



The Sultantepe Tablets (Continued). V. The Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur

O. R. Gurney

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THE SULTANTEPE TABLETS

(continued)

V. THE TALE OF THE POOR MAN OF NIPPUR

By O. R. GURNEY

HITHERTO THESE ARTICLES have been concerned with texts which were at least partially known to Assyriologists from other sources. The composition now presented is not only new but unique in character, and it gives me great pleasure that the translation of this, in some ways the showpiece of the Sultantepe collection, should appear in a volume which is planned as a tribute of admiration and gratitude to the founder and President of the Institute.

It has been said that "the man of Mesopotamia was a stranger to laughter: never, it seems, did he learn to relax".¹ The present text belies this statement, for it is nothing less than a humorous tale, recognizable as the prototype (at least in part) of one actually preserved in a manuscript of the Arabian Nights.

We are introduced to a poor man named Gimil-Ninurta,² of the city of Nippur, destitute of all worldly wealth, sick and hollow-cheeked for lack of food and drink, and without a change of clothing. He decides to go out into the city and buy a sheep, apparently giving his garments in exchange. He buys, however, not a sheep but a goat: the change of plan is brought in abruptly and without explanation and may perhaps have been intended to raise a laugh. Now he considers what to do with his goat. Social custom dictates that he may not slaughter it and eat it without inviting all his friends and relations to share it with him. He therefore decides to take it and present it to the Mayor of Nippur, believing, so it seems, that the Mayor will arrange a feast for him with beer, though the logic of this is by no means clear.

He leads his goat to the Mayor's house and asks the porter for permission to speak to the Mayor. The porter, however, misinterpreting his errand, reports to the Mayor that a man has come bringing a bribe to secure the Mayor's influence in his favour (a practice for which there is ample evidence in the Babylonian and Assyrian documents), and the Mayor, though he summons the man into his presence, immediately asks him angrily what he means by this reprehensible conduct. Gimil-Ninurta presents his goat and tries to explain to the Mayor the real

¹ Contenau, *Everyday Life in Babylon and Assyria*, 302. However, Speiser in *JCS.*, VIII, 98-105, has recently argued convincingly that the so-called "Dialogue of Pessimism" is satirical in nature; and the badly preserved tablet *KAR.*, 174, is a collection of short witticisms. Both texts have points of contact with the present work (see notes on ll. 40 and 85).

² For the reading of the name see note, p. 158.

purpose of his errand. The last four lines of his speech are almost entirely missing, together with the first two lines of the Mayor's reply. But he evidently fails to convince the Mayor, for the latter orders some servant to give the man a bone and a piece of gristle and a drink of small beer and to drive him out of the house.

Gimil-Ninurta, on passing out of the gate, addresses the porter and tells him to inform the Mayor that he will take threefold vengeance for this insult. The Mayor, overhearing the remark, is so amused by the man's presumption that he laughs for the rest of the day.

The remainder of the story consists of three tricks played on the Mayor by Gimil-Ninurta, each leading up to a climax in which the latter gets the Mayor on the ground and gives him a sound thrashing. Unfortunately there are in each incident details which are obscure, mainly owing to large cracks and other damage to the surface of the tablet. Gimil-Ninurta's first action is to go to the King (of what city is not stated) and to borrow from him a chariot. Kings evidently had a better reputation than mayors at the time when this tale was written, for the King asks no questions but complies immediately with his request, on condition of payment of a fee of one mina of gold. Gimil-Ninurta, looking like a lord, mounts his chariot and proceeds to Nippur. At this point, we are told, he "caught two birds", a proceeding which seems entirely pointless and inexplicable in the context; it may have been explained by the following line, the first part of which is defaced, or it may be intended merely to illustrate how Gimil-Ninurta was acting his new role by indulging in the recreations of the aristocracy (cf. "Dialogue of Pessimism", Section III¹). The Mayor of Nippur, seeing a nobleman driving up in a chariot, comes out to meet him and treats him as an honoured guest. Gimil-Ninurta tells the Mayor that the King has sent him to bring gold for the temple, and evidently gives him to understand that he has put the gold in the temple cash-box, for which the Mayor would be responsible, for otherwise the sequel would be unintelligible. He keeps the Mayor up late until he falls asleep, and then goes and opens the door of the cash-box, so that when the Mayor goes to examine it and finds it empty he believes the gold has been stolen. Gimil-Ninurta then beats the Mayor for his negligence and is given two minas of gold in compensation, thus making a profit of one mina (a large sum of money) on the whole transaction.²

On going out of the gate, Gimil-Ninurta announces that one score has been paid but there remain two more, and the Mayor, somewhat surprisingly, is no less amused than he had been before.

In the second incident Gimil-Ninurta acts the part of a doctor, visiting the Mayor to salve his bruises. He first goes to a barber and has his hair shaved off, from which we may presumably infer that a tonsure was

¹ Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 438; Speiser in *JCS.*, VIII, 98.

² Some doubt must remain as to the correctness of this account of the incident owing to the obscurity of line 98.

characteristic of doctors at the time when this tale was written.¹ But he also covers himself with ashes (if the word has been correctly interpreted), thereby apparently simulating a sick man (there seems to be some confusion here). He then introduces himself to the Mayor as a doctor from Isin² and informs him that his cures only succeed in darkness. The Mayor therefore follows him into a private room, whereupon Gimil-Ninurta throws the ashes (?) into the fire, ties him down on the ground, and gives him a second beating.

This time, when Gimil-Ninurta announces that two scores have been paid but one remains, the Mayor is no longer amused.

The third incident is introduced by the words "Gimil-Ninurta was troubled" and there follow two mutilated lines which suggest that he is perplexed by the problem of how to draw off the crowd of attendants who now surround and protect the Mayor. His ruse consists in hiring a man to go and shout at the Mayor's gate, whereupon the attendants all flock out of the house to look for the man. Gimil-Ninurta meanwhile conceals himself under a bridge, and as the Mayor walks past he springs out on him and delivers his third punishment. His parting words are that he has now settled his three scores, and the Mayor returns to the city "more dead than alive".

This remarkable story is composed in the form of a poem, with a fairly regular metre of four beats to a line.

The tablet on which it is inscribed is fortunately one of the best-preserved in the Sultantepe collection. It also has one of the most informative colophons, for we learn from it that the scribe was a member of the *bīt mummi*, directed by one Nabu-aḥa-iddin. The *bīt mummi* was a combination of school and workshop attached to the temple; in it statues of the gods were repaired and new statues were ritually "animated", and it seems to have been there also that scribes received their training. The excavations showed that the mound of Sultantepe was crowned in Assyrian times by a large temple of the Moon-god Sin, and it may well be that the small building against the wall of which the tablets lay was the Academy of Nabu-aḥa-iddin, though the suggestion made earlier, that this building was the house of Qurdi-Nergal, for whose "perusal"³ this and other tablets were written, is equally possible.⁴ The tablet is dated in the year 701 B.C.

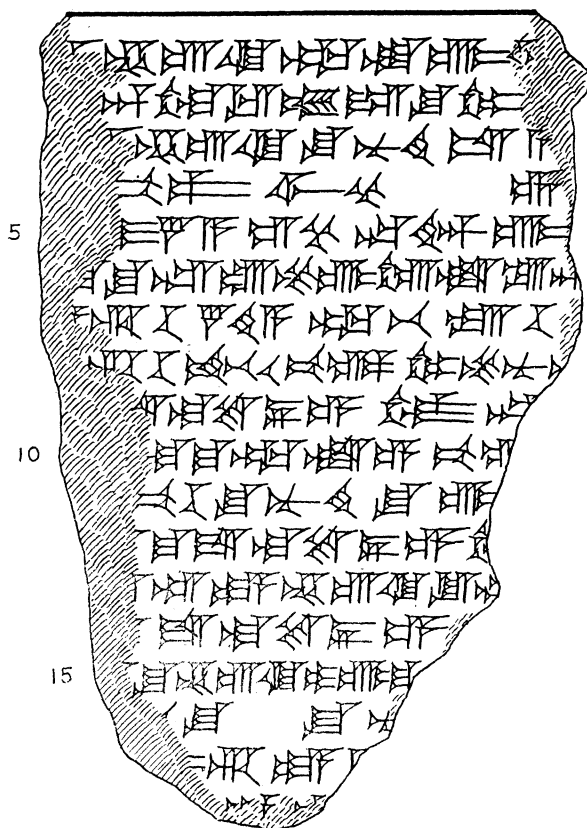
¹ In late Babylonian and Assyrian times court dignitaries and priests were represented on monuments as shaven, and the verb *gullubu* "to shave" was used as the technical term for the appointment of priests to their office, just as English "tonsure" may be used figuratively as a term for "admission to holy orders". Hence it is generally inferred that the custom of shaving the heads of priests must have dated back at least to the Old Babylonian period (San Nicoló, *Archiv Orientalní*, VI, 196-7; Driver-Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 279, n. 2). The physician (*asû*) was not counted among the priests, however, but among the craftsmen (Meissner, *BAW.*, I, 82, 14).

² Isin was only 25 miles from Nippur (Seton Lloyd, in *Sumer*, I (2), 9, n. 1).

³ So correct *AS.*, II, p. 30 (bottom).

⁴ See *AS.*, II, 30, and III, 36.

A small fragment from Nineveh, now in the British Museum but hitherto unpublished, is proof that the poem was included in the library of Assurbanipal¹; and it is clear from certain features of the language that it formed part of the traditional literature of the Babylonians.



K. 3478 obv. (rev. destroyed).

That such an ancient tale should survive in modern Arabic folk-lore is not, perhaps, unexpected; and indeed a story which may be recognized as its linear descendant is recorded in the manuscript translated by R. F. Burton in the fourth volume of his *Supplemental Nights to the Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (1887). The tale is entitled in Burton's edition (pp. 281-290) "The History of the First Larrikin".² Here a youth, who has taken his mother's calf to market, is cheated by a gang of swindlers, who persuade him that it is a goat and buy it from him cheaply. The boy returns home, learns from his mother that he has been swindled, and sets out to take vengeance. First he dresses up as a girl

¹ My sincere thanks are due to Mr. W. G. Lambert for informing me of his discovery of this fragment among the copies of the late F. W. Geers; and to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to recopy and publish it.

² The story is not included in most editions of the Arabian Nights, but it is to be found also in the German "Reclam" Edition, volume xxiii, pp. 213 ff. (translation by Max Henning). I am much indebted to Dr. H. H. Figulla for drawing my attention to this parallel.

and makes his way to the gang's quarters, where the delighted leader takes him for the night. During the evening the boy asks the meaning of a rope which is hanging in the leader's room. The leader explains that it is for the punishment of offenders, and the boy asks him to demonstrate. The leader ties himself up by the rope, and before he can release himself the boy beats him with the tail of his calf, which he has studded with nails and concealed under his clothes, until the robber is bleeding and unconscious. He then departs. The next day the robber-leader has himself carried to the baths, to cleanse his wounds. The youth now disguises himself as a sick man by covering himself with pieces of cotton and goes to the baths, where he is admitted, and finding the robber alone, gives him a second beating. The man now says to his confederates: "Carry me outside the city and set up for me a tent; gather round and do not leave me at all." The youth puts on another disguise and finds a Bedouin, whom he hires to go to the tent, call out "I am the owner of the calf" and then run for his life. When the robbers have all rushed out after the man, the youth enters the tent and gives the leader a third beating. Finally the leader pretends to be dead and arranges a mock-burial; but the youth joins the funeral procession and thrusts a packing-needle into the coffin, whereupon the man suddenly sits upright on his bier. The youth, being then afraid, escapes to another country.

There is clearly much that is new in this tale, but its general scheme and the second and third acts of vengeance are closely related to the Babylonian story.

MANUSCRIPTS

Sultantepe

S.U. 51/78 (= *The Sultantepe Tablets*, Vol. I, no. 38)

A

A two-column tablet containing the whole text and colophon.

S.U. 52/252 (= *The Sultantepe Tablets*, Vol. I, no. 39)

B

A small fragment from the upper right corner of what was probably a single-column tablet, containing parts of lines 72-82 on the obverse and a blank surface on the reverse. This tablet must have carried an excerpt from the tale, beginning at line 72.

Assurbanipal

K.3478 (published herewith).

C

A fragment containing parts of the first 18 lines.

TRANSLITERATION

1. *et-lum mār Nippuri*^{k1} *ka-tu-ú ù la-ab-nu*
 2. ¹*Gimil*^d*Ninurta*(MAŠ) ¹ *zik-ra-šú* ² *lum-mu-nu a-me-lu*
 3. *ina ālī-šú Nippuri*^{k1} *šu-nu-ḫi-iš a-šib-ma*
 4. *ul* ¹ *i-šī kās-pa* ³ *si-mat* ⁴ *niš^{meš}-šú*
 5. *ḫurāša ul i-šá-a si-mat ba-ʾ-ú-la-a-te*
 6. *iš-pi-ik-ku*¹ *šu-um-mu-ú el-li-ta* ^{4a} ^d*Nisaba*
 7. *ana i-riš* ⁵ *akālī*(NINDA. HÁ) *ka-bat-tuš* ⁶ *zar-ʾpat*⁷
 8. *ana i-riš* ⁵ *šīri ù šikari rēšti lum-mu-nu zi-mu-šú*
 9. *u₄-me-šam-ma ina la ma-ka-li-e bi-riš i-šal-lal*
 10. **la* ⁷ *biš-ma ša la te-ni-e šu-ba-tú*
 11. *it-ti lib-bi-šú lum-mu-ni* ⁸ *šu-ú im-tal-lik*
 12. *lu-uš-ḫu-uṭ-ma ša la te-ni-e šu-ba-tú-ia*
 13. *ina ri-bit ālī-ia*₅ ⁹ *Nippuri*^{k1} *immera*(UDU. ʾNITÁ¹) ¹⁰ *lu*¹ *-šá-am*
 14. *iš-ḫu-uṭ-ma šá* ¹¹ *la te-ni-e šu-ba-te-šú*
 15. *ina ri-bit ālī-šú Nippuri*^{k1} *ʾšu-lu*¹ *-šī-ta* ¹² *i-šá*¹ *-am enza*(ÙZ) ¹³
 16. *it-ti lib-bi-šú lum-mu-ni* ⁸ *šu-u im-ʾtal*¹ *-lik*
 17. *tu-šá-am-ma ina gi-pa-ri-ia a-aṭ-ab-ba-aḫ en-ʾza*¹
 18. *ul i-ba-áš-ši nap-ta-nu a-li-e ši-ik-ru*
 19. *i-šem-mu-ma ši-i-ʾi bābī-ia i-šab-ʾbu-su*¹
 20. *kim-tum* ¹ *ʾu sa-al-la-tú i-ze-en-nu-u itti-ia*
 21. *lul-KI* ¹⁴ *-ma a-na bīt* ¹⁵ *ḫa-za-an-ni lu-bil enza*
 22. *ṭa-a-ba ù dam-qa lu-ša-am-me-ra ana kara-ʾbi*⁷
-
23. ¹*Gimil*^d*Ninurta it-mu-ḫa ki-šad* ¹ *enzī*¹ *[-šú]*
 24. *ana bāb ḫazanni*(NU. BÀN. DA) *Nippuri*^{k1} *šu-u i*² *[-tag-giš*² *]*
 25. *ana* ¹ *Tukul-ti*^d *Enlil*(BE) *mu-kil bābi a-ma-tam* ¹ *i-zak*¹ *[-kar]*
 26. *qī-bi-ma lu-ru-ub-ma lu-mu-ra* ¹ *ḫa-z[i*² *-a*² *-na*² *]*
 27. ¹⁵ *ātú ana bēlī-šú a-ʾma*¹ *-tam i-zak-kar*
 28. *be-li mār Nippuri*^{k1} *ʾu-qa-a*¹ *-a bāb-ka*
 29. **ù*(?) ¹⁵ *ki šul-man za-* ¹ *x x x* *ú-bil-ka enza*
 30. *ḫazannu i-ze-e[n-ni itti* ¹⁵ *ātī* ¹ *Tuk]ul-ti*^d *Enlil*
 31. *ʾkušud-su*¹ *mār Nippuri*^{k1} *[-ma šu-ri-ib-šu] ana bābi*
 32. ¹⁵ *ātú*² ¹⁶ *a-na a-ʾbi*² *I*² *x* ¹ *x x x* *x-ma*
 33. ¹*Gimil*^d*Ninurta ina ul-lu-uṣ lib-b[i-šú i-ru-ub ina ma-ḫ]ar ḫazanni*
 34. ¹*Gimil*^d*Ninurta ina ma-ḫar* ¹ *ḫa-za-an-n[i ina]* ¹ *e-re-bi*¹ *-šú*
 35. *[ina] šu-me-li-šú it-mu-ḫa ki-šad* ¹ *enzī*¹ *-šú*

¹ C : ^d*Nin-urta*.² C : *šu*.³ C : *[ká]s-pa*.⁴ C : *ši-mat*.^{4a} A : *LI-um-mu-u el-li-UM*¹⁵ Text : BAR LU.⁵ C : *[e]-ri-šú*.⁶ C : *-ta-šú*.⁷ A : *šu* !⁸ C : *šu-nu-ḫi*.⁹ C : *-ia*.¹⁶ Text : *ʾMU* ?¹ *NI MU* (for ¹⁵*SÚL.DU* ?).¹⁰ A : *IB ! BA !*¹¹ C : *ša*.¹² C omits word.¹³ C : *i-šam-ma [enza ?]*.¹⁴ Error for *lul-lik* ?

TRANSLATION

1. There was a man of Nippur, poor and humble,
 2. Gimil-Ninurta was his name, a miserable man.
 3. In his city Nippur wearily he sat.
 4. He had no silver, the pride ¹ of his people,
 5. he possessed no gold, the pride of mankind.
 6. His store-room thirsted for the pure grain.
 7. With craving for bread his liver was *oppressed*,
 8. with craving for meat and beer his face was disfigured.
 9. Daily for lack of food he used to lie hungry.
 10. He was clad in garments for which he had no change.
 11. With his miserable ² heart he took counsel :
 12. " I will take off my garments, for which I have no change,
 13. " in the market-place of my city, Nippur, I will buy a sheep."
 14. He took off his garments, for which he had no change,
 15. in the market-place of his city, Nippur, he bought a three-year-old ³
she-goat.
 16. With his miserable ² heart he took counsel :
 17. " I might indeed slaughter the goat in my plantation ;
 18. " (but then) there will be no feast : where will be the beer ?
 19. " The friends at my gate will hear of it and will be angry,
 20. " my kinsmen and relations will be furious with me.
 21. " I will go and bring the goat to the house of the Mayor.
 22. " A good and fair greeting I will devise (for him)."
-
23. Gimil-Ninurta took hold of the neck of [his] goat,
 24. and to the gate of the Mayor of Nippur he [proceeded].
 25. To Tukulti-Enlil, the gate-keeper, he addressed these words :
 26. " Say I wish to enter and see the Mayor."
 27. The porter to his master addressed these words :
 28. " Master, a citizen of Nippur is waiting at your gate,
 29. " *and* as a present he has brought you a goat."
 30. The Mayor was angry [with the gate-keeper] Tukulti-Enlil
 31. (saying) : " Seize him, the citizen of Nippur, [and bring him inside]
the gate."
 32. The *gate-keeper* [.]
 33. and Gimil-Ninurta in gladness of heart [entered into the presence] of
the Mayor.
 34. When Gimil-Ninurta entered into the presence of the Mayor
 35. [in] his left hand he grasped the neck of his goat,

¹ C : mark.² C : weary.³ C omits this word.

36. *ul-tu i-mit-ta-šú i-kar-ra-ba ana ha-za-an-ni*
 37. ^a*En-líl ù Nippur^{k1} lik-ru-bu ana ha-za-an-ni*
 38. [^a*A*]*dad ù ^aNusku li-šam-me-ḫu-[šú m]a-a-'diš*
 39. [*ha*]*zannu ana mār Nippuri^{k1} a-ma-tam i-zak-^rkar^r*
 40. [*mi*]-*nu ḫi-bil-ta-ka-ma kat-ri-a na-ša-^rta^r*
 41. [^I*Gimil*]-^a*Ninurta a-na ^{1a}ha-za-an-ni Nippuri^{k1} ur-^rta^r-šú ú-šá-na*
 42. [*u₄-me-š*]*am-ma i-na la ma-ka-li-e bi-riš šal-[<]la-[>]ku^r*
 43. [*áš-ḫu-u*]*t-ma šá la te-ni-e šu-ba-te-ia*
 44. [*ina ri-bit*] *ālī-ia₅ Nippuri^{k1} šu-u-lu-^rši^r-ta áš-šá-am en-za*

45. [*a-na lib-*]*bi-ia lum-mu-ni ki-a-am ^raq-bi^r*
 46. [*tu-šá-am-m*]*a ina gi-pa-ri-ia a-at-ab-ba-aḫ enza*
 47. [*ul i-ba-áš-š*]*i ^rnap^r-ta-nu a-li ši-ik-ru*
 48. [*i-šem-mu-ma*] *^rši-^ri^r bābī-ia i-šab-bu-su*
 49. [*kim-tum ù sa*]-*al-la-tú i-ze-en-nu-u itti-ia*
 50. [*a-na biṭ ḫazan*]*ni lu-bil enza*
 51. [*ki-a-am az-k*]*u-ra *ana[?] ¹lib-bi-ia*
 52. [] *šá ^{1a}tābiḫi i-šes-^rsi[?] ²mu[?]-šiš*
 53. [] *x-u lu-u šab-tum*
 54. [] *x ki lu x [x] tú ^{g18}paššuru*
 55. [] *x KUR-ra^r-ma[?] li-sa-^rlu*
 56. [*ḫazannu*] *-i il-si-^rma^r*
 57. []
 58. *i-din-šum-ma ana mār Nippuri^{k1} [e-š]e-en-tú u gi-du*
 59. *ši-qí-šu-ma ina ku-uk-ku-bi-k[a šikar š]a-lul-te*
 60. *tu-ur-rid-su-ma šu-ši-šú ^ra^r[-na] bābi*
 61. *id-din-šum-ma ana mār Nippuri^{k1} ^re^r[-še-en-t]ú u gi-du*
 62. *iš-qí-šu-ma ina ku-uk-ku-bi-š[u šikar ša-l]ul-t[e]*
 63. *ú-ṭar-rid-su-ma ul-te-ši-[šú a-na] bābi*

64. ^I*Gimil^aNinurta bāba ina [a]-ši-šú*
 65. *ana ^{1a}ātī mu-kil bābi a-ma-tam i-zak-kar*
 66. *ana be-li-ka tuḫ-da-at ilāni^{meš} ki-a-am qí-ba-áš-šú*
 67. *áš-šú ištēt^e bil-tú šá te-[me-d]an-ni*
 68. *šá ištēn^{en} III ri-bi-^re[?]-tu[?] a-rab-ka*
 69. *ḫazannu iš-me-^rma^r kàl u₄-me i-ši-iḫ*
 70. ^I*Gimil^aNinurta ana ēkal mal-ku il-ta-kan pa-ni-šú*
 71. *i-na ^rte-^rmi [šá] šarri rubú ù šak-kan-ku i-pár-ra-su di-in kit-ti*

72. ^I*Gimil^aNinurta ana ma-ḫar mal-ku ina e-re-bi-šú*
 73. *ma-ḫar-šu iš-ši-iq qaq-qa-ru ma-ḫar-šú*
 74. *ul^r-tu[?] II[?] qātē^{II.meš}-šú šar₄ kiš-ša-te i-kar-rab*
 75. *e-til-l[u b]al-ti nišī^{meš} šarru šá šu-ru-ḫu ^alamassu³*

¹ Text: MAŠ ! Perhaps a former copyist had corrected *ina* to *ana*.

² Or *i-nánna* ?

³ B :]x šu-ta-^rra ? ^alamassu^r.

36. while with his right he greeted the Mayor.
 37. " May Enlil and the city of Nippur bless the Mayor !
 38. " May Adad and Nusku cause him to prosper greatly ! "
 39. The Mayor spoke thus to the citizen of Nippur :
 40. " What mean you by this outrage, that you are bringing a bribe ? "
 41. Gimil-Ninurta repeated his errand to the Mayor of Nippur.
 42. " Daily for lack of food I lie hungry.
 43. " [I took off] my garments, for which I had no change,
 44. " [in the market-place] of my city Nippur I bought a three-year-old
 she-goat,
 45. " [(and) to] my miserable heart thus I spoke :
 46. " ' [I might indeed] slaughter the goat in my plantation ;
 47. " ' [but then there will be no] feast ; where will be the beer ?
 48. " ' The friends at my gate [will hear of it and] will be angry,
 49. " ' [my kinsmen and re]lations will be furious with me.
 50. " ' I will bring the goat [to the house of] the Mayor.'
 51. " [*Thus I spo*]ke to my heart :
 52. " [.] of the butcher *will cry out by night*
 53. " [.] . . may (*they*) *be caught*
 54. " [.] a table
 55. " [.] may (*they*) *enquire.*"
 56. [The Mayor] . . cried out and
 57. [.]
 58. " Give him, the citizen of Nippur, a bone and a sinew,
 59. " give him a drink of ' one-third ' [beer] from your can,
 60. " send him away and show him out of the gate ! "
 61. He gave him, the citizen of Nippur, a [bone] and a sinew,
 62. he gave him a drink of " one-third " [beer] from his can,
 63. he sent him away and showed [him out of] the gate.
 64. Gimil-Ninurta, on coming out of the gate,
 65. addressed these words to Tukulti-Enlil, the gate-keeper :
 66. " The blessings of the gods on your master ! Give him this message :
 67. " ' For the one load which you [put] upon me,
 68. " ' I will pay you back three times for one.' "
 69. The mayor heard this and laughed all day.
 70. Gimil-Ninurta set his face towards the palace of the King, (thinking)
 71. " On the orders of the King, prince and governor give fair judge-
 ment."
 72. When Gimil-Ninurta entered into the presence of the King,
 73. he kissed the ground before him,
 74. while he greeted *with both* his hands the King of the World :
 75. " Lord, strength of the people, King whom the guardian spirit makes
 glorious !

76. *ištēt^{et} g^{is}narkabta ina qí-bi-ti-ka li-di-nu-nim-ma*
 77. *ištēn ūma (UD.I.KAM) e-ma ú-ša-am-ma-ru i-zi-im-tú lu-^rku[?]-šu-ud¹*
 78. *ša u₄-me-ia a-^rpi^r-ti I ma-na ru-uš-šá-a hurāša²*
 79. *ul i-šal-šu mal-ku ^ri^r-zi-im-ta-ka me-nu-um-ma³*
 80. *šá ina ištēt^{et} g^{is}narkabti ta-š[a[?]-di[?]-h]a[?]-[m]a[?] kal u₄-me*
 81. *iddinu^{nu}-šum-ma g^{is}narkabtu eš-šú s[i-mat r]a-bu-te*
 82. *i[-s]i-hu-šú ni-ba-ḥa-am x[x x x]-šú*
 83. *^rir^r-[kab] ^ra[?]-na^r g^{is}narkabti ^reš^r-šú si-mat ^rra^r-bu-te*
 84. *ana ^rx x^r dur-an-ki il-ta-kan pa-ni-šú*
 85. *^rGimil-^dNinurta^r II^{ta} iṣṣūrāti^{mes} i-ba-ram-ma*
 86. *^rri[?]-šit[?]-iú[?] ⁴iš[?]-kun[?]-ma ik-ta-nak ki-šip-pi-^rša^r*
 87. *ana bāb ḥazanni Nippuri^{k1} šu-u i-ta[g-giš[?]]*
 88. *¹⁰ḥa-za-an-ni ana maḥ-ri-šú it-ta-ši k[a-me-tuš]*
 89. *man-nu at-ta be-lí šá tar-da-a ba-r[a[?]-ta[?] iṣṣūrāti^{mes}]*
90. *šarru be-el-ka iš-pur-an-ni ana ^rx x x^r[x x x]*
 91. *ana É-kur bīt ^dEn-líl hurāša u[b[?]]-la-a[m-ma]*
 92. *ḥazannu ana ^rx-p/bil^r-tú ma-ka-li-šú iṭbuḥ^u UDU.SUG.[LUM]*
 93. *KI.MINA ina maḥ-ri-^ršú^r ^ru-a an-ḥa-ku-ma *iq[?] ⁵b[i-šú]*
 94. *^rGimil-^dNinurta ina rēš ḥazanni I ma-ša-rat mu-ši i-ta-m[e]*
 95. *ḥazannu šá ma-^rna^r-aḥ-^rte[?]-šu[?] ^rra-ḥi šit-^rtu^r*
 96. *^rGimil-^dNinurta ina šat mu-ši ^ršar-⟨ra-⟩qiš^r it-bi-ma*
 97. *ip-te-ma bāb qup-pi TA UD GIŠ x[x x x] ^rx x x^r-ma-me*
 98. *ḥazannu ti-ib ^rx bāb[?] ri- x x^r[x]x UD u i-^rx^r-te [^rx x^r]*
 99. *pi-te-^rma bāb^r qup-pi ta-bíl hurāšu*
 100. *^rGimil-^dNinurta ^rx x^r-MAT lib-bi-šú ú-šar-⟨ri-⟩ta lu-bu-še-šú*
 101. *in-ni-^rmid-ma ina muḥḥi^r ḥa-za-^ran^r[ni x] x -te ú-šá-lim-šú*
 102. *ul-tú qaqqadī-šú a-di ki-bi-is šēpē^{II}-šú*
 103. *mi-na-te-^ršú^r ú-ra-si-ba na-za-qu e-mid-su*
 104. *¹⁰ḥa-za-an-ni ina šap-li-šú a-di puluḥtim(NÍ.TE)^{tim}-ma i-šes-si*
 105. *^rbe^r-lí mār Nippuri^{k1} la tu-ḥal-⟨la-⟩qa*
 106. *da-am ki-^rdin^r-ni ik-kib ^dEnlil qātē^{II}-^rka^r la ^rtala^r-pat*
107. *iddinu^{nu}-šum^r-ma^r ana qiš-ti-šú II ma-na ru-uš-šá^r-a^r hurāšu*
 108. *ku-um lu-bu-še-šú šá ú-šar-ri-tu šá-nu-te id-din-šú*
 109. *^rGimil-^dNinurta bāba ina ^ra^r-ši-šú*
 110. *ana ^rTukul-ti-^dEnlil mu-kil bābi a-ma-tam i-zak-kar*
 111. *ana be-lí-k[a] tuḥ-da-at ilāni^{mes} ki-a-am qí-ba-n[iš-šú]*
 112. *áš-šú ištēn^{en} bīl-tú šá [te-me-dan-ni]*
 113. *ištēn^{en} a-ri-ba-kúm-ma [ri-ḥa šitta]*
 114. *¹⁰ḥa-za-an-ni iš-me-ma kál u₄-m[e i-ši-iḥ]*
 115. *^rGimil-^dNinurta ana ma-ḥar ¹⁰šuginaki(?) (š[U.G]I.NA) [e-te-ru-ub]*

¹ B : lu-ku-šu-du.² B : ^rru[?]-uš-e hurāša.³ B : mi-nu-um-ma.⁴ Or tal-lak-tú?⁵ Text : ki.

76. " Let them give me a single chariot at thy command,
 77. " so that for one day, whatever I may intend, I may attain my desire.
 78. " For my one day my payment shall be one mina of red gold."
 79. The King did not ask him : " What is your desire,
 80. " that you should *parade about* all day in a chariot ? "
 81. They gave him a new chariot, the [mark of] noblemen,
 82. they bound on him a girdle [.].
 83. [He mounted] the new chariot, the mark of noblemen,
 84. (and) set his face towards . . . Duranki.
 85. *Gimil-Ninurta* caught *two* birds, and
 86. *set* and sealed its seals.
 87. He (then) proceeded to the gate of the Mayor of Nippur.
 88. The Mayor came out to meet him, (saying) :
 89. " Who are you, my lord, who have been going about *ca[tching*
birds] ? "
 90. " The King, your lord, sent me, to . . . [.]
 91. " I *have brought* gold for Ekur, the temple of Enlil."
 92. The Mayor for the of his food slaughtered a *pasillu*-sheep.¹
 93. The Mayor in his presence said : " Oh, I am tired ! "
 94. *Gimil-Ninurta* talked beside the Mayor for one night watch,
 95. (till) the Mayor because of his weariness fell asleep.
 96. *Gimil-Ninurta* arose in the dead of night like a thief,
 97. opened the door of the cash-box
 98. The Mayor
 99. " The door of the cash-box is open, the gold is removed."
 100. *Gimil-Ninurta* [in the] of his heart tore his clothes.
 101. He came close to the Mayor and repaid him his *debts*.
 102. From his head to the soles of his feet
 103. he beat his whole body and inflicted pain upon him.
 104. The Mayor beneath him cried out in fear :
 105. " My lord, do not destroy a citizen of Nippur !
 106. " Stain not your hands with the blood of a protected person who is
 sacred to Enlil ! "
 107. They gave him as his present two minas of red gold,
 108. (and) instead of his clothes which he had torn he gave him others.
 109. *Gimil-Ninurta*, on coming out of the gate,
 110. spoke as follows to Tukulti-Enlil, the gate-keeper :
 111. " The blessings of the gods on your master ! Give him this message :
 112. " ' For the one load which [you put upon me]
 113. " ' I have paid off one score ; [there remain two more]. ' "
 114. The Mayor heard this and [laughed] all day.
 115. *Gimil-Ninurta* [entered] into the presence of the *barber*.

¹ A highly valued kind of sheep.

116. *ú-gal-līb-ma kal pi-ir-ti* ¹na[?] me x[
 117. *na-aq-me-e šī-kin išāti um-tal-*[*lī zu-mur-šu?*]
 118. *ana bāb* ¹ha-za-an-ni *Nippuri*^{ki} *šu-u* [*i-tag-giš?*]
 119. *ana* ¹⁰ātī *mu-kil bābi a-ma-tam* [*i-zak-kar*]
 120. *qī-bi-ma lu-ru-ub-ma lu-mu-ra* [¹ha-za-an-na?]
 121. *man-nu at-ta šá ta-mar-*[*ra-šu*]
 122. *a-su-u i-lit-ti I-ši-in*^{ki} *ha-a-*¹a¹[-*iṭ* x x x x]
 123. *a-šar mur-ši ù ta-ku-li-e ina* ¹x x x¹ [¹x x x]
 124. ¹Gimil-^aNinur[*ta ina ma-ḥar* ¹ha-za-an-ni *ina e-re-bi-šu*
 125. *a-šar* ¹zumur[?]-¹šu *ú-ra-si-ba mi-ḥi-iš-ta-šu ú-kal-lam-šu*
 126. *ḥazan*[*nu ana š*] *u-ut rēšī*^{meš} *ú a-su-u li-³u-ma iqbi*(DÚG.GA)
 127. *be-lī ina ek-l*[*e-t*] *i i-šal-li-mu bul-ṭu-u-a*
 128. KI x TAR-at[?] [¹u] *k-ku-lat a-lak-ta*
 129. *ú-še-rib-šu-ma* ¹i[?]-na[?] *bīti a-šar la a-ri*
 130. *a-šar ib-ri u tap-pu-u* ¹la¹ *i-raš-šu-šu re-mu*
 131. *na-aq-me-e it-ta-di ina līb-bi išāti*
 132. *ir-ti-ma ina dun-ni qaq-qa-ri* *V* ^{giš}sikkāti^{meš}
 133. *qāta šēpe*^{II} *qaqqada ú-pak-kir-šu*
 134. *ul-tú qaqqadi a-di ki-bi-is šēpe*^{II} *ú mi-na-te-šu ú-ra-si-ba na-za-qu e-me-su*

 135. ¹Gimil-^aNinurta *bāba ina a-ši-šu*
 136. *ana* ¹Tukul-ti-^aEnlil *mu-kil bābi amātam*(INIM) *i-zak-kar*
 137. *ana be-lī-ka ṭuḥ-da-at ilāni*^{meš} *ki-a-am-ma qī-ba-áš-šu*
 138. *áš-šu ištēt*^e *bīl-tú šá te-me-dan-ni*
 139. ¹šanú^u ¹a¹-ri-ba-kúm-ma *ri-ḥat ištēt*^e
 140. ¹Gimil-^aNinurta *uš-šu-uš* KI ¹nir[?][?]-bi-im-ma *ul* x x x -*sú*
 141. *i-ḥaṭ nap-ḥar šal-mat qaqqadi gi-*¹mir¹ *kal* x[x x *i*] *d/t?*-*ri*
 142. *i-maš-*¹šī[?]-¹ma *ištēn*^{en} *eṭla* ¹mimma *ma mu*¹ *ḥa* [x x x] *ki*
 143. *i-qis-su-ma ana qiš-t*[*i-šu* x x]x -*a*
 144. *a-lik-ma ana bāb* [¹] ¹ha-za-an[?]-ni[?] [x x] *ši-si-tú šú-kun*
 145. *ana ši-*¹si[?]-*tī-ka?*¹ *līp-ḥu-ru gi-mir* [*nīši*]^{meš} DAGAL.MEŠ-*u*
 146. *a-n*[*a?* x x] *bāb ḥazanni ú-tar-ra*[-*a*] *d ana-ku ša enzi*
 147. [¹Gimil-^aNinurta *ina ša-pa*] *l ti-tur-ri ir-*¹tī¹-*bi-iš kīma* UR.BUR
 148. ¹⁰ha¹-za-an-ni *ana ši-si-it eṭli it-ta-ši ka-me-tuš*
 149. *ú-še-ša-am-ma te-<ni>šet bitī-šu sin-*¹ni¹ *ú u zik-ri*
 150. *ip-par-šu-ma ina gi-mir-šu-nu ú-ba-¹-u eṭ-lu*
 151. *a-di šú-nu ina gi-mir-šu-nu* KI.MINA
 152. ¹ha-za-nu *ina ki-di*¹ *i*[*t-ta?*-*lak?*] *e?*-*du-šu*
 153. ¹Gimil-^aNinurta *ul-tú ša-pal ti-tur-ri i*[*š-ḥi-ṭa-a*] *m-ma iṣ-bat* ¹[*ha-za-an*]-*nu*

 154. *in-ni-mid-ma eli* ¹ha-za-an-ni *ni-i*[*š* x x *ú?*-*š*] *i?*-*lim-šu*
 155. *ul-tú qaqqadi a-di ki-bi-is šēpe*^{II}[-*šu*]
 156. [*mi-na-te-šu ú-ra-si-ba na-za-qu e*]-*me-su*
 157. [*áš-šu ištēn*^{en} *bil-tu šá te-me*]-*dan-ni*

¹ Apparently followed by the division sign.

116. He shaved off all his hair . . . [.]
 117. He *covered* [*his body*] with *ashes*, the *deposit* of fire,
 118. (and) [proceeded] to the gate of the Mayor of Nippur.
 119. To the porter, the keeper of the gate, he spoke these words :
 120. " Say I wish to enter and see [the Mayor]."
 121. " Who are you who are s[ick] ? "
 122. " A doctor, a native of Isin, who examines [.]
 123. " Where diseases and [.]
 124. When Gimil-Ninurta entered into the presence of the Mayor,
 125. he showed him his *bruise* where he had beaten his [*body*].
 126. The Mayor said [to] his attendants : " the doctor is clever."
 127. " My lord " (said he) " my cures are completed in darkness.
 128. " the way is dark."
 129. He took him into a private room,
 130. where his friends and companions would not take pity on him.
 131. He cast the *ashes* into the midst of the fire,
 132. drove five pegs into *the solid* ground,
 133. bound his hand(s), his feet and his head,
 134. (and) from his head to the soles of his feet he beat his whole body
 and inflicted pain upon him.
 135. Gimil-Ninurta, on coming out of the gate,
 136. addressed these words to Tukulti-Enlil, the gate-keeper :
 137. " The blessings of the gods on your master ! Give him this message :
 138. " " For the one load which you put upon me
 139. " " I have paid off the second score ; there remains one.' "
 140. Gimil-Ninurta was troubled. *No place of entry was accessible to him.*
 141. He observed all the dark-headed people, all the
 142. He *sent* a certain man
 143. He gave him as his reward [.] . (saying)
 144. " Go to the gate of the Mayor [.] and raise a shout.
 145. " At *your shout* let all the widespread people gather :
 146. " " *I will drive* [.] I am the man with the goat.' "
 147. [Gimil-Ninurta] crouched [under] a bridge like a (animal).
 148. The Mayor at the cry of the man came outside.
 149. He ordered out the people of his household, female and male.
 150. They flew off, the whole crowd of them, to seek the man.
 151. While they were all looking for the man,
 152. the Mayor [*was walking*] outside *alone*.
 153. Gimil-Ninurta [jumped] from beneath the bridge and seized the
 Mayor.
 154. He came close to the Mayor and *repaid* him [*his debts*].
 155. From his head to the soles of his feet
 156. [he beat his whole body and] inflicted [pain] upon him.
 157. " [For the one load which you] put upon me, (he said,)

158. [III ri-bi-e-t]u ʿa¹-rib-ka
 159. [e-te-zib]-šū-ma it-ta-ši šēra
 160. [¹ha-za-an-n]u pa-gar la balṭu(TI) e-te-ru-ub ana āli

COLOPHON

1. [kīma labīri-šú šat]ir(GIŠ)-ma bà-rì
2. [ša-ṭar ^{1.d}]Nabû-ri-iḥ-tú-uṣur(ŠEŠ)
3. [^{1a}]šamallîⁱ mār mu-um-mu
4. ša ^{1.d}Nabû-aḥa-iddin ^{1a}ša rēši (^{1a}SAG)
5. a-na tamartî ¹Qur-di-^aNergal(U. GUR)
6. ša itabbalu(IR) ^aEa(DIŠ) lit-bal-šú
7. ina qí-bit ^aNabû a-šib Ê-zi-da
8. a-a ibšî^{si} pir'a-šú na-an-nab-šú
9. ina ^{1st}Addari ūmu XXI^{kām} lim-mu Ḥa-na!-ni
10. ^{1a}šá-kìn ^{uru}Til-bar-si-b[i]
11. ṭup-pi la t[a-t]a-bil
12. girgin[akku] la tu-par-ra-ru
13. [ik-ki]b ^aEa(DIŠ) šār apsî

NOTES

- 1-8. The description is reminiscent of that of Gilgamesh at the beginning of Tablet X : cf. *lum-mun lib-ba-ka qa-tu-u zi-mu-u-ka* (i, 34, etc.).
2. ¹Gimil-Ninurta. This reading is preferable to ¹Šu-Ninurta, since the sign šu in personal names has its phonetic value only in the Ur III period (Stamm, *MVAG.*, XLIV, 263). Even if the present work goes back to that period, which is not very likely, the name would certainly have been read Gimil-Ninurta at the time when the tablet was inscribed.
4. *simat nišī-šu* : literally, silver “which pertains to” or “befits” his people, i.e. without which their proper dignity is lacking. There is no exact equivalent in English.
15. *šu-lu-ši-ta*. Cf. áb.mu.III = *šu-lu-ši-tu*, Matouš, *LTBA.*, I, 92₅.
- 17-20. The slaughter of a domestic animal was evidently still considered as a kind of sacrifice, in which kinsmen and friends should be invited to share. For this custom see Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 1889, 262 ff. (= 1894 ed., 280 ff.).
17. The use of the ironical particle *tušam(m)a* is a sign of early composition, since the word does not occur after the Old Babylonian period (von Soden, *ZA.*, XLIX, 187 ff.). Cf. note on 40.
21. *lu-ul-ki*. The error *li-il-ki* for *lillik* has been pointed out by Ebeling in a late Babylonian letter : see *Glossar zu den neubab. Briefen*, 259.
24. See note on 87.
26. At the end of this line a reading *ha-z[a-an-na]* is precluded by the traces, but some form of this word is required. The preceding vertical wedge is most naturally taken for *ana*, in which case one might read ^u*luzkura^{ra} ana ha-z[i-a-ni]* “may I speak to the Mayor”. But there is no doubt about the reading ¹*ha-za-an-nu* in lines 34, 118, 124, and 152, and this gives a simpler interpretation of the verbal form in the present line.
29. *šulmānu* is the regular term for a gift offered to a person in high position for the purpose of soliciting his favour (Finkelstein, *JAOS.*, LXXII, 77-80). The practice was common, and the porter immediately assumes that this is the purpose of Gimil-Ninurta's visit.

158. "I have paid you back [three times]."
 159. [He left] him and went out into the country.
 160. [The Mayor] entered the city more dead than alive.

COLOPHON

1. [According to its archetype] written and collated.
 2. [Script of] Nabû-riḫtu-ušur
 3. the apprentice, member of the academy
 4. of Nabû-aḫa-iddin, the courtier.
 5. For the perusal of Qurdi-Nergal.
 6. Whosoever carries it off, may Ea carry him off,
 7. by the order of Nabû who dwells in Ezida
 8. may he have no offspring or descendants.
 9. In the month Adar, day 21, eponym Ḫanāni,
 10. governor of Til-barsib.
 11. Do not carry off the tablet,
 12. do not break the tablet-container,
 13. [(it would be) an abomination] of Ea, King of the Deep.
36. The greeting with the right hand is normal : see Landsberger in *MAOG.*, IV, 296. But cf. line 74.
40. There is a striking resemblance to the "proverb" *KAR.*, 174, iv, 8-10, translated by Ebeling in *MAOG.*, II, 3, 47-8 : *ṣap-par-ru-ú ina bāb di-i-ni ú-šu-uz, im-na ù šu-me-la kat-ra-a ú-pa-qa-ad, i-di ḫi-bíl-ta-šú* ^a*Šamaš qu-ra-du*. The comparison shows that in the proverb the *ṣapparrú* is a plaintiff who "distributes" ¹ bribes, not a corrupt judge who gathers them in, as supposed by Ebeling, and that *ḫibiltu* is the offence which he thereby commits.
- kat-ri-a* : the uncontracted form is another mark of early composition.
42. *ṣal-<la->ku* : cf. *šar-<ra->qiš* (96), *ú-šar-<ri->ta* (100), and *tu-ḫal-<la->qa* (105). Von Soden, *Gramm.*, §35b, has noted that a short *a* may be elided after *rr* ; but the Sultantepe scribe is apparently eliding *ā* and *i*, as well as short *a*, after both liquids. That these should all be errors of copying seems unlikely.
- 51-5. The sense is obscure, but it seems probable that Gimil-Ninurta continues to speak as far as line 55 (*lisa'ilu*). The verb *sa'ālu* "to cough", which is found occasionally in medical texts, seems entirely out of context here, and it is possible that a form of *ša'ālu* is intended, as suggested in the translation.
59. This line, if rightly restored, shows that *šikar šalulti*, literally "beer of a third" (Oppenheim-Hartmann, *On beer and brewing techniques in ancient Mesopotamia*, 22₁₈), is a beer of inferior quality. The name is doubtless derived from its composition.
- 66 (also 111 and 137). *tuḫ-da-at* can only be intended for the plural of *tuḫdu* "abundance", though this is normally *tuḫdi*.
71. *šak-kan-ku*, for *šakkanakku* : cf. *ša-ka-an-ki ilāni* in *AOB.*, I, Adadnirari no. I, 2.
74. The gesture of greeting with both hands seems to be unique, but I have not found any other possible reading for the broken signs.

¹ For the verb *paqādu* see Leemans, *Ishtar of Lagaba and her Dress*, 18.

- 81, 83. *narkabtu eš-šú* : the disagreement in gender is strange.
82. *i-[s]i-hu-šú ni-ba-ḥa-am*. Cf. Gilg., I, col. V 7, as now read by von Soden in *OLZ.*, 1955, 314 : *a-š[ar e]tlemēš us-[s]u-hu nēbēḥēmeš* "where the men are bound with girdles". For the spelling cf. *na-ba-hu-um* in the Susa text *DPM.*, 28, 526, 9.14.28 (a reference for which I am indebted to Professor von Soden).
85. *II^a*, if correctly read, must stand for *šitta*, which would be in purely formal agreement with the plural *iššūrāti* (cf. *ummānāti rapšāti*). If the rather remote resemblance, pointed out on p. 146, of this incident to Section III of the "Dialogue of Pessimism" is not fortuitous, it supports Speiser's arguments in favour of the humorous nature of that text.
86. The beginning of this line is badly defaced and the reading is most uncertain ; but some feminine substantive is required to provide a reference for *-ša* at the end of the line.
87. *i-ta[g-giš]* has been restored as an incorrect spelling for *uttaggiš* (Gilg., X, 5), or possibly *ittagiš*, "wandered," since no suitable verb *primae aleph* presents itself. (The verb *akābu* booked by Bezold, *Gl.*, 26, is found only in the D stem (e.g. *VAB.*, VII, 434, and Esarhaddon Prism, II, 5), for *i-ta-ga-ap-ši-na-at*, Ungnad, *VAB.*, VI, 90₁₉, is clearly from *naqābu*.)
92. *UDU.SUG.LUM* = *aslum*, *passillum* : see Oppenheim, *JNES.*, 4, 156₁₂, with note *ad loc.*
95. Literally : "The mayor—the sleep of his weariness flowed (over him)" ; cf. Gilgamesh, XI, 220.
96. *šar-<ra>qiš* : see note on 42.
97. The *quppu* is well known in Late Babylonian times as a cash-box standing at the gate of the temple (Oppenheim in *JNES.*, VI, 117–9). That this is its meaning here is suggested by line 99, from which it seems clear that the mayor had expected to find the gold in the *quppu*. The fact that it also means a bird-cage, and that birds are mentioned a few lines before, is therefore probably a coincidence.
98. Perhaps we should read at the end of this line : *i-pa!-te qup!-pa!* The general sense should be : "The mayor arose (in the morning) and went to open (or inspect) the cash-box." If the box was by a gate, the word *bāb* (here *not* the door of the box) would be in place ; but the traces are more like *nab*. Is the following word the same as that at the beginning of line 86 ?
99. *ta-bīl ḥurāšu* clearly "the gold was (or is) taken" (permansive). *pi-te* must therefore also be permansive (for *pe-ti*) and not imperative as it appears to be. The line must be a speech, or at least a thought, by the mayor, since only he believed that the gold had been in the box.
100. The restoration of the word before *libbišu* is difficult. The stock phrase *nismat libbišu* "(in) the desire of his heart" makes little sense ; further, it would have to be preceded by *ina*, for which there is hardly room, nor would this restoration account for the head of a vertical which can be seen above the crack. The same objections apply to *biblat libbišu*.
101. This line cannot be identical with l. 154. A possible reading here would be *[si-m]a-te* "(his) deserts".
105. See note on l. 42.
106. This throws some light on the obscure line in the Irra Epic, *KAR.*, 169, rev. ii, 36 (Ebeling, *Berliner Beiträge*, II.1, 28₄₇) : *ša šābēmeš ki-din-nu ik-kib^aA-nim ù^aDa-gan giškakka-šu-nu ta-za-qap*. It shows that Leemans' interpretation (*Symbolae van Oven*, 54, n. 80, i) is impossible. As Jensen saw in 1900 (*KB.*, VI.1, 374), *ikkibu* is in the full sense a taboo, not only as an abomination, but also as a 𐎶𐎵𐎶 or holy thing. For Leemans has shown in the article quoted that the *šābē kidinni* are people under the protection of the divine emblem ; such people are sacred to the god,

and to shed their blood, as Irra was proposing to do, would be an infamy. The parallelism of the two lines suggests that in the present passage *ikkib* should be taken in the same sense, though it would otherwise be more natural to regard it as in apposition to the phrase *da-am ki-din-ni* "the blood of a protected person, an abomination to Enlil". The use of *kidinnu* "protection" as equivalent to *šab kidinni* "protégé" is similar to that of *šubarû* (Leemans, op. cit., 55; cf. Langdon, *OECT.*, VI, 19, n. 2). That the *ḥazannu* was a person belonging to this category is a new fact contributed by this line. [On *kidinnu* see also K. Balkan, *Kassitenstudien*, 160.]

113. For the restoration cf. l. 139.

115. *šuginaki*. The context demands a barber here, and the traces preclude *šu.1*. For the *šu.G1.NA*, who is otherwise known only from vocabularies, see Meissner, *BAW.*, I, 66 and 82₁₃.

117. *na-aq-me-e*. The reading *na-aq me-e* (the libation-pourer) seems impossible in the context, especially since the phrase is always associated with libations to the dead. This *naqmē* is described as *šikin išāti*, the "work" or "sediment" of fire, and it is difficult to interpret this as anything other than ashes, though there are already two words for ashes, *ṭitallu* and *dikmennu*. Presumably it is the plural of the word *naq-mu-u* which is given as the equivalent of *al.níg.izi.sig.ga*, II, R. 34, 69a (in spite of the following *ka!-mu-u*). The restoration and translation of the end of the line are suggested by the story from the Arabian Nights (pp. 148-9). Cf. also the use of *malû* with *išrubû*, *CT.* 28, 40, 13, etc.

118. See note on 87.

120. See note on 26.

125. *miḥištu*. A derivative of *maḥāšu* is appropriate here, even though the required meaning is not attested elsewhere, for the word occurs only in the sense "stroke" of the stylus in writing (Driver, *Semitic Writing*, 2nd ed., 288-9). The form *mi-ḥi-iṣ-tú* (as here) recorded by von Soden, *Syllabar* s.v. *IŠ*, has usually been taken for a phonetic variant of *miḥirtu* "front".

127. *bul-tu-u-a* "cures": cf. *XVII bu-ul-tú ša* SAG.KI.DIB.BA, *KAR.*, 188, rev. 18.

131. For *ina libbi* = "into" with *nadû* cf. *ina lib-bi iṣ-qāt ki-i id-du-ú* "when they had thrown (them) into fetters", *YOS.*, III, 146, 10.

132. *ir-ti*. The verb intended is certainly *retû*; cf. Landsberger, *Ana Ittišu*, 66, 37, and Chiera, *Nuzi*, I, 79, 10-11. But the sign *DI* is not used for *ti* in the Assyrian period, nor would this be easy to explain as a scribal error, since the others are all errors of copying. It seems therefore that we have here a variant form of the root.

dun-ni. Since the Mayor is evidently lying on the ground, this might be *dunnu* = *maḥaltu* "bed" (von Soden, *LTBA.*, II, 8, iv, 17), but with this word we should expect the determinative *GIŠ*, as in Theodicy 246. The phrase *ina dunni qaqqari* suggests comparison with the rather similar *ul-tu du-un-ni ki-ša-ti* in DT. 57 rev. 18 (*JRAS.*, 1927, 537). According to Langdon (ad. loc.) this *dunnu* is a loanword from *DUN* = *šuplu* "hollow, depression", and Langdon finds the same word in Assyrian Laws, tablet B, §10: *šum-ma LÚ . . . BUR iḥ-ri du-un-na e-pu-uš*. In the latter passage, however, the verb *epuš*, contrasting with *iḥri*, makes it probable that *dunnu* is not a reservoir which is dug, but a dyke which is built (cf. Driver-Miles, p. 502), and the word is the well-known derivative of the root *dnn*. Thus apart from the present text, there remains only DT. 57 to attest the postulated loan-word, and even there Langdon's translation "swales" shows that the interpretation is forced. More probably both in DT. 57 and in the present passage we have an idiomatic use of *dunnu* "strength": *ul-tu du-un-ni ki-ša-ti* "from the depth of the forest", *ina*

- dun-ni qa-qā-ri* "in the solidity of earth", *dunnu* expressing in both instances the massive character of the thing denoted by the following genitive. For other senses of *dunnu* cf. Speiser, *Symbolae Koschaker*, 148, n. 9.
133. *ú-pak-kir*. No verb *pukkuru* is known, but the sense is clear, and there is a satisfactory cognate in Syriac ܡܚܟܪܐ.
140. The translation assumes tentatively that *kī* is for *ašar* and *nir-bi-im* is for *nērēbim*, but the traces do not seem quite right for *nir*. The traces of the last word are unintelligible to me.
142. *i-maš-šir* for *ú-maš-šir* would be a scribal error of a type which occurs elsewhere in the Sultantepe texts (e.g. *i-ra-bu-u-ka*, *JCS.*, VIII, 91, 3). But the reading of the third sign is doubtful.
- At the end of the line a phrase in apposition is required, such as "a citizen of Nippur" (the restoration [EN.LÍL.]*kī* is possible). The reading of *KAL* as *eḫlu* is assured by l. 150.
143. *ana qīštišu* : cf. the use of *qīštu* for "fee" in the Hammurabi Code.
147. The beginning of the line is restored from 153.
150. *ipparšu* "they flew" : cf. Legend of Naram-Sin, *AS.*, V, 104, 120.
152. At the end of this line we seem to have *a/e-du-šú* and the context requires some word meaning "alone". Is this an unusual variant of *ēdēnuššu* or *ēdiššišu*?
154. This line should at least be similar in meaning to 101.
160. *pagar lā baḫtu*, "not alive in body", a construction similar to that which gave rise to the adjective *ašarēdu*.

NOTES ON COLOPHON

1. On the meaning of *labīru* see G. Meier in *AfO.*, XII, 245. For the use of *giš* for *šaṭāru* cf. *AS.*, IV, 98.
3. On the *bīt mummi*, the workshop of the temple and technical training school, see Heidel in *JNES.*, VII, 102.
4. The equation $^{14}sag = šá ri-šu$ is given by S.U. 51/6 v 5, which restores the end of col. ii of *LTBA.*, II, no. 1.
9. *Ḫa-na-ni*. This name was misread by me, *AS.*, II, 25 ; cf. Falkner in *AfO.*, XVII, 103. The date of the tablet is therefore 701 B.C.
12. On the *girginakku* see Driver, *Semitic Writing*, 74, with note 12.

CORRECTIONS TO PREVIOUS ARTICLES

PRELIMINARY NOTE, *AS.*, II

- p. 25 : on the name of the eponym and the date of 51/78 see above.
- pp. 26-7 : the Gilgamesh tablets have now been published in *JCS.*, VIII, 87-95.
- pp. 27-8 and 32-3, Epic of Creation : some of the readings, especially in Tablets I and IV, were incorrect. A full revised list of new readings and variants in the text of this poem is published in *AfO.*, XVII (2).
- pp. 29-35 : there are some errors of identification, which will be apparent from the forthcoming publication.

THE EPONYM LISTS, *AS.*, III

- pp. 19-21 : 52/18 + 21 has been cleaned and recopied, and the fragment 52/333 has been joined to it, largely filling the gap on the left side.
- 788, historical note : *u[š-š]e²-iš!* or *u[š-š]im* etc.
- 787 : read *uruKur-bi-šú!*
- 773 : perhaps *uruRa!-ʿqa-ma-túʿ* ; cf. *MAOG.*, IX (3), 20₅₂.
- 772 : *uruKál!-ḫi* is not an error.

THE POEM OF THE RIGHTEOUS SUFFERER, AS., IV

p. 68, l. 47 : probably [i]n-ni-dir !

p. 84, l. 48 : *uš-ta-zaq* is probably not correct. The last sign seems to end with traces of a vertical.

49 : last word probably *mi-ḥu!-u!*

50 : *mursu mun!-ni-šú e-li-ia(?) in-niš-ra*

"A weakening disease has been over me."

LEGEND OF NARAM-SIN, AS., V

p. 97 : the number of the Sultantepe tablet is 51/67A + 76 + 166.

p. 98 ff. I am indebted to Professor B. Landsberger for most of the following observations :—

ll. 6–7. The fragmentary lines of the Hittite version, ZA., XLIV, 50, col. I, suggest that the precedent of Enmekar begins at line 6. We should then restore as follows :—

6. [*En-me-kár šàr Unuk^{k1} mu-m*]a'-ir ma-a-ti

7. [100 MU.M]EŠ ina nasāḫi^{ti}

8. [x MU.M]EŠ ina a-la-ki

"Enmekar, King of Uruk, the ruler of the land.

when 100 years had elapsed,

when x years had gone by "

l. 10 : Read [*umman-man-da SA.T*]U-ma ir-kab

"The Umman-manda climbed the mountain "

The fact that Enmekar fought against the Umman-manda is recorded in the "Weidner Chronicle", ZA., XLII, 48₃₂, where *umman!-man-da* should be read. It appears from the Chronicle that Enmekar, after a period of misfortune, became eventually a *šar kiššati* through the intervention of the wise Adapa.

ll. 11–17. On the assumption that this passage is concerned with Enmekar, we ought to have *i-šal* (11), *il-si* (14), *il-pu-ut* or *il-pu-tu* (15) and *iq-bu-u-nis-su* (17). Against this, however, we have in fact *al-[pu-ut]* in E and *iq-bu-u-ni* in both A and E, which throws some doubt on the view that lines 6 ff. are concerned with Enmekar, as here suggested.

l. 12 : instead of ^aBa₄-ba₄ we should perhaps read *il-ba₄-ba₄* (cf. *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, II, 13).

l. 13 : In B ii 10 there appear to be one or two names between ^aPA and ^aURU and it is possible that the reading ^aHaniš ^aŠullat ^aŠamaš is correct (cf. note on l. 77).

l. 15 : *lapātu* here perhaps "slit". So also l. 65.

l. 21 : [*e*] *tul-ta-[bīl tērtā] li-par-qud pa-gar-ka*

The sense is "Do nothing until the gods give you their orders".

l. 24 : the last sign is not MEŠ but the beginning of GIDIM or UR.

The reading -šú following EŠ.BAR is precluded by the traces. In E there is apparently nothing between EŠ.BAR and the sign read *ru* (the reading is not certain).

l. 27 : read *išattú*^a (so both C and E) and delete ù.

ll. 50–2 : read *it-tas-paḥ* "was scattered".

l. 53 : this and the beginning of the following line may possibly enumerate a series of tribes who formed the army of the Umman-manda.

l. 64 : [*lu-da-a*] *šil-la-a a-na qāt[i-šu u-mal-li]*

"I handed over to him the *ludú* and the *šillú*".

In view of TCL., XVII, 8, we may perhaps conclude that the *ludú* was an instrument for earmarking animals. The *šillú* is probably a spit, parallel with Hittite *išpātar*; the word also has the meanings "pin" and "thorn".

l. 68 : *ši-pir* ^aEn-lil "envoys of E."

- l. 83 : read *ša* ^aPA-ia-a-ti (B), *ša* ^aMa-ia-te (E), i.e. the god Mūiāti or Mu'āti, who was identified secondarily with Nabū (Deimel, *Pantheon* no. 2160).
luddu is to be distinguished from *ludū* ; it is a small cup, the reference being perhaps to some "black art".
- l. 90 : "What have I left to the (not my) reign?", which is equivalent to "for my successor".
- ll. 91-2 : "security" rather than "prosperity".
- l. 94 : *arurtu* not "drought" but "trembling" (cf. ZA., XLIII, 310, 10).
- l. 95 : Professor W. von Soden (by letter) suggests reading *i-bi-su-u*.
- l. 96 : *dilibtu* "sleeplessness" ; see Speiser in JCS., V, 64-6.
- l. 98 : read *a-bu]-bu ba-ši* "there was a deluge".
- ll. 101-2. Perhaps restore thus : *ilāni rabūti [mi-na-a te-pu-]ša, taq-ba-nim-ma [a-bu-ba ad-]ki* "O great gods, what have you done? You spoke and I summoned a deluge".
- l. 107 : *uštābil* "I interpreted" rather than "I obtained" (Bauer, *Assurbanipal*, 84, n. 3).
- ll. 110-5 : a small fragment has now been joined to the top of col. iii of E, giving the first few signs of these six lines. This means that two lines are lost at the end of col. ii, whereas only one was allowed for in the calculation of the lacuna in that tablet ; therefore the lacuna must be reckoned as twelve lines, not eleven, and line 115 must be divided into two (115 a and b).
- l. 110 : the new fragment has *ú-kin-nu* for the *ú-kin* of B. Hence the same discrepancy between the Nineveh and Sultantepe MSS. in respect of singular and plural forms must be assumed in lines 16 and 74.
- l. 115a : perhaps *šu[m-ma]*, introducing an oracle in conditional form. The story of the pardoned prisoners has its parallel in the Hittite version, ZA., XLIV, 58.
- l. 117 : read *i]m-taq-ta-áš-ši*.
- l. 118 : perhaps *[da-me] ú-šar-da-a qul-mu* "the battle-axe made the blood flow".
- l. 128 end : better *is-sa-[aq-ra]*.
- l. 143 : *a-na 1 [ma-na K]Û.BABBAR sūtu uttatu i-maḥ-ḥar*
 "one (is content to) accept 9 litres of barley for half a kilo of silver"
 (*imaḥḥar* for *immaḥḥar*).
- l. 146 : "I did not lay my hand on them to kill them."
- l. 149 : *tupšinnu* is probably a bye-form of *tupninnu* "chest".
- l. 163 : "spare thy warriors", rather than "husband thy valour".
- l. 175 : for *tāk* read *tak*.