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THE SULTANTEPE TABLETS

(Continued)

III. THE POEM OF THE RIGHTEOUS SUFFERER

“I will praise the lord of wisdom”

By W. G. LAMBERT and O. R. GURNEY ¹

For abbreviations not included in the list on the cover of this Journal, see lists in *ZA*. XLIV, in *RLA*, and in current numbers of *Iraq*. The following are used in addition :

BiOr. = *Bibliotheca Orientalis*.

S.U. = Sultantepe Urfa (registration numbers of Sultantepe tablets).

TDP = *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux*, by R. Labat. Paris and Leiden, 1951.

Theodicy = Poem edited by B. Landsberger, *Die babylonische Theodizee*, in *ZA*. XLIII, 32-76, otherwise known as ‘The Babylonian Ecclesiastes’ or ‘Dialogue about Human Misery’ (*ANET*. 438-440).

The authors wish to express their thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum and to the Director of the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul for permission to collate a number of tablets.

THE DISCOVERY OF new tablets of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, which was announced in *Anatolian Studies*, II, p. 28, comes as a very welcome supplement to the extant Akkadian Wisdom literature, a field which has been singularly barren in new finds for several decades now, as a recent writer has commented.² There are parts of two tablets³: the lower portion of a well-preserved copy of tablet I, and a copy of tablet II made up from several fragments, the lower quarter of which is badly damaged. The first is particularly valuable as this tablet has been known previously only from a few small fragments and some odd lines quoted in a native commentary. Of the second tablet quite a number of sizeable pieces are already published. The new text offers the customary scribal variants, one of which is clearly superior to the reading of an Assurbanipal tablet (l. 17), and restores some of the lacuna which exists in the middle of the tablet. It is at this place, however, that the new tablet is defective, and so some half dozen lines are still only half preserved.

The treatment accorded to the editing of the two tablets is dependent on their relative importance. Although von Soden recently edited most of the available fragments of the first tablet,⁴ the new text is such a considerable addition to knowledge that it justifies a re-editing of all the material, and so a composite text is given with a full list of variants. As the beginning

¹ The autograph copies have been prepared by Gurney, but the article itself is the work of Lambert, though it has been discussed repeatedly by both authors.

² J. J. A. Van Dijk, *La Sagesse suméro-accadienne* (Leiden, 1953), *Préface*.

³ A small fragment was noted in *Anatolian Studies*, II, p. 32, as probably belonging to the Third Tablet, but this identification now proves to be incorrect.

⁴ *BiOr.*, X, 8-12.

of the tablet is missing, the line numbering is not necessarily final. Each tenth line, however, is marked on K.9237, and with this knowledge it seems better to hazard a guess—based on the assumed total number of lines and the points at which three scribes changed from obverse to reverse—at the exact number, rather than to start numbering the preserved lines from 1. If the beginning of the tablet is ever recovered our final digit in each case will certainly remain unchanged, and the others might even be proved right. The second tablet, however, is already a standard chapter of Akkadian literature, and to have given a full list of variants would not have augmented the usefulness of the present article materially, while adding to its bulk, since the greater number of them are only concerned with *orthographica*, and especially case endings, which the scribes use, or do not use, with supreme indifference. We have therefore printed the text of the new tablet, giving restorations from the other MSS. in round brackets and equipping this text with the commentary and a select apparatus of important or interesting variants.

The transliteration has been set out metrically. The lines are divided up into two or three members, in accordance with the rhythm, a practice of the scribes who wrote these Sultantepe tablets, except that they divide rigidly into two hemistichs, frequently at the wrong point and in defiance of the rhythm. In the case of the second tablet some parts are clearly written in couplets, with occasional odd lines and triplets, and this is shown in the edition by spacing, though we have resorted to this only where it is obviously written on that plan. In the first tablet, however, the number of unequivocal couplets is so few that no spacing out has been used.

Some MSS. have material from more than one tablet, and so the symbols used are intended for the work as a whole, and not for individual tablets only. In their work the editors have been fortunate in being able to check most of the MSS. at first hand, and can thus offer some new readings. Any reading in the apparatus marked with an exclamation mark has been checked on the original.

Ludlul belongs to one of the more difficult classes of Akkadian literature, and so it cannot be hoped that the first publication of new material will solve all the difficulties involved. Of some passages we have not even attempted a translation. Every effort has been made, however, to present an accurate text, and it is hoped that others will be stimulated to add their contribution towards the fuller understanding of this poem.

Before inquiring what fresh light is thrown on the work by the new texts it will be well to examine a conclusion previously reached. The poem is by general consent a monologue uttered by a righteous sufferer, and Langdon thought that he had identified the person from a passage in the Third Tablet, where the narrator describes a dream he received in which a man addressed him as follows: "O Tâbi-utul-Enlil, resident of Nippur, for thy cleansing he has sent me" (so Langdon, *Babyloniaca*, VII, p. 179, 25). This, however, is by no means the natural way to take the words. The sentence is a typical specimen of a stereotyped announcement frequently put in the mouth of messengers, divine or otherwise, to declare

their sender,¹ and so must be rendered: "Làl-úr-alim,² who resides in Nippur, has sent me to purify you." This passage then offers no evidence for the identification of the Babylonian Job. A relevant phrase occurs in the second tablet, where the speaker declares that he taught the common people to reverence the palace (l. 32), which suggests that he himself was not a king.

The new first tablet adds some similarly inconclusive evidence pointing to the opposite conclusion. Where the text first becomes coherent, the sufferer describes how he was forsaken by his whole pantheon (ll. 43-46), and how this was accompanied by bad omens (49-54) among which was a dream. Nothing precise is said about the content of this dream, but there follow two lines (55, 56) which speak of an incurably ill king. The best way of relating these lines to the context is to assume that they are an annunciation made in the dream. And who should this king be if not the dreamer? Next we find that seven courtiers are plotting the downfall of the speaker (57-69), in some way impair his physical powers (70-76), and he becomes a social outcast, hated by his friends, abused by his slaves, and disowned by his family (77-92). In this situation his persecutors are public heroes, while any kindness shown to him meets with a fell reward (93-98). Meanwhile all his property is confiscated and his duties taken over by others (99-104). At this the sufferer gives himself up wholly to lamentation (105-110), which we cannot follow since the text breaks off at this point.

The first tablet then, as far as it is preserved, deals chiefly with the narrator's suffering at the hands of his fellow men. The second tablet is quite different. The very first line intimates that suffering from those supernatural agencies which were thought responsible for disease is the theme of this part of the work. First, however, the speaker complains that his consultation of those clergy who were concerned with the exorcising of evil demons had been of no avail (4-9). Then by a quick change the writer leaves the field of magic and incantations and addresses himself to the problem of the suffering of the righteous—another clear indication that these people had no dichotomy of ethical and cultic values. The sufferer, assuming that the gods repay good and evil, complains at some length that he has met with the fate of a wrongdoer (12-22), a sentiment expressed more succinctly elsewhere,³ and then reassures himself by stressing the pious tenor of his past life (23-32). What solution then can he find? He

¹ cf. in Sumerian: Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (Kramer) 177, 379, 516; several incantations (bilingual in late copies), see *LSS. NF. I*, 25; *IV R* 17 obv. 40 = *OECT.*, VI, p. 47 (bilingual prayer). In Akkadian there are the most interesting examples *TCL. XXIV*, no. 40, 13, *TCL. XXIII*, no. 90, 19 (Mari letters), which show that this phrase was no mere literary convention; *Ludlul III*, 15, 41. Langdon's objection that since gods are the subjects of the verbs in the other examples, Làl-úr-alim cannot be the subject here (p. 135), presumes a fuller knowledge than we have.

² The name is a Sumerian name *Làl-úr-alim*, rendered into Akkadian as *Tâbi-utul-Enlil* (Stamm, *MVAG.* 44, p. 236). This personage is mentioned again in contexts which suggest some kind of legendary hero, but nothing is really known of him.

³ "I am treated as though I did not reverence my god and goddess," *ki-i la pa-lih ili-ia₅ u dištari-ia₅ ana-ku ip-še-ik*: *STC. II*, pls. 75-84, 68; also *VAB. VII*, p. 252, l. 15.

takes hold of the old *theologoumena* about the remoteness and inscrutability of the gods, and turns them round to mean that all values must be inverted with the gods, so that what is considered right among men must be wrong with the gods, and vice versa (33–38). This in itself, however, is more a complaint than an answer, and he follows it up by pointing out the very uncertain nature of human existence, and the preponderating influence which circumstances, such as famine and prosperity, have in human conduct (39–47). In the face of all this the sufferer expresses blank resignation (48). He has, however, no time to ponder, for Disease, a theme with which the writer deals thoroughly *con amore*, is upon him.

There now follows a long section written in the style and language of such incantations as *Šurpu* VII and *CT*. 17, 12, 1–. It begins with a recital of the diseases, conceived as evil spirits, which arrive from their several other-world dwellings (49–58), and then lists the many disabilities which they inflict upon him (59–107). The listing of the parts of the body affected begins apparently in the conventional Babylonian manner, commencing with the head downwards,¹ but after a few lines the desire to include a good selection of the stock phrases of the incantation literature necessitated a breaking off of this plan and several changes of metre. When this recital is over, the narrator again stresses the helplessness of the priests who were consulted and the gods who were petitioned (108–113), mentions the outrageous behaviour of those who exploited his downfall (114–118), and

¹ This procedure is found in the series *ana marši ina ʔeḫēka* (*TDP.*, p. 18–), *CT*. 17, 9, and the hymn *KAR*. 102, 19–33. Contrast Song of Songs 7 : 1–5.

TRANSLITERATION

			M		
38.]	x x x [
39.]	x x nišē ^{meš} saḫ-ru-š[u?			
40.	x-m/l/nat-su da-me-iq-tú [
41.	d]a-liḫ-tam-ma be-lum [
42.	ù qar-ra-du ^a EN.x	pu-su x[
43.	id-dan-ni ili-i ₁₄	šá-da-šu i-[mid?			
44.	ip-par-ku ^a iš-tar- ^r i ₁₄	i-ri[q			
45.	i]s-li-it še-<id> dum-qí	šá i-di[-ia?			
46.	ip-ru-ud la-mas-si-ma	šá-nam-ma i-še- ^r [e		O	K
47.	i]n-ni-riḫ bal-ti	du-ú-ti ú-tam-mil			G
48.	si-im-ti ip-pa-ri-iš	ta-ra-na iš-ḫi-iṭ			G
49.	iš-šak-na-nim-ma	i-da-at pi-rit-ti			
50.	uš-te-ši bīti-ia	ka-ma-a-ti ar-pu-ud			
51.	dal-ḫa te-ri-tu-ú-a	nu-uḫ-pu-ḫu ud-da-kam			

Commentary (comments only) :

47. du-ú-tu bu-un-n]a-nu-ú
48. ta-ra-nu ṣil-lu

concludes the tablet with what seems to be a confession of faith in his ultimate recovery (119-120). This confession, if it be such, brings to mind Job's outburst, "I know that my redeemer liveth," but it must be observed that there are textual difficulties in both passages.

TABLET I

MANUSCRIPTS

	Lines on obv.	rev.	Symbol.
Sultantepe :			
S.U. 1951/10	38-72	73-104	M
Assur :			
VAT 11100= <i>KAR</i> 326	66-86	92-112	N
Assurbanipal :			
K 9237	47-65	66-84	O
K 3291 (Commentary)	47, 48, 61, 69, 71, 78, 86, 87, 89, 93, 105, 106		G
Babylon :			
BM 32694 (=S+ 76-11-17, 2463+2478)			K
	Col. 1 ? 48-54 ; 56-62	...	
BM 32214 (=S+ 76-11-17, 1941)			J
	Col. 2 ? Last 4 lines	...	
(K and J are probably parts of the same tablet)			

TRANSLATION

38.
.
40.
.
.
43. My god has forsaken me and dis[appeared?],
My goddess has failed me and keeps at a distance,
45. The benevolent angel who (walked) beside [*me*] *has departed*,
My protecting spirit has taken to flight, and is seeking someone else.
My strength is darkened ; my figure eclipsed ;
My dignity has flown away, my protection made off.
Omens of fear are laid upon me.
50. I am got out of my house and wander outside.
The omen organs are confused and inflamed for me every day.

Variants :

49. K : *pi*]-rit-tum
50. K : *a*[r-p]u-du

		M	O	K
52. <i>it-ti</i> ^{1a} <i>bārī</i> <i>u šá-'i-i-li</i>	<i>a-lak-tiul-tam-mad</i>			
53. <i>ina pi-i su-qí</i>	<i>li-mun egirrúú-a</i>			
54. <i>at-til-ma ina šat mu-šu</i>	<i>šu-ut-ti pár-da-at</i>			
55. <i>šarru šír ili</i>	<i>šamši šá niše^{meš}-šú</i>			
56. <i>lib-bu-uš ik-ka-šir-ma</i>	<i>pa-ṭa-ru-uš lim-niš</i>			
57. <i>na-an-za-zu tés-li-tu</i>	<i>uš-ta-na-ad-da-nu elî-ia₅</i>			
58. <i>paḥ-ru-ma ra-man-šu-nu</i>	<i>ú-šaḥ-ḥa-zu nu-ul-la-a-ti</i>			
59. <i>šum-ma iš-ten-ma</i>	<i>na-piš-ta-šu ú-šat-bak-šu</i>			
60. <i>i-qab-bi šá-nu-ú</i>	<i>ú-šat-bi tir-tu-uš</i>			
61. <i>šá ki-ma šal-ši</i>	<i>qip-ta-šú a-tam-ma-aḥ</i>			G
62. <i>er-ru-ub biṭ-uš-šu</i>	<i>ribúú i-tam-mi</i>			
63. <i>ḥa-áš-šu pi-i ḥa-še-e</i>	<i>šu-bal-kut</i>			
64. <i>šiš-šuu si-bu-u</i>	<i>i-rid-du-u še-du-uš-šú</i>			
65. <i>ik-šu-ru-nim-ma ri-kis sibit</i>	<i>il-lat-su-un</i>	N		
66. <i>u₄-]mi-iš la pa-du-u</i>	<i>ú-ri-kiš maš-lu</i>			
67. <i>u] iš-ten še-ir-šu-nu-ma</i>	<i>pa-a i-te-id-di</i>			
68. <i>li]bba na-ad-ru-nim-ma</i>	<i>na-an-ḥu-uz-zu i-šá-tiš</i>			
69. <i>tuš-šu u nap-ra-ku</i>	<i>ú-šam-ga-ru elî-ia₅</i>			G
70. <i>mut-tál-lu pi-ia</i>	<i>a-pa-tiš i-téš-'u-ú</i>			
71. <i>šap-ta-a-a šá it-ta-aš-ba-ra</i>	<i>ḥa-šik-kiš e-me</i>			G
72. <i>šá-ḫu-tum šá-gi-ma-ti</i>	<i>šá-qum-meš x-še-[</i>			
73. <i>šá-qa-a-tum ri-šá-a-a</i>	<i>ik-nu-uš qaq-qar-[iš</i>			
74. <i>lib-bi kab-ba-ra-a</i>	<i>pi-rit-ti ú-rib-[bu?</i>			
75. <i>ra-pa-áš-tum i-ra-a-ti a-saḥ-ḥur</i>	<i>qu-u it-te-'i-[il</i>			
76. <i>ša-di-ḥa a-ḥa-a-a</i>	<i>ki-TA-[a]t-ta i-taḥ-za</i>			
77. <i>šá e-til-liš at-tal-la-ku</i>	<i>ḥa-la-la al-mad</i>			
78. <i>šar-ra-ḥa-ku-ma</i>	<i>a-tur ana ri-e-ši</i>			G
79. <i>a-na rap-ši ki-ma-ti</i>	<i>e-te-me e-da-niš</i>			
80. <i>su-qa a-ba-'a-ma</i>	<i>tur-ru-ša ú-zu-na-a-ti</i>			
81. <i>er-ru-ub ekalla-šú</i>	<i>i-ša-ḫu-ra i-na-a-ti</i>			

Commentary :

61. *ta]-ma-ḥu ša-ba-tum*69. *nap-ra-ku pi-ir-ku*71. *ša-ba-ru da?-b]a?-bu : ḥa-šik-ku suk-ku-ku : e-mu-u ma-šá-lu*78. *ri-e-šu* ^{1a}*ardu*

Variants :

53. O : *e.sír* K : *-r]u-ú-a*54. O : *at-til* K : *par-da-t]um*55. M : *dingir.dingir* O : *dingir.meš*56. K : *li-i]m-ni*57. O : *na-an-za-zi tés-lit* K : *eli-ia*58. O : *-šú-nu* K : *n]u-ul-la-a-tú*59. O : *na-piš-ta-šú.* K : *'ú¹-šat-bak*60. K : *t]e-ir-tu-šú*

The omen of the seer and dream priest has not thrown light on my path.

- What is said in the street portends ill for me,
When I lie down at night, my dream is terrifying :
55. " A king, the flesh of the gods, the Sun of his people,
His heart is setting firm and is difficult to cure."
The courtiers plot rebellion against me,
They assemble themselves and *spread sedition* :
Thus the first, " I will make him pour out his life."
60. The second says, " I will make him vacate his post."
Likewise the third, " I will seize his responsibility."
" I will enter his house," says the fourth.
The fifth, ""
The sixth and seventh will make off with his protecting angel.
65. The clique of seven have assembled their forces,
Merciless like a storm, equal to . . .
One is their flesh, united in purpose,
They have raging hearts, and are ablaze like fire.
Slander and scandal have they . . . against me.
70. My lordly mouth have they *publicly* brought to confusion,
My loquacious lips are like a dumb man's,
My sonorous shout is [reduced] to silence,
My lofty head is bowed to the ground,
Dread makes my robust heart to quake.
75. If I try to turn my broad chest, a cord is tied.
My arms, (though once) strong, are both paralysed.
I, who marched as a hero—I learned to *play the flute* (?)—
Though a champion, I have become a slave.
To my many relations I am like a recluse.
80. If I walk the street, ears are pricked ;
If I enter his palace, eyes are *rolled*.

Variants :

61. G : *a-tam-mah* K : *-ma*]*h*
62. O : *i-t[a*
63. O : *5-šu. pi-i* : MO !
64. O : *6-šu 7-ú i-rad-du-u*
65. O : *ik-šur-nim-ma, si-bit*
66. O : *pa-du-ú*
67. O : *uzu.meš-šú-nu-ma*
68. M : *na-a[n-ḫu]-zu*
70. N : *a]-p[a]-a-tiš*
73. O : *šá-qa-a-ti*
75. N : *ra-pa-áš-tú* NO : *i-ra-ti*
76. O : *šá-di-ḫa* N : *šad-di-e-ḫa á.2.meš-a-a*
ki-TA-[a]t-ta (M) error for *ki-la!-at-ta* ? N : *KU?-x[*
77. O : *e-liš*
80. O : *su-qu*
81. O : *e-ru-ub e-k[al* N : *e-kal-šú-ma*

			M	N	O
82.	<i>đli-i₁₄ ki-i a-a-bi</i>	<i>ni-kil-man-ni</i>			
83.	<i>tu-šá-ma nak-ra-ti</i>	<i>na-an-du-ur-tú ma-a-ti</i>			
84.	<i>a-na a-ḫi-i</i>	<i>a-ḫi i-tu-ra</i>			
85.	<i>a-na lim-ni u gal-li-e</i>	<i>i-tu-ra ib-ri</i>			
86.	<i>na-al-bu-bu tap-pi-e</i>	<i>ú-nam-gar-an-ni</i>			G
87.	<i>ki-na-a-ti qaq-dà-a</i>	<i>ú-mar-ras-s[u] ^{g1š}kakkē^{meš}</i>			G
88.	<i>ru-ʾù-a ṭa-a-bi</i>	<i>ú-kar-r[i]ʔ na-piš-ti</i>			
89.	<i>šu-biš ina ʾpuḫri</i>	<i>iʾ-ru-ra-ni ar-di</i>			G
90.	<i>bi-ti mu/ik x x AN</i>	<i>um-ma-ni ṭa-pil-ti iq-bi</i>			
91.	<i>i-mu-ra-ni-ma m[u-d]u-u</i>	<i>šá-ḫa-ti i-mid</i>			
92.	<i>a-na la šîrē^{meš}-šú</i>	<i>iš-ku-na-ni kim-ti</i>			
93.	<i>a-na qa-ab ^{sal}dameqti-ia</i>	<i>pi-ta-as-su ḫaš-ti</i>			G
94.	<i>mu-ta-mu-ú ṭa-pil-ti-ia</i>	<i>šá-kin ana ri-e-ši</i>			
95.	<i>da-bi-ib nu-ul-la-ti-ia</i>	<i>ilu ri-šu-šú</i>			
96.	<i>x ša iq-bu-u a-ḫu-lap</i>	<i>ḫa-muṭ-su mu-tú</i>			
97.	<i>šá la amáta rig-ma i-te-me</i>	<i>uballit(TI.LA) še-du-uš</i>			
98.	<i>ul ar-ši a-lik i-di</i>	<i>ga-me-lu ul a-mur</i>			
99.	<i>a-na ši-in-di u bir-ti</i>	<i>ú-zu-ʾu-zu mim-ma-a-a</i>			
100.	<i>ina-at ak-mu-ú</i>	<i>man di lu s[a]-ki-ka</i>			
101.	<i>ina qir-bi-ti-ia</i>	<i>ú-šis-su-u ^aa-la-la</i>			
102.	<i>ki-i ál na-ki-ri</i>	<i>uš-qa-me-mu đli</i>			
103.	<i>par-ši-ia</i>	<i>ú-šal-qu-u šá-nam-ma</i>			
104.	<i>ina pil-lu-di-ia</i>	<i>a-ḫa-a uš-zi-z[u]</i>			
105.	<i>u₄-mu šu-ta-nu-ḫu</i>	<i>mu-šú gir-ra-a-ni</i>			G
106.	<i>arḫu qí-ta-a-a-u-lu</i>	<i>i-dir-tú šat-[tú</i>			G
107.	<i>ki-m]a su-um-me a-dam-mu-ma</i>	<i>gi-mir u₄-me-ia</i>			
108.	<i>kīma za]-ma-a-ru</i>	<i>qu-ub-bi-ia ú-šá-az-rab</i>			
109.	<i>ina bi]-tak-ki-e</i>	<i>šu-ub-ra-a iná¹¹-a-a</i>			
110.	<i>]x-ti</i>	<i>zur-ru-bu ú-suk-ka-[a-a</i>			
111.	<i>]e</i>	<i>a-di-rat lib-[bi-ia</i>			
112.		<i>] x x [</i>			

* * *

End of tablet (on J) :

]x x x
]x-ku ak-lu-ú
]ir! dameqtimtim
 úʔ-n]am!ʔ-mir! ^ašamšiši

Commentary :

86. *na-al-bu-bu ši-gu-ú*
 87. *ki]-na-x [i]t²-mi-ta[*
 93. *ḫa-đš-tum šu-[ut-ta-tum*
 105. *gir-ra-a-ni bi-[ki-tum*
 106. *qí-ta-a-a-ú-lu qu-ú-[lu*

- My city looks on me as an enemy ;
 Indeed my land is savage and hostile.
 My friend has become foe,
85. My companion has become a wretch and a devil,
 The fury of my comrade has . . . me,
 Constantly my associates furbish their weapons,
 My intimate friend has brought my life into danger ;
 My slave has cursed me in the assembly like . . .
90. My house . . . , the mob has defamed me.
 When my acquaintance sees me, he passes by on the other side.
 My family treat me as an alien.
 The pit awaits anyone who speaks well of me ;
 While he who utters defamation of me is promoted.
95. My slanderer slanders with god's help ;
 For the . . . who says, " How long ? " death comes at the gallop,
 While he who utters a libellous cry renews his life.
 I have no one to go at my side, nor have I found a supporter.
 My household has been enslaved.
100. The goods which I reserved, *they freed from restriction* (?).
 They have excluded rejoicing from my fields,
 And *silenced* my city like an enemy city.
 They have let another take my office
 And appointed someone else in my duties.
105. By day there is sighing, by night lamentation,
 Monthly—wailing, each year—gloom.
 I moan like a dove all my days ;
 Instead] of a song I emit groans,
 My eyes *overflow* with constant weeping,
110. My *lower eyelids shed* [. tears],
] the fears of my heart,

Variants :

83. N : *tu-ša-a-ma*
 84. N : *a-ḫi-e*
 85. N : *lim-ni gal*[
 86. G : *ú-nam-ga-ra-an-ni*
 87. G : *ki-n]a-a[ti?, 'ú-[mar]-ra-dš giš.']*
 89. G : *pu-uḫ-ri e-ru-ra-an-ni x x*[
 93. G : *ḫaš-tum*
 100. N : *i-na[, šá-k[i*
 102. N : *[uš]-qam-me-mu uru.mu*
 105. G : *mu-šu*
 106. G : *qí-ta-a-a-ú-lu, i-dir-tu mu.an.[na*
 108. Landsberger (Lehmann-Haas, *Textbuch* ², p. 312) : *kīma lal-l]a-a-ru*
 109. Von Soden (*BiOr*, X, p. 10) : *u₄-um² bi]-tak-ki-e*

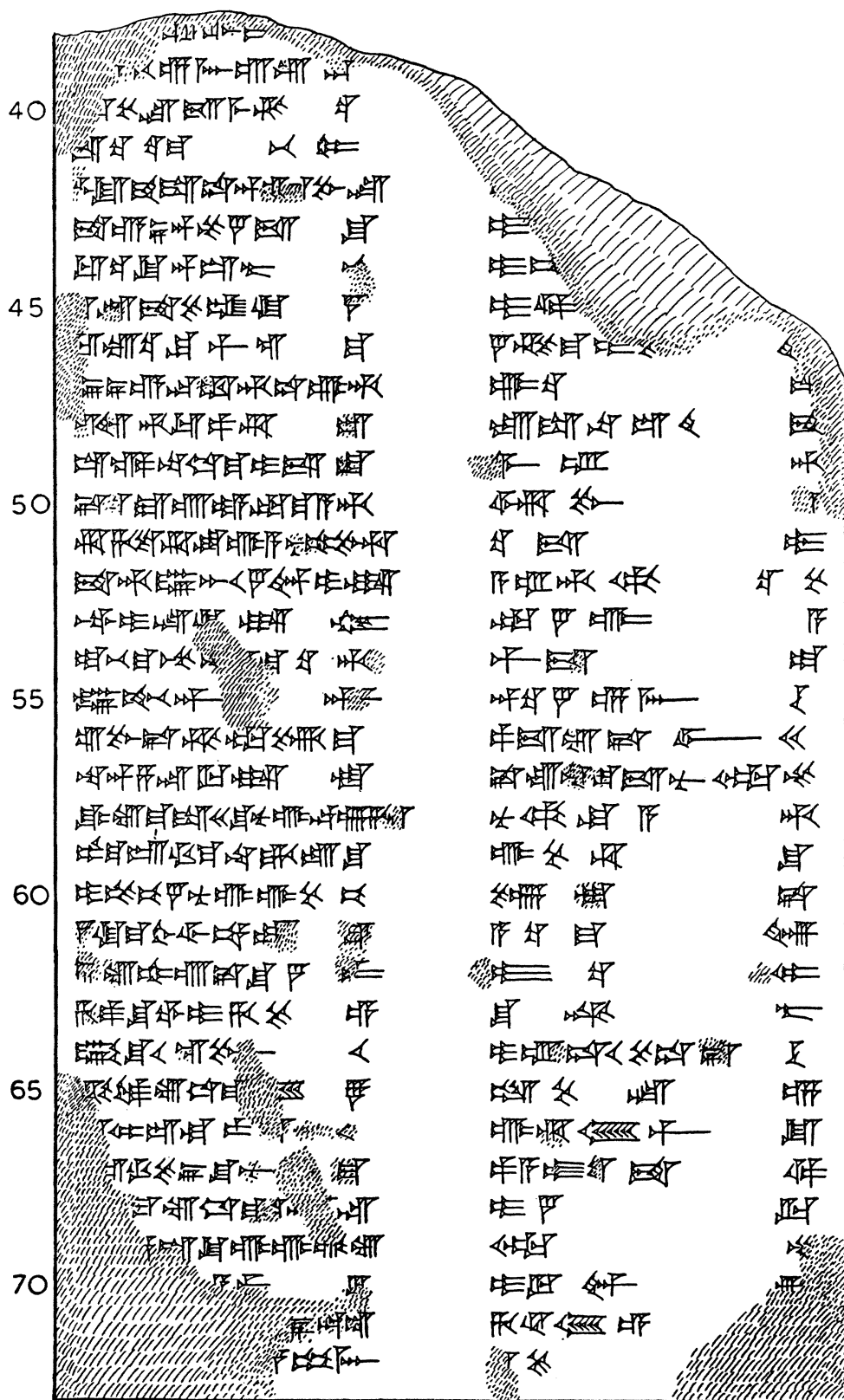


FIG. 1. S.U. 51/10. Obverse.

NOTES ON TABLET I

43. cf. Theodicy 295 : *ri-ša liš-ku-nu ilū*(dingir.dingir) *ša id-dan-ni. šá-da-šu i-[mid]*. The phrase *šadāšu emēdu* is well known as a euphemism for 'to die' (Landsberger, *MAOG.* IV, 320 ; recently Salonen on *ana šadē rakābu*, *AOr.* 17/2, 316), it is, however, only one of a number of similar idioms, the others being :

tubqāti emēdu (*Enuma Eliš* IV, 113 ; *KAR.* 168 obv. I, 15)
šaḥāti emēdu (K. 9759, 10 = Thompson, *Gilg.* pl. X ; *Ludlul* I, 91)
puzrāti emēdu (*KAR.* 29, obv. 9 ; *KAR.* 307, rev. 25 = Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, p. 37 ; *Šurpu* IV, 79 ; *CT.* 35, 18, 7 ; *ABRT.* I, p. 59, K. 8961, 7 = *BA.* V, 360)

There are also occasionally compound expressions :

šaḥāt šadēšu emēdu (Thureau-Dangin, *La Huitième Campagne*, l. 150)
puzur šaḥāti emēdu (*KAR.* 58, obv. 43)

A study of these passages in their contexts makes it evident that the phrases do not normally signify 'to die', but rather 'go away', 'disappear', or something similar, and that is the meaning which *šadāšu i[mid]* — si vera lectio — must bear in our passage.

44. For the meaning of *naṣarkū* "cease work", see the references *apud* Goetze, *JAOS.* 65, 223. A parallel to the present passage is *KAR.* 14, I, 10 :
 tu.mu ṁmu.ul.líl.lá šu.mu.un.tag₄ i.bí.ni na.ba.nigin
mār ṁen-líl ša ip-par-ku-ú pa-ni-šu la-a ú-sa-ḥi-ra-ma
 "The son of Enlil who defaulted and did not turn his face."

45. The context requires that the verb in this line should have the general sense 'depart, make off' or the like. That the first sign is to be read [i]s is rendered probable by comparison with Pinches, *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 26, 153, 13-14 :

šul] ṁinnana.bi it-lu [šá] ṁiṣ-tar-šú
 sji.il.la is-li-tu-uš

The Sumerian equivalent here is the verb *sil*, elsewhere written *sil*, *síl*, or *sil₇*, which in the following passages has precisely the required meaning :

CT. 17, 5, 35 :]gidim ab.si.il.lá = [še]-e-du ud-da-pa-ru
MAOG. 1/2, 52, 294 : *síl* = *ni-su-u*
 296 : *níg.síl.síl.lá* = *nu-us-su-ú*

The Akkadian verb *salātu* is probably an alternative form of the well known verb *šalātu* 'to cut, split, undo (the bolt of a door)', as may be seen from the fact that this verb has the same Sumerian equivalent *sil* :

CT. 17, 19, 7-8 : sa.bi . . . an.sil.sil.la = šir-a-ni-šú . . . ú-š/sal-lit
CT. 17, 25, 31 : gab . . . an.sil.sil.e = ir-tum . . . i-š/sal-lat
BA. V, 632, 18 (Langdon, *SBP.* 206, 18) :

^{g1}šsag.gúl.an.na.bi ba.e.si.il.si.il = *sik-ku-ru-šá tu-š/sal-lit*

(cf. *OECT.* VI, 46, 7 : si.il.li.e.da.zu.dè = *ina ru-um-mi-ka*).

Zimmern, *BBR.* 194, 62 : *ik-rib* ^{g1}šerina sa-la-ti-ma a-na niknakki maḥ-ri-ma sa-rak-ki

Enuma Eliš IV, 102 : *qir-bi-šá ú-bat-ti-qa ú-š/sal-lit lib-ba*, for which S.U. 1951/127 has the variant *ú-šá'-lit*.

CT. 12, 13b, 17 : *búr* = *ša-la-tu ša MIN* (*šur-rum*)
 18 : „ = *MIN ša qar-ni*

The line K.2057 II, 13 (*Bab.* VII, pl. VII) : *SIL^{g1}.laLA* = *šá-la-tu šá MIN* (*A.MAD.* = *mílum ma'adu*), which has frequently been cited in favour of a third radical *t* in this verb, may perhaps contain a different root, since the sense is difficult to reconcile with the other instances. The basic idea

of both *sil* and *salātu* will have been that of separation, which has developed on the one hand into the intransitive meaning 'depart from' and on the other into the transitive 'sever'. Probably it is cognate to Arabic سلت 'cut', which in one form has the meaning 'slip away stealthily'.

If -*ša* in this line is the possessive pronoun, as its position before the caesura suggests, it can only refer to the goddess of l. 44 (for the *šedu* and *lamassu* in the retinue of a deity see Ebeling, *Die akk. Gebetsserie Handerhebung*, p. 60, l. 16, and p. 62, l. 31). However, it is difficult to restore the end of the line with this reading, and that given in the text, which involves taking the *ša* with the second half of the line, is supported by the closely parallel *šēda damqa ša pa-ni-ki* of the last mentioned passage.

46. *iprud* occurs with a similar meaning in Theodicy 147 ([*ip-*]ru-ud *pak-ka-ka* 'your reason has left you') and in *ABL*. 1237, 5-8, where it appears to denote the final 'disappearance' of a meteor (see Weidner in *RSO*. IX, 300, and von Soden in *Or.* 15, 428). Von Soden would read *ipruṭ* and connect it with the transitive verb *parātu*, but a derivation from *parādu* 'to fear', seems equally possible; for although the stem vowel is *i* in *BA*. III, 349, I, 12-14 (a suggestively similar passage), variations of this kind occur, as von Soden himself observes.

51. This use of *nuppuḫu* with *tērētu* shows that the well-known phrase *dalḫā tērētūa* has often been misunderstood. The *tērētu* are not the omens themselves, but the viscera of the sacrificial animals on which they were based. This entirely agrees with the circumstances of this institution. The omens *per se* are clear and unambiguous: 'if a particular configuration of the organs occurs, then such and such will happen.' It is easy to understand, however, that very often it would be difficult to relate the state of the viscera to the known omen protases. Since it was Šamaš who "wrote the omen inside the sheep" (*BMS*. no. 6, 110), the pious might well be alarmed if this writing were not clear.

52. There can be no doubt that this line is intended to say that the priests did not provide any solution of the trouble, since to cite them was a traditional way of saying that something was inescapable: *SBH*. 1-3 (= 4) 18-19 = Witzel, *Tammuz Liturgien*, p. 268:

e.ne.è.mà.ni a.zu nu.un.tuk	šim.mú nu.un.tuk
a-mat-su ba-ra-a ul i-šu	šá-i-la ul i-šu
"His Word has no seer,	has no dream priest."

cf. Tablet II, 6-9, 108-111. The last three signs of the line can be differently interpreted. The occurrence of *alaktu* suggests *ul-tam-mad*; cf. Tablet II, 38, *BMS*. no. 11, 11, and especially *Maqlú* I, 13-14: *ši-ma-a da-ba-bi di-ni di-na a-lak-ti lim-da* (cf. *BMS*. no. 4, rev. 8). "Hear my speech, adjudicate my case, understand my 'way'." However, this construction of the signs gives exactly the opposite sense to that required: either, "I have been taught my path with (= from?) . . .", or "The omen . . . has taught me my path." On this construction then an haplography of *ul* must be assumed. The signs could equally well be read *ul par-sat* ("My path has not been determined . . ."), though *alakta parāsu* normally means "to block the way" (see the lexica *sub voce* *parāsu*).

53. For *egirru* (from e(nem).gar) see *MAOG*. IV, 315-9. The sense, "A sensible experience, of sight or sound, and of portentous character", will be demonstrated by A. L. Oppenheim in an article to appear shortly in *Afo*, as he has kindly informed us. See provisionally *Or.* 22, p. 428.

55. *šir ili*. The same description was given of Gilgamesh by the scorpion folk : 9, II, 14.
šamšu. cf. the epithet of Aššurnāširpal II : *šam-šu ša kiš-šat nišēmeš*, *AKA.*, p. 208, 8, etc.
56. The reading *pa-la-ru-uš lim-niš* of M is grammatically difficult. The variant of K, [*li*]m-ni, however, may be translated "is difficult to cure" (*limni* for *limun*, *metri causa*). *limniš* may be a scribal error under the influence of the preceding -uš.
57. *teslītu*. Just as there are two senses of *šullū*, 'pray' and 'show hostility', so we may perhaps presume on two senses of *teslītu*.
58. cf. *STC*. I, p. 211, 18-20 : *ú-ša-aḥ-ḥa-zu nu-ul-la-a-tum*, parallel to *a-mat su-uš-tum* (= *surtum*, *AK*. I, 75) *i-dib-bu-bu*, *i-qab-bu-ú ma-ag-ri-tum*, *mi-il-ki la ku-šir im-tal-lik*, and *i-te-iḫ-šu sur-ra-a-tum*.
59. Clearly *šum-ma*, and also *šá ki-ma* in 61, introduce direct speech, but they seem to be without parallel.
62. *er-ru-ub bīt-uš-šu*. i.e. to seize the inheritance, cf. Šamaš Hymn III, 12 (*Afo*. XVI, 46).
67. *i-te-id-di*. IV/2 stative of *idú*. cf. the idioms *pá ištēn šušunu* and *ana pī ištēn turru*.
69. The Commentary explains *napraku* as *pirku*, and *pirki itti X dabābu* = verleumden (Ebeling, *Glossar zu den neubab. Briefen*, p. 180), so *ú-šam-ga-ru* is presumably a verb of saying.
70. *a-pa-tiš* = "to the (*nišē*) *apāti*"?
71. The explanation of *ḥašikku* by *sukkuku* in the Commentary also appears, as is often the case, in the synonym lists : *LTBA*. II, no. 11, I, 12.
- 72, 73. cf. Theodicy 292, 293.
šá-pu-tum. Von Soden's collections of instances of verbs *ša/eb/pú* (*ZA*. 43, 261, *ZA*. 47, 11, *BiOr*. X, 11) provide invaluable source material, but it may be doubted whether the last word has been said about meanings. If one excludes the Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian examples, which do not decisively determine the meaning of any root *šb/pw* in later dialects, there does not seem to be any passage where 'be silent' is certainly correct. Three other passages in which derivatives of the simple stem occur are all nonsense if this meaning is assumed. A bull is not normally a simile for silence (*BRM*. IV, 1, 3 ; Speiser, *ANET.*, p. 104, reasonably conjectures "bellowed"), nor must the first half of Theodicy 292 contradict the second (*rigmu ul iššapu, iššapil atmúa*, "meine Stimme ward nie laut, gesenkt blieb meine Rede"—Landsberger, *ZA*. 43, 73), and to speak of Ištar as a goddess "whose cry is silent" (*KAR*. 57, 3 + duplicates = Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, p. 50, 31, *Quellen* II, p. 4) is altogether inappropriate. Von Soden's first hesitating suggestion "schallen, lärmern" would seem to be correct. As to the II/1 stem in such passages as *mušebbi saḥmašātīm*, there appears to be no evidence for a specific connection with sound.
75. *it-te'-i-[il* : IV/2 of *e'ēlu*.
76. *šadāḫu* is used again of the hands in Sm. 28 + 83 (*RA*. 28, 138-9 ; *LSS*. NF. I, 93-9) rev. IV, 11, 12 (collated) :
á.bi.šè SUD.g[i.e]š mu.un.ši.in.gar.ra
a-na i-di-šu šá-da-ḥa i-šak-kan

In the context it is certain that *šá-da-ḥa* is a good quality of the hands, probably 'strength'. The relation of this sense of the word to 'go (in

procession) ' is obscure, but a similar problem exists with *išdihu* ' perambulation ' and ' profit '.

77. *ha-la-la*. See von Soden in *ZA*. 43, 261-2. If the translation " playing the flute " is correct, the phrase will refer to the speaker's former prosperity rather than to his present distress.
79. *ki-ma-ti*. This form of *kimtu* is attested in the list II R. 29 e-f 73. *kimtu* is sometimes feminine, as in the etymology of Hammurabi as *kim-ta ra-pa-áš-tum* (V R. 44 a-b 21).
80. *tur-ru-ša ú-zu-na-a-ti*. The same phrase is used of a sheep : *uzná^{meš}-šu tar-ša* (Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, p. 42, 11 ; cf. *ZA*. 43, 253).
81. The *-šu* on *ékalla-šu* lacks an antecedent. Is this due to the line having been borrowed from a context where such was present, or is it just a scribal vagary ?
- i-ša-pu-ra*. There is *zapāru* ' be evil ', *šabāru* ' seize ', *šab/pāru* ' chatter ', and *šapāru* ' scratch, be sharp '. Also in medical texts a *šapāru* appears to which no certain meaning has yet been assigned (von Soden, *Or.* 20, 159). With the eye there is : *in-šu šá šumēli i-šap-par* (*TDP.* 72, 8 ; 74, 29) and *iš-ša-par* from an unpublished OB omen text (von Soden, *loc. cit.*).¹ The different stem vowel in these passages as compared with ours only complicates an already difficult problem. Labat's translation of the *TDP.* passages (" rouler ") suits our context, and has been provisionally adopted.
83. *na-an-du-ur-tú*. From *nadāru* not *adāru* ; cf. *OECT.* IV, p. 60, 5-6 :
na-ad-ru = *še-gu-u*
na-al-bu-bu = *na-an-du-ru*
87. For *kinātu* ' colleague ', which also appears in Aramaic and Libyan (*ZA*. 50, 133), see *ZA*. 49, 178-9, and *LTBA.* II, no. 1, III, 51-4, restored by S.U. 51/6 :
lú.⟨ku⟩.li = *ib-ru*
lú.an.ta = *tap-pu-u*
lú.man.bi = *ta-li-mu*
lú.kù.šub = *ki-na-a-tu*
 Also *Maqlú* III, 115 (IV, 65) : *ib-ru tap-pu u ki-na-at-tu*, etc.
89. *šu-biš*. Is this perhaps the same simile as the still obscure *kima šúbe ušnīl* of the Middle-Assyrian royal inscriptions (*AOB.* I, p. 134⁹) ? Von Soden's interpretation of *šubu* as the Assyrian form of *šu'u* ' sheep ' (*AnOr.* 33, § 24b, and *ZA*. 50, 171, n. 4) has not convinced us.
90. cf. *um-ma-nu* = *pu-ḥur nišē^{meš}*, *LTBA.* II, no. 1, VI, 35.
91. cf. note on l. 43.
93. *qa-ab^{sa} dameqti-ia*. cf. *MAOG.* IV, 314, *Afo.* XIV, 148, 160-1.
pi-ta-as-su haš-ti. The same phrase occurs Theodicy 62, where the commentator explains : *ha-áš-tú : iršitimtim : ana muḥḥi HAŠ : šá-ga-šu*. The present passage justifies the commentator's view that a literal lion pit is not meant, though we may disagree with his etymology. For similar names of the Underworld, see Tallquist, *Studia Orientalia* V, 4, p. 3.
97. *lá amāta*. cf. *OIAS.* I, 73, 46 : *i-nim-ma* = *la a-ma-tum* (also *LTBA.* II, no. 1, XII, 123) where the context rather than the equivalent, which seems normally to be a neutral word, shows it to be some kind of verbal profanation. The equivalent is certainly parallel in that it too seems to be used in apposition to another noun (*Enuma Eliš* VI, 22 ; *PSBA.* 38, 136, 32). Another example is K.3927 rev. 10 (*ASKT.*, p. 75) : *la a-ma-ti [ai] aḥ-ḥab-bil*. Cf. the similar expression *lá qabitu* (*KAR.* 119, obv. 10 ; *Afo.* XII, 242, 41-4).

¹ Also *BRM.* IV 33, 1 : *PA.PA* (??) = *ši-pi-ru ša ini*.

99. The monstrum *ú-zu-'u-zu* is scarcely more than a scribal error, for the verb is stative where the phrase occurs in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon (I *R.* 49, II, 9-10 = *BA.* III, 218, etc.) : *a-na ši-in-di ù bir-te zu-'u-ú-zu*, "to divide between the bond and the fetter."
100. Sense could be made of the second half of the line if the *man* is emended to *šad*, and the *ú* of *ak-mu-ú* taken with it : *ú-šad-di-lu sa-ki-ka* "they made wide the blockage", which would form the contrast to "the property I bound".
101. For *alālu* see *BASOR.* 103, 11-14, and especially *VAB.* VII, p. 56-8, 102-3.
102. The context seems to require the verb to be taken causatively, although no other cases are cited by Heidel, *OIAS* 13, 34, where this is certain.
107. cf. *ZA.* 43, 14, 37 : *ki-ma su-um-me* ; usually the phrase is *kīma summati*.
110. *zurruhu*. Cf. Sennacherib Prism VI 30-31 : *ši-na-te-šu-un ú-zar-ra-bu*, and Driver, *ZATW.* 65, 258.
usukkāia. For this meaning of *usukku* see Jensen, *OLZ.* 32, 851. Kraus's suggestion, *Physiognomatik* 34 n. 52, does not take the present passage into account.

TABLET II

MANUSCRIPTS

	Lines on obv.	rev.	Symbol.
Assurbanipal :			
K 2518+DT 358	1-47	96-120	A
K 3972	21-48	98-120	B
K 8396	44-65	66-90	C
K 3323+Rm 941	18-23	105-120	D
(C and D are almost certainly parts of the same tablet.)			
DT 151	1-11	(Colophon)	E
Sm 1745	3-9	. . .	F
K 3291 (Commentary)	3, 7, 9, 11, 21, 24, 43, 44, 53, 57, 61, 69, 70, 88, 90, 96, 97, 98, 100	101, 107	G
Assur :			
VAT 10657= <i>KAR</i> 108	. . .	82-94	H
Sultantepe :			
S.U.1951/15A+32+46+103A	1-56	61-120	I
Babylon :			
BM 32214 (=S+ 76-11-17, 1941)			
Col. 2? 1-17		. . .	J
BM 32694 (=S+ 76-11-17, 2463+2478)		. . .	K
Col. 2? 16-33			
(J and K are possibly parts of the same tablet.)			
Sippar :			
Si 37+881	8-29 ; 37-47	76-120	L

TRANSLITERATION

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>akšud</i> (<i>ma</i>) <i>a-na ba-laṭ</i> | (<i>a-dan</i>)- <i>nu i-ti-(i)q</i> |
| 2. <i>as</i> -[<i>sa</i> ?-](<i>hur-m</i>) <i>a</i> | <i>li-mun (li)-mun-(ma</i> |
| 3. <i>za-p(ur-ti) ú-ta-aṣ-ša-pa</i> | <i>i-(šar-ti) ul ut-t(u</i> |
| 4. <i>ila (al-s)i-ma</i> | <i>ul (id)-di-na pa-ni-[š]u</i> |
| 5. <i>ú-(sal-l)a?</i> ^a <i>iš-tar-ri</i> | <i>ul 'ú'?-šá-qa-a ri-ši-šu</i> |
| 6. ^{lu} (<i>bārú</i>) <i>ina bi-r(i</i> | <i>a)r-ka-at ul ip-ru-us</i> |
| 7. <i>ina maš-šak</i>)- <i>ki šá-'i-i-li</i> | <i>ul ú-šá-pi di-nim</i> |
| 8. <i>za-(qí-q)ú a-BA.BI-?-ma</i> | <i>ul ú-pat-ti uz-ni</i> |
| 9. <i>maš-[ma]š-šu ina kî-kîṭ-tè-e</i> | <i>ki-mil-ti ul ip-tur</i> |
| | |
| 10. <i>a)i-it ip-še-ti</i> | <i>šá-na-at ma-ti-tan</i> |
| 11. <i>a-mur ar-(k)a-te</i> | <i>ri-da-ta ip-pi-ru</i> |
| 12. <i>ki-i šá tam-qí-[s]u?</i> | <i>a-na ili la uk-tin-nu</i> |
| 13. <i>ù ina ma-ka-li-e</i> | ^a <i>iš-ta(r l)a iz-za-kar</i> |
| 14. <i>aḫ-pi) la e-nu-u</i> | <i>šu-(kin)-na la am-ru</i> |
| 15. <i>ina pi-i-šu ip-p)ar-ku-u</i> | <i>su-pu-u tés-li-tú</i> |
| 16. <i>ib-ti-(lu u₄-um) ili</i> | <i>i-še-tú eš-še-šu</i> |
| 17. <i>id-du-(u aḫ)-šú-ma</i> | <i>me-e-šu-(n)u i-me-šu</i> |
| 18. <i>pa-la-ḫa (it)-ú-du</i> | <i>la ú-šal-me-du nišē^{meš}-šú</i> |
| 19. <i>il-šú la iz-ku-ru</i> | <i>i-ku-l(u) a-kal-šú</i> |
| 20. <i>iz-bu ^aiš-tar-(ta)-šú</i> | <i>(mas-ḫ)a-(s)u la ub-la</i> |
| 21. <i>a-na ša im-ḫu-u</i> | <i>be-la-šu (im)-šu-u</i> |
| 22. <i>ni-iš ili-šú kab-tú</i> | <i>(qal-liš i)z-kùr</i> |
| | <i>a-na-ku am-rak</i> |
| 23. <i>aḫ-su-us-ma ra-ma-ni</i> | <i>(su)-pu-u tés-li-tú</i> |
| 24. <i>tés-li-tú ta-ši-ma-tú</i> | <i>(ni-qu-u sak-k)u-ú-a</i> |
| 25. <i>u₄-mu pa-la-aḫ ili</i> | <i>tu-ub lib-bi-ia</i> |
| 26. <i>u₄-mu ri-du-tú ^aiš-tar</i> | <i>(ni-me-l)i (t)a-a(t-tur-r)i</i> |
| 27. <i>ik-rib šarri</i> | <i>ši-(i ḫi)-du-ti</i> |
| 28. <i>ù ni-(g)u-ta-(š)u</i> | <i>(ana da-me-iq-ti) šum-ma</i> |

Commentary :

3. *za-pur-tum ru-ub-[bu?*
 7. *maš-šak-ku sur-qí-nu šá ^{lu}šā'ili*
 9. *kî-kîṭ-tu-ú ni-pi-ši*
 11. *ip-pi-ri : [m]a-na-aḫ-tum : muršu*
 21. *im-ḫu-ú ka-ba-tum*
 24. *sak-ku-u par-ši*

TRANSLATION

1. I attained to health, but the climax passed.
 As I turn around, it is dreadful, it is dreadful ;
 My ill luck has increased, and I do not find the right.
 I called to my god, but he did not show his face ;
5. I prayed to my goddess, but she did not raise her head.
 The seer with his inspection has not got to the root of the matter,
 Nor has the dream priest with his libation elucidated my case.
 I sought the favour of the *zaqiqu*-priest, but he did not enlighten me ;
 And the incantation priest with his ritual did not ameliorate the
 divine wrath against me.
10. What strange conditions everywhere !
 When I look behind, there is persecution, trouble.
 Like one who has not made regular libations to his god,
 Nor invoked his goddess at table,
 Does not engage in prostration, nor takes cognizance of bowing down ;
15. In whose mouth supplication and prayer is lacking,
 Who has put an end to holy days and profaned sabbaths,
 In his negligence despised the gods' rites,
 Who has not taught his people reverence and worship,
 But has eaten his food without invoking his god,
20. And abandoned his goddess by not bringing a flour offering,
 Like one who has grown torpid and forgotten his lord,
 Has made a solemn oath by his god slightlying,
 (like such an one) do *I* appear.
 For myself, I gave attention to supplication and prayer :
 Prayer was wisdom to me, sacrifice my rule.
25. The day for reverencing the gods has been a joy to my heart ;
 The day of the goddess's procession has been profit and gain to me.
 The royal prayer—that was my joy,
 And the accompanying music became a delight for me.

Variants :

2. AE : *a-saḥ-ḥur-ma*
 3. J : *ú-šar-tú, ú-šu*
 5. A : *i-šaq-qa-a ri-ši-šá*
 7. AF : *u 1ašā'ili* G : *i-šá-pi* J : *di-in-šú-nu*
 8. AEF : *a-bal-ma*. There seems to be an erasure in I after *a-BA.BI*.
 12. A : *tam-qi-tum*
 13. A : *zak-ru* J : *i-zak-ru*
 17. A : *aḥ-šú-nu* L : *]x-^rma⁷! me-šú-nu* J : *]x x x ^rdingir.meš i-me!-e-šú^r*
 20. L : *mas]-ḥa!-su!* A : *mas-ḥas*

- I instructed my land to keep the gods' rites,
 30. And stimulated my people to value the goddess's name.
 I made the praise for the king like a god's,
 And taught the mob reverence for the palace.
 I wish I knew that these things were agreeable to one's god !
 What is pleasing to oneself is an abomination to one's god,
 35. What in one's own heart seems vile is pleasing to one's god.
 Who knows the will of the gods in heaven ?
 Who understands the plans of the underworld gods ?
 Where have mortals learnt the way of a god ?
 He who was alive yesterday is dead today ;
 40. In a moment people are dejected, suddenly they are
 One moment they are singing in exaltation,
 Another they groan like professional mourners.
 Their intentions change like opening and shutting (the legs).
 When starving, they are like a corpse,
 45. When replete, they vie with their gods.
 In prosperity they speak of scaling heaven,
 Under adversity they complain of going down to hell.
 I am appalled at these things ; I do not understand their significance.
 As for me, the long suffering, plague is persecuting me !
 50. Disease
 An Evil Wind has blown from the horizon,
 Headache has sprung up from the surface of the underworld,
 An evil Cough has left its *Apsú*,
] Headache left *Ekur*,
 55.] from the Mountain,
 Shivering set out [from] the flood,
 Swooning cleaves the ground along with the grass.
] their host, together they came on me.
 hea]d, they *consumed* my skull ;

Variants :

35. AB : *eli ili-šú*
 40. B : *i/uḥ-ta-bar*
 44. B : *ša-lam-tiš*
 47. B : *a-rad*
 48. *uš-ta-zaq, al-tan-d[a* : the defective signs of I are restored from the traces on B.
 51. Restoration from Tablet 3 (Si 55 rev. 5). *i-zi-qa!* : C
 53. *it-ta-ša!-a* : C! I (Only the lower part of *ša* on G).
 54, 55 : C : *ul-tu*
 56.]*KAL!* : C.
 57. G : *i-pi-iš-šu*

60. (*pa²-ni²-ia²*) *i-ki-lu* *i-na-i-lu iná¹¹-ia*
 61. *la-ba*)-*ni* (*e-te-qu* *ú-ram-mu-ú ki-šá-du*
 62. *ir²-ti²*) *im-ḥa-(ṣu* *tu-li-e it-ṭe₄-ru¹*
 63. *ši²*)-^r*i¹-ri il-pu-(tú* *ra-¹*)*i-ba id-d^ru-ú¹*
 64. *ina r*)]*i-eš lib-bi-ia* (*ip-pu-ḥu i-šá-t[u*
 65. *qir-bi-ia id-lu-ḥu* (*ú-na-ti-iá ut-ti-[x*
 66. *šu-[ud²-d]u²-u uḥ-ḥu* *ú-(la-²-i-bu ḥ[a-še²-e²*
 67. *meš-ri-te-ia ú-la-²i-bu* *ú-niš-šú (pi-^rit^r-ri*
 68. *la-a-ni zaq-ru* *i-bu-tú (i-ga-ri-iš*
 69. *ga)t-ti rap-šá-ta* *ur-ba-ti uš-ni-(i-la*
 70. *ki-i ú-lil-tú an-na-bi-k[u]* *bu-ba-ni-iš (an-na-di*
 71. *a-lu-u zu-(u)m-ri* *i-te-di-iq ṣu-ba-(ti*
 72. *ki-m)a šu-uš-kal-li* *ú-kát-ti-man-(ni šit-tú*
 73. *pal-ša-a-ma* *ul i-na-ṭa-[la]* (*i-na-a-a*
 74. *pi-ta-a* *ul i-še-ma* (*uz-na-a-a*
 75. *ka-la pag-ri-ia* *i-ta-(ḥaz)* *ri-mu-tú*
 76. *mi-šit-tú* *im-ta-(qut)* *e-lu šêrē^{meš}-ia²*
 77. *man-gu* *iṣ-ša-(bat)* *i-di-ia*
 78. *lu-²u-tú* *im-ta-(qut)* *e-li bir-ki-ia*
 79. *ma-šá-a-ma* *nam-ši-(šá)* *še-pa-a-a*
 80. *mi²-i]ḥ²-ṣu šuk-šú-(du)* *ú-nap-^{pa}paq ma-aq-tiš*
 81. *x-]du-ud) mu-ú-(tu* *i)-te-rim pa-ni-ia*
 82. *a²-ḥa²]-sa-sa-ni-ma* *šá-²i-li ul) ap-pal*
 83. *]A i-bak-ku-u* *ra-ma-ni) ul i-ši*
 84. (*ina pi-ia* *na-aḥ-bal* *na-di-ma)*
 85. *ù nap-ra-ku* *si-ki-ir* *ša)p-ti-(i)a*
 86. *b]a²-bi e-di-il* *pi-ḥi maš-qu)-ú-a*
 87. (*á)r-kat bu-bu-te* *ka-tim ur-[ú-di)*
 88. *áš-na-an šum)-ma* *da-ad-da-riš a-la-(²u-ut*
 89. ^a*siriš(ŠIM)) nap-šat nišē^{meš}* *elî-ia₅ (im-tar-ṣu*
 90. *ap-pu-na-ma* *i-te-ri-ik si-li-(e-tum*

Commentary :

61. *i-ti-qú : ra-mu-u : še-bi-ru*
 69. *ur-ba-tu : ḡ¹⁵ur-ba-nu*
 70. *ú-lil-tum su-un-gir-tum*
 88. *da-da-ru bu-u²-šá-nu*
 90. *ap-pu-na-ma ma-²a-diš : si-li-e-tum : murṣu*

Variants :

62. *tu/-li-e : C*
 67. *C : [ú-l]a-²i-ib!*

60. My face] is dark, my eyes are in flood.
They have wrenched my neck muscles and paralysed my neck ;
They struck [my chest], drubbing my breast.
They smote my [fle]sh and caused shivering fits,
In] my epigastrium they kindled a fire
65. They upset my bowels and ;
Spreading poison, they brought on a fever in [my lungs].
They caused fever in my limbs and made my fat to quake.

My lofty stature they destroyed like a wall,
My robust figure they bowed down like a bullrush.
70. I am *thrown down* like a bog plant and cast on my face.

The *alû*-demon has clothed himself in my body as with a garment ;
Sleep covers me like a net.

My eyes stare, but do not see
My ears are open, but do not hear.
75. Paralysis has seized my whole body,
Bruising has fallen on my flesh.

Paralysis has grasped my hands ;
Feebleness has fallen on my knees.
My feet forget their movement.
80. A stroke] has got me ; I choke like someone prostrate.
. .] . death, it has covered my face.

My mind is] on myself, I do not answer anyone who addresses me.
. . . .] weeps, has not
- A halter is laid on my mouth,
85. And a gag on the utterance of my lips.

My ' gate ' is barred, my ' drinking place ' blocked,
My hunger is prolonged, my throat stopped up.

When grain is served I eat it as filth ;
Beer, the life of mankind, is distasteful to me.
90. My malady is indeed protracted.

Variants :

69. C : *ú-ru-ba-iš* G : *ur-ba-ti-iš*
77. C : *iš-bat*
79. C : *m[a]!-šá!-ma na-mu-ši-šá ši!-[p]a!-a-a*
80. C : *m[a!-aq-ti-i]š*
82. *a?-ha?-]sa!-sa-ni-ma* : C
85. *ù! nap!-ra!-ku* : C L : *u! nap-ra-ku sa-ki-ir*
86. *b]a?-bi e-di-il!* : C H : *e]-díl*
87. *á]r!-kat!* : C H : *ar]-^rkàt^r* L : *SAR (= arqat!)* H : *ru-[ú-di*
89. *nišē^{meš}* : IL! H : *^rilī^{meš}*

91. *ina la ma-ka-li-e* *zi-mu-ú-(a id-dar*
 92. *ši-ri iš-taḥ-ḥa* *da-mi i-(zu-[ba?*
 93. *e-ši-en-ti us-su-q(at₆* *a-ri-m)at m(aš-[ki?*
 94. *šír-a-nu-u-a nu-up-pu-(ḥu* *ú-ri)k-ta maḥ-[ša?-at?*
 95. *a-ḥu-uz ir-ši me-si-ru* *mu-ṣ(i-e) ta-ni-(ḥ[u*
 96. *a-na ki-suk-ki-ia* *i-tu-ra bi-i-ti*
 97. *il-lu-ur-tú šērē^{meš}-ia* *na-da-a i-da-a-a*
 98. *maš-kan ra-ma-ni-ia* *muq-qu-ta še-pa-(a-a*
 99. *ni-(d)a-tu-ú-a šum-ru-šu* *me-ḥi-iṣ-ti dan-na-[at*
 100. *qin)-na-zi id-da-an-ni* *ma-lat ṣil-la-a-(tum*
 101. *pa-ru-uš-šu ú-saḥ-ḥi-la-an-ni* *zi-qa-ti d(an-nat*
 102. *kal u₄-me* *ri-du-u i-ri-da-(an-ni*
 103. *ina šat m)u-ši* *ul ʾi-napʾ-(pa-šá-an-ni sur-riš*
 104. *ina i-tab-la)k-ku-ti* *p(u-uṭ-tu-ru rik-su-ú-a*
 105. *meš-ri-tu-u-a su-up-pu-ḥ)a* *i-ta-ad-da-a a-ḥa-ta*
 106. *ina ru-ub-ši-ia* *a-bit)* *k(i-i) a(l-p)i*
 107. *ub-tal-lil* *ki-i immeri* *ina ta)-ba-áš-ta-ni-ia*
 108. *sakīkiki-ia* *iš-ḥu-ṭu* *maš-ma)š-šu*
 109. *ù te-ri-ti-ia* *(¹⁰bārú* *ú)-tés-ši*
 110. *ul ú-šá-pi (a-ši-pu* *š)i-kin murši-ia*
 111. *u a-dan-ni si-li-ti-ia* *¹⁰bārú u(l) i(d)-dīn*
 112. *ul i-ru-ša ilu* *qa-ti ul (iṣ)-bat*
 113. *ul i-ri-man-ni^d (i)š-tar-ri* *i-da-a-a ul i(l)-lik*
 114. *pi-ti kimahḥu* *ir-[s]u-u šu-ka-nu-ú-a*
 115. *a-di la m(i-t)u-ti-ma* *bi-ki-ti g(am-r)at*
 116. *kal māti-ia* *ki-i ḥa-bil* *iq-bu-(ni*
 117. *iš-me-ma ḥa-du-u-a* *im-me-ru pa-nu-šú*
 118. *ḥa-di-ti ú-ba-si-ru* *ka-bat-ta-šá (i)p-pir-da*
 119. *i-di u₄-me* *šá gi-mir dīm-ti-ia*
 120. *šá qir-bi mu-di-e* *^dšamas-(su)-un i-qir*

Commentary :

96. *ki-suk-ku ki-lum*
 97. ¹⁸*il-lu-ur-tum is-qa-tum*
 98. *maš-kan : bi-ri-tum*
 100. *qin-na-zu iš-tuḥ-ḥu : ṣil-la-a-tum ka-ta-a-tum*
 101. ¹⁸*pa-ru-uš-šú* ¹⁸*ḥattū*
 107. *ta-ba-áš-ta-nu : zu-ú ši-na-tum*

- Through lack of food my countenance is dark,
 My flesh is flaccid, and my blood has ebbed away.
 My bones are come apart, and are covered (only) with my skin ;
 My muscles are inflamed, my smitten.
95. I take to a bed of bondage ; going out is a pain ;
 My house has become my prison.
- My hands are stricken—which shackles my flesh ;
 My feet are limp—which fetters my person.
- My afflictions are very grievous, my wound is severe.
100. A scourge throws me down, the *stroke* is *intense* (?).
 The crop stings me and the spur is severe.
- All day long the tormentor torments me,
 Nor at night does he let me relax for a moment.
- Through *twisting* my sinews are separated,
105. My limbs are splayed and knocked apart.
- I spend the night in my stall like an ox,
 And wallow in my excrement like a sheep.
- The disease of my muscles has *exposed* the incantation priest,
 And my omens have confounded the seer.
110. The exorcist has not diagnosed the nature of my complaint,
 Nor has the seer put a time limit on my illness.
- My god has not come to the rescue in taking me by the hand,
 Nor has my goddess shown pity on me by going at my side.
- My grave has been opened, and my valuables *rifled*,
115. Before I was (quite) dead lamentation for me was finished.
- All my country said, “ How he is crushed ! ”
- The face of him who gloats lit up when he heard,
 The tidings reached her who gloats, and her heart rejoiced.
- But I know the day when my tears will be ended,
120. When among my friends their Sun will be held in esteem.

Variants :

92. L : *iz-zu!-[ba?*
 100. G : *ma-la-a* L : *ma-la-ti*
 103. BL : *ú-nap-pa-šá-an-ni*
 106, 107. L : *ki-ma*
 114. L : *ir-[s]u-ú* B : *ir-šu-ú*

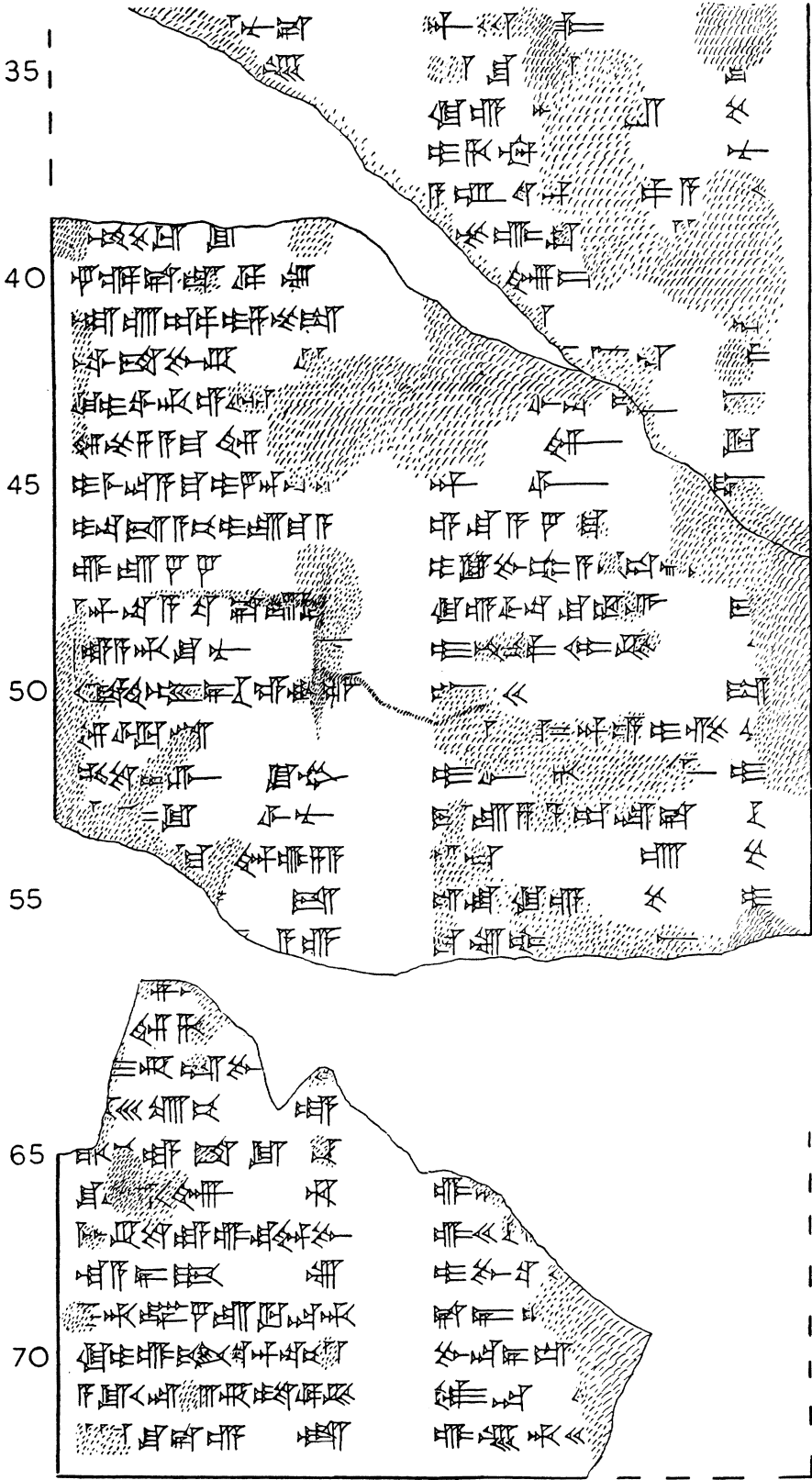


FIG. 4. S.U. 51, 32 + 103A(+) 15A. Obverse (contd.).

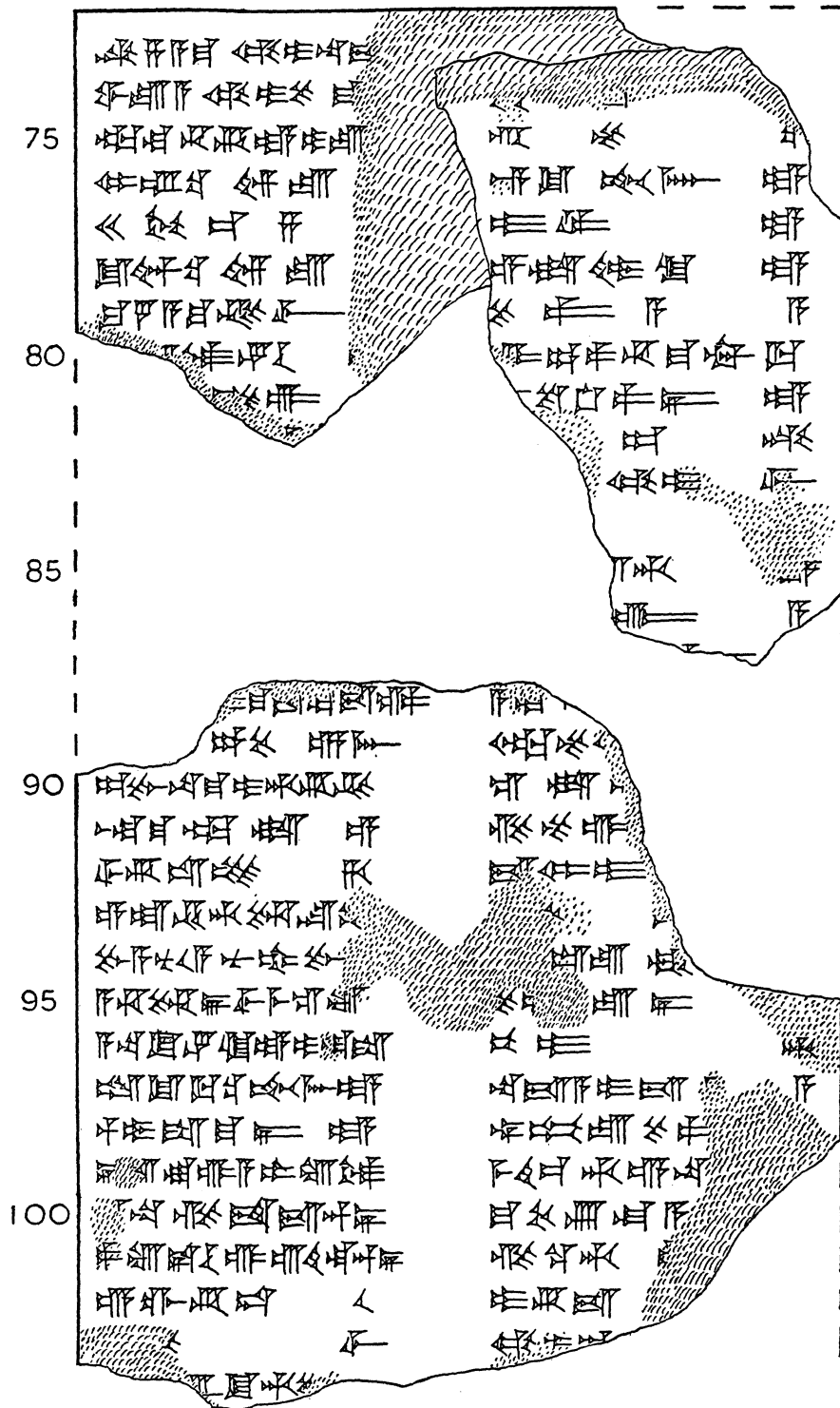


FIG. 5. S.U. 51/15A + 46 (+) 103A. Reverse.

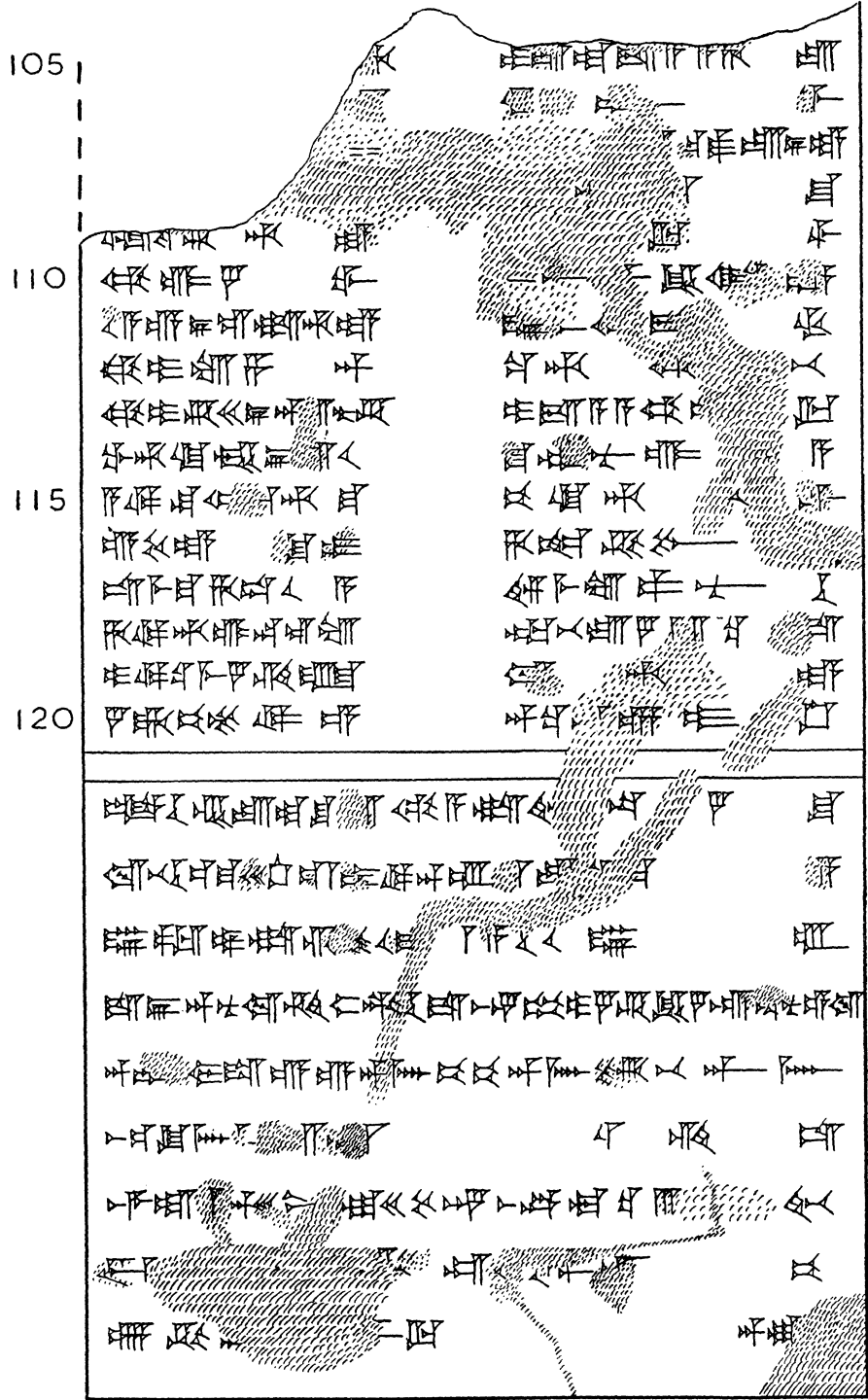




FIG. 6. S.U. 51/32. Reverse (contd.).

NOTES ON TABLET II

1. *ba-laṭ*. For the meaning 'health' cf. *TDP*. 164, 74-5 : *š. kal u₄-mi mariš-ma ina mūši ba-liṭ* . . . "If he is ill throughout the day but well in the night . . ."
- a-dan-nu i-ti-iq*. This is a common legal phrase in the *KAJ* texts ; e.g. 11, 9 : *e-da-nu e-ti-iq-ma* ; it occurs also in the Tell Billa document, *Symbolae Koschaker* 145, 11.¹ For a literary use cf. *KAR*. 169 obv. IV, 26 : *u₄-mu iq-ta-tu-ú i-te-ti-iq a-dan-nu* "The days have come to an end, the time is past".
3. *za-pur-ti*. For this reading see von Soden, *Or*. 20, 158.
ú-ta-aš-ša-pa. Despite the *p* this must be from *wašābu* = *dah*, 'increase,' not *ešēpu* = *tab*, 'double.' cf. *RA*. 33, 56¹ ; *Or*. 16, 75.
4. *id-di-na pa-ni-šu*. cf. *JAOS*. 61, 256, *BBS*., p. 121, 15.
5. *ú-šá-qa-a ri-ši-šu*. The traces of the *ú* on I are not such that it is impossible that this tablet had *i*, with A. But in any case the idiom 'to pay attention' is *rēša šuqqú* (*MAOG*. IV, 299³), and Witzel (*Or*. 4, 115) is correct in insisting that *i-šaq-qa-a* can only mean 'is high', not 'raises'. The parallelism of the previous line too shows that a preterite is required, and so the text of A must be emended to *ú-šaq-qa-a* with Ball (*The Book of Job*, p. 14). Errors of this kind do occur : 7 : *ú-šá-pi*, G : *i-šá-pi* ; 103 : *ú-nap-pa-šá-an-ni* (BL), I : *i-nap*].
- 6, 7. cf. 108-111. The clergy mentioned were of course just as essential in case of illness as the *asú*. cf. Ungnad in *AfO*. XIV, 252, and *TDP*. 170, 14 : *ú¹⁴asá ú¹⁴āšipa ú¹⁴bārā ú¹⁴šā'ila šu-ud-di* " . . . to inform the doctor, the incantation priest, the seer, the dream priest." These lines are closely paralleled in IV R² 22 no. 2, 8-11 = *OECT*. VI, 44. Note also Langdon, *Etana*, p. 34, 37 : *ig-dam-ra maš-šak-ki-ia úšā'ilū^{meš}* "The dream priests have performed my libations." The purpose of the *U* after *maš-šak-ki* in AF, but lacking from EGI, is not apparent.
8. The *BA.BI* of I seems to be a misreading of the sign BAL :  > . Probably then a scribe did not understand *abál*.
11. *ri-da-ta ip-pi-ru*. These words could also be a nominal sentence : "Trouble is my persecutor (lit. persecution)." Ebeling, *Or*. 22, 356, has just proposed a different rendering of this line, "Ich sah hin und Haftung für die Zukunft (ist) die Not, d.h. Not haftet für die Zukunft."
13. This hardly refers to grace at an ordinary meal, but to a cultic meal ; cf. *KAR*. 55 obv. 14-15 = Ebeling, *Quellen* I, p. 23 : *ina g¹⁸paššūr ilī^{meš} rabūti^{meš} šum-ka az-kur* "I have invoked your name at the table of the great gods."
14. *enú* ordinarily means 'to change', but in *MAOG*. V (3), 11, 12, it seems to be used of the knees, so perhaps there is an *enú* 'to bend'.
16. Bezold (*Glossar* 88b) recognises a transitive use of *baṭālu* I/1.
17. The new reading *aḥ-šú-ma* resolves the long felt difficulty of *aḥ-šú-nu*, which is evidently the result of assimilation to the following *mi-šu-nu*. *mú* (cf. l. 29) has been explained (i) as a loan from the Sum. *mu* = name (Langdon, ad loc.), (ii) as the Akk. *mú* = water, but in the sense of 'water rites' (Witzel, *Or*. 4, 118 ; Nougayrol, *RA*. 45, 69 and 77¹⁴, has promised a defence of some such view), (iii) as a loan from the Sum. *me* = *paršu* (*Stamm. MVAG*. 44, 204⁷). The last mentioned seems the best.
19. Does the suffix on *a-kal-šú* refer to *ilu*, or to the subject of *iz-ku-ru* and *i-ku-lu* ? A comparison of *BA*. V, 640, 3-10 = *OECT*. VI, 22, with *RA*. IX, 66,

¹ Now published by J. J. Finkelstein in *JCS*. VII 4, no. 3.

obv. and IV R² 10a, 28-31, suggests that there was an offence in eating—even in error—"for oneself" (*ana rāmānišu*) what presumably should have been dedicated to a god.

20. On the *maṣḥatu* offering see F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel*, p. 350¹⁹. The reading of A, *maṣ-ḥas*, results from the dropping of the final vowel from the suffixed form (*maṣḥas-su maṣḥat-šu*) and the shortening of the doubled consonant; cf. CT. VI, 37^a, 9 = VAB. V, no. 35 [*i-n*] *a-di-iš* for *inaddin-ši*.
22. cf. RA. IX, 66, obv. 7 : *ki-]ma ša niš ili-šu kab-tu q[à-liš?*
PSBA. 34, 76, 25 = *UMBS.* I/1, no. 14 : *niš-ka kab-tu qa-liš [a]z²-za-kar*.
 (The doubt about the last word seems to be due to a loose piece of the tablet which has been raised in the copy as compared with the photograph, whereas it should have been lowered.)
VAB. VII, CXCI, 3-4 : *ša ni-iš šumi-[ka] rabāa qa-liš iz-kur-ú-ma*.
29. *ú-šá-ri* : II/1 of *šáru* 'know' (Salonen, *JNES*, 9, 110) with the ending *i* which commonly appears in late texts.
35. *mašāku* = be evil : *AOB.* I, p. 15 ; *VAB.* VI, no. 143, 26-7, 38-9.
37. *zanunzú*. For this name see Meissner, *MAOG.* XI/1, 2, p. 26. Two further examples are : Šamaš Hymn II, 13-14 (Gray, *Šamaš Religious Texts*, p. 14) :

13.]*na-áš² ki-si ina e-di-e tu-še-zib*

14. *z[a!-nun-zi-e tu-šá-áš-kan kap-pa*

[Note : The first word of 13 is obtained from the traces on K.3650 (collated) and Si. 15, II, 2 (copied as *na-PA* by Schollmeyer, *AfO.* XVI, *Taf.* VII). The first sign of 14 (on K.6823, collated) is the latter part of *za* and not as copied by Gray. Schollmeyer's *A ú(?)* (loc. cit.) may be a misreading of *za-nun*.]

"... the bearer of the purse you save from the flood,"

"... you equip with wings [... on] the deep."

K.4872 (V R. 50) II 36-9, restored by K. 4922 + K.11953 (Gray, op. cit. pl. XIV) + K.4997 (unpublished). Both texts collated; Kunstmann, *LSS.* NF. 2, 78⁴, cites these lines in an unsatisfactory way.

36. ^d[*za.nu*].*un.zu.ta sùh.sùh.ḥa bí.in.[gar*

ina ^dz[a-nu-un-zi-i te-šá-a iš-ku[n

38. *x.[x].sùr.ra.bi a.gu.la.aš ba.an.t[u*
sur-ra!-ni-šu ana mémeš rabúti^{meš} ut-tir

[Note : 36. For *ta* K.4872 has another sign, perhaps a badly written *un*.

38. The first sign (on K.4872) is not certainly *NUN*.]

"In the deep he created confusion,"

"He has turned his to great waters."

From the various passages it is clear that *zanunzú* has a meaning similar to *Apsú*, but here, to judge from the parallelism of the previous line, it is a collective designation of the underworld gods. Jacobsen, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, p. 215, proposes a novel interpretation : "The thoughts of a god are like deep waters . . ." However, although this term is interpreted as *mû šaplūtum* in the series *šarru* — *malku*, that by no means makes it a common noun, and as it is always written with the divine determinative, so far as is known, there are no grounds for assuming that the sign *dingir* is used otherwise here, however well the proposal may agree with Hebrew expressions (Prov. 18 : 4, 20 : 5).

40. The sign *tab* shows that the generally accepted reading *iḥ-ta-maš* is wrong, and justifies Halévy (*Documents religieux de l'Assyrie et de la Babylonie*, 1882, p. 196) and Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 535) in reading *iḥ-ta-b/par*. It does not, however, make the word any easier to translate.

41. *ši-bit ap-pa*. cf. *ZA*. 31, 268 ; *Or*. 19, 150¹.
43. *ki-i pi-ti-e ù ka-ta-mi*. This phrase at first seems rather curious. The commentator's *u₄-mu ù mu-ši* is itself far from clear. Bezold (*Glossar* 230b) understands the phrase as probably referring to the opening and shutting of the eye, but more probably the commentator was thinking of the gates of heaven being opened to let Šamaš commence his daily perambulation across the sky, and being closed on the other side when he has passed through them. But the commentator is probably wrong. The phrase occurs again in a lexical text : *di.di.bi.gub.ba = pi-tu-u ù kut-tu-mu* (*MAOG*. XIII/2, p. 35, 31), and here the natural sense of the Sumerian is "walking and standing", which can only be discovered in the Akkadian when it is recognised that there is an ellipse of *puridi* : *pitû* (*puridi*) = walk, *kuttumu* (*puridi*) = stand. The whole phrase then is simply another way of saying *ina pit puridi*.
44. The *IM* of I is clearly an error for *lam*, but a particularly interesting one, for a Neo-Babylonian *lam* is often very like *im*. Evidently then I has Babylonian ancestry, and the error may have been that of an Assyrian scribe who had little experience of the other script. A similar error occurs in a MS. of the Theodicy (248, D).
48. *uš-ta-zaq* : taken as the III/2 of *nazāqu* written defectively. For *ša zu = qirba lamādu* cf. :
 Gudea Cyl. A, IV, 21 (said on receiving the dream) : *ša.ga.ni nu.mu.zu*.
 Enki and Ninḫursag (*BASOR*. SS no. 1), 217 : *ša.ba ba.ni.in.zu* !?
SBH. nos. 1-3 (= 4) 64-9 = Witzel, *Tammuz Liturgien*, p. 270, cf. p. 166, 36-7.
e.ne.ēm.mà.ni . . . ša.bi a.ba mu.un.zu.zu
a-mat-su . . . qí-rib-šú man-nu i-lam-mad
e.ne.ēm.mà.ni ša.bi nu.un.zu.àm . . .
a-mat-su qí-rib-ša ul il-lam-mad . . .
 CH. XXVIII r 57-60 : *ši-im-ma-am mar-sa-am ša . . . asúm qí-ri-ib-šu la i-lam-ma-du*
49. cf. Theodicy 275. *mi-iq-tú* = *an.ta.šub.ba* : *TDP*. XXVII.
54. cf. *CT*. 16, 1, 25 ; *CT*. 17, 7, 15-16 ; *CT*. 17, 25, 1.
55. cf. *CT*. 17, 12, 5.
56. *šu-ru-up-pu-u* : *TDP*. 159²⁷².
 The flood is the home of the *šuruppú* demon, to which he is sent packing in Tablet III (Si. 55 rev. 9). For *nuš* as a verb of motion, see Poebel, *OIAS*. 9, p. 28¹, where he identifies it with the *namāšu* of the lexica. An occurrence of *nāšu* in a continuous text is K.2546 obv. 13 = *PSBA*. 37, 195 :
it-ti šári lil-li-ku it-ti me-ḫi-e li-nu-šu
57. *it-ti ur-qí-tum*. In similar contexts the phrase is *kīma urqiti* :
Šurpu VII, 5-6 : *dù.dù ú.šim.gim ki.a mu.un.x*
aḫ-ḫa-zu ki-ma ur-qí-ti ir-ši-ta i-pi-ṣ[i?
 (The first two horizontals of *ši?* on K.5146)
 "The *aḫḫāzu* demon cleaves(?) the ground like grass."
 K.4872 (V R. 50) II, 29, restored by K.4997 (unpublished) :
maš.giš.ra ú.šim.gim e^rdin.n^a ba.ra.bi.in[
i'-i-lu ki-ma ur-qí-ti 'ina' ši-ri a-ši[
 "The *i'ilu*-disease comes forth from the plain like grass."
 [Note *LTBA* II, 1, XII, 91 : *e'-e-lu* = *MIN* (*mur-šu*)]
 The idea behind these phrases is that the evil spirit on his way up from the underworld comes up out of the ground in the same mysterious way

that plants grow. cf. l. 52, *i-ši-ḫa*. For *p's* 'zerstossen' see von Soden *AnOr.* 33, § 98, o; this root, or a homophone, also has a medical sense: *pa-a-šu ša murši* (Scheil, *Nouveaux Vocabulaires bab.*, p. 6, 25), also *TDP.* 46, 3-7.

59. *i-te-'u-ú*. If this is *te'ú* 'eat', it must be used in a metaphorical sense. cf. *Maqlû* V, 160: *šadûú li-te-'ku-nu-ši*.

60. *i-na-i-lu iná¹¹-ia*. The verb is perhaps connected with:

(i) Deimel, *Šum. Lex.* no. 579, 280 k: *ni'lu (ša mé) = A.KAL (= illu)*

(ii) *ZA.* 43, 236, 63-6 (Synonym list):

na-[i]-lu (var. *na'-lu*) = *il-l[u]*

na-i-lu „ „ = *tam-ri-t[ú]* (var. *hi-ri-tum*)

na-i-lu „ „ = *ḫar-ru* „ „

na-i-lu „ „ = *is-su-u*

(iii) Ebeling, *Bruchstücke einer mittelasyrischen Vorschriftensammlung*, p. 33, 'O' rev. 7, p. 34: *na-i-la[-t]e* = (wässrige) Niederung.

Presumably then a verb *na'álu* would mean 'be wet' or something similar, and that suits the requirements of the present passage.

61. cf. *CT.* 17, 10, 50.

62. The restoration of *irti* is suggested by the series *ana marši ina teḫēka*, where the section on the *irtu* immediately precedes that on the *tulú*, and in particular by *š. ina irti-šú maḫišiṣ-ma* (*TDP.* 100, 4).

iṭ-te₄-ru¹. The verb *ṭirú* 'strike' is documented in Meissner, *OIAS.* I, 49, and Ebeling, *Glossar zu den Neubab. Briefen*, 90-91 (*dirú* II). The first radical is proved to be *ṭ* by the passage *a-ṭe-ru-u lit-su* (*KAR.* 71 rev. 4, = *MAOG.* V/3, 32).

63. cf. the commentary entry *BRM.* IV, no. 20, 69 = *Afo.* XIV, p. 260: *ra-'i-i-bi mur-[su]*; for the meaning see *ibid.*, p. 267.

64. cf. *TDP.* 110, 9': [*š. rēš libbi-šú*] *i-ḫa-am-maṭ-su*; similarly 178, 12.

TDP. 112, 30', 31': *š. rēš libbi-šú ém*; similarly 146, 62'.

66. *šu-[ud²-d]u²-u uḫ-ḫu*. The verb, si vera lectio, could be III/1 of *nadú* or II/1 of *šetú* 'spread'. The spreading of poison is elsewhere attributed to demons: *Šurpu* VII, 25-6:

*ku]š.na im.mi.in.dub.eš ši.ta ba.an.sud.sud
zu-m]ur-šú il-i-bu-ma mar-ta iz-za-ar-qu-šú*

67. For *pitru* in a similar context see *KAR.* 80 rev. 27 = Ebeling, *Quellen* I, p. 30: *pit-ri-ia₅ ú-tab-bi-ku*.

69. cf. *CT.* 17, 20, 70-1; *CT.* 17, 25, 36.

70. *búppánu* = *bún páni*: *ZA.* 42, 162. Cf. *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, 291, 1.S., 6.

71. *i-te-di-iq šu-ba-ti*. This seems to be a variant to the cliché *túg.gim ba.an.dul = ki-ma šu-ba-ti ik-tum*.

73, 74. These lines have interesting literary connections. Their substance appears first in a Sumerian incantation, which later appears in a bilingual form (see Falkenstein, *LSS.* NF I, p. 52):

*igi.ni bad.bad lú igi.nu.un.bar.ri
i-na-a-šú pi-ta-ma man-ma ul ip-pal-la-as
geštu¹¹.ga.ni x.dè lú.a.šè nu.tuk.tuk¹
uz-na-a-[šú] man-ma ul i-šim-me*

Later the phrase appears in Jeremiah (5:21), whence it is quoted in the New Testament.

¹ So K.3705 (collated).

77, 78 are identical with *UMBS. I/1*, no. 14 = *PSBA. 34, 75, 10-11* :

mun-ga iṣ-ša-bat i-di-ia₅
lu-u'-ti im-ta-qut eli [bi]r-ki-ia₅

Thus *iṣ-ša-[bat]* of I is vindicated against *iṣ-bat* of C. Derivatives of *maḡāgu/maḡāqu* are frequently connected with *idu* ; e.g. *BBS.*, p. 36, 45 : *qat-su lim-gu-ug* ; *Gilg. 4, VI, 25*, with reference to 34 [*l*]u-ṣi *man-gu šá i-di-ka*, must of course be restored *i-man-g[i-ig! i-di]*.

79. *nam-ši-šá*. cf. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, II, p. 1, note on II, 21.

80. *nuppuqu* : cf. von Soden, *Or.* 20, 165-6, to which must now be added *TDP. 228, 92-94* ; 230, 118-119. Is the verb perhaps connected with *ni-ip-KU* (*TDP. 84, 34*), an unidentified part of the throat ?

ma-aq-tiš. In *Surpu IV, 52-3 maqtu* is parallel to *marṣu*, *kasú*, and *ṣabtu*.

81. *i-te-kil* also gives a fair translation : " My face is dark."

86. *bábu* and *mašqú* are presumably poetic terms for the mouth.

88. *šum-ma* is taken as the II/1 stative of *šámu* " fix " ; cf. l. 28.

88, 89. cf. *ZA. 5, 80, 10* : *kurunnu šá nab-la-ti a-na da-da-ri bit-nu-u*. On the basis of this passage 89 could be read *nab-laṭ*, but a closer parallel is provided for this line and Theodicy 32 (*ku-ru-un-nu nap-šat nišē^{meš}*) by the following two passages :

CH. XXVII r 11-12 : *ašnan na-pi-iš-ti ni-ši*

KAR. 323 obv. 22 = *MAOG. II/3, 19* : *mē^{meš} nap-ša-[a]t nišē^{meš}*

92. cf. *TDP. 220, 36*, and *CT. 17, 19, 9-10*.

95. A similar use of *aḡāzu* is *VAB. VII, p. 24, 1-2*, etc. : *e-ḡu-uz mar-qí-tú*, and Theodicy 137 : *ni-sa-a-t[i l]u-ḡu-uz*.

97. cf. *TDP. 152, 52* : *ubānāt^{meš} qátē^{II} -šú u šépē^{II} -šú am-šá ina-da-a-ma*.

98. The medical texts commonly use *maqātu* in the I/1, I/2, and II/1 with reference to a large variety of parts of the body without it being apparent which complaint is meant in terms of modern medical knowledge.

99-101. A similar passage is *BA. V, 639, 9-18* = *OECT. VI, 21*. The *qinnazu*, *paruṣṣu*, and *ziqtu*, of which *ziqtu* is probably a poetical form, are all instruments for urging on a horse : *Gilg. VI, 54* ; *CT. 15, 37, K.8592 rev. 2*. *paruṣṣu* is a loan from the Sum. *bar.uš* and means ' stalk ' as well as ' staff ' (*MSL. I, p. 180*). The reading *ištuḡḡu* is now established : *JCS. I, 168¹², JNES 9, 108*.

100. The variants *ma-la-ti*, *ma-lat* construe the obscure *ṣil-la-a-tum* as a singular ; *ma-la-a* as a plural. It has been taken here as a derivative of *ṣalú* = 𐎶𐎵 ' wound in the back '.

104. cf. *TDP. 124, 18* : *rik-su-šú ir-mu-ú*, and the commentary (Dougherty, *CCCI. II, no. 406, 7*) : *ri-ik-su-šú* : *šir-a-nu-šú*.

105. cf. *CT. 3, 2, 14* : *a-ḡi-ta na-an-di-i-ma*.

117, 118. *ḡa-du-u-a*, *ḡa-di-ti* : from *ḡadú* ' gloat ', or *ḡatú* ' offend against ' ?

119, 120. The possibilities of these lines as then known were clearly set out by Martin, *JA. X Serie, Tome XVI, p. 126*. The correction of *še-di-e* to *mu-di-e* now requires the change of *ilu-ut-su-un* to *ašamas-su-un*, as whether the *mu-di-e* are friends or scholars one cannot speak of their divinity. The speaker in the monologue has already referred to himself as *ašamši šá nišē^{meš}-šú* (I, 55). Among the possibilities of the last word, *i-kil*, *i-rim*, *i-qir*, or *i-ḡap* (Ebeling, *AOT², 277*), *i-qir* seems the most suitable in the context, though it is the least well attested value of the sign (*AnOr. 27, p. 81*).

COLOPHON OF S.U. 51/32

1. *arki-šú kab-ta-at qat-su ul a-li-' na-šá-šu*
2. *kima labiri-šú šaṭir(GIŠ)-ma bà-ri šaṭār(GIŠ) mI-di-d Marduk(MES) [már]*
mTa-x-x-a'
3. *lúšamallú(ŠAP.TUR) li-g[i-m]u-u š[a] mA.ŠÚ.U lúšangi*
4. *ša itabbalu(IR) dNu-dim-mud lit-bal-šú ša ina šur-qu i-šá-ri-qi šá ina dan-na-nu*
e-kim
5. *dLugal-gir-ra dan-dan ilāni^{meš} kaš-kaš ilāni^{meš} muš-mit ilāni^{meš}*
6. *ina kakkē^{meš} x x x liš-gi-iš*
7. *ina tarši(LAL)ši m.d Sin-aḫḫi(PAP)-erib(TU!) šar(MAN) māt Aššur ina*
arab arahšamni um III^{kam}
8. *lim-m[e mHa-ba-ni? lúš]á-kin uru^r Til²-bar-^rsi²-bi*
9. *etellu(NIR.GÁL) . [.] . UR dTu[-tu²]*

1. After this : ' Heavy was his hand, I was not able to bear it.'
2. According to its original, written and collated. Script of Idi-Marduk,
[son of] Ta ,
3. the apprentice, scion of , the priest.
4. Whosoever carries (it) off, may Nudimmud carry him off. Whosoever
steals (it) by theft, (or) removes (it) by force,
5. may Lugalgirra, the strong one of the gods, the mighty one of the gods,
the slayer among the gods,
6. slaughter him with his . . . weapons.
7. In the time of Sennacherib, king of Assyria. Month Arahsamnu day 3,
8. eponym [Habani ?], governor of Til-barsib.
9.

NOTES ON COLOPHON

2. There is no doubt that *GIŠ* is used in these colophons for forms of *šaṭāru* : as ideogram for *šaṭir* in the common phrase *ša-tir-* (or *SAR-*)*ma ba-ri* it occurs again in S.U. 52/160, and in the position before the name of the scribe the Sultantepe tablets have either *GIŠ* or *ša-tar*. This use of *GIŠ* was not understood by Reisner, *SBH*. pp. xi-xiii. It is perhaps to be explained by the equation : *GIŠ* = *mu₉* = *mú* (*SAR*) = *šaṭāru*.
3. For *ligimú*, primarily ' young palm-shoot ', see Landsberger in *ZA*. 43, p. 75 and *Ana ittišu*, p. 194. The meaning ' descendant ' is established by the parallel colophon on S.U. 52/160, which has *ŠA.BAL.BAL* in this position ; cf. also *malku-šarru* I, 152-4, now restored by S.U. 51/68 :
 152. *ki-[i]m-tú* = *MIN* (i.e. *ma-ru*)
 153. *[i]i-g[i]-mu-u* = *MIN*
 154. *pi-ir-u* = *MIN*
- 4-6. Similar curse-formulae occur on tablets from Assur ; e.g. *KAR*. 203, *LTBA*. II, no. 1.
7. The colophon of S.U. 52/188 is parallel :
(Date, followed by) *ina LAL-ši* [.] *šarru rabú^u šarru dan-nu šar*
kiššati.
8. Restored from S.U. 51/78 (see *AS*. II, 25). Another tablet dated by a governor of Til-barsib is S.U. 52/19, where again the name is lost.

APPENDIX TO TABLET I

K. 2765 (unpublished) is no doubt part of a prayer, but it supplies material so close to several lines of Tablet I that it deserves a place here. We are much indebted to Dr. Geers for supplying the number of this piece ; the first mentioned author intends publishing a copy in the not too distant future. The parallel lines of *Ludlul* are referred to by the numbers in brackets.

Obverse :

1. *x x x x* [
la tu-ub lib-bi x [
sur-ru-ub lib-bi x [
dīm-tú šu-ḥu-sà-at [
5. *a-dam-mu-um ur-ru KAK* [
ina pi-i sūqi(SIL) u gir-ri li-m[un (53)
at-til-ma ina šat mu-ši šu-ut-t[i *par-da-at* ? (54)
ú-šab-ri ¹⁰*bārā tir-ti d*[*al-ḥat*
áš-al ¹⁰*šā'ila a-lak-ti ul* [(52)

Reverse :

10. *ik-kil-man-ni ib-ri tap-pu-u a* [(82)
ki-i šîr a-ḥi-e e-zi-q[a? (92)
šá gi-mir nišē^{mes} áli-ia tur-ru-[*ša ú-zu-na-a-ti* ? (80)
šá ta-li-me-ia suk-x [
a-na ta-ba-ak napišti-ia iq[-bu?
15. *ina pân ti-ri u na-an-za-z*[i
ina pân ^a*šamaš da-a-a-ni x* [
tuš-šu šu-ḥu-zu [(58, 69)
ú?-še? *x x x* [