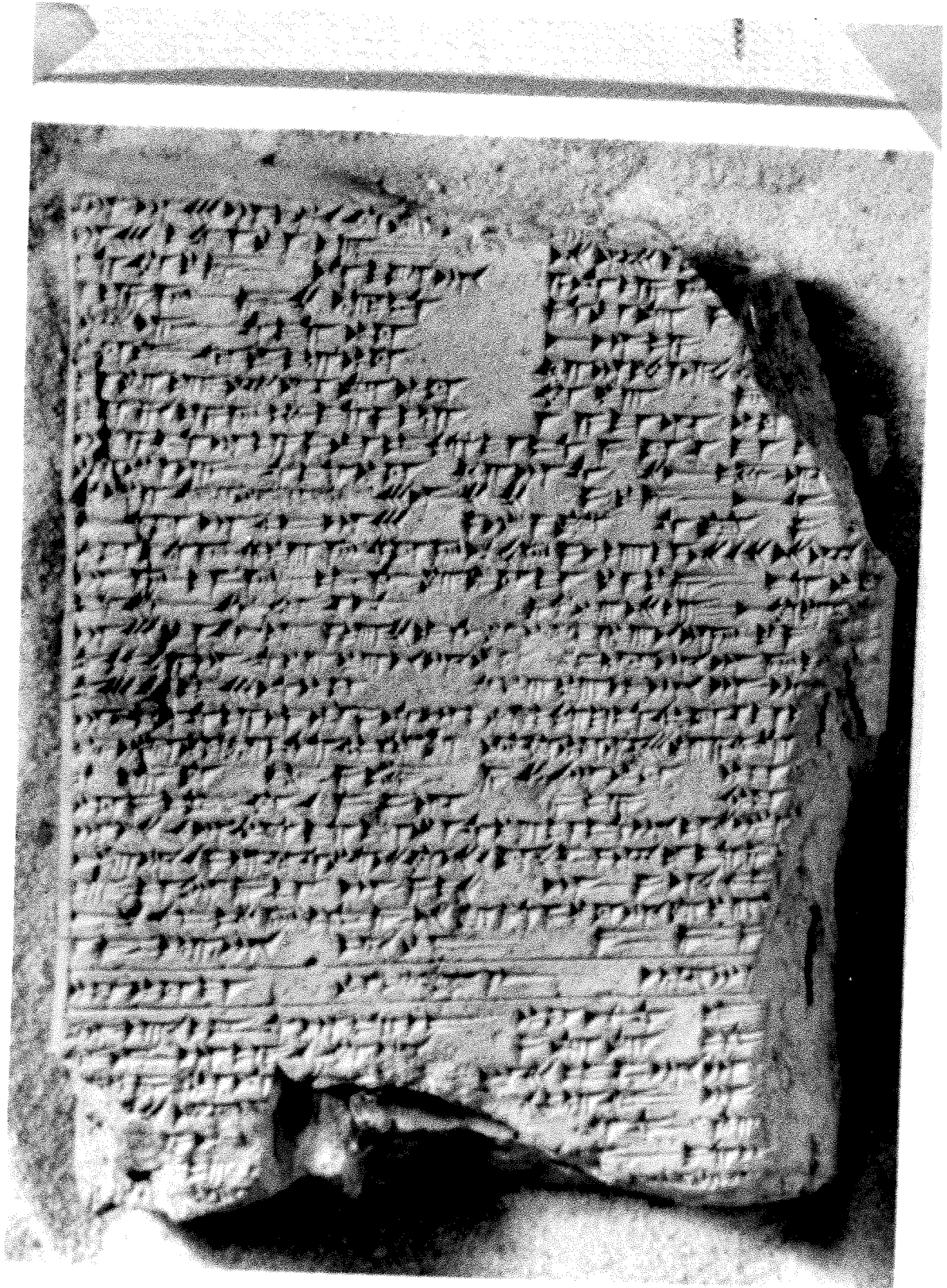
The words ilūtka rabīta^{ta}, "thy divine power," probably should not be translated in this line. Cf. the quotations of similar lines without translation given in CAD, VII, p.106.

L. 28. This is part of the thanksgiving formula found at the close of ŠU.ÍL.LÁ prayers. A close parallel to this line is Schollmeyer, p.139 VAT 5r. 23ff: narbīka lušāpi dalīlīka ludlul āmirūa ana dārātu dalīlīka lidlulū, "I will make thy greatness manifest and proclaim thy glory, and those who see me will (also) proclaim thy glory forever."

¹Cf. ibid., pp.402-3.

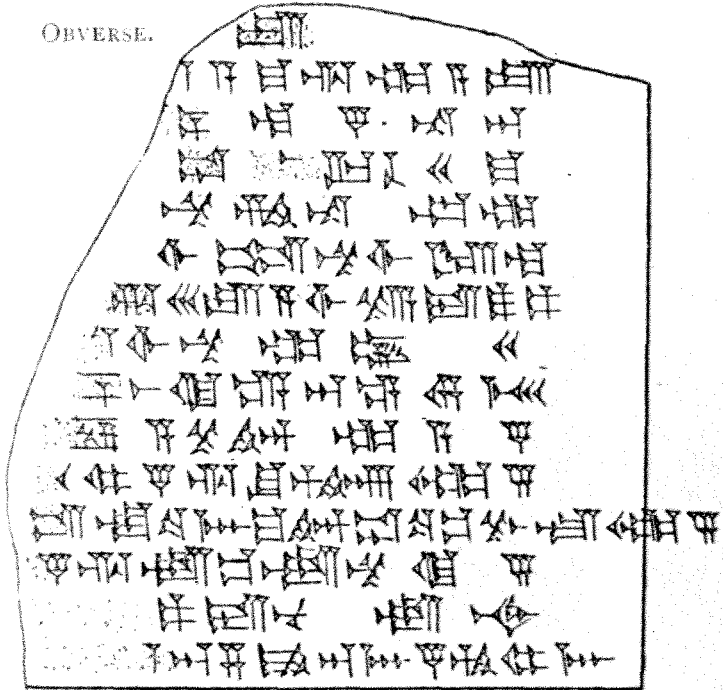
TEXT 2

K.155, B.M.78432, and Si.18

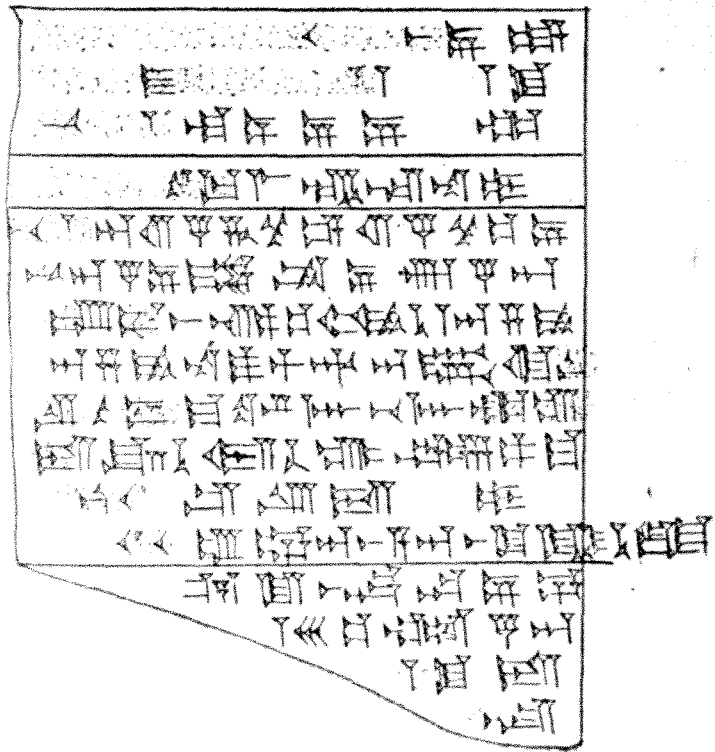


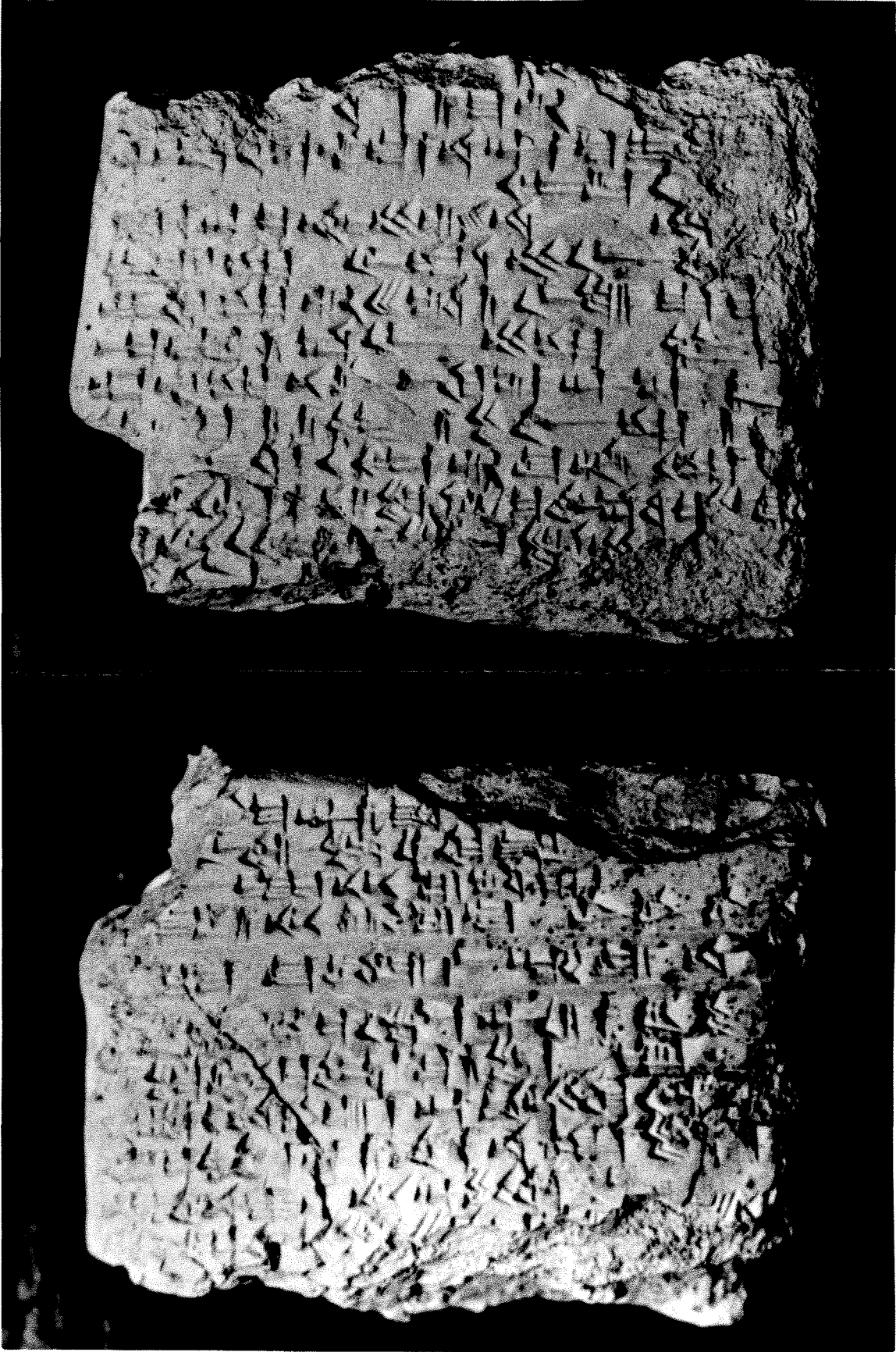
B.M. 78432.

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.





TEXT 2

K.155, B.M.78432, and Si.18

Introduction

Text 2 is a study of three duplicate tablets. A (K.155) comes from the library of Asurbanipal, king of Assyria, 668-627 B.C.; it consists of the upper part of a large tablet of which more than half has been destroyed. The tablet contains three prayers: the first part (1-28) records a prayer to $\hat{\text{S}}\text{in}$ on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon; the second section (29-35) preserves the opening lines of a prayer to $\text{I}^{\vee}\text{star}$; and the third portion (36-51) preserves the conclusion of a prayer to $\text{Tas}^{\vee}\text{m}^{\bar{\text{e}}}\text{tu}$, also like the first, it is directed against the evils of lunar eclipse.¹ A (K155) does not preserve any rituals; it is likely that it belonged to the bit rimki series in which some of the rituals were written on separate tablets.² Tablet A has been transliterated and/or translated in the following works: King, Babylonian Magic and Sorcery (1896), pp.3-16; Perry, Hymnen und Gebete an Sin (1907), pp.12-15; Combe, Histoire du culte de Sin en Babylonie et en Assyrie (1907), pp.103-106; Zimmern, AO, XIII/1 (1911), 4-5;

¹Leonard W. King, Babylonian Magic and Sorcery (London: Luzac and Co., 1896), p.5.

²Stephen Langdon, "A Hymn to the Moon-God, Adapted for the use of Shamash-Shum-Ukin, Viceroy of Babylon," PSBA, XL (1918), 106.

Kunstmann, Die babylonische gebetsbeschwörung (1932), p.103; Ebeling, Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung" (1953), pp.6-8; Falkenstein and von Soden, Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete (1953), pp.316-17; and Stephens, ANET (1955), p.386.

Duplicate tablet B (B.M. 78432) was brought to light by Langdon;¹ it duplicates A at lines 7 through 8 and in lines 19 through 28. In addition B preserves a ritual which is given below in lines 29 through 36. Langdon suggests that text B is a Babylonian text coming from the south even though the script is Assyrian.² This portion of a prayer to the Moon-god was adapted for the use of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, brother of Aššurbānīpal and viceroy of Babylon under his brother.³

C (Si.18), which comes from Sippar in Babylonia, duplicates A at line 8 and lines 19-28. The end of C (37-41) records a ritual bearing some similarities to the ritual found at the end of B. A brief description of C was given by V. Scheil in his reports on excavations at Sippar.⁴ A copy of the cuneiform of this tablet was furnished by him to E. Combe.⁵ During a visit to the Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul, Dr. Jacob Klein took photographs of this tablet and made the prints available for use in this dissertation.

¹Langdon, op. cit., 104-11.

²Ibid., 106, n.8.

³Ibid., 104.

⁴V. Scheil, Une saison de fouilles à Sippar, (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, I (Cairo, 1902), No.18.

⁵Et. Combe, Histoire du culte de Sin en Babylonie et en Assyrie (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1908), p.93.

In the broadest way, text 2 may be outlined in the following way: the address, 1-18, is composed of two main parts; (a) the invocation of Šin with honorific titles, 1, and (b) praise of the Moon-god, 2-18. Within this part of the prayer there is an eclipse-formula in lines 12 and 13. The second main division, the prayer proper is found in 19-26. This section of text falls into three parts: (a) reception of the prayer, 19-22; (b) reconciliation of the personal god and goddess, 23-24; and (c) forgiveness, 25-26. The remaining divisions of the prayer are thanksgiving, 27; identification as a ŠU.IL.LÁ prayer, 28; and two rituals at the end of the text: 29-36, taken from tablet B, and 37-41, the last lines of tablet C.

Transliteration

1. ÉN dBA dNANNAR^{ru} šu-pu-ú.....
2. dBA ed-diš-su-ú mu-nam-m[ir.....]
3. ša-ki-in na-mir-ti a-na UKUMÉŠ.....
4. DIŠ UKUMÉŠ šal-mat SAG.DU uš-su-ru GAR.....
5. nam-rat UD.DA-ka AŠ AN^e.....
6. šar-hat di-pa-ra-ka GIM dBIL.GI hi.....
7. ma-lu-ú nam-ri-ru-ka KI^{ta} DAGA[L^{ta}]
8. šar-ḥa UKUMÉŠ ug-da-šá-ra DIŠ a-ma-ri ka-[a-ta]
9. da-hum AN^e šá la i-lam-ma-du mi-lik-šú ma-a[m-man]
10. šu-tu-rat UD.DA-ka GIM dUTU bu-uk-ri-[ka]
11. kám-su IGI-ka DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAL^{MEŠ}
ÉŠ.BAR KUR.KUR GARⁱⁿ AŠ IGI-[ka]
12. AŠ HUL AN.MI dBA
šá AŠ ITI NENNI UD NENNI GAR[na]
13. HUL Á^{MEŠ} IGI.DUB^{MEŠ} HUL^{MEŠ} la DU¹⁰^{MEŠ}
šá AŠ É.GAL.MU u KUR.MU GÁL
14. DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAL^{MEŠ} i-šal-lu-ka-ma SUMⁱⁿ mil-ka
15. GUB.BU pu-ḥur-šú-nu uš-ta-mu-ú AŠ KI-ka
16. dBA šu-pu-ú šá É.KUR i-šal-lu-ka-ma
ta-mit DINGIR^{MEŠ} SUM[ⁱⁿ]
17. U₄.NÁ.ÀM UD^{um} ta-mit-ti-ka pi-riš-ti DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAL^{MEŠ}
18. UD UŠU.GAM i-sin-na-ka UD^{um} ta-šil-ti DINGIR-ti-[ka]
19. dAŠ.ÍM.UD e-muq la šá-na-an
šá la i-lam-ma-du mi-lik-šú ma-a[m-man]

Textual Apparatus

- 1 B: dŠin askaru šúpû, variant noted but not hand copied on plate by Langdon, op. cit., 106. 8 C:-rà DIŠ B: End

Normalization

1. šiptu dSîn dNannaru^{ru} šūpū.....
2. dSîn eddišū munamm[ir.....]
3. šākin namirti ana nišē^{pl}.....
4. ana nišē^{pl}. salmāt qaqqadi uššuru šākin.....
5. namrat sētkā ina šamē^e.....
6. šarhat dipāraka kīma girri hi(?).....
7. malū namrīrūka eršeta^{ta} rapa[šta^{ta}]
8. šarhā nišē^{pl}. ugdāšsarā ana amāri kā[ta]
9. dAnum šamē ša lā ilammadu milikšu ma[mman]
10. šūturat sētkā kīma dŠamas bukri[ka]
11. kamsū maharka dilāni^{pl}. rabūti^{pl}.
purussē mātāti šakinⁱⁿ ina pāni[ka]
12. ina lumun attalē dSîn
ša ina arhi annanna ūmi annanna šakna[na]
13. lumun idāti^{pl}. ittāti^{pl}. lemnēti^{pl}. lā tābāti^{pl}.
ša ina ekalliya u mātiya ibaššā
14. dilāni^{pl}. rabūti^{pl}. išallūkāma tanaddinⁱⁿ milka
15. izzazzū puḥuršunu uštāmū ina šaplīka
16. dSîn šūpū ša Ekur išallūkāma tamīt ilāni^{pl}. tanaddinⁱⁿ
17. bubbulu ūm tamittīka pirišti ilāni^{pl}. rabūti^{pl}.
18. ūmu 30 kam isinnaka ūm tašilti ilūtī[ka]
19. dNamrašēt emūq lā šanān ša lā ilammadu milikšu ma[mman]

TEXTUAL APPARATUS

according to B 15 GUB.BU emended to uš-bu in CAD, I,2, p.392b
 17 ta-mit-ti-ka emended to ta-šil-ti-ka in CAD, II, p.299a
 19 B and C give two lines B: mam-ma B adds after L.19:
MU.GI.NA ERUM-ka C adds: DIŠ-ku dGIS.ŠIR.MU.GI.NA LU[GAL]

20. as-ruq-ka šī-rik GĪG el-lu
aq-qi-ka re-eš-ta-a šī-kar [da-áš-pa]
21. kam-sa-ku az-za-az a-še-'-ka ka-[a-šá]
22. INIM.GAR dum-qí u me-šá-ri GÁ^{un} UGU-[iá]
23. DINGIR.MU u ^dIŠDAR
ša is-tu UD^{um} ma-du-ti iš₆-bu-su [UGU-iá]
24. AŠ kit-ti u NĪG.SI.ŠÁ lis-li-mu KI.MU
ur-hi lid-mi-iq pa-da-ni [li-šir]
25. u-ma-'-ir-ma AN.ZA.QAR DINGIR šá MÁŠ.GE₆ [MEŠ]
26. AŠ šat GĪG DU₈^{MEŠ} ár-ni-MU lu-uš-me
šér-ti lu ta-a[b-ka-at]
27. DIŠ dà-ra-ti lud-lul dà-lí-lí-[ka]
28. INIM.INIM.MA ŠU.ÍL.LÁ ^dZU.EN[NA.KÁM]
29. [.....GA]R^{an} 12 NINDA ha-še-e 12 NINDA ŠE.GIŠ.Ì
30.^{an} NĪG.Ì.DÉ LÁL Ì.NUN GAR^{an}
31.šit-tù(?) AŠ SAG GIŠNÁ-šú DIŠ AN.ZA.QAR
32.AN.ZA.QAR na-áš-pár-ti ^dNANNAR.....
33.MA UD NUN(?)^{MEŠ} BAD^{MEŠ} KA(?)

Textual Apparatus

20 B and C divide into two lines B: mu-šī el-la End
restored according to B B adds after L.20:-šī MU-ka
az-kur.....AŠ qé-reb AN^e KÙ^{MEŠ} C adds: AŠ GIŠ.....qu-du-šī
MU-ka az-k[úr] al-si-ka be-lí AŠ qé-reb AN^e KÙ..... 21 B:
a-še-' ka-a-šá 22 B: mé-šá-ri šu-kun UGU-iá 23 B: UD^{MEŠ}
ma-'-du-tú iš₆ -bu-su UGU-iá C: UD-mu 24 B and C divide
into two lines C: mé-šá-ri B: li-is-li-mu KI-iá B:
pa-da-nu li-šir C: Last half of line destroyed 25 B:

20. asruqka širik mūši ellu aqqīka rēštâ šikar [dašpa]
 21. kamsāku azzaz ašêka kâ[ša]
 22. egirrê dumqi u mēšari šukun^{un} elī[ya]
 23. ilī u dIštar ša ištu ūm mādūti išbusū
 24. ina kitti u mēšari lislīmū ittīya
 urhī lidmiq padānī [līšir]
 25. uma ' ' irma Anzaqar ilu ša tabrât mūši[pl.]
 26. ina šât mūši puṭṭur^{pl.} arniya lušme šertī lū ta[bkat]
 27. ana dārâti ludlul dalīlī[ka]
 28. amāt nīš qāti dSīn
29. [tašak]kan^{an} 12 akal hašê 12 akal šamaššammi
 30.^{an} mirsa dišpa himēta tašakkan^{an}
 31.šittu(?) ina rēš išeršīšu ana Anzaqar
 32.Anzaqar našparti dNannar.....
 33.

Textual Apparatus

DINGER^{MES} ša MĀS.GE₆^{MES} C: This line and remaining lines
 on reverse of tablet 26 B: This line and remaining lines
 on reverse of tablet B divides into two lines C: [mu-š]i-
 im li.....ti-ra..... B: [ár]-ni-ia.....DIŠ-ku 27 C:
 [dà]-ra-a-ti lud-lu-la End restored according to B 28 C:
 dZU.EN.NA[KĀM] B: ZU.EN.NA.KĀM 29 B: Cf. 12 NINDA ha-še
 in C 37 30 B: Cf. Ī.NUN in C 39 31 B: Cf. AŠ SAG in C
 40 B: Cf. DIŠ AN.ZA.[QAR] in L.39 32 B: Cf. AN.ZA.QAR
 na-āš-pār-ti dNANNAR in C 41 33 B: Transliteration of
 Langdon, op. cit., 108, L.9. Normalization and translation
 unintelligible.

34.da ŠU-šú ĠIR-šú ú-šah-hat-ma
 35.gur-ru-da-kám
 36.LAG KÁ.TÍLLA AŠ TÚG.SÍG-šú ŠÉR
37.GIŠŠINIG GAR^{an} 12 NINDA ha-se
 38.SAR.....ZÚ.LUM.ZID(?) EŠA DUB
 39.Ì.NUN DIŠ NE.SAG(?) DIŠ AN.ZA.[QAR]
 40. [AŠ] SAG MAŠ(?) NÍG.NA GIŠŠEM.LI [GAR^{an}]
 41. AN.ZA.QAR na-áš-pár-ti ^dNANNAR

34.da qātēšū šēpēšū ušahhatma
35.gurrudakam.....
36.kurbāni bāb kamî ina sisiktīšū tarakkas
37.iṣbīni tašakkan^{an} 12 akal ḥašê
38.SAR suluppa sasqâ tašarrak
39.ḥimēti ana naqû ana Anza[qar]
40. [ina] rēš irbi(?) niknaqqa iṣburāši [tašakkan]
41. Anzaqar našparti dNannar

Translation

1. Incantation: O Sîn! O Nannar! Glorious one.....
2. Sîn, ever renewing, who makes bright.....
3. Who furnishes the light for the people.....
4. To guide mankind aright, dwelling.....
5. Bright is thy light in heaven.....
6. Majestic is thy torch like fire.....
7. Thy brightness has filled the bro[ad] earth.
8. The people are proud;
they vie with one another to look at th[ee].
9. O Anu of the heaven whose purpose no [one] will learn,
10. Unsurpassed is thy light
as that of Šamaš [thy] firstborn.
11. The senior gods bow down in [thy] presence,
the decision of all the lands is set before thee.
12. On account of the evil of an eclipse of the moon
which took place in such and such a month,
on such and such a day,
13. On account of the evil of the powers and signs,
evil and not good,
which have happened in my palace and my country.
14. The senior gods inquire of thee,
and thou givest counsel,
15. They stand in their assembly,
they debate one another underneath thee;
16. O Sîn, glorious one of Ekur,
when they inquire of thee,
thou dost give the oracle of the gods.

17. The dark of the moon is the time of thy oracle,
the mystery of the senior gods,
18. The thirtieth day is thy festival,
the day of [thy] celebration.
19. O Namraṣēt, unequaled in power,
whose purpose no [one] can fathom.
20. I have offered thee a pure nightly offering;
I have poured out for thee the best, [sweet] beer.
21. I am kneeling; I am standing; I am looking to th[ee].
22. Grant [me] a happy and optimistic mood.
23. May my god and (my) goddess,
who for many days have been angry with [me],
24. By Truth and Justice be reconciled to me;
may my way be propitious; may my path be straight.
25. He has sent Anzaqar, the god of dreams.
26. During the night may I hear of the forgiveness of my sin;
let my guilt be [poured out].
27. Forever let me proclaim [thy] glory.
28. Utterance with raised hand to Sîn.

29. [Thou shalt] place 12 loaves of spice bread,
12 loaves of sesame bread,
30.marmelade, honey, and ghee thou shalt set forth.
31.sleep(?) at the head of his bed to Anzaqar.
32.Anzaqar, the messenger of Nannar.....
33.
34.of his two hands and his two feet
he shall strip off.

35.
36.a clump (of earth) from the outer gate
thou shalt bind in his coat.
37.tamarisk thou shalt set forth,
12 loaves of spice bread,
38.dates, flour thou shalt pour.
39.ghee to offer to Anza[qar]
40. [In] the chief offering(?)
[thou shalt set forth] juniper incense,
41. Anzaqar, the messenger of Nannar.

Commentary on Text 2

L. 1. A number of restorations have been suggested to complete the first line. Perry restores i[lu ellu namru].¹ The restoration according to text 3:1 (IV R 9:1), etelli ilāni, deserves some consideration. Ebeling suggests the reading ina [sāmê ellūti].² Though von Soden does not give a transliteration, he probably follows the restoration of Ebeling in his translation "[am reinen Himmel!]."³

Sumerian ÉN equals Akkadian šiptu, "incantation, entreaty." A word with a similar meaning is the Sumerian TU, a loan word in Akkadian, written tû "spell, incantation."⁴

For the meaning of dBA dNANNAR^{ru} see the names of the Moon-god in the introduction.

With šūpû, "glorious one," cf. texts 2:16; 1:28; and 3:7. In addition to these passages attributed to Šin, one passage was found pertaining to Nabonidus: lulīmu šūpû, "Glorious prince" (VAB 4, 252.I.6).⁵ The related Hebrew verb יָצַד, "to shine," occurs only in the Hiphil, note especially יָצַד in Dt. 33:2 and Ps. 50:2 where use does not seem causative.

¹Edmund G. Perry, Hymnen und Gebete an Sin (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1907), p.23.

²Erich Ebeling, Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung" von neuem Gesammelt und Herausgegeben (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953), p.6.

³Adam Falkenstein and Wolfram von Soden, Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete (Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1953), pp.316-17.

⁴En.el. I, 62; En.el. VII, 33-34.

⁵Cf. Ivan Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Near East (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1943), p.182.

L. 2. Translators are divided between the following two words: eddešû meaning "constantly renewing itself, ever brilliant," and ēdišsu "aloneness." On the basis of the examples cited in CAD, IV, p.23, eddešû should be read in this line: Šîn eddešû, "Šîn ever renewing," (Borger, Esarh. 79:5) and Girru eddešû nūr ilāni kajānu, "Ever renewing fire god, steady light of the gods!" (Maqlû II, 192).

There are a number of restorations which might fittingly complete this line: Delitzsch, HWB, p.31b restores mūši;¹ Ebeling² suggests šamê u ersetim;³ and Perry, Hymnen, p.23, restores ekleti on the basis of IV R 26, 40a.

L. 3. Rapsāti is a possible restoration for the end of this line. The following passage lends support to the restoration of rapsāti in this text: nišē rapsāti salmāt qaqqadi idallalū (idallalā) qurdika, "The widely scattered, blackheaded people praise thy power" (OECT VI, 82, 7); cf. Weir.⁴ Even more plausible is the word apāti, "numerous."⁵ Weir presents an example where apāti as a f.pl. adj. is used as an epithet of nišē, "people"; ana nišē apāti (Bab. III, 25, 33). Sometimes nišē is omitted but understood as in Ludlul II: ēkama ilmadā alakti ili apāti, "Where are the mortals that compre-

¹Friedrich Delitzsch, Assyrisches Handwörterbuch (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1896), p.31b.

²Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.6.

³Cf. Šîn munammir šamê u ersetim, "Šîn, who makes bright the heavens and the earth" (ZDMG 69, 96, 19).

⁴Cecil J. Mullo Weir, A Lexicon of Accadian Prayers in the Rituals of Expiation (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934), p.250.

⁵Cf. text 1:3.

hended the way of a god?"; cf. Lambert BWL, 40:38.

L. 4. With salmāt, "dark," compare the Hebrew חַלְדָּה "darkness, deep darkness" and Ethiopic salīm, "black." Salmāt is f.pl. form agreeing with the word nišē, "people." Salmāt qaggadi, literally, "the dark-headed," is a poetic expression for "mankind."¹ L. 4 may end with the same words found at the end of L. 11: ina pānīka.

L. 5. See the distinction made between sētu, "light, shining appearance of the sun, moon, and stars, sultry weather, air, open air, open sun, sickness" and sītu meaning "rising, birth, offspring, expenditure" in CAD, XVI, p.153. Note also that sētu is written syllabically and with UD.DA,² while sītu is written syllabically, also with Ē and ZI.GA.³

L. 6. Dipāru, "torch," which occurs in OB, Mari, SB, and NB, is the word for torch used generally and most frequently. The light of Šin is here likened to a torch, dipāru. Similar references are made to other gods: namirtu dipār šamê u erseti, "(Ištar), brilliant torch of heaven and earth," (STC 2, 75:35); dšamaš dipārka katim mātāti, "O Šamaš, your torch lights (lit. covers) the lands," (KAR 32:33); attā dipārumma inattalū nūrka, "You (Išum) are the torch, they look upon your light," (Gössmann Era I 10). Sometimes the Anunnaki bear torches that illuminate the land (Gilg. XI:103); cf. CAD, III, pp.156-57.

Passages using dipāru as an epithet of royalty cannot be found; however, similar epithets ascribed to kings are found

¹ CAD, XVI, p.75.

² CAD, XVI, pp.150f.

³ Ibid., p.215.

in Sumerian and Akkadian: GIBIL BAR, "brilliant flame," is attributed to Šulgi (MBI 27:6); nablu surruhu, "mighty flame," is said of Tiglath-pileser (AKA 33); also nablu hamtu "burning flame," which is ascribed to Tiglath-pileser (AKA 72).¹ Girru, "fire," is written three ways: syllabically and logographically with ^dBIL.GI and ^dGIS.BAR.² Here it is written ^dBIL.GI.

One or two signs at the end of the line have not been transliterated. Perry makes two suggested readings: first, šār-[ru-ru], "brightness," which is used frequently as an epithet of deities. Second, r[uš-še-e], "bright rays, splendor," is also used of the gods.³ Ebeling probably makes the best restoration with hi-[mi-it-ka], "thy glowing."⁴ Cf. the use of the word hamātu in Gilg. XI, 104: Anunnaki iššu dipār-āti ina namrirrišunu uhammatū mātu, "The Anunnaki signaled (their) torches, with their glaring light they cause the lighting up of the country."⁵

L. 7. A close parallel is found in the Šamaš Hymn 20: namrurrūka imlû sihip mātāti, "Thy brightness fills the extent of the land." Another similar passage is in the Šamaš Hymn 177: mušnammir ersetim^{tim} rapašt^{im}, "The illuminator of the broad earth." Yet another passage worth noting is in the Šamaš Hymn 48: [n]amurratka ezziti mātum saḥpat, "Thy awe inspiring radiance covers the land." A final example of similar expression may be taken from Gilg. XI, 104: namrirrišunu uhammatū mātum, "With their glaring light they cause the

¹Engnell, op. cit., p.187.

²CAD, V, pp.93-94.

³Perry, op. cit., pp.23-24.

⁴Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.6.

⁵CAD, VI, p.65.

lighting up of the country." All these passages emphasize the breadth of land illuminated by the gods. A similar concept is applied to royalty: puluhti melam šarrūtīya pāt šamê u ersetim lū iktum, "The fear of the majesty of my kingship hath covered the bounds of heaven and earth" (Samsuiluna, LIH 3, 203).¹

L. 8. Ugdaššarā is a Dt form of gašāru, "to become powerful." The translation of ugdaššarā, "they vie with one another," expresses reciprocal action. The t of the verbal infix becomes d under the influence of the g.

L. 9. Ilamadu, from lamādu, "to learn" is an habitual present which lends a note of absoluteness to the entire statement.

Here Šin is identified with Anu the highest god of the triad Anu, Enlil, and Ea.² The ending ma-a[m-man] may be restored on the basis of Jensen, 128, 39: ša lā ilamadu milikša mamman.³

L. 10. Šūturat sētkā, "Unsurpassed is thy light." Šin possessed the mysterious property of light which extends to great distances, yet he appears undiminished and unchanged.⁴ Šin and the gods in Mesopotamia are described by awe-inspiring terror and blinding brilliance. Brightness in varying degrees

¹Cf. Ivan Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Near East (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1943), pp.181-82.

²Cf. text 3:2 commentary.

³Weir, Lexicon, pp.178-79.

⁴Edwyn R. Bevan, Symbolism and Belief (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1957), p.134.

of intensity is shared by the gods and by all beings considered divine and holy, even the king himself. Many terms are used in the hymns and prayers to describe the fear-inspiring experience of the divine.¹ In the Near East and in other religions the ineffable is expressed by supernatural luminosity radiating from the god. In the following quotation, Gaster shows how the glory of the gods is depicted among many peoples:

The description of the theophany is based on the conventional portrayal of the sun-god (Shamash) in Mesopotamian art, e.g., on cylinder seals. He rises between twin mountains, with rays issuing from his shoulders or sides. The glow betokens the approach of a god or otherworldly being. In Mesopotamian belief, gods were enveloped in a sheen, called "luster" (melammu) or "terror" (puluhtu), or were said to be "clothed in light." In the Epic of Creation, Marduk is described, indeed, as invested with the luster of ten gods. The Hittites too envisaged their gods as wreathed in a nimbus called "terror" (hatugatar); and a characteristic of Iranian deities was their khvareno (Old Persian, farnah), or brilliant radiance. In the Old Testament itself this is evidently what is meant by "the glory of Yahweh," and it is significant that the divine being whom Ezekiel describes as having been cast out of the divine assembly is said to have been distinguished not only by wisdom and beauty but also by "the sheen of a rising sun" (Heb.: yifah). Greek gods too were signalized by a dazzling brightness, though in sculpture this is portrayed only after the fifth century B.C. Jamblichus (c. A.D. 250-325) preserves the ancient tradition in the statement that "when archangels appear, certain portions of the world are thrown into convulsion and at their approach a light precedes them, but divided (i.e. forked)." The divine light, it should be added, is not merely a sign of inner radiance; it symbolizes also the bedazzlement of men at the sight of that which is otherworldly. It is therefore also a divine weapon, appropriately known as "the terror."²

Šūturat, "unsurpassed," is a 3 f.s. stative from (w)atāru, "to exceed, to surpass"; compare the Hebrew root

¹Cf text 3:14.

²Theodor H. Gaster, Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), pp.669-70.

𒍪𒍪𒍪. The š- in Akkadian, when not a part of the root, is not confined to the causative stem. The š- combined with some adjectives and stative verbs suggests the meanings of "more, most, especially," e.g. šurbû, šutuqu, šupsuqu, šumrusu.¹ Some attributive uses are the following: Marduk [bēlu] kabtu šūturu, "Marduk [the lord], puissant, surpassing" (BA V/3 349.21); and šūturu tâšu, "The surpassing spell against him" (En.el. I, 62). Predicative examples are: šūtur lānsu, "Surpassing was his stature" (En.el. I, 99); ēnūssu lū šūturat, "His lordship is indeed surpassing" (En.el. VI, 106); and ul ibašši ina gimir dIgigi ša šūnuhu balīka, "There is none among all the Igigi who toil hard but thou" (cf. Lambert BWL 128:45). Constructs and similar compounds of these š- forms bear the relative meaning: šūtur uzni, "Surpassing in wisdom" (En.el. I, 59); and šūturu hasīsu, "Surpassing in understanding" (King, SCT I, 205.6). These š- forms are especially used in epithets ascribed to the great gods; men and animals are not praised as highly with the epithet atar-hasīs without the š- form.²

From the end of L.10 one sign appears to be missing; bu-uk-ri[ka] is a probable restoration.³ Bukru, "firstborn," is used in reference to many of the gods; one example is the following passage from En.el. I, 15: Anšar dAnum bukrašu

¹Ephraim A. Speiser, Oriental and Biblical Studies, edited by J. J. Finkelstein and Moshe Greenberg (Phila.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967), p.492.

²Ibid., p.474.

³Leonard W. King, Babylonian Magic and Sorcery (London: Luzac, 1896), p.7.

umaššilma, "As for Anšar, Anum his firstborn was indeed a replica of him."¹

L. 11. The legal usage of purussû, "decision," and dīnu, "judgment," should be mentioned at this point. "In the strictly legal part of the laws dīnu alone means the act of judging or judgment."² Note the following examples: ša šarri mār illišu dīnšu dīni pursāšu pu[rus], "Render judgment pertaining to the king who has a protective deity, give a decision concerning him" (Schollmeyer No. 1 ii 6f.) and dīni tēnišēti tadinni attī nāru rabīti, "Thou, great River, render judgment for the people" (STC 1 201:7).³ A dīnu in a civil case was not always final; in some instances, it determined how the arguments in a case were to be substantiated.⁴ However, dīnu might also be the final verdict of a case, for example: kanik dīnim gamri bēl awatīšu lišēzibu, "Make his accuser issue a record of the final decision" (PBS 7 78:14), and ištūma dīnam ušāhizukāma dīnī lā tesmû, "After I placed your lawsuit to litigation, you did not accept my decision" (VAS 16 96:4f).

The expression, purussâm parāsum, literally "to decide a decision," means "that the judge has come to a decision after finding the facts of the case."⁵ Hammurabi proclaims his purpose in setting up his code: dīn mātīm ana dānim purussê mātīm ana parāsim, "To judge the judgment of the land

¹Cf. Weir, Lexicon, p.61.

²G. R. Driver and John C. Miles, The Babylonian Laws, I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p.73.

³Cf. CAD, III, pp.100ff.

⁴Driver and Miles, op. cit., p.73.

⁵Ibid., p.74.

(and) to determine the decisions of the land" (CH xxiv 6, 70-72). Also, when it is said that the judge purussâm iprus, it means that he has determined the facts in the case and his decision upon them.¹

L. 12. The word for eclipse is here written AN.MI. The Akkadian for eclipse may be written with attalû, antalû, antallû, namtallû, or nantallû. Years ago the origin of attalû was explained as derived from AN.TA.LÛ, which in turn was understood as adāru ša Sîn "obscuration of the moon."² A better explanation may be the suggestion that AN.TA.LÛ was a learned Sumerian etymology to render the Akkadian antalû.³

The formula given here was intended for the use of the king, for no ordinary citizen could call upon his god with these words:

On account of the evil of an eclipse of the moon which took place in such and such a month, on such and such a day, on account of the evil of the powers and signs, evil and not good, which have happened in my palace and my country.

Probably the formula only, and not the more inclusive prayer itself, was composed for the eclipse. The eclipse-formula like the one quoted above occurs in A, but is omitted in duplicate tablets B and C; thus, the eclipse-formula could be included or removed at will. There is further evidence that the eclipse-formula was not an essential element in this text because it interrupts the meter of the lines preceding and following it.⁴

¹Cf. Tallqvist, Akkadische Götterepitheta, pp.153-54.

²Albrecht Goetze, "Akk. antalû and namtallûm 'Eclipse'," JCS, I (1947), 251-52.

³CAD, I, Part 2, p.509.

⁴King, BMS, p.xxvi.

Oftentimes the eclipse of the moon¹ was an evil omen; this statement is supported by the following from ABL 337: 4. 11-12: attalî dSîn annî ša iškunūni mātāti ultappit, "This eclipse of the moon which took place has destroyed the lands." And, maqāt šarūri ana attalî da'na ittašu laptat adanniš, "The decrease of light is dangerous with respect to an eclipse, this is indeed an unhappy sign" (ABL 1134:17). Note also the following informative passage: ša attalî lumunšu ana adi arhi adi ūmu adi massartu adi tašrītu ašar ušarrû u ašar Sîn attalīšu išahhatūma inassukū, "The evil influences of an eclipse (depend) on the month, the day, the watch of the night, the places where it starts and where the moon draws away and sheds its darkening" (ABL 1006:3f.).

Occasionally, the eclipse of the moon signified favor and blessing: ina attalî kakkabSAG.ME.GAR izzizi^z ana šarri šulmu, "If Jupiter is present during an eclipse, it signifies good health for the king" (ABL 46 r. 10). The occurrence of an eclipse may indicate evil for the enemy but good for the king and his country as in this example: ūmu 14 kam attalî dSîn išakkan lemutti ša mātElamti u mātAmurri damiqti ša šarri, "(If) the moon is eclipsed on the 14th day; evil for Elam and Amurru, good luck for the king" (Thompson Rep. 273:1f.). Other references to the appearance of the moon are similar: when the crescent of the moon surrounds the constellation Scorpio, it foretells the invasion of Assyria by a destructive swarm of locusts,

¹ See Morris Jastrow, The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, II (New York: Ginn and Co., 1898), pp.360ff.

but at the same time it foreshadows possibly greater evil for Elam (ABL 1214: 4. 11-14).

Various apotropaic rituals and acts were performed to ward off the evil effects of eclipses as in the following: šipti ša attalî ša arah_hDu'zi kî aššâ, "I performed the incantation against the eclipse in the month Tammuz" (ABL 276:13). Sometimes there was singing for protection: annâ ša ana Sîn ina attalî izzamir, "This is what was sung to Sîn during an eclipse" (BRM 4 6:14). It was believed that shouting could ward off evil during an eclipse: adi attalî izakkû isassû, "They shout until the eclipse disappears" (BRM 4 6:41). Occasionally after an eclipse, the king had to observe certain rites: šarru TA attalî uttammeru ana šūti uškên, "The king prostrates himself toward the south as soon as the eclipse disappears" (CT 4 5:7).¹

L. 13. ittu, "sign, omen," is written syllabically and also with the logograms GISKIM, also Á.MES, Á².MEŠ (SB only).²

The facts that ittu and *idatu show identical semantic ranges and that the logogram GISKIM renders both, suggest that the word ittu (from id-tu) had two bases, itta- and idat-, as is shown by the two forms of the construct state. From the former the pl. ittātu was formed, attested from the OB period on, and from the latter the pl. idātu, appearing only in late (SB, NB) texts.³

Jacobsen suggests that ilāni rabûti "great gods"

¹ See references to mythology of eclipses in other lands by Theodor H. Gaster, Thespis: Ritual, Myth, and Drama in the Ancient Near East, Revised Edition. Anchor Books (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1961), pp.228f.

² CAD, VII, p.304

³ Ibid., pp.309-10.

might better be translated "senior gods." En.el. III, 130 mentions them: ilāni rabûti kalîšunu mušimmū šimāti, "All the senior gods, the determiners of fates." Again in En.el. VI, 80f: ilū rabûti hamsassunu ūšibūma ilū šimāti šibittišunu ana [dMarduk šimāti] uktinnū, "The fifty senior gods sat down, and the seven gods of fates fixed fates for Marduk."¹

L. 15. Oppenheim writes about the puhru "assembly" of Babylonia in pre-Hammurabi times. In the formation of the assembly there were šibūtu "elders" and LUGAL^{MEŠ} "noblemen" which came together for the purpose of ruling the land. This assembly gathered at certain times at the town gate under the chairmanship of the "ruler of the assembly" rab puhrim. The power relationship between "assembly" and "ruler" was probably dependent upon the personal abilities of the one or the other, or possibly the political or social condition of the commonwealth.²

In almost every particular the world of the gods reflects earthly conditions. The puhru "assembly" was usually held in a large court called ubšuuḫkinna. When the gods arrived, there were greetings and then a banquet with plenty of food and drink. After the banquet, when everyone was in good spirits, Anu, or as in this text, Šin would lead the assembly. Proposals were discussed by šitūlum "asking one another" as the Babylonians expressed it--thus issues could be

¹Thorkild Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia" JNES, II (1943), 168.

²A. Leo Oppenheim, "Zur Keilschriftlichen Omenliteratur" Or., N.S., V (1936), 227-28; Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, pp.95, 111f.

cleared up and the gods could give their opinions.¹

Final authority did not rest with a single god, but in the representative assembly. The puhru "assembly" served as a safeguard against despotism. Even the highest gods in the pantheon respected the power to choose the head of the hierarchy, to determine destinies, and to restrict the length of reigns. The assembly was the highest source of authority among the gods; this fact stressed the importance of the counterpart in earthly government. In a similar manner, earthly rulers had to satisfy the proper governing body, and, at the same time, give answer to the gods for the direction of affairs committed to them.²

The verb pahāru in expressions as ina naphar dIgigi (STC II:19) gives the idea of the "totality, assembly."³ Note also naphar salmāt qaqqadi, (STC II:24) "The assembly of the blackheaded people" where there is not a political body, but stress is upon the totality of the people. Furthermore, the Akkadian puhru "assembly" should be studied with the Ugaritic phr "totality, assembly." Consider especially the expressions phr m'd, "fixed assembly" or "assembly of the fixed place" (137:14, 20, 31) and phr ilm (UM text 17:7), also p[h]r bn ilm, "the assembly of the gods" (51:III:14). Note the parallelism of mphrt with dr, "assemblage, habitation"

¹Jacobsen, op. cit., pp.167-68.

²Ephraim A. Speiser, "Authority and Law in Mesopotamia," in Authority and Law in the Ancient Orient (Baltimore: American Oriental Society, 1954), pp.10-11.

³W. von Soden, Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1952), 56b.

(107:2-3); cf. dr with Hebrew, ׀ ׀ , "period, generation, dwelling." On the basis of Ugaritic it has been determined that ׀ ׀ in Hebrew sometimes means "assembly, council" (Ps. 14:5; 49:20; 24:6; 53:6; 73:15; 112:2; Jer. 2:31).¹

The verb uštāmû is probably a Št. form of awû "to speak." This verb should not be confused with tamû "to swear."² The phrase ina šaplīka, "underneath," suggests that the senior gods were of lower rank than Sîn.

L. 16. Ekur is from the Sumerian É.KUR "mountain temple," a temple of Enlil at Nippur and the most important temple in Sumer. Šarkališarri built this temple for Enlil, the leading god of the Sumerian pantheon, in Nippur; Nāram-Sîn also calls himself the builder. Ur-Nammu rebuilt this temple, (CT XXI, 4, 90802). Later Hammurabi restored Ekur, (CH I, 62). With the supremacy of Babylon, Nippur and its temple fell into the background. Many legal and business tablets show that Ekur remained rich and well-known down through Babylonian history.³

There are two possible explanations for the mention of Ekur in this text: first, the reference to Ekur may be an allusion to ancient Sumerian mythology. Nanna and other gods of the Sumerian pantheon sought the blessing of Enlil by visiting Ekur in Nippur. The patron deities of major cities,

¹Frank J. Neuberg, "An Unrecognized Meaning of Hebrew Dôr," JNES, IX (1950), 215-17.

²Moshe Held, "A Faithful Lover in an Old Babylonian Dialogue," JCS, XV (1961), 23.

³D. D. Luckenbill, "The Temple of Babylonia and Assyria," AJSL, XXIV (1908), 308.

such as Eridu and Ur, are described in poetry as journeying in a boat to Nippur with gifts of trees, plants, and animals for Enlil.¹ A similar practice was observed in India where deities made elaborate ceremonial visits to other deities. For such an important occasion, a large vehicle with ornate stone wheels served as the conveyance. Above the chassis was a skillfully carved box-shaped structure of wood.² Second, there is the possibility that the temple of Ekur was the place where the original or an early version of this poem may have been written.

L. 17. Bubbulu means "flood, day of the disappearance of the moon." In astrological texts the disappearance of the moon was noted with particular significance;³ the dark of the moon was believed to be a time when evil spirits were particularly dangerous. In German and Scottish folklore there are similar beliefs. In the waning light of the moon operations involving separation or disintegration were performed. Thus it was hoped that marriages could be annulled, houses pulled down, and pestilences stopped in the waning phase. Sometimes the sick patient would look to the waning moon and pray that as the moon decreases, so let his pains dwindle. The new moon was an auspicious time for entering into marriage; it was also

¹A poem entitled, "A Journey of Nanna to Nippur" of about 313 lines was reconstructed from many tablets; see Samuel N. Kramer, Sumerian Mythology: a Study of Spiritual and Literary Achievement in the Third Millennium B.C. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944), p.47, n.50.

²Arthur B. Keith and Albert J. Carnoy, "Indian" and "Iranian Mythology" in The Mythology of All Races, edited by Louis H. Gray, VI (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1917), pl. II.

³CAD, II, pp.298f.

the best time to move into a new house.¹ Hair and nails were cut at the new moon so they would grow.²

The word pirišti "secret, mystery" shows how the t will influence the preceding sibilant to be a š. This change is observed in mihistum which is written mihīštum and marastum which becomes maruštum.³ A well-known passage illustrating the use of pirištu is Gilg. XI, 186-87: anāku ul aptâ pirišti illi rabûti Atrahasis šunāta ušabrīšumma pirišti illi išme, "It was not I who revealed the secret of the senior gods; but as for Atrahasis I caused to dream, so that he understood the secret of the gods."

L. 18. Ūmu 30 kam isinnaka,⁴ "The thirtieth day is thy festival" is attributed to Sîn. Note that a number of festivals are associated with deities: ina isin dŠamaš ina Sippar, "On the religious festival of Šamaš in Sippar" (PBS 7 73:5); ūmu 23 kam isinnu ša dŠamaš u dAdad, "The twenty-third day (of the intercalary Elūlu) is the festival of Šamaš and Adad" (4 R 33 iii 15); and ūmu 18 kam isinnu ša Sîn u Šamaš, "The eighteenth (of Simānu) is the festival of the moon and the sun" (unfavorable day, K.4068 - ii25). Also Nammu, Anu, Ištar, and Ninurta are honored by certain festivals identified

¹Jacob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, translated by James S. Stallybrass, II (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1883), pp.713ff.

²See notes and bibliography on this subject by Gaster, Thespis, p.352.

³Moshe Held, "Mhs/*mhš in Ugaritic and Other Semitic Languages," JAOS, LXXIX (1959), 173-74, n.87.

⁴On isinnu, "festival," see B. Landsberger, Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1915), pp.6ff.

with them.¹

L. 19. Expressions such as emūq lā šanān, "Unequaled in power," and mannu išannan, "Who can compare?"² are ascribed to Šîn. Moreover, these epithets are used of other gods.³ A related Akkadian expression is the following: mamman ina ilāni ul iššannan ittīka, "There is no one among the gods who compares with thee" (Ebeling I, 25, 6). Similarly, lā šanān is used of royalty; Seux⁴ refers to rubû lā šanān, an epithet attributed to Sennacherib by Šîn-šar-iškun, (cyl. A, Bohl, Chrest., p.35, 15, KAH, II, 128, 14). Engnell quotes: šānišū lā išū, "Who has no rival" (Aššurnasirpal, AAA 19: 108, 3).⁵ The same concept may be expressed in Akkadian by māhira lā išū, "Who has no rival" (Esarhaddon, BA 3:232.6) and by Sumerian EN GAB.RI NU.TUG, "The lord who has no rival" (Ningirsu, SAKI 98). This epithet was originally attributed to the gods. This usage is particularly frequent as applied to Assyrian kings who ruled around the seventh century B.C.

L. 20. Von Soden translates asruqka širik mūši ellu thus: "Ich habe dir ein reines nächtliches Schüttopfer dargebracht."⁶ It may be possible to read the first word az-riq_u-ka, from zarāqu, "to sprinkle."

Šikaru, "beer," is a common Semitic word probably found

¹ Cf. CAD, VII, pp.195ff. ² Cf. text 3, r.5 commentary.

³ Weir, Lexicon, pp.327-28.

⁴ M. J. Seux, Epithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1967), p.253.

⁵ Engnell, Divine Kingship, p.179.

⁶ Falkenstein and von Soden, SAHG, p.317.

earliest in Akkadian.¹ In the King James Version of the Bible 𐎗𐎗𐎗 is usually translated "strong drink." Deut. 14:25 suggests that "strong drink" was permissible in a sacrificial meal. Isa. 19:10b is read in the Septuagint as follows: *Kai partēs oi tōr ἰούου ποιοῦντες*, "All those who prepare barley drink." The LXX translators probably understood this line to have 𐎗𐎗𐎗 , "strong drink," rather than 𐎗𐎗𐎗 , "hire." Sikaru is transliterated in the New Testament by *σίκερα*, "strong drink" (Lk. 1:15).

L. 22. The meaning of INIM.GAR, from which egirru[^] is derived, is "utterance"; it is an utterance which is sometimes recognized as favorable or foreboding by those that hear it. Texts show a development of meaning in three main directions. First egirru[^] refers to utterances of acceptance or rejection. The utterance may be the blessing of a friend or the curse of an enemy; such utterances reflect upon the social acceptability or reputation of a person. Also the word sometimes refers to the ways in which an interceding deity can speak for or against a worshiper before an important god. Second, there are utterances of somewhat undetermined order possibly accidental in nature such as in dreams or hallucinations. In such cases the audible sounds are believed to be given by the gods as an answer to petitions or as warnings.² In a third sphere of meaning, egirru[^] describes the mood of the individual as expres-

¹See Louis F. Hartman and A. Leo Oppenheim, On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia. Supplement to the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 43 (Baltimore: American Oriental Society, 1950), pp.12-13.

²CAD, IV, p.45.

sed by others or as revealed by his own remarks, such as groans, sighs, and interjections.¹ It is in this sense that egirru is used in this passage. The translation of L.22 is based upon a rendering given in CAD, IV, p.44.

L. 23. The protection of patron deities is important to an individual. This is true since there are many references to worshipers appealing to their personal gods for restoration to favor. When some sin has caused the patron gods to withdraw their guidance and support, the supplicant does not depend upon his own attempts to appease their anger, but calls upon some more powerful god to serve as mediator.²

L. 24. It is difficult to translate the first part of this line literally. Kittu often translated "truth, righteousness" represents a "correct, normal status;" it suggests an equality or leveling of social standing. Mēšaru from ešēru, "to be straight, direct," has to do with leveling by releasing debts, amnesty.

Mesopotamia has provided a vast amount of material relating to legal practice, but very little pertaining to legal theory. The king did not compose the laws, but he was the agent who had to apply and keep them as exemplified in the following two quotations: ša.....ina mēšar hattīšu ultešeru nišē u dadmē, "Who through the righteousness of his scepter administers justice to people and communities" (KAH 2 60 i 16); and ana nasār kitti u mēšari šutēšur lā lē'ī lā habāl enši, "To

¹A. Leo Oppenheim, "Sumerian: INIM.GAR, Akkadian: Egirru = Greek: Kledon," AfO, XVII (1954/55), 52.

²Cf. text 1:15 commentary.

guard law and justice, to see that justice is done to the powerless, not to wrong the weak" (Lyon Sar. 8:50).¹ A ruler must administer, revise, and make up-to-date compilations of the law. The governors, judges, and various other officials must enforce the law equitably. The process by which the law is made to function justly may be called mēšarum.²

There are a number of passages where kittu, "truth," and mēšaru, "justice," are used together.³ These two words are ascribed to Nabû: rā'im kittu u mēšaru, "Who loves truth and justice" (Cf. Schollm. 58:2).⁴ Similar words are bestowed upon the king Nebuchadnezzar (VAB 4.100.12.5). Another reference to royalty is the following: ana kitti u mēšarim bašā uznāya, "To truth and justice were my two ears" (Nabopolassar, VAB 4.66.4.7).

The Babylonian pantheon includes several names which are abstract nouns. Kittu, "Truth," and Mēšaru, "Justice," are among the most familiar. Contenau suggests that these abstract theological conceptions were included in the cult of Šamaš and the Babylonian pantheon sometime during the first half of the second millennium B.C.⁵ Kittu and Mēšaru appear in the lists of gods as sons and ministers (sukkallu) of Šamaš. The list K.171 has NIG.ZI.DA and NIG.GI.NA = Kittum, while NIG.SI.SA = Mēšarum. In CT XXIV and XXV there are two large lists which have NIG.ZI.DA, "Minister of the right hand;" NIG.SI.SA, "Minister of the left hand" and NIG.GI.NA, "Minister of Šamaš,"

¹Cf. CAD, IV, pp.361-62. ²Speiser, op.cit., pp.12-13.

³Cf. text 3:r.3.

⁴Cf. Engnell, op.cit., p.194.

⁵Georges Contenau, Everyday Life in Babylon and Assyria. Translated by K. R. and A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop (London: Arnold, 1954), p.241.

plus Kittum, son of Šamaš (CT XXIV 31 II.74ff., XXV 26, II.9ff.).¹

In the Sumerian text concerning the deification of Lipit-Ištar, there is mention of Truth and Justice as divine hypostases: NIG.GI.NA ZA.E LU.BI HE.ME.EN A DAH ZU HE.A NIG.SI.SA ŠAG.TA E.A. ME.EN dBABBAR.GIM GUB.BA, "Truth, be thou its man, be it thy helper, Justice going forth from the heart, while thou art standing like the sun-god" (Zimmern, Lipit-Ištars Vergöttlichung, col. II 11.45f.); cf. Ringgren, Word and Wisdom, p.54. NIG.GI.NA and NIG.SI.SA (Kittu and Mēšaru) are represented as protective deities which help Šamaš exercise truth and justice during his rule.²

Kittu and Mēšaru appear as lower gods in hymns and prayers to Šamaš. The following quotation is taken from a bilingual hymn: dŠamaš ultu šamê ellūti ina asêka.....kitti lizziz ina imnīka mēšari lizziz ina šumēlika,³ "O Šamaš, when thou comest forth from the shining heavens,.....may Truth stand at thy right side, may Justice stand at thy left side."⁴ Though the names Kittu and Mēšaru are here written without the DINGIR-sign, it is clear that Truth and Justice are hypostases, messengers of Šamaš.

In an inscription of Nabonidus, prayer is made to

¹Cf. Helmer Ringgren, Word and Wisdom (Lund: H. Ohlssons, 1947), p.53.

²Engnell, op. cit., p.40.

³A. Schollmeyer, Sumerisch-babylonische hymnen und gebete an Šamaš Zusammenge stellt und bearbeitet (Paderborn: Schoeningh, 1912), p.14.

⁴Cf. Ringgren, op. cit., p.53.

Šamaš for help against his enemies, wherein Kittu and Mēšaru are referred to in the following manner: dKittum dMēšari u dDajjāni ilāni āšib mahrika.....harrān šulum u mešrē uruh kitti u mēšari lišāškina ana šēpēya, "May Truth, Justice and the Judge, the gods sitting before thee (Šamaš).....prepare for my feet a way of welfare and wealth, a path of truth and justice."¹

Mēšaru is a wider conception than our "righteousness." It is in fact "the right order in the cosmos." When it prevails, the rain falls at the right time and the harvests become abundant. Then the right order reigns in the community, so that the widow and the orphan do not suffer any injustice. Obviously this mēšaru comprises everything in the cosmos, nature as well as men. As a representative of mēšaru the king is the incarnate law in the cosmos. This law has, of course, its primitive origin in the highest good.

We notice that mēšaru and kettu are sometimes conceived only as qualities of the sun-god, or as gifts granted by him, and sometimes in a more concrete way as personal beings, even independent deities. This is a very characteristic feature, typical of what we call hypostases.²

Oesterley and Box say that an hypostasis is a "quasi-personification of certain attributes proper to God, occupying an intermediate position between personalities and abstract beings."³

The Phoenician gods Misor and Sydyk are mentioned by Philo Byblius: Ἀπὸ τούτων γενέσθαι Μισὼρ καὶ Σιδύκ τούτέστιν εὐλόγον καὶ δίκαιον. Οὗτοι τῆρ τοῦ ἁλὸς

¹Nabonidus No.6, Col.II 11.29, 31f., VAB, p.260.

²Ringgren, op. cit., p.58.

³William O. E. Oesterley and George H. Box, The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), p.169.

Χρησιν εὐρον , "From them were born Misor and Sydyk, i.e. 'easily freed' and 'righteous.' They discovered the use of salt."¹ Here the similarity to the Akkadian Kittu and Mēšaru is apparent.

Hypostases occur in the O.T. representing qualities and functions of Jehovah. Divine characteristics are depicted as personal entities, messengers of God. The following passages demonstrate hypostases:

יְהוָה אֱמֵן וְיְהוָה אֱמֵן
 אֱמֵן וְיְהוָה אֱמֵן וְיְהוָה אֱמֵן
 אֱמֵן וְיְהוָה אֱמֵן וְיְהוָה אֱמֵן

Faithfulness and Truth are met together,
 Righteousness and Peace kiss each other.
 Truth springeth up from the earth,
 And Righteousness hath looked down from the sky.²

Another example of hypostasis occurs in the same Psalm, v.14:

יְהוָה אֱמֵן וְיְהוָה אֱמֵן
 אֱמֵן וְיְהוָה אֱמֵן וְיְהוָה אֱמֵן

Righteousness goeth before Him.
 It shall steadily march in His footsteps.³

Sedeq and Mišpat uphold the throne of Jehovah:

יְהוָה אֱמֵן וְיְהוָה אֱמֵן
 אֱמֵן וְיְהוָה אֱמֵן וְיְהוָה אֱמֵן

Righteousness and Justice are the foundation
 of Thy throne;
 Faithfulness and Truth go before Thee.⁴

These hypostases are certainly pre-exilic since Psalm 89 is a royal psalm.

The end of line 24 is difficult. Probably it is best to restore lîšir; cf. Pinck. 10, 59: pa[dānî] lîšir.⁵

¹Eusebius, Praep. Evang. I, 10, 13. ²Ps. 85:11-12.

³Translation of Ringgren, op. cit., p.150.

⁴Ps.89:15; cf. Ps.97:2.

⁵Weir, Lexicon, p.253.

L. 25. Uma¹ irma from the doubly weak verb wāru "to set out, to begin" has the meaning "to commission, to send" in the D stem. Ungnad, who has written on wāru, suggests that šapāru is a synonym which shares a similar transition of meanings, "to send, command, order."¹

Anzaqar was sent to the supplicant by the personal god mentioned in L.23. This passage is difficult to translate, von Soden reads: "Ich beauftragte den Zaqar, den Gott der Träume, dass er im Verlauf der Nacht meine Sünden lösen möge."²

The name of the Mesopotamian Dream-god ^dAN.ZA.QAR or ^dAN.ZAG.GAR is an Akkadian loan in Sumerian.

This Sumerian word (as well as its Akkadian equivalent: dimtu) denotes a tower, a signal post, even a pillar. It is, in fact, a loan from an Old Akkadian word which is not attested in that language but can be connected with two possible roots: z.k.r. "(to be) male" and z.k.r. "to remember." And both can be made, rather easily, to yield a not too implausible etymology: An.zaqar might have been a masseba-to use a Biblical term-or a stone pile (Greek: herma(x), and also a memorial pillar or the like. The use of the determinative DINGIR characterizes the word as a numinous term.

But why is the "God Pillar" the god of dreams? We can hardly be tempted to think of the Greek god, Hermes, the personified hermax (cf. L. Deroy, "La sandale ailée et l'origine hittite du dieu Hermes," Athenaeum, NS 30: 59-84, 1952) i.e., pile of stones, who happens to be likewise the dispenser of sleep (Iliad 24:343, 445; Odyssey 5, 47) and the leader of the host of dreams (oneiropompos).³

¹ Arthur Ungnad, "Lexikalisches," ZA, XXXI (1917), 40-41.

² Adam Falkenstein and W. von Soden, Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete (Zurich: Artemis-Verlag, 1953), p.317.

³ A. Leo Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956), p.236.

There are a number of pertinent texts which use the name AN.ZA.QAR or the variant AN.ZAG.GAR.RA. In CT XXIV 32:110f. (K.4349) there are the following lines: AN.ZA.QAR = DINGIR.MA.MÚ.DA.KE₄, "Anzaqar the God of the Dream(s)." Another text DT 46 which is a fragment in the British Museum says: AN.ZAG.GAR.RA = ^dEN.LÍL šá MÁŠ.GE₆ [MEŠ]; "Anzaqar the Ellil with regard to dreams." Finally, among the equations of a Sumerian-Akkadian vocabulary there is mention of a nocturnal demon attacking the traveler (Ist. Tabl., CT XVIII 48 r.I 30).¹

The last passage mentioned above demonstrates the demonic nature of the Dream-god; the god is described as lurking in the night among various evil spirits. On the other hand, the Dream-god ministers divine grace, especially bearing messages from the luminary gods Šamaš and Sîn as in text 2.

The Sumerian name of the Dream-god is ^dMA.MÚ. This name was formerly read incorrectly as ^dMA.HIR. The god ^dMA.MÚ is mentioned in the inscriptions of Aššurnasirpal II (VAS VII 27:17) and a fragment of a catalogue of divine names mentions ^dMA.MÚ along with the other associates of Šamaš (KAV 63). The name ^dMamu means literally "God Dream."³

The third name of the Dream-god is Zaqīqu which means simply "soft blowing wind." Etymologically, zaqīqu is derived from the verb zâqu "to blow." Thus, the word zaqīqu refers to the swift, intangible nature of the Dream-god.

¹Oppenheim, op. cit., p.233.

²Ibid., p.233.

³Ibid., pp.232-33.

Zaqīqu may designate a special kind of wind in many respects comparable to Hebrew ׀׀׀ and Greek Πνεύμα.¹

The Sumerogram MĀŠ.GE₆MEŠ is rendered into Akkadian by tabrât mūsi, a poetic synonym for "dreams." Tabrātu is related to burrû, "to indicate, announce"; hence, tabrât mūsi means primarily "night revelations."²

The usual word for "dream" in Akkadian is šuttu, derived from a root which has given that language the word for "sleep," i.e., šittu. This well-known semantic situation is duplicated in Akkadian itself in the case of the word munattu. The term, derived from a root n.u.m (in Arabic nāma "sleep," in Ethiopic also "dream") means in Akkadian texts, in most instances, "early morning," but there are some references which require the translation "sleep" in the sense of "dream".....There exists, furthermore, an unpublished Sumerian-Akkadian vocabulary fragment (series ERIM.HUS II:257-9), which arranges its entries in semantic groups, where the words šuttu, hiltu, and munattu are linked together as synonymous expressions for "dream."³

There are two Sumerian words for "dream": MA.MŪ and Ū. The Hittite language has borrowed both Sumerian words as logograms beside the Hittite term tešhaš, "dream." The root hlm, "dream" is found in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, and Ugaritic.⁴

Dreams are usually "seen" in Akkadian: the seeing of dreams is expressed often by verbs, such as, amāru, natālu, and a few times by naplusu. The revealing of a dream may be given by šubrû "to cause to see." In some cases, however, dreams are "brought," abālu,⁵ by some messenger to the sleeper.⁶

¹ Ibid., pp.233-34.

² Ibid., pp.225f.

³ Ibid., p.225.

⁴ Ibid., p.226.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ For the importance of dreams in the Bible, see I. Mendelsohn "Dream; Dreamer," IDB, I, 868f.

L. 26. Tablet C has mu-š̄i-im.....ti-ra.....; one may expect here some form of et̄ēru, "to take away, save." Note the use of et̄ēru in a similar context: ina š̄erti et̄ēru, "To save from sin" (Šurpu IV 37).

Pat̄āru, means "to cancel, pardon, release"; this word is often used in reference to cancelling sin: e'ilti putri putri arni š̄erti gillati u hititi, "cancel my sin, my offense, my misdeed, and my negligence" (STC II, 26187, 80-81). Compare the following: patār i' ilte uzdu libbūtu u nikilti, "To cancel sin, wrath, anger, and witchcraft" (OECT pl. 12:22). Note also arni putur š̄erti pušur š̄utiḡ gillatiḡ hititi rummê, "cancel my sin, forgive my offense, pass over my crime, forgive my fault" (BMS 2, 39). The concept of pardon is evident in the following: ellessina tapattar, "Thou art pardoning their transgression" Šamaš Hymn (Lambert BWL, 136, 163). Removal and release from punishment is apparent in the following: illi ennitti putri, "O my god, remove my punishment" (OECT 6 pl.20, K.4812.11 f.) and enessu lippatir aranšu linnasiḡ, "May his punishment be removed, his sin eradicated" (4 R 17, 57 f.).¹

The cognate in Biblical Hebrew פָּרַק , means "to separate, remove, set free." Note especially $\text{פָּרַקְוּ אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים־הַלְוִיִּם־מִן־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ}$ (P) $\text{פָּרַקְוּ אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים־הַלְוִיִּם־מִן־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ}$, "(Ones) in the chamber were released from service" (I Chronicles 9:33; cf. II Chronicles 23:8).

It should be noted that "in the Accadian schu'illa and Hebrew psalms there is a pronounced subjectivism; the

¹For other examples see Weir, Lexicon, pp.265-67.

suppliant is the focus of attention; it is he who is to be cleansed, purified, compassionated, forgiven."¹ In ancient Egyptian literature there are relatively few references to the penitent seeking divine mercy and forgiveness since the individual usually denied that he sinned.² However, an exception may be found in the prayer of thanksgiving made by an outline draftsman of the Theban necropolis. Apparently Nakht-Amon committed an impious act respecting a cow owned by the god Amon-Re and became seriously ill. After recovery came, the father of the afflicted gave thanks for the mercy of Amon-Re:

Though it may be that the servant is normal, in doing wrong, still the Lord is normal in being merciful. The Lord of Thebes does not spend an entire day angry. As for his anger--in the completion of a moment there is no remnant, and the wind is turned about in mercy for us..... As thy ka endures, thou wilt be merciful.....³

The end of line 26 is destroyed: Ebeling restores ta-a[b-ka-at]⁴; Perry restores ta-a[p-šur].⁵

L. 29. For a close parallel to the rituals given at the end of this text, see ABL 450, 5-12; cf. Kunstmann, op. cit., pp.69f. In most cases rituals accompany the prayers which are to be completed before the supplicant is to offer his petition.⁶ At the end of texts 2 and 3 the required rituals are partially preserved. These rituals were for the

¹Dalglisch, op. cit., p.98.

²Ibid., p.94.

³John A. Wilson, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, edited by James B. Pritchard (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp.380f.

⁴Ebeling, op. cit., p.8.

⁵Perry, Hymnen, p.13.

⁶A. Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p.175.

benefit of the praying individual or the officiating priest; the manual of instruction was necessary to bring the best results from the prayer. The burning of incense was the most common of all the instructions concerning the ritual.¹ Some of the terms used in the ritual are words which occur often, such terms as libation, pure water, best beer, meal, flour, juniper, and perfume. Portions of the rituals are difficult to translate because the technical terms used in them occur infrequently. Nevertheless, proper interpretation of the religious act requires an examination of the rituals and the prayers.

12 akal hašê 12 akal samašsammi, "12 loaves of spice bread, 12 loaves of sesame bread" was a twelvefold offering to Šin. Langdon suggests that the twelvefold offering is related to the twelve lunar periods of the year.² Gaster has pointed out that twelvefold offerings occur a number of times in ancient rituals:

Thus, for example, in the funerary ritual preserved in KUB XXX 15, it is expressly prescribed (i 11) that "twelve ordinary loaves" be placed beside the cremated corpse, and at a subsequent stage of the proceedings (i 23-24) the fleeces of twelve unblemished sheep are dedicated to the gods as part of an apotropaic and propitiatory offering. Similarly, in a ritual designed to expel pestilence (KUB IX 32 - Friedrich, AHS ii 12), provision is made for the presentation of twelve large vessels and twelve loaves of bread (i 34); while in another (KBo IV 2 = Friedrich, *op. cit.*, 14) for the removal of evil spirits from a place twelve loaves of huri-bread and twelve of some other kind are likewise

¹ Leonard W. King, Babylonian Magic and Sorcery (London: Luzac, 1896), p.xxii.

² Stephen Langdon, "A Hymn to the Moon-God, Adapted for the Use of Shamash-Shum-Ukin, Viceroy of Babylon," PSBA, XL (1918), 109, n.21.

presented. We may suppose, therefore, that the division of the incantation into twelve formulae corresponds to the accompanying performance of some twelvefold act of the presentation of some twelvefold offering, characteristic of purgatory rituals.

Nor was this twelvefold offering confined to the Hittites. In the homeric Hymn to Hermes 128, the sacrifice is divided into twelve parts. Twelvefold sacrifices are also mentioned specifically by Eustathius on Iliad vi 93 (p. 1386.48); cf. also Sophocles, Trachiniae 760 f. Twelve also played a prominent role in Israelitic ritual (cf. Numbers 7:87; 29:17; I Kings 7:44; 11:30; Ezra 8:24, 35; II Chronicles 4:4).¹

L. 31. The phrase, ina rēs išersīšu ana Anzaqar "at the head of his bed to Anzaqar," suggests that offerings were oftentimes placed at the head of the sick.² In this text an offering is placed at the head of the bed because the Dream-god usually stood in that position to disturb the sleeper. Oppenheim quotes from the Sumerian "Stela of the Vultures" VI: 25-27, which dates from the end of the third millennium B.C.: NÁ.A.RA.....SAG.GÁ MU.NA.GUB, "For him who lies (there).....he (the appearing deity) took his stand at his head." In the Akkadian poem, Ludlul bēl nēmeqi, occurs the expression īrubamma itazziz, "He (the dream deity) entered and took his stand."³ Consider the Egyptian parallel in the so-called "Hunger-Stela" in which the god, Chnum, is pictured by the royal dreamer as follows: "standing over against me."⁴ In 1 Samuel 3:10 the appearance of the Lord to Samuel in a dream is described thus 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤁 𐤏𐤍𐤁

¹Gaster, Thespis, pp.306-7.

²Julian Morgenstern, The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion (Berlin: W. Peiser, 1905), pp.72-76.

³Oppenheim, Dreambook, p.189.

⁴Ibid., p.189.

𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗, "And the Lord came and stood." The term epistanai kata, "to stand over the head" is found in the dream-records in the Greek dramas.¹ This idea continues through the middle ages into relatively modern times, cf. e.g. Milton, Paradise Lost, 8, 292: "when suddenly stood at my head a dream." In these references to the deity standing at the head of the sleeper one sees a motif related to both East and West.

L. 32. Našpartu, "messenger" may sometimes be translated "messagery" or "means of communication." This term shows that the Akkadians considered the dream as a means to convey messages. Similarly they recognized the šipir mahhê, "performances of the ecstasies" as though it were a našpartu. When man is ecstatic or mad, god may reveal his will, or the will of god may be given in a dream.²

L. 33. Kurbāni bāb kamî, "a clump (of earth) from the outer gate," was probably used in this ritual to remove the contamination of an evil dream by placing the body in contact with a clump of earth. The contagion was supposed to be absorbed by physically mixing the evil clinging to the body of the dreamer into the clump. The clump of earth was destroyed oftentimes by throwing it into water, so also the evil of a dream was considered as disintegrated and melted away. Consider the following passage from KAR 252 III: 37-38: kurbānni ša bāb piḥê ileqqi šiptu ana muḥhi 3-šu imanni

¹William S. Messer, The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1918), p.6, n.22.

²Oppenheim, Dreambook, p.233.

.....lemnušū ipattar, "He shall take a lump (of earth) from a closed gate, he shall recite three times the incantation over it.....his evil will depart." At this point note the great difference between the Akkadian ŠU.ÍL.LÁ prayers and the Hebrew Psalms. The one makes frequent reference to magical practice, while there is relative absence of magical allusion in the Psalter,¹

L. 36. Magic in any form was strictly forbidden by the law (Exodus 22:17; Leviticus 19:26, 31; 20:6, 27). However, the belief in magical power persisted as evidenced by the repeated prohibitions against it by the prophets (Isaiah 3:2-3; Jeremiah 27:9; Ezekiel 13:18-20). Not all the forms of magic in use in Babylonia appear to be mentioned in the Old Testament; however, it is difficult to determine the primary meanings for some of the Biblical terms for the occult arts.²

The apostolic writers also contended with those who engaged in magic. Elymas, the magician, was described as an enemy of all righteousness and full of deceit (Acts 13:10). Paul includes sorcery with immorality and other evils of the flesh (Galatians 5:19-21). Also Paul declares that those who practise magic oppose the truth just as the Egyptian magicians opposed Moses with their arts (II Timothy 3:8). Moreover, Revelation puts sorcerers on the same level with fornicators and murderers (Revelation 21:8).³

¹Dalglisch, op. cit., p.102.

²I. Mendelsohn "Magic," IDB, III, 224f.

³Ibid., 225.

L. 37. Binu, "tamarisk," was a small tree or shrub whose wood could be used for making small utensils and tools;¹ its wood was used for kindling and its ashes, being a rich alkali, served as a soapwort.² The ashes and the seeds of the tamarisk are mentioned often in magic, purification rites, and in the remedies given in the medical texts.³

Tamarisk was used in Islamic magic: a simple cure for a child stricken by the Evil Eye was to put alum, salt, incense, and tamarisk in a pan on the fire. While the pan was getting hot, an adult would carry the afflicted child around the fire seven times; as soon as there was a noise or crack in the pan the spell was broken. For similar situations in a Christian home, a piece of palm from Palm Sunday instead of tamarisk was added to the pan.⁴

¹ CAD, II, p.242.

² See the classifying of uses by R. C. Thompson, Dictionary of Assyrian Botany (London: The British Academy, 1949), pp.40ff.

³ Ibid., pp.279ff.

⁴ R. C. Thompson, Semitic Magic; Its Origins and Development. Luzac's Oriental Religions Series, vol. III (London: Luzac, 1908), p.88.

TEXT 3

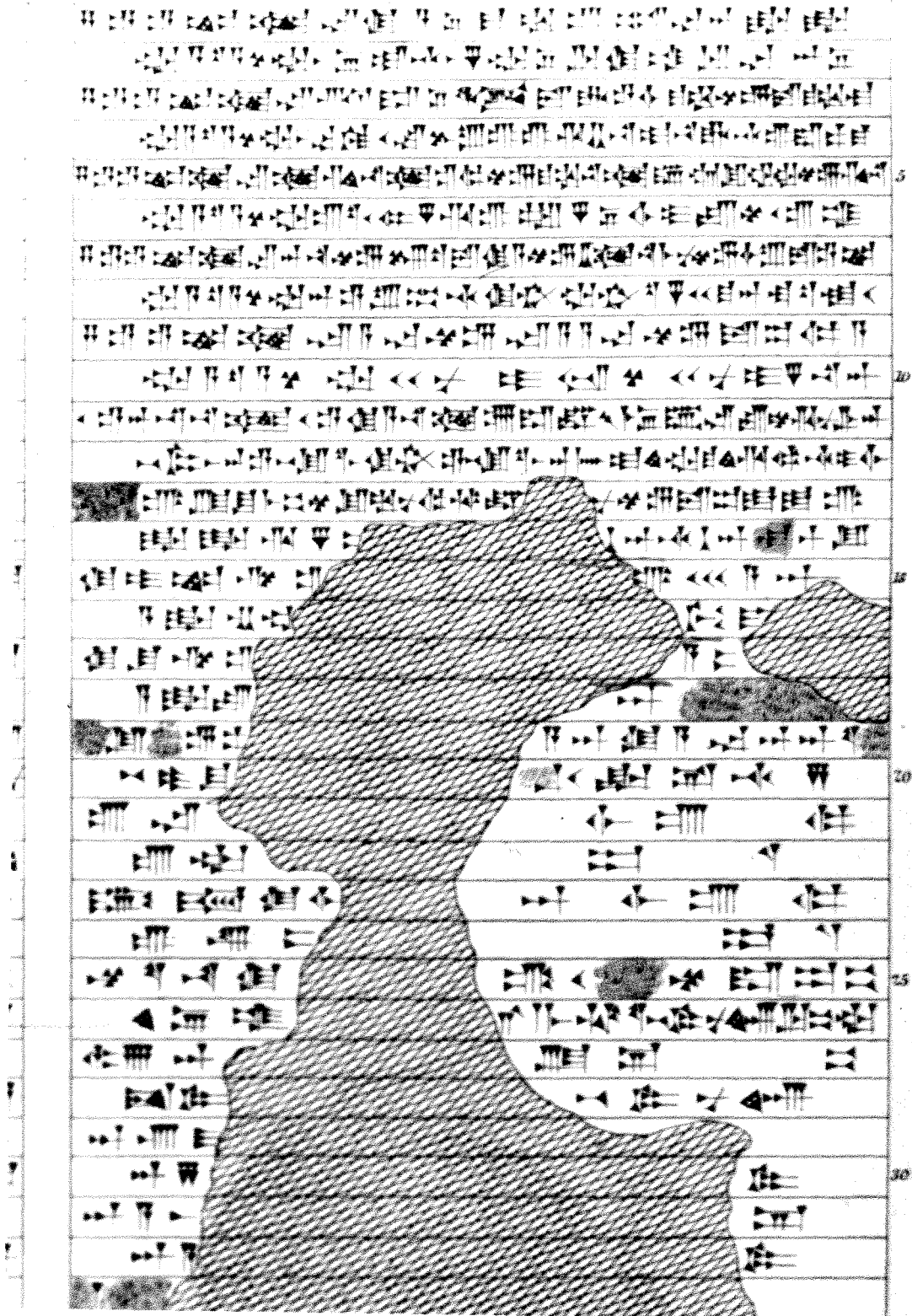
Rawlinson IV, 9

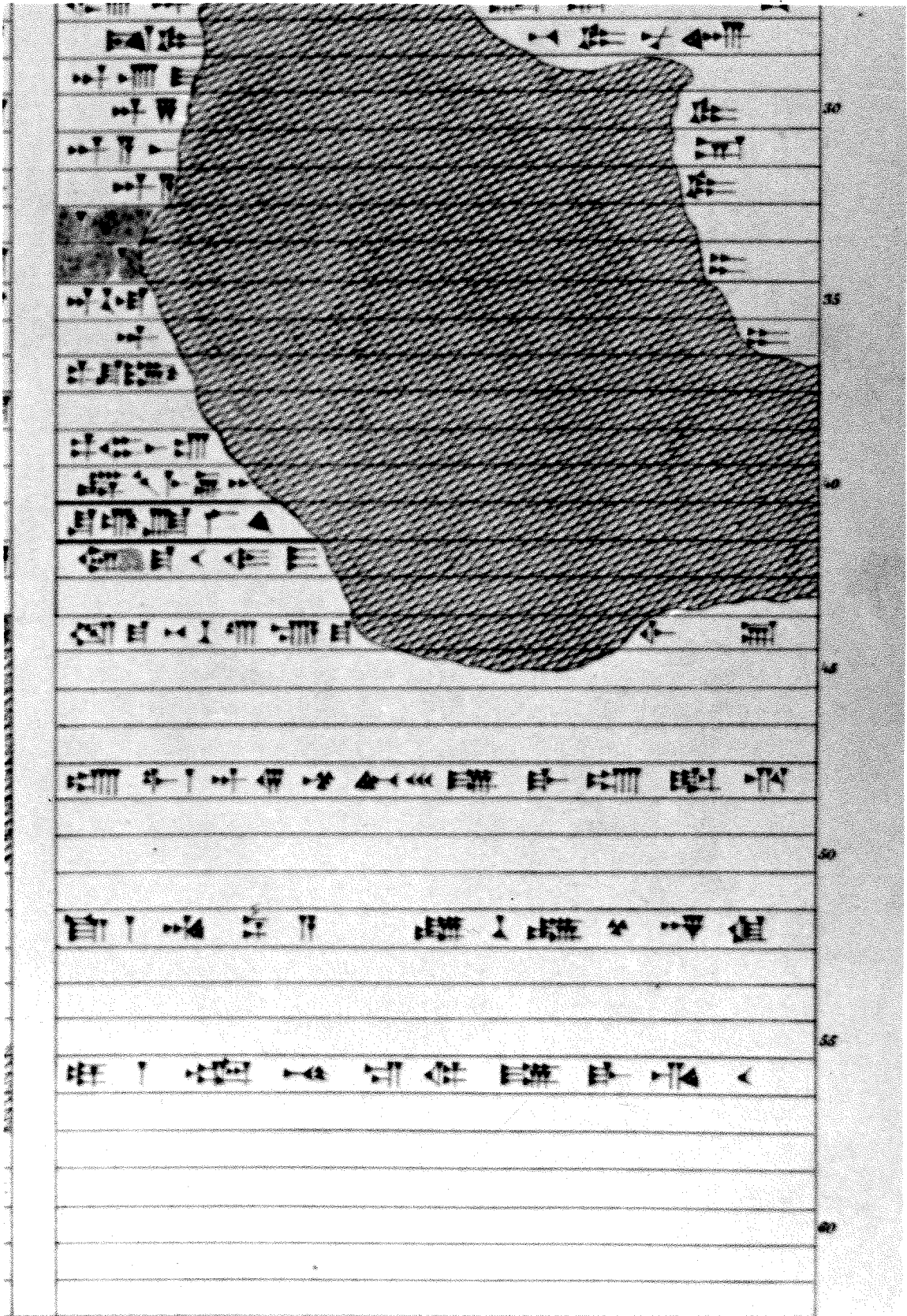
Obverse

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30

Handwritten musical notation on a page with 30 numbered staves. The notation consists of rhythmic symbols and clefs. The page features several large, irregularly shaped areas of diagonal hatching, which appear to be redactions or coverings over parts of the manuscript. The hatching is most prominent in the middle and lower-middle sections of the page.

Reverse





TEXT 3

Rawlinson IV, 9

Introduction

This text vividly describes the attributes of Sîn; it is followed by a poorly preserved prayer. Text 3 is a Sumerian and Akkadian bilingual inscription to the Moon-god. Sjöberg suggests that the original composition of this text must have taken place sometime after the OB period.¹ The date of the copying of this text may be set between 668-633 B.C. since this tablet may have been the property of Ištaršumereš, the chief scribe of Aššurbanipal mentioned on the reverse, lines 22 and 23. These statements probably led Langdon to suggest that this tablet did not belong to the palace library, but it was part of a private collection.²

The cuneiform text followed here is that of H. Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, IV, 9. The text is taken from K.2861+4999+5068+5297.

Translations have been made by Morris Jastrow, The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, II (1898), pp.303-4; E. G. Perry, Hymnen und Gebete an Sin, (1907), pp.1-12; Etienne Combe, Culte de Sin, (1908), pp.94-101; Heinrich Zimmern,

¹Sjöberg, op. cit., p.172.

²Stephen Langdon, Babylonian Penitential Psalms (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927), p.6.

Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete in Auswahl, (1905-1911), pp. 11-12; Robert W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, (1912), pp.141-47; Benno Landsberger in E. Lehmann and H. Haas, Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte, (1922), pp.301-3; Peter Jensen, Keilschriftl. Bibl., VI, pp.90-95; Erich Ebeling in AOT, (1926), pp.241-42; Stephen Langdon, Babylonian Penitential Psalms, (1927), pp.6-11; Ferris J. Stephens in ANET, 2nd. ed. (1955), pp.385-86; and a translation and study especially of the Sumerian lines was made by Åke Sjöberg, Der mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen überlieferung, (1960), pp.169-178.

This text appears to be one of the old liturgical erschemma psalms which was separated from its series and used as a prayer.¹ Langdon suggests that this prayer was used in a ritual for the rebuilding of a temple,² cf. Thureau-Dangin, Rituels Accadiens, 44, 9. Also this hymn was employed at Erech in a festival celebrating the New Year, on the tenth day of month Tešrit, Rituels Accadiens, 98, 10. In the last lines of the hymn, (line 20 rev.), it is called a ŠU.ÍL.LÁ. Undoubtedly this text was composed for employment in the great temple of Šîn at Ur mentioned in line 6.

This text reaches for the literary heights; the mythological concepts attributed to Šîn and nearly perfect idealizations. Though many of the old figures of speech remain, they may show higher spiritual insights. The moon is still likened to a bull, but it is the concept of strength that is

¹Langdon, op. cit., p.6.

²Ibid., p.6.

conveyed. The text describes the moon as a bearded man, but the beard is mentioned in reference to the rays and brilliance of the satellite. The ancient Babylonians shared with their neighbors the belief that the moon affected the tides, the seasons, and vegetation; these notions led the writer to praise the god for his goodness to mankind. It is Sîn who renews energy in the coolness of the night; he gives life and extends mercy to all. Near the end of the text the gods of the heavenly and earthly realms join mankind in worship. Sîn is superior; he follows an independent path in the heavens; no god requires his obedience.

Transliteration

Obverse

1. be-lu₄ e-tel-li DINGIR^{MEŠ}
šá AŠ AN^e u KI^{tim} e-diš-šⁱ-šú šⁱ-i-ru
2. a-bu ^dna-an-nar be-lu₄ an-šár e-tel-li DINGIR^{MEŠ}
3. a-bu ^dna-an-nar be-lu₄ ^da-num GAL^u e-tel-li DINGIR^{MEŠ}
4. a-bu ^dna-an-nar be-lu₄ ^dBÀ e-tel-li DINGIR^{MEŠ}
5. a-bu ^dna-an-nar be-el ú-ri e-tel-li DINGIR^{MEŠ}
6. a-bu ^dna-an-nar be-el É.GIŠ.ŠIR.GAL e-tel-li DINGIR^{MEŠ}
7. a-bu ^dna-an-nar be-lu₄ a-ge-e šu-pu-ú e-tel-li DINGIR^{MEŠ}
8. a-bu ^dna-an-nar šá šar-ru-tam ra-biš
šuk-lu-lu₄ e-tel-li DINGIR^{MEŠ}
9. a-bu ^dna-an-nar šá AŠ te₉-di-iq ru-bu-tú
i-šad-di-ḥu e-tel-li DINGIR^{MEŠ}
10. bu-ru ek-du šá qar-ni kab-ba-ru
šá meš-re-ti šuk-lu-lu₄ ziq-ni uq-ni-i zaq-nu
ku-uz-bu u la-la-a ma-lu-ú
11. en-bu šá AŠ ra-ma-ni-šú ib-ba-nu-u
šⁱ-ḥa gat-ta šá DIŠ nap-lu-si
as-mu la-la-šú la eš-š^e-bu-u

Translation

1. O master, lord of the gods,
who in heaven and earth is exalted alone.
2. Father Nannar, master Anšar, lord of the gods.
3. Father Nannar, great master Anu, lord of the gods.
4. Father Nannar, master Šin, lord of the gods.
5. Father Nannar, master of Ur, lord of the gods.
6. Father Nannar, master of Egišširgal, lord of the gods.

Normalization

Obverse

1. bēlu etelli ilāni
ša ina šamê^e u eršetim^{tim} ēdiššišu sīru
2. abu ^dNannar bēlu Anšar etelli ilāni^{pl}.
3. abu ^dNannar bēlu ^dAnum rabû etelli ilāni^{pl}.
4. abu ^dNannar bēlu ^dSîn etelli ilāni^{pl}.
5. abu ^dNannar bēl Uri etelli ilāni^{pl}.
6. abu ^dNannar bēl Egišširgal etelli ilāni^{pl}.
7. abu ^dNannar bēlu agê šupû etelli ilāni^{pl}.
8. abu ^dNannar ša šarrūtam rabîš šuklulu etelli ilāni^{pl}.
9. abu ^dNannar ša ina tēdiq rubûtu išaddiḫu etelli ilāni^{pl}.
10. būru ekdu ša qarnī kabbaru
ša mešrēti šuklulu ziqnī uqnî zaqnu kuzbu u lalâ malû
11. enbu ša ina ramānīšu ibbanû
ših̄a gatta ša ana naplusi asmu lalâšu lā eššebû

Translation

7. Father Nannar, glorious master of the crown,
lord of the gods.
8. Father Nannar, who is grandly perfected in kingship,
lord of the gods.
9. Father Nannar, who solemnly walks about
in a princely garment, lord of the gods.
10. Ferocious bull, whose horn is thick,
whose limbs are perfected, who is bearded in lapis-lazuli,
and filled with attractiveness and pleasure.
11. The "Fruit" which was self-formed, grown tall in stature,
beautiful to behold, of whose dignity no one becomes tired.

12. ri-i-mu a-lid nap-ḥa-ri
 šá it-ti šik-na-at na-piš-ti šub-tam KÚ^{tim} ra-mu-u
13. [a]bu réme-nu-u ta-a-a-ru
 šá ba-laṭ nap-ḥar ma-a-ti qa-tuš-šú tam-ḥu
14. be-[lu₄] i-lut-ka ki-ma AN^e ru-qu-ti
 tam-tim ra-pa-áš-tam pu-luḥ-tam ma-lat
15. b[a-nu]-u ma-a-ta mu-šar-ši-du eš-re-e-ti
 na-bu-ú šu-me-šú-un
16. a-bu a-lid DINGIR^{MEŠ} u a-me-li
 mu-šar-mu-u šub-tum mu-kin nin-da-bé-e
17. na-bu-ú šar-ru-ti na-din ḥaṭ-ti
 šá šim-ti DIŠ u₄-me ru-qu-ti i-šim-mu
18. a-šá-ri-du ga-áš-ru šá lib-ba-šú ru-ú-qu
 DINGIR mam-man la ut-tu-u
19.la-as-mu šá bir-ka-šú la in-na-ḥa
 mu-pat-tu [ur-ḥi] DINGIR^{MEŠ} at-ḥi-šú
20.šá iš-tu i-šid AN^e DIŠ e-lat
pe-tu-u da-lat AN^e
21. šá-kin n[u-u-ra DIŠ kul]-lat UKÙ.....

Translation

12. Womb that gives birth to all things,
 which dwells in a holy habitation with living creatures.
13. Father, compassionate, forgiving
 who holds in his hand the well-being of the whole land.
14. O Lord, thy divinity is as filled with terror
 as the distant heaven and the vast sea.
15. O creator of the homeland, who establishes sanctuaries,
 giving them their names.

12. rīmu ālid naphari
 ša itti šiknat napišti šubtam elletim^{tim} ramû
13. [a]bu rēmēnû tayyāru ša balāt naphar māti qātuššu tamḥu
14. bē[lu] ilūtka kīma šamê^e rūqūti
 tāmtim rapaštam puluḥtam malāt
15. b[ān]û māta mušarsīdu ešrēti nābû šumēšun
16. abu ālid ilāni^{pl}. u amēlī mušarmû šubtum mukīn nindabê
17. nābû šarrūti nādin ḥaṭṭi ša šīmti ana ūmē rūqūti išimmu
18. ašarīdu gašru ša libbašu rūqu ilu mamman lā uttû
19.lasmu ša birkāšu lā innaḥā
 mupattû [urḥi] ilāni^{pl}. athīšu
20.ša ištu išid šamê^e ana elāt [šamê^e
] pētû dalat šamê^e
21. šākin n[ūra ana kul]lat nišē.....

Translation

16. O father, begetter of gods and men,
 who causeth the founding of shrines
 and establisheth offerings.
17. Namer of kingship, bestower of the scepter which
 determines destiny unto distant days.
18. O mighty prince whose unfathomable heart,
 no one of the gods discerns.
19. Swift.....whose two knees do not tire,
 who reveals the [way] for the gods, his brothers.
20. Who.....from the base of heaven to the heights of heaven
who opens the door of heaven,
21. Who gives li[ght to al]l the people.....

22. a-bu a-lid nap-h[a-ri.....]
23. be-lu₄ pa-ri-is EŠ.BAR AN^e u KI^{tim}
šá qí-bit-su mam-m[an la ú-na-ak-ka-ru]
24. ta-me-eh₅ dGÍR.RI ù me-e mut-tar-ru-ú šik-na-at na-piš-tim
25. a-a-ú DINGIR ma-la-ka im-ši
26. AŠ AN^e man-nu ši-i-ru at-ta e-diš-ši-ka ši-rat
27. AŠ KI^{tim} man-nu ši-i-ru at-ta e-diš-ši-ka [ši-rat]
28. ka-a-ta₅ a-mat-ka AŠ AN^e i-zak-kar-ma
dÍ.GÌ.GÌ ap-pa i-lab-bi-nu
29. ka-a-ta₅ a-mat-ka AŠ KI^{tim} i-za-kar-ma
da-nun-na-ki qaq-qa-ru ú-na-šá-qu
30. ka-a-ta₅ a-mat-ka e-liš ki-ma šá-a-ri
AŠ né-qel-pi-[šá ri]-i-tú u maš-qí-tum ú-da-áš-šá

Translation

22. O father, begetter of a[ll],
23. O Lord, decider of the judgments of heaven and earth,
whose command no one alters.
24. Who controls fire and water, guide of living creatures,
25. What god has equalled thee?
26. Who is exalted in heaven? Thou! Thou alone art exalted.
27. Who is exalted on the earth?
Thou! Thou alone art exalted.

22. abu ālīd naph[ari.....]
23. bēlu pāris purussē šamê^e u eršetim^{tim}
ša qibīssu mamm[an] lā unakkaru
24. tāmeḥ ^dGirri u mē muttarrū šiknat napištī^m
25. ayyu ilu malāka imsi
26. ina šamê^e mannu šīru attā ēdiššīka šīrāt
27. ina eršetim^{tim} mannu šīru attā ēdiššīka [šīrāt]
28. kâta amatka ina šamê^e izzakkarma ^dIgigi appa ilabbinū
29. kâta amatka ina eršetim^{tim} izzakkarma
^dAnunnaki qaqqaru unašša^{qū}
30. kâta amatka eliš kīma šāri
ina neqelpī[ša rī]tu u mašqītum udašša

Translation

28. Thou! When thy word is proclaimed in heaven,
the Igigi prostrate themselves.
29. Thou! When thy word is proclaimed on earth,
the Anunnaki kiss the ground repeatedly.
30. Thou! When thy word drifts along in heaven like the wind,
it causes abundance of pasturage and watering in the land.

Reverse

1. ka-a-ta₅ a-mat-ka AŠ er-se-ti AŠ šá-ka-ni
ur-qí-tum ib-ba-an-ni
2. ka-a-ta₅ a-mat-ka tar-ba-su u su-pu-ru ú-šam-ri
šik-na-at na-piš-ti ú-ra-pa-áš
3. ka-a-ta₅ a-mat-ka kit-tam u mé-sá-ri ú-šab-šá
ni-ši i-ta-mu-u kit-tum
4. ka-a-ta₅ a-mat-ka AN^e ru-qu-ti
KI^{tim} ka-tim-tú šá mam-ma-an la ut-tu-u
5. ka-a-ta₅ a-mat-ka man-nu i-lam-mad man-nu i-šá-na-an
6. be-lu₄ AŠ AN^e be-lu-tam AŠ KI^{tim} e-tel-lu-tam
AŠ DINGIR^{MES} at-ḫi-ka ma-ḫi-ri ul ti-i-ši
7. šar šar-ri šá-q[u-u.....ša] DINGIR-ti-šú DINGIR la maš-lu
8. a-šar en-k[a..... tam]-gu-r[a.....]
9. a-šar ta.....
10. be-lu₄ šu[pu-u.....uš]-te₉-šér uš-te₉-ša
11. É-ka n[ap-lis URU-ka] nap-lis
12. ú-ru na[p-lis É.GIŠ.ŠIR].GAL nap-lis

Translation

1. Thou! When thy word settles upon the soil,
green vegetation is produced.
2. Thou! Thy word makes fat the sheepfold and the stall;
it makes the living creatures numerous.
3. Thou! Thy word causes truth and justice to be,
so that men swear the truth.
4. Thou! Thy word is (like) the distant heaven,
the hidden earth which no one discerns.
5. Thou! Who can comprehend thy word, who can compare?

Reverse

1. kâta amatka ina erṣeti ina ṣakāni urqītum ibbanni
2. kâta amatka tarbāṣu u supūru uṣamri
ṣiknat napiṣti urappaṣ
3. kâta amatka kittam u mēšari uṣabša nišī itammû kittum
4. kâta amatka ṣamê^e rūqūti
erṣetim^{tim} katimtu ṣa mamman lā uttû
5. kâta amatka mannu ilammad mannu iṣannan
6. bēlu ina ṣamê^e bēlūtam ina erṣetim^{tim} etellūtam
ina ilāni^{pl.} athīka māḥiri ul tīšī
7. ṣar ṣarrī ṣaq[û.....ṣa] ilūtīšu ilu lā maṣlu
8. ašar ěnk[a..... tam]gur[a.....]
9. ašar ta.....
10. bēlu šū[pû.....uṣ]tēšer uštēšâ
11. bītka n[aplis ālīka] naplis
12. Uru na[plis Egiššir]gal naplis

Translation

6. O Lord, in heaven dominion, on earth authority,
among the gods, thy brethren, thou hast no rival.
7. King of kings, ex[alted.....whose] divine rank
no god equals.
8. Where thy eye.....thou showest favor to me.
9. Where.....
10. Glorious Lord.....who sees that justice is done,
who helps one proceed.
11. [Look upon thy] house, look upon [thy city],
12. [Lo]ok upon Ur, look upon [Egiššir]gal,

13. hi-ir-tum.....da₄-me-eq-tú be-lu₄ nu-uh liq-bi-ka
 14. et-lu₄.....be-lu₄ nu-uh
 15. d^í.[GÌ.GÌ.....be]-lu₄
 16. d^A-[NUN.NA.KI.....be]-lu₄
 17.
 18. d[.....be-l]u₄
 19. GIŠ^{me}-dil ú.....
 20. ŠU.ÍL.LÁ 40.....
 21. GIM^{ma} TIL-šú šà-tir-ma IGI.KÁR
 22. tup-pi Id^Ištar-MU.KAM^{eš} LÚGAL tup-šar-ri
 23. ša Id^SÁR.DÙ.A LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL KUR Aššurki
 24. DUMU Id^Nabû.NUMUN.SI.SÁ LÚGAL.GI.U

Translation

13. Wife.....favor may say to thee, "Lord, be appeased."
 14. Hero....."Lord, be appeased."
 15. The Igigi....."Lord."
 16. The Anunnaki....."Lord."
 17.
 18. d[....."Lo]rd."

13. ḥīrtum.....dameqtu bēlu nūḥ liqbīka
 14. etlu.....bēlu nūḥ
 15. d_I[gigi.....bē]lu
 16. d_A[nunnaki.....bē]lu
 17.
 18. d[.....bē]lu
 19. iṣmēdil u.....
 20. nīš qāti 40.....
 21. kīma^{ma} labīrīšu šaṭirma bari
 22. ṭuppi IdIštaršumerēš^{eš} amēl-rab-ṭupšarri
 23. ša IdAššurbanipal šar kiššati šar māt Aššur^{ki}
 24. mār IdNabû-zēr-lîšir amēl-rab-pît-uzni

Translation

19. The lock from.....
 20. Lifting of the hand, 40.....
 21. According to its original
 it has been written and collated.
 22. Tablet of Ištaršumerēš, the chief scribe
 23. Of Aššurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria,
 24. Son of Nabûzērîšir, the scholar.

Commentary on Text 3

Obverse

L. 1. Cf. W 17259 w 14: [dUTU.È.TA^dU]TU.ŠÚ.E ZA.E MAH.ME.EN = [ina sīt šamš]i u ereb [šam]ši attāma sīrāti, "Thou art the greatest [from sunrise] to sunset" (Nanna).¹

Bēlu etelli ilāni, "O master, lord of the gods," is an epithet of Nannar used often in the first nine lines of this text. Etellu, "prince, lord" is said of kings, too; note the following examples taken from Seux:² etellu, "lord" (Adad-narari I), KAH, I, 5,2; etellāku, "I am lord" (Esarhaddon), VS, I, 78, obverse 19; etellu gardu, "valiant lord" (Nebuchadnezzar II), CT, 37, pl. 21, 38346, obverse 3.

The epithet etellu or etelletu, which suggests more a meaning "prince" than that of "sovereign, overlord," is applied to the younger generation of gods, such as Šamaš, Marduk, Ninurta, etc., and only rarely to Anu and Enlil. Among humans it refers only to kings, to divine qualities or attributes. The adjectival use is rare; it may have originally been an attributive, as seen in the Sumerian phrase UN.BI Ú.NIR.GAL KÚ.Û.DÈ UN.BI A.NIR.GAL NAG.NAG.DÈ to give his people fine food to eat, to give his people fine water to drink TCL 16 pl. 126:14f.³

Distinguish between ēdiššišu "aloneness" found in this passage and eddešû meaning "constantly renewing itself, ever brilliant." See the commentary on text 2:2. Cf. the translation of line 1 with lines 26 and 27 below.

L. 2. Since the cuneiform text shows free space at the ends of lines 2-9, it is likely that ēdiššišu sīru may be restored here as an abbreviation of the longer expression ša ina šamé u ersetim ēdiššišu sīru.

¹Cf. Sjöberg, op. cit., p.104.

²Seux, Epithètes, p.91.

³CAD, IV, p.383.

With the words abu dNannar, "Father Nannar," compare the commentary on abi ilāni, "Father of the gods," in text 1:2. The writer uses repeated expressions of parentage concerning the Moon-god to show both intimate union and reliance. Notice that Hammurabi in the prologue to the code calls himself: zēr šarrūtīm ša dSîn ibnūšu, "The royal seed whom Sîn created" (II, 13-15).

In lines 2 and 3 of this text, Sîn is identified with Anšar and Anu.¹ After the existence of a moral purpose in the universe had been recognized, a trend toward henotheism was evident. This single purpose which began in the Old Babylonian period could properly be considered as the duty of one deity, rather than the domain of all Mesopotamian deities.² At different times and in various places there were efforts to elevate one god above the others. This was true of Ninurta in Middle Assyrian times, and Nabû sometime later in Assyrian history.³ Moreover, Marduk on a number of occasions was raised above the gods of the pantheon; a hymn to Marduk says: šiptu dSîn ilūtka dAnu malkūtka dDagan bēlūtka dEnlil šarrūtka dAdad gišrūtka dEa eršu hasīsaka,

"Sîn is thy divinity, Anu thy counsel,

Dagan is thy lordship, Enlil thy kingship,

Adad is thy strength, Ea thy wise understanding."⁴

Furthermore see KBo I 12 Vs. 9-12: [d]Sîn dAnu ša

¹Cf. text 2:9.

²W. F. Albright, History, Archaeology, and Christian Humanism (New York: McGraw, 1964), p.68.

³Lambert, BWL, p.19.

⁴KAR 25 ii 3-5.

šamê aplu rabû ša dEnlil [d]Sinnu [4] rešû ša šamê u erseti
[ā]lik pān ilī ahhēšû rubû ša qibīssu [l]ā uttakkaru ilu
namru šūpû etellu,.....

"Šin, Anu of heaven, Enlil's great heir,
 Sinnu, head of heaven and earth.

Who goes before the gods, his brethren,
 The prince, whose command is unchangeable,
 The glorious, radiant god, the noble lord,".....

Finally, note CT xxv 28, K.2115: dŠin dAnu dEnlil, "Šin (is)
 Anu and Enlil."

L. 6. É is followed by the ditto sign or sign for repetition; hence, this line of Akkadian duplicates the name É.GIŠ.SIR.GAL found in the previous line of Sumerian. Egiš-sirgal was the name of the renowned temple of Šin in Ur. Cf. line 12 rev.

L. 7. Bēlu used as a construct even though it is written in the status rectus form. Bēlu agê, "Lord of the crown" is the well known epithet of the Moon-god. According to III R 55 no.3, 21f. and IV r 32, 2b, the waxing moon from the eleventh to fifteenth day of the month was clad with agû tašrihti, "a noble crown"; the appearance of the moon at this time was seen as a "great" or "shining crown."

With šūpû cf. commentary text 2:1, 16. Agû "crown, disk, corona" is from a Sumerian word AGA.

L. 8. Šuklulu is a š stative subjunctive from kalālu "to perfect, to finish, to complete." Kalālu which occurs often in the š form is related to Heb. לְלַמַּד "to complete, to perfect" and B. Aram. Shaphel לְלַמַּד "to complete, to finish."

L. 9. Tēdiq, "garment," from edēqu, "to put on" (a garment, a weapon, etc.) is especially used of "lordly garments" which clothe deities. Concerning the statue of Anunītu the following is written: uddiśma tēdiq ilūti uddiqšū, "I restored and clothed her in a garment (becoming a) deity" (VAB 4 276 iv 27). The next passage applies to Marduk: [UD.IO.KAM] tēdiq bēlūtīšu innandiq inašši melammû, "On the tenth day (Marduk) will be dressed in his lordly garment, he will carry the melammû-splendor" (SBH p.145 ii 3). Cf. TCL VI 51, 41: PALÁ.NAM.UR.A.SA ZALAG.^dSUEN.NA.KE₄ ALAN.BI MU.NI.ÍB.SÛ.SÛ = tēdiq ^dAnūti šarūr ^dSîn nāmiri lānšu ūtallih, "With the dress of An-tum, the shining glory of Sîn, he (Anu) decorates her (Ištar's) figure."

The tēdiq garment is frequently referred to in the religious texts, in the historical inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian period, and in the syllabaries. The tēdiq was oftentimes decorated with small golden bracteates and rosettes in various forms and sizes. These ornaments were sewn fast to woven garments and sometimes to leather and leather-coated objects.¹ Sometimes the designs were embroidered upon the garment with gold thread.

The origin of this form of decoration is obscure. However, some of the oldest evidence points to Elam which is outside of Mesopotamia proper.² These gold adornments were in use in Mesopotamia from as early as the twelfth century. The

¹A. Leo Oppenheim, "The Golden Garments of the Gods," JNES, VIII (1949), 176.

²Ibid., 191.

use of various designs was endowed with special meaning: the rosette was known for its numinous value; the star design was associated with an apotropaic function; also the use of crenelation patterns along with plant and animal motifs had special significance. Garments decorated with gold were endowed with an aura of sacredness; these garments were restricted for the use of the images and the king. No secular use evolved. These golden garments appear as the earthly counterpart to the celestial gods clothed in the star-studded mantle of the sky.¹

These sacred vestments did not disappear. Instead, there was much imitation and widespread use throughout the ancient world. The Sassanian period and later the Byzantine period, carried the oriental influence into medieval Europe. Evidence of the spread of these traditions is witnessed in the coronation mantles of popes, emperors, and kings.²

L. 10. Būru ekdu "ferocious bull" is used as an epithet of the gods especially Sîn,³ Šamaš, and Adad.⁴ Būru represents a young bull just before full maturity, not quite three years old. Three-year-old animals are prominent in the sacrifice described in Genesis 15:9f. Abraham cut in half a three-year-old heifer, a three-year-old she-goat, and a three-year-old ram. It also should be noted that the Sep-

¹Cf. Gaster, Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament, pp.772f.

²Oppenheim, op. cit., 191f.

³For bull representations of Sîn see commentary below (line 10) on zignu, "beard."

⁴Von Soden, A Hw, II, p.141.

tuagint and Syriac versions¹ of I Samuel 1:24 state that instead of three bulls, one three-year-old bull was brought to the sanctuary by Hannah at the dedication of Samuel. Speiser wrote concerning this problem:

Obviously, therefore, the consonantal signs pr̄mšlš had been resolved erroneously into pārīm šelōšā instead of pār mēšullaš. The reason for the wrong division must lie in the comparative obscurity, in post-biblical times, of the idiom which involved the use of the multiplicative adjective for an elliptical reference to age.²

The importance of the three-year-old sacrificial animal is also stressed in the Talmud³ and in a Hittite ritual.⁴

It appears strange that mention is made here of the perfection and beauty of the limbs of the god. In Sumerian literature there are a number of passages emphasizing the same motif found in this line: UŠUM Á.ÚR.SA₆ NITA USU.GAL. [TUKU], "Dragon with beautiful limbs, man who [possesses] great strength" (HAV 5,8); and A.ÚR.SÁ.SÁ.MU, "My (god), who (possesses) extremely beautiful limbs" Martu (UMBS x² 3,7).⁵ The Babylonians believed that they could be invigorated by embracing the feet of a deity; compare lullik šēp bēltiya lusbatma (!) lublut, "Would that I could go and grasp the foot of my Lady (Aja) and get well" (CT 6 21b:12).⁶

¹S. R. Driver, Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), pp.20f.

²E. A. Speiser, "The Nuzi Tablets Solve a Puzzle in the Books of Samuel," BASOR, LXXII (1938), 15.

³Mishnah, Parah 1,1.

⁴KUB xxx.15, vs.26; cf. Gaster, Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament, p.156.

⁵Sjöberg, op. cit., p.173.

⁶Cf. CAD, II, p.55.

Ziqnī, a dual form¹ from ziquu, "beard," probably refers to the image which is decorated with a beard which (shines like) lapis-lazuli. The following bilingual quotation shows similar use: SU₆.NUN.NA.ZA.GIN.NA A.RI.A: ziquu rubê ša rihûtu elletu rahû, (Sum.), "Decorated with a princely beard of lapis lazuli"; (Akk.), "A princely beard, produced by a holy masculinity" (Lugale I 10).² These descriptions are beautifully portrayed by a number of lyres found in the royal cemetery at Ur. The sound-boxes of some of these lyres were decorated with a golden head of a bull with a lapis-lazuli beard.³

Ziquu sometimes refers to the rays of light radiating from heavenly bodies as in the following example: mušahmit ziqnat urri, "(Šamaš) who makes glow the beard of light" (Lambert BWL 126:18). Similar descriptions are attributed to Ištar and the planet Venus: akī dAššur ziqnī zaqnat, "(Ištar) has a beard like Aššur" (Craig ABRT I 7:6); ina KÁ.DINGIR. RAKI ziqn[a zaqnāku], "In Babylon I (Nanā) [have a] beard" (LKA 37:3); and naphat u SU₆ È.ÁT, "(If Venus) is bright and has a beard" (A Ch. Supp.2 Istar 50 i 14). In star lore outside of Mesopotamia note the reference to a small constellation called Berenice's Hair which is north of Virgo and between Boötes and Leo.⁴

¹For dual forms of ziquu, see CAD, XXI, pp.125f.

²Cf. CAD, XXI, p.125.

³C. L. Woolley, Ur Excavations: The Royal Cemetery, II, Plates (Oxford: University Press, 1934), pls.107-10.

⁴Alexander H. Krappe, The Science of Folk-Lore (New York: L. MacVeagh, 1930), p.263.

The words kuzbu and lalâ may mean "fullness" and "abundance"; however, these words may have a sexual connotation as demonstrated in the translation of the passage kuzbu u lalâ malû, "Filled with attractiveness and pleasure." Compare the following passage and the translation: ina ⁱs_elippi ÍD.HÉ.DU₇ ša kuzba zānātu lalâ malātu, "In the boat (called) ÍD.HÉ.DU₇, which is overlaid with attractiveness, filled with pleasure" (VAB 4 160:36 (N bk.)).¹ Furthermore, lalû may sometimes mean "charm."² In this line Nannar is likened to a powerful young bull as a symbol of virility and sexual potency.

L. 11. Enbu "fruit, offspring, attractiveness" is here used as an epithet of Šin, the "Fruit." The following is taken from 4R32 ii 3: enūma arhu agâ tašrihti našû enbu hadû šarru ina mūši nindabāšu ana Šin ukân. The translation of this passage is taken from CAD, VII, p.146: "When the new moon wears a resplendent crown and the 'Fruit' is joyful, the king will make his food-offering to Šin at night." Other passages referring to the moon are the following: DUB 8.KAM GURUN bēl arhim, "Eighth tablet of the series 'The Fruit, lord of the new moon'" (4 R 33 iv 13); cf. ina libbi GURUN bēl arhi šatir, "It is written in (the series) 'the Fruit, lord of the new moon'" (ABL 362 r.7). In the next passage enbu is written with the DINGIR-sign: ^dInbi innadirma, "The 'Fruit' was eclipsed" (YOS) 1 45 i 9). Enbu can refer to sexual attractiveness and power just as kuzbu and lalû in line 10; cf. CAD, VII, pp.14f. The meta-

¹CAD, XXI, p.48.

²Moshe Held, "A Faithful Lover in an Old Babylonian Dialogue," JCS, XV (1961), 17.

phor of the self-creating "Fruit" aptly represents the increase of the moon.

L. 13. Tayyāru is difficult to translate: Langdon¹ and Jastrow² translate "forgiving." Stephens translates the Akkadian by the word "forgiving"; he renders the Sumerian with "merciful in his disposing."³

L. 14. Ilūtka, "thy divinity," in this line may be compared with the following: ša ilūssa lā iššannanu, "Whose divine power cannot be equalled" (YOS 9, 35 i 26). Puluhtu⁴ is usually used in reference to human fear. In this regard note this quotation concerning human fear: kī lā pālih iliya u dištariya anāku epšēk, "I am treated as one who does not fear my god and my goddess" (STC II, pl.76, 68).

L. 15. Eširtu, "sanctuary," is often used in parallelism with ekurru, "temple," and ekal ilī, "temple." Mušarsīdu ešrēti, "Who establishes sanctuaries" is ascribed to Šin. Without using the exact words found in this text, similar benefits are attributed to various deities. It is said of Marduk: mušēšib ālāni mukīn māhāzī pāqid ešrēt ilāni kalīšina, "(He) resettles cities, establishes cult centers, provides for the sanctuaries of all gods" (Unger Bel-harran-beli-ussur 2); and in another passage: [pu]qqudu ešrēti uddušu māhāzī, "To provide for sanctuaries, to rebuild cult

¹Langdon, op. cit., p.7.

²Jastrow, op. cit., p.303.

³Stephens, op. cit., p.385, n.3.

⁴See A. Leo Oppenheim, "Akkadian pul(u)h(t)u and melammu," JAOS, OXIII (1943), 31-34.

centers" (PSBA 20 156:24).

The giving of a šumu, "name" brings something into existence. Cf. En.el. I, 8: Šuma lā zukurū, "They had not yet been created." Again in En.el. I, 2 it is stated: šapliš ammatum šuma lā zakrat, "Below the firm earth had not been called by name, i.e. had not existed." In praise to Ištar the poet said: ēkiam lā šumki, "Where is not your name?"¹ In this passage šumu, "name," has the meaning of "existence." Moreover, Psalm 135:13 expresses the same idea: $\text{אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם}$

$\text{אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם}$, "Yahweh, your name is forever."² Likewise, the Scriptures present a similar concept in Genesis 2:20: $\text{וַיִּקְרָא אָדָם שְׂמֵי הַבְּהֵמָה וְשְׂמֵי הַצִּבְּרֹת}$, "And Adam gave names."

To know the name of an individual is the same as to know his essence. It is to be understood that the name is the soul. The name is the designation of character or hoped for character. To the Semitic way of thinking, the name represents the person.³ It was believed that God was present in a special way wherever the "Name of Yahweh" was placed.⁴ Deuteronomy 12:5 emphasized the fact that God chose Jerusalem that his name may dwell there. This formula or a shortened version occurs no less than twenty times in Deuteronomy. Moreover, it was to the name of Yahweh that Solomon built the temple.⁵ Jeremiah said that the day will come when multitudes

¹STC, II, pl.76, 15.

²Cf. Ps. 72:17

³Johs. Pedersen, Israel, Its Life and Culture, I (London: Milford, 1926-1940), p.245.

⁴Ibid.

⁵I Kings 8:17, 20, 29.

will go up to the name or presence of Yahweh at Jerusalem.¹

Much that may be said about the "name" is true also of the term תִּכְבֹּד , "glory." There is especially a similarity where both terms present the underlying belief in the personal presence of Yahweh on earth.² This use of תִּכְבֹּד is best illustrated by Exodus 40:34: $\text{וַיִּמְלֵא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הַמִּטְבֵּעַ וְהַכְּבוֹד מְלֵא אֶת-הַמִּטְבֵּעַ}$, "And the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle."

L. 16. Abu ālid ilāni^{pl}. u amēlī, "O father, begetter of gods and men" is a close parallel to text 1:2: abi ilāni^{pl}. [u amē]lūtum, "Father of the gods [and man]kind." Cf. text 1:2 commentary.

Mukīn nindabē, "causeth the establishing of offerings," is used here as an epithet of $\hat{\text{S}}\hat{\text{i}}\hat{\text{n}}$; this same epithet is often used in reference to the king. Seux³ gives the following examples: mukīn nidbē (Nabonidus), RA, XXII (1925), p.58, I, 23; mukīn nindabē (Esarhaddon), Borger, Ash., par. 63, obv. 8; mukīn nindabē (Aššurnasirpal I), ZA, V (1890), 66 and 79, 19 (a prayer to Ištar of Nineveh).

L. 17. This line is difficult to translate: nābū šarrūti nādin hattī ša šīmti ana ūmē rūqūti išimmu. Langdon translates: "He that chooses for kingship, giver of the scepter, who decrees destiny unto faraway days."⁴ Perry renders line 17 thus: "Der zum Königtum beruft, das Zepter verleiht,

¹Jer. 3:17.

²Pedersen, op. cit., p.246.

³Seux, Epithètes, p.133.

⁴Langdon, Babylonian Penitential Psalms, p.8, 1.34; cf. Stephens, ANET, p.385.

der das Schicksal auf ferne Tage hinaus bestimmt!"¹ It is possible to render this passage as follows: "Namer of kingship, bestower of the scepter which determines destiny unto distant days." The latter translation gives hattu, "scepter," an active sense. Note the similar emphasis in the following: ina hattaka siri mukin palluki šamê u ersetim, "Through thy (Nabû's) sublime scepter which establishes the borderlines between heaven and earth" (5 R 66 ii 14, Antiochus Soter). In the preceding passage the scepter has power within itself; it is almost a separate entity. Also compare: išhattu išartu murappišat māti, "The just scepter that enlarges the country" (OIP 2 117:5).

Cf. hattu, "scepter," with Ugaritic ht, "staff, scepter." The scepter was one of the distinguishing marks of authority; it was one of the standard elements in the insignia of the king. The expression nādin hattī, "Bestower of the scepter," is repeated a number of times: AGA GIŠ.GU.ZA GIŠ.PA NAM.LUGAL SUM.MU INANNA ZA.KAM: agām kussām hattam ana šarrim nadānum kummaki, "It is thine, Inanna, to give the crown, the throne, (and) the scepter to the king" (IM 51554 r.7); and [GIŠ]GU.ZA GIŠ.GAR.PA BAL.A: nādin ištattu kussû u palâ, "Who gives scepter, throne, and BAL-symbol" (TCL 6 53:7f.).

The scepter may be used as a symbol of kingship: bēlum simat hattim u agim, "The lord invested with scepter and crown" (CH iii 25), and passim with this meaning. Also,

¹Perry, Hymnen, p.5; cf. Ebeling, AOT, p.241.

the scepter may be a synonym for rule: Šamaš iṣhattašu līrik, "May Šamaš lengthen his rule" (CH xlii 14), and passim with this meaning.

A righteous scepter is mentioned frequently in Akkadian. Below are a few examples: ina ešarte iṣhattika mātkā rappiṣ, "Widen your land with thy just scepter!" (KAR 135 ii 12); iṣhattu iṣartu murappiṣat māti, "The just scepter that enlarges the country" (OIP 2 117:5); and iṣhatti iṣarti kussû darû, "A righteous scepter, an enduring throne" (ABL 260:5). The concept of a just scepter is found in Ps. 45:7:

וְיִשָּׁטֵט בְּיָדְךָ מִשְׁכָּבְךָ וְיִשָּׁטֵט בְּיָדְךָ מִשְׁכָּבְךָ, "Thy royal scepter is a just scepter."

The term šīmtu, "fate," suggests the "nature" which is given to every individual at birth. The king or a private citizen, a country or a city, or even a tree may be endued with šīmtu originating from some cosmic power or order. Often šīmtu is translated by the Assyriologist as "destiny" or "fate"; these translations bear connotations that may be misleading. Generally, šīmtu speaks of a disposition originating from a source of power able to confer rights and executive powers. Thus, the gods give the king power, understanding, and good fortune; in turn the king designates administrative power to his officers, assigns offerings to the temples, and sets apart farmland for the cities; and thus the individual may will his property to his sons and heirs. In Babylonian religion the šīmtu connotes the allotting or disposition to each individual a definite share of fortune and misfortune. As a result, the order of events and the length of days are

disposed by an anonymous power that has ordained his šimtu.¹

Moreover, the Babylonians said that Nabû, the divine scribe kept a Book of Fate. Similar ideas prevailed elsewhere in the Ancient Near East:

Among the Hittites, the goddesses who presided over individual destinies were called Gulses, a name which is probably to be derived from the verb GUL-, "write, inscribe." Similarly, both the Roman Parcae and the Teutonic Norns are said to have kept a written record of men's fates, the latter being sometimes designated Die Schreiberinnen. In the same vein, too, Tertullian tells us that at the conclusion of a child's first week of life, prayers were offered to Fata Scribunda.²

L. 18. Cf. ašaridu, "foremost, leader" with text 1:3 commentary.

With libbašu rûgu, "his unfathomable mind," cf. libbu rapšu, "intelligent, understanding heart."³ Successive and regular transformations lent Šin a certain mystery. For this reason he was considered to be one whose deep heart no god can penetrate. The heart and mind of Šin are incomprehensible to the gods. A similar gap exists between Yahweh and mankind:

כִּי לֹא מַחְשְׁבוֹתַי כְּמַחְשְׁבוֹתַיְכֶם וְלֹא דַרְכֵי יְהוָה כְּדַרְכֵיכֶם
 יְהוָה וְהֵן יְהוָה, "For my thoughts are not your

thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, said the Lord."⁴

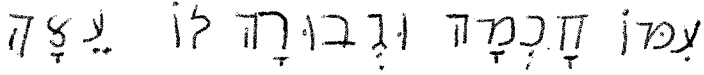
The prophet continues by painting a picture in contrast stating that the thought and ways of God are higher than that of

¹See Giuseppe Furlani, La religione babilonese e assira, II (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1928-29), pp.87-97.

²Gaster, Myth, Legend and Custom in the Old Testament, p.764.

³A. Leo Oppenheim, "Idiomatic Accadian," JAOS, LXI (1941), 266.

⁴Isa. 55:8.

men. Cf. Job 12:13:  וְיָחִי עִי, "With him is wisdom and might, he hath counsel and understanding."

L. 19. Langdon restores agālu, (an equid), at the beginning of the line.¹ According to the cuneiform text, there appears to be room for two signs before lasmu: mu-ru, muru, "colt," is a possibility. For the restoration urhi, cf. the Istar Hymn K.3447,8: šēru ša urhāti upattû.

In ancient Mesopotamia one might tell how he feels by making reference to the condition of his knees. Poor health may be characterized by stiffness, paralysis, and tiredness of the knees. Good health and enduring strength are depicted by swift, tireless knees. Ša birkāšu lā innahā, "Whose two knees do not tire" and almost identical lines are found elsewhere in Akkadian literature: ša lā innahū birkāšu, "(Bunene) whose two knees do not tire out" (VAB 4 260 ii 34); and ul ānihā šēpāki lāsīmā birkāki, "Untiring are your feet, fast are your knees" (STC 2 pl. 77:29).

L. 20. Išid šamê^e, lit. "base of heaven" may be translated "horizon"; this expression can refer to the rising and setting of the sun or moon:² dŠamaš ina išid šamê tappuhamma, "Thou, Šamaš, hast risen on the horizon" (4R 20 No.2:1f). In a similar manner elât šamê depicts the "zenith" of the sun or moon: ištu išid šamê ana elât šamê adāšunu utaddûnu, "Their daily tasks were assigned (to them) from the base of heaven

¹Langdon, Babylonian Penitential Psalms, 8, 39.

²See CAD, VII, pp.235ff.

up to the heights of heaven" (TCL 6 51 r.5f.).

Langdon restores šamê ittalakū nūrīšu.¹ Sjöberg reads the parallel Sumerian line: GIŠIG.AN.NA DA.[MA].AL.LA, literally, "Make wide the door of heaven."² It is also said of Šamaš: dalat šamê taptâ, "Thou openest the door of heaven" (4R 20 No.2:5f.). This expression possibly refers to the rising of the sun and the moon in the heavens. When Jacob was filled with awe at Bethel, he said, "This is the gate of heaven."³ Simeon Singer in the Authorized Daily Prayer Book, p.96, mentions the opening of the gates of heaven in an evening prayer.

L. 21. The restoration of this line may be aided by reference to the following lines: kullat nišê at[tâ], cf. Craig I, 13,12; and cf. Ebeling I, 25,3: ina nūrīka kullassina mātāti.⁴ Cf. the restoration given for line 21 with Perry, Hymnen, p.2. The restoration by Perry must be based upon a comparison with parallel lines in Sumerian. Langdon suggests the restoration n[ūra ana kiš]šat.

Cf. text 1:3 commentary.

L. 22. Langdon restores nap[har šiknat napištim ina amārīka hadâ nišê rapšātim nūraka ište'u].⁵

L. 23. One expects at the end of this line some form of nakāru "to alter, to dispute" since it is used frequently

¹Langdon, op. cit., 8,42.

²Sjöberg, Mondgott, p.176.

³Gen. 28:17; cf. Ps. 78:23; Job 38:10.

⁴Weir, Lexicon, pp.156-57. ⁵Langdon, op. cit., 8, 45.

in reference to altering a command. Cf. Schollmeyer 110,6:
ša qibīssu lā uttakkarū. Also compare Perry, Hymnen, p.2.

Concerning the covenant of God it is written: אֲנִי לֹא אֶשְׁבֹּת אֶת בְּרִיתִי וְאֶשְׁאַל אֶת שְׂמִי, "I will not violate my covenant, nor alter the word that went forth from my lips."¹ Moreover, the commands and decrees of royalty were not to be altered: עַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמַע וְיִתֵּן אֶת הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה, "Now, O king, establish the decree and sign the document, so that it cannot be changed."²

L. 24. Cf. tāmeḥ, "Who holds," with tamhu in line 13.

Cf. dGirri with text 2:6 commentary.

Tāmeḥ dGirri u mē, "Who controls fire and water," probably refers to magical power wielded by Sîn. See also the following quotation attributed to Sîn: ana miqit mē u iṣāti liddīkīma (Maqlû III, 101). The Chinese recognized that the moon affected the tides. The moon was the embodiment of the female principle called Yin which influenced the earth, water, darkness, and the female sex.³ Both fire and water were believed to be primal substances with unusual powers. Fire was used in magical practice: kī ša salmu ša iškuri ina iṣāti iṣarrapūni....kī hannê lānkunu ina girri liqmû, "As they burn this figurine of wax in the fire, so may they burn your body" (Wiseman Treaties 608 and 610). Also, water was a very powerful substance. If a man had a "dark" dream, he

¹Ps. 89:35.

²Dan. 6:9.

³N. B. Dennys, The Folklore of China (London: Truebner, 1876), p.118.

cast a lump of clay into the water. The lump of clay dissolved and the misfortune departed.¹

The belief that water is the primordial substance was not limited to the Hebrews and Babylonians; it is found among many peoples.² Primal water was pure, therefore, it possessed special properties and magical power. Flowing water appeared to be animate; it could roar or gurgle. Water was filled with special wisdom.³ Holy water may also be called "living water" or the "water of life" which brings fruitfulness and prosperity. Water produced fertility in the fields by rainfall, spring water, and floods. Countless stories speak of water that restores vitality, that imparts youth. Purifications by water were performed in ancient Egypt as well as in Roman Catholic rituals. Holy water delivered the one sprinkled from all types of evil. And in baptism, it was believed by many that water drove Satan away and infused everlasting life.⁴

Fire occupies a place between the powers of heaven and earth.⁵ Though heaven be a source of fire, yet it is man who kindles fire and supplies it. In ancient Rome the power of fire, especially the hearth fire, was the object in family worship. The living power of fire protects against evil.

¹Oppenheim, Dreambook, pp. 301-3.

²Gaster, Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament, p.3.

³Ibid., p.4.

⁴G. van der Leeuw, Religion in Essence and Manifestation, translated by J. E. Turner, I (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp.59f.

⁵Ibid., p.60.

Holy fire along with water was a great power for purification. Such a fire was the baptism with fire proclaimed by John the Baptist.¹

L. 24. Šiknat napištīm, "living creatures," cf. line 12 and line 2 rev.

L. 25. Cf. text 2:19 and commentary.

Lines 26-27. Instead of sīrat one might expect the stative 2 m.s. sīrāta, "Thou art exalted." However, the ending -āt is used in some dialects including rarely the Neo-Assyrian.²

Cf. to these lines the similar concepts and parallelism of heaven and earth given in Psalm 57:6, 12:

יְהוָה יִשְׁבַּח עַל-כָּל-עַלְמֵי-שָׁמַיִם
יְהוָה יִשְׁבַּח עַל-כָּל-עַלְמֵי-אָרֶץ

"Be exalted, O God, above the heavens! Let thy glory be over all the earth!" With attā ēdiššīka sīrāt, "Thou! Thou alone art exalted." Compare the following Bible passage:

יָדַעְתִּי כִּי-גָדוֹל יְהוָה מִכָּל-אֱלֹהִים
יָדַעְתִּי כִּי-גָדוֹל יְהוָה מִכָּל-אֱלֹהִים

"I know that greater is Yahweh than all gods."³

L. 28. The Akkadian has appa ilabbinū, "(The Igigi) prostrate themselves;" the Sumerian counterpart has KA.ŠU.GÁL, lit. "to keep the hand at the mouth/at the nose." This expression refers to a typical gesture in prayer of the Babylonians. The Akkadian translation appa ilabbinū suggests another prayer-gesture, namely, falling down before the god.⁴ A

¹Mt. 3:11.

²Von Soden, op. cit., par.75b.

³Ex. 18:11; cf. Pss. 97:9; 135:5.

⁴Sjöberg, Mondgott, p.177.

similar concept is expressed by the following: kī ša.....
appi lā enū sukinni lā amru, "Like one who has not humbled
 (?) himself (lit.: who has not changed nose), who has not
 practiced prostrations" (Lambert BWL 38:14 Ludlul).¹

Appu is sometimes used meaning "countenance"; note
 the following: quddud appašu, "His countenance was fallen"
 (Descent II, 1). Similarly šūn, "his nose," is written
 in Psalm 10:4 referring to "a proud countenance." The use
 of the Hebrew word שׁוֹן differs from the Akkadian in that it
 is often used to express divine or human anger, while appar-
 ently appu does not express such a concept.

Lines 28-30. Here is a parallelism of heaven and
 earth; also a parallelism of the Igigi and the Anunnaki trem-
 bling and worshipping before Šin. Almost immediately after
 these lines there is mention of abundance, prosperity, and
 judgment from the god. A similar parallelism is evident in
 these two quotations: šumma ina dIgigi a'u māhirki šumma ina
dAnunnaki ali šāninki,² "Whether among the Igigi, who is thy
 rival, or among the Anunnaki, where is thy competitor?" And
 more fully: dAnum dEnlil u dEa ullūki ina ilī ušarbū bēlūtki
ušasūki ina naphar dIgigi ušātirū manzazki ana hissat šumēki
šamē u eršetim irubbū ilū irūbū inarrutū Anunnaki.³ "Anu,
 Enlil, and Ea have elevated thee; among the gods thy lordship
 is made great. They caused thee to be exalted among all the
 Igigi; they caused thy position to be pre-eminent. At the

¹Cf. CAD, I, Part 2, p.187.

²KAR 250, 11-12

³STC II, pl.76, 18-21.

mention of thy name heaven and earth quake. The gods quake; the Anunnaki tremble."¹

Amatu, "word, utterance," occurs from O. Akk. times on.² Amatka, "Thy word" said of Sîn, is very powerful in heaven and earth. Similar epithets are attributed to other members of the pantheon: E.NE.EM.ZU.ŠU AN.SU.UD.DA IM.BI NE.MA.AB.BI.GAM.AM = ina amatika šamû ruqûtu ramānīšunu imātū, "At thy word the distant heavens tremble of themselves" (Enlil, SBP 124: 19f.; cf. Nabu, BL 65:2, K.3238);³ and ina samê.....qibītika sīrat ina Ešarra šurruhat amatka, "Thy order is supreme in heaven, thy command outstanding in Ešarra" (KAR 58:29).⁴ Likewise, the power of the command by King Aššurnasirpal is irresistible: šarru ša qibīt pišu ušhar-matu šadê u tāmāte, "As for the king, the word of whose mouth destroys mountains and seas" (AKA 218f.).⁵ Sometimes the amatu of gods and kings is found in the same passage: ina amat illi u šarri lišallimūka, "May they keep you safe upon the command of god and king" (JRAS 1920, 567 K.2279-rev. 6).⁶

The word of Sîn is here used as an hypostasis. The divine word is endowed with real existence and thus could be considered as an independent being. In Enuma Elis IV: 19-30, Marduk demonstrates the power of his word by destroying a garment and restoring it. The gods witness this exploit in

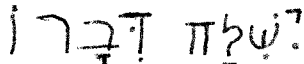

¹Cf. Ex. 15:11; Ps. 89:7. ²CAD, I, Part 2, p.29.

³Engnell, Divine Kingship, p.179.

⁴CAD, I, Part 2, p.35. ⁵Engnell, op. cit., p.179.

⁶CAD, I, Part 2, p.36.

their assembly and declare Marduk king.¹ Thus the word is considered as something concrete, which, having been spoken by the deity, attains separate existence.²

As in the Akkadian texts, there is in the Old Testament the hypostatization of the Divine Word. The references to hypostatization of the Word of God are not always as clear as those passages speaking of Wisdom. The Divine Word, working independently, is apparently separate from God and yet emanating from Him.³ The familiar passage in Isaiah 55:10-11 describes how the Word spoken by God does not return until its work has been accomplished. Similarly the Word is represented as a divine agent in Psalm 107:20a: , "He sent forth His word, and healed them"; and in Psalm 147:15: , "He sends forth His commandment to the earth; His word runs swiftly."

During the Hellenistic period a new emphasis was placed on the transcendence of God. To remove God from direct contact with the world there is more frequent reference to angelic intervention, and "Wisdom" and "Word" are personified as divine agents.⁴ Next Philo made the Word or Logos the intermediary between God and the world. Philo in his per-

¹Alexander Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p.37.

²Helmer Ringgren, Word and Wisdom (Lund: H. Ohlsons, 1947), pp.67-68.

³Ibid., p.157.

⁴J. N. Sanders, "Word," IDB, IV, 868.

sonification of the Logos writes much that suggests John, yet it is debatable whether Philo gives a close link between the wisdom literature and John.¹ Surely John goes beyond the personifications of Philo when he states that the Word became flesh--a concept which Philo probably would have opposed.²

dIgigi appa ilabbinū, "The Igigi prostrate themselves." The Igigi are described thus: Igigi ilūtum āšibū šamê dAnim, "Oh Igigi, high (gods) who dwell in the heaven of Anu."³ Irnini is called rabīt Igigi, "princess of the spirits of heaven." The Igigi represent the Babylonian gods of the upper regions; their total number according to IV R 60, 32 is six hundred.⁴ Langdon suggests that i-gi-gi is probably for IÁ, "five," and GIŠ plus GIŠ equals sixty plus sixty. The product is five times one hundred-twenty, or six hundred.⁵

L. 29. dAnunnaki qaqqaru unāssaqū, "The Anunnaki kiss the ground repeatedly." The translation stresses the repetitive action suggested by the D stem of the verb našāqu, "to kiss." The name, Anunnaki, is of Sumerian origin. The chief duties of the Anunnaki are to found cities, to erect sanctuaries of the gods, to establish thrones of the kings, and to rule over canals, rivers, and roads. The Anunnaki are

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.; cf. George B. Stevens, The Johannine Theology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), pp.74-101.

³ Erica Reiner, "Lipsur-Litanies," JNES, XV, (1956), 135, l.67.

⁴ E. Douglas Van Buren, The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams (Berlin: Hans Schoetz, 1933), pp.19ff.

⁵ Deimel, P. Anton, Pantheon Babylonicum (Roma: Pontificii Institute Biblici, 1914), pp.139f.

deities of the lower world; their number is difficult to determine.¹ The number seven, probably meaning a much larger number, is used of the Anunnaki judges of the underworld. In the lower world, the number of the Anunnaki is said to be fifty. Elsewhere, the Anunnaki of heaven total three hundred and the Anunnaki of earth number six hundred.²

L. 30. Neqelpi[ša rī]tam is restored by Langdon.³

Šaru, "wind," is possibly related to the Hebrew words רעש, "storm," and רעם, "tempest"; however, the element of doubt arises, since the normal a to e shift in Akkadian representing the original Semitic y does not occur here.

Reverse

L. 1. Kāta amatka ina erseti ina šakani urqitum ibanni, "Thou! When thy word settles upon the soil green vegetation is produced." Many people believe that the waxing and the waning of the moon affects the growth of all things. In Deuteronomy 33:14 it is said that both the sun and moon influence the fertility of the soil: וְיָבִיא לָנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיָבִיא לָנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ, "With the choicest fruits of the sun, and the rich yield of the moons." In English folklore country people say that pigs should not be killed in the decrease of the moon, or the meat will shrink. In some districts seeds were planted so that the young plants would grow up with the waxing of the moon.⁴ In Pennsylvania, a farmer

¹Reiner, op. cit., 135, lines 68-69.

²Van Buren, op. cit., pp.19ff.

³Langdon, op. cit., p.9, 1.62.

⁴Christine Hole, English Folklore (London: B. T. Batsford, 1940), p.64.

informed this writer that his father planted hops seeds during the waning of the moon against the unsolicited advice of his neighbors. It was observed that the seeds sprouted but the vines did not climb and entwine around the pole that was to support them.

L. 2. rev. Cf. tarbašī lirpiš lištamdilu supurī, "May my sheepfold be wide; may my stable be enlarged."¹ Tarbasu, from rabāsu "to lie down," here means "fold" or "sheepfold." Compare 𐤔 𐤁 𐤏 𐤏 in Zephaniah 2:15: 𐤔 𐤁 𐤏 𐤏 𐤏 𐤏 𐤏 𐤏 , "resting place for beasts"; note also Ezekiel 25:5: 𐤓 𐤏 𐤔 𐤁 𐤏 𐤏 , "for a resting place for flocks." Šiknat napišti, "living creatures"; cf. line 12 and line 24.

L. 3 rev. Stephens translates nišī itammû kittum, "So that people speak the truth."² However, tamû means, "to swear"; it is better to translate, "So that people swear the truth."³ Because Šîn illuminated the night he became the enemy of evildoers whose criminal enterprises were favored by darkness.

L. 4. rev. Cf. line 18 note.

For the thought expressed in this line cf. Isaiah 55:9; 40:13ff.

Lines 5-7 rev. Cf. lines 25-27 and text 2:19 note.

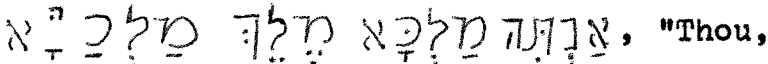
L. 7 rev. Langdon restores ša[qu] ša parsešu manman

¹ STC II, pl.82,90.

² Stephens, ANET, p.386.

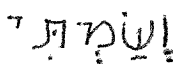
³ Moshe Held, "A Faithful Lover in an Old Babylonian Dialogue," JCS, XV (1961), 23; cf. 1:24 note.

lā erīsu; cf. RA 11, 150, 45; 12, 83, 53.¹

Šar šarrī, "king of kings," is a familiar epithet of the gods written syllabically here. More frequently this epithet is written logographically: LUGAL.LUGAL = šar šarrāni, said of Enlil (PSBA, 1912, 1537); LUGAL.LUGAL.LUGAL = šar šarrāni (King 62, 31); and LUGAL.LUGAL^{MES} = šar šarrāni^{Pl.} (Ebeling, MVG 16, 32 var.). In Daniel 2:37 there is a similar expression: , "Thou, O king, the king of kings." Revelation 17:14 has the following: *ὅτι Κύριος Κυρίων ἐστὶν καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων* "For He is Lord of lords and King of kings."²

Mašlu from the verb mašālu, "to equal," in the sense of resembling or being like someone. Compare the verb šanānu, "to equal," with the meaning "to rival, to compare with"; cf. line 5.

L. 8 rev. Cf. lines 11 and 12 rev.

Landsberger translates this broken line thus: "Wohin immer dein Au[ge gnadig hinblickte,.....] war günstig."³ Sjöberg reads the Sumerian counterpart thus: "Wohin du deinen Blick erhebst.....ist Gunst."⁴ In the Bible there is frequent mention of finding favor in the eyes of God or in the eyes of some person. In this regard note Jeremiah 24:6a:  "I will set my eyes upon them for good."


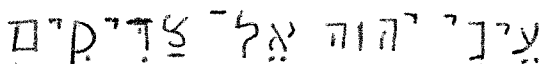
The damaged portion of this line may possibly be restored with some form of šakānu which with ēnka means "to be

¹Langdon, op. cit., p.10, line 14. ²Cf. Rev. 19:16.

³Landsberger, op. cit., p.104.

⁴Sjöberg, op. cit., p.171.

favorable."¹ Īna šakānu is an Akkadian idiom which has the sense "to look, to direct one's eyes at a superior being," or to look at an inferior being, hence "to be obedient" and likewise "to be favorable." Similarly pānu, "face," may be found in idioms which are the exact parallel of those with īnu, "eye." This is understandable in the light of the fact that both pānu and īnu have the same ideogram IGI; IGI^{MEŠ}, pānū is used in pluralis tantum meaning "face" and IGI.MIN^{MEŠ} means "eyes."²

In the Bible the favor of God is mentioned in Psalm 33:18: , "Behold, the eye of the Lord is upon those who fear him." And in Psalm 34:16 is similar emphasis:  "The eyes of the Lord are toward the righteous."³

L. 9 rev. Landsberger translates this fragmentary line as follows: "Wohin immer deine [Hand gnädig ausgestreckt war, bewirktest du (?)]."⁴ Sjöberg partially translates the parallel Sumerian line: "Wo du deine Hand erhebst.....ist"⁵ Langdon restores gātka, "thy hand," on the basis of the Sumerian in the previous line.⁶

L. 10 rev. For šūpû as an adjective of Sîn see text 2:1. Uš restored to form uštēšer because of parallelism with

¹A. Leo Oppenheim, "Idiomatic Accadian," JAOS, LXI (1941), 259.

²Ibid., 256. ³Cf. Ps. 80:15; 119:132; Deut. 26:15.

⁴Landsberger, op. cit., p.104.

⁵Sjöberg, op. cit., p.171.

⁶Langdon, op. cit., p.10, line 18.

uštēsâ. Landsberger translates and restores: "Strahlender Herr, [der Recht und Gerechtigkeit] im Himmel und auf [Erden gedei]hen lasst (?), hervorbringt!"¹ Sjöberg reads:

"Strahlender Herr, Der im Himmel und auf Erden [.....]..... (strahlend) herausgehen lasst."²

L. 11 rev. For the restoration naplis ālika, compare Sjöberg, Mondgott, p.169, 39.

L. 12 rev. Sjöberg reads: uru nap[lis egišnugal] naplis.³

L. 13 rev. After hīrtum, Langdon restores: narāmtaka rīmtu. Langdon translates the whole line as follows: "[May thy beloved] wife, [the merciful], the kind, say unto thee, 'Rest, O lord'."⁴ Sjöberg restores: [narāmtaka sinništū da] meqtu.⁵

L. 14 rev. After etlu, Langdon restores: dŠamaš bēlum qarrādu rabû, and he translates the entire line: "May the hero [Šamaš, the valiant lord, the mighty one, say unto thee]; rest, O Lord."⁶ Probably lines 14-18 are abbreviated and should end as in line 13. Sjöberg suggests that these lines should close with nūh liqbīka, "Herr, besanftige dich."⁷

¹Landsberger, op. cit., p.105.

²Sjöberg, op. cit., p.171.

³Ibid., p.169, 40.

⁴Langdon, op. cit., p.10, line 26.

⁵Sjöberg, op. cit., p.169, 41.

⁶Langdon, op. cit., p.10, line 28.

⁷Sjöberg, op. cit., p.169, 42.

In Akk. lit. texts, etlu refers to the grown up man and is often used in addressing persons; in the pl. the word often has the connotation of soldiers capable of bearing arms; the feminine counterpart of the etlu is the grown woman, ardatu, and in the merism etlu-ardātu, reference is made to the entire adult population. When certain gods or kings are addressed as etlu, they are qualified as full grown males at the peak of their physical powers (as against Sum. ABBA and UMMA, used in addressing such elderly deities as Enlil and Ninlil).¹

L. 15 rev. Cf. parallelism of Igigi and Anunnaki with lines 28 and 29, also see commentary.

Langdon does not restore but translates: "May the Igigi [say unto thee, 'Rest], O lord'."²

L. 16 rev. Langdon restores: dA[nunnaki ilāni rabûti bē]lum, "May the Anunnaki, the great gods, say unto thee, 'Rest, O lord!'"³

L. 17 rev. This line is unintelligible, but probably continues in the same thought as the lines which immediately precede. Sjöberg reads: [x bēlu n]ūh liqbīka.⁴

L. 18 rev. Possibly the god Ningal is mentioned on the basis of the ^dNIN sign given in the previous line. Langdon restores: dNin[gal aššatka bē]lum; and he translates: "May Ningal, thy consort, say unto thee, 'Rest, O lord'."⁵

L. 19 rev. Following mēdil, Sjöberg restores: u[ri giššigar Egišnugal ana] ašrišu litūr; he translates this line

¹CAD, IV, p.411.

²Langdon, op. cit., p.10, line 29.

³Langdon, op. cit., p.10, line 31.

⁴Sjöberg, op. cit., p.169, 45; cf. similar expressions in a "Psalm to Marduk," ANET, p.389f.

⁵Langdon, op. cit., p.11, line 35.

as follows: "Der Riegel von U[r, der Verschluss des Egišnugal] mögen hergestellt werden."¹

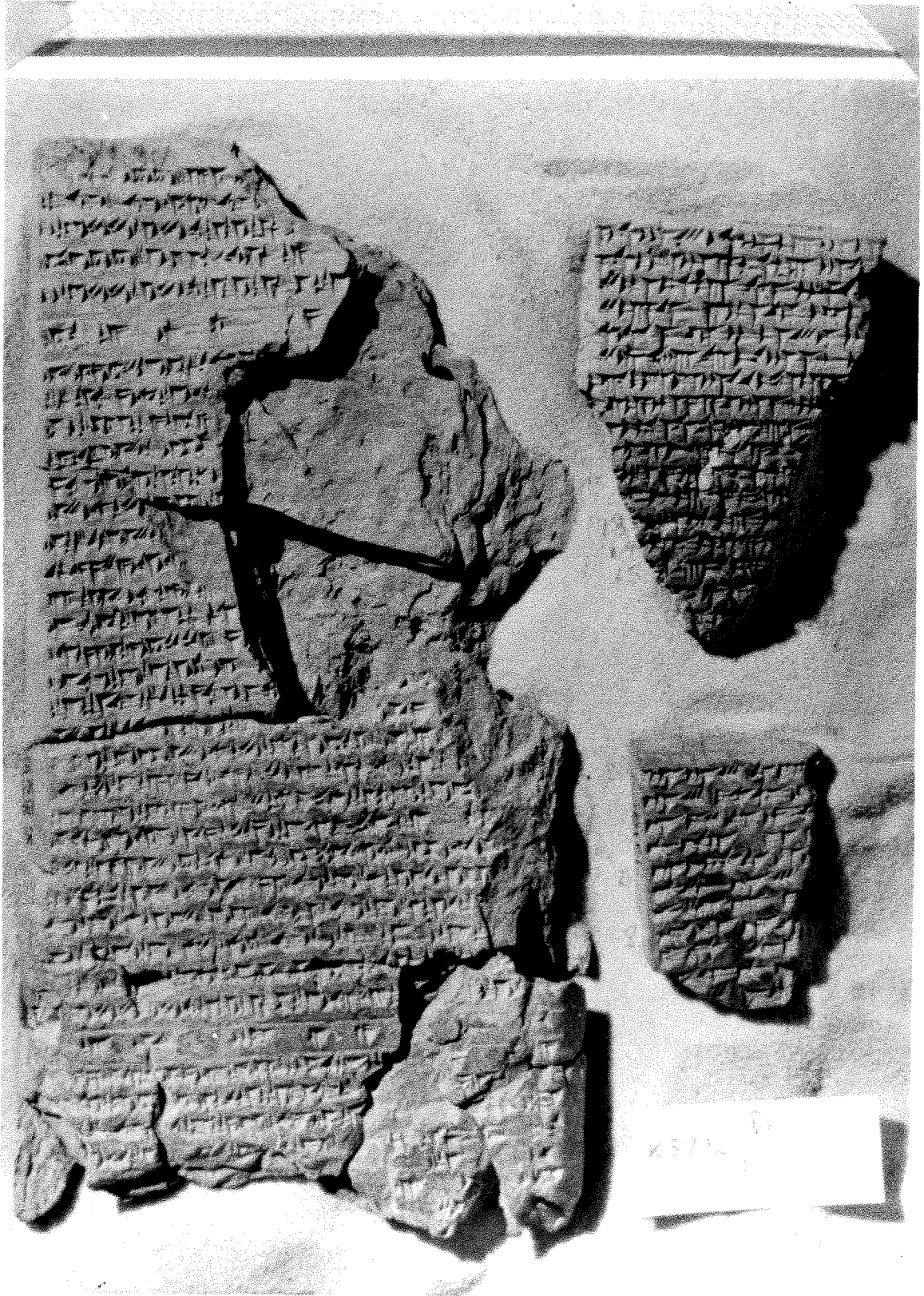
L. 20 rev. Possibly a reference to the total number of 48 lines in the prayer. The last six lines (19-24) give title page information: the details include mention of the times, the scribe, and the place of origin of this copy.

L. 21 rev. Cf. the identical expression: kīma labīrīšu šatirma bari (written ba-a-ri), "Copied from its original and collated" (Delitzsch AL 136 r.27). Note also kīma labīrīšu šatirma barû (CT 34 50 iv 39).

¹Sjöberg, op. cit., p.169,46.

TEXT 4

K.3794+K1.1904-10-9,157



TEXT 4

K.3794+Ki.1904-10-9,157

Introduction

In 1907 E. Guthrie Perry presented a study of K.3794 along with fragmentary texts K.2792 and K.7973 in his published thesis entitled Hymnen und Gebete an Sin, pp.23-27. In 1908 E. Combe studied the same three tablets in his work Histoire du culte de Sin en Babylonie et en Assyrie, pp.130-32. In 1915 Stephen Langdon suggested in RA, XII, pp.189-92, that text Ki.1904-10-9,157 should be joined to K.3794.¹ The study by Langdon includes a transliteration and translation of Ki.1904-10-9,157. In the Bezdold catalogue entitled A List of Fragments Rejoined in the Kuyunjik Collection of the British Museum, p.22, it is stated that Ki.1904-10-9,57 has been rejoined to K.3794. Also the photograph of the tablet furnished by the British Museum shows the joining of K.3794 and Ki.1904-10-9,157. In correspondence, C. B. F. Walker, Research Assistant in the British Museum, informed this writer that the fragmentary texts K.2792 and K.7973 are now being joined to several other fragments by W. G. Lambert who is currently preparing a study of the ikrib prayers;

¹Stephen Langdon, "A Fragment of a Series of Ritualistic Prayers to Astral Deities in the Ceremonies of Divination," RA, XII (1915), 189-92.

therefore, the contents of K.2792 and K.7973 will not be included in this dissertation.

Carl Bezold, Catalogue, p.565, describes the condition of tablet K.3794; it is the upper, left half portion of the tablet, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. The preceding six lines of this text are addressed to Adad; the remainder of K.3794 is directed to Šin.

In this study K.3794 is represented in lines 1-13 and Ki.1904-10-9,157 is found in lines 14-25. In line 25, the prayer in this tablet is called the ikribu type; a prayer which is essentially praise.¹ Many of the ikribu prayers give praise to Šamaš, Adad, and the gods of the starry heavens.² Usually the singular form, ikribu, refers to benedictions recited at cultic events, while the plural form, ikribū, is used both of prayer and (in OA and OB only) a votive offering.³

¹Kunstmann, op. cit., p.45.

²Falkenstein and von Soden, SAHG, pp.45f.

³CAD, VII, p.66.

Transliteration

1. d[̀]BÀ DINGIR DÚRU nam-ru d[̀]NANNA[R.....]
2. LUGAL^{ut} kiš-šá-ti ta-be-e[l.....]
3. GAD MAH taš-kan a-ga-a.....
4. e-tel-lu d[̀]BÀ nu-ri-šú.....
5. šá qi-bit-su la ut-tak-k[a.....]
6. d[̀]BÀ AŠ IGI.DU₈-k[a.....]
7. d[̀]NANNAR d[̀]BÀ.....
8. u ZÁZA.GÌN.DURU₅ na-na-[.....]
9. a-šib-ma d[̀]BÀ AŠ qé-reb AN^e.....
10. NUN muš-ta-lu DUMU.UŠ.....
11. na-nir AN^e EN KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} šá.....
12. AŠ NUN.KI INIM-su ma-ag-rat.....
13. ta-ad-di ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI AŠ pa-ra[k-ki]ar-ki.....
14. d[̀]BÀ d[̀]NANNAR AN^e AN.DÙL.....DINGIR KÙ.....
15. a-lik mah-ri d[̀]BÀ AŠ IGI.DU₈-ka GIŠ^{IG}MEŠ AN^e t[u-patpti]
16. AŠ IGI.DU₈-ka UKÙ ha-da-a
sal-mat SAG.DU DÙ-ší-na i-[.....]

Translation

1. O Šîn, holy god, shining Nannar.....
2. Kingship of the world, thou rul[est.....]
3. Thou clothest with a majestic linen, a crown.....
4. A lord is Šîn; his light.....
5. Whose command cannot be altered.....
6. O Šîn, at thy appearance.....
7. O Nannar, O Šîn.....
8. And greenish lapis lazuli.....
9. Šîn dwells in the midst of the heavens.....

Normalization

1. dŜîn ilu ellu namru dNanna[r.....]
2. ŝarrūt^{ut} kiŝŝati tabê[1.....]
3. kitâ ŝîra taŝkan agâ.....
4. etellu dŜîn nūrîŝu.....
5. ŝa qibîssu lā uttakk[aru.....]
6. dŜîn ina tāmartîk[a.....]
7. dNannar dŜîn.....
8. u abnu_{zagindurû} nana-[.....]
9. aŝibma dŜîn ina qereb ŝamê^e.....
10. rubû muŝtālu aplu.....
11. nannir ŝamê^e bēl mātātī^{pl}. ŝa.....
12. ina Eridi amassu magrat.....
13. taddi Ur ina para[kki].....arki.....
14. dŜîn dNannar ŝamê^e andullu.....ilu ellu.....
15. alik maḥri dŜîn ina tāmartîka iŝdalātī^{pl}. ŝamê^e t[upatti]
16. ina tāmartîka niŝē ḥadâ ŝalmât qaqqadi kalîŝîna i[.....]

Translation

10. Prince, counselor, heir.....
11. Light of the heavens, lord of all the lands which.....
12. In Eridu his oracle is favorable.....
13. Thou hast established Ur, upon the high thr[one].....
14. O Ŝîn, O Nannar of heaven, protection of.....holy god.....
15. Going before, O Ŝîn,
at thy appearance thou [openest] the doors of heaven.
16. At thy appearing the people rejoice,
the dark-headed, all of them.....

17. ú-sap-pa-ka UKU^{MEŠ}
te-ni-še-tum pa-aḥ-ra-nik-ka gi-[mir-ši-na]
18. MÁŠ.ANŠE na-maš-šu-u šá EDIN ka-liš pa-aḥ-ra-nik-[ka]
19. it-ta-ša-a ^dBÀ EN qar-ni su-pu-ri muš-te-šir ri-ti.....
20. i-ziz-za-am-ma ^dBÀ
AŠ qé-[reb] AN^e KÙ^{MEŠ} KI-ka li-iz-zi-zu DINGIR^{MEŠ}.....
21. KI-ka li-iz-zi-zu DINGIR^{MEŠ} DI.KU₅^{MEŠ}
KI-ka li-iz-ziz KÁ [DINGIR]
22. ^dKABTA SUKAL-ka li-še-da-ak di-nu lib-lak-ka ta-[mit]
23. [DUMU] LÚ_{HAL} m[a-ḥar-k]a liš-kun
^dBÀ DINGIR KÙ AŠ UDU.SIZKUR an-né-e [i-ziz-za-am-ma]
24. [AŠ] DUG₄.MU MU ŠU.MU AŠ mim-ma ma-la DÙ-šú
ta-mit a-kar-r[a-bu ki]t-ta lib-ši
25. [ik]-rib ^dBÀ ka-a-a-nu-u

Translation

17. The people pray to thee,
mankind assemble unto thee, [all of them].
18. The wild cattle and creeping things of the field
altogether assemble to thee.
19. Go out for me, O Šîn, lord of the horns and the halo,
that causest the pastures to thrive.....
20. Stand forth for me, O Šîn,
in the midst of the pure heavens
may the gods stand with thee.....
21. With thee may the divine judges stand
with thee may stand at the gate [of the god].
22. May Kabta, thy messenger, cause thee to know,
may he bear judgment for thee. The inquiry

17. usappâka nišē^{pl}. tenišētum paḥrānikka gi[miršina]
18. būlu nammaššū ša šēri kalīš paḥrānik[ka]
19. ittaša ^dSîn bēl qarnī supūri muštēšir rīti.....
20. izizzamma ^dSîn
 ina qe[reb] šamê^e ellūti^{pl}. ittīka lizzizzū ilāni^{pl}.....
21. ittīka lizzizzū ilāni^{pl}. dayāne^{pl}. ittīka lizziz bāb [ilim]
22. ^dKabta sukallaka lišēdāk dīnu liblakka tā[mīt]
23. mār ^{awīl}bārī m[ahark]a liškun
^dSîn ilu ellu ina niqê annê [izizzamma]
24. [ina] qibītīya niš qātīya ina mimma mala eppešū^{šu}
 tāmīt akarr[abu ki]tta libši
25. [ik]rib ^dSîn kayānu

Translation

23. of the seer may he place before thee.
 O Sîn, pure god, at this sacrifice [stand for me].
24. [In] my discourse, in my prayer, in whatsoever I do,
 in the inquiry which I sub[mit], let there be justice.
25. A prayer to steadfast Sîn.

Commentary on Text 4

L. 1. The expression ilu ellu, "holy God,"¹ is applied also to Anu, Šamaš, Marduk, Ištar (elletu), and other gods.² The combination ilu namru, "shining god," is also known.³

L. 2. The development of the epithet sarrūtut kiššati, "Kingship of the world," is interesting. LUGAL KIŠ, meant literally "king of Kiš."⁴ The title "king of Kiš" became popular so that rulers took great pride in this title even though they ruled over other cities as well. This title appealed to rulers down into Old Babylonian times and it came into Assyrian titulary as sar kiššati.⁵

L. 3. Kitâ sîra taškan, "Thou clothest with a majestic linen," should be compared with tēdiqu, "garment," in text 3:9 commentary.

The form taškan is difficult; if it is a verb from šakānu, it is not identical with the present tense tašakkan, nor with the preterite which is taškun.

L. 4. Cf. the words etellu dSin, "A lord is Sîn," with text 3:2-9.

L. 5. Cf. Schollmeyer 110,6: ša qibīssu lā uttakkaru

¹Cf. L.14.

²Weir, Lexicon, p.80; CAD, IV, p.105; Tallqvist, Götterepitheta, p.20.

³Weir, op. cit., p.233.

⁴William W. Hallo, Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles: a Philologic and Historical Analysis (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1957), p.25.

⁵Ibid., p.26.

and also text 3:23.

L. 8. Zagindurû, "greenish lapis lazuli" probably represents the appearance and coloring of the moon. A similar description is given of a star in astrological text: šumma.....kakkabu isruhma kīma ZA.GĪN.DURU₅ ana imitti amēli itiq, "If a star flares up and shoots towards the right of a man, (and is colored) like greenish lapis lazuli" (Bab. 7 pl. 17 ii 20). Later certain stones which the Babylonians held to be of gynecological value were passed into Greek medicine.¹

L. 9. Ašibma dSîn ina qereb šamê^e, "Sîn dwells in the midst of the heavens" and similar expressions are used of the gods.²

L. 11. Delitzsch, HW, p.470 indicates that nannaru may also be written nan(n)eru or nan(n)iru. Nannir šamê^e bēl mātāti^{p1}, "light of the heavens, lord of all the lands." Generally the major gods in Babylonia and Assyria concerned themselves with public affairs only, and not with the needs of individuals. The general welfare was considered and not individual desires. Major issues occupied the attention of the gods: warfare, uprisings, devastations, pestilence, and crops. When the individual was mentioned in the texts, it was oftentimes the king since what happened to the king was related to the good and evil fortune of the country.³

The Babylonians certainly inherited from Sumerian religion the idea that the gods themselves are in the service

¹ Cf. text 3:10.

² See Tallqvist, Götterepitheta, p.444.

³ Lambert, BWL, pp.4f.

of some world system. Therefore, the idea that the gods showed arbitrary power gradually slipped into the background. In spite of their strange and inexplicable ways, the gods wanted to preserve the world and its inhabitants. Nevertheless, the gods destined the death of every man and they did not soften the fear of men by promising a better life in the hereafter.¹

L. 14. Andullu is probably followed by mātāti because of parallelism with šamé. Also the following examples suggest the restoration of mātāti: [rap]-šū andullaka sahip mātāti, "Thy protection extends over all the lands" (Lambert, BWL 128: 40) and andullum mātīm, "Protector of the land" (CH Prol. II, 48).

L. 15. Restore tupatti since daltu, "door," is often used with some form of petū, "to open." Cf. dalat šamé taptá, "You (Šamaš) opened the door to heaven," (4R20 No.2:5f.); cf. CAD, III, p.55.²

L. 17. Langdon in RA, XII, p.191 restores gi[miršina].

L. 18. MÁŠ.ANŠE = būlu, "wild cattle," is written MÁŠ.IR.KU in the text.³

L. 19. Ešēru in the Št form may mean "to make thrive." (En.el.VII 63); cf. CAD, IV, p.362.⁴

L. 20. In the common expression ina ge[reb] šamé^e

¹Ibid., p.11.

²Cf. text 3:20 commentary.

³Cf. Langdon, op. cit., p.191; CAD, II, p.315b.

⁴See text 3:30f.

ellūti^{pl.}, "in the midst of the pure heavens," one might possibly assume that one sign reb was omitted by the scribes; cf. L. 9.

L. 21. The "divine judges" are Šamaš and Adad.

Restore ilim on the basis of passages like the following: bāb ilim ubbibšu, "He declared him to be free at the gate of the god (i.e. Aššur)," (KT Hahn 31:5); bāb ilim išakkanma, "He will deposit at the gate of the god," (MVAG 33 No.278:9); cf. CAD, II, p.19.

L. 22. For a discussion of the name Kabta see Tallqvist, Götterepitheta, p.340.

Probably restore ta-[mit] on the basis of paralelism with tāmīt in line 26.

L. 23. There is space on the tablet to restore DUMU. CAD, II, p.125 states: "There is no meaningful difference between bārû 'diviner' and mār bārî 'member of the guild of diviners'."

Langdon in RA, XII, p.191 suggests the restoration of izizzamma.

L. 24. The formula tāmīt akarr[abu ki]tta libši, "In the inquiry which I sub[mit], let there be justice," occurs frequently in queries for oracles.¹

¹CAD, II, p.152b.

TEXT 5

Rm.288

TEXT 5

Rm.288

Introduction

This text is an invocation of Assurbanipal to the Moon-god. Because of the defective condition of the text, the situation which brought the utterance of this prayer has been lost. There is a possibility that this text is a consecration inscription. Carl Bezold, Catalogue, IV, p.1601 describes R.288 thus: it is a tablet of seventeen lines. The portion preserved is the upper, left half which is 2 7/8 in. by 2 in.

A study of this text was first published in 1907 by Perry, Hymnen und Gebete an Sin, pp.28-30. In 1908 E. Combe also included a study of this tablet in his book entitled Histoire du culte de Sin en Babylonie et en Assyrie, pp.133-34.

Transliteration

1. a-na ^dBÀ na-an-nir AN^e[u KI^{tim}]
2. a-pír AGA ^da-nù-ú-ti š[a.....]
3. [m]u-ad-du-ú u₄-me ITI u [šat-ti]
4. mu-kal-lim ša-ad-di EN d[a-ba-bi]
5. na-din šip-ti TAR^{is} EŠ.BAR DI[NGIR^{MEŠ}]
6. mu-ni-iḥ lib-bi DINGIR^{MEŠ}.....
7. ga-mir ur-ti u tē-e-m[e.....]
8. ša e-la šá-a-šú DINGIR^{MEŠ} at-[ḥi-šu]
9. [^d] AŠ.ÍM.UD ZALÁG AN.TA^{MEŠ} [u šap-la-ti]
10.šá AŠ U₄.ZAL.A-šú KUR.[KUR.....]
11. [i-lit]-tu šá ^dA-num.....
12. [DINGIR re]me-nu-ú šá it-t[i.....]
13.ba-nu-ú.....
14.GIŠ_{HAD} GIŠ_{GU.ZA}.....
15.lib-bi UKU.....
16. [AŠ.Š]UR.DÙ.A.....
17.

Translation

1. For Šîn, the radiance of heaven [and earth].
2. Who is crowned with the crown of divinity.....
3. Who determines the days, the month, and [the year]
4. Who shows signs, adversary.....
5. Who gives judgment,
who determines the decision of the gods.
6. Who comforts the heart of the gods.....
7. Who renders command and wil[l.....]
8. Without whom the gods, [his breth]ren

Normalization

1. ana ^dSîn nannir šamê^e [u eršetim^{tim}]
2. apir agê ^dAnūti š[a.....]
3. mu'addû ūmē arhi u [šatti]
4. mukallim šaddī bēl d[abābi]
5. nādin šipti pāris^{is} purussê il[āni^{pl.}]
6. munīḫ libbi^{bi} ilāni^{pl.}.....
7. gāmir urti u tēm[e.....]
8. ša ela šāšu ilāni^{pl.} at[hīšu]
9. ^dNamrašēt nūr elāti^{pl.} [u šaplāti]
10.šā ina nāmīrīšu māt[āti.....]
11. [ilit]tu ša ^dAnum.....
12. [ilu rē]mēnū ša itt[i.....]
13.bānū.....
14.^{is}ḥaṭṭu ^{is}kussū
15.libbī nišē.....
16. [Ašš]urbānipal.....
17.

Translation

9. Namrašēt, light of upper regions [and lower regions]
10.by whose shining all the lan[ds.....]
11. [Offsp]ring of Anu.....
12. Compassion[ate god], who wi[th.....]
13.creator.....
14.scepter, throne.....
15.hearts of the people.....
16.Aššurbānipal
17.

Commentary on Text 5

L. 1. Restore u ersetim^{tim} on the basis of frequent parallelism with šamê "heavens"; cf. text 3:1, 23. Near the beginning of almost every text in this study reference is made to the power and radiance of Sîn in heaven and earth. Here nannir šamê [u ersetim^{tim}], "Radiance of heaven and earth," is attributed to Sîn. The Akkadians did not have a word for universe; similarly the Hebrews resorted to the expression "the heavens and the earth."¹ The Sumerians, who were non-Semitic, tried to express the concept of "universe" by AN.KI, literally "heaven-earth."²

L. 2. Cf. the following similar passages: apirat agê bēlūti, "She (Ištar) crowned with a crown of lordship" (Jensen 124, 7) and agi bēlūti ēpiranni, "(When Aššur) crowned me with the crown of rulership" (Weidner Tn. 1 No.1 i 28).

L. 3. Šatti, "year," is restored in this sequence of days, month, and year. A similar function of the moon may be seen in Genesis 1:14ff.

L. 4. Saddu may generally mean "sign," but often-times saddu refers to ominous signs or portents of Sîn, Anu, or the planet Jupiter.³

Bēl dabābi, "adversary," is restored in this context of judgment and decision. Bēl dabābi is used often of the

¹Gen. 1:1; Ex. 20:11.

²S. N. Kramer, Sumerian Mythology: a Study of Spiritual and Literary Achievement in the Third Millennium B.C. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944) p.41.

³Cf. CAD, XVI, pp.56f.

person who sues an individual or accuses another in court.¹

L. 5. Pāris^{1s} purussê il[āni^{pl.}], "Who determines the decision of the gods" should be compared with text 2:11 commentary.

L. 7. Gāmir urti u tēme, "Who renders command and will," suggests the concept of a judge rendering a final verdict or decision.²

L. 8. Concerning the restoration athīšū cf. text 3: rev. 6.

L. 9. Namrasēt, a name of Sîn, see introduction pp. 5ff.; cf texts 2:19 and 6:5.

Restore šaplāti which often parallels elāti.³

L. 11. Perry suggests the restoration of ilittu, Hymnen, p.30. Ilittu, "offspring," is frequently said of the gods.⁴ The expression ilittu ša dAnim, "Offspring of Anu" was sometimes attributed to Sîn who was thought of as a son of Anu.⁵

L. 12. [Rē]mēnû, "compassionate," compare with text 6:9 commentary.

L. 17. This line is too short and fragmentary to study.

¹Cf. CAD, III, pp.3f.

²See examples in CAD, V, p.27; Weir, Lexicon, pp.381-82.

³Cf. CAD, IV, p.78.

⁴Cf. CAD, VII, p.72.

⁵H. W. F. Saggs, The Greatness That was Babylon: a Sketch of the Ancient Civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1962), p.317.

TEXT 6

K.10151

TEXT 6

K.10151

Introduction

This fragment containing eleven lines was first published in 1907 by Perry, Hymnen und Gebete an Sin, pp.30-32. In 1908, E. Combe made a transliteration, translation, and a brief commentary on this tablet in Histoire du cult de Sin en Babylonie et en Assyrie, pp.134-35. This tablet is the beginning of a prayer addressed to $\hat{S}in$. K.10151 is described by Carl Bezold, Catalogue, III, p.1068: the text is the upper, left-hand corner, 1 $\frac{13}{16}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Transliteration

1. ÉN d^hBÀ U₄.SAR.....
2. d^hBÀ ed-di-i[š-ú.....]
3. DINGIR nam-ru DÙ K[I^{tim}.....]
4. nu-úr ma-a-[ti.....]
5. d^hAŠ.ÍM.UD šu-[pu-u.....]
6. raš-bu d^hBÀ.....
7. mas-sù-ú GA[L.....]
8. kab-tu šur-b[u-u.....]
9. DUMU.UŠ gít-m[a-lu.....]
10.reme-nu-[u.....]
11. [d^h]BÀ.....

Translation

1. Incantation: O Šîn, O Nannar.....
2. O Šîn, ever renewing.....
3. Shining god of all the ear[th.....]
4. Light of the la[nd.....]
5. Namrasēt, glor[ious one.....]
6. Fear inspiring Šîn.....

Normalization

1. šiptu dSîn Nannar.....
2. dSîn eddi[šû.....]
3. ilu namru kali er[šetim^{tim}.....]
4. nūr mā[ti.....]
5. dNamrasēt šû[pû.....]
6. rašbu dSîn.....
7. massû ra[bû.....]
8. kabtu šurb[û.....]
9. aplu gitm[ālu.....]
10.rēmēn[û.....]
11. [d]Sîn.....

Translation

7. [Gre]at leader.....
8. Mighty, exalt[ed.....]
9. Per[fect] heir.....
10.mercifu[l.....]
11.Sîn.....

Commentary on Text 6

L. 2. dSîn eddi[šû], "O Sîn, ever renewing"; cf. 2:2 commentary.

L. 5. Namrašēt šū[pû], "Namrašēt, glor[ious one.....]"; cf. the reference to Namrašēt in texts 2:19 and 5:9. See discussion on the name Namrašēt in the introduction, pp.5f.

Cf. the use of šūpû, "glorious one," in text 2:1.

L. 7. Massû, "leader," is a title of Šamaš, Anu, Enlil, Nabû, and many other gods.¹

L. 9. DUMU.UŠ = aplu, "heir"; cf. text 1:8 where this word is used twice.² Perry reads and restores aplu git-m[a-lu], "Per[fect] heir." Compare this line with the following epithet of Nabû: aplu gitmālum, "Perfect heir" (OECT 6 pl.14 r.25), and passim.

L. 10. Rēmēnû, "merciful," is used as an attribute of Sîn in 3:13; it is partially preserved here and in 5:12. Rēmēnû is often used as an epithet of the gods. Note the following examples: dMarduk ilu rēmēnû, "Marduk, merciful god," (Hehn, 364,7); ilu rēmēnû, "Merciful god (Marduk)" (ZDMG 69, 96, 12); dSîn ilu rēmēnû, "Sîn, merciful god" (ZDMG 74, 183, rev.8); and dIštar bēltu rēmēnîtu, "Ištar, merciful goddess" (RA 13, 108, 19).³ Also rēmēnû is used in praise of kings in W 17259 w, 5-6: ana šarrim rēmēnîm, "To the compassionate king." In the Bible there are numerous references stating that

¹Tallqvist, Götterepitheta, p.130.

²See discussion on the derivation of aplu in CAD, I, Part 1, pp.176f.

³Cf. Weir, Lexicon, p.283.

God is $\square \cdot \Pi \]$, "merciful."¹ The Arabic rahmān, "compassionate," was used by Mohammad as a proper name for deity, later this term came to be used as one of the chief attributes of Allāh.²

¹Ex. 34:6; Deut. 4:31; 2 Chr. 30:9, and passim.

²"Allāh," Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam, 1965, 35.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary and Conclusions

This dissertation has presented a transliteration, normalization, translation, and commentary on six texts. A number of tablets which have come to light in the past few decades have been found to be duplicates or partial duplicates of some of the major texts in this work. An original and important aspect of this investigation is the collation of five tablets in text one and the collation of three tablets in text two. A textual apparatus was formulated to show to the critical reader the variants from the basic text. The correlation of the textual material contributes to a fuller, updated text and a better understanding of each composition. These exercises in textual criticism have been a profitable part of the research. Hopefully, the methods learned will be applied to further textual studies in Assyriology, Old Testament, and New Testament.

The first three texts are classified as Akkadian ŠU.ÍL.LÁ prayers. This form of prayer is used particularly by the individual worshipper. This type of prayer was probably developed in the Cassite period around 1400 B.C. All extant copies of such prayers were probably made sometime after 800 B.C. The structure of the ŠU.ÍL.LÁ is regular; however, the poetic form may be interrupted by certain formulae. Usually an offering of very simple character accompanies each prayer. The name ŠU.ÍL.LÁ meaning, "lifting up of the hand," suggests that

originally this characteristic gesture was used in adoration of the deity. Furthermore, it was learned that the Hebrews may have come under the influence of the Gattung of the SU.ÍL.LÁ literature either through literary penetration or through cultural mediation of the Canaanites. Of the remaining texts, text four is an ikribu prayer; a prayer of praise to Sîn. Texts five and six are too fragmentary to be classified. Included with each text are photographic plates of the cuneiform.

It was discovered that Sumerian mythology forms the backdrop for this study of moon-worship in ancient Mesopotamia. Beneath the polytheistic adornments, the Sumerian texts present a rationally formulated cosmogony. Sîn played a more important role in earlier times than he did just prior to the fall of Assyria. The decline in popularity of the Moon-god in Mesopotamia is apparent from the disuse of the name Sîn as a theophoric element. Also, the rise to power of other deities of the Babylonian pantheon contributed to the decline of Sîn. In ancient Palestine and Syria the worship of the moon was common. Worship of the heavenly bodies was opposed in the Pentateuch, nevertheless, pagan moon-worship was officially adopted by Manasseh.

The commentary in this study shows that many of the epithets of Sîn are also characteristic of the other gods. Some of the epithets of the gods and kings are identical. Moreover, there are epithets found in these texts which may be traced back to early Sumerian times. At a number of points there is found a close correspondence between the words and art representations. Where possible, the religious motifs and trends

are compared to ancient Near Eastern literature and the Hebrew Bible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY


- Albright, William F. "Abram the Hebrew; a New Archaeological Interpretation," BASOR, No.163 (1961), 36-54.
-
- . From the Stone Age to Christianity; Monotheism and the Historical Process. Anchor Books. 2nd ed. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1957.
-
- . History, Archaeology, and Christian Humanism. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.
-
- . "Was the Patriarch Terah a Canaanite Moon-god?," BASOR, No.71 (1938), 35-40.
- Barnes, W. E. The Psalms with Introduction and Notes (Westminster Commentaries). 2 vols. London: Methuen and Co., 1931.
- Barnett, R. D. "A Cylinder Seal from Syria," Iraq, VI (1939), 1-2.
- Bauer, Theo. Akkadische Lesestücke. Heft III. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1953.
-
- . Die Ostkanaanäer, Eine Philologisch-Historische Untersuchung über die Wanderschicht der Sogenannten "Amoriter" in Babylonien. Leipzig: Verlag der Asia Major, 1926.
- Bentzen, Aage. Introduction to the Old Testament. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Copenhagen: G. E. Gad, 1952.
- Bevan, Edwyn R. Symbolism and Belief. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1957.
- Bewer, Julius A. The Literature of the Old Testament. 3rd ed., completely rev. by Emil G. Kraeling. (Records of civilization: sources and studies, no.5). New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.
- Bezold, Karl. Babylonisches-assyrisches Glossar. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1926.
-
- . Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum. 5 vols. London: British Museum, 1889-99.

- Borger, Rykle. Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur. I. Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1967.
- Bottéro, Jean. La religion babylonienne. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1952.
- Braidwood, Robert J. The Near East and the Foundations of Civilization; An Essay in Appraisal of the General Evidence. Eugene, Oregon: State System of Higher Education, 1952.
- Breasted, James H. Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912.
- Bright, John. A History of Israel. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959.
- Brinkman, J. A. "Mesopotamian Chronology of the Historical Period," in A. Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964, pp.335-52.
- Brockelmann, Carl. Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen. 2 vols. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1908-13.
- Brown, Francis, Driver, S. R., and Briggs, Charles A. A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952.
- Brown, Robert Jr. Researches into the Origin of the Primitive Constellations of the Greeks, Phoenicians and Babylonians. 2 vols. London: Williams and Norgate, 1899-1900.
- Brunnow, R. E. "Assyrian Hymns," ZA, IV (1889), 25-35.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. Amulets and Talismans. New Hyde Park, New York: University Books, 1961.
- Childe, Vere Gordon. New Light on the Most Ancient Near East. New York: Frederick Praeger, 1953.
- Combe, Et. Histoire du culte de Sin en Babylonie et en Assyrie. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1908.
- Contenau, Georges. Everyday Life in Babylon and Assyria. Translated by K. R. and A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop. London: Arnold, 1954.
- Cook, Stanley A. The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology. London: H. Milford, 1930.

- Cumming, Charles G. The Assyrian and Hebrew Hymns of Praise (Columbia University Oriental Series, XII). New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.
- Cumont, Franz. The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism. New York: Dover Publications, 1956.
- Dalglisch, Edward R. Psalm Fifty-One in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962.
- Deimel, Anton. Šumerisches Lexikon. 4 vols. Roma: Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1925-50.
- Delitzsch, Friedrich. Assyrisches Handwörterbuch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1896.
- Dennys, N. B. The Folklore of China and Its Affinities with that of the Aryan and Semitic Races. London: Truebner, 1876.
- Dhorme, Édouard. Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1945.
- Driver, G. R. and Miles, John C. The Babylonian Laws. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952-55.
- Driver, Samuel R. Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
- Ebeling, Erich. Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung" von neuem Gesammelt und Herausgegeben (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung Veröffentlichung Nr.20). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953.
- _____. Glossar zu den neubabylonischen Briefen. München: Bayerischen Akademie, 1953.
- _____. "Hymnus an den Mondgott," in Altorientalische Texte zum alten Testament. Edited by H. Gressmann. Berlin-Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1926, pp.241-42.
- _____. Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953.
- Ehrich, Robert W. Relative Chronologies in Old World Archeology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.
- Ehrlich, Ernest L. Der Traum im Alten Testament. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1953.
- Eichrodt, Walter. Theology of the Old Testament. Translated by J. Baker. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961.

- Eliade, Mircea. Patterns in Comparative Religion. Translated by Rosemary Sheed. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958.
- Engnell, Ivan. Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1943.
- Falkenstein, Adam and Soden, W. von. Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete. Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1953.
- Fine, Hillel A. Studies in Middle-Assyrian Chronology and Religion. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1955.
- Finkelstein, J. J. "Amisaduqa's Edict and the Babylonian 'Law-Codes'," JCS, XV (1961), 91-104.
- Frankfort, H. and H. A., Wilson, John A., Jacobsen, Thorkild, and Irwin, William A. The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946.
- Frankfort, Henri. The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient. (Pelican History of Art, 27). Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963.
- Friedrich, Johannes. Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1952.
- Furlani, G. La religione babilonese e assira. 2 vols. Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1928-29.
- Fustel de Coulanges, Numa Denis. The Ancient City: a Study on the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome. Translated by Willard Small. Anchor Books. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Book, n.d.
- Gadd, Cyril J. "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," Anatolian Studies, VIII (1958), 35-92.
- _____. Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East. London: Oxford University Press, 1948.
- Gaster, Theodor H. "A Canaanite Magical Text," Or., N.S., II (1942), 41-79.
- _____. "A Canaanite Ritual Drama," JAOS, LXVI (1946), 49-76.
- _____. "Moon," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, III (1962), 436-37.
- _____. Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament: a Comparative Study with Chapters from Sir James Frazer's Folklore in the Old Testament. New York: Harper & Row, 1969.

- _____. Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East. 2nd rev. ed. Anchor Books. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961.
- Gelb, Ignace J. "The Name of the Goddess Innin," JNES, XIX (1960), 71-79.
- _____, Purves, Pierre M. and MacRae, Allan. Nuzi Personal Names. (OIP, LVII). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.
- Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar. Edited by E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley, 2nd English ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
- Ginzberg, Louis. The Legends of the Jews. Translated by Henrietta Szold. 7 vols. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909-38.
- Goetze, Albrecht. "Akk. antalû and namtallûm 'Eclipse'," JCS, I (1947), 251-52.
- Gordon, Cyrus H. Ugaritic Manual (Analecta Orientalia 25) Rev. ed. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1955.
- _____. Ugaritic Textbook (Analecta Orientalia 38). Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1965.
- _____. "Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery," Iraq, VI (1939), 3-34.
- Grimm, Jakob L. K. Teutonic Mythology, Translated by James S Stallybrass. 3 vols. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1880-83.
- Gurney, O. R. and Finkelstein, J. J. The Sultantepe Tablets. I. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1957.
- Halévy, J. "Notes Assyriologiques," ZA, IV (1889), 52-65.
- Hall, Harry R. and Woolley, C. Leonard. Ur Excavations. I, Al-'Ubaid. London: Oxford University Press, 1927.
- Hallo, William W. Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles: A Philologic and Historical Analysis (American Oriental Series, vol. 43). New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1957.
- _____. "Individual Prayer in Sumerian: The Continuity of a Tradition," JAOS, LXXXVIII (1968), 71-89.
- Harper, Robert F. Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum. 14 vols. London-Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1892-1914.

- Harris, Zellig S. A Grammar of the Phoenician Languages (American Oriental Series, vol. 8). New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1936.
- Hartman, Louis F. and Oppenheim, A. L. On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia (American Oriental Society. Journal. Supplement. no.10). Baltimore: American Oriental Society, 1950.
- Haussig, Hans Wilhelm. Wörterbuch der Mythologie. I. Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1965.
- Heidel, Alexander. The Babylonian Genesis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.
- Held, Moshe. "A Faithful Lover in an Old Babylonian Dialogue," JCS, XV (1961), 1-39.
- _____. "Mhs/*mhs in Ugaritic and Other Semitic Languages," JAOS, LXXIX (1959), 169-176.
- Heuzey, Léon A. Catalogue des antiquités chaldéennes sculpture et gravure à la pointe. Paris: Librairies-imprimeries réunies, 1902.
- Hole, Christina. English Folklore. London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1940.
- Holma, Harri. Die Namen der Körperteile im assyrisch-babylonischen (Annals academiae scientiarum Fennicae. Ser. B, Tom. 7, 1). Leipzig: Scientiarum Fennicae, 1911.
- Hooke, S. H. Babylonian and Assyrian Religion. London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1953.
- _____, ed. Myth and Ritual: Essays on the Myth and Ritual of the Hebrews in Relation to the Culture Pattern of the Ancient East. London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1933.
- _____. Myth, Ritual and Kingship. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.
- Jacobsen, Thorkild. "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," JNES, II (1943) 159-172.
- Jastrow, Morris. The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria. 2 vols. New York: Ginn & Co., 1898.
- Jensen, P. "Aga - ," ZA, VII (1892), 173-178.
- Jeremias, Alfred. The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East: Manual of Biblical Archeology. Translated by C. L. Beaumont; ed. C. H. W. Johns. 2 vols. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911.

- Kaufmann, Yehezkel. The Religion of Israel. Translated and abridged by Moshe Greenberg. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Keith, Arthur B. and Carnoy, Albert J. "Indian" and "Iranian Mythology" in Mythology of all Races, edited by Louis H. Gray, VI. Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1917.
- King, Leonard W., ed. Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum (Includes Atlas of Plates). London: British Museum, 1912.
- _____. Babylonian Magic and Sorcery. London: Luzac & Co., 1896.
- Kittel, Rudolf. Biblia Hebraica. 7th ed. Stuttgart: Privileg. Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1951.
- Koehler, Ludwig, and Baumgartner, Walter. Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1951.
- Kramer, Samuel N. History Begins at Sumer. Anchor Books. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1959.
- _____, ed. Mythologies of the Ancient World. Anchor Books. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961.
- _____. "Sumerian Literature and the Bible," Studia Biblica et Orientalia, III (1959), 185-204.
- _____. Sumerian Mythology: a Study of Spiritual and Literary Achievement in the Third Millennium B.C. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944.
- _____. The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963.
- Kugler, Franz X. Sternkunde und sterndienst in Babel. 2 vols. Muenster: Aschendorff, 1907-24.
- Kunstmann, Walter G. Die babylonische gebetsbeschwörung (L. S. S., n.f., bd II). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1932.
- Labat, René. Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1939.
- _____. Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale de France, 1959.
- Laessøe, Jørgen. Studies on the Assyrian Ritual and Series - bit rimki. København: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1955.

- Lambert, W. G. Babylonian Wisdom Literature. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.
- _____. "The Sultantepe Tablets," RA, LIII (1959), 119-138.
- Landsberger, Benno. "Babylonisch-assyrische texte" in Textbuch zur religionsgeschichte, edited by E. Lehmann and H. Haas. Leipzig: Deichert, 1922, pp.301-3.
- _____. Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer (L.S.S. VI. 1,2). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1915.
- _____. "Die Babylonischen Termini für Gesetz und Recht," in Symbolae ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentias Paulo Koschaker Dedicatae (Studia et Documenta, II). Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1939, pp.219-34.
- _____ and Bauer, Th. "Zu Neuveröffentlichten der Zeit von Asarhaddon bis Nabonid," ZA, XXXVII (1926-1927), 88-94.
- Lane, Edward W. The Modern Egyptians (Everyman's Library, Travel and Topography, no.315). London: J. M. Dent, 1944.
- Langdon, Stephen H. The Babylonian Epic of Creation. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923.
- _____. Babylonian Liturgies and Psalms (PBS, X, no.4). Philadelphia: University Museum, 1919.
- _____. Babylonian Magic. Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1914.
- _____. Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars. London: Published for the British Academy by H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1935.
- _____. "Gesture in Sumerian and Babylonian Prayer," JRAS LXII (1919), 531-56.
- _____. "A Hymn to the Moon-god, Adapted for the Use of Shamash-Shum-Ukin, Viceroy of Babylon," PSBA, XL (1918), 104-11.
- _____, ed. Babylonian Penitential Psalms to which are Added Fragments of the Epic of Creation from Kish in the Weld Collection of the Ashmolean Museum (OECT, VI). Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927.
- Layard, Austen H. Monuments of Nineveh from Drawings Made on the Spot. 2 vols. London: J. Murray, 1849-1853.
- Legrain, Leon. The Culture of the Babylonians from their Seals in the Collection of the Museum (PBS, XIV). Philadelphia: University Museum, 1925.

- _____. "Gem Cutters in Ancient Ur," Museum Journal, XX (1929), 258-306.
- _____. "The Stela of the Flying Angels," Museum Journal, XVIII (1927), 75-98.
- Leeuw, G. van der. Religion in Essence and Manifestation. 2 vols. Translated by J. E. Turner. Harper Torchbooks. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.
- Lewy, Julius. "The Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and Its Culmination at the Time of Nabonidus," HUCA, XIX (1945-1946), 405-89.
- Lloyd, Seton. The Art of the Ancient Near East. New York: F. Praeger, 1961.
- Loftus, William K. Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana; with an Account of Excavations at Warka, the "Erech" of Nimrod, and Shush, "Shushan the Palace" of Esther, in 1849-52. London: J. Nisbet, 1857.
- Luckenbill, Daniel David. The Annals of Sennacherib (OIP II). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924.
- _____. "The Temples of Babylonia and Assyria," AJSL, XXIV (1908), 291-322.
- Mandelkern, Solomon. Concordance on the Bible. New ed., rev. New York: Shulsinger, 1955.
- Mendelsohn, I. "Dream; Dreamer," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, I (1962), 868-69.
- _____. "Magic," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, III (1962), 223-25.
- Mercer, S. A. B. "Liturgical Elements in Babylonian and Assyrian Seal Cylinders," JSOR, VI (1922) 106-16.
- Messer, William S. The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy (Columbia University Studies in Classical Philology). New York: Columbia University Press, 1918.
- Morgenstern, Julian. The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion (MVAG, 1905,3). Berlin: W. Peiser, 1905.
- Muss-Arnolt, William. A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language. 2 vols. Berlin: Reuther, 1905.
- Neuberg, Frank J. "An Unrecognized Meaning of Hebrew Dor," JNES, IX (1950), 215-217.
- Nielsen, Ditlef. Die altarabische mondreligion und die mosaische überlieferung. Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1904.

- Oesterley, William O. E. and Box, George H. The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue; an Introduction to the Study of Judaism from the New Testament Period. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907.
- Oppenheim, A. Leo. "Akkadian pul(u)h(t)u and melammu," JAOS, LXIII (1943), 31-34.
- _____. Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.
- _____. Editor-in-charge, The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. 9 vols. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956-.
- _____. "The Golden Garments of the Gods," JNES, VIII (1949), 172-193.
- _____. "Idiomatic Accadian," JAOS, LXI (1941), 251-71.
- _____. The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East with a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, N.S., xxxvi, pt.3). Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956.
- _____. "Sumerian: INIM.GAR, Akkadian: Egirrû = Greek: Kledon," AfO, XVII (1954/55), 49-55.
- Pallis, Svend Aage. The Babylonian akîtu festival (Det. Kgl. Danske videnskabernes selskab. Historisk-filologiske meddelelser, XII, 1). København: A. F. Høst, 1926.
- Patai, R. Man and Temple in Ancient Jewish Myth and Ritual. London-New York: T. Nelson, 1947.
- Pedersen, Johannes. Israel: Its Life and Culture. Translation by A. Møller and A. I. Fausbell in collaboration with the author, first published 1926-40. 4 vols. London: G. Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1954.
- Perkins, Ann Louise. The Comparative Archaeology of Early Mesopotamia (Chicago. University, Oriental Institute. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no.25). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949.
- Perry, E. Guthrie. Hymnen und Gebete an Sin. (LSS, II, 4). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907.
- Pinches, T. G. and Strassmaier, J. N. Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts (Brown University Studies, v. 18). Providence: Brown University Press, 1955.

- Pritchard, James B. Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954.
- _____, ed. Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament. 2nd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955.
- Reiner, Erica. Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations (AfO, Beiheft 11). Graz: In Selbstverlage des Herausgebers, 1958.
- Ringgren, Helmer. Word and Wisdom. Lund: H. Ohlssons, 1947.
- Ryckmans, G. Les Religions Arabes Preislamiques (Bibliothèque du Museon, v.26). Louvain: Bibliothèque du Museon, 1951.
- Saggs, H. W. F. The Greatness that was Babylon; a Sketch of the Ancient Civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1962.
- Scharff, Alexander, and Moortgat, Anton. Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum. München: F. Bruckmann, 1950.
- Scheil, V. "Inscription de Nabonide," RT, XVIII (1896), 15-29.
- _____. Une saison de fouilles à Sippar. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, I (Cairo, 1902), No.18.
- Schollmeyer, A. Sumerisch-babylonische hymnen und gebete an Samaš zusammengestellt und bearbeitet. Paderborn: Schoeningh, 1912.
- Seux, M. Epithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1967.
- Sjöberg, Åke. Der mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen überlieferung. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960.
- Smith, William Robertson. Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. New ed., rev. London: A. & C. Black, 1901.
- Soden, Wolfram von. Akkadisches Handwörterbuch; unter Benutzung des lexikalischen Nachlasses von Bruno Meissner (1868-1947) bearb. von Wolfram von Soden. 2 vol. issued in parts. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1959-.
- _____. Grundriss der akkadische Grammatik (Analecta orientalia, commentationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui, 33). Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1952.

- _____ and Röllig, Wolfgang. Das akkadische Syllabar (Analecta orientalia, 42). Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1967.
- Speiser, Ephraim A. "Authority and Law in Mesopotamia" in Authority and Law in the Ancient Orient (Supplement to the Journal of the American Oriental Society, no. 17). Baltimore: American Oriental Society, 1954.
- _____. Introduction to Hurrian (The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, vol. XX, for 1940-41). New Haven: Pub. by the American Schools of Oriental Research under the Jane Dows Nies Publication Fund, 1941.
- _____. Oriental and Biblical Studies; Collected Writings of E. A. Speiser. Edited by J. J. Finkelstein and Moshe Greenberg. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967.
- Stamm, J. J. Die akkadische Namengebung (MVAG [e.v.] 44 bd.). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1939.
- Stephens, Ferris J. Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of Cappadocia (YOR, vol. XIII-1). New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928.
- Stevens, George B. The Johannine Theology; a Study of the Doctrinal Contents of the Gospel and Epistles of the Apostle John. Rev. ed. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907.
- Strommenger, Eva. The Art of Mesopotamia. Translated by Christina Haglund. London: Thames and Hudson, 1964.
- Tallqvist, Knut L. Akkadische götterepitheta mit einem götterverzeichnis und einer liste der prädikativen elemente der sumerischen götternamen (Studia orientalia, edidit Societas orientalis fennica, VII). Helsingfors: Societas orientalis fennica, 1938.
- _____. Neubabylonisches namenbuch zu den geschäftsurkunden aus der zeit des Samassumukin bis Xerxes (Acta Societatis scientiarum fennicae, t. xxxii, no. 2). Helsingforsiae: Societatis litterariae fennicae, 1906.
- Thompson, R. Campbell. A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany. London: The British Academy, 1949.
- _____. The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon in the British Museum. 2 vols. London: Luzac & Co., 1900.

- _____. Semitic Magic; Its Origins and Development (Luzac's Oriental Religions Series, vol. III). London: Luzac & Co., 1908.
- Thompson, Stith. Motif-Index of Folk Literature. 6 vols. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955-1958.
- Ungnad, Arthur. "Lexikalisches," ZA, XXI (1917), 38-57.
- Van Buren, E. Douglas. "Amulets in Ancient Mesopotamia," Or., N.S. XIV (1945), 18-23.
- _____. "Concerning the Horned Cap of the Mesopotamian Gods," Or., N.S. XII (1943), 318-327.
- _____. The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams. Berlin: H. Schoetz & Co., 1933.
- _____. "Foundation Rites for a New Temple," Or., N.S. XXI (1952), 293-306.
- _____. Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art (Analecta orientalia: commentationes scientificae de rebus Orientis antiqui, 23). Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1945.
- Vanderburgh, Frederick Augustus. Sumerian Hymns from the Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum; Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary (Contributions to Oriental History and Philology, No. 1). New York: Columbia University Press, 1908.
- Vaux, Roland de. Ancient Israel; Its Life and Institutions. Translated by John McHugh. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961.
- Waterman, Leroy. Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire Translated into English, with a Transliteration of the Text and a Commentary. 4 parts. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930.
- Weir, Cecil James Mullo. A Lexicon of Accadian Prayers in the Rituals of Expiation. London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934.
- Widengren, Geo. The Accadian and Hebrew Psalms of Lamentations as Religious Documents. Stockholm: Aktiebolaget Thule, 1937.
- Woolley, C. L. Ur Excavations II; The Royal Cemetery. Plates. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934.
- Wright, G. E. "How Did Israel Differ from Her Neighbors?," BA, VI (1943), 1-10, 13-20.

Zehren, Erich. The Crescent and the Bull. Translated by James Cleugh. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1962.

Zimmern, Heinrich. Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss. Leipzig: A. Edelmanni, 1915.

_____. Babylonische hymnen und gebete in Auswahl. (Der Alte Orient. VII. 3 and XIII. 1). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1905, 1911.